

of materials drawn from both primary and secondary sources. For the serious student of Puerto Rico this is a real contribution. There will always be room for further study of this unique compact between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Professor Bhana has done an excellent job in analysis, moderation of view, and scholarly writing.

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Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans. By CLIFFORD A. HAUBERG. Foreword by MICHAEL O'REILLY. New York, 1974. Twayne Publishers, Inc. Map. Bibliography. Index. Pp. 211. Cloth. \$8.95.

Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution. An Essay on American Dominance and Caribbean Resistance. By GORDON K. LEWIS. New York, 1974. Monthly Review Press. Pp. 288. Cloth. \$9.50.

Since 1963 when Gordon Lewis' landmark study, *Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, revealed the cracks in the edifice of Operation Bootstrap, a significant body of critical literature has appeared in response to deepening problems: an unemployment rate of between 15 and 30 percent in part determined by the flight of labor-intensive industry in the face of workers' demands for application of the U.S. minimum wage and the proliferation of capital-intensive and environmentally hazardous industry in petrochemicals and pharmaceuticals, the disappearance of Puerto Rican traditions through the penetration of U.S. mass media and the tourist industry as well as profound changes in class structure, and, finally, the forced exodus of over one-third of the Puerto Rican population to the urban ghettos of the U.S. where racial discrimination and insufficient employment have created a lumpen culture of drugs and crime as well as a militant sector. Because Gordon Lewis, a liberal scholar respected by the North American academic community, argues in *Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution* that the above factors and others dictate the necessity for Puerto Rican independence and socialism, the book is important. However, his argument falls short of the rigor demanded by the nature of the problem he presents. Originally intended as an introduction to a reprinting of *Puerto Rico: Freedom and Power in the Caribbean*, Lewis' essay is a rambling polemic rich in observations but lacking in structured analysis. The reader gleans from the essay the problem of dependency which is intense in Puerto Rico because of her direct colonial relationship with the United States. Helpful also is a provocative vision of an independent Puerto Rico—a society which

must close itself off from further industrialization because of the compromises inherent in the dominance of multinationals and dedicate herself instead to a revivification of agriculture in cooperative production.

In contrast, Clifford Hauberg's *Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans* reiterates the traditional North American view of Operation Bootstrap as a continuing economic miracle. One senses that the book, written for the Immigrant Heritage of America Series, is the work of a scholar heretofore unfamiliar with Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican colonial history is lost in generalizations about the Black Legend. Hauberg does not consider the fact that when practically abandoned by Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Puerto Rico developed an interior society of independent peasants—ex-Spanish conscript soldiers, the few remaining Indians, ex-slaves and runaways from neighboring islands—who also engaged in contraband trade with European pirates. This society of the independent peasant, distinct in Latin American history, began to disappear with the intensification of Spanish colonialism in the nineteenth century and subsequent development of the coffee and sugar export industries. Hauberg sees the U.S. occupation of 1898 as beginning a process of impoverishment attributable to the greed and arrogance of U.S. businessmen and officials. Like earlier North American scholars, he finds in Franklin D. Roosevelt, Rexford Guy Tugwell, and Luis Muñoz Marín the triumvirate which saves Puerto Rico from mono-crop exploitation by introducing industrialization. It is ironic that while Hauberg identifies caciquismo as a “Latin” trait inhibiting political development, he falls into the caciquismo syndrome by lionizing Muñoz Marín. Gordon Lewis is correct in pointing out that the caciquismo of Muñoz has died with an increasingly sophisticated and class-differentiated electorate and with the inability of his Popular Democratic Party to handle the plethora of social ills which Bootstrap has created. Essentially Hauberg writes within the North American tradition of seeing the Puerto Rican solely as the victim of history rather than its agent. Within this framework, he treats Puerto Ricans in the U.S. as statistics to be acted upon by government agencies in an inevitable process of assimilation. Fortunately, the critical studies of Angel Quintero Rivera, Manuel Maldonado Denis, and Juan Angel Silen have discredited the “victim” thesis by attempting to show how rebellion and resistance have been a recurring factor in Puerto Rican history.

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