BACK FROM THE FUTURE

CUBA UNDER CASTRO

SUSAN EVA ECKSTEIN

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

CONTENTS

PREFACE Xi

ABBREVIATIONS XXi

CHAPTER ONE
The Limits and Possibilities of Socialism 3

Contextual Factors Affecting State Policy Options 3

Ideology as a Force Sui Generis under State Socialism? 12

The Historical Roots of the Cuban Revolution 14

State Transformation under Castro 19

CHAPTER TWO
The "Push for Communism" and the "Retreat to Socialism": 1959 to 1985 31

Toward a Utopian Future: The Latter 1960s "Push for Communism" 33

Back from the Future: The 1970s and Early 1980s "Retreat to Socialism" 41 Conclusion 58

CHAPTER THREE

The Late 1980s Campaign to "Rectify Errors and Negative Tendencies": Socialist Renegade or Retrograde in the Era of *Perestroika*? 60

The Moral Campaign for "Rectification" 61
Policy Changes Associated with the "Rectification Process" 62
State Efforts to Address Emergent Problems 71
Impact of the "Rectification Process" 79
Conclusion 86

CHAPTER FOUR

From Communist Solidarity to Communist Solitary: The 1990s "Special Period in Peacetime" 88

From Communist Solidarity to Communist Solitary 88
"Special Period in Peacetime" Economic and Labor Reforms 96
Democratization in Form and Practice 113
People's Responses to the "Special Period" 119
Conclusion 126

CHAPTER FIVE

The Irony of Success: Social Accomplishments and Their Unintended Consequences 128

Health Welfare 129

Social and Fiscal Ramifications of the Demographic Revolution 140 The Impact of the "Revolution within the Revolution":

Women's Participation in the Labor Force 144
Conclusion 147

CHAPTER SIX

"A Maximum of Ruralism, a Minimum of Urbanism":

From Idealism to Realism 149

The 1960s "A Maximum of Ruralism, a Minimum of Urbanism": Idealistic and Pragmatic 151

The New Urbanism of the 1970s and Early 1980s 157

The "Rectification of Urban Errors" in the Latter 1980s 163

A "Maximum of Ruralism" in the 1990s: Pragmatism without Idealism 165

Conclusion 169

CHAPTER SEVEN

Internationalism 171

Overseas Activities 171
Cuba as a Soviet Surrogate 181
Moral Bases for Overseas Involvements 18:
The Economics of Internationalism 188

Future Prospects of Internationalism 200

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Relevance of the Revolution 204

What Occurred? The Cuban Experience Summarized in Historical and Comparative Perspectives 204

What Is to Be Learned? Theoretical Implications 206 What Is to Be Done? 213

APPENDIX: TABLES 219

Notes 233

INDEX 277