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The Union Institute

**Colonialism : Political Economy, Language and
Ideology in Puerto Rico**

1898-1998

Dissertation(PDE) Submitted to

The Faculty of The Union Institute
Advisor: Douglas V. Davidson, Ph.D.

In Candidacy For The Degree of Doctor in Philosophy
In Political Sociology

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May 1998

UMI Number: 9908540

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*To Nancy
For Her Fighting Spirit and Her Rejection of the 'Status Quo'*

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a macro-analytical study of Puerto Rico's linguistic situation from the viewpoint of the political economy of colonialism. The Marxist sociological paradigm, its methodology of historical-dialectical materialism, is submitted as a conceptual apparatus to guide the investigation of the various political and economic processes that brought about a colonial form of social organization in Puerto Rico. These political and economic processes and developments are examined through an interdisciplinary scope. An interdisciplinary paradigm is created from the merging of radical schemes in political sociology, economic anthropology, sociology of language, cultural and philosophical anthropology, and education. Two orientations from linguistic studies are central in this discourse, the political economy of language and the sociolinguistic of the periphery. The Marxist theory of social change is used to bridge a conversation among the disciplines mentioned above.

The milieu of dependency and resistance that typifies a colonial society, delineates the framework for individual and collective socialization and is the locus in which ideologized cognition are formed. Therefore, any analysis of language conflicts must account for the materiality of social life, because it is the place where identities are constructed and contested. Notwithstanding, social narratives or discourse also contributes to the formation of identities. In this deliberation, the concept of ideology is used eclectically. Ideology may be described as ideas informing social practices and as cognition embodied in social behavior. Ideology may also be described as a system of ideas that reflect or mirror the nature of a given form of social organization and economic order. And also described in pejorative terms, ideology as the slanted view of dominant classes that is circulated throughout the entire social ensemble and creates the illusion of social solidarity. Among other things, this conversation asserts that Puerto Rico's structure of production and political superstructure generate ideological practices that support the supervaluation of English and foment the idea of the Spanish language as a language of underdevelopment. This lopsided valuation of languages reflects the asymmetrical relations of power between an economic center (USA) and a peripheral region, Puerto Rico.

A materially based probe of Puerto Rico's class structure, productive process, and political superstructure, are complementary to the study of linguistic colonialism. In Puerto Rico there exist class inequalities at the level of the infrastructure and at the level of the superstructure. The valuation of languages is determined to a large extent by the retroaction of these two spheres. A foreign and Anglophone dominant class exercises economic, political, and ideological leadership over an intermediary political class, emerging classes, and an Spanish-speaking working class. This class structure is not articulated internally but externally.

Bilingual language planning is germane to the established economic order and the split political personality of the island. How languages are socially valued and how they achieved a particular status are determined by material and ideological conditions. Although, could be argued that the status and social valuation of English and Spanish in Puerto Rico is partially influenced by the globalization of capital and the functional load achieved by English world wide, the political economy of colonialism and its ideological base are the preeminent factors determining the valuation and status of these languages in this Spanish-speaking Caribbean island.

Chapt 1

Introduction: Framing the Discussion

Since its emergence, the concept of “ideology” has been at the center of academic debate over the nature of human society. As a result of this scholarly tete-a-tete, a large body of theoretical work has been generated. The range of assumptions undergirding the different definitions of ideology have further muddied theoretical discourse. For instance, some have equated ideology with a broadly shared consensus arising from social interactions expressed through various repetitive social behaviors. Others view ideology as an amalgamation of cultural complexes that occurred over the course of time. The Marxist tradition defines ideology in pejorative terms, as the projection of ideas that enable the dominant ruling class to assert its interest by producing an illusion of social solidarity among all classes.

Marxists view ideology as a mirror of social organization reflecting the establishment of both infrastructure and superstructure. This means that the political and economic power of the bourgeoisie is manifested in the dominant ideas circulated throughout the total social ensemble (Poutlanzas 1986). Thus, it is argued that these predominant ideas are the incarnation of the economic and political sovereignty of the prevailing ruling class. Filtered in the social reproduction, these ideas produced a mirage of social solidarity, the notion that society works on behalf of all classes, masking the interests of the ruling class (Ibid). In others words, on the imaginative level there is the notion of a universal interest, a view of social reality without antagonism, a non-contradictory world view (Ibid). Ideology promotes and sustains the prosperity of the hegemonic class by

fabricating a biased view of social reality. Poutlanzas illustrates how this concealment is possible: the hegemonic class molds the representations of the working class and therefore the dominant discourse becomes the cognitive parameters peoples will use to evaluate their experiences(Ibid). In this perspective ideology has the double feature of both reflecting and concealing. It reflects the way a society is actually organized and simultaneously veils class contradictions. A critique of the various orientations within this paradigm is provided in chapter two. The purpose of this preliminary discussion is to set the tone for the succeeding conversation.

The aim of this dissertation is to present a formulation that links the ideological to the valuation and change in status of English and Spanish languages in Puerto Rico. In order to launch the line of argument, it is necessary to consider some initial methodological considerations. Macro-analytical studies of linguistic conflicts are geared toward identifying the sociological phenomenon and historical processes that cause asymmetrical relations between distinct linguistic expressions. Yet theoretical formulations from a materialist perspective which link the concept of ideology to linguistics in peripheric or colonial societies are scarce. Thus, there is a need to link the debate over language, bi-culturalism, and bilingualism in a colonial context to the feature of the split personality impelled by colonization.

Here the central question is whether changes in the economic organization of a society are manifested in the status and valuation of languages. If so, what is the role played by ideology in the social valuation of languages? In order to respond to this question the sociology and political economy of colonialism must be scrutinized. This discussion will review the various sociological phenomenon

which influenced the social reorganization and transformation of the ideological realm in the island of Puerto Rico after World War II. This discourse will also explore the impact on the linguistic terrain. It will be argued that the valuation of the English and Spanish language is connected to the ideological as determined by the political economy of colonialism, rather than by segregated domains of language use (Williams 1987).

This study, is in line with an orientation in the sociology of language described by Grillo as the "Political Economy of Language" (1989:8). An understanding of the sociology of language of colonialism requires its insertion in a much broader historical frame of reference. The milieu of dependency that characterizes a colonial society provides the context for individual and collective socialization and the locus in which cognitions and world views are formed. It is argued in this work that a colonial ideology that fosters dependency and utilitarianism coerces particular linguistic attitudes. For instance, in Puerto Rico, the English language is viewed by large sectors of the population as one of the primary vehicle of social mobility, as a language of economic power. And Spanish as the language of social transaction and solidarity. Yet, this, utilitarian view of English does not translate as a complete incorporation of the linguistic expression of those who control the insular mode of production. Nevertheless it serves an ideological purpose in the sense that the value of the vernacular is minimized and the language of the dominant class is deified as the language of social climbing. It is for this reason that in the examination of the socio-linguistics of colonialism a sound theory is needed to guide the discussion. Appropriate for this investigation Gal suggests a theoretical approach to inspect the linguistic connotations in bilingual situations :

A historically and materially based understanding of the relationship of domination, exploitation and conflict between emerging classes...

within successive levels of political-economic organization...(Gal cited in Martin-Jones 1989:118).

Previous interdisciplinary investigation of the Puerto Rican linguistic conflict has focussed on how superstructural factors, such as the nature of the insular state, language planning, and private education are the source of the linguistic problematic in the island. It has been suggested that the colonial state, due to its political and judicial subordination, is incapable of setting containment mechanisms to inhibit cultural and linguistic penetration.

This work departs from these early approaches by emphasizing the post-war alterations in Puerto Rican infrastructure as the preeminent factor determining the preeminence of English in specific domains of social life. It is important to acknowledge that in 1917 the Jones Act imposed American citizenship on the Puerto Rican people, establishing one of the key superstructural elements conditioning the social life of Puerto Rico. Under this colonial mandate, the United States Congress assumed direct control over all conceivable insular political affairs. This event remains the prime marker of U.S. hegemony in the island.

American citizenship as a feature of Puerto Rico political status is central for the understanding of the intrusion of English into Puerto Rican life. For half a century, 1898-1948, English was imposed in the island, and in 1902 English was elevated to the status of official language together with Spanish. The forced entry of English in form of a colonial linguistic design is the foundation of the contemporary linguistic dualism in Puerto Rican society.

Since the American occupation of the island in 1898, Puerto Rican scholars of all established social sciences, humanities, experts in the field of jurisprudence, and pedagogues have been involved in the polemic of Puerto Rico's linguistic situation. As in any other peripheric linguistic reality, it is the intellectual and academic elite of Puerto Rico who have kept the debate alive. Historically, Spanish had been presented as the preeminent indicator of the authenticity of the Puerto Rican nation (Eckert 1983).

There is a body of work which asserts a general understanding of the deification of English. The ascendance of English in prestige cannot be attributed only to its symbolic value world wide, but rather its valuation in the island is an epiphenomena of Puerto Rico's political status and its dependent economic relationship. Many Puerto Rican and international radical scholars coincide in the assessment that English represents a code of domination that lingers on due to the established form of social organization, a colonial social formation (Epstein 1970; Garcia Martinez 1976; De Granda 1980; Meyn 1983; Walsh 1987, 1991; Negron De Montilla 1990; Rua 1992; Castro Pereda 1993; Flores, et. al. 1993; Velez and Schweers 1993; Resnick 1993).

Although these works shed light on the understanding of Puerto Rico's linguistic problem, their shortcoming is in providing an analysis of the class articulations that determine the problematic. To illustrate, researchers of Puerto Rico's linguistic situation must ask what were the societal and ideological changes that established the dialectics between two distinct linguistic expressions. In others words, how did colonial transformations facilitate the promotion of a foreign language to a position of prestige and reciprocally push the vernacular into a colloquial status? As Bretton

suggests: "It is simply impossible to disassociate languages from the contexts in which they are learned and used" (1976:437).

This dissertation attempts to fill that gap by arguing that changes in the social relations of production on the island during the post-industrial period produced the ideological allegiances of local sectors with the entities that embody the U.S. bourgeoisie, and that this allegiance finds expression in the linguistic terrain. These relationships, until the present time, helped to reproduce the prominent position of a foreign and imperious language, English.

In early colonialism the forces of intervention developed a campaign geared at the ideological colonization of Puerto Rico, this was call Americanization. One feature of Americanization was the imposition of the English language in the public schools. Whereas in late colonialism (after 1950), Americanization is suggested rather than imposed. Late colonialization changed the mode of production to a dependent industrial base. This strengthened the grip of a foreign bourgeoisie as controllers of the mode of production, and simultaneously Puerto Rico's class structure was altered. There occurred a change in the composition of the working class, middle and upper sectors emerged, adding a new piece in to the linguistic puzzle of colonialism. A detailed analysis of this epiphenomena of industrialization is provided in chapter three.

Ideological assumptions of a fundamentally utilitarian nature spill into the linguistic arena shaping the linguistic attitudes of these stratum. Yet, the proclivity for this transformation in the mode of production was determined soon after 1898; when a foreign power began assembling a colonial

superstructure that served as support institutions for the initial take over of Puerto Rico productive process by U.S. capital. Throughout this dissertation it will be illustrated how in different historical periods external capitalist articulations or the colonial-capitalist relations of production influenced the linguistic terrain in a multifarious way.

The Issue of Linguistic Domains

Domains of language use are redefined as institutional localities within an "externally articulated structure of production" (Dietz 1986:310) and externally regulated colonial superstructure (Williams 1987). It will be shown that during the post-industrialization period, the English language is viewed as the key that opens the doors of restricted domains. Moreover, that these domains are part of the fabric of a colonial mode of production. In contemporary Puerto Rico, English is the dominant language in the every day functioning of the institutions of commerce, industry, technology, banking, and finance. As instrumentalities of the colonial mode of production they generate ideology. The concept of an Anglophone foreign bourgeoisie is central in this work, as domains are examined in relation to class articulations in the context of colonial relations of production. Therefore, the understanding of the changes experienced in the status of languages is linked to the understanding of the occurrences that created a colonial form of social organization. Henceforth, rather than using the concept of domains as "abstract socio-cultural constructs" as most structural-functionalist approaches do, it is argued that these instances are spheres of hegemony, reflecting the interests of an Anglophone bourgeoisie (Martin-Jones 1989:110). The function of these spheres must be examined from the perspective of the historical development of the social formation. Furthermore,

these domains are not disassociated from the general class dynamics between the Spanish-speaking subordinated insular classes and a foreign Anglophone capitalist class. Thus, domains are material spheres of economic and linguistic domination, as well as the material base of ideology, including a linguistic ideology that produces conditions for the existence of a supervaluation of English (Martin-Jones 1989:110). Again, if colonialism produced a type of linguistic inequality, the study of the position of languages cannot be circumscribed just to segregated domains of language use, but domains as interrelated spheres of discourse set in place by the political-economy of colonialism.

Post WWII industrialization, specific class sectors can be identified which are more eager to incorporate the English language as part of their daily discourse. Yet, utilitarianism rather than an appreciation of the cultural wealth of English guides these linguistic practices (Castro Pereda 1993). Williams helps to explain their linguistic attitudes by saying that "language allegiances are rooted" in the social and economic structure of a given society (cited in Edwards 1985:93). This means that specific linguistic attitudes are delineated and shaped by a given form of social organization as impelled by the mode of production.

Utilitarianism in the eyes of many Puerto Ricans investigators has had devastating effects on the Puerto Rican national character. The advancement and growth of a national consciousness and the re-affirmation of "Puerto Ricanness" is stifled by a pragmatism of economic convenience. Moreover, for Puerto Rican scholars and activists the collision of the languages is viewed as inherent in the Puerto Rican National Question. Puerto Rico's National Question is based on the fact that a foreign social, economic, and political order conditions the history and determines the socio-economic organization

of contemporary Puerto Rican society (Gomez-Quinonez 1982). Resnick states that domains are the "'battlegrounds' of a larger fight,.... the conflict of a people -- a nation that defends its existence against the real and perceived political and economic pressures" (1993:271).

Methodological Review

Methodologies are research instruments which provide social scientists and students of society with a framework, where research questions are placed and serve as guideposts in the investigation of a given social phenomenon. It must be kept in mind that a methodology does not claim any facts, it is the vehicle to retrieve facts, a means to explore potential answers to research questions.

Social scientists are constantly striving for better and more efficient methodologies or investigative tools. In most cases the inherent constraints of segregated paradigms are the major obstacle to achieving this. For instance, some conservative academic sectors do not exceed the specific parameters of a discipline in their search for answers. It appears as if contemporary social sciences are still guided methodologically by a fragmented epistemological conception. It is assumed that the discoveries of facts by separate fields or disciplines in a mechanic way would merge on their own (Freiberg cited in Ferrarotti 1979). In this dissertation a conscious attempt is made to merge elements of various paradigmatic scopes including; political sociology, political economy, sociology of language, sociolinguistics, economic, cultural and philosophical anthropology, and education. The creation of an eclectic or interdisciplinary paradigm formed by establishing a dialogue among the various disciplines mentioned above is imperative to investigate the complexity of the research topic.

A paradigm in a given science is not rigid, unchanging or taken for granted; its modification, development or rejection maybe prompted by various reasons: divergent views on that science's philosophical grounds; **differences as regards its subject-matter**, disclosure of new facts which exceed the paradigm's framework and the conceptual apparatus formed on its basis; the development of a new research methods and so on.... (Dobrianov cited in Zdravomyslov 1986:15) emphasis mine

In the 1960s social scientists and political theorists in the fields of anthropology and sociology frustrated with the limitation and inadequacies of traditional modes of analysis (structural functionalism), bombarded by new facts that exceeded their paradigms scope, and limited by the fragmentation of the social sciences, began to view Marxism and its dialectical method as an alternative paradigm. Marxism was seen as the vehicle able to facilitate a conversation among these segregated disciplines. In anthropology it took the form of a dialogue between structuralism and Marxism (Copans & Seddon 1978:5). Maurice Godelier, a leading figure of the structural-Marxist school of thought, qualified this dialogue as a "new situation," as a sign of hope for the social sciences (Ibid). Godelier, using as a point of departure the structural-linguistic scheme of Claude Levi-Strauss, began to revise Marxian theory of society.

Levi-Strauss argued that behind obvious social relations there exist a "deep structure," an invisible or hidden structure of meaning (Ibid). Godelier, drawing from Strauss, argued that: "Marx described the whole social life in terms of structures, and advanced the hypothesis of the necessary correspondences between infrastructures and superstructures..." (Ibid). Furthermore, Godelier stated that Marx viewed the evolution of social forms as outcomes of the contradictions between the

different structures. Yet Godelier attributes a degree of autonomy to these structures, rather than viewing them as reciprocally interacting or as conditions for the existence of each other (Copans and Seddon 1978:5). This interpretation appears to be in conflict with the Marxist evolutionist theory of society as it is framed by the perspective of historical dialectical materialism. Briefly, the theory portrays social change as a history of development in which the evolution of social formations originates from antagonism among classes in the mode of production, or base. The base is viewed as the preeminent sphere of social transformation, where there is a reciprocal relation between the superstructure and the base in the articulation of social change. They do not function independently of each other, but in a retroactive way.

The stability of a given mode of production depends on the ability of dominant classes to persuade dominated classes to accept their "sectional interests," as the interest of the total social ensemble (Wetherel and Porter 1992:24). The role of ideology is to present this "sectional interest" of the dominant class as universal. Hence, structural changes are also reflected in ideology. Godelier's interpretation of Marx represented a departure from a perspective in which the locality of societal change is social interactions, particularly class struggles within successive social formations (Copans and Seddon 1978).

Structural-Marxists assert that there is a degree of independence between the base and the superstructure, that it is possible to have independent developments at the level of the superstructure without the necessity of reciprocation in the base. Whereas Marx's conceptual apparatus was intended

to study and analyze the evolution of social forms from process to process. Clearly, structural Marxists abandon the principles of dialectics by reducing historical contradictions to internal contradictions within semi-autonomous structures. Thus, liquidating the role played by large scale social processes in determining changes in social organization.

In sociology, another school of thought that gained momentum, was the critical school or Frankfurt School. The critical perspective proposes that the determinant factor influencing social change is "knowledge and the production of knowledge," thus, confining social transformation to a "volunteer process," induced by the production of knowledge or a type of technological rationality (Bottomore 1984:61). In this scheme technological rationality is the foundation of societal change. The subjective element resembles Hegelian idealism, which asserted that changes in ideas bring about changes in social reality. Marx and Engels, on the contrary, argued that changes in material reality bring about changes in ideas (Politzer 1976). This voluntaristic view, advanced by adherents of the Frankfurt School, is a complete contradiction to a view of society governed by objective social laws, as materialism asserts.

This dissertation examine the ideological context, as the realm that helps to reproduce the position of languages in confrontation in a colonial context, and scrutinize the historical processes within which the existing colonial class structure evolved. A view of the "overall dynamics of the ongoing hegemonic conflict" is necessary to understand the nature of the ideological confrontation in Puerto Rico, because something that appears simple and straightforward when observed within a "limited scale" of time (the "modern" period) may appear very different when seen in the context of its broader

historical development (Meszaros 1989:12).

Herein the Marxist sociological paradigm and its methodology, historical-dialectical materialism, is offered as a conceptual apparatus to investigate the historical development of a colonial social organization which shapes the ideological and linguistic terrain in Puerto Rico. Dobrianov summarized the advantages of this methodology by stating that the:

...principles of dialectical and historical materialism, and the fundamental sociological categories which form the Marxist sociological paradigm and their systemic scope, monistic completeness and the dialectical flexibility, these pre-requisites represent a specific methodological shield in the formation of a sociological conceptual apparatus (cited in Zdravomislov 1986:39).

In a dialectical approach nothing is studied in isolation, everything has a history and traces from the past (Politzer 1976). Noted Marxist Frederick Engels states why the employment of a dialectical methodology is crucial:

When we reflect on nature, or the history of mankind, or our own intellectual activity, the first picture presented to us is of an endless maze of relations and interactions, in which nothing remains what, where and as it was, but everything moves, changes comes into being and passes out of existence ([1939] 1970:26).

In addition, the pivotal axiom of dialectical historical materialism is its perspective of conflict. Conflict is situated in the dynamics of social interactions. In the study of Puerto Rico's linguistic struggle it is of interest to identify the organic factors that ideologically produce, reinforce, and sustain linguistic inequality. This cannot be achieved without looking at the conflictive connections within distinctive features of socio-cultural life that contributed to or influenced changes in the status of languages and consequently in linguistic attitudes. Therefore, Puerto Rico's linguistic reality is studied from the viewpoint of its historical development (Diamond 1975:3).

This approach breaks with the dominant scheme in the sociology of language, socio-linguistic studies, and structural-functionalism, although certain conceptual categories are borrowed for the purposes of notation. Researchers investigating linguistic confrontations in subordinated political and economic situations want to create a paradigm of conflict, in which language is not viewed as disconnected from antagonistic social interactions, i.e. class antagonism. For instance, Williams vehemently argues that changes in the status of languages are closely link to societal change and that it is a "mistake to treat these changes in the status of languages as isolated phenomena from changes in its corpus" (1987:8).

Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. Its class structure is not articulated internally but externally, due to the dominance of U.S. capital and the subordination and dependency of the insular state to the metropolitan state apparatus. This has made Puerto Rico a "peripheric hispanic" society on one hand (De Granda 1980), and a peripheral region of U.S. capitalism on the other. That is why Lafont's term "sociolinguistic of the periphery" is applicable to the Puerto Rican experience(Lafont cited in Martin-Jones 1989:119). This term illustrates the dominated status of the Spanish language within the relations of the metropolis-colony of Puerto Rico.

In this introductory chapter the evolving argument has been presented and a brief methodological review and the premises guiding the discourse have been introduced. Chapter two expands the previous discussion, emphasizing theoretical constructs of the concept of ideology. Chapter three draws from various theoretical theorems introduced in the preceding chapter and links the discussion to the political economy of colonialism. Chapter four deals with early colonialism and the issues of nationhood, economy, ideology, and the fight for linguistic affirmation. Chapter five examines the

relation between language, discourse, and ideology in the reproduction of colonialism. Chapter six focuses on the political economy of language as it relates to linguistic ideology and the valuation and status of languages in a context of linguistic colonialism. Chapter seven briefly explores the ideological rationale for an English curriculum in the Puerto Rican public schools. Finally there follows a conclusion and request for more research.

Chapter 2

The Concept of Ideology: A Theoretical Framework

The term "ideology" emerged in the late 1700s. It was apparently introduced for the first time in 1796 by Antoine Destutt de Tracy (Giddens 1991; Carlnaes 1981). In its original context, ideology was a positive term and it was only later that the term acquired negative connotations. Destutt founded a school of thought known as *Ideologie* which developed an "optimistic philosophical doctrine," "a science or doctrine of ideas," as well as an extensive analysis of the "forms of knowledge" (Carlnaes 1981:25). The "ideologues," as Destutt's followers were known, believed that ideology as a science had the power of freeing the mind from being trapped by mystical or irrational ideas (Carlnaes 1981:25).

The term "ideology" acquired a fundamental political meaning during the French revolution of 1848. As a matter of fact, Karl Marx was responsible for introducing it into the political vocabulary of this period and for bringing it into the world of political theoretization (Ibid:24). Thus, it was in the context of the analysis of revolutionary action that the term ideology acquired a polemical tone. The proper meaning and usage of the term ideology has been the source of many academic disputes. Although the concept of ideology has been discussed and dissected in a variety of ways, social and political theorists have been unable to agree on a commonly accepted definition of ideology and its relation to the real world. The various definitions and views of ideology depend largely on the theoretical perspective from which it is examined. Disputes regarding the meaning and uses of ideology have produced a large body of theoretical literature and research methodologies. Rosi-Landi has argued that this proliferation in meaning is an outcome of the "wide ranging ambiguity attached to ideology and its constituent terms" (1990:27).

The topic of ideology has been investigated by all fields of the social sciences. In taking up the question of ideology, there are social theorists who examine it from a perspective in which "ideology is equated with common sense," and others who see ideology as corresponding to "a wide range of cultural forms which have become normative" in a given society (Wetherel and Potter 1992:32). Italian Marxist scholar and activist Antonio Gramsci proposed that when using the term ideology, a distinction should be made between what he calls "historically organic ideologies," meaning ideologies that are necessary in order to maintain a given social structure or social order, and "ideologies that are arbitrary, rationalistic, or willed," meaning ideologies that are particular products of individual human intellectual reflection (1971:377). By drawing this distinction, Gramsci suggests a materially bound understanding of ideology. He argues that ideologies are organic when they maintain "the ideological unity of an entire social bloc" (Ibid:328). Meaning, that they serve to maintain the cohesion of a given mode of production and social structure. This theoretical perspective is a guiding premise throughout the following discussion.

Some approaches tend to be reductionist when they split ideology from knowledge, ignoring the fact that ideology and knowledge are both products of historical development. These tendencies refute the role played by societal change in the shaping of human thought. On the other hand, writers such as Mannheim analyze human reason and, consequently, the individual's ideological formation in a very specific historical framework. Mannheim calls this process the "existential determination of thought" (Carlnaes 1981:180). In developing this argument, he appears to agree with the Marxist concept of ideology as well as its epistemological base, historical dialectical materialism. However, he breaks away from the Marxist idea of ideology when he suggests that "theoretical schemes" should go beyond class as, for example, when he examines ideology in relation to generations (Abercrombie 1980:37). Mannheim fails to see that generations are not homogeneous, that within any particular generation there are class divisions and different world views, and that ideologies

manifest class interests. According to Mannheim, class is constituted by "political place" in contrast to the position of Marx and Engels who argue that class is determined by the dialectics of the social relations of production (Ibid:41). In other words, a class constitutes a fluid dynamic within the economic system. Although class indeed has political implications, the determining factor is its locus within the economic system as it changes through time (Carlnaes 1981:180; Abercrombie 1980:37,41).

Marx argues in Theories of Surplus Value that:

In order to study the connection between intellectual and material production it is above all essential to conceive the latter in its determined historical forms and not as a general category.... Unless material production itself is understood in its specific historical forms, it is impossible to grasp the characteristics of the intellectual production (cited in Bottomore and Rubel 1964:82).

In sum, the central tenets of Marxist analysis are that ideologies are products of history, have a relationship to material conditions, and are reproduced socially. A recent survey of Marxist writings conducted by Mills indicates that Marxist social and political theorists have identified various ways in which Marx used the term ideology. These include, "ideology as a polemical term, referring to antagonistic class ideas," "ideology as an epistemologically neutral term referring to class ideas," and "ideology in two senses pejorative and neutral" (Mills and Goldstick 1989:41). The diversity of usage of the term ideology in the Marxist literature is a reflection of the fact that this term is used by Marx and Engels in a "conceptual rather than in a terminological" way (Carlnaes 1981:77). However, it can be argued that the three approaches described by Mills are constructs or components of just one concept which sees ideology is tied to everyday life within an historical framework.

The basic difference between the Marxist conception of ideology and that of most liberal writers is the fact that in the Marxist perspective ideas are examined in relation to the specific social structures and interests

of antagonistic social classes within a specific historical context, while the liberal approach tends to view ideology as "neutral belief systems" (Nielsen 1989:100). Thus, for Marxists, ideology refers to a system of dominant ideas and social practices that serves as a shield for the interests of a dominant class and/or an intermediary class, whose interest coincided with the interest of the dominant class (Nielsen 1989:98).

In most colonial experiences, ideology is also reproduced through the social practices of class intermediaries that mediate the conflicts between the foreign dominant class and the indigenous working class. Their social behavior serves as a type of sieve, filtering the dominant ideology in a way that it surfaces with a creole character. Clearly, the nature of ideology is determined by the necessity of antagonistic classes to achieve political, economic, and cultural domination (Meszaros 1989:10).

Poutlanzas suggests that ideology is divided into many domains or realms including the moral, juridical and political, aesthetic, religious, and economic. He believes that in class society all of these are directed by the "juridico-political region" because this is the one most concerned with the concealment of class domination (1975:210). Furthermore, Poutlanzas argues that in modern class society the rule of the juridico-political includes the justification of the economic interests of the dominant class and the imposition of an ideological image of all the people as equals, though different and separate, "unified in the political universality of state/nation" (Ibid:215). In this regard it should also be noted Gramsci's point, "that to the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity that is psychological; they organize human masses" (1971:377). In the United States, for instance, there are many cliches that reflect the importance of the juridico-political realm of ideology. As part of the everyday vocabulary of many Americans, phrases such as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of property" (later changed to "the pursuit of happiness" by the founding fathers of the United States) express significations or beliefs that appear to guarantee equality. They give

the impression that all people have equal opportunity, but in reality they serve the important ideological function of masking class domination (Rosi-Landi 1990; Friedrich 1989:302). There are many similar common expressions that, when tested against the social reality, demonstrate how the ruling class produces ideas that distort reality and reproduce their own vested class interests. Behind dominant doctrines of this type there are "always... mass economic phenomena" (Gramsci 1971:168).

When linked to everyday life, ideologies function in a dialectical manner, as ideas incarnated in social practice and as social practices reflected in ideas (Giddens 1991:21). They compose the "cluster of ideas" in which peoples are socialized (Nielsen 1989 :98). Hence, these ideas become a "descriptive vocabulary of day-to-day existence" (Fields 1990:110). Essentially, ideology is information, a type of uncorroborated or uncritical cognition that influences and directs social behavior, that is "materially anchored and sustained." (Meszaros 1989:10) These cognitions are reproduced and communicated through repetitious social behavior and help to sustained the hegemony of the dominant classes(Fields 1990 :114).

Individuals rationalize and explain their behavior based on the ideas that have been transmitted to them and reproduced in the social arena. In this sense, also, ideology is the "interpretation in thought" of the social relations of a given society (Fields 1990:110). As Marx put it in Grundrisse, society "is the sum of the relations in which individuals stand to one another" (in Bottomore and Rubel 1964:96).

Some may consider this Marxist formulation objectionable. For instance, it could be argued that the Marxist concept of ideology is teleological because the formulation carried a definition as part of its constituent concepts, for instance ideology as reflecting the interests of ruling classes. The issue of class interests is considered an inherent, constituent part of ideology. Carlnaes (1981:76) states that, in the social sciences,

if a given term implies a judgment or "evaluation" of its constituent concepts, it is teleological, and therefore questionable and invalid, even if apparently useful. The Marxist concept of ideology, however, is not used in a "terminological" way but is a systemic conceptualization within which one of its elements, "antagonistic class interests," is "an uncomplimentary component." Clearly, this approach is geared to the study of organic ideologies. By organic ideologies, we mean ideologies corresponding to a given mode of production or economic system, and the social structures or forms that distinguish it. This approach is concerned with the role of ideology in sustaining and reproducing society (Carlnaes 1981:76-77).

From Where Does Ideology Come? Base and Superstructure

The economic base of society comprises both the forces of production and the social relations of production. The forces of production include technology, raw materials or resources, and labor. The social relations of production refers to the ownership and control of the means of production, plus the working conditions and workers' quality of life.

The superstructure of society comprises all those institutions and relations outside of the base, such as the political and legal systems, education, communications, the health system, aesthetics, sports and leisure activities, etc. Gramsci uses a different nomenclature to refer to the superstructure. He uses the term "civil society," which he defines as "the sphere of ideological and cultural relations" (Woolcock 1985:203-204).

While it is true that the superstructure plays a major role in the ideological formation of the individual, it is important to understand that the relationship between the superstructure and the base is a reciprocal one. Jointly, these two spheres are responsible for producing and sustaining a given social order. In other words, the mode of production of a society directly influences the superstructure and, at the same time, the

superstructure influences the mode of production. It is within the dynamic relationship between the two that socialization takes place (Coward and Ellis cited in Wetherel and Potter 1992:27; Rosi-Landi 1990:61-62).

In contrast, Abercrombie suggests that Marx and Engels identified a degree of autonomy in some superstructural elements, and he goes on to say that these elements "have their own laws of development" (1980:20). Hindess and Hirst, on the other hand, have argued that the realization of any particular mode of production and of its corresponding superstructure is subordinate to or depends on whether or not "its conditions of existence are present" in the base and in the superstructure (cited in Abercrombie et al. 1980:171). In agreement with Hindess and Hirst, it will be argued that the development of superstructural elements is dependent on developments at the base. In subsequent chapters this paper will explore the interactive dynamic between base and superstructure in Puerto Rico's colonial society. As will be shown, economic dependency on an external metropolitan power determines the organization of the superstructure and, in turn, this dialectical articulation is responsible for social reproduction. For example, it will be argued that in Puerto Rico an external metropolitan dominant class, operating from the vantage position of controllers of the base, in conjunction with the "dominant institutional network of social control" (the superstructure) together articulate an ideology of dependency which defines Puerto Rican social behavior (Metzaros 1989:12). It is both the base and the superstructure together that define "the practice oriented rationality of ideology" (Meszaros 1989:12).

The existence or viability of a given mode of production is dependent upon the synchronization of the political, ideological, and economic components of social life. Gramsci has called this historical process an "historical block." (1971:366) This block is produced by the ability of a given class to articulate the relationship between the base and the superstructure. Of course, this is the means by which a dominant class

achieves hegemony.

The Concept of Hegemony

Hegemony is achieved when a dominant class mobilizes the superstructure in the ideological legitimization of a given social order. This ideological legitimization reflects the economic interests of the dominant class and is materialized in the social relations of production. The hegemony is manifest as the economic, ideological, and cultural domination of one class over another (Jary and Jary 1991:207; Gramsci 1971:366). In Williams' words, hegemony is "an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society, in all its institutional manifestations" (cited in Woolcock 1985:204 and in Abercrombie 1980:115).

Many scholars have noted that Gramsci used this concept to describe an historical moment in which a given class becomes dominant by creating a balance between ideological persuasion, by promoting an ideological "leadership" geared to achieving "consent," and the threat or use of force or "coercion" (Simon 1982:21; Abercrombie 1980:115; Gramsci 1973:42). Hegemony describes the two functional levels of a dominant class control mechanism, both of which are tuned to its very specific socio-historical conditions. In the first level the dominant class conducts an ideological discourse directed at persuading the subordinated classes to consent in their domination. The second level is the implicit or explicit use of force or repression, applied in the absence of consent. Thus, hegemony is more than ideological persuasion or force; it uses both. Persuasion and force are the two essential conditions or tools of hegemony, while hegemony itself is the applied equilibrium between persuasion and coercion. In order to understand how and when persuasion and coercion become operational, it must be kept in mind that their application is determined by the particular

historical conditions. For instance, in societies where it is difficult to maintain control through ideological means, the state uses a higher level of forceful repression. In essence, the hegemony of a given class is that historical moment in which the particular objective conditions correspond with the dominance of a given class, which then is able to create a successful equilibrium between persuasion and force (Woolcock 1985:4; Abercrombie, et al. 1980:12).

Gramsci believed that a class achieves power or social control by organizing its "allies" and by establishing "intellectual hegemony." (Abercrombie 1980:118). Hence, the goal of the laboring or subordinated classes should be the achievement of hegemony (Abercrombie 1980:118). Although in agreement with Gramsci's postulate that the dominated classes need to organize their allies, this paper rejects Gramsci's morally neutral use of the term hegemony and agrees with Poutlanzas' recommendation that this concept should be reserved for the political behavior of the dominant classes in capitalist societies (1975:140-141).

Additionally, this discussion also disagrees with Gramsci's view of what parts of a society are responsible for implementing hegemony. The problem originates in Gramsci's attempt to divide the superstructure into two independent segments by placing an arbitrary partition between "civil society" and "political society" (Poutlanzas 1975:138). Civil society, says Gramsci, includes schools, churches, the modes of communication and other tools or means of hegemony. This is the place where the production and reproduction of ideas takes place. This is the domain of ideology and, consequently, the place where hegemony is produced. On the other hand, political society is viewed as the domain of "government, police, armed forces, law," and the "courts," the realm of the state (Rosi-Landi 1990:61). Consent is achieved through and in civil society, while coercion belongs to the realm of the state, political society (Rosi-Landi 1990:61; Woolcock 1985; Simon 1982; Abercrombie 1980:116).

Why has Gramsci subdivided the superstructure? It has been argued that Gramsci split the superstructure in two because he wanted to "contrast" capitalist society with feudal society. Gramsci mistakenly made the assumption that because feudal society was characterized by a "mixedness" of spheres or "instances," capitalism, on the other hand, should be its opposite, should be characterized by subdivisions or compartmentalization (Poutlanzas 1975:138). Therefore, Gramsci proceeded to insert partitions, divorcing the base from the superstructure and, within the superstructure, divorcing civil society from political society, thereby, creating a double dichotomy (Bobbio cited in Rosi-Landi 1990:61).

It should be understood that in capitalist society, civil and political society are part of what is called the superstructure, which includes the state. Furthermore, the relationship between the base and the superstructure is one of correspondence. Under capitalism, the capitalist class or bourgeoisie controls the economic base and has achieved ideological hegemony in both spheres, in the base and in the superstructure. All of its pronouncements are designed to produce an illusion of social harmony by masking inherent social contradictions and class conflict. It introduces its own class interests as representing the interests of the whole society.

Class Structure

The capitalist mode of production produces societies divided by classes. As mentioned above, the term class defines a relationship, the social relations of production. Different individuals have different positions within this relationship, as owners of the means of production or as workers. It is these positions within the relationship that determine one's social class (Nielsen 1989; Meszaros 1989). It is a socially determined

relation. Poutlanzas pointed out that the existence of a class is marked "by its political and ideological practices, by a specific presence" (1975:107).

Marx and Engels saw that ideological control is directly related to political and economic position. They state quite clearly in *The German Ideology* that:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas...[Those of the ruling class] rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch (Arthur 1981:64-65).

This description by Marx and Engels clarifies the nature and origin of ideology. Ideology is materially and socially rooted. The class that has control over the productive practices of a given society also has control over the distribution of ideas. In addition, ideas are determined by the particular historical-material conditions, and therefore are historically circumscribed and limited. Equally important, ideas are linked to a class position in the social relations of production. This has been illustrated by Fields, when she observes that if, for instance, in the United States, "slave holders had produced white supremacy without producing cotton, their class would have perished in short order"(1990:112). Fields' example shows that a necessary condition of the ideology of white supremacy was the existing historical material productive practices. Moreover, the ideology of white supremacy emerged from the material reality of enslaving black people to work on southern plantations (Ibid).

The ideological and political practices of the dominant class are linked to its position and role within the

social relations of production. Under capitalism, just as under the slave or feudal modes of production, the social relations of production or class relations are ideologized by the dominant ruling class. Furthermore, in capitalist ideology this relationship also includes "the separation" or "alienation of the producer from the means of production" (Zahar 1974:2). The ideology of this social relationship is a necessary condition of the capitalist mode of production. (Hindess and Hirst cited in Abercrombie et al. 1980:172; Poutlanzas 1975; Zahar 1974:2). Alienation is both a product of class society and also a necessary condition of its existence (Carlnaes 1981).

It is precisely this class dominance over the means of production and over the socially produced wealth that constitutes the material roots of the ideologization of the social relations of production. Miliban has noted that the dominant class, the class that has economic control, maintains its dominance by exercising "ideological control," and that the goal or objective of capitalist ideology is "to foster acceptance of the capitalist social order" (cited in Abercrombie et al. 1980:25). It must be kept in mind that the capitalist social relations of production are characterized by antagonism between classes, so it is the role of the state to facilitate the continued dominance of the class that controls the means of production (Santiago 1987:413).

Once again, in the words of Marx:

The production of ideas, conceptions and consciousness is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men [humankind], the language of real life (Bottomore and Rubel 1964:74).

In order to understand the components of class ideas it is necessary to examine the "social texture," including the relations between classes. Class "articulations and symbolizations" cannot be understood in isolation from the real class relations within which they are formulated (Fox-Genovese and Genovese 1983:207). In other words, class ideas are shaped by the relations between the classes and by class position and interests within

the relations of production.

Ideology is determined by class interests and in that sense all classes have ideologies. Some sociologists and social theorists object to this formulation (Abercrombie et al. 1980). Their main objection is based on a psychological interpretation of the conception class interests. For instance, Abercrombie (1980:15) emphatically argues that class interests are subjective because, in order to identify the interests of any particular class, one would need to survey the wants and desires of the individuals of that class. Abercrombie reduces class interests to the aggregation of the individuals' cognitive assessment of their needs. In contrast, the Marxist conception of class interest is sociological; it is a collective phenomenon based on control of and access to the political and economic system, and the appropriation of services, benefits, and the socially produced wealth. Therefore, an understanding of the concept of class interests must include an examination of "the limits imposed by the class structure" and the "extension of the action of classes in relation to power" (Poutlanzas 1975:111-112). In Marxist thought, class interests is a socio-economic concept reflecting objective class relations and conditions, and does not refer to individual subjective perceptions.

Ideology becomes dominant in a given society at a particular time because that ideology, as a "regional instance" within the social relations of production, reflects the interests of the class that has dominance over the economic base of society. Poutlanzas uses the term "regional instance" to indicate that ideologies are related to class position within the economic system (1975:208-209). In capitalist societies the bourgeoisie imposes its ideology or its "practical social consciousness" in order to secure its dominance and interests (Metzaros 1989:11). The continued dominance of an ideology will then depend on the capacity of endurance of the mode of production and its corresponding superstructure (Hindest and Hirst cited in Abercrombie et. al. 1980:171). This paper completely agrees with Poutlanzas' description of the relationship of a dominant ideology to its mode of production.

Since ideology plays the role of providing an "imaginary coherence," it must give the impression of an apparent absence of antagonism or conflict within the social "ensemble"(Poutlanzas 1975:208).) Marx and Engels described the role played by the dominant class in its creation of an ideology that attempts to mask class antagonism:

For each new class which puts itself in the place of the one ruling before it, is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to represent its interests as the common interests of all the members of society, that is, expressed in ideal forms: it has to give its ideas the forms of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universal valid ones.... It can do this, because, to start with, its interest really is more connected with the common interests of all other non-ruling classes.... Its victory, therefore benefits many individuals of other classes which are not winning a dominant position, but only insofar as it now puts these individuals in a position to raise themselves into the ruling class (Arthur 1981:65-66).

The dominant class manipulates the public dissemination of its ideology by presenting its own "partial and sectional" interests as if they represented the interests of the entire social body (Wetherel and Porter 1992:24). Giddens explains that these biased presentations of ideology are "modes of signification" formulated to "sanction" the status quo by masking class antagonism, producing social legitimation and conformity (1991:22). Because they distort or disguise the needs and interests of the rest of the society they purport to represent, "the social whole remains opaque."(Poutlanzas 1975:207) This opacity is true even for most members of the subordinated classes, who are carefully taught to look at social reality through the ideological lens of the dominant class. In capitalist societies, this "opacity" is determined by class exploitation (Poutlanzas 1975:207).

Technology and Ideology

Before moving on to discuss how ideology works in contemporary societies, it is important to introduce a

brief discussion of the role of technology in ideological transmission. In recent years, critical theorists have claimed that due to rapid technological developments, the most advanced capitalist societies have been able to merge or integrate political economy, culture, and personality. These theorists also suggest that this integration deepens the alienation of the workers in these societies (Agger 1992:131). They blame the changes and advances in technology for this alienation, especially the dramatic advances in the modes of communication (Agger 1992:132). Contemporary technocratic society's modes of communication are seen as producing "one dimensional thought." (Ibid) Marcuse has stated that "one dimensional thought is systematically promoted by the makers of politics and their purveyors of mass information" (Abercrombie, et al. 1980:10).

This dissertation takes Marcuse's observation one step farther and argues that this "one dimensionality" is an inherent feature of capitalism arising from its need to monopolize the production of meaning as it monopolizes the production of wealth to promote acceptance of the capitalist social relations of production. The result is a one dimensional discourse in the sense that it presents one dimension, the one-sided interests of the bourgeoisie, as the universal interests of the whole society. Marcuse's term described a "social dynamic which produces a tendency toward the reification of the sociocultural and cognitive processes" (Schroyer 1973:205). In Marcuse's view people are powerless victims, trapped by the one dimensional thinking, the ideological control, that politicians and the mass media have over them (Abercrombie, et al. 1980:10; Schroyer 1973:205). Marcuse as well as other critical theorists of the Frankfurt school thought that the problem of "deep alienation" experienced in the high-tech stage of capitalism was created by technology in general and by the mass media in particular. In this way they totally ignored the crucial underlying issue of class interests (Agger 1992).

Consumerism is a feature of advanced capitalism, because it is indispensable for the reproduction of capitalism. Hence, the manipulation of consumers is necessary for its continued existence and development. A comparison of the present stage of advanced capitalism with its emerging stage shows that in advanced capitalism there is a greater need for psychosocial manipulation in order to insure that capital accumulation will continue to be adequate for the maintenance and further development of capitalist production. In its emerging stage, as Weber has explained, capitalism was indebted to the ideological formulations of Protestantism which provided a ready-made ethic of capital accumulation and investment (Weber cited in Abercrombie, et al. 1980:173). In advanced capitalism, the main concern is the reproduction of the mode of production, for which consumerism is indispensable. The individual consumer plays a central role in the reproduction of the mode of production by providing the exchange of money for consumer goods and services.

Marcuse observed that the constant bombardment of commercial propaganda or advertising through the modes of mass information, the mass media, is responsible for the creation of "false needs." He argued that the "incessantly and monopolistically" repeated propaganda "becomes hypnotic definitions or dictations" (cited in Abercrombie, et al. 1980:10). Here, Marcuse was describing the nature of the ideological apparatus that promotes compulsive consumption (Agger 1991:137).

This paper agrees with Marcuse's characterization of the role of the media in creating "false needs." But the logical next step that Marcuse overlooked is to reveal the role that the mass media plays as part of the superstructural support for the reproduction of capitalism. Furthermore, in contrast to Marcuse and others of the Frankfurt school, it should be noted that under advanced capitalism, technology and the modes of communication are not the root cause of the problem of "deepened alienation." The real issue is who controls

technology and the modes of communication, and whose interests they serve. Technology, in itself, is neutral, neither good nor bad. The vital question is its development and applications, and which class owns and uses it to their advantage.

Moreover, Marcuse's characterization of the hypnotic power of the media presupposes an "essential stability of capitalism" achieved through the creation of one dimensional thought.(Abercrombie et.al.180:10) In this scenario, the people are hopeless slaves to false needs. Marcuse's only solution to this pessimistic view of contemporary society is a weak plea for individualistic reflection and rational negation (Agger 1992; Meszaros 1989:169; Abercrombie, et al. 1980:10).

As mentioned above, organic ideologies are those ideologies that are necessary to a given social structure and the conditions of their existence are contained within that social structure. The creation of false needs and consumer manipulation is indispensable for the reproduction of capitalism and is a necessary condition for its further development. Without the ideology of false needs advanced capitalism would not be able to reproduce. Also, without the capitalist mode of production this ideology of false needs would not exist.

Organic ideologies are not eradicated intellectually, they are eradicated structurally. In contrast to Marcuse's individualistic approach, Meszaros has argued that "radical negations of the prevailing social order cannot free themselves from their dependency on the negated object...unless they can indicate a...potential hegemonic force as their supporting ground"(1989:169). In others words, individuals cannot free themselves from a systemic problem by just negating the problem intellectually. Only through collective action and political practice can individual moral objections be made socially effective.

The worldwide progressive movements of the 1960s and 1970s persuasively demonstrated that even under advanced capitalism, one dimensional thinking cannot totally enslave people's minds, as Marcuse would have had us believe. As a matter of fact, the collective action of people all around the world during these decades, rejected the one dimensional ideology promoted by the apologists of advanced capitalism. From Puerto Rico to Palestine, the resistance of national liberation movements proudly proclaimed freedom from the captivity of one dimensional thought. In the United States, the civil rights, women's rights, lesbian and gay rights, and anti-Vietnam War movements, are but a few examples of the growing collectivization of individual struggles (Glennon 1979).

How Does Ideology Work: Mystification and Reification

Ideology is a type of ligament that connects different social classes, creating social cohesion in the body politic. Gramsci pointed out that ideology functions as the "cement" of society, that permeates and infiltrates all levels of social life, glueing labor and capital together into a single social bloc (Simon 1982:66; Poutlanzas cited in Abercrombie 1980:117). The tenuous cohesion of this social bloc is based on a fundamental deception, an illusion pervading all of capitalist culture, the attempt of capitalist ideology to deny the very existence of class contradictions by parading capitalist class interests as the universal interests of the whole society. This "mystifying premise" that attempts to cover up and gloss over real social contradictions creates, however, a false sense of social harmony that is ultimately precarious and vulnerable (Wetherel and Porter 1992:85).

Ideological mystification takes place in the socialization process during which the dominant class "inculcates and arranges" information in a manipulative way, denies people access to pertinent information and filters

information to conform to the dominant world view before it is disseminated to the public (Nielsen 1989:105). After the dominant class has shaped the ideas, images, and views of what "real" social relations are supposed to look like, they are planted in society in a myriad different ways, some subtle, some not so subtle. The resulting mystification can be so powerful that even when people experience obviously true social relations they are dismissed as being "false" if they threaten or challenge the publicly disseminated world view (Poutlanzas cited in Abercrombie, et al. 1980:26; Poutlanzas 1975:207).

At this point, the dominant ideology has succeeded in delimiting the boundaries, the cognitive and evaluative framework, of all human experiences. Individuals from all classes will tend to perceive, explain, and evaluate their behavior and social relations according to the parameters set by the dominant class (Poutlanzas 1975:207). It must be kept in mind that the information and ideology thus disseminated tends to be "uncritically absorbed" because it has been so thoroughly integrated into our daily activities. Although its origins and outlines can be very difficult to detect, this dominant class ideology has become materialized, incarnated in our everyday social behavior. Fields noted that "the ritual repetition of the appropriate social behavior makes for the continuity of ideology"(1990:114). This is essential for the continued success of the dominant class. Even though the purpose of ideology is to conceal social contradictions, at the same time, it reveals daily reality. It reflects the society's economic system, how power is distributed, who controls intellectual production, and the nature of the relationship between the different social forces (Simon 1982:26; Gramsci cited in Abercrombie 1980:118; Poutlanzas 1975:207).

In brief, the "general conditions" and "rules" of the ideological discourse are defined by the dominant economic class through its position of control over the distribution of ideas (Rosi-Landi 1990:85). To understand the significance and meaning of any ideological formulation, it is essential to remember that

"ideological discourse is the means through which power and class interests are expressed" (Wetherel and Porter 1992:85). The main objective of ideology is to sustain and help reproduce the current mode of production. In order to achieve this objective, capitalist ideology enlists the support of all the principal economic, cultural, and political institutions of the capitalist system (Meszaros 1989:167-168).

Language and Ideological Reproduction: A Word About Cognition

One of the great academic debates centers around the question of whether the preeminent factor in determining human ideological formation is the individual's cognitive characteristics or the individual's social and environmental interactions. What is the determinant factor, nature (cognition) or nurture (socialization) or both?

Materialist sociological approaches maintain that ideas are determined socially, that human cognition consists of historical products derived from social interactions and experience, and that society is reproduced by a dialectical process in which social objective realities become cognitive constructs, and cognitive constructs are materialized in social practice (Abercrombie 1980). In other words, social practice determines our way of thinking and our way of thinking determines social practice (Ludtke 1982:43). Since ideology involves the total human experience, it cannot be understood by limiting our examination to the structures of thought alone.

In capitalist societies, political reasoning or thinking takes place within a social context that has been ideologized and mystified. Even social perceptions and "visual images" are shaded or tinted by ideology (Mintz 1974:64). As a result, the objective reality experienced is immersed in a sea of deceptions and

illusions. Because ideology penetrates into all levels of social life, the common conceptualizations and categorizations of social life are influenced by ideology. In a sense everyone experiences a degree of cognitive dissonance or distortion as a result of the mystification and reification of social relations in capitalist societies. Incorporated as cognitive constructs in the mind, these distortions are then converted into a type of social behavior that appears to endorse the capitalist social structure.

The profound difference between materialist sociological approaches and liberal psychological approaches to the study of ideology has its historical roots in the old debate of nature versus nurture. Furthermore, historically, psychology has been concerned with the subjective component of social behavior, while sociology, on the other hand, focuses on the individual in relation to society. In recent years, however, there has been a great deal of interest in interdisciplinary theoretical work.

A recent theoretical proposition by Rossemberg (1988), attempts to begin a dialogue between psychology and political and social theory to examine the role of the individual's cognitive capacities as they relate to political reasoning and ideological formation. Drawing upon Piaget's work in developmental theory, Rossemberg believes that human reason is a structural activity, that individuals learn, in the ongoing process of daily life, to find relationships between actions, relationships such as cause and effect. Such relationships, repeated and observed over time become a cognitive structure of relations and connections. Like Piaget, Rossemberg limits his examination of human thought to a subjective "deep structure." (Rosseberg 19888:10) Piaget, for instance, argued that this deep structure underlies the "content of human thought" and that any attempt to understand human thought will need to strictly limit itself to the examination of the structure of thought (Ibid:10).

In contrast to the materialist point of view which places the understanding of human thought in its social context, Rossemberg states that the content of human thought can only be understood within the limits of the individual's subjective structure of past and present relations. Rossemberg argues that there are two structuring forces responsible for the ideological formation of the individual, one subjective, "the general qualities of an individual's way of thinking" and the other social (1988:96-99). Together they "constitute the developmental dynamic," however he emphasizes that it is the character of an individual's way of thinking what determines the character of his or her experiences (Ibid). He insists that when human beings interact with a particular social or environmental situation, they already have a structure of reasoning and, as a result, they impose the "formal properties" of their way of thinking onto their particular social or environmental experiences. Clearly, from this perspective individuals assess and evaluate their social experiences using a pre-established psychological frame of reference.

This theoretical perspective is severely limited by the erroneous assumption that societies as well as thought have fixed and unchanging structures, and also by the suggestion that the environment relates to the individual as an "external landscape." The individual is treated as a immutable entity unaffected by society and its changes, and cognizant only of the pre-established structure of mental relations(Wetherel and Porter 1992:42) The basic nature of the individual is disconnected from and untouched by any dynamic other than the ones embedded within his or her psyche. Cognition is tied to a "self-contained" subjective deep structure (Wetherel and Potter 1992:42,75).

Rossemberg's view clearly implies that the impact of ideology on the individual will depend on the individual's modes of reasoning. It would be interesting to speculate on Rossemberg's explanation for Nazi Germany. This viewpoint's epistemology is ahistorical and idealist because it disregards the impact of material objective

experiences on people's minds, reducing human experience to a subjective isolation from the world.

The materialist sociological approach asserts first, that the individual's modes of reasoning are linked to the socio-economic structure of a particular society. Secondly, that ideology adjusts to systemic changes in order to facilitate the masking of oppressive social relations. Thirdly, it follows that these ideological adjustments are manifested in the base, in the superstructure, and in the sign system. Fourthly, that the cognitive schema of the human mind is not a fixed structure, divorced from the rest of the human experience, but is, rather, an interactive component of the total human experience. The individual's experience of social reality is determined not by some inborn cognitive nature but by the ever changing objective components and relations in the real world.

In sum, human thought and reasoning are determined historically, what Mannheim had qualified the "existential determination of thought" (cited in Carlnaes 1981:180).

Ideologies are also products of history and they reproduce socially. The need of dominant classes to achieve hegemony determines the nature of ideology, ideologies are geared at "controlling the social metabolism" (Meszaros 1989:10). In class societies, the preminent ideological realm is the juridico-political, because this realm is most concerned with the masking of class domination (Poutlanzas 1975:215). This region, according to Poutlanzas' conceptualization, includes the axioms of the economic interest of the dominant class, this "region" promotes a mystifying image of conception of "people as equals" under the protection and auspices of the state(1975 :215).

Essentially, ideologies are implicit assumptions incarnated in social practices, reproduced through social behavior, and embedded in social practices as 'common sense.' These ideas are" materially anchored and

sustained," they holds the bias or slanted view of social life, in favor of the vested interests of the dominant class (Meszaros 1989:10) . In this context ideology works by circulating or spreading a view of society and its organization as part of the natural order which, coincidentally, benefits the dominant sectors.

Chapter 3

The Political Economy of Colonialism: The Ideology of Dependent DevelopmentThe Establishment of a Colonial Superstructure and The Deepening of Capitalist Relations of Production

The territorial expansionism of United States at the end of the nineteenth century epitomized the need of a stagnant U.S. capitalist economy for new markets. The acquisition of colonies, including Puerto Rico, in 1898 through military force, secured and sustained the development of U.S. capitalism. As Lenin observed in Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, the need for capitalist countries to export capital, having reached a monopoly stage, involves a continual struggle for a "territorial division of the world, of the struggle for colonies, of the 'struggle for spheres of influence'" ([1917] 1971:223). The guiding ideological premises that stimulated and justified this U.S. expansionism were derived from the Monroe Doctrine (1823) "Manifest Destiny" and the racist concept of the inferiority of native peoples (Fox Genovese and Genovese 1983:403).

On July 25, 1898, the United States military invaded and occupied Puerto Rico as a result of the Spanish American War. General Nelson Miles, the commander in charge of the logistics of the invasion, had previous experience in leading other U.S. expansionist wars. He had been involved in the massacre of native Americans at Wounded Knee in 1890. By November 1898, U.S. flags were raised over all public buildings in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico remained under direct military rule until 1900.

The core assumption by the U.S. government in 1898 was that the Puerto Rican people were incapable of governing themselves and, consequently, an external force must assume that role. Debates in the U.S.

Congress on the issue of self-rule in the colonies led Senator Bates to argue that the populations of Puerto Rico and the Philippines were "savages addicted to head hunting and cannibalism," a "heterogenous mass of mongrels" who were "incapable of self-government" (Maldonado-Denis 1972:88)see also Horsman 1981:189-190).

In Puerto Rico, the first fifty years of governorship were dominated by a series of military and civilian appointees and an "elected" legislature. From the beginning of their intervention in Puerto Rican territory, the representatives of the U.S. ruling class demonstrated that their intentions were to 'award' the people of Puerto Rico the 'advantages' of the "American" way of governing and make the Puerto Rican people into good Americans (Maldonado-Denis 1974: 126). It was clear that the acquisition of U.S. colonies around the world was based on the Anglo-Saxon ideological assumption that only by imposing a government modeled after the U.S. system could the political and economic development of its colonial minions be achieved (Horsman 1981:189-190).

By February 1899, the United States had established a colonial superstructure in Puerto Rico that would guarantee U.S. economic and political interests as well as ideological dominance. At that time four departments were created, the Departments of State, Justice, Internal Revenue, and Interior(Delgado Cintron 1988:116-117). For each Puerto Rican in charge of managing these departments, one U.S. bureaucrat was assigned to act as an assistant. These assistants introduced U.S. procedures, laws, and governmental systems (Delgado-Cintron 1988:116-117). Their primary duty was to monitor all activities and policies of the Puerto Rican government.

From the point of view of the U.S. dominant class, the first priority in Puerto Rico was creating a

superstructure that would facilitate the deepening of capitalist relations of production and give a monopolistic advantage to U.S. capital. But the resistance of some of the Puerto Rican government administrators represented an obstacle to this process, so, on August 12, 1899, the military government devised a new strategy to speed up the penetration of U.S. capital. The U.S. military government in Puerto Rico then directed primary control of the judicial branch of the Puerto Rico government (Delgado-Cintron 1988:117). The U.S. military takeover of the judiciary was rationalized by Charles E. Maggon, in 1902, when he stated the following legal opinion:

The head of the military government of Puerto Rico may exercise the powers of the judicial branch of government.... The jurisdiction to exercise judicial authority in territory to which the sovereignty of the United States has attached differs from that of legislation, in that the jurisdiction to legislate is conferred upon Congress by the fact of the attaching (cited in Delgado-Cintron 1988:153).

The intervention of the U.S. military in the Puerto Rican state during this period was qualitatively different than the historical role played by the U.S. military in other Latin American countries. For instance, the U.S. military forces were the actual founder and administrator of the colonial state in Puerto Rico. At this junction the military played the administrative role of the state.

The declaration of U.S. jurisdiction over the Puerto Rican judiciary eased the way for the U.S. to rationalize further political and economic controls in the years that followed. Control over the judiciary made possible three fundamental factors that accelerated the advancement of capitalism in Puerto Rico: first, the arrival of U.S. lawyers who served as intermediaries between U.S. capital and Puerto Rican commerce; second, the establishment of the U.S. federal court in Puerto Rico, where these lawyers could take their cases; and third, the Americanization of the judicial power and its subordination to the U.S. federal court in Puerto Rico and

ultimately to the Supreme Court of the United States (Delgado-Cintrón 1988:117).

In 1900, the U.S. Congress passed the Foraker Act which imposed a civilian government structure controlled directly from Washington, D.C. This colonial government was headed by a governor appointed by the president of the United States, plus an eleven member Executive Council, of which only five could be Puerto Rican nationals.

The Foraker Act also stripped Puerto Rico of the right to control or develop its own economy. Puerto Rico was denied the right to negotiate commercial treaties with other nations, set its own tariffs or import-export regulations, use its own currency, or tax either its own or imported products. Without protective measures such as tariffs and commercial agreements, the Puerto Rican economy was "left defenseless against the inflow of U.S. products and capital." (Dietz 1986:90) Neither the Puerto Rican government nor its private businesses could "enter into stabilizing arrangements for the island's products, a prohibition from which coffee especially suffered" (Dietz 1986:90). Marking another step in tightening control over the Puerto Rican people and their economy, the Jones Act of 1917 imposed U.S. citizenship upon the Puerto Rican people, striking a severe blow at continuing aspirations for Puerto Rico independence (Maldonado-Denis 1974:86-101). With the Jones Act, Puerto Ricans could be conscripted to fight in any U.S. armed conflict, yet they were denied the right to vote for the U.S. presidency.

To assure U.S. economic penetration, the economy of Puerto Rico was subjected to increasing U.S. control and forced to submit to the needs of United States industry (Pratts 1987:41). By 1909, the Bureau of Insular Affairs, under the War Department, was in charge of coordinating the colonial policies that assured further penetration and protection of U.S. capital in Puerto Rico. Once the door for capitalist production was

opened, the U.S. sugar and tobacco trusts quickly acquired complete control of the economy of the entire island. This economic stronghold was manifested in transportation, communications, finance, agriculture, and small-scale manufacturing.

Between October 1898 and April 1900, Puerto Rico's total exports amounted to \$13.9 million, of which \$4.1 million went to the United States. By 1905-1906, 84.7 percent of Puerto Rico's exports went to the U.S. By 1930, this figure was up to 92 percent, and 94 percent in 1935 (History Task Force 1979).

At the same time, the devaluation of the Puerto Rican peso and its removal from circulation left small farmers and businessmen penniless. Between 1898 and 1930, the movement of U.S. capital into Puerto Rico totally destroyed the traditional pattern of individual land ownership and established the system of domination by large U.S. corporations. In 1922, of 107 foreign corporations operating in Puerto Rico, 103 were U.S. owned.

U.S. banks refused credit to Puerto Rican small landowners enabling U.S. sugar companies to rapidly acquire huge tracts of cultivable land (Dietz 1986:91-92). This further skewed and dislocated Puerto Rico's international trade. While in 1897, sugar had amounted to 21 percent of total exports, by 1901, this figure had climbed to 55 percent, and by 1935, it was 60 percent (History Task Force 1979). By the 1930s, 44 percent of all land under cultivation was planted in sugar, and 50 percent of the total sugar crop was produced by a small handful of U.S. corporations who controlled 40 percent of the agricultural wealth of Puerto Rico.

In Puerto Rico, the initial (post-invasion) state might be called a "foreign military authoritarian regime" which

functioned as such for over forty years, until the crisis of capitalist over-production in the 1930s (O'Donnell 1977) The Great Depression brought especially severe suffering to the peoples living under the dislocated economies of faltering U.S. colonies. To defuse the mounting threats to U.S. capital created by poverty and hunger in Puerto Rico during the Depression, the U.S. instituted a food assistance program called the Puerto Rican Emergency Relief Administration (PRERA) in August of 1933. Food dependency was to become one of the main pillars of U.S. control in Puerto Rico.

But food assistance alone was not enough. In May 1935, the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration (PRRA) was created by executive order of President Roosevelt. The PRRA had ambitious and broad goals, including electrification of the island, developing health clinics, and creating rural schools. It also designed and built a cement factory which was later sold to the Puerto Rican government. Perhaps its most important short term success was that it brought employment to a significant portion of the population. In 1936, the PRRA employed about 60,000 persons or "roughly one-half the number of people employed in the sugar industry" (Dietz 1986:155-156). The welfare and rehabilitation projects of the PRRA, costing \$85 million from 1933 to 1938, targeted directly the most militant sectors of the rural working class (NACLA 1981). The PRRA programs were, however, totally abandoned in 1938.

A noted Puerto Rican social scientist has suggested that a given mode of production, at any particular historical moment, will give rise to a government that will facilitate its reproduction and that government could take one of many forms (Santiago 1987). In spite of the large infusions of U.S. assistance, the increasing suffering created by unchecked colonial exploitation, plus the effects of the worldwide capitalist depression, soon made it necessary for the U.S. to cultivate a local leadership that could mediate the contradictions between U.S. domination and the Puerto Rican working class (O'Donnell 1977).

Indirect Rule and the Emergence of a Insular Managerial Class

A new form of the colonial state began to take shape in Puerto Rico at the end of the 1930s. In 1938, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) was created under the populist leader Luis Muñoz Marín. Its founding members promised that this party would become the defender of Puerto Rican culture. Campaigning under the slogan "Bread, Land, and Liberty," the PPD opposed the economic and political colonialism of the U.S. sugar companies. The PPD won control of the Puerto Rican Senate in the elections of 1940 and held the majority of seats in both the Senate and the House of Representatives from 1944 to 1964. Although initially in favor of independence, these self-styled defenders of Puerto Rican culture became a vehicle in the pacification of the Puerto Rican masses that has obstructed and delayed the independence of Puerto Rico (Maldonado-Denis 1974:138).

The leaders of the PPD were the sons of the old hacendados, the dominant class under Spain's colonial occupation before the U.S. invasion of 1898. Because the social structure of the hacienda had been destroyed, the class from which the PPD was derived needed to find a new economic basis through which to establish its social hegemony. They reemerged as Puerto Rico's "colonial elite," an intermediary class in charge of managing the new U.S. backed industrial welfare state. In the 1940s, during and immediately following World War II, the U.S. encouraged the PPD to set up factories owned and operated by the state. For a brief period, the colonial state of Puerto Rico "performed the functions of a collective capitalist," planning, investing, and profiting from its own ventures (Dietz 1986:186). By the late 1940s and early 1950s, the PPD, with U.S. encouragement, began to abandon their new state-owned factories, by selling them to U.S. private capital.

It was no accident that the U.S. made what appeared to be a major concession to the peoples' anti-Yankee sentiments at just this time. After fifty years of presidential appointees, the Puerto Rican people were granted "the right" to elect their own governor. In 1948, Luis Muñoz Marín of the PPD became the first elected Puerto Rican governor. This was part of the strategy of a U.S. attempt "to silence the voices of protest rising nationally and internationally in favor of Puerto Rico's independence by making some concessions to the indigenous people of Puerto Rico (Maldonado-Denis 1972:). The election of a Puerto Rican governor was publicly hailed as an extension of the New Deal reforms, but clearly and more importantly, it signaled recognition by the U.S. of the post-World War II rise of the working class and nationalist movement. The U.S. answered this threat by creating a civilian government to govern the colony that would be loyal to U.S. military and economic interests. President Dwight D. Eisenhower noted that the U.S. had "selected" Muñoz Marín to be "elected" to "run" Puerto Rico for the U.S. (cited in Lopez 1987:44).

This revised form of the colonial state was inaugurated in 1952. That same year, under the sponsorship of the PPD, the colonial status of Puerto Rico was given a new title of a "Free Associated State." This remains the official name of colonialism in Puerto Rico today. It is important to note that at the inauguration of this new colonial form, the Puerto Rican flag and anthem surfaced in public for the first time since the invasion of 1898, but only in conjunction with the U.S. flag and the U.S. national anthem. This duality reflected the colonial nature of the new political formula. From this day on, Puerto Rican national symbols would be accompanied by the symbols of the United States. Before this official recognition of Puerto Rico's national symbols, they were used only by those sectors of the Puerto Rican population that advocated independence (Maldonado-Denis 1974).

The constitution of the Free Associated State of Puerto Rico obscures the most severe cultural and political

problem of Puerto Rico today, by creating an illusion of political autonomy (Ibid). The mystifying nature of this status was noted by Lopez when he stated that "a superficial look at Puerto Rico's political structure creates the impression of scrupulous self government" (1987:43). Furthermore, the deception and the masking of the colonial situation is so thorough that the majority of Puerto Ricans are unaware that 85 percent of the governmental powers of the island are still in the hand of the U.S. government. Under Law "600" the government of the United State controls the affairs of Puerto Rico(Dietz 1986). The Free Associated State is the equivalent of "the Congress of Micronesia," that was created to produce the "appearance of self-government" while, as in the Micronesian islands, real power is defined by "the administrative veto power of Washington" (Gladwin 1980:25).

The constitution of the Free Associated State did not change the jurisdiction of the U.S. federal court over Puerto Rico. As a matter of fact, this court continues to exercise hegemony over the judicial power of Puerto Rico today (Delgado-Cintrón 1988:244). This is a true colonial situation, which has been defined as, "the reciprocal structural dependence of metropolis and colony" (Zahar 1974:18).

The defenders and ideologists of the Free Associated State have referred to this ambiguous political status as 'a bridge between two cultures.' Thus, they attempt to justify the ideological, political, and economic domination of the people of Puerto Rico. The PPD, the colonial apologists who are the progenitors of this political formula, glamorize and venerate the weakness and dependency of a political relationship of overwhelming subservience to the colonial power (Maldonado-Denis 1974). This is but the latest stage in the systematic campaign that began with the invasion of 1898, and today continues to pursue the ideological conquest of the Puerto Rican psyche.

Puerto Rico's Economic Base

The economic policies of the first U.S. governors were designed to promote the creation and growth of large U.S.-owned sugar and tobacco companies. Consequently, the metropolis, the U.S., appropriated the productive processes of the colony, Puerto Rico, and adapted them to U.S. internal needs. The political hegemony imposed in the initial stage of the U.S. colonization of Puerto Rico stifled the potential development of an autonomous incipient national bourgeoisie and established a colonial class structure in which the dominant class was external to the island. It was through this apparatus of externally imposed military control that the Puerto Rican economy was forcibly transformed from a semi-feudal to a capitalist cash crop plantation economy that crushed the developmental needs of Puerto Rico and its people.

In the years leading up to War World II, the U.S. military found a new use for the island that would prepare the way for another form of capital investment and a second mass transformation of the Puerto Rican working class. Puerto Rico had a nominally civilian government at this time, and the U.S. military continued to be actively involved up to War World II in facilitating the process of the Americanization of the Puerto Rican people. This was achieved by disarming popular resistance movements, training and guiding a local police force, repressing worker unrest, thus "stabilizing" the political climate, a necessary precondition for the renewed influx of foreign capital. By the late 1930s, the U.S. was preparing to transform Puerto Rico into a U.S. "military bastion" in the eastern Caribbean. This expansion of the military machinery in Puerto Rico and the large investments in new military installations marked the beginning of Puerto Rico's industrialization. This initial stage of Puerto Rico's dependent industrialization coincided with the creation of the Popular Democratic Party that would later administer the colony for the U.S.

The 1930s in Puerto Rico were characterized by worker and student agitation, an increasing popular nationalist movement, and an anti-imperialist consciousness. The Depression of the 1930s brought to the surface the economic contradictions of colonialism. The class struggle, epitomized by mass labor strikes and the strengthened independence movement, all crystallized in this historical period. By the 1930s, it had become clear to the island's proletariat that its real class enemies were the great absentee U.S. corporations which controlled the sugar industry. These corporations, the core of colonial capitalism in Puerto Rico, had also been, for many years, the enemies of the once dominant hacendado class and the small farmers or colonos. Thus an alliance of workers, small farmers, a few remaining hacendados, and the new "hacendados bourgeois" emerged in 1938 to form the Popular Democratic Party. This party would soon become the embodiment of an intermediary class between U.S. finance capital and the Puerto Rican working class. Since industry offered better wages than agriculture, the new class made use of the drive toward industrialization to mystify class relations. In other words, through industrialization, they were able to offer better salaries than agriculture, thus reducing the level of social tension, defusing the mounting class struggle, and pacifying working class organizations.

The establishment of state-owned production between 1933 and 1938, under the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration, became the springboard for the massive invasion of U.S. capital in the 1950s. Given Puerto Rico's colonial structure, plus the support of the PPD, U.S. investors had the institutional foundation they needed for a second economic transformation of Puerto Rico. Dietz has noted that when the Munoz colonial administration encouraged the renewed U.S. capitalist invasion in Puerto Rico, "the dominance of private U.S. capital was virtually guaranteed" (1986:207). Once again, U.S. investors took control of the productive process and adapted it to their market needs (Pratts 1987:41). Munoz Marin and the PPD perpetuated Puerto Rico's economic dependency on foreign capital.

This overpowering infusion of external capital was named "Operation Bootstrap." Lopez (1987:59) observes that because the investments came from U.S. banks, they favored U.S. over Puerto Rican corporations. Consequently, Puerto Rico's productive growth was limited to the market needs of the United States, laying the basis for what Dietz has called a "locally disarticulated structure of production" (1986:310).

The control mechanism by which foreign investment enforces colonialism can be summarized as:

The national interests of the industrialized countries are indeed intimately linked with that of the multinational corporations. These corporations are the spearhead of the new imperialism, able to reward or punish third world countries for their behavior, providing an intelligence network to watch them, and convincing both leaders and their people that the home country is their friend, their model to copy, and their protector (Gladwin 1980:67).

Puerto Rico's dependency on foreign capital means that a very large part of its economy is controlled by external bankers and investors. Yet these investments are "unintegrated with the local economic structure," they are set up in such a way that external finance capital dictates the structure and development of Puerto Rico's productive process (Dietz 1986:273). Puerto Rico's "disarticulated structure of production" is the foundation of its persistent dependency (Ibid)). Economic dependency was the main theme of the economic development policy of the government of Puerto Rico from 1952 to the mid-1980s. The two outstanding characteristics of Puerto Rico's economic base today are its dependency on foreign capital and its "movement away from internal growth" (Dietz 1986:5,310).

Finance Capital and its Interests

Today, the subordination of the Puerto Rican economy to U.S. banks and corporations is total. Ninety-five

percent of all investment and production are in the hands of U.S. investors and finance capital. The Munoz enterprises paid high dividends to U.S. finance capital. By 1975, the gross profits of foreign companies (overwhelmingly U.S.) in the island totaled more than \$1 billion a year. In addition, by the 1960s, U.S. retail chains had overpowered and discouraged Puerto Rican store owners to the point that they were virtually eliminated. U.S. retail chains continue to dominate the retail market in Puerto Rico today (Lopez 1987:60-63). Although many international (non-U.S.) company names appear in the Puerto Rican market, a closer examination indicates that "80 percent" of these "international" firms are "subsidiaries of a parent corporation headquartered in the United States" (Dietz 1986:267). Puerto Rico provides a very profitable environment for these companies. Not only are they exempt from Puerto Rico's taxes, under Section 936 of the 1976 U.S. federal tax code, these companies are not obligated to pay U.S. federal taxes. Section 936 is a license for U.S. "subsidiaries" operating in Puerto Rico to transfer all profits made in Puerto Rico to the "parent corporation" in the U.S. without paying U.S. federal taxes (Ibid:301).

Colonial control has made Puerto Rico a very special haven for U.S. investors. "In 1980, direct investment in Puerto Rico represented 35 percent of total U.S. investment in Latin America (not counting finance capital) and 44 percent of profits" (Melendez 1993:80). Taking advantage of the special colonial dispensation, in 1983, Section 936 companies "transferred to U.S. banks \$5,300 million in profits" (Planning Board Annual Report cited in Pratts 1987:112). In addition, in the same year, the foreign "manufacturing sector" realized a total production amounting to \$5,800 million dollars, of which "\$4,000 million went to capital payments," that is, were mostly profits ("Planning Board Annual Report" cited in Pratts 1987:112). In 1988, Section 936 funds in U.S. banks amounted to \$14,000 million (Gautier Mayoral 1988:4). Even though changes in the local financial legislation have been responsible for a slight decline in the total volume of 936 bank deposits in the early 1990s, it seems clear that the Section 936 tax exemption remains "integral to the evolving

financial strategy" of U.S. investors in Puerto Rico today (Dietz and Pantojas Garcia 1993:107). A new tax mechanism was established in 1997 which allows the companies under Section 936 to transfer its profits to U.S. banks at a lower "toll-gate tax". Since September 1997, five companies have transferred \$477 millions (Jaime Morgan - Stubbe cited by Trinidad 1998: 1). Jaime Morgan-Stubbe, Executive Director of Economic Development of Puerto Rico (Fomento Economico) stated that the rationale for this new mechanism is to create new incentives and attract new investments on the island (Ibid :2) This economic strategy of colonial capitalism began in the 1950's and remain the principal pillar to what is call economic development. As Senator Bhatia stated in a hearing of the U.S. House of Representatives , in 1998 :

Our fiscal autonomy has permitted us to attract industry to the island through low effective tax rates. This was the pillar of Operation Bootstrap, our investment promotion strategy during the 1950's, and continue to be central to our economic development today (1998:2).

U.S. colonialism has shaped and distorted Puerto Rico's social and economic structures in such a way that the classical theories for explaining the persistence of underdevelopment in Latin America, such as modernization, the development of underdevelopment, dependency, and world system theory prove inadequate in explaining the relationship between class structure and international capital in Puerto Rico's economic development. Because Puerto Rico's class structure is a direct result of U.S. imperialism, 95 percent of all investment and production is in the hands of foreign finance capital. Ricardos Campos and Frank Bonilla (1982) have recommended that a focus on class analysis, not capital flow and commodity trade, is the key to understanding the unequal exchange values between the U.S. metropolis and the Puerto Rican colony. Santiago (1987) argues that Puerto Rico's national question can only be understood if it is analyzed within the context of Puerto Rico's class structure which is determined by Puerto Rico's place within the world economic system. In studying Puerto Rico, the concept of class is also helpful because it allows us "to locate the inequalities of the relationships in the economic base as well as in the superstructure" (Santiago

1987:417).

Although the dominant ideology in Puerto Rico today attempts to conceal the true nature of the class structure of Puerto Rico and its relationship to the U.S., a thoughtful analysis of class relationships in Puerto Rico demonstrates clearly that its class structure is determined externally through foreign control of the island's colonial economy and superstructure. The economic system, judicial and political institutions, and the ideology that the United States imposed by fiat and by force on Puerto Rico between 1898 and 1952 guaranteed the establishment of a dependent capitalist base. The U.S. government still controls 85 percent of the political power of Puerto Rico. In the 1990s, these institutions of dependency still dominate Puerto Rico's social metabolism and her ideology.

This dependency is dictated by foreign finance capital (overwhelmingly U.S.), which assumes the role of the dominant class of Puerto Rico, whose interests in Puerto Rico are then enforced by the political, economic, and military might of the U.S. government, working through the Puerto Rican colonial elite which acts as an intermediary or comprador class in the direct or indirect employ of U.S. finance capital. This colonial elite are, of course, constantly attempting to justify and expand their role as the solicitors and administrators of U.S. domination and exploitation of the working class in Puerto Rico (Zahar 1974; Ukpabi Asika cited in Gladwin 1980:121). The very existence of this intermediary class depends on perpetuating Puerto Rican dependency on U.S. capital and attempting to stifle or limit all challenges to the status quo.

In order to understand the entrenched effects of this dependency on the whole of Puerto Rican society, it is necessary to keep clearly in mind the fact that the dominant class of Puerto Rico is foreign based, that it has no ties to the Puerto Rican people, accepts no responsibility for the social consequences of its policies or

actions in Puerto Rico, and is effectively insulated from any attempts of the people to cry out or strike back against the suffering and injustice this dependency creates.

The Norms of Consumption and Ideology

The ideology of Puerto Rico reflects the political, economic, and cultural realities of the island, and is embodied in the daily activities and social practices of the Puerto Rican people. Puerto Rico is not only a profitable production site for U.S. finance capital, it is also a captive market for U.S. goods and commodities, because U.S. products are, by law, given virtually monopolistic advantages in the island. The colonial captive market is an essential component in sustaining the "self-perpetuating process" by which the capitalist mode of production is reproduced (Etienne and Leacock 1980:19).

Puerto Rico's modes of mass communication are incorporated into this self-perpetuating process when they dictate the norms of consumption. Since Puerto Rico's laws and trade are controlled by the U.S. and the Puerto Rican media are subordinate to the regulations of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission, the United States formulates the "norms of consumption" that are imposed on Puerto Rico. Television, radio, and the written press are forced to operate within the boundaries set by the metropolitan state. Gonzalez Diaz and Vargas Acevedo have shown that in a colonial environment such as that of Puerto Rico, capitalism needs to generate "social, economic, political and cultural practices" that correspond to the "logic of accumulation" (1986:4-5). Furthermore, they argue that it is not only the productive practices that define people's lives, but also all the consumption activities related to "biological and social reproduction" and to "leisure" activities (Ibid:). Puerto Rican consumption needs and practices are defined by the market needs of U.S. goods and merchandise. The constant media promotion of U.S. products and U.S. attitudes

generates an ideological atmosphere that both idolizes consumerism and reinforces the psychological dependency of colonialism.

As an instrument of ideological control, the media worldwide plays a fundamental role in determining how individuals perceive and meet their daily needs and how they use their leisure time. In the case of Puerto Rico, the extent of media-created values is particularly evident in the area of leisure activities. The people of Puerto Rico are constantly subjected to mass communication campaigns that praise the values, merchandise, and social practices of U.S. society and that, at the same time, "contribute to political illiteracy" (Maldonado-Denis 1974:215).

It has been argued that "the most subtle forms of ideology" are those that become part of daily practice, because it is in the context of our daily practice that ideology can then generate "modes of signification" or meaning (Giddens 1991:23). In Puerto Rico, these modes of signification are evident by virtue of the fact that Puerto Rican society is "shot through with cultural patterns" that make dependency appear both good and necessary. After many decades of enforced nurturing, this dependency has become so deeply embedded within the everyday social behavior and vocabulary of the Puerto Rican people that it becomes very difficult to recognize that it has indeed been imported (Giddens 1991; Gonzalez Diaz and Vargas Acevedo 1986; Ludtke 1982:51; Maldonado-Denis 1974).

In addition, the media is constantly manufacturing "false needs." For instance, the recent overwhelming invasion by U.S. fast-food restaurants in Puerto Rico well illustrates the successful creation of "false needs." These U.S. fast-food chains are shrines or monuments of artificial needs that glamorize and romanticize the American way of life, and minimize what is Puerto Rican. The Puerto Rican people are surrounded and

defined by the alien values of U.S. corporations, from McDonalds to K-Mart, MasterCard to Reebok, dependency modes of signification evolve.

“Even though Puerto Rico’s present income per capita is of \$7,500 is less than 1\3 of the U.S. average.....

In terms of imports Puerto Rico purchases over \$12 billion annually from the United States, ranking among the top 10 world customer” (Bhatia 1998:3)

As Gonzalez Diaz and Vargas Acevedo (1986) have noted, everyday existence in Puerto Rico is a constant reflection of an ideology that is linked to the profound contradictions which anesthetize the whole of Puerto Rico's colonial society. From birth Puerto Rican children become socialized in a sea of dependency and political and cultural domination. The only ideology and social experiences that most Puerto Ricans ever know are based on a system of ideas that idolizes the dominant alien culture and attempts to justify the superstructural and infracstructural dependency of Puerto Rico. These ideas permeate the political and social behavior of Puerto Ricans and sustain the reproduction of the capitalist-colonial mode of production.

In Puerto Rico the result of the inculcation of a mentality of consumerism and the manufacture of false needs is not just an occasional Big Mac or Coca Cola, but the creation of a psychology of political dependency and ultimately of consent to be dominated by the demands of an alien power for cheap labor and a captive market. In sum, as noted by Gonzalez Diaz and Vargas Acevedo: "the subordination of workers to the requirements of capital accumulation, needs simultaneously their subordination to the logic of political domination"(1986:9).

Puerto Rico is also a major market for U.S. Mainland retailers. It’s home to such household names as JCPenney, Sears ,Wal-Mart, Pier 1and Kinney Shoes. Annual retail sales in Puerto Rico totaled \$11.1 billion in 1995(Puerto Rico, USA. “Growing Dynamic Economy”. 1998:1).

Social Conditions and Ideology

Promises of everlasting prosperity have become a nightmare of perpetual dependency in Puerto Rico. Operation Bootstrap was a great success for international finance capitalists who adapted and distorted Puerto Rico's productive process to correspond with their interests. The enormous profits they made by exploiting and impoverishing the Puerto Rican working class demonstrated that Puerto Rico was a very successful development model, for their clearly but narrowly defined interests and bank accounts. In the 1950s and 1960s the U.S. used Puerto Rico as a development showcase to illustrate to other Caribbean and Latin American countries the type of industrialization that could be achieved by incorporating a similar mode of development (Dietz 1986:244). By the 1960s it was clear that Operation Bootstrap's promises of an economic miracle were not going to materialize. The Puerto Rican economy did not show any signs of the promised "diversification" or expansion, and the primary industrial employers were the U.S. pharmaceutical and petrochemical industries. The Puerto Rican worker was still a slave to foreign exploitation and unemployment was soaring (Lopez 1987). In 1970, unemployment stood at 10.7 percent. By 1980 the "official" unemployment rate was 17 percent, which then rose to 23.4 percent in 1983 (Pratts 1987:111-112; Dietz and Pantojas Garcia 1993:108). The official unemployment figure reported for 1993 was 16.8 percent (Puerto Rico, USA. Puerto Rico in figures.1998:1) Careful observers are convinced that the real unemployment rates for Puerto Rico have been at least double the official figures. This observation is based in simple mathemathic, by 1993 Puerto Rico's population is 3,621,000 and the average labor force is 1,201,000 (Ibid :1,3).

By the 1980s the Puerto Rican economy had stagnated and development was at a standstill. Deep recession and high unemployment transformed the Puerto Rican "model of dependent industrialization" into a model

colonial welfare state. U.S. federal transfers to Puerto Rico include welfare subsidies both to individuals and to the Puerto Rican government. For a growing segment of Puerto Rican families these transfers represent the main source of personal income, and put the U.S. government in "direct contact" with the Puerto Rican population (Pratts 1987). From 1980 to 1984, the infusion of U.S. federal entitlements increased from \$4,010 million yearly to \$4,804 million. ("Planning Board Annual Report" 1983, 1984 cited in Pratts 1987:104-105) In 1988, U.S. federal transfers to Puerto Rico amounted to \$6,000 million (Gautier Mayoral 1988:4).

Pratts observes that Puerto Rican society in the 1980s exhibited five interrelated characteristics: 1) "An excessive dependency on [U.S.] federal transfers, as a mechanism of reproduction of the social order;" 2) "a high level of consumption of imported products and low productive capacity;" 3) "a disassociation of the economic-social relations of production, reflected in a high level of unemployment;" 4) "a bureaucratic structure (of the government), which is the principal employer in the country and is directed by the same dynamics of federal transfers;" and 5) "a drop in population growth and a shift in the composition of the population toward middle age" (1987:101).

The U.S. federal transfers are clearly a mechanism of social control, designed to lessen "social tension," subdue or sedate the population, and sweep under the rug the most obvious and dangerous of the colonial-capitalist contradictions in Puerto Rico. These transfers play a major role in the mystification of the U.S. role in Puerto Rico. The official ideology argues that the U.S. comes to Puerto Rico as a benefactor state, to help the Puerto Rican people. Consequently, the true nature and causes of the oppressive social conditions are disguised, blame and responsibility is diverted. History has shown time and time again how the U.S. has infiltrated, sabotaged, and destroyed popular resistance to this colonial social and economic order.

At least three generations in Puerto Rico have been brought up on the U.S. system of food aid and welfare subsidies. Interestingly, in the past decade U.S. federal aid has been expanded greatly to further reinforce the ideology of dependency, defuse potentially explosive anti-U.S. sentiment, and more effectively control the "social metabolism" of the Puerto Rican people. The dependency of the Puerto Rican people on U.S. federal programs for their daily subsistence has been a continuing process, refined and strengthened with each passing decade. Outlining the progression of this dependency, Dietz observes that "1950 transfer payments from the [U.S.] federal and the Puerto Rican governments accounted for 12 percent of personal income" a figure which then grew to 20 percent by 1970, and 30 percent by 1980 (1986:297).

Dependency on food assistance as a chronic social behavior is a powerful contributor to the psychological mystification of colonialism because it casts the U.S. in the role of a champion of the Puerto Rican cause, without whom the Puerto Rican people would starve and perish. Food assistance programs, including the food stamp program that was inaugurated in 1974, gave the U.S. direct entrance into Puerto Rican homes through the kitchen door.

The development of food assistance programs must be analyzed within the context of the mounting colonial capitalist crisis. Social indicators such as high unemployment and underemployment, crime and substance abuse, show that the social conditions of life in Puerto Rico are worsening. The long-term economic stagnation in Puerto Rico reflects the international capitalist crisis. As part of the broader world picture, the deteriorating colonial economy of Puerto Rico has forced the U.S. to implement a social policy that would temporarily mitigate the worst of the social injustices and suffering. It also serves to disguise the depth of the capitalist crisis and partially deflect any organized anti-U.S. sentiment. As Dietz has suggested:

Before food stamps were introduced, 30 percent of families had incomes of \$60 per month

or less; after 1975, less than 1 percent had incomes that low.... For the average family in 1978, food stamps added \$125 of monthly income, effectively doubling its spending power (1986:299).

By 1980, 60 percent of the population was receiving food stamps, while almost 80 percent of the population were in fact eligible for food stamps due to low income (Pratts 1987:88; Dietz 1986:299). In 1982, in another important change in U.S. social policy toward Puerto Rico, cash assistance checks replaced food stamps (Dietz 1986:299). In spite of severe cuts by the Reagan administration, in 1984, 404,285 families enrolled in the Puerto Rican nutrition assistance program received \$813 million (Pratts 1987:110; Dietz 1986:298-299).

Since both production and the market in Puerto Rico are controlled by and adapted to U.S. corporate needs, the average consumer must rely on imported U.S. goods, including food. The recipients of these assistance checks are then subject to a dual form of colonial dependency, the need to accept a U.S. subsistence check that must then be spent on imported U.S. food and other goods. This vicious cycle of dependency is the inevitable result of a colonial economy "that produces what it does not consume and consumes what it does not produce" (Lopez 1987:63).

This dependency of the Puerto Rican working class on food and economic assistance generates an ideological focus which maintains colonialism by creating a pro-U.S. sense of gratitude coupled with a sense of national helplessness and shame that discourages pro-independence feelings. In time, this debilitating ideology becomes diffused and accepted throughout the society. As Kellner states:

Hegemonic ideology assumes an attempt to legitimate the existing society, its institutions and ways of life. Ideology becomes hegemonic when it is widely accepted as describing "the way things are," inducing people to consent to their society and its way of life as natural, good and just (1978:50).

One recent illustration of the power of this hegemonic ideology is the plebiscite held in Puerto Rico on November 14, 1993 (not authorized by the U.S. Congress and consequently not binding) addressing the future political status of the island. For months prior to the plebiscite, both factions of the colonial elite, the pro-statehood and the pro-free associated state parties, launched campaigns to promote their respective formulas for Puerto Rico's status vis-a-vis the United States. A central theme of both campaigns emphasized the negative effect that any change in the political status of Puerto Rico might have on the U.S. federal transfers to Puerto Rico. Both factions attacked the independence alternative.

The pro-statehood forces used all the resources of the mass media to mount a campaign of fear that targeted the recipients of U.S. federal assistance. Their propaganda predicted that Puerto Rican independence would mean the loss of American citizenship, social security and welfare checks, and food assistance. The rhetoric

of the pro-colonial forces, led by the PPD, assured people that under the Free Associated State formula their American citizenship was secure as well as all U.S. federal programs. National independence was portrayed by both factions of the colonial elite as a formula for economic catastrophe that would mean only suffering and tragedy for the Puerto Rican people. The result of the plebiscite was 48 percent in favor of maintaining the colonial status quo while 46 percent voted in favor of statehood. The Puerto Rican Independence Party, a social-democratic party, obtained 4.4 percent of the total vote.

It should be understood that the Independence Party represents just one sector of the pro-independence forces in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican socialist left boycotted the plebiscite, asserting that the political-social climate of 95 years of U.S. ideological hegemony and welfare dependence would inevitably influence the voting. They assert that no plebiscite held under such conditions could possibly be really free or objective. The revolutionary left argues that before a decision on the future political status of Puerto Rico can be made, the people of Puerto Rico must be allowed to develop for themselves a process of true self-determination in which the judgments and choices of the people will be freed from the prevailing ideology of dependency.

Under the current colonial law the results of any Puerto Rican plebiscite must be ratified by the U.S. Congress to be valid, illustrating once more the political-juridico subordination of Puerto Rico to the will of the U.S. government. The Puerto Rican left has always insisted that true self-determination for Puerto Rico can only be possible after a sustained period of economic and political self-rule under the supervision of the international community, free from U.S. intervention and interference.

The purveyors of the dominant ideology and propaganda in Puerto Rico consistently attempt to portray food

and poverty assistance programs as humanitarian aid offered with the generous goodwill of the people of the United States. In fact, however, U.S. policy makers and government officials have always understood very clearly that food dependency is a powerful weapon of ideological manipulation.

For instance, in 1954, at the time of the inauguration of Law 480, institutionalizing U.S. "humanitarian relief" for Puerto Rico, Senator Hubert Humphrey stated, "I have heard...that people may become dependent on us for food....And if you are looking for a way to get people to lean on you and to be dependent on you, in terms of their cooperation with you, it seems to me that food dependence would be terrific" (cited in Gladwin 1980:68). In 1974, at the World Food Conference in Rome, the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz stated, "Food is a tool. It is a weapon in the U.S. "negotiating kit" (Ibid). Both factions of the Puerto Rican elite, the pro-statehood and the pro-status quo parties, have collaborated with U.S. corporate and government leaders to lead the Puerto Rican people down the path of total dependency. They have utilized that dependency to mislead and manipulate the political behavior of the Puerto Rican people.

The forms of signification and meaning that evolve from the social life of a colony display that society's dependency in all spheres of life, and tend to treat acceptance of the colonial order as normative. For example, from the concrete act of receiving a U.S. federal assistance check in the mail to the experience of unemployment, from cashing the U.S. check in a local U.S. owned bank to socializing in a nearby bar, to buying clothes with U.S. labels at Sears, dependent modes of signification are forcefully created and persistently reinforced. These modes of signification are also reproduced through everyday conversations in the supermarket, at the barbershop and in unemployment lines, at Burger King, and around the TV set at home.

Ultimately, and most significant for understanding the power of the mystification of ideology, is the fact that these modes of signification control the political behavior of the Puerto Rican people. They serve as a screen that conceals the real U.S. objectives in Puerto Rico, evoking instead a distorted view of the U.S. as a paternalistic generous benefactor. This deception is possible because, as part of its overall plan of colonial domination, the U.S. has been able to set up a mechanism of social control that uses financial assistance to instill in the Puerto Rican psyche the belief that dependency on the U.S. is indispensable and good. It is this belief that then logically generates the consent to domination. Ludtke described the link between the food assistance check and the colonial psychology, between physical and mental dependency, when he observed that, "the strategies of domination and the patterns of hegemony operate between life circumstances and subjectivity"(1982:52).

Chapter 4

Linguistic Colonialism, Ideology and the Threat of Cultural Rupture

Consolidation of National Features

The emergence of nations is determined by processes of socio-cultural fusion that occurs in the course of time through social practice. Impelled by this phenomenon of socio-cultural consolidation, nations are products of historical development. This convergence defines the national boundaries of the inhabitants of geographical differentiated territories, as well as internal colonies within a nation-state. The consolidation of national features is achieved through repetitive social practice and interactions in the field of production and trade (Meyn 1983). As Rosi-Landi states: "there is nothing that does not belong to social reproduction, nothing that is not the historical product of a form of social practice" (1990:50). What happened to the first inhabitant of Puerto Rico, the Taino Indian? ... "At the time of Columbus's arrival they were a flourishing people. Scholars have placed the population between a half-a-million and 6 million, more recent studies point to the latter figure being a truer estimate" (Taino, introduction 1998:2-3)

...through enslavement and harsh treatment, by diseases brought to the New World by the Spanish, and through intermarriage with Europeans and African slaves were "absorbed", so that no pure bloodiness remain today (Taino, introduction. 1998:1-2. Internet: <http://hudson.idt.net/~pedrei19/taino1.html>)

From this ethnolinguistic fusion emerged a ... "Caribbean variety of Spanish... with "indigenous,

African and peasant qualities" (Flores et.al. 1993:163-164). These characteristics of Puerto Rican Spanish are incarnated in "colloquial expressions" and manifested in the words and the voices of the Puerto Rican people (Babbin 1983:346; Walsh 1987). Its development reflects very specific historical processes and the convergence of particular socio-cultural forms. For instance, the Tainos :

Contributed greatly to the everyday life and language that evolved during the Spanish occupation. Taino place names are still used for such towns as Utuado, Mayaguez, Caguas and Humacao, among others. Taino implements and techniques were copied directly by the Europeans, including the bohio (straw hut) and the hamaca (hammock), the musical instrument known as the maracas, and the method of making cassava bread (Taino Indian Culture. 1998. <http://welcome.to/puertorico.org/reference/taino.html>)

By the nineteenth century the consolidation or fusion of national features was evident, demarcating the path of the Puerto Rican ethos. Puerto Rican production of literature, music, painting, and other cultural undertakings were patent. Furthermore, the written discourse at the end of the nineteenth century denounced the ruthless practices of the Spanish bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico and proclaimed the struggle for decolonization (Zavala 1980:18).

September 23, 1868, betokened a significant political development in the formation of the Puerto Rican sense of nationhood. On this day Puerto Rican nationals revolted against Spanish colonialism and declared the birth of the Puerto Rican republic. Although this insurrection was subdued by the military power of Spain, "El Grito de Lares" has come to symbolize the struggle for national affirmation.

The attempt to overthrow the Spanish government in Puerto Rico in 1838, the workers' insurrections of 1887, 1896 and 1898, and the emergence of a solid pro-independence mentality in

the 1880s marked the evolution of a working class and national consciousness (Zavala 1980). Mancyni states a "nation is a community of projects in historical perspective" (cited in Castro Pereda 1993:151) Translation mine. For many social sectors the creation of an independent republic represented the only way to end years of Spanish oppression. Yet, the national consciousness of the incipient creole bourgeoisie was underdeveloped due to the relation of dependency established with its counterpart, the Spanish bourgeoisie. The development of a consciousness as an independent capitalist class was stifled by this condition of dependency. Therefore the Puerto Rican creole bourgeoisie were incapable of posing a real threat or initiating a battle for the control of the mode of production. Later, under U.S. will represent a hindrance in the struggle for national affirmation (Dietz 1986; Figueroa 1988; Blaut 1988; Zavala 1980; Ramos 1987). In spite of this underdevelopment in bourgeoisie consciousness, the late 1880s were a turning point, signaling the ascendance of a nation (Figueroa 1988:12; Zavala 1980:19).

By 1897 Puerto Rico, a West Indies country, began to move toward political independence when Spain was forced to sign a charter of autonomy. This historical attainment is corollary of the emerging Puerto Rican "separatist" posture which was manifested in the political praxis and the polemic literature of the epoch. Furthermore, Spain was not interested in duplicating the war in Cuba, a country where the Spaniards were facing mounting armed resistance. The combination of these factors brought about the Puerto Rican charter of autonomy, which can be viewed as an outcome of peoples' resistance and not as a "gift" from the empire (Zavala 1980:20).

To avoid another armed uprising Spain was compelled to bestow the island of Puerto Rico higher levels of autonomy in insular affairs. This represented a step forward in the long fight for a

significant degree of self-government, a prominent step toward self-determination. In addition, it appears to depict a recognition on the part of Spain of the authenticity of the Puerto Rican nationality. Garcia Martinez points out the significance of this consequential historical junction as "a prelude for independence"(Translation mine 1976:41). Delgado Cintron describes the Puerto Rican reality of this epoch:

Our home land was a community or autonomous province of Spain, with almost one million habitants, occupying a clearly defined territory with a culture four time centenary, a different history and speaking and cultivating in all its habitants one of the must rich language of the universe: Spanish.... and we have a defined nationality: Puerto Ricans...(Translation mine 1976:8).

The Puerto Rican sense of nation is intrinsically linked to its linguistic expression, creole Spanish. The merger of distinct linguistic form among other marker of identity signaled the evolution of a new nation, the Puerto Rican nation. Fishman called this distinctiveness a marker of "authenticity" (Fishman 1972a:44). This variety of Spanish that emerged was derived from Castillian, and in the course of history through social practice vis-a-vis discourse, blended with the linguistic expressions of two other ethnias, African and indigenous. This variety of Spanish denoted a distinct national formation. Fishman points out that: "nationalism glorifies the vernacular not only directly but indirectly as well, by honoring and experiencing as symbols of collective greatness and authenticity..." (1972a:50).And friedrich defined language as:

...a verbal process by which individuals relate ideas and emotions to sound and other material symbolism in terms of a code and in the context of a society and its culture, and their respective interrelated histories (1989:302).

Meyn theorizes that there exists a "dialectical unity between language and

knowledge,”(1983:31). Language and knowledge evolved in the context of production or work “through the complex and contradictory process of exchange” (Meyn 1983:31)) Translation mine. If this theoretical axiom is applied to the process of cultural amalgamation and the formation of the Puerto Rican sense of nation, then it could be argued that the Puerto Rican national consciousness emerged in the course of time through the social interaction of Tainos (indigenous native population), Africans (slave labor on plantations), and Spaniards. For instance Maria

Teresa Babin distinguishes the presence of indigenous forms in Puerto Rican Spanish:

The vocabulary of Taino origin gives a special flavor and color to the Spanish language by recalling the prehistory of the Caribbean. When saying quimbobo(okra), Jajome, Coamo, Humacao, Guayama, or Tayaboa (names of towns) distant national roots are affirmed and a subtle relationship is established between the Spanish language and the vernacular of the first inhabitants of the land (1983:325).

It was patented by the end of the 19 century a defined national persona in this island of the west Indies.

Indisputably, there existed the demeanor of a nation moving toward political independence. Yet, the indigenous separatist discourse of the epoch contrasted with another type of discussion that was taking place in the United States, that of **manifest destiny**.

Manifest destiny core assumption was that non Anglo-Saxon people were inferior

and incapable of governing themselves. This racist postulate guided the establishment of external colonies in the late nineteenth century. U.S. colonialism was and continues to be conceived within this ideological framework. As put by Wetherel and Potter: "Ideas become powerful when they come to constitute the condition of existence for economic and political relations" (1992:31-32).

Ideas, Power and Language

The ideological discourse of the U.S. ruling class in the nineteenth century was rooted in centuries of slavery. The transmission of this idea into the prevalent popular ideology of this epoch was a reflection of the dominance of a mode of production that endorsed the institution of slavery. This ideology was promoted for hundreds of years in the social discourse of Western societies (Wetherel and Porter 1992:18; Fox-Genovese and Genovese 1993:402; Mintz 1974:45).

As an ideology emerged from and reflected the oppressive social practices of the dominant ruling class. This conception of the world was characterized by a type of ideological reciprocity which assumed that if there existed people who were 'inferior' their captivity was justified, and if they were enslaved it was due to their inferiority (Fields 1990:106).

The enactment of Manifest Destiny occurred during the first half of the nineteenth

century when the U.S. government was involved in genocidal wars against the Native Americans. The continuing mass slaughter of the Native peoples convinced many "Americans" that expansionism and Manifest Destiny had the dual function of the acquisition of land and the elimination of inferior races (Horsman 1981:207). As stated in chapter two, ideologies reflect the social organization of a given formation. This ideology sanctioned the horrendous social conditions in which the Native and African peoples were forced to live and die. Hence, it condoned the social behavior and practices of the dominant class of the United States.

By the middle of the nineteenth century this ideology had been transformed into a "new" Anglo-Saxon belief which justified territorial expansionism as the new American agenda. Horsman has shown that the "catalyst" for this transformation was the encounter of "Americans and Mexicans in the southwest" (1981:208). The central and guiding premise of the new ideology was that Anglo-Saxons were a master race, responsible for bringing civilization to other peoples, responsible for imposing its beliefs, values, and precepts on the entire world (Fields 1990:106; Horsman 1981:207-208). Manifest Destiny claimed that the economic advancement of the whole world, "the triumph of Western Christian civilization," and the achievement of a stable "world order" depended on the "commercial advancement" of the United States (Horsman 1981:281).

Racism, based on the premise that particular races were unable to govern themselves, provided the ideological foundation for colonialism which was necessary for the reproduction of U.S. capitalism. As Gladwin put it, colonialism and racism are the "warp and the woof of a single fabric" (1980:136). The ideological assumption that Puerto Ricans were incapable of governing themselves became the rationale for the establishment of U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico in 1898. Once more in the history of Puerto Rico, the aspiration of political independence was stifled, this time by the North American invasion of October, 16, 1898. Until that moment Puerto Rico had been moving closely to affirm its historical destiny, to be part of the recent independence of other Latin American countries. Now it found itself in the hands of a new colonial master. Garcia Martinez notes the ramification of the new colonialism for the continued development of a Puerto Rican national consciousness:

A Hispanic American country whose destiny was link with the Hispanic world, was annexed to a country or political body eminently and predominantly Anglo-Saxon (Translation mine 1976:31).

Soon after the invasion of 1898, and with the establishment of an occupying military government, the U.S. military began to dictate colonial policies geared toward the "ideological colonization" of Puerto Ricans. This process of indoctrination was called Americanization (Meyn 1983).

A national culture under colonial domination is a contested culture whose destruction is sought in a systematic fashion. This idea of a clandestine culture is immediately seen in the reactions of the occupying power which interprets attachment to traditions as faithfulness to the spirit of the nation and as a refusal to submit (Fannon 1963:237).

In order to re-shape attitudes, beliefs, and ideologically filter the Puerto Rican ethos, the colonizers needed to create or modify a set of institutions as a support system for this ideological crusade. During the first two years of U.S. military domination of Puerto Rico the emphasis was the creation of a colonial superstructure. This superstructure would have two important functions: to provide the institutional support necessary for the deepening of capitalist relations of production, and secondly to be the framework for Puerto Rican ideological socialization. So, the colonial power began this process by establishing four government departments - State, Justice, Internal Revenue, and Interior. It was the take over of Puerto Rico's judicial branch of government in 1899 and the subsequent introduction of American laws which set in motion the flow of U.S. capitalist inversion on the island (Delgado Cintron 1988). Now the capitalist class felt protected, because American laws embodied the interests of the entities that represented the U.S. bourgeoisie of the epoch. This period signaled the very beginning of a process of institutional transculturation that continues today (Delgado Cintron 1988:116-117; De Granda 1980).

Coercion was not enough for the complete success of capitalist enterprise. The key was to create a balance between coercion and consent to domination, what Gramsci has called hegemony (1973:42). The order of the day was to discover how to persuade the colonized to consent to U.S. domination. Consequently, in 1899, according to a report by Commissioner Henry D. Carrol, a U.S. official in Puerto Rico, the President of United States, McKinley, had ordered the imposition of English as the official language of Puerto Rican public schools (cited in

Maldonado-Denis 1974:126). Henceforth, the U.S. military instituted an ideological campaign directed at soliciting consent to form legitimizing attitudes. This could not be achieved without targeting Puerto Rican Spanish, because it was the chief symbol of national unity and could potentially incite resistance to Americanization. Puerto Rican Spanish and its linguistic significations, which were fruits of more than four centuries of social interactions, formed the blueprint of historical and socially accumulated experiences leading to national consciousness. The establishment of English therefore represented the introduction of a new cornerstone from which experiences developed in a different context, and in this sense it was a prototype of false consciousness. This new blueprint attempted to confuse the Puerto Rican sense of historical direction by introducing novel courses or trails. Meyn suggests that in order to destroy the "national solidarity of a people it is necessary first to control its consciousness" 1983:25, 42).

Although the imposition of the English language in 1899 must be viewed as a coercive measure, the goal was to bring about consent to U.S. colonialism. Apparently, by confining Puerto Ricans socialization within the linguistic parameters of English, the dominant class of this epoch sought to cloud the historical and cultural consciousness of Puerto Ricans. It must be remembered that in language the historical and cultural legacy of a people is incarnated (Meyn 1983).

To interject, the U.S. had previous experience in this type of enterprise, for as early as 1879 they had established the "first off reservation boarding school" for Native Americans (Leibwitz 1976:452). The objective of this school was to dislocate Native Americans from the place where their ethos could be reproduced, and to strip them of their identity in order to confuse their sense

of historical direction. Education was geared towards manufacturing Native Americans' consent to domination (Ibid). Similar to the Puerto Rican case, the U.S. attempted to introduce ideological agents to induce new social practices and a legitimizing posture on the part of the colonized.

A linguistically homogeneous speech community, Puerto Rico, found itself fighting for its very cultural existence due to this linguistic hegemony. It was a frontal attack to the Puerto Rican national persona, targeting the historical compass of Puerto Rican, Spanish, the product of centuries of socio-cultural fusion (Meyn 1983). Victor S. Clark was the official in charge of coordinating and implementing these educational policies during the military government (Negrón de Montilla 1990:24). His statements during this period clearly articulated the ideology of Anglo-Saxonism and manifested a complete underestimation of the cultural capital of the Puerto Rican people. For instance, Clark characterized Puerto Rican Spanish as a "dialect to which could not be attributed any literary tradition and as a "cultural mode lacking of respectability" (cited in García Martínez 1974:64, Translation mine). On the other hand, Clark presented the English language as "practically the only source of democratic ideas in Puerto Rico" (cited in Baron 1990:169).

The military government secured the new colonial acquisition through coercive means; established linguistic hegemony, took over Puerto Rican judicial power, imposed the U.S. system of laws, and created different department of government patterned after U.S. institutions, etc. All of this occurred over a short period of two years, illustrating the pressing need of the U.S. stagnate

capitalist economy. That was to establish new markets through the deepening of capitalist relations of production in abroad. The crusade of ideological colonization had various mechanisms in place that facilitated the insertion of foreign ideological agents in the Puerto Rican ethos. There was also the institutional foundation for the development of other superstructural elements in the future.

The Law of Official Languages

In 1902 the Law of Official Languages was signed, thus becoming the basis of an official colonial bilingualism throughout Puerto Rico's colonial history. This linguistic arrangement created the center of many national disputes on the status of English and Spanish. The latest altercation took place between 1989 and 1992.

The inauguration of the Law of Official Languages concealed the imposition of the English language, giving the appearance of linguistic equality. Obfuscating the position of both languages, this law created the illusion of an equality in status of disparate languages, when in fact English was dominant and the Spanish creole was a dominated vernacular. Flores, et. al. indicates that historically "the very term bilingualism has itself been used as a convenient cover for the long term imposition of English in Puerto Rico" (1993:160).

Memmi, talking about this type of linguistic duality, suggests that colonial bilingualism creates a type of contradiction or split in consciousness:

Possession of two languages is not merely a matter of having two tools, but actually means participating in two physical and cultural realms. Here, the two worlds symbolized and conveyed by the two tongues are in conflict;...(1965:107).

This form of linguistic planning favored the U.S. capitalist class in the colonial enterprise. It expedited the administration of the colony by its stipulation of the indistinctive use of English and Spanish in all departments of government and in the legal system (Garcia Martinez 1976:82). In other words, a colonial bilingualism was established. Colonial bilingualism is different than the bilingualism that evolved as a result of a "gradual" process of "adaptation" in the context of "familiar circumstances"(Castro Pereda 1993:208). In the colonial situation there is a forced linguistic duality supported by overwhelmingly political, economic, and ideological hegemony. Brenton coined the concept of "codes of power" to epitomized the imposition of languages of imperialist countries on colonial territories or political subordinated situations (1976:434). "National languages are protected by national boundaries," but in colonial situations these boundaries are obliterated as a result of foreign political, economic, and linguistic hegemony (Fishman 1989:225). National boundaries "separate populations into insiders and outsiders," and languages are part of these boundaries (Ibid). Colonial bilingualism, on the other hand attempts to erase this linguistic delineation or boundary.

The intrusion of English and the attempt to dislodge the Spanish language was supported by a world view that underestimated all none Anglo-Saxon cultural modes. It was a legacy of the

Monroe Doctrine. Leibwitz points out that in United States "increased interest in English as the language of instruction began in the late 1880s and continued through World War I" (1976:45). This interest lay in a bedrock of xenophobic sentiments and was a response to mounting migratory waves during these periods (Ibid).

The Puerto Rican experience shows that foreign linguistic dominance is a form of coercion. Kachru has indicated that in colonial situations, the imposition of a foreign language is part of the "pose fitting their status" as colonizers (1984:181). Moreover, this linguistic assault is also an essential component of an "imperial design" of a foreign speech community that seeks to shape the linguistic terrain in order to administer the newly acquired Spanish speaking colony (Brentton 1976:435).

The linguistic scenario of this interval was part of a sweeping imperialist strategy, articulated by class interests. As discussed in the previous chapter, the U.S. bourgeoisie was moving toward the restructuring of Puerto Rico's economy. Angel Quintero, a Puerto Rican social scientist, asserts that the strategy of the United States had a dual purpose; first, to transform Puerto Ricans into "profitable citizens," and secondly to convert a "mass of natives" ("ignorant, filthy, untruthful, lazy, treacherous, murderous, brutal and black") in citizens" (Quintero in Meyn 1983:100). An extensive discussion of the contemporary linguistic confrontation is introduced in the next chapter.

Language politics, education and colonialism

The end of the military government in 1900 did not change the strategy of seeking the consent of Puerto Ricans for their domination. As a matter of fact, 'better' superstructural elements were established to facilitate the achievement of this goal. The creation of a civilian government in 1900 further mystified colonialism. The role played by the military in dictating colonial policies was now concealed or masked by the appearance of a civilian government. No longer did the military coordinate the implementation of educational policies. As part of the new civilian government, the office of the Commissioner of Education was established.

Evidently, the role of the commissioners was to sustain and further develop effective mechanisms to bring about the

North Americanization of the Puerto Rican student. From the Philippines to Puerto Rico, the U.S. was concerned that indigenous systems of education may serve to shape a mentality that encourages resistance to colonialism (Gladwin 1980).

On July 1, 1901 a North American system of public education was instituted in Puerto Rico. This was attributed to a legislation produced by the first commissioner of education, Dr. Martin Grove Brumbaugh (Negron de Montilla 1990:44-45). The entire curriculum was redesigned to emphasize U.S. traditions and values (Gladwin 1980). The U.S.-approved textbook on Puerto Rican history, Miller's Historia De Puerto Rico, interpreted Puerto Rican history from the perspective of U.S. interests in Puerto Rico. On one hand, this book overstated and praised everything associated to the U.S., while on the other it downplayed and devalued

Puerto Ricanness (Maldonado-Denis 1974:127). The teaching of English and the glorification of North American history were not the only means used to taint or baffle Puerto Rican national consciousness. Equally important is the obliteration of Puerto Rican history because it targeted the elimination of the Puerto Rican ethos (Alegria cited in Delgado Cintron 1993:29). Clearly, the intention of the colonizing force is to infuse a misleading perspective, by arranging in a distorted way a particular view of society and by omitting or obliterating historical facts. This is precisely how ideology works (Nielsen 1989).

An additional component is added to the campaign of ideological colonization. For instance, Dr. Brumbaugh, in his first annual report, proudly indicated that Puerto Rican children were participating in "patriotic exercises" (Negron De Montilla, 1990:63). These 'patriotic exercises' consisted of daily salutation of the American flag, singing American songs, honoring 'American heroes,' and celebrating North American holidays (Negro De Montilla 1990:63). Gladwin observed that "as colonial policies evolved, the manipulation of students' minds was given priority over occupational training in one colony after another" (1980:39). This manipulation is evident in the Puerto Rican experience. These practices in conjunction with mandatory instruction in English was maintained up to 1948. Their true intention was manifested in a statement made by Commissioner Lindsay, in 1902:

Colonization carried forward by the armies of war is vastly more costly than that carried by the armies of peace whose outpost and garrisons are the public schools of the advancing nation (U.S. Bureau of Education 1902, cited in Walsh 1991:6).

Once more, this discourse shows that linguistic interference and schooling were viewed as a means to reproduce the colonial order. Americanization was part of a comprehensive and

systematic design that solicited the cooperation and contribution of Puerto Ricans in their own self-destruction. In 1905, the 'Filipino' Plan was instituted, a copy of the linguistic politics implemented earlier in the Philippines which imposed the exclusive use of English as the vehicle of schooling (Garcia Martinez 1976:81).

Commissioner after commissioner, Lindsay, 1902-1904, Falkner, 1904-1907, Dexter, 1907-1912, Bainter, 1912-1915, Miller, 1915-1921, Huyke, 1921-1930; created educational policies aimed at the total assimilation of Puerto Ricans. Their goal was to mold or shape in Puerto Rico a legitimizing posture, favorable to U.S. capitalist interests in the island (Negro De Montilla 1990). Of all these commissioners, it was Puerto Rican born Juan B. Huyke who administered the system of public education from 1920 to 1930. He was noted for his loyalty, pledge, and devotion to Americanization, and recognized in Puerto Rican history for his veneration of American institutions (Negro de Montilla 1990). Huyke viewed the public schools as "agencies of Americanization" (cited in Negron De Montilla 1990:195, Translation mine).

For me Americanization, is a mental state, a desire to live associated with America, with links of profound fraternity and absolute loyalty.... Before we know it, we would be discussing the issue of statehood (Ibid:243).

By the 1920s the process of Americanization was on a higher plane, intensified to the point that its manifestations were striking. A Columbia University researcher who had studied Puerto Rico's system of public education in the 1920s stated:

Porto Rico(sic) is the only country in the world where North American ideals are

being put into operation in a Latin-American civilization of high type. There is no other region where the two civilizations can touch each other so effectively as in Porto Rico (Education in Porto Rico [1923] Dr. Juan J. Osuna, cited in Maldonado-Denis 1974:199).

After 1898 the U.S. bourgeoisie was advancing toward the deepening of capitalist relations of production in Puerto Rico. U.S. sugar and tobacco companies gradually were moving in, forcing a restructuring of Puerto Rico agricultural economy. Along with this shift the U.S. bourgeoisie created a sugar and tobacco proletariat as well as a class that eventually would become colonial administrators and intermediaries between U.S. capital and the Puerto Rican worker. These capitalist needs generated contradictions in the educational arena, manifested in dualities and shifts in educational and linguistics policies. All of the commissioners of education mentioned above identified with the ideological rational of Americanization, yet they differed as to what grade students should begin to participate fully in a complete curriculum in English. They all recognized the pedagogical inconveniences of a complete curriculum in English in the task of providing general education to Spanish speaking people, but at the same time they were exceedingly committed to the campaign of ideological colonization. An investigator of the Puerto Rican reality explains how the capitalist class managed some of these contradictions:

... the design was to transform the peasant children into rural proletariat, the future workers for the sugar plantations.... In order to maintain a rural working class to serve the economic needs of the United States, children were educated in the language of their class and were taught respect and obedience to U.S. authority. Schooling was limited to the early primary years so as to ensure subservience. Children of the middle and upper classes, however, were schooled so as to assume the language, and eventually the position and voice of the colonizer (Walsh 1991:11-12).

This educational dualism helped to demarcate class boundaries along the lines of the division of the countryside from urban areas. This practice continued until 1909, when the colonizing force decided also to impose the English language in the countryside (Negro De Montilla 1991; Walsh 1991). Even after 1909 this linguistic colonialism continued to face more contradictions which were manifested in a fluctuation in pedagogical approaches. Meyn (1983:100-101) explains some of the factors that produced these shifts in approaches from 1901 to 1948. The changes were the result of the "existent contradictions between ideological and economic necessities" (Meyn 1983:101). As Meyn explained on one hand, colonial administrator must "educate the proletariat through an effective school system"(this is they must provided a degree of general education"). On the other hand, they faced a contradiction ,their "linguistic politics", pedagogically represented an "obstacle for general education"(Ibid). This linguistic imposition, adds Meyn, "impeded success in learning" (Ibid, 103).

National Consciousness, Class Interests and Cultural Resistance

This crusade of ideological conquest was supported by some Puerto Rican political leaders who had become propagandists of Americanization. Loida Figueroa, a distinguished Puerto Rican historian, noted that even before the transfers of powers took place in 1898, some Puerto Rican political leaders lined up in support of Americanization (1991). This was true particularly for those belonging to the Republican Party, who already had an annexationist world view developed during Spanish colonialism (Zavala 1980). Figueroa states that this sector of the creole ruling

class, distinct from the autonomist sector, submitted "themselves to the demand of pledging loyalty to the United States" (1991:17 Translation mine).

The post-invasion Puerto Rican ruling class was divided in two tendencies; one that favored complete assimilation, and the other that demanded a higher degree of autonomy in insular affairs. The alliance of the Puerto Rican Republican Party with U.S. colonial rule from its very beginning and throughout its history was manifested in the Party's sanctioning of cultural, political, and economic aggression. Influential leaders of these two sectors of the local ruling class waived and finally yielded to every demand of Americanization (Delgado Cintron 1993:29; Zavala 1980:23-24). Puerto Rican intellectuals and pro-independence sectors, on the other hand, took an anti-colonial stand as manifested in the contentious literary production of this early period of colonial rule (Zavala 1980:23-24).

The economic sectors that supported this foreign hegemony did so because their interests were not in "direct contradictions" with U.S. capital and/or because their "interest benefited" from U.S. capitalist enterprise in Puerto Rico (Medina 1991:22). For instance, from the point of view of the insular dependent bourgeoisie, land and plantation owners, the association with the United States was seen as favorable. According to Zavala this is so, because they wanted to halt the "usurious practices of the Spanish commission-agents" (1980:20-21). They saw in United States sugar and tobacco companies the 'potential partner' who would save them from the voracious practices of the Spanish empire. Furthermore, this class had previous trade experience with the United States at least fifty years before the invasion and believed that their interests coincided with those of the

U.S. sugar and tobacco companies (Ibid:21). History later prove them wrong. Between 1898 and 1930, U.S. capital destroyed this class's economic base with the virtual elimination of individual ownership. The new owners were the U.S. bourgeoisie, incarnated in the sugar and tobacco corporations (Figuroa 1988:15). The displacement of the creole bourgeoisie by the U.S. bourgeoisie, the discontent and disappointment of this no longer hegemonic class with the so called 'bastion of freedom and center of progress' translated in attitude of linguistic resistance. Meyn indicates that "one of the expression of the growing nationalism of this class was the defense of the vernacular" (1983:101).

Resistance

Anthropologist German De Granda believes that the campaign of assimilation during this early period of U.S. colonization was successful at the institutional level. To illustrate, the transculturation of institutions such as the economy, judicial power, commerce, education and others superstructural elements, appears not to have a marked impact at the level of individuals' attitudes(1980: 122). He states that assimilation was contained due to the "deep roots, identification and possessiveness of the peasantry,the sugar cane proletariat and the humanistic intellectual elite with traditional values." Hence, this represented a shield against transculturation and/or assimilation (1980:122 Translation mine). Yet, it must be also argued that the political activism of those sectors that openly fought against the North Americanization of the Puerto Rican ethos, was an essential factor in the arrest of the process. For example, from 1912 to 1946, the Puerto Rican Association of Teachers submitted various resolutions trying to leash the

negative impact that the schooling in English had on the learning process of Spanish speaking students (Rodriguez Bou cited in Delgado Cintron 1993:34). In addition there were numerous student strikes opposing the forced teaching in English, the boycotting of classes, and the involvement of university professors and students in anti-colonial marches.

Equally important, the capitalist crisis of the 1930s and the collapse of Wall Street brought to the surface the contradiction of a colonial capitalist order: hunger, the worsening working conditions, workers repression, and unemployment. This was the context of mounting students and workers agitation. Most outstanding during this period was the emergence of a strong nationalist movement, under the leadership of don Pedro Albizu Campos. This historically significant movement opposing Americanization and colonialism elevated the national consciousness of many Puerto Ricans. As part of his anti-colonial campaign, Pedro Albizu Campos viewed linguistic imposition as an attempt to eliminate the Puerto Rican sense of historical direction. He also assessed its pedagogical implication, stating that it was a "mismanagement of mental energies" that produced a "lack of knowledge" of both languages (cited in Meyn 1983:114).

This anti-pedagogical practice ended in 1948; but left vestiges of linguistic practices that would influence changes in the status of languages in years to come. In 1949 the newly elected governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Munoz Marin, appointed Mariano Villaronga as Commissioner of Education. Villaronga re-instituted the teaching in Spanish in Puerto Rico public schools. Yet, bilingual instruction continued because English was not taught as a foreign language, but as a second language. To illustrate, there is no teaching of any other foreign language in the public schools,

not French or German, simply because Puerto Rico is not a colony of France or Germany; it is a U.S. colony (Delgado Cintron 1993:37; Morrales Carrion 1983:271). This linguistic policy became the approved curriculum of the public education system from 1949 to the present time.

In addition, at the same time that the eradication of English language hegemony in the public schools was taking place, the teaching in English in the private schools was intensified. These schools, predominantly Catholic, historically and willingly have contributed to the formation of individuals with a national and cultural 'split personality.' Superstructurally they help to reproduce the hybridized colonial order. Their role as champions of deculturation has been legitimated by the Free Associated State which grants private schools licenses for operation. Presently Puerto Rico has two systems of education, one public and one private. The public schools system 'educates' the poor and working class, while the private system teaches the opulent and middle sectors of Puerto Rican society. Obviously this educational duality also helps to mark class divisions.

In sum, the above discussion has identified ingredients placed in Puerto Rico's social metabolism for almost a century which has produced a hybrid society, a society with a 'split personality.' These include: the U.S. military occupation of 1898 and the establishment of the a military government; the assembly of a colonial superstructure, the take over and transculturation of Puerto Rico's judicial power and the imposition of English in 1899; the creation of a North American system of public education in 1901; the legislation of official bilingualism in 1902 with

the support of the republican tendency of the local ruling class, the institution of U.S. appointed governorship from 1900-1948; the installation of the first elected Puerto Rican governor with the blessing of the U.S. and the end of an overt linguistic imposition in 1948; the mandatory teaching of English as a second language from 1949 to present time; the second capitalist re-structuring of the 1950s and the masking of colonialism with the creation the Free Associated State in 1952; the prevalent vantage position of English, vis-a-vis the Law of Official Languages which directs the current linguistic situation. A corollary of this hegemony, is the dialectical interaction between the "code of power" and the vernacular. This produces an emerging linguistic ideology that positions the language of the colonizer as the language of social climbing, progress and great opportunities and Spanish as a familiar language, with only a colloquial value.

In the quest for hegemony, the dominant metropolitan class mobilized all its resources to impose its economy, culture, laws, language, and system of public education on the Puerto Rican people. It is clear that the U.S. dominant class became involved in the business of education strictly out of self-interest, that their purpose was to implant a legitimizing world view of colonialism, and to indoctrinate Puerto Rican young people in a system of ideas and values that assured the protection of U.S. interests. This is crudely evident in the fact that Puerto Rican students were forced to pledge loyalty to the American flag in the English language for numerous years.

The next chapter positions the phenomenon of Americanization and linguistic colonialism in a larger scale of time and explores whether sediments or vestiges of this phenomenon are evident in the contemporary colonial formation. In other words, by looking at the evolution of the colonial

order with its adjustments and/or modifications in the mode of production and some derivative sociological epiphenomena; this discussion seeks to assess if the present social forms reveal or exhibit identifiable traces signaling to the past. The possibility of these traces or nuances contributing to the reification of particular linguistic ideology in contemporary Puerto Rican society, thus helping to reproduce the status of languages, will be explored in chapter five.

**MODE OF PRODUCTION, LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE IN POST
WAR PUERTO RICO** Chapter five

Production, Reproduction and circulation of New Ideas

Puerto Rico experienced a significant transformation in its economic base during the 1950s as a result of an influx of predominantly U.S. capital. Prior to World War II, the productive process was essentially agricultural, then during the post war period, a mayor industrial shift occurred in the insular structure of production. Although this transmutation seems to be a payoff of the procurement of foreign finance capital by indigenous political leaders, when look at closely, obviously, it was a progression of the colonial capitalist relations of production. Rather than being a result of a volunteer process, masterminded by creole leaders, such as Luis Munoz Marin, , it was an expansion and deepening of colonial capitalism . The series of lucrative concessions offered by creole leaders to foreign capital must be view as the catalyst that coaxed a rapid process of industrialization. An utilitarian world view guided these creole leaders in conceiving the idea of a dependent industrial development.

Puerto Rico's economy prior to 1898 as not thoroughly capitalist, displayed a mixture of both feudalism and capitalism, and it was not until American intervention and take over of production that capitalist features were intensified(Dietz 1986, Blaut 1988). This fact is key for the understanding Puerto Rican class structure and the nature of the ideological patterns permeating the island.

U.S. capital was the hegemonic class in Puerto Rico, soon after the invasion of 1898, Puerto Rico's incipient national bourgeoisie was pushed into a position of dependency and its potential to become an independent capitalist force was frustrated (Blaut 1988). In the post WW two period this class remained in a dependent position, while a cluster of them found a new base of power, as political leaders managing the affairs of a revised colonial state. Using the drive of industrialization, this political sector presented itself as the champion of Puerto Rico progress and consolidated its power as intermediaries between the capitalist class and the Puerto Rican worker, within the constraints of colonialism. The Popular Democratic Party represented the embodiment of this class.

Due to colonization, U.S. finance capital, as an external class dictated the route of industrial development. It is important also to note that although many countries had been deeply impacted by the globalization of capital, in contemporary Puerto Rico, U.S. capital remains dominant and the adaptation of the productive process is determined by the market needs of United States (Dietz; Pantojas Garcia 1993). Economist James Dietz notes that by late 1980s, 80 percent of the companies operating in Puerto Rico were "subsidiaries of parent corporations located in the United States" (1986:267). The persistence of this form of development poses a very pertinent question; to what extent the Puerto Rican economy could be called Puerto Rican, giving the almost total collapse of the insular productive process into the U.S. economy? (Dietz 1986:310). Dietz depicted the insular base as a "locally disarticulated structure of production". Furthermore he asserts after assessing the pattern of Puerto Rico development model, that the subject of industrialization is contingent to "U.S. markets, inputs, technology, financing and ownership" (Dietz 1986:240) A

reciprocal dependency characterized colonialism. Puerto Rico rely on U.S. capital in order to assure continuity of its dependent development, and U.S. capital banks on Puerto Rico as a tax exempt venue of production, a source of low payed labor, and as a captive market for the importation of American goods(Dietz ; Pantojas Garcia 1993; Melendez E. 1993).

It could be argued that given the establishment of an externally designed and implemented superstructure with the initial seizing of of Puerto Rico's productive process after 1898, industrialization represents an historic interval which determines the nature of this colonial formation. One thing is clear, the articulation of Puerto Rico's production based on U.S. market needs does not allow for significant local participation favoring some internal growth. Therefore, Puerto Rico structural dependency is perpetuated; the dependency at the level of the base corresponds with Puerto Rico's superstructural subordination to the U.S. State apparatus. The U.S. Congress indirectly still dictates how the political affairs of the island are to be conducted.

It should be note an epiphenomena of industrialization that has curbed Puerto Rico's potential of selfreliance. A corrolary of industrialization , a deliberate and well calculated strategy that aimed at the destruction of the Puerto Rican agriculture was put in motion(Blaut 1988:76). It was a plan that gradually was operationalize by U.S. capitalist interests in the island with the consent of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. This design was coined by Blaut as "agricultural euthanasia"(Ibid). Political and economic interests were behind the transformation to wage labor in the field of large U.S. conglomerates to urban industrial development.

In the 1930s this dependency on U.S. agricultural conglomerates was challenged. Political developments during this period accelerated the emergence of a solid working class consciousness, as was manifested in militant strikes against U.S. sugar and tobacco corporations. Furthermore, there was an intermingling of this class consciousness with a national consciousness, as the Puerto Rican agricultural proletariat in conjunction with a developing Nationalist Movement began to pose a challenge U.S. interests in the island. The 1930s typify a period in Puerto Rican history in which the proletariat began to unveil the contradictions of U.S. colonialism with U.S. tobacco and sugar companies identified as a class enemy(Quintero 1976).

During late 1940s and early 1950s U.S. colonialism encounter significant opposition in the island, manifested in the political activities of the unyielding Nationalist Party, lead by Harvard graduate, Pedro Albizu Campos. By this time, and as a result of previous electoral defeats and frustration with the electoral process under colonialism, the Nationalist Party withdrawn from electoral politics, and took the path of direct confrontation. This period of Puerto Rican history is characterized by high emotions, revolts, conspiracy and sedition. It was a time in which colonialism had to find a new approach in order to reduce resistance and expedite compliance with domination. Imperialism had found that repression instead of weaken or diluting the movement, seemed to have the opposite effect, becoming the fuel that inflamed organized resistance.

Regionally, the U.S. confronted another challenge, as the power of one of its most appreciated supporters in the Caribbean, Fulgencio Batista, was eroding. A turning point in the colonial history

of the Caribbean occurred on January of 1959, the zenith of the Cuban Revolution resulted in the overthrow of the capitalist back dictator and the beginning of socialist construction. As indicated in previous chapters, hegemony is the balance between coercion and consent, this balance was not achieved in Cuba; and paved the way for the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. The victory of the peasants base cuban revolutionary army signalled a tremendous threat to U.S. interest throughout the region.

In Puerto Rico , the U.S. needed a change in approach in order to protect its hegemony . Consequently, in 1948 the Puerto Rican people were granted the right to elect their first governor. A subsequent political development was a revision of the colonial formula in 1952, with the establishment of the Free Associated State(El Estado Libre Asociado). These two events marked the beginning of U.S. rule via indigenous intermediaries. As Gordon Lewis writes:" the cultural evil that colonial regimes do, clearly lives on after the extinction of their more overt political machineries" (Gordon Lewis 1970:19).

Luis Munoz Marin the first elected governor of Puerto Rico, the Popular Democratic Party were placed in the position of managing the revised colonial state. Under the slogan "Pan, Tierra y Libertad"(Bread, Land, and Liberty) the election of Munoz also signaled the beginning of an adaptation of the concomitant colonial ideology. This ideological adaptation achieved its apogee after the 1950, as changes in modus vivendi by a modification of Puerto Rico's structure of production, transformed the ideological realm. "Ideology is a distillate of experience. Where the experience is

lacking, so is ideology that only the missing experience could call into being"(Fields 1990:112). This reciprocal interaction between ideology & material conditions was evident causing a dramatic change in Puerto Rican social life. For some social sectors the pledge of upward mobility under industrialization began to materialize through the U.S. back expansion of the mode of production. The PPD and Munoz played a role in circulating and dictating the type of signification in which prosperity and social mobility became associated with colonialism. While U.S. capital penetrated into the domestic sphere via merchandises, technology, clothing, prepared foods, cleaning products and cosmetics(Gonzalez Diaz; Vargas Acevedo 1986:14).

The sociological phenomenon that was induced by the changes in the mode of production marked a turning point in the cultural-national personality of Puerto Rico. A corollary of the expansion of the technological base was the circulation of people from the country side to the cities where manufacturing industries were established. Those individuals who were not absorbed by the local industries were converted in a "reserve army of labor" and forced to migrate to the U.S. A two-fold migratory wave occurred, internally and externally (De Granda 1980). It must be kept in mind that the circulation of new form of capital provoked this circulation of people(Dietz 1986). Demographically, the countryside was significantly altered; and a distinction or division between the countryside and city was highlighted by low paid jobs and unemployment in the countryside, and relatively higher paid jobs in the cities (De Granda 1980).

Equally important, industrial production changed the composition of the Puerto Rican working class

as new social sectors were created via industrialization, and there emerged a middle and upper strata. Together with this transformation surfaced a notion that the change in living conditions were benefactions of the colonial relation. It was a mobility facilitated by U.S. capitalist investments in the island within the framework of colonialism.

Through the changes in the composition of the working class, the oppressive relations of colonialism were camouflage. A slanted view of the status quo was introduced which created the illusion of solidarity between a foreign bourgeoisie and these newly created sectors. U.S. capital deceived Puerto Rican oppressed classes by mystifying the colonial relation as one that benefitted the entire social ensemble. The premise was that in the industrial era society worked on behalf of all Puerto Ricans. In the post-war period new objective condition facilitated the ideological reproduction of colonialism; the structure of production discharged in a subtle way new dominant ideas, they materialize in a pragmatism of economic conveniences or functional rationality (De Granda 1980).

Notwithstanding, this ideological aftermath of industrialization was impelled by the entire epic of the political economy of colonialism, and not by one interval or period of history. Is a process that illustrates the progression or evolution of colonial relations of production and the parallel development of an ideological realm. Again, the generalize notion that local leaders were the progenitors of the advancement of industrialization in post-war Puerto Rico is not in total accurate. It should be assessed as a creation of colonialism. Furthermore, the changes in the mode of production were part of a process of capitalist restructuring globally, although in Puerto Rico

developed by very specific instances of U.S. domination, infrastructurally and superstructurally.

The preceding superstructural adjustments in this new scenario of colonial relations of production were an integral part of the new patterns of foreign hegemony that evolved with industrialization. It is within the context of a revised colonial superstructure that industrialization gained speed. The **Free Associated State** represented the establishment of an imaginative plane of a sense of creole autonomy. Puerto Rico remains a territory of the U.S., judicially, politically and economically; its a a peripheric region of the U.S. A survey of the political period in which this modification of the colonial state took place shows that U.S. geopolitical considerations were behind the conception of the Free Associated State. The creation of an apparent autonomy was geared at deflating or containing anti-imperialist sentiments in the island and the emergence of a national liberation movement capable of posing a threat to U.S. interests. Under this political status, Puerto Rico still is a colony of United States and the imposed Jones Act of 1917 is the code that defines American citizenship. This fraudulent autonomy defines the relation between Puerto Rico and United States as a "permanent union". As a territory under the jurisdiction of American citizenship where social life is regulated by American laws, the U.S. Congress did not relinquish its jurisdiction over insular affairs with the creation of the Free Associated State. Poutlanzas theorizes " the existence of a class is expressed at the levels of its political and ideological practices by a specific presence, namely that of pertinent effects"(1975:207) The establishment of a Puerto Rican political class as mediators of capitalist contradiction between foreign capital and the Puerto Rican worker, served also to camouflage foreign hegemony. The PPD encouraged and supported this second seizing of Puerto

Rico productive process, under the name of Operation Bootstrap.

The following economic concessions were made to U.S. industrial capitalists: tax exemptions, lower wages, and the captivity of the Puerto Rican market by monopolized imports. These allowances were the features of "Operation Bootstrap" which facilitated massive U.S. capitalist investment in Puerto Rico, accelerating industrial development in the 1950s. This program set the conditions for ideological colonization. Fannon (1963:61): describes the origin of a conception of this type:

“At the decisive moment the colonialist bourgeoisie, which up till then has remained inactive, comes into the field. It introduces that new idea which is in proper parlance a creation of the colonial situation. This signifies to the intellectual and economic elite of the colonized country that the bourgeoisie has the same interest as they....”(1963:61)

As a result of this foreign control over the structure of production, the inhibited creole bourgeoisie or latent bourgeoisie is placed even more in a position of dependency. As Blaut notes this latent class does not have ability to accumulate capital independently, on the contrary it depends on the social and corporatives entities that constitute the U.S. bourgeoisie for its maintenance(1988:64). That is why William Fred Santiago, a Puerto Rican social scientist argued that the concept of class aloud to place the inequalities at two level, at the level of the superstructure and in the base (1987: 404). In Puerto Rico, these realms are spheres of class domination and therefore defines the class character of Puerto Rico's national question.

The Puerto Rican colonial experience in the second half of the twentieth century is not that

exceptional, for parallels are found in other colonial experiences in Africa with the French and the English ruling indirectly via the use of intermediaries (Blaut 1988). Accordingly, the metropolis dictates the internal policies that govern the affairs of the colony and the intermediary class monitors its implementations. This class mediates the contradictions between the local proletariat and foreign capital.

Adjustments in the mode of production and the intermingle of culture and ideology

Ideologically, consent to domination and a tendency to accept suggested Americanization hides behind the real or perceived social mobility that could be achieved in post war Puerto Rican society. The expansion of the mode of production brought about new mechanisms to conceal class inequality and perpetuated the idea of social mobility facilitated by U.S. capital. It produced an utilitarian social behavior which was political and ideological practices representing new pillars to sustain and assure the reproduction of the colonial formation. In other words, a false consciousness corresponded with the changes in the material base; an ideological block with utilitarian features appears to be the basis for the sanctioning of colonialism in Puerto Rico's modern society (Gonzalez Diaz; Vargas Acevedo 1986).

While, changes in the structure of production contributed to significant improvement in living conditions in the island, at the ideological level it had a debilitating effect on the Puerto Rican national consciousness. De Granda research suggest that this change disrupted the development of

an egalitarian world view rooted in peasant life and broke community tie and created a disjointment of extended families(1980:42). The migration of people induced by the circulation of capital unsettled a locality of social interactions in which a national character with "archaistic" features were being reproduced(Ibid)T his archistic attitude in combination with the intellectual work of a nationalist intelligentsia, according to De Granda represented a containment wall, shielding the Puerto Rican people from cultural penetration during the overt campaign of Americanization of early colonialism(1980). But also is necessary to acknowledge that post-industrial Puerto Rico as a dialectical context , produces from theses middle and upper class that were created resistance to colonialism. Today, a significant percentage of the pro-independence forces are being socialized within these class boundaries. Nevertheless,even these forces behavioraly reflect a type of cultural dualism.

Cultural life is rooted in the material conditions of social life, if changes occur in the structure of production, altering the social interactions of a given society this would manifest in the cultural personality of its people. The examination of the phenomenon of transculturation as an ideological process in Puerto Rico required a "materialist theory of culture"(Flores 1993:56). In which the examination of cultural change is placed in the realm of political economy. Attention must be given to class articulations as they produce changes in the organization of production and to the superstructural adjustments that correspond with these alterations of the base. The element of culture then must be place in that context(Flores, 1993:56). Flores illustrates this view:

The formation of Puerto Rican culture is grounded in others processes as well: the

changing quality of labor from agricultural to artisan to industrial production, the collisions and interfaces of oral, literate and media traditions; the shift from rural to urban to metropolitan environments ; and the differences between walking, horses, trains , automobile ships as the primary means of transportation(1993:69-70).

It is widely recognized by Puerto Rican social scientists that the post-industrial Puerto Rican society is qualitatively different than the society of preceding periods. For instance, De Granda(1980) suggests that the amplification of the mode of production, via U.S. controlled industrial development, served to speed up a process of transculturation at the level of individual and collective practices. The concept of transculturation is used by anthropologists to refer to a process of cultural change as a result of contacts between distinct societies or groups, often omitting changes in the organization of production and class dynamics as preeminent factors promoting cultural change. To that Flores responds: "A new evaluation of national cultures thus involve the retracing of cultural history and the development of social production, and specification of the particular class dynamics that impel and condition cultural and political life"(1993:56).Furthermore, Flores calls for a theory of cultural change that is economically and sociologically grounded. In order to overcome the reductionism of "conventional interpretations of Puerto Rican culture."

Juan Antonio Corretjer, a Puerto Rican social theorist, defined transculturation as a " process of diffusion and infiltration of cultural features", which occurs between two cultures with "different degrees of evolution", and is a " result of the existent asymmetrical relations" between the cultures involved in the dynamic (cited in Delgado Cintron; 1993:23, Translation mine). There is a need to insert in this definition the concept of dominant class, as cultural changes are impelled by structural

and infrastructural change or adjustments articulated by the ruling class. In the case of Puerto Rico the established asymmetrical relations has a class character. Is the dominant class in Puerto Rico local or foreign? The dominant ideology and culture reflects the dominance of U.S. capital over the insular structure of production. Changes in the social relations of productions, the base, must be viewed as a preeminent sphere inducing transformations in the ideological and cultural terrain.

The island of Puerto Rico had been converted into a political and economic peripheric region of the U.S.; and also as a corrolary, in a cultural sense, the island has being converted in a peripheric region of Latin America .(De Granda 1980, Dietz 1986). Rua argues that this phenomenon of rupture in combination with the new pattern of ideological colonization , translates into a process of deselfing or stripping the Puerto Rican people from its cultural-national character.(Rua cited in Meyn 1983:108). Accordingly, disassociating the individuals socialized within the new patterns of foreign hegemony from their class and national interest(Ibid).

Heuristically, the functional rationality or pragmatism of economic conveniences that sets in with the expansion of the mode of production seems to have weaken the national identification of the middle and upper sectors, foreign significations had been implanted in their" "social purpose"(Castro 1991:26). Some researchers argues that the conversion of the' Puerto Rican base', into a" peripheric region of U.S. industrial capitalism", represent the basis for modern transculturation(Santiago 1984:310).On the other hand , De Granda(1980) submits a partition of periods to describe two distinct contexts of transculturation. De Granda argues that in early colonialism(1898-1950),

transculturation take place more at the institutional level than at the attitudinal level. De Granda localizes transculturation at the level of individual and collective attitudes, using as a marker the creation of the Free Associated State and industrialization. Perhaps, he makes this division to illustrate the relevance of protracted historical development of a phenomenon and to elucidate a turning point.

On the other hand, there is a need to be cautious, and not to accede to the modernist and post-modernist trap. These schemes are the dominant paradigms in academia today, which submit that industrialization and modernization represents a split in history (Meszaros 1989). Consequently, the past is disjointed from the present, creating the illusion of an historical dislocation, assigning to contemporary phenomena innate characteristics that are viewed as determined by the period (Meszaros 1989:12). In a sense, modernism strips history of its inner dynamism (Ibid). It would be absurd to examine the ideology in Puerto Rico without looking at the ongoing class conflicts that dates back to 1898.

The actual class structure of Puerto Rico began to be defined in the context of U.S. expansionism at the end of the nineteenth century. Puerto Rico's class structure evolved as a result of imperialism. In Puerto Rican society there are antagonisms among creole classes which are by-products of the ideologization of colonial relations of production by a foreign hegemonic class.

Discourse, ideology and social reproduction:

A theoretical contribution, by Rosi-Landi serves as a framework for the understanding of discourse as an instance of social reproduction of colonialism in Puerto Rico (1990:63). He argues that there exist a point of convergence between language, ideology, and political economy. Communication or linguistic interactions mediates ideology between the superstructure and the base. In Rosi-Landi's scheme language and speech are another sphere of social reproduction, in the reciprocal relation between the base, the superstructure and language. In other words, individuals socialized in a given class structure such as the Puerto Rican formation, in which the dominant class is foreign anglophone and the production and reproduction of middle and uppers sectors are corollary of this outside control, would be reflected in a legitimizing discourse of colonialism. Again, their discursive practices would mirror others social practices as impel by the situation of dependency

Language is a carrier of ideology, the Puerto Rican Spanish in that sense serves to communicate a colonial ideology; is a language that has being infiltrate by some foreign signification . A corollary of the dominance of U.S. capital, is the filtering of systems of ideas through economic activities and superstructural means that served as the demarcation for a new and more subtle ideological colonization.

..." Discourse has effects upon social structures and contributes to the achievement of social continuity or social change... control over orders of discourse by institutional and societal power -holders is one factor in the maintenance of their power" (Fairclough 1989:37).

The Puerto Rican Spanish, as a language inserted in a context domination and dependency, is penetrated by the dominant colonial ideology. Slanted utilitarian and significations of dependency are

reproduce via daily discursive practices(Meyn 1983).

"Ideology whether generated within the nation or imported from abroad, must pass through many filters indeed, both those which reflect different status position within any particular country and those which are generated by different languages"....(Bretton 1976: 49)

Although the return to Spanish in 1949 marked a very important historical moment, ending half a century of English imposition, in the post war period the vernacular as a "mode of communication and knowledge" is influenced by the new social practices that emerged as a result of the expansion of the colonial mode of production (Meyn 1983:55). Circulated in Spanish was a linguistic ideology that magnified the value of English and minimized the value of Spanish. Therefore, the changes experienced in the productive process, bring about a mystifying discourse that is communicated through Puerto Rican Spanish. Nevertheless, as in any other dialectical instances, the colonial experience is engulfed by contradictions, and Spanish remains a symbol of the authenticity of the Puerto Rican nation and as a marker of its distinctive personality from that of the anglophone colonizer. Today, "ninety-eight percent of the island's residents speak Spanish, but only one in four can speak English (NAPSI, 1998:1)

A colonial situation produces fragmented identities, which are more marked in those social sectors that view their economic progress as a result of foreign hegemony. A colonial superstructure and a foreign dominated structure of production, forge on split national personality that manifest in dual and contradictory discourse, a discourse of national affirmation and cultural assimilation . The

development of a puzzle like national identity is bound to the convergence of conversations and other social practices framed by the colonial reality(Whetherel and Porter 1992). There is a relation of language as a concept bearer and cognition, notions, or abstractions that creates a situation of dependency and domination. Language, thought and praxis are inseparably they produce and reproduce people identities(Rosi-Landi 1990). Colonialism had fostered new signs that are reified through repetitive social behavior which them function automatically in ideological practices.To illustrate,Puerto Rican society experienced a gradual and continuous process of hybridization due to the introduction of foreign cultural complexes transported by economic activities and inserted in social and cultural reproduction. Consumerism, dependency in american goods and the idea that upper mobility is an outcome of Puerto Rico political status are also objectivized in speech. Narratives and social discourse in contemporary Puerto Rican society manifest the emergence of " dual identities and dual loyalties"(Velez and Schweers 1993:129)..

The creation of this false consciousness is exhibited in two trends: a condoning attitude of the colonial order and total assimilation to a NorthAmerican way of life.These political forces coincide or intersect ideologically in the sense that utilitarianism guide their practices. Ideology, cultural reproduction and political economy are inseparable, the entire colonial formation generates these types of meanings.

Friedrich's metaphor elucidates how the dominant ideology manipulates orders of discourse, the allegory establishes an analogous mode of production and "means of interpretation"(1989:304). The hegemonic class, as owners of the mode of production, also are controllers of "means of

interpretation". As they control of the means of interpretation, the dominant class oversees "the flow and content of messages". Ideology, according to Friedrich is a " complex message" that operates by regulating the circulation of various messages, some of which are consistently repeated and others are blocked. Because the dominant class controls the means of interpretation, individuals of the dominated classes are separated from the "means of interpretation" (Friedrich 1989:304). Friedrich's analogy submits an important theoretical premise, in a colonial situation the parameters used to assess individual and collective experiences are set by those who control the " means of interpretation." Or as Poulantzas(1975) theorized the dominant class delineate the "horizons" of people's experiences. For example, in Puerto Rico, an ideological premise is constantly circulated, which establish that as an island with scarce natural resources, Puerto Rico had been rescued from underdevelopment by a philanthropic and magnanimous foreign power. This notion appears to be absorbed uncritically by a considerable section of the island population, representing one of the ideological underpinning that sustain U.S. colonialism. Explicitly, it illustrates, the obfuscation that is created in social situations that have been mystified, and the "alienation from the means of interpretation" as Friedrich maintains (1989:304).

Throughout the history of U.S. colonialism, pro-independence sectors have battled for the control of the " means of interpretation", aiming at the decolonization of the Puerto Rican psyche. They struggle to awaken a national consciousness that has been seduced and enticed by the capitalist class. Although, the Puerto Rican literary intelligentsia, university professors and other sectors involved in cultural production have played an important role in trying to affirm culturally the Puerto Rican

people by way of literary and affirmative cultural production, in many instances this process has not reached the most oppressed. However, the poor are exposed to a programation on television that idolizes consumerism and magnifies the Northamerican standard of living. In sum, the ideological significations that materialize in the social practices of the Puerto Rican people, represent a condition for the continuance of U.S. hegemony in the island. The infrastructure and the base determines the nature of the discourse, which combine with others social practices are the foundation of a disjointed national persona.

Chapter 6

The political economy of Languages

Valuation and Status of Languages

In the last forty years there have been a great interest in the investigation of linguistic conflicts from the perspective of the political economies of nations-states. This scholarly conversation have expanded beyond the traditional boundaries of socio-linguistics and the sociology of language joining in the discourse others fields of the established social sciences(Grillo 1989). Although there are some theoretical and methodological differences among these approaches, generally they have coincided in an ethnographic perspective(Ibid 1989). For instance, O'Barr and O'Barr, et.al 1976 study of the relation between political power and the position of languages in situations of domination, shed light on the understanding of how political and economic processes induced changes in the valuation and status of languages(see also Rubin; Leibwitz; O'Barr; W.M., Bretton; in O'Barr and O'Barr, 1976). Other schollars, emphazies the role played by economic processes in articulating changes in the valuation of languages. Williams (1987:8) maintains that in order to understand emerging changes in the status and valuations of languages it is important to scrutinize economic processes, such as changes in the organization of production and industrialization. "That changes in the status of languages are closely related to changes in its corpus". Therefore, he argues against a methodology that which to examine changes in the status of languages just base on domains of language use allocations.

Domains in traditional functional approaches are presented as "abstracts socio-cultural

constructs", only a heuristic value could be attached to these constructs (Martin Jones, 1989:110). Whereas Williams (1987:86) views domains as material instances of discourse in a given social structure or national reality. This distinction is very important, particularly in the examination of linguistic dynamics experienced in colonial class structures, as they are determined by the speech of external classes and reify as part of the social regularities of the formation.

The demarcation of domains in the colonial experience are visible. This is elucidated by Memmi (1965:106-107) when the scholar described the overwhelming presence of a foreign language felt in commercial signs, advertisement, government officials forms, highway markings, etc. These domains are not only sphere of discourse and cultural reproduction but also environs of the dominant ideology; visible markers of a colonial infrastructure and superstructure.

For instance, in Puerto Rico those domains in which English is prevalent such as commerce, technology, industry and banking etc. are venues of the base. Therefore they are not just instances of linguistic hegemony, but also the material base for the ideological reproduction of a colonial world view. The ideological should not be separated from the objective needs that a colonial mode of production creates such as the necessity and emphasis to learn a particular foreign language, because together they define the configuration of foreign hegemony.

New pattern of hegemony within the framework of industrial colonialism influence the linguistic allegiance of very specific social sectors and help to delineate bilingual class positions in a foreign control structure of production. These localities that are "agencies for the reproduction" of the status

of English, at the same time help to reproduce a hybridized cultural and social formation (Williams 1987:86). The structure of production shoots out an ideological premise that places English as the bridge that shortens the economic distance that separates local classes from the foreign and anglophone, capitalist class (Memmi 1965:107). The power of English is explained by Castro Pereda: "the strength of a tongue also depends of the economic, technical and scientific strengths that supports it" (1993:107).

It is argued that a natural bilingualization of the island population had been inhibited, because historically the English language had been kept out of the domestic domain. Spanish is the hegemonic language in Puerto Ricans' homes (Resnick 1993:269). Notwithstanding in recent years the establishment of new superstructural mechanisms presents new opportunities for the entrance of English into the domestic domain, the advent of English cable t.v. represents the key that opens the door of this domain. English penetrates into the historically inhibited domain of home accompanied by visual forms that glorify the U.S. middle and upper classes way of living. Perhaps a deepening of utilitarianism is facilitated by this new superstructural mechanism. More study is needed on this topic (Resnick 1993).

That is why Williams (1987:86) argues against approaches that suggest that changes in the "corpus derives from language contact". But rather, changes in the socio-economic order produced changes in the status of languages. As Edwards states, "the fortunes of languages are bound up with those of its users" (1985: 49). For instance, the shift experienced from agricultural to an U.S. control industrial mode of production in Puerto Rico brought significant changes in social life. At the present

time, Puerto Rico's colonial status, its "internal disarticulated structure of production", and its condition as a captive market of U.S. imports, epitomized the relation between a capitalist center and economic periphery(Dietz 1986:310). Therefore, in the examination of changes in the status and valuation of languages in a colonial-capitalist formation is necessary to account for these developments, as they determine social organization and have bearings in the position of languages involve in the dynamic. For example , in Puerto Rico , the dominant class is foreign anglophone and the middle and upper sectors of the Puerto Rican working class are by products of this foreign hegemony(Gal 1983:66).Therefore, as Garcia Martinez (1976:88) notes "the adaptation in bilingual situation always lay on the colonized."

Puerto Rico's class structure was altered as a result of an expansion of the insular mode of production, materialized in a rapid process of industrialization and modernization. In post industrial Puerto Rican society a "bilingual class locality" can be identified among a dependent national bourgeoisie, governing political elites and a relative percentage of the middle and upper stratas that were created with the expansion of the structure of production(Williams 1987:85).The "prestige" of English in Puerto Rico "derives" from the "relevance" it have for these sectors whom are reproduced through Puerto Rico dependent development(Ibid).

In addition, the circulation of new capital produced the circulation of people,which added new factors to the island linguistic problematic. Migration to the United States was prompt by this capitalist restructuring , those sectors that were not assimilated by local industry and had lost the base of its subsistence agricultural activities were force out of the island. The return to the island of new

generations of Puerto Ricans borne in United States, socialized in the English language add a component to the island linguistic scenario. As industrialization forced the people out of the island, learning English became for many the way to escape the increasing poverty experienced by other linguistic minorities in the United States.. Zentella (1984:91) suggests that any study of the impact of return migrants on the linguistic situation of the island, must account also for the political and economic processes "that have resulted in the massive displacement and replacement of Puerto Rican people from their island".

Whereas the people of Puerto Rico's experienced English imposition for half a century, is not until the amplification and alterations experienced in the colonial mode of production with industrialization that the English language is situated in a position of prominence. And its value changes from an imperious language to a language of social mobility and development..Mackinnon (1984:495) help to illustrate this change in valuation:

A local language functions as a vehicle for community social solidarity and an intrusive language as the language of power epitomized in the form of economic activity, administration and communications which core society establishes in the periphery.

Post industrialization, the ideological spill in the linguistic terrain in the form of utilitarianism, manifesting in the supervaluation of English for instrumental reason and dialectically in a social devaluation of Spanish. English is associated with economic power and social mobility and Spanish with lack of mobility in a foreign controlled structure of production(De Granda 1980). Martin-Jones argues that "one of the ways ideology works is that social practices take on a commonsensical nature" and that this could translates in the "legitimation of the dominant language" and the devaluation of

a vernacular, "without been aware of doing so" (1989:120).

Moreover, after the 1950s, research indicates a heightening in the interference of English with creole Spanish(De Granda 1980, Meyn 1983). Because the island in an economic sense epitomized a large plant of U.S. industrial production, as an Spanish speech community is remained on daily basis which language is the language of power. The bearings of economic hegemony on linguistic situation cannot be ignore, the valuation of English and Spanish is circumscribed to this dominion.(Martin-Jones 1989:120).

It is important to recognize that a significant part of those social sectors that benefited the most from industrialization are very influential in the dictation of linguistic norms to the entire social ensemble; these bilingual elites further a linguistic ideology that promotes the social deification of English and dialectically the social devaluation of Spanish.

.... Every colonized people in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality---- finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation... because he [she] wants to emphasize the rupture that has now occurredIn every country of the world there are climbers, the one who forget who they are and, in contrast to them, the ones who remember where they come from.....(Fanon cited in Smitherman 1984:108-109)

These cumulative events which characterize linguistic colonialism have not resulted in language shift, neither have produced a bilingual society in the island. Inquiry on Puerto Rico's linguistic situation suggest that "80 % of the population remains functional monolingual in Spanish"(Resnick 1993:159). Yet, at the ideological level English emerged as the panacea that could resolve individual and collective economic stagnation (Williams 1987:8).

The language issue in Puerto Rico is political in a sense even wider than status politics. It is political in terms of the relative access it affords to decision making and economic power within the society (Velez; Schweers 1993:134).

As Williams (1987:97) claims the "struggle over language, is"simultaneously struggle over economic resources, a struggle which involves specific power ingredients". The linguistic struggle in Puerto Rico rather than impel by segregated domains of language use, must be view as part of the Puerto Rican national question, framed by the general class dynamic of a colonial formation, in which the hegemonic class is foreign and anglophone. As Cesar Andreu Iglesias, put it:

"The battle for the language is the battle for the Puerto Rican language, to said, Spanish, that is the language of Puerto Ricans, the language of Puerto Rico. And that battle over language is germane to the battle for the Puerto Rican agriculture, to the battle for the Puerto Rican industry, to the battle for the Puerto Rican commerce... Is the battle for Puerto Rico! (cited in Delgado Cintron 1993:51, Translation mine)

The molding of the cognitive association of "progress with United States and upper mobility with industrial capitalism" had serve, in Gramsci terms, as the cement that glue the Puerto Rican dominated classes and U.S. capital in a social bloc (Lewis cited in De Granda 1980:91).

The superstructural foundation of linguistic dualism

Fishman(1972a:55) defines language planning as "the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level". In 1902, 'the Puerto Rican legislature' produced a linguistic formula, the Law of Official languages, called for the indistintive use of English and Spanish in the political affairs of Puerto Rico. Why a legislation of this type? O'Barr, W.(1976:6) provided the following explanation : legislation such as the Law of official languages of 1902 aims at the "manipulation of communication systems to suit political objectives".

In the case of Puerto Rico, the creation of an State bilingualism was not " an organize pursuit to solve language problems", but a colonial design to facilitate the administration of a colonial territory and a by-product of relations of power and domination. Garcia Martinez (1976:113) elucidate this colonial cul-de-sac : the "treatment that is given to the languages" of each speech communities,(Spanish and English)," reflects the relative position of the parts" in the " reciprocal relations" metropolis-colony and dominant-dominated classes. Clearly, these asymmetrical relations would manifest in the status achieved or lost and valuation or devaluation of the languages involved in the interaction. At the level of the superstructure, the Law of official languages, masked the dominance of English, by creating the illusion of linguistic equality between a dominant English and a dominated Spanish. From its foundation up to contemporary time the colonial order only pressure and coerce the colonized to be bilingual, the colonizer do not seems concern for learning the language of the colonized. English is the language use in the political negotiations between the periphery and the center, colonial administrators or officials must use the English language in correspondence, administrative meetings and hearings with Washington.

Nevertheless, the problematic must be view in a broader term not as just impel by a legal code, this law is one superstructural element among the many that prompt Puerto Rico linguistic reality. Interesting enough, an ideologue of statehood for Puerto Rico, Ortiz Toro, in the 1960s, reminded Puerto Ricans of the central superstructural problem:

"Congress has the power to approve a law at any time establishing that the language of instruction in the public schools be the English language. This is so because congress has not relinquished its sovereignty over Puerto Rico" (1970:40).(Emphasis Mine)

Previous studies on Puerto Rico's linguistic reality seems to localize the conflict at the level of the state and it had been suggested the creation of artificial boundaries via legislation to preserve and protect the integrity of the vernacular and to inhibit English interference. Whereas the production of a legislation could be helpful to contain English linguistic interference, it is important to recognize that the zenith achieved by English in the post war Puerto Rican society, is not a direct result of bilingualism at the level of the superstructure, but rather a derivative of the expansion of the mode of production. While Spanish in 1949 was a reinstate as the vehicle of instruction in the public school, the teaching in English in the private schools spiraled (Maldonado-Denis 1974). The governing elites, to contradict themselves would send their children to the private schools. Private education is in general depicted as superior than public education, in most of these schools instruction is conducted in the English language whereas, in the public school English is taught as a subject. Essentially, this educational duality help to divide a nation a long class line, the middle and upper sectors are educated in the language of the anglophone dominant class and the poor and the oppressed in the vernacular. Anibal Ponce states "not only do the ruling classes cultivate their own... but they see to it that the working class accepts educational inequality" (cited in Walsh 1991:26).

The revision of the mode of production required the development of a strong technical elite capable to interface with the anglophone controllers of industrialization. Accordingly, a large percentage of the middle and upper classes in the island would be formed academically in the domain of private education. Maldonado-Denis (1974) suggest that the role of these schools are to assist in the reproduction of a false consciousness and that in a sense they epitomize factories manufacturing a

pro-American world view.

Schools are economic, social and cultural sites which produce and reproduce ideologies and cultural forms. Ideally, the schools build upon that which has been acquired in the home and the community, reinforcing the modes of material and social organization. Realistically, however, the school creates and perpetuates a culture of domination and resistance, a culture which works through and on the student and is evidenced in the social practices, the curriculum, the routines and the language that characterized day-to-day school life (Walsh 1987:202)

The contradictions of the colonial state in educational matters is a well known fact, while, El Estado Libre Asociado was instrumental in the re-establishment of Spanish as the vehicle of instructions in the public schools, contradicts its policy by authorizing and licensing the private schools to conduct education in the English language (Negrón De Montilla 1991, Castro Pereda 1993). Colonial education as a component of the superstructure reproduces this "indigenous managerial and bureaucratic class", an entity that by virtue of intersecting with both dominant and dominated classes is capable of mediating colonial contradictions (Walsh 1991:25).

To see the problematic solely link to the superstructure is a mistake, because the reproduction of languages are also rooted in the infrastructure. Changes in the status and valuation of languages are bound to the political-economy of colonialism. Yet, this does not mean that the base is an autonomous sphere, independent from the colonial superstructure but in the contrary that they are corresponding instances in the articulation of Puerto Rico's linguistic dilemma. Notwithstanding, the expansion of the mode of production creates objective needs, the fact is that higher pay jobs in the revised industrial state require a higher level of comprehension of English. English has become a

necessity for employment in scientific, medical, technological, marketing, business, tourism and others professional fields. The prestige obtained by English in the island although is related to the "vehicular load" of this language its induce by a mode of production controlled by an anglophone bourgeoisie (Quirk et. al. 1972:2). Apologists of the colonial order argued that the linguistic situation of Puerto Rico, must be viewed from a neutral political stand, that the dominance of English in Puerto Rico is due to the "vehicular load" of English, as an international language . Meaning, that in the English language is carried the scientific and technological load from which the world community benefit and therefore the reason for its entry in Puerto Rican social life and not a direct result of Puerto Rico colonial experience .

The dialectics of language, a response from the periphery

Locally, the linguistic problematic has been examined from the perspective of various paradigms; sociology, anthropology, jurisprudence , linguistics, pedagogy, educational linguistics, and . sociolinguistics(Garcia Martinez, 1976; De Granda 1980, Meyn 1983, Negron De Montilla, 1990; Rua, 1992; Castro Pereda, 1993; Flores 1993; Velez and Schweers, 1993; Resnick, 1993). Schollarly submissions on linguistic colonialism by Fanon 1963 and Memmi 1965 have served as a footing for extensive discourse about the relation between Puerto Ricos's linguistic conflict and its political situation. Memmi (1965:108) offered this description of colonial bilingualism:

... is neither a purely bilingual situation in which an indigenouse tongue coexist with a purist's language(both belongings to the same world of feelings), nor a simple polyglot richness benefiting from an extra but relatively neuter alphabet; it is a linguistic drama. (Emphasis mine)

Historically, investigations on Puerto Rico's linguistic situation had focus on the colonial state as is view as the preeminent locale in the superstructure determining the island linguistic problematic. For

instance, some has viewed bilingualism as a necessity impelled by the political status of the island ;as a duality of traits that typified a colonial order, which among other venues is incarnated in an educational linguistic geared to produced a bilingual society.

Radicals vehemently had denounced a linguistic planning that evolved as a result of colonialism, which they see as tampering with a core identifier of Puerto Rican identity, Spanish. For many, the creole Spanish is experienced as Fishman suggests as a symbol of " collective greatness and authenticity"(1972a:50). Spanish remains, the primary bond of social solidarity in the island and in the metropolis among Puerto Ricans. Alfredo lopez states:

Two Puerto Ricans will speak coldly to one another in English, but when one says something in Spanish, the ice is broken and they act like long-lost brothers[sisters]. Spanish is the tie, the link between them, the expression of solidarity(Cited in Rua 1992:95).

Those who champion the maintenance of the hispanic character of the Puerto Rican nation, a literary intelligentsia link to the ivory tower, social democrats and socialists advocating for the independence of the island, all agree that English had been one of the most effective tool of cultural penetration used in Puerto Rico. These sectors had assume a defensive posture that is manifested in their literary production(Delgado Cintron 1993; Figueroa 1991, Rua 1990, Negron de Montilla 1991). To exemplify:

"Many things depends of language: the Puerto Rican culture, our affiliation as Spanish speaking people, our affiliation to the Latin American community of peoples, is not a political caprice, but a historical reality(Delgado Cintron 1993:54, Translation mine).

The moment is crucial for the supervision of the vernacular and therefore for our

culture of hispanic roots. Or the Puerto Rican people oppose today effective dikes to the North American linguistic and cultural penetration or risk to lose language and culture for next generations, not now as an hypothetical future annexation, but within the existing colonial reality (Rene Marques, 1963 cited in Delgado Cintron 1993:55, Translation mine).

At the same time, scholars such as Zentella (1984) asserts that the association of language with national identity turn reactionary when solicit the exclusion of return migrant from the nationality on the basis of their inability to communicate in Spanish. According to Zentella (1984:84) this problematic in a sense is a by-product of colonialism, that due to the "lack of other national identifiers Spanish has become inextricably linked for many with the survival of Puerto Rican identity"...(Zentella, 1984:84).

However, it could be argued that the continual obliteration of national boundaries by imperialism is the source of this defensive posture, as this defensive posture must be view as resistance to linguistic domination and colonialism, yet chauvinism must be rejected as counterproductive. Paraphrasing one of Juan Antonio Corretjer's poems, even if a Puerto Rican born in the moon is entitle to its Puerto Ricanness, because after all their migration to the moon is an epiphenomena of colonialism. Nevertheless, the relation between Puerto Ricanness and Spanish is part of the arsenal in the struggle against U.S. colonialism, to abandon this claim could represent a legitimation of English hegemony. Local academics as Rua (1992) argued that the struggle for the preservation of the Puerto Rican Spanish represent a key weapon in the battle of decolonization.

In general, the Puerto Rican academic left, had consistently argued against the interference of English with the Puerto Rican Spanish and for the necessity to contain what they view as a potential decline or hybridization of this variety of Spanish. Many proposals suggesting alternative linguistic planning to colonial bilingualism had been presented in the course of the history of U.S. colonial rule in Puerto Rico (Garcia Martinez 1976, De Granda 1980, Meyn 1983, Babin 1983, Negrón De Montilla 1990, Rúa 1992, Castro Pereda 1993). Language planning since 1902 had been geared at the creation of a bilingual society, and for half a century (1898-1948) the Puerto Rican people experienced a blatant imposition of English, that aimed at the disarticulation of the Puerto Rican ethos (Negrón de Montilla 1990, Delgado Cintrón 1993, Castro Pereda 1993, Figueroa 1991, Meyn 1983, De Granda, 1980).

Language planning in the 1990s and its potential implication for a colonial territory.

Political and economic events in the United States always have repercussions in Puerto Rico. During the Reagan and Bush era, the Civil Rights Act, bilingual Education, Affirmative Action, reproductive rights and voting redistricting were under attack, the ideological climate turned reactionary and backward in the United States. A new conservative political discourse was patent, manifested in a systematic attempt to reverse social gains obtained through political activism in the 1950s and 60s.

At the same time a revolution in high tech was taking place, automation replaced thousands of workers and hundreds of industrial plants were close; evolving in massive lay offs and unemployment (Marcy 1986). The white and privilege American middle class was being displaced as a result of deskilling due to the automation process. These sectors of the North American working class began to experience a decline in living conditions. The obtainable jobs are low tech-low pay

jobs, a factor that contributes to a change in the composition of the working class. Equally important, more and more new immigrants are entering the U.S. as internal conflicts in their country of origin are escalating and the character of the working class turned multinational(Ibid).

There was a resurgence of xenophobic sentiments in United States, which manifests in a linguistic ideology. For instance, in 1985 Senator Steve Symms from Idaho distributed in the U.S. Senate a report prepare by the Council for Interamerican security. The report was entitle : On Creating a Hispanic America: A nation within a nation? The following is an excerpt from the report :

"Of all our minorities, Hispanics are the youngest, fastest growing and the must concentrated in urban areas...Chicano, or Mexican-American activist of the 1960s and 1970s resurrected the dream of a hispanic homeland in the southwest of United States...called Aztlan. Yet, at home we have a federally sponsored program which helps promote a distinct Hispanic identity, preserve the Spanish language and engender a separatist mentality----bilingual education.....

....."The drive to create a new Aztlan in the southwest is tied to the Puerto Rican independence movement"(Cited in Rua 1992:44-45).

As in others previous historical periods, the official discourse suggest that the suffering of the American middle class is an outcome of the amount of immigrants entering the country; at this junction the Central and South American immigrants fits the profile, a perfect scape goat. Worsen economic conditions and political repressions in Latin America had caused the circulation of people into the United States in search for better living conditions.

At the center of the new discourse is the proposition of a constitutional amendment that seeks to establish the English language as the sole official language within the jurisdiction of American

citizenship. Principally, two organizations are responsible for promoting, advocating and lobbying for this constitutional amendment "English First and U.S. English" (Rua 1992, Baron 1990). Baron (1990:7) states that this neo-conservative discourse presents the English language as a "badge of true Americanism." Its aim is to officially guarantee the dominance of English on all possible domains of language use (Baron 1990, Rua 1992).

Seems as if this proposed amendment has a dual purpose, in one hand to exclude non-English speakers from benefiting from the so-called 'American dream' and on the other hand, it suggests anglo-conformity in order to participate in the dream. There are two choices: exclusion or assimilation. This ideology, in a sense, reverberates an early discourse of anglo-conformity, the campaign of Americanization of the nineteenth century and the aftermath of manifest destiny. Although at the present time the legislation is still pending, clearly the discourse has served to polarize even more a society that historically has been characterized by its racial and linguistic intolerance. According to Amorose (1989:208) the target of this proposed amendment is the Spanish language. A leading figure of the "English only" movement, former Senator Hayakawa had argued that through this constitutional guarantee the unity of the North American society could be maintained. As a matter of fact, Hayakawa argued that that unity is a "derivative" and is "preserved" by the English language (Cited in Castro Pereda 1993:209-210). This linguistic rationale has been embraced by some influential politicians, and although this identification has not translated in the passing of the amendment, the shift in 1995 to a more conservative U.S. Congress and Senate, indicates that favorable conditions now exist for the passing of an amendment of this type. Furthermore, a recent discussion of bill 856, the US-Puerto Rico Political Status Act, includes an amendment requiring Puerto Ricans to give up Spanish for English to earn statehood. Language politics in Puerto Rico is linked to status politics.

The passing of this amendment would have definitive ramifications for the island of Puerto Rico. As a territory of the U.S. under the jurisdiction of American laws, the potential exist for a new imposition of English in the colony(Rua, 1992:41).

Fishman(1989:25) states that:

National languages are protected by national boundaries....They separate populations into insiders and outsiders and they the cultural desiderata----including language---- which required for inside membership(Fishman 1989:25).

U.S. imperialism has tampered with Puerto Rico's national boundaries, including language. The people of Puerto Rico had battle over the issue of language since 1898; as in the late 1940s, from mid 1980s to 1993, the people of Puerto Rico participated in a national debate on the status of English and Spanish in the island. This polemic was sustained by intellectuals, jurisprudence experts, educators, politicians and political activist. At the grassroots level, pro-independence sectors and others participated in marches and demonstration, calling for the elimination of the Law of Official Languages of 1902. Seems as if the discourse of angloconformity that was taking place in United States had awaken a dormant giant, Puerto Rico's linguistic problematic. It was argued that because the law originated during the early stages of colonial rule reflected a time that had past and therefore was an anachronism. On April 5, 1991 after much debate, a new law was instituted that proclaimed Spanish the sole official language of Puerto Rico, therefore abolished the Law of Official Language of 1902. Nevertheles , mayor set back occurred in January of 1993 as a different sector of the colonial manegarial class took power, the new Pro-statehood government replaced the 1991 law with law 1 which re-instituted English as an official language in the island(Delgado Cintron 1993:55).

Once More in the history of linguistic colonialiam , in 1998, the debate over language take center.

stage. This time the context of the polemic was the U.S House of Representative during the hirings of bill 856, put forward by Rep. Don Young. The US-Puerto Rico Political Status act or bill 856 , authorize a plesbicite on the political status of the island. Rep Gerald Solomon of New York introduced an amendment to address the issue of language if the people of Puerto Rico chose statehood.

“Congress does have a constitutional responsibility to define clearly what each status option would entail. A state of Puerto Rico would have to be prepared to make certain accomodatins to become an equal partner in the United States. One of these conditions will be adopting the English language. In a world marked by a renewal of nationalism, tribalism and separatin, our country must do eveything it can promote the ties that bind us together (Solomon cited in Geyer 1998 : 1)

Since its origin linguistic colonialism had served two purpose, as administrative convenience for the anglophone colonizer and as a vehicle to filter foreign features in Puerto Rico social reproduction. If this linguistic reality is view in relation to the established capitalist- colonial relations of productions perhaps the basis for its continuance could be identified. Bilingualism had been use in Puerto Rico to disguise the dominance of English. Clearly, the reciprocal relation between language and political and economic power is demonstrated in the Puerto Rican experience.

CHAPTER 7**EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS IDEOLOGY AND REPRODUCTION****Rationals for a language program**

Education as any other social institutions is inserted within the parameters of any given form of social organization and day to day collective life . Changes in the structure of production often are reflected in the choices over curriculum and the curriculum often mirror the dominant ideas that emerge from the specific form of social organization that has evolve. For this reason any examination that seeks an understanding of the ideological underpinings and rationals for a given curriculum must be examine within the context of the political economy of nation-states. Eentially, as Apple and Weiss, states: “we cannot fully understand the way ... educational institutions are situated within a larger configuration of economic , cultural and political power unless we attempt to examine the different functions they perform....(Cited in Liston 1988:60) Therefore , in Puerto Rico the school context must be view as a linguistic battlefield , a linguistic dualism characterize this locality.

The interest of this chapter is to briefly explore via a heuristic approach the rationals for the educational linguistics of the Puerto Rico’s public schools. Schools are “central language related institutions”(Fishman 1984b:55). Two languages are taught as mandatory subject in the public schools of Puerto Rico, Spanish and English. A linguistic program that seeks the bilingualization of the Puerto Rican student. This linguistic program is not independent of the political status and economic subordination of the

island to U.S. capital; Puerto Rico remains an U.S. colony as is defined by the international community. As Henry Giroux asserts “the prevailing forms of knowledge, values, social relationships and forms of evaluation that are used in schools do not exist in precious isolation...” (Henry Giroux 1981:130) Therefore, when examining the rationals for this linguistic program is necessary to look at the objectives needs created by a colonial form of social organization. As Fishman asert...”education is a socializing instittution and must never be examined without concentrating on the social processes that it serves and the social pressures to which it responds”(1984b:53).

The first 50 years of U.S. colonial relation with Puerto Rico was characterized by a rapid process of institutional transculturation. The introduction of American institutions, laws, and policies represented the bedrock of a process that later in history would result in the fragmentation of the Puerto Rican ethos. From 1898 up to 1947 the educational linguistic of the public schools seeked NorthAmericanization of the Puerto Rican people. During this period the English language represented a tool of assimilation and domination. This overt linguistic colonialism ended in 1948 but it have left traces in Puerto Rico social metabolism. As the african and other colonial experiences demonstrates colonialism had targeted indigenous people languages for two primary reasons, firstly, administrative c-onvenience and secondly because language is a marker of distintiveness and therefore a weapon in the arsenal of national resistance(Fannon 1963). Is a well known fact that the colonizer have use educational linguistic as a key a tool in the ideological colonization of indigenous people around the globe. As Khleif asert, “through the twin mechanism of

exclusion and negation , colonialism debases conquered people and nullifies their history”(Khleif 1986:232).This obliteration of history serves to produced a fragmented national counciousness which facilitates the continuity of U.S. colonialism in the island.

Post industrialization Americanization is suggest rather than impose. At the ideological level , English jump in prestige whereas there is a devaluation of Spanish due to a generalize utilitarian ideology. Nevertheles , schools officials argued that the prestige gained by English is part of a world wide phenomenon rather than a by-product of the colonial relations. Thus discounting the history of U.S. hegemony in Puerto Rico and obliterating the history of linguistic colonialism. They argue that :

“the complexity of the economical development among nations calls for a language enviroment which will foster the growth of international business, and foreign investments. English is fast becoming the language of international communication in the business world”(Curriculum Guide ,Department of Education, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico 1984:vii)

Although there is an element of truth on the issue of the globalization of language as corrolary of the internationalization of capital, in the case of Puerto Rico appears as if the intrusion of English is inherent of the relation between an economic center and a dependent peripheric zone.In other words the political economy of education in the island is impel by the economic articulations at the level of the base and retroactions from the superstructure. Articulations that are not localy launge but externaly to the formation, Puerto Rico does not have an independent Spanish parlance national bourgeoise;

accordingly, bilingualization is a necessity induced by U.S. capital. Furthermore, the public schools of Puerto Rico are not independent of a complex "network of legitimation", to use Kleif characterization of the superstructure in capitalist formation (1986:223). A network of legitimation that was established in the first fifty years of colonial rule and that at the present time continues facilitating anglophone hegemony at the level of the base.

Developing and reproducing a bilingual working force in this peripheral region of the U.S. economy seems to be chief objective of the language program of the Puerto Rican public Schools. Whereas reciprocally the structure of production generates cognitions that favor a linguistic utilitarianism. This is illustrated in the following official statement: "The need of our society, both internal and external, are the backbone of a sound rationale for a language program"(Curriculum Guide, 1984:iv)

What are the goals of this language program:

To develop in each student the necessary affective and cognitive skills for communicating in English so as to fulfill each student's potentiality to lead a socially and economically rewarding personal life,....."

"To provide the students with the opportunity to become better informed citizens who can participate more actively and gainfully in the political and socio-economic development of the island".

"To provide the students with an additional language tool which will permit further professional and occupational advancement"(Curriculum Guide, 1984:viii)

This goals associate profitable employment with linguistic competency in English. In a sense, the establishment of this relation between profit and language dominance coincides with Bowles and Gintis theory that the consciousness of the labour force is dictated to a large extent “by the requirements of profitable employment in the capitalist economy” and that the educational system is geared at reproducing that labour force.(Cited in Sarup 1982:49)

English is view as the vehicle to shorten the economic distance between Puerto Rican oppres classes and the hegemonic class. This may be one of the reason why radical theoretician in education such as Apple and Weiss argues that schools are not only cultural institutions but also economic institutions, particularly when the curriculum is helpful in the reproduction of a given form of social organization (Apple and Weiss cited in Liston 1988:56). Obviously, the English language program is part of “ the production of economically and ideologically useful knowledge”(ibid). And must definetely, an structure of production controled by an anglophone dominant class need that educattional institutions engage in the production and reproduction of various layers of a bilingual labour force. The English language program of the Puerto Rican public schools although appears in the s urfice a result of a colonial pragmatism due to the political relation of the island with United States, must be seen essentialy as a necessity of capital. Inasmuch as the teaching of English in conjunction with others social practices s helps in the reproduction of the “technical and social relations” of a colonial capitalism.(Sarup 1982:75 , Apple 1985:,Bordieu 1977).. Also must be noted that the curriculum “make it easier for those powerful groups whose knowledge is legitimized by school studies to manage and control

society”(Anyon 1983:49). In 1998, in state of the island address, Governor Pedro Rosello stated:

We are finalizing the curriculum of the so- called Magnet Schools, where instruction will be completely in English, preparing students for access to, and success in, universities on the mainland. We aspire to forming citizens who are totally and absolutely bilingual, who have faith in their future because they have the tools required to triumph. The Puerto Rico Statewide Systemic initiative provides some of those tools to fortify learning in science and mathematics (6)

The search by government officials for an historical rationale that justify this linguistic program is patent in the following statement:

“Puerto Rico is a young country ; young, when it measured against the historical millenia of places like Egypt, China, and Babilonia . Nevertheless, Puerto Rico has many years of historical experiences in learning second languages. There were Indians who upon the arrival of the “Conquistadores”, learned Spanish. There were Spaniards who learned the Taino language. The Africans learned Spanish , and the descendents of all these groups have learned English.”(Curriculum Guide 1984:ii)

Preceding the U.S. invasion of 1898, the indigenous people of the island of Puerto Rico had established a clear association between Spanish and Puerto Ricanness.. This process of cultural fusion that had produced the Puerto Rican cultural discourse contrast with the imposition of an anglophone discourse via military occupation and its intrusion via economic activities in the second half of the twenty century. The central problem with the official argument is that bilingualization via education is made equal to a process of cultural amalgamation that occurred in a course of time in which different linguistic forms merged as a part of a natural process of cultural fusion. The variety of Spanish Puerto

Rican speak that incorporate African , Taino and Castillian forms is part of this lengthy amalgamation. Furthermore, English forced entry into Puerto Rico's social metabolism via a militar occupation is not equal to a natural process of cultural compounding..

The Text

In Puerto Rico, English instruction in the first two grade of elementary education is "devoted to oral English"(Department of Education 1984:3). In third grade the readings of narratives begins . A collection of books entitle Steps to English by Doris Kernan had been a key component of the English program for elementary schooling in Puerto Rico. An examination of the table of content, the visual aids and the readings of books 3 and 6 of this collection shows complete ommission of Puerto Rican people history , geography ,personalities , culture or idyosincracies. On the other hand emphasis is given to the social achievements of American personalities, inventions, and scientific or personal quests. This presentation seems to correspond with Apple assertion that in capitalist social formation the interests of dominant classes or groups manifest "explicitely" and "implicitly" in the text (Apple 1983:28). A claim that coincide with Miliband view of educational institutions as tools for the " mobilization of class bias"(cited in Kleif 1986:223). A discusion expanded by kleif by asserting that.."dominant groups within the nation-state have sought to control perception and restrict counsciousness by controlling the language used to portray the state and supplying the very vocabulary by which the citinzenry is to think about its social situations and aspiration(Kleif 1986:224).

For these radical perspective of education, the knowledge been circulated via the text is the knowledge of the dominant classes (Bernstein cited in Karabel & Halsey 1977:6, Apple 1981:33) There are theorists that argued that a process of mystification take place via a process call "ideological selection". Ideological selection is the mechanism use to obliterate or ommitt to mention certain facts whereas at the same time magnified and emphazize particular views of social reality (Anyon 1983:38). The concept of "Ideological selection" is central in the understanding of how the written discourse, as a superstructural element could assist in the shaping of a distinctive form of counsciousnes by manipulating the information that is presented. Doris kernan's Stept to English collection , it emphasis and negations have a dual function , in first place turn to create a sense of admiration from part of the colonized of the achievement of the colonizer therefore ofuscating their national counsciousness. Secondly, through this ofuscation the relations of domination is mask and their economic interest is protected .. Again , there is not mention Puerto Rican personalities, not inventions by Puerto Ricans , not traveling or exploration conducted by Puerto Ricans. .

In conclusion , Puerto Rican social scientists and educational theorists have a research challenge. In the words of Henry Giroux , this challenge is to explore in "the ways in which historically specific relations of power and textual authority combine to produce organize, and legitimate particular forms of knowledge , values, and community within the English curriculum"(1990:86). Furthermore , to establish a conversation between their findings and other social practices within the colonial formation.

Conclusion

In the past hundred years, The Puerto Rican people's socialization , collectively and individually, has taken place within a social terrain that has been shaped by U.S. colonialism. Is within the dialectic of daily living on that terrain that identities are constructed and contested. A colonial society is a sea of contradiction. Is visible in Puerto Ricans quotidian life the dialectical tension produced by the forces of transculturation and national affirmation. Life under colonialism could be compare to a psychiatric diagnosis of split personality. This fragmentation is not produced or originated as a result of biological misfortune, an environment of economic dependency, political domination, and cultural resistance produced a shattered national identity.

Puerto Rico's class structure is set in motion externally. The foreign dominant class exercises economic, political and ideological leadership over an intermediary political class, an embryonic-dependent national bourgeoisie, and a Spanish speaking working class. The military occupation of Puerto Rico in 1898, the imposition of English from 1898 to 1948, the creation of the Law of Official Languages of 1902 ; The establishment of the Foraker Act , The Jones Act, the creation of a system of public education patterned after the U.S. counterpart ; the take over of Puerto Rico productive process, were and are markers of U.S. hegemony on the island. Furthermore , the transculturation of Puerto Rican institutions during the first 50 years of U.S. colonialism were the foundation for the deepening capitalist relation of production and for the second take over of the productive process through U.S. controlled industrialization. Since the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico, the island's economic base and political superstructure had experienced various modifications that have deepened the ideology of dependency . With industrialization emerged a

world view delineated by a pragmatism of economic convenience. This world view has been promoted by the political colonial elites.

Ideologized notions emerge from a foreign control structure of production, that favor the hegemony of an external class. These ideas are circulated via superstructural mechanism such as the state, media and education, and are reproduced through ideologized social practices, including the narratives of daily living or discursive practices. This entire epic of colonialism has served to confuse the national consciousness of many Puerto Ricans via the manufacturing of false needs and ideological assumptions of utilitarian nature. Ideology, as projected from a foreign ruling class, enable that class to assert its interests via the illusion of social solidarity, progress and upward mobility for all. These foreign entities whose hegemony defines the parameters of Puerto Ricans social life have filtered slanted points of view into Puerto Rico's social metabolism.

It is for the reasons asserted above, that any study of the sociolinguistic of colonialism in Puerto Rico need to take in to consideration the retroaction between the superstructure and infrastructure, because these spheres propel changes in the valuation and status of the languages, Spanish and English. In Puerto Rico's colonial experience, the Anglophone discursive practice and the allegiance of insular sectors with this linguistic expression is view as a marker of sophistication and power. In addition, English is not valuated for its cultural load but as a vehicle to climb, to get closer and narrow the economic distance of the working class with the owners of the mode of production. Also it is viewed as one way of shortening the economic

distances of the monolingual in Spanish, working class, with the bilingual sectors of that same class.

The asymmetrical political and economic relation between United States and Puerto Rico is reflected in the social valuation of the languages involve in the dynamic. In this colonial situation, Spanish remains the language of social solidarity, and valued for his colloquial use. English , on the other hand, is the language of economic development and growth. There is a tendency from bilingual elites to underestimated the monolingual sectors. Bilingualism in this context is impelled by colonization.

Ideology spills into the linguistic arena through U.S. economic activities on the island. English is value for utilitarian reasons. Utilitarianism coerces linguistic attitudes that glorify this intrusive foreign language by creating the association of upward mobility with English language mastery. Yet, historically, this ideological assumption has not produced a bilingual society, there is a generalized linguistic resistance. Puerto Rico remains a monolingual society and Spanish remains the main symbol of national authenticity. Nevertheless, at the cognitive and ideological level the language of the dominant class is deified by almost all sectors of the society. The entire political economy of colonialism impel this valuation rather than segregated domains of language allocations.

Puerto Rico has not experience language shift in part because English has not entered the domestic domain. Historically, English have been restricted from Puerto Rico's home, the main locality of linguistic resistance. Notwithstanding, in recent years, this scenario has change,

English had entered into this sphere via the advent of English language cable t.v. Therefore, there is a need for more studies on the sociolinguistic of colonialism as new mechanisms are being added to the island linguistic dilemma. New elements will modify the status and valuation of languages in years to come.

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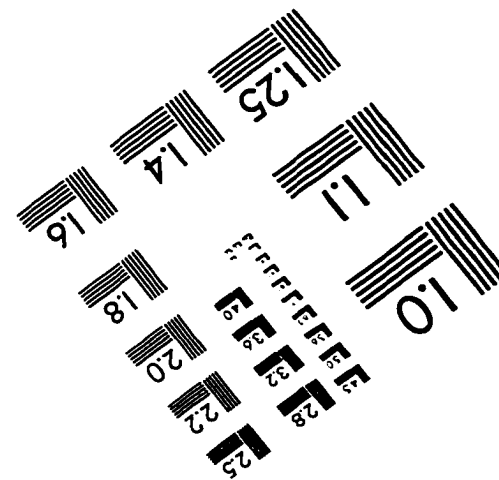
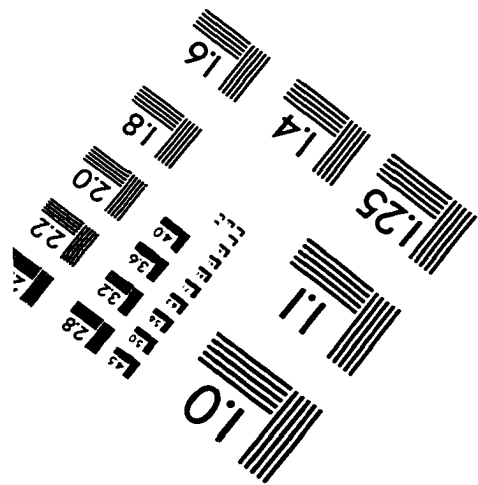
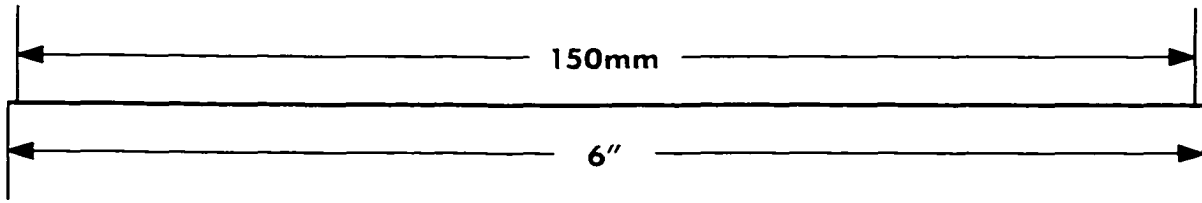
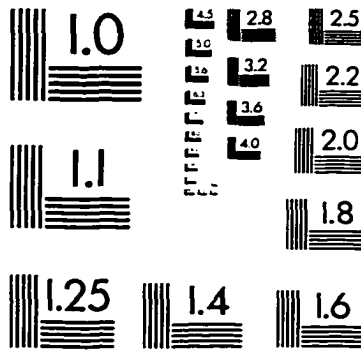
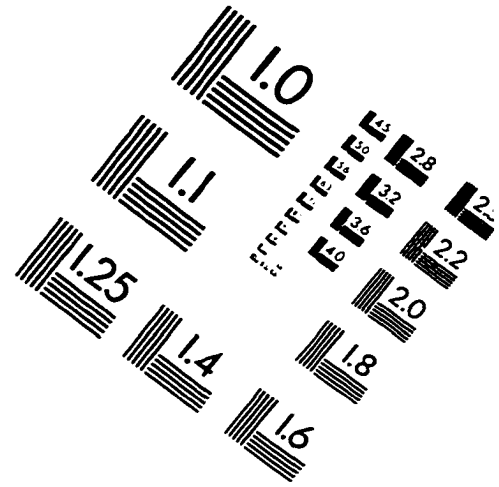
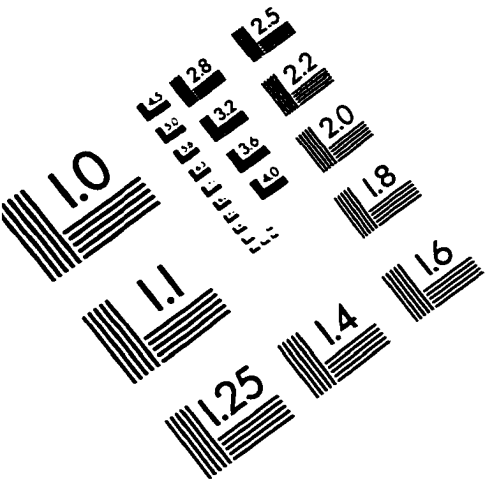
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