

# THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."  
Mao Tsetung

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## A TRAIL OF OPPRESSION

Native Americans face a renewed attack on their rights and land under proposed anti-Native American legislation. The policies of the US government toward Native Americans historically grew out of the needs of a rising capitalist and later imperialist expansionist economy for Native American land. Today as the US increases its preparations for imperialist war, the effort to gain control of remaining Native American lands continues as a focal point for struggle. It is necessary to understand the current situation from an historical perspective and see the similarities between US policy today and previous attempts at genocide.

### EARLY SETTLEMENTS

The history of the subjugation of the Native American people began with the clash between two vastly different social systems—primitive communalism and rising capitalism. At the time of the "discovery" of America by Columbus in 1492, Native Americans in North America numbered between one and three million people and constituted hundreds of tribes. Europe had come upon a continent rich in resources—fertile land in abundance, billions of acres of timber, animals which could provide commercial furs and hides, water, copper, iron, gold, etc.

While the Native Americans initially welcomed the newcomers with life sustaining techniques, the Europeans responded to the Native Americans based on their desire to reap the wealth in land and natural resources of the new continent. This they were going to do at any cost, including the lives of the original inhabitants. The first colonization effort was in 1607 in Virginia. This landing point was an outpost for further exploration and colonization of the continent. As the Europeans expanded they had to determine the most expedient way of gaining control of North America.

The first treaty was signed in the Jamestown settlement in 1613 with the Algonquin Confederacy under the leadership of Powhatan. The confederacy thought it fair to cede to Europeans land to cultivate their crops, but the colonists wanted the fields the Native Americans had already cleared for themselves. Attacks on the Powhatan increased and settlers took over more and more land. In 1622 the Powhatan launched an attack on the colonists in an effort to regain control of their lands. However, in the 20 years that followed the white settlers with their superior weapons were to virtually exterminate the Native American population in that area. This pattern has characterized the relationship between the settlers and Native Americans ever since. The rising capitalist economy needed to explore and exploit the new continent regardless of the impact on Native Americans. The Native Americans stood in the way of this exploitation and exploration and settlers sought to get rid of them by any means necessary.

### THE TREATY SYSTEM

After their original hospitality, Native Americans learned that the Europeans had to be resisted. Consequently the settlers relied on armed military attacks, including the use of germ

## THE LONGEST WALK

# NATIVE AMERICANS FIGHT TREATY ATTACK

On February 11th 150 Native Americans and their supporters began the "Longest Walk" to protest eleven pieces of anti-Native American legislation currently facing Congress. If enacted these bills would provide the basis for another series of genocidal attacks by the US bourgeoisie on Native American people.

The major thrust of these bills would be to nullify the treaties made between the US and Native Americans. By taking away Native American rights to water, land, fishing, hunting and control of their natural resources, they would liquidate all rights to survival for Native American people. Or to put it in the words of Representative John Cunningham, R. Wash., sponsor of three bills, "If we can't get it (Native American land and resources) in a bucket, we'll do it cup by cup".

The oppressive nature of these bills has not been disguised by their being cloaked in "Equal Opportunity" language. Native Americans recognized the significance of these measures and organized the Longest Walk to bring the attention of the American people to the bills in Congress. The Longest Walk was designed to commemorate the many long walks Native Americans were forced on in previous actions by the US government to take

warfare to subjugate the people and take their land. The principal tool for consolidating control over conquered lands was the treaty system. The 13 colonies, after their successful revolution against England, negotiated the first treaty of the US with the Delawares in 1778. Under the threat of extinction and genocide, Native Americans signed 371 federally negotiated treaties in the following 100 years. While treaty making purported to recognize the sovereignty of Native American peoples, it served from the beginning to strengthen the new bourgeoisie and to deprive Native Americans of their political and economic independence.

Under the treaty system a Native American people signed a treaty with the US to cede a portion of the total land the US was "negotiating" for. Part of the portion not ceded was held in "trust" for the peoples' use and benefit. The other portion of the unceded land was actually used by the people and was supposedly "inalienable". In other words, the US ended up with "legal" title to all Native American lands with "equitable" title remaining with the particular people who resided on the land. By 1820 half of the land of the US had been robbed in one way or another from Native American peoples.

The hypocrisy of the treaty system revealed itself at an early stage. The US respected the "inalienable" land rights of Native Americans as granted by those treaties only as long as the needs of the developing nation were not compromised by these Native American land rights.

For example, Native American land rights were respected in the young nation as long as the plantation system, in the South, based on chattel slavery of Africans, was doing well. But with the one crop planting system, the Southern land owners were rapidly exhausting the South's fertile land. And demands soon developed for access to the Native American land.

In 1830 under pressure from the operators of the Southern cotton economy,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

their lands.

The Longest Walk began with ceremonies on Alcatraz Island and started off the Walkers with a destination of Washington DC by July 15. The Longest Walk has encountered some of the roughest terrain, inclement weather, and racist sentiments along their journey. Men, women and children, both Native and non-Native American, from all parts of the country are walking. Such an endeavor unquestionably demands great strength, courage and determination.

The Longest Walk began as a "walk for educational awareness to the American and world communities about the concerns of the American Indian people". Since it began over one million signatures opposing the current legislation have been obtained. Numerous organizations, community groups and Indigenous Peoples of the US, Canada and Mexico have passed supporting resolutions. The Longest Walk has received attention in Europe and elsewhere. It has taken its message directly or indirectly to over 10 million people of various religious faiths and political tendencies. It shows that the masses do possess tremendous potential for waging struggle against the oppressing class.

Leonard Peltier, a Native American

## CARTER'S IMMIGRATION PLAN

# US 'AID' SCHEME FOR MEXICO

In the first part of this series ("New Attack on Undocumented Workers, Vol. IV, #10), we exposed the hypocrisy of President Jimmy Carter's proclaimed concern for the "human rights" of undocumented immigrant workers. We showed that the essence of his immigration proposals and so-called "amnesty plan" is to legalize the superexploitation and oppression of the newest immigrant sector of the US working class.

This constitutes only one half of the two-pronged attack Carter is proposing against the "problem of illegal immigration". Acknowledging that it is poverty and unemployment that compel people to leave their native lands to find work in the US, Carter's immigration proposal also includes a package of foreign "aid" and loans. He said last October that the US wants "to promote continued cooperation with the governments which are major sources of undocumented aliens, in an effort to improve their economies". But underneath this shallow cover of attacking poverty in Mexico and other third world countries lies only further intensification of the imperialist exploitation that causes workers of oppressed nations to travel to the oppressor nation in search of work.

An essential aspect of the Carter administration's immigration proposal to Congress is a foreign aid and loan package. Mexico would receive over one billion dollars. According to Carter, this "aid" will create jobs, and, in combination with population control programs, reduce illegal immigration.

Over half of Mexican workers are unemployed or underemployed. Either they are without work or are forced to take whatever job they can get, such as street vending or seasonal agricultural work. This includes millions of peasants who have been driven off their land by the large capitalist concerns that increasingly dominate Mexican agriculture. Immigration to the US increases as the economic situation in Mexico worsens. In 1975, inflation was 9.5% and real wages were be-

low 1972 levels. With the devaluation of the peso in 1976, the standard of living for the Mexican people has become even lower. The annual per capita income in Mexico is \$700 as compared to \$5,000 in the US. Loss of land, unemployment and poverty drive millions of Mexicans to the US in search of a better life.

WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF POVERTY IN MEXICO?

Yet Mexico is a wealthy nation, rich in natural resources and fertile land. Why then are the Mexican people impoverished? The answer is found in Mexico's history as an oppressed nation. Beginning with Spanish colonial rule in the 16th century, foreign domination has robbed the Mexican people of their wealth and retarded the country's economic development. Even after Mexico won political independence in 1821, first European and then US capitalists continued to dominate the Mexican economy, forcing its development to meet foreign needs rather than the needs of the Mexican people. In Mexico, imperialists have obtained raw materials, sold their manufactured goods, and made superprofits off their investment of "surplus" capital.

The chief benefactors of this super-exploitation have been US imperialists who now hold over \$3 billion of investments in Mexico. US capital controls a large part of Mexican industry and dominates Mexican agriculture. This investment has been used to shape a Mexican economy that is dependent on the US. Three quarters of Mexico's foreign trade is with this superpower. Mexico has a growing trade deficit, \$4.5 billion in 1975, also primarily with the US. In addition, Mexico owes the US 70% of its \$30 billion foreign debt. Income from Mexico's exports each year can barely pay the interest, let alone the principal on this debt. It must borrow more money just to repay interest on old loans.

While foreign investments and loans lead Mexico further and further into debt, imperialists have made tremendous profits off their investments in that country. For example, in the period between 1961 and 1970, foreign investment in Mexico was \$1.1 billion and produced profits of \$1.8 billion. Today, the rate of profit is even higher as foreign

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING

The third article in our series on revolutionary training contrasts the tactical line of the Chinese revolution with the tactical line broadly applicable to the capitalist countries of Europe and North America.

While a revolutionary newspaper devoted to comprehensive political exposure is not the chief means to guide revolutionary training when the main form of struggle is war and the army is the main form of organization, it is best suited to guide revolutionary training during the long period of mass struggle in capitalist countries carried out in preparation for insurrection and civil war.

# IMMIGRATION

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

capitalists drain \$7.46 out of Mexico for every dollar they invest. While imperialists claim to be investing in the development of Mexico, it is really Mexican wealth that is building up imperialist economies.

Despite the immense profits the imperialists reap off the Mexican economy, foreign investment has not improved the employment situation or well-being of the Mexican people. For example, while the profits of foreign capitalists increased by 180% between 1970 and 1975, the real wages of Mexican workers declined and unemployment increased.

## IMF LOAN DIDN'T HELP MEXICO

Mexico received a \$1.2 billion loan at the end of 1976 from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), an agency which is controlled by and serves the interests of US monopoly capital. This loan is a good example of how "aid" and loans, like that attached to Carter's immigration proposal,

benefit imperialism and not the recipient country.

Mexico had to accept conditions before getting the loan. The first requirement was that Mexico devalue the peso for the first time in 22 years. Supposedly this was intended to reduce Mexico's trade deficit by making its exports cheaper on the world market. But, in fact the devaluation did not significantly increase exports income because Mexico could not successfully compete in an international market controlled by imperialist corporations. On the other hand, imperialist buyers benefitted from the lower prices for Mexican exports such as food and raw materials.

For the Mexican people, the devaluation of the peso to half its former value caused tremendous inflation. Prices of basic consumer goods quickly rose 40%. Yet wages were frozen as a condition of the IMF's "austerity plan" for Mexico. The IMF plan also required the Mexican government to reduce spending and restrict

it to mostly subsidizing private industry instead of social spending for housing, education, jobs, etc. Moreover, with devaluation, Mexicans had to earn twice as much as before to pay for imported goods. Similarly, to repay its foreign debts, Mexico now has to have twice as much foreign currency.

Another part of the IMF plan to supposedly help the Mexican economy was for that country to concentrate even more on producing for export. According to the IMF, this would enable Mexico to reduce its trade deficit and to get foreign currency to repay loans. However, especially with devaluation, the real beneficiaries of this scheme are the US imperialists who buy Mexican exports.

In sum, the IMF loan to "help" the Mexican economy was actually intended to benefit US imperialism and not Mexico. Thus the loan increased Mexico's dependency on the US. Devaluation brought even greater poverty, unemployment, and decline in the quality of life for the Mexican people. Therefore the result has been even greater pressure to immigrate to the US in the past two years.

## US INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURE

This same pattern has been the result of the domination of US capital in Mexican agriculture.

First of all, US investment accelerated the concentration of land in fewer and fewer hands. For one thing, US investors could introduce modern farming methods and equipment and so could squeeze out the peasant farmers. For another, they were in a position to take advantage of government aided theft of land from campesinos and Indian communities to build up their own holdings. Loss of land and mechanization of farming forced millions of peasants into the ranks of the unemployed and underemployed. In fact, the great majority of immigrants to the US come from those states where US capital has penetrated extensively in agriculture such as Jalisco, Michoacan and San Luis Potosi.

US capitalists gained control of Mexican agriculture through ownership of land, providing credit, and sale of equipment and supplies. This domination has enabled the US to gear Mexican agriculture to produce crops needed in the US such as cotton, sugar, and vegetables. Today, over two-thirds of Mexican agricultural produce is for export.

For example, Mexico supplies over 60% of all fresh vegetables consumed in the US between December and May. Beginning in the 1920's, US interests moved into the rich lands of northwest Mexico to grow and export winter vegetables to the US. Today it is a \$100 million a year industry. The vegetables are grown with US seeds, fertilizers, tractors, technicians, and so on. Production costs are financed with capital from US banks and supermarket chains. The profits are taken by large agribusiness concerns, often the same ones that own farms in the US.

"Capitalism has given rise to a special form of migration of nations. The rapidly developing industrial countries, introducing machinery on a large scale and ousting the backward countries from the world market, raise wages at home above the average rate and thus attract workers from the backward countries.

Hundreds of thousands of workers thus wander hundreds and thousands of versts. Advanced capitalism drags them forcibly into its orbit, tears them out of the backwoods in which they live, makes them participants in the world-historical movement and brings them face to face with the powerful, united, international class of factory owners.

There can be no doubt that dire poverty alone compels people to abandon their native land, and that the capitalists exploit the immigrant workers in the most shameless manner. But only reactionaries can shut their eyes to the progressive significance of this modern migration of nations. Emancipation from the yoke of capital is impossible without the further development of capitalism, and without the class struggle that is based on it. And it is into this struggle that capitalism is drawing the masses of the working people of the whole world, breaking down the rusty, fusty habits of local life, breaking down national barriers and prejudices, uniting workers from all countries in huge factories and mines in America, Germany and so forth." Lenin in "Capitalism and Workers' Immigration", LCW, vol.19, p.454

\*\* With the decline of the US economy in recent years, there has been a corresponding decline in the US market for Mexico's products. Vegetable production has therefore been cut and capital put into grains that produce greater profits and require less workers. Thus the dependency of Mexican agriculture on the US market leads to even more unemployment in rural areas.

## US INVESTMENT IN MEXICAN INDUSTRY PRODUCES PROFITS BUT NOT JOBS

US capitalists claim that their investment will create jobs and strengthen the Mexican economy. In fact, US investment has created more unemployment in Mexican industry. US owned factories usually bring in modern technology which requires fewer workers. They take over existing companies and squeeze out smaller ones that can't compete. So, while foreign companies own 31% of the total industrial production in Mexico, they employ only 16% of the industrial work force.

A good example of how US investment has affected Mexican industrial employment was the Border Industrialization Program. Designed in 1965, it allowed entirely foreign owned companies to set up assembly shops within a 12 mile strip south of the US-Mexico border. They could employ the large number of workers in the area for a small fraction of US wage rates. They paid virtually no taxes or

import duties to the Mexican government and took the profits out of the country. US garment and electronic assembly plants, like Motorola, Levi Strauss, and Hughes Aircraft, took advantage of the program and by late 1974 there were 665 runaway shops along the border. They hired 80,000 workers but unemployment in the area, nonetheless, doubled between 1960 and 1970! This was because the plants hired mainly young women not previously in the work force and they attracted many job seeking people from the interior to the border region. The plants were oriented to produce export goods for the US market. So, when that market declined in late 1974 and 1975, 20,000 workers were laid off in several months and 40 shops closed up and moved away.

"As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilized not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap."

Lenin, IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM, Peking edition, p. 73

## CARTER'S "AID" PLANS ARE NO SOLUTION FOR MEXICO'S POVERTY

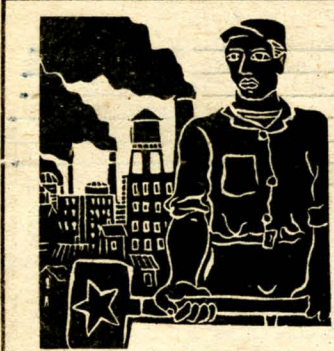
Despite this history of US monopoly capital's exploitation of Mexico, agents of imperialism like Carter continue to argue that imperialist investment of capital is the best way to promote development and prosperity in oppressed nations. Mexico's experience, however, proves that the result of imperialist "aid", loans and investment is the exact opposite—dependence, impoverishment, and unemployment for the oppressed nation and tremendous profits for the imperialists.

When unemployed Mexican workers seek jobs in the US, they are merely following the wealth squeezed from their country by the ruthless exploitation of US imperialism. There is both a logic and justice to their choice. If the fruits of Mexican labor cannot be used for job creating investments in Mexico because, for example, they must pay interest on US loans, then it stands to reason that jobless Mexicans search for work elsewhere. Without qualification we support open borders for workers from nations oppressed by imperialism who must leave homelands where economic development is retarded to serve imperialist interests.

We also welcome the breakdown of borders for the contribution to the struggle against imperialism. In the era of imperialism, proletarian revolution depends on a common revolutionary front of the proletariat of the imperialist countries

# FACTORY EXPOSURES

FACTORY EXPOSURES is a regular column of THE COMMUNIST. We encourage all workers and Marxist-Leninists to send in articles concerning trade union struggles, local grievances, health and safety issues and other forms of workplace abuse.



This contribution to FACTORY EXPOSURES is taken from a letter submitted to THE COMMUNIST from a correspondent in West Virginia. It provides a factual account of some of the conditions that the miners have faced since the settlement of the national strike.

## NOTES FROM THE COAL FIELDS

It's been over two months since the miners' strike ended. Already the motion of the capitalists and the state on the one hand, and the miners on the other, is evident.

Here in West Virginia miners are being laid off right and left by the coal operators. Some of the layoffs are temporary. They are attributed to contracts lost during the strike and problems in getting railroad cars for the coal that is piling up.

One local coal operator, however, gives another reason for the layoffs and suggests that they will be for a longer period of time. He stated that "We are in a buyers' market and when you're in a buyers' market generally there is resistance. It appears here that the buyer is resisting any increase in price due to the recently negotiated coal contract". He estimated the new contract provisions have resulted in price increases of \$2.50 a ton or more. His company, as many in the area, markets high grade metallurgical coal.

He continued, "There just isn't any foreign market presently, and we have always depended on the foreign or export market in this area....Our sales people have been told by some of the buyers that they are not interested in coal at any price, that their stockpiles are full".

During the strike, the capitalists launched a massive propaganda campaign against the miners, blaming them for severe "coal shortages" that could threaten the whole country. They portrayed the miners as a selfish minority holding the majority hostage. Now the miners are being forced to pay for "coal surpluses" and getting laid off by the thousands. In this region alone the number of men put out of work is estimated at 2,000.

The miners and their families were already having a hard time after their long battle against the coal operators and the state. The present wave of layoffs only further increases their difficulties. As one woman, representing District 31 in Faimont, West Virginia, pointed out, "It seems harder for miners now than it was during the strike. In terms of money, creditors are demanding that bills be paid in full at once, so many miners in our district have little money left to buy food." And soon after the strike settlement, the cost of food dramatically rose. A pound of bologna went up 20% -- and this even before the men received their first paycheck.

The UMW received \$4 million in pledges from other unions to aid the miners and their families. This money was set up in an international relief fund. But of this only \$650,000 has been sent out. The three districts here in West Virginia have received only \$142,000.

UMW District 29, also in West Virginia, said the money is being used only for portions of utility bills, half of

each bill up to a total of \$100. The Secretary-Treasurer for District 29, stated, "We've had several hundred utility cut-offs for miners during the last few weeks, and we won't start accepting applications for other kinds of relief until we get caught up on these bills and get some utilities turned on."

The Secretary-Treasurer of District 17, based in Charleston, West Virginia, reported that "We are paying only enough to keep the utilities in service. We're also helping miners who have received foreclosure notices. But we are not making car payments. Cars are luxury items, homes are necessities."

District 31 has used all of its \$27,000 to buy food for miners' families. They have requested \$25,000 in additional funds to get utility services back in operation.

While the miners here are faced with layoffs and increasing difficulties in paying for basic necessities like food and shelter, the capitalists are hypocritically issuing calls for greater "labor-management unity". Jay Rockefeller, Governor of West Virginia, is appealing to the "common interests" of workers and capitalists and claiming that both want the same thing—to get coal out of the ground. Speaking before the Economic Club of Pittsburgh, he stated, "Labor and management are at a point where they simply must reach out for a modern and more mature understanding of their mutual dependence on each other." He called for more training of miner supervisors and foremen in "modern" personnel practices and that rather than turning to arbitration, more disputes should be settled at the mines. He also called for labor to train mine committeemen and local officials to screen out petty complaints and to discipline workers who are not dependable.

Not surprisingly, Rockefeller's "suggestions" mirror those of coal operators themselves. For example, a spokesman for Blue Diamond Company, currently involved in a 21 month long struggle against striking Stearns miners, recently stated in the magazine, BLACK DIAMOND, that, "As President Arnold Miller so aptly stated, 'there are some of our members, the divisive ones, who don't want to work no matter what happens.' (and the spokesman for Blue Diamond adds) This is the element in the union that has fomented the wildcat strikes of 1977....This is the type of union member that must be controlled at all costs for the good of all concerned."

For "the good of all concerned" and for preserving the "unity of interests" between miners and mine owners the capitalists are making a big pitch to get the union to turn against its own members. And, of course, their job is made a lot easier by having traitors like Miller around to launch their yellow leg call for working class betrayal.

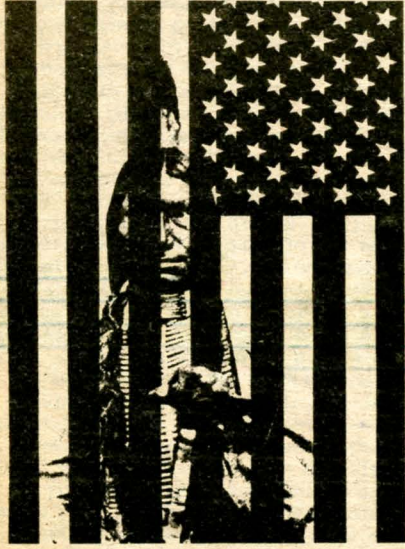
But, the miners aren't falling for it. When the first of the month rolls around and there's no money to pay the utilities or to put food on the table, when car payments have become a luxury, the emptiness of "mutual dependence on each other" is apparent. It's clear here in West Virginia that it's not "labor-management unity" that pushes things forward or backward, but class struggle like that going on in the coal fields.

# NATIVE AMERICANS

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

the Indian Removal Act was passed. This act called for the US to exchange "its" western lands for lands occupied by the Native Americans in the East, particularly the Southeast. This act was passed although treaty after treaty had guaranteed to the Native American peoples residing in that area the right to their land "forever".

The Cherokees led the fight against forced removal, but a federal army of 10,000 men moved in to forcibly move 14,000 Native Americans. Family by family were taken at gunpoint, placed in



concentration camps from which they were shipped to Indian territory (Oklahoma). Most went overland in the infamous Trail of Tears, leaving approximately 4,000 along the way dead of starvation, exhaustion, exposure and disease.

## RESERVATIONS

For awhile it looked like the permanent separation of Native Americans and whites would exist following the general line of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. To whites the western lands appeared "unfit" for habitation. Thus the pressure of white settlement against Native American territory in the West developed more slowly than in eastern areas. But the opening of the Oregon Trail in 1842 and the expansionist war against Mexico in 1848 led to thousands of white Americans moving west and a new demand for Native American land. In many cases land that had been granted "forever" to replace original Native American land in the East was now desirable.

In 1849, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was created within the Department of the Interior to administer federal responsibility for Native Americans and their lands. This change from previous responsibility of the War Department indicated that the government now saw the conflicts with Native Americans as internal problems. The relationship between the government and Native Americans over land was that now the government granted limited lands to Native Americans as reservations. The first reservation opened in 1853 and a new era of brutal, exploitative, genocidal policy began. By 1860, the population of Native Americans had been reduced to 340,000.

As long as they maintained their sovereignty, the Native Americans were not integrated into the economic life of the US. The financial obligations of the US to Native Americans outlined in treaties were an albatross around the neck of the US economy. So the US moved to further consolidate its policy of deal-

ing with Native Americans as an internal problem by ending treaty making policy and substituting Congressional agreements in 1871. This action showed again the hypocrisy of the federal "trust" agreements. Where treaty making supposedly recognized the sovereignty of Native Americans, the trustee (the US) was able to unilaterally terminate the relationship.

## GENERAL ALLOTMENT OF 1887

By ending treaty making, the Act of 1871 paved the way for more disguised attempts of the US to annex lands for increased profits. These culminated in the General Allotment Act of 1887 at which point there were still 138 million acres of Native American lands. This act divided communal Native American lands into individual units based on the principle that "individual ownership is one of the most effective civilizing agencies".

Such policies were designed to destroy traditional forms of Native American life and have historically proven to be genocidal. Under the 1887 Act, land not allocated to individual Native Americans was regarded as surplus land. The US government bought this land cheap and sold it dear—primarily to business interests. At the same time, breaking up communal property relations disrupted the economy of the peoples. Native Americans became impoverished and had to sell their land allotments to stay alive, thereby losing more of their land.

In the forty year period from 1890-1930 (which included the Spanish American War and the first imperialist World War), Native American land holdings were reduced to slightly more than 48 million acres, a reduction of 65%. It was during this period that the Native American population dropped to an all time low of 220,000. At this low point in Native American history, the irony of what integration into American life meant to Native Americans was reflected in the US "granting" full citizenship to Native Americans in 1924.

## INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT

Native Americans and others who supported them protested the allotment system and its destructive effect on Native American life. They continued to resist the attacks by the US government on Native American peoples. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act ended the allotment of Native American lands and provided for the acquisition and restoration of remaining surplus lands by and to Native American ownership. Under this act Native Americans were to form co-operatives for economic development, get credit from the US government, and apply for openings in the BIA—all under the watchful eye of the Department of the Interior. Native Americans could also organize for self government, but only with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Making use of the corporation structure to organize their economic lives, Native Americans began to pool their resources and to a degree revitalize a decimated population.

## TERMINATION POLICY

However, about the time of the Korean War the US once again began to move aggressively to eliminate the Native American treaty rights and gain full control of their land. This time the policy was "termination". Congressional policy declared "as rapidly as possible make Indians subject to the

## WE REMEMBER



1890-1973

## WOUNDED KNEE

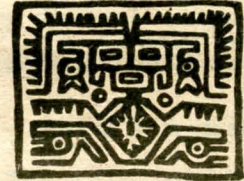


same laws, the same rights, perogatives, privileges, and responsibilities as apply to all citizens". The Termination Resolution of 1953 led to the termination of recognized tribal status of several tribes and the loss of several million acres of land. This occurred under the guise of granting Native Americans the "same rights, perogatives; privileges..." of all other citizens. The intent of this "equality" under termination was not to assure Native Americans of equal rights, but once more to take away their historical claim to the land.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND TODAY

The current legislative drive seeks to end the existence of treaties altogether. Again under the guise of equality, the "Native American Equal Opportunity Act" would take away all Native American rights to land and benefits of treaty status. This renewed attack by the government comes in response to the increasing militancy of Native Americans in struggling for the enforcement of treaty obligations entered into by the US government. Actions by the American Indian Movement, the Trail of Broken Treaties in 1972, the seige at Wounded Knee in 1973, and the current Longest Walk all have stressed the treaty rights and obligations that have been ignored and undermined by the US government. The current proposed legislation claims that equality for Native Americans will only come by eliminating the treaties. But the Native American people know that the struggle to maintain their land base that will sustain their economic development is what is essential for their survival.

As the superpowers prepare to launch another imperialist war, the proletariat in the US must realize the significance of its ally in the Native American struggle against imperialist aggression. We must oppose annexation of Native American lands by the US bourgeoisie. As part of our responsibility to lead the struggle against superpower hegemonism, we must oppose any threat to the survival of the Native American peoples. We must uphold the right of Native Americans to their historic lands and to exercise jurisdiction over their own territories.



\*\*\* The majority of Native Americans are under 20 years of age although the birth rate is 2.5 times that for whites. The average life expectancy is 44 years as compared to 71 for white Americans. The suicide rate of Native Americans is 3 times that of the national average and on some reservations, 10 times as high.

\*\*\* 35% of all Native American women of child bearing age have been forcibly sterilized; and 30% of all minority women sterilized in this country are Native Americans between 8 and 15 years of age.

\*\*\* Treaties require the government to provide education. But the "education" requires that people don't speak their native language or exercise cultural practices. It often means children are sent to school far from the locale of their families. Because of these conditions, the average years of schooling are only 5.5 years.

\*\*\* To promote a more "civilized" way of life and to provide a mode of living to replace traditional hunting and grazing, the treaties require technical and agricultural training. But most Native Americans have received no training and unemployment ranges from a low of 20% on affluent reservations to a high of 80%. The average yearly income for a reservation family is slightly more than 1,500 dollars.

\*\*\* In spite of all the efforts to take the land away and the severe conditions of oppression, more than half of the Native American people live on the reservations. To liquidate the land base; the hunting, fishing, water, and mineral rights that the treaties grant would be to liquidate the Native American people.

## HOW VALUABLE IS NATIVE AMERICAN LAND?

\*\*\* Native American lands contain most of the uranium reserves within the borders of the US and one third of all low sulphur coal. Examples of the magnitude of the natural resources on Native American land are as follows: The 440,000 acre Cheyenne reservation in Montana contains a 60 foot thick foundation of coal. The 13,989,222 acre Navajo reservation within the borders of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah contains 100 million barrels of oil, 25 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, 80 million pounds of uranium and 50 billion tons of coal. The Apache reservation in New Mexico contains 2 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 154 million barrels of oil.

\*\*\* The level of natural resource development on Native American land is already significant. In 1974 35.8% of the coal production and 100% of uranium production were on Native American lands. Excluding off shore oil production, Native American land produced 13.6% of the oil.

\*\*\* According to the 1975 General Accounting Office report on Indian Natural Resources, Native American lands also include 5.3 million acres of commercial forestland, including 38 billion board feet of timber, 44 million acres of range land and 2.5 million acres of cropland. The total acreage of Native American land is 55 million with 53 million lying west of the Mississippi River.

\*\*\* There are over 150 commercial and industrial enterprises located on reservation and other Native American lands in order to exploit cheap labor and to take advantage of the real estate exemptions offered to them by the US government. Major petrochemical corporations such as Exxon, Phillips, Shell and others make millions of dollars in profits through the exploitation of natural resources on and under Native American lands and from Native American labor.



The plan of the Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is to fight for a newspaper modeled on Lenin's ISKRA as the main link in the fight to prepare the conditions for a new Communist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, our columns are open to all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers for topical exposures, polemics and reports on their work.

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Earlier articles in this series have brought out the importance of revolutionary training to the struggle for party unity and argued that the chief means of revolutionary training must be through the organization of comprehensive political exposure.

Political exposure, Lenin said in WHAT IS TO BE DONE?, is the fundamental condition for raising the consciousness and activity of revolutionary leaders as well as of the working and oppressed masses.

Political exposures are a means to accomplish this result because they require the application in practice of a materialist analysis and materialist estimate of events. They are a means to train revolutionaries in the Marxist-Leninist method of seeking truth from facts as a guide to action. As such they are a means to overcome a partial or one-sided approach to problems. They are a means to overcome the tendency to bow to conditions of fragmentation or inexperience. In short, they are a means to overcome the tendency to narrowness in the conception of Marxist-Leninist theory and narrowness in the conception of our tasks, both of which hold back the struggle for party unity.

BUT THERE WAS NO ISKRA IN CHINA!

Some comrades, however, argue that these lessons from Bolshevik history did not apply to the development of other communist parties, such as the Chinese party; therefore they reproach us with dogmatism for attempting to apply them to our own movement. The Chinese party, they argue, did not use a newspaper devoted to comprehensive political exposure as the main vehicle for revolutionary training, and no such newspaper played a decisive role in its struggle for party unity.

Given the points we have made, if the Chinese party did not make use of the basic features of Lenin's plan, why is this so?

THE TACTICAL LINE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

The answer must be found in the conditions of the Chinese revolution. Mao writes that the seizure of power by armed force is the central task of every revolution—this is a Marxist-Leninist principle universally applicable. But the application of this principle must vary according to concrete differences in the conditions of revolutionary struggle in different countries.

Thus in PROBLEMS OF WAR AND STRATEGY Mao points out that China was not an advanced capitalist, but a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. He continues, "...this shows the difference between China and the capitalist countries. In China war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization. Other forms such as mass organization and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances to be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war. Before the outbreak of a war all organization and struggle are in preparation for the war, as in the period from the May 4 movement of 1919 to the May 30th movement of 1925. After war breaks out, all organization and struggle are coordinated with the war either directly or indirectly..."

As Stalin said, "In China the armed revolution is fighting the armed counter-revolution". This specific feature of the Chinese revolution determined its tactical plan. The main task of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao wrote; "has been to unite with as many allies as possible and, according to the circumstances, to organize armed struggles for national and social liberation against armed counter-revolution, whether internal or external. Without armed struggle...it would be impossible to accomplish any revolutionary task."

Every member, he adds, "should be prepared to take up arms and go to the front at any moment."

Further, all other work must be linked to and subordinated to armed struggle.

"Party organizational work and mass work are co-ordinated with the war, and should and must exclusively serve the needs of the front. In a word, the whole Party must pay great attention to war, study military matters and

prepare itself for fighting."

From this it is clear that for the Chinese Communist Party, what Lenin referred to as the application in practice of a materialist analysis and materialist estimate of events took place in the framework of military organization and armed struggle. Revolutionary training took place in the context of military struggle.

It follows that a newspaper devoted to comprehensive political exposure was not best suited to guide revolutionary training. For example, it is not secret, and so forth. In fact, it would need to ignore the most essential problems requiring solution by army leaders in the field.

It is for these reasons that Mao does not bring forward the role of a newspaper in taking up, for example, a party rectification campaign to overcome shortcomings in party work such as that unfolded in REFORM OUR STUDY.

THE TACTICAL LINE OF WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

However this fact does not undermine, but reinforces the significance of the tactical line of WHAT IS TO BE DONE? to our own revolution.

Comparing the Chinese revolution with revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and North America, Mao writes that up until the period of insurrection and civil war,

"...it is the task of the party of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggle, and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism. In these countries, the question is one of a long legal struggle, of utilizing parliament as a platform, of economic and political strikes, of organizing trade unions and educating the workers. Thus the form of organization is legal and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military)."

In these conditions civil war cannot be undertaken "until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless, until the majority of the proletariat are determined to rise in arms and fight, and until the rural masses are giving willing help to the proletariat." Mao concludes:

"All this has been done by Communist Parties in capitalist countries, and it has been proved correct by the October Revolution in Russia."

Therefore from a tactical point of view the forms of organization and forms of struggle are non-military until the conditions for the seizure of power are ripe. In both the US and Bolshevik Russia the task of the proletarian party is to master all forms of mass organization and to guide mass struggle.

By contrast, under the conditions of the Chinese revolution, the main form of struggle was military and the main form of organization the army.

Revolutionary training, on which the question of party unity depends, must take into account these differences.

In advanced capitalist countries, Marxist-Leninist cadres must be trained to educate the working and oppressed masses in revolutionary consciousness and activity, to take leadership in economic and political strikes and demonstrations, to penetrate the trade unions and bring them under party control, to utilize parliament as a platform, and so forth. They must learn to know when the bourgeoisie is helpless, when the proletariat is determined to fight and when the allies of the proletariat are ready to stand by its side.

For these tasks, the role of comprehensive political exposure and a newspaper like Lenin's ISKRA come to the fore. Whereas a newspaper is not best suited for revolutionary training under conditions of military struggle, it is most suited to guide revolutionary training when the task is to build up mass organizations and wage non-military mass struggle. Characteristics which make it unsuitable in the first instance—for example, that it is open, not secret—are its strengths in the second situation.

REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING FOR MASS STRUGGLE

The comparison of the tactical line which must guide revolutionary training under conditions of military struggle with the tactical line which must guide revolutionary training under conditions

of non-military struggle holds an important lesson for our movement. As we said in our article "A Party Building Retreat", unless we undertake

"the task of giving leadership to the masses and strive to enter and lead spontaneous manifestations of class struggle, we do not win the vanguard to communism in a practical way. We fail to train the vanguard in the most important characteristic of the proletarian party -- its capacity for political leadership."

(THE COMMUNIST, v. III, no. 11, 6/6/77)

In other words, entering and giving leadership to mass organizations and to the struggles of the masses of working and oppressed people is a task of revolutionary training integrally linked to party building. It is training in the kind of leadership we must provide and at this time comparable to the relationship of the study of military matters to party construction in the Chinese revolution. Where for the Chinese Communist Party, comrades gained training in military struggle, our comrades must gain training now chiefly in the techniques of mass struggle. Where for the Chinese party military orders, reports from the field, etc. were essential vehicles of revolutionary training, for Marxist-Leninists striving to lead mass struggles, the best vehicle to guide revolutionary training is an Iskra type newspaper.

TRAINING A PRACTICAL WORKER AS A POLITICAL LEADER

This last point of course is a fundamental lesson of WHAT IS TO BE DONE? "We must train our Social Democratic practical workers to become political leaders," Lenin wrote, and showed that a newspaper devoted to comprehensive political exposure was a necessary tool to guide that training. "Live political work," he said, "can be begun in our time, when Social Democratic tasks are being degraded, exclusively with live political agitation, which is impossible unless we have an all Russian newspaper, frequently issued and properly distributed." (WITBD?, Peking ed., p. 200)

Training in mass struggle does not come simply from taking up mass work, and revolutionaries do not bring political knowledge to the working class merely by 'going among the workers'. Instead, there must be broad political agitation which goes hand in hand with the organization of comprehensive political exposure.

"In order to carry on agitation around concrete examples of oppression, these examples must be exposed (just as it was necessary to expose factory abuses in order to carry on economic agitation)" WITBD?, p. 71). The organization of political exposures

"would serve to cultivate the ability properly to estimate the general political situation... would train all local organizations to respond simultaneously to one and the same political questions... (and) would train all revolutionary organizations throughout Russia to maintain the most continuous, and at the same time the most secret, contact with each other, thus creating real Party unity..." (WITBD?, p. 219)

In general, these matters have been mishandled by our movement. Organizations have certainly sought connection with the mass movement, but they have not understood either the role of revolutionary training, or the central task of party building, or the role of the proletariat as a vanguard fighter for democracy. Thus build the mass movement, not party building, was for a time the central task, and Marxist Leninists did not show the connection between the mass movement overall and the political struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is still a weak point. For example, trade union caucuses were built up in an effort to penetrate the mass movement, but the basis for giving good leadership to trade union work and for preparing the conditions to win and consolidate the advanced, namely, a nuclear style of work, was ignored. Marxist-Leninist newspapers did little to guide the task of revolutionary training through work sum ups, etc.

At the other extreme, some comrades wrote off the mass movement and the democratic struggle altogether under the guise that party building is the central task. The absurdity of this view, in light of the tactical line we have brought forward, is clear -- there can be no party building without training the vanguard in communist leadership in the forms of organization and struggle of the mass movement.

WHAT KIND OF NEWSPAPER DO WE REQUIRE?

The tasks of revolutionary training which are raised by the tactical line of WHAT IS TO BE DONE? make clear the character of newspaper we must have. It must be a newspaper capable of training political leaders for mass struggle, and for that reason Lenin emphasized building an organization devoted to all-sided, all-embracing political agitation.

First, propaganda must have the leading role in our press if we are to apply the method of Marxism-Leninism and make a materialist analysis and materialist estimate of events from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint and no other.

Second, we must pay a great deal of

attention to the tasks of guiding the struggles of the working class. Lenin wrote:

"The ideal audience for political exposures is the working class, which is first and foremost in need of all-round and live political knowledge, and is most capable of converting this knowledge into active struggle."

Especially at this time we need to pay attention to the struggle to build party organizations on the plant floor (revolutionary cores and nuclei) which lay the basis for giving leadership to the economic and political agitation of the working class.

Sum ups of these struggles must also have a high priority in our work if the party we strive to create is to be "trained and taught correct revolutionary tactics on the basis of its own mistakes", rather than to avoid training as the Second International by evading and glossing over vexing questions (FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM). These sum ups need to concern all our efforts to give leadership to the day to day struggles of the working class, including the struggle to build caucuses and other forms of rank and file organization, to penetrate the trade unions and to win them to communist leadership, to organize the unorganized, health and safety, etc.

Sum ups of this sort, however, do not fall from the sky. They can only happen if comrades engaged in work take up the task of providing exposures that "generalize all the diverse signs of ferment and active struggle" (WITBD?, p. 200).

A work sum up reflects the basic Marxist-Leninist principle of learning from practice. Just as with revolutionary training under conditions of military struggle, in mass struggle we must "learn warfare through warfare." Training in mass struggles means grasping that an exposure is not an appraisal or estimate of events in the abstract, but a materialist analysis and materialist estimate "to apply in practice." Mao writes:

"Neither a beginner nor a person who fights only on paper can become a really able high-ranking commander; only one who has learned through actual fighting in war can do so." (THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO BE GOOD AT LEARNING)

This lesson also applies to the question of training political leaders in the course of mass struggle. In the trade unions, on the shop floor, in the mass organizations, we need many "able high-ranking commanders" who learn through actual fighting.

Said another way, we do not just take up mass work any more than Chinese revolutionaries could have gained training, or survived, by going aimlessly into battle. We must take up mass work consciously in a party style, with the objective of generalizing our experience and training Marxist Leninists as practical and



political leaders of the struggles of the working and oppressed masses.

We must add that a newspaper which takes up the task of guiding revolutionary training does not focus its attention exclusively on the working class. The proletariat is a vanguard fighter for democracy and must be in the advance of everyone in taking up the general problems of democracy for solution. He is not a Communist, Lenin argues,

"who forgets that the Communists support every revolutionary movement, that we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasize general democratic tasks before the whole people, without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions." (WITBD?, p. 102)

In sum, an Iskra type newspaper must bring together every fact and feature which can contribute to the revolutionary struggle against superpower hegemonism internationally and against US monopoly capitalism in the US, shedding the light of communist policy on every facet of struggle in order to train revolutionary political leaders in the course of struggle. Our newspaper will guide revolutionary training by training every comrade, as Lenin said,

"...to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; he must be able to generalize all these manifestations to produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to explain his Socialistic convictions and his democratic demands to all, in order to explain to all and everyone the world-historic significance of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation." (WITBD?, p. 99).

Army & Sun J. G. S.