



Dilemmas of Social Democracy: The Spanish Socialist Workers Party in the 1980s; The Spanish Socialist Party: A History of Factionalism

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nominally produced outside Central Asia, "surely Central Asia has a clear claim to investment capital to expand its capacities for textile manufacturing" (p. 184).

Rumer's prognosis is grim: he feels that "as long as the production-branch ministries in Moscow control investment and industrial capacity in the national republics, and as long as the republic governments lack the authority to regulate their own economic structure, there is not the slightest chance that the complex, proportional needs of the republic economies will receive greater attention" (p. 165). At least at the time his book went to press, Rumer judged that Gorbachev intended "to preserve and reinforce . . . centralized management of the nation's economy" (p. 167). Other elements of Gorbachev's economic plan cited by Rumer (cost accounting and the investment strategy) seem likely to aggravate this.

Closing the book, readers are likely spontaneously to ponder Rumer's concluding words—that the current leadership "simply refuses to come to grips with these problems until a full-blown emergency erupts" (p. 187). This concise volume is a strong argument that such an emergency may be on the horizon.

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Dilemmas of Social Democracy: The Spanish Socialist Workers Party in the 1980s. By Donald Share. New York: Greenwood, 1989. 169p. \$39.95.

The Spanish Socialist Party: A History of Factionalism. By Richard Gillespie. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. 520p. \$79.00.

In a country characterized by a history of party fragmentation and political instability, the three consecutive electoral victories of the Spanish Socialist party (PSOE) in 1982, 1986, and 1989 seem a remarkable achievement. The feat is all the more noteworthy for having taken place in a decade that on the whole has not been favorable to the electoral fortunes of the Left in Western Europe. Yet as Richard Gillespie and Donald Share make clear in their highly complementary studies, the political profile and policy initiatives of the PSOE in government have not represented a clear or

systematic expression of the socialist or even social-democratic objectives historically advanced by the party. This record of extraordinary political success combined with massive programmatic change is explained in these works in part by reference to internal party politics—especially the political skill, instincts, and resolve of the Sevillian party leaders, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and Vice-Prime Minister Alfonso Guerra. Major aspects of the political and economic context of PSOE activity are also discussed in both works, although they receive much greater attention in the book by Donald Share; the work of Gillespie focuses largely on the historical trajectory of intraparty politics. Both books cover, at some level, virtually the entire history of the PSOE; but their chronological focus is quite different. Gillespie concentrates on the socialists, under dictatorship and democracy, prior to their electoral victory of 1982; whereas Share's analysis is primarily concerned with the socialists in office.

As suggested by his book's subtitle, the bulk of Gillespie's analysis focuses on the internal politics and historical development of the party, especially the frequently bitter factional disputes (in many instances the reflection of deep ideological differences). The result of exhaustive original scholarly research including many interviews with party veterans, the book traces in great detail the development of the party's organization and its thinking. Whereas the period of the republic and the current democratic system have been well researched in excellent scholarly studies, the situation of the PSOE under the Franco regime had been much less thoroughly examined; and therein lies the most important contribution of the book. The ideological conflicts, strategic debates, factional disputes, and personal sacrifices of PSOE members under authoritarian rule are all explored with care. Gillespie is especially concerned to detail the initiatives and political perspectives of specific party members; for the reader interested in following numerous party leaders and activists (some today famous, others little known) through the period of opposition, the book will be a source of important insights and much new information.

This emphasis on intraparty politics leads to many interesting and significant findings, but in places may encourage the reader, if general-

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ly uninformed about Spain, to form a somewhat exaggerated impression of the dimensions and impact of the socialists' efforts. This is especially true for the Franco period, when the PSOE was a relatively weak component of the opposition forces. In the same vein, many readers will find somewhat questionable the author's assertion that the party's ideological transformation in recent years "was somewhat more fundamental than the national process" (p. 299), that is, the transition from authoritarianism to democracy. But it would be unfair to dwell excessively on this shortcoming in a book that remains a serious scholarly achievement, contributing in important ways to the literature on the socialists.

In *Dilemmas of Social Democracy* Donald Share clearly and concisely places the political evolution and policy initiatives of the PSOE in the broader context of Spanish political and economic life. Although no specific theme is pursued with the level of detail or the weight of original research findings to be found in *The Spanish Socialist Party*, Share's book is an intellectually engaging and informative contribution. It offers an extremely broad and thoughtful presentation of the initiatives advanced by the socialists and of the constraints they have faced. The attempt throughout the book is to explain the enormous political transformation of the PSOE both before and after the assumption of governmental responsibilities. In a balanced and well-documented analysis Share takes account of several types of causal factors: the difficulties encountered by Socialist and Social Democratic parties throughout Western Europe during the past decade, the distinctive political and economic challenges faced by Spain in the same period, and the specific political opportunities available to PSOE leaders in the 1980s. The result is a book that will prove highly useful to comparativists wishing to learn about the Spanish case and stimulating to students of Spanish politics. Although the coverage of so many themes in a short book offers relatively little opportunity for the subtle or deep exploration of many of the topics covered, the analysis is consistently well presented and persuasive.

Despite the differences between the books, several interesting points of argumentation are found in both. The authors attribute the socialist leadership's ability to quickly and effectively deradicalize the party, in part, to the pre-

dominant role in the PSOE of officeholders and government employees who owe their jobs to the party, a predominance accentuated by the very low party membership and by internal decisionmaking mechanisms. Both authors also emphasize the causal significance of the structure of political competition facing the PSOE. The severe crisis of the parties located to the immediate right and left of the socialists, according to this logic, created important incentives and few likely electoral risks for a PSOE move toward the Right. One is left wondering whether and how the behavior of the PSOE government may change in the wake of the 1989 elections, which presented the party with a greatly strengthened challenge from the Left and rejuvenated competition from the Right.

Perhaps the most broadly voiced critique of the PSOE within Spain—complaints concerning the socialists' alleged arrogance in power and their reluctance to acknowledge criticism—is scarcely mentioned in either study. However, the stories told by these authors—especially the internal party developments traced out by Gillespie—are highly relevant on this point. The understanding of this and other dimensions of the Spanish Socialist party has been advanced in important ways by these two complementary books.

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Politics of Chaos: The Organizational Causes of Violence in China's Cultural Revolution. By Lynn T. White III. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. 367p. \$39.50.

Agrarian Radicalism in China, 1968-1981. By David Zweig. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989. 269p. \$30.00.

Western fascination with China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has borne scholarly fruit in at least three waves of analysis. In the first, written in the late 1960s and early 1970s on the basis of Red Guard wall posters and tabloids, the focus was on the power-political machinations leading up to the event and on its political consequences, with greatest emphasis on high-level elite purges and promotions. During the later 1970s and early 1980s,