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The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro: An Essay in Contemporary History. by Maurice Halperin
Review by: Karl M. Schmitt

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lieves to be more consonant with the available empirical evidence.

For the most part, Hamilton's data and arguments permit him to delineate what he takes to be the nature, origins, and probable persistence of the distribution of political power between the various social strata and the political orientations and behaviors of the upper and upper-middle classes vis-à-vis the lower-middle and working classes. In addition, he addresses himself to briefly articulating and empirically evaluating a series of theories which purport to describe the distribution of political power and the factors which influence the political decision-making process in the United States. These include Marxist, Neo-Marxist, Pluralist, Mass Society, and Group theories. Except for Orthodox Marxism and Pluralist theory, which he dismisses entirely, his interest is not in discarding or accepting entire theories but in salvaging those components of each which he finds, on an empirical basis, to possess descriptive and explanatory power.

In spite of the fact that it is possible to fault Hamilton's efforts—for example, his generally uncritical acceptance of the numerous researches he cites in support of his critical and innovative review of currently held beliefs about the relationships between class and politics—I must agree with him when he says, in the preface to the book, that his “analysis and findings . . . have clear relevance for intellectual efforts in the areas of political sociology, political behavior, and social stratification.” This work is a very serious, very comprehensive, and very fine piece of social science scholarship. As such, it requires of the reader considerable attention to detail, constant references to footnotes, and frequent re-reading of Hamilton's arguments. A book which systematically and seriously approaches so complex a task, and which is so exhaustive in its scholarship, could not do otherwise.

KENNETH E. MILLER, *Drake University*

The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro: An Essay in Contemporary History. By MAURICE HALPERIN. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. Pp. x, 380. \$12.95.)

The present work covers essentially the first five years of the rule

of Fidel Castro and focuses primarily on Cuba's foreign relations. To tie up loose ends here and there the author anticipates a projected second volume and carries some elements of his narrative into the 1970s. At the same time he treats domestic economic and political developments where necessary to clarify and explain foreign policy positions.

In the polemics surrounding the Cuban Revolution, it is difficult to know precisely where the author stands. He articulates no general philosophy or ideology and in a very short preface tells his reader bluntly that he has no intention of doing so—that the book should explain itself. In some circumstances that may be a laudable position, but it makes it difficult to know exactly what the author means by the “successes” and “failures” of the Revolution or the “rise” and “decline” of Fidel Castro. For Halperin the “good” seems to encompass large measures of freedom for the individual, the freedom of small states to determine their basic structures without foreign coercion, equitable distribution of material goods, and at least modest economic growth and development for the poorer countries. Halperin takes a strong stand for freedom of expression, if only within the Revolutionary context, and freedom for cultural development in the arts. He bitterly criticizes Fidel for the loss of the humanitarian spirit of the first years of the Revolution, for the chaos and inefficiency in economic planning, management, and production, and for the increasing militarism and authoritarianism of the regime.

This is a curious work. After six years in Cuba (1962-68) the author has virtually no new information. His major contribution rather is a marvelous exegesis of the written and spoken word of Fidel, but one often wonders about the validity of the interpretations without supporting evidence. A case in point is Halperin's insistence that Fidel, beyond the feelers in Kennedy's last months, sought over a rather long period and on several occasions to come to terms with the United States. On major inside events, such as the two purges of Escalante, the reputed clash between Fidel and Che, and the extent of Cuban participation in revolutionary activities in Latin America, Halperin can shed no new light. Finally Maurice Halperin, known for many years as a Socialist and Marxist, does not cast his analysis within that frame of reference. In view of his bitter criticisms of China, Russia, and Cuba, one

wonders if he has abandoned this persuasion, and if he has, what he has substituted for it beyond a vague kind of humanitarianism.

Whatever the problems and the weaknesses of the volume, this is a major work that cannot be ignored. Some weight must be given to the author's judgments if only because of his long residence in the island and his acquaintance with some of its leaders. His criticisms must be heard because he began as a sympathizer of the Revolution, and his interpretations must be considered because of his long association with and residence in the Socialist world.

KARL M. SCHMITT, *University of Texas at Austin*

Politics in Austria. By KURT STEINER. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1972. Pp. xvii, 443. \$7.95.)

This book is a part of the Little, Brown Series in Comparative Politics, applying structural-functionalism to Austria. The author was born in Vienna but has not previously published on Austrian politics. This work is well researched and documented, a masterful synthesis of economic, historical, political, and sociological data. Without question, it is one of the best over-all works on the Austrian polity.

The First Republic underwent both legitimacy and participation crises. It lacked a national identity. Moreover, from 1920 until the end of the Republic the Social Democrats were excluded from executive power; the Christian Socials and their allies governed.

Steiner correctly maintains that the *Anschluss* did much to instill a national consciousness. After 1945 Austria re-emerged with a much strengthened nationalism. A consociational democracy was created with a fragmented political culture and coalescent elite behavior, to employ Lijphart's terminology. The ÖVP-SPÖ coalition governed from 1945 until 1966.

Following Wandruszka's classification, Steiner has divided the Austrian political landscape into three *Lager* or camps—the Christian Social-conservative, the Marxist, and the German National. In all the election campaigns between 1945 and 1966 the two