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# REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLES!

SUBMITTED BY THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE  
TO THE NATIONAL CONTINUATIONS COMMITTEE TO CALL A CONGRESS FOR A  
MULTI-NATIONAL, MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY

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INDIAN QUESTION - An analysis of the brutal exploitation and oppression of Indian people.

GENERAL STATEMENT - The Indian question, the struggle of the Indian peoples for sovereignty, and the national colonial question in general is directly tied to the world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism. It is with the struggle for the unity of the proletariat and oppressed peoples in mind that this research has been done. It is not our ability or intent at this time to give a detailed analysis of all tribes in the USNA. But rather, this report will speak to the general history of the exploitation and oppression of Indian peoples from the period of western expansionism to the present Indian peoples' liberation movement.

#### INTRODUCTION

The aboriginal population of the region which was to become the USNA has been estimated as low as 1 million and as high as 10 million persons. The effects of various policies of westward expansionism on the Indian population was catastrophic. By 1800 the native population was about 600,000 (approximately the same as in 1970), and 50 years later it was about 250,000. The causes of the drastic decrease were basically malnutrition, disease and genocide. The malnutrition was caused by the destruction of the basis of Indian subsistence which took the form of "scorched earth" policies in the east and the almost total extinction of the buffalo in the west. The diseases were a consequence of westward expansionism, although there are several recorded instances of the ever encroaching settlers utilizing the Indian vulnerability to European diseases as a basis for biological warfare. Thus the Georgians and the government gave the Cherokee small-pox infested clothing and blankets to procure more land.(1)

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle".... "The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. From the serfs of the middle ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest town. From these burghers the first elements of the new bourgeoisie were developed". (2)

"The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonialization of American trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never known before and thereby to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society a rapid development." In short,... "Modern industry has established the world market for which the discovery of America paved the way." (3)

To colonize the "new world" meant the extermination of the native population to have free use of the land.

#### THE RIGHT OF DISCOVERY

In 1496 the English crown granted the Cabots a commission to discover countries then unknown to christian people, and to take possession of them in the name of the king of England. Two years later, John Cabot proceeded on his voyage, and he too "discovered" the continent of North America; it was to this discovery that the English traced their title to much of the land. In exchange for the land the Indians were given "civilization and christianity". The right to discovery fluctuated with the degree of sophistication of the government of the area. In the populous and civilized areas beyond the Cape of Good Hope, discovery meant only exclusive right to trade. In America, however, there was only "a race of hunters connected in

society by scarcely a semblance of organized government." Thus, discovery meant absolute appropriation.

### MERCANTILE CAPITALISM

The original English colonial scheme was envisioned by Gilbert and Raleigh in the 16th century as part of the war effort of that age. With the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the eventual peace that followed, once more the Englishmen gradually turned their attention to development of a colonial empire. The English established trading colonies because they were a commodity producing capitalist country. Spain attempted to get gold and silver because they were a feudal state. Commercial motive was one of the principal factors back of the new colonial drive, which speedily assumed the form of establishing permanent plantations on American soil north of that region which Spain had already appropriated. (4)

The commercial structure of England and her colonies in the 17th century falls within the general pattern of the economic practices of mercantile capitalism. It was the dream of the merchantile age to make England the center of a great self-sufficient empire, the component parts of which would not compete with each other. That the mother country be the chief beneficiary was taken for granted since it was England that supplied the capital, population, sustained and defended the colonies. In general the American colonies were thought of only as supply points from which many kinds of raw materials needed for the navy and for British manufactures, would naturally come. In return they would take goods manufactured in England and be given a protected position in the English market.

### THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

The first permanent English colonies established in America were planted under a

charter granted by James I in 1606. Two different groups of merchants, one centering in London and the other in Bristol, Plymouth and other towns applied for such a document. The king granted one and they were named after their respective places of origin, the London Company and the Plymouth Company.

Jamestown was the first permanent settlement attempted by the London Company in 1607. It was clear from the earliest days of settlement in Virginia that agriculture was to be all important. Jamestown was hardly five years old when the planters discovered a stable and profitable crop in tobacco. Later rice, indigo and cotton and still later sugar, played the same role in the Carolinas and Georgia as tobacco in Virginia. These were the crops that were profitable to export and came to be raised on large plantations whose owners set the tone of social life and culture of the southern colonies.

Once a profitable crop for export was discovered two problems manifested themselves. 1) Because the crops of tobacco, rice and indigo soon exhausted the soil and because the large planters, driven by their thirst for greater profits failed to use scientific fertilizing or to rotate their crops, the large planters were faced with the problem of securing larger tracts of land. 2) The Southern planter now had to secure sufficient laborers to till the soil at the lowest possible cost.

In order to rid the land of its Indian occupants and clear the way for the procurement of more land for the ever expanding plantations, the large planters relied on the theory of white supremacy. That is, the Indian was seen merely as an obstacle in the path of development of a capitalist economy, and it was of no consequence if a few Indians were "eliminated" as a result of this "progress". White supremacy is the ideology

which says that the white-skinned peoples are superior to the colored peoples. "...And thus the only good Indian is a dead Indian became part of the Anglo-American language," as this ideology grew with the economy. Page 70, Negro National Colonial Question.

Plantation economy in the southern colonies demanded not the skilled work of a few, but the hands of many. In the 17th century this problem was largely solved through the use of indentured servants. The Spanish, in their conquest of the South American continent, were the first to learn that in the majority of Indian societies their level of production did not allow them to become slaves. Nevertheless, the colonialists attempted to enslave some of their unfortunate captives and learned for themselves what the Spanish already knew. Indian slavery proved too uneconomical to justify the enslavement of a large number of Indians; thus Indian slavery did not develop to the extent that Negro slavery did. Further, the plantation economy needed more Indian land and not Indian field hands. Thus the Negroes were enslaved and the Indians exterminated. As early as 1619 Negroes were being sold by the Dutch to the colonialists at Jamestown and proved to be much more economical to the profit minded plantation owners. Culturally, the Negro slave was on a higher level than most of the Indians in the area. He was skilled in the use of metals, had been introduced to the use of tools utilized on the large plantations, and was more immune to the diseases that exterminated whole Indian villages. The signing of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which transferred to English hands the monopoly for supplying slaves to the Spanish colonies, greatly increased the numbers of slaves in the southern colonies and ushered in the brutal horrors of capitalist slavery in the black belt of the southern USNA. (Prior to the treaty, slaves were still relatively expensive, costing from

18 to 40 lbs., even after prices fell when the Dutch monopoly was taken over in 1648 by the English Royal African Company. During this period, it cost the planter approximately four times as much to buy a slave as to import an indentured servant, he therefore generally preferred the latter.)

#### THE NORTHERN COLONIES

North of Jamestown a number of colonies, founded for the most part from religious motives made their appearance along the Atlantic coast. In 1620 a group known as the Pilgrims settled at Plymouth. They had left England not merely to escape religious persecution, but with the conviction of reaching a new land and there building a new Canaan in which all conditions, including a new state, a new church, and new school, would be conducive to the type of daily living they believed to be alone worth while. (5)

Within Massachusetts the Puritans made an earnest effort to put their religious ideas into practice. The state was a kind of theocracy where, for sixty years, only those who were church members could vote. A religious oligarchy exercised all power to such an extent that nothing less than a royal command could secure for a member of the Church of England the privileges of a freeman, and then only if he could secure a certificate of character from a Puritan minister. Thus, in the beginning the whole conception was aristocratic and antidemocratic.

In their relations with the Indians in the area of Puritan settlement, the Puritan leaders accepted the necessity of war. In fact, not only war was condoned so long as it was a "just" war, but military training for all above eighteen was imposed, and a number of savage wars were waged with the Indians in which the prisoners taken were often brutally treated. The Puritans made

little effort to convert or civilize the Indians, for the original inhabitants were regarded by many as peculiarly possessed by the devil. Unlike the southern colonies, New England's economy was not based on labor intensive plantations, and thus there was no need to attempt to enslave Indians. Thus the northern Puritan colonialists' ideological justification centered around the "right" of the Anglo-American colonialists to steal Indian land.

The dilemma confronting the Puritans in New England was how to rationalize occupying land already inhabited by the Indians, within the Christian ideology they valued so highly. While the reason for western expansionism was totally economic, the Puritans argued that the Indians possessed the land "only by natural right which was not valid, and that the revealed word of God ordained that man occupy the earth, increase and multiply." (6) The rationalization here was the right to till the earth and to profit from the yield; implicit again is the idea of private property. Regardless of all the religious, juridical, philosophical and "theoretical" justifications, what all these theories boil down to is white supremacy.

In the northern colonies, a complex economy developed quite early. Besides cultivating as much arable land as was available, the colonies also turned their attention to the sea. Fishing, both off their own coast and as far away as Newfoundland, provided for local needs and for growing export trade. These activities called for the development of shipbuilding, for which materials were readily at hand once the Indian had been moved further westward.

Many New Englanders also brought highly developed skills in a diversity of trades and crafts, as well as manufacturing. Saw mills, grist mills, tanneries, iron foundaries, glass and pottery works, and brick yards were soon set up. Social and political leadership, provided originally by the Puritan ministers, soon

came to be shared by the laymen of this growing prosperous merchant group. Throughout New England this class was free from the competing interest of the landed gentry whose influence counted so heavily in the middle and southern colonies; thus it soon found itself everywhere in an unassailable position of dominance.

#### KING PHILIP'S WAR

The developing capitalistic relations of production in the English colonies were, in direct conflict with Indian possession of the resources needed for the developing economy. Though the coastal Indians fought against the profit oriented land speculators, and the resource seeking merchant class, they were all but exterminated. In fighting, King Philip (chief of the Wampanoag) was killed by the English colonialists and his head was displayed on a pole in puritan Plymouth for over twenty years. This was to discourgae any further Indian resistance. Many of the remaining Indians were sold into slavery in the West Indies, among them Philip's wife and son. Today the Narragansett and Pequot Indians have disappeared, leaving only their names behind, and only a few descendants of the Mohican tribe survive in New England.(7)

#### THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

By 1700 the population in the English colonies had reached 250,000 with more and more immigrants seeking their share of the "American dream" entering the sea board colonies every day. Upon their arrival they found that the coastal land had already been taken and therefore were forced to the westernmost regions of the colonies. The new comers had been promised land for coming to the new world and early discovered that they were being used by the landed gentry and the merchants to act as buffers between

the Indians and the costal settlements, and to open new lands in the west. "The frontier was the low rent district, the slums of the colonial days. From the beginning the frontier also attracted outlaws, runaways, malcontents, free-thinkers and other undesireables."

The gradual progression westward eventually brought the English colonialists into conflict with the possessions claimed by France. The French explorer LaSalle had voyaged down the Mississippi River from Canada and claimed in the name of France all the land drained by this great river and named it Louisiana after the French King, Louis the 14th and his Queen Ann.

The French came to mid-America to extend their fur trading enterprise westward and to exploit the richer hunting grounds found there. In order to secure their new possessions, the French maintained two chains of forts, one running from Montreal to the mouth of the Mississippi and the other stretching westward from the St. Lawrence to the Saskatchewan. This desperate attempt to contain the English settlers within the seaboard colonies created a severe drain on France and resources were stretched ever thinner. Sporadic raids on the English colonies discouraged the settlers from advancing westward for the time being, but economic needs to expand hardened the determination of the English colonialists to drive the French from North America.

The French waged unrelenting war against the Iroquois, who were then allies of the English. By 1696 the Iroquois were definitely on the defensive. Their power as a confederacy was broken and they were forced to realize that they didn't have the power to drive the French from the St. Lawrence. The French meanwhile, held the allegiance of most of the other Indian tribes they came in contact with. These tribes felt less threatened economically and culturally by the French fur-trading activities than by the advancing agricultural frontier of the English colonies.

The contest for the possession of the plush

Ohio Valley became the immediate cause of the French and Indian War (1754-1763), a struggle that was not to end until the French had been eliminated as an American power. This country was regarded by the various Indian nations as land owned by no one -- not even the Iroquois who first cleared the area of other Indian tribes, which made possible the entry of English traders and other settlers. Refugees from the Iroquois and the English were plentiful and naturally encouraged French resistance to the English occupation of their territory. In return, these Indian nations guaranteed the French a monopoly of the fur trading business in the Ohio Valley.

The determined English invaded Canada and defeated the French at Quebec and Montreal, causing the French to surrender. As a result of this great defeat, all the French territory east of the Mississippi River eventually came into possession of England at the Treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763. France ceded the territory west of the Mississippi to Spain who had entered the war as an ally of France.

Indian tribes who had sided with and aided the French knew they would be attacked and destroyed by the powerful English who were ready to expand into the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes region. They knew the English colonialists wanted more land, and their former allies only wanted the furs the Indians were always ready to furnish.

#### PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY

Pontiac bitterly opposed colonial expansion and knew that if the tribes lost, their lands would be doomed. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, he made a desperate attempt to keep the Anglo-Europeans out of the Ohio Valley. While England and her colonies were disputing the claims of the French in the Ohio Valley, Pontiac visited many of the tribes and informed them that unless they united, they would meet the same fate as the French. Almost

every tribe of the great Algonquin family and one tribe of the Six Nations, the Seneca, joined him.

The defeated French conspired with Pontiac in his efforts for a last-ditch fight against the English. But Pontiac's efforts were to prove to be hopeless because they came after the defeat of France, and much of the promised French support in the form of arms and men failed to materialize. Even so, Pontiac stood off the British for three years from the Illinois country and Great Lakes. During the war, Fort Detroit was under siege from repeated attacks for nearly a year, and ten British held forts were captured by the tribes in a month. The war was finally settled, "only by bribes, conciliation and unkeepable promises on the part of the British" to restrain settlement if Pontiac would demobilize his allies and leave the restraining up to the English. By the Proclamation of 1763, all settlement was limited to the area east of the Appalachians and the Indians guaranteed undisturbed use of the area west of the mountains.

Efforts of the English government to protect their Indian allies and to keep their promises only antagonized the stubborn and determined frontiersmen who wanted more land. These efforts enraged the frontier to the point that the entire region became openly seditious towards the Crown and an obvious factor in the revolution ten years later. Trappers, traders, and speculators rushed in on Indian-owned lands maintaining it was their natural right. The result was the brutal murder of the Indians who sought to protect their homes and fields from the onslaught.

#### THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The crisis in the relations of England and her colonies followed close upon the termination of hostilities in the French and Indian War. Until this time, the colonialists had been generally satisfied with the imperial system

as it had worked in actual practice. Regulations from England, prior to 1763, had related primarily to the colonies external relations; though based on the mercantilist theories, they had conferred benefits as well as burdens. (Yet, starting in the 1760's, the British began to pass a series of prohibitive acts centered around trading restrictions, which seriously endangered the growing trade of the northern merchants.)

The royal proclamation of 1763 forbade settlement west of a line drawn along the headwaters of the rivers that flow into the Atlantic, and set aside as an Indian reservation all the land west of this line and north of Florida. This proclamation settlement of the Indian problem was not intended as a permanent check to western settlement from the colonies, but merely as a temporary measure to keep the situation in hand until other arrangements could be made. In time it was hoped that the Indians could be induced to cede their claims in these western territories, but impatient colonial land speculators felt cramped by the imposition of the new line, and a number of land companies and other colonial associations sprang up and besieged the British government with petitions to bend the line westward.

This attempt to settle the issue of the Indian trade and land, along with the British effort to maintain the colonial and mercantilist fetters on the rising capitalist economy, were the main causes for the revolution.

When war with Britain was impending the newborn government of the USNA made a desperate attempt to secure Indian neutrality by promising permanent acknowledgement of Indian land rights. In the first treaty on record between the USNA and Indian tribes, they were guaranteed the major boundaries previously defined by the proclamation of 1763.

The neutrality bid failed. Every Indian tribe of consequence became an ally of England during the revolution. The Indian tribes had elected to defend their remaining land by force of arms in company with Englishmen who, unlike

the Americans, appeared no longer bent on possessing it. The struggle for the Indians was in essence a continuation of the struggle to keep out traders, squatters, and land speculators which culminated in the French and Indian War and in Pontiac's rebellion.

The revolution ended with the recognition of American independence. There was a general feeling that the Indian allies of England had lost the war as decisively as had England. Having subjected the issue to arms, the Indians were now considered obliged to accept the consequences. The continental Congress proclaimed them a defeated enemy who had by their belligerent actions forfeited every right except such as might be restored them by the sufferance of the victors.

The Indian's fortune after the revolution was to learn that he had no right to exist independently or to live as and where he pleased. The official American view was still the British colonial view; that Indian land was to be considered conquered territory. The Indians had allied with the British and the impoverished confederation government demanded an eye for an eye; the attacks on the revolution would be expiated by forced cessions of Indian lands. Indian resistance to this concept, and the inability of the USNA to raise the military force necessary to carry out a blatant policy of conquest, had forced the USNA to revert to the colonial policy of purchase by the end of the 1780's (10)

#### THE END OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

An analysis of the early colonial period reveals that land has been the basis on which Indian and Anglo-European relations have been defined ever since the first settlers got off the boat. The Indians were the victims of economic forces rather than the beneficiaries of the lofty ideals proclaimed by the puritans. Humanity on this continent has been subject to the whims of the market place. (11)

Several theories were expounded by the early settlers to justify early dispossession of the

Indians, however all were related to the idea that the Indian, his culture, and his religions were somehow inferior to that of the Europeans.

The struggle of the Indian people, in this period as in later periods, was an integral part of the growth and consolidation of the USNA state. The need to clear the western lands of its Indian occupants was excused by the ideology of white supremacy, which later, with the consolidation of imperialism, became the ideology of white chauvinism "...white supremacy grew with Anglo-American expansionism. So long as there was no real economic use for white supremacy in the English colonies, it did not develop." "...the basis of the gigantic strength of USNA capitalism lies in the fact that the land was acquired by the slaughter of the Indians, that the primitive accumulation was provided by the slaves. Hence, the oppression and exploitation of Indians and African slaves became a matter of utmost national economic importance." (12)

#### FORMATION OF THE USNA STATE

Once the American bourgeoisie democratic revolution had succeeded in eliminating the British colonial fetters on the developing capitalist economy, the bourgeoisie moved quickly to consolidate their power.

"When analyzing the structure of capitalist society and pre-capitalist social formations, Marx and Engles were always guided in all their works by the division of social relations into economic, which are the determinant, and ideological, which are a reflection of the former, and constitute their superstructure. They always considered the ideas of the ruling class to be the dominant ideas of a given society. The basic and chief element of the superstructure is the state, the law and the ideology of the ruling class, which reflect the economic structure of a given society, protect and consolidate it." (13)

Throughout the remainder of this paper, the methods and policies of continued exploitation and domination of Indian people by the USNA state will be demonstrated. In this period, the de-



veloping capitalist relations of production demanded a continuation of the effort to move the Indian from the land. Policies toward that end were formulated consistent with the new government structure.

The early colonial policy of forcing Indians to sign treaties, whereby the Indians ceded large tracts of land to the government, continued to be utilized until 1871. During this period the Indian tribes would sign 360 treaties with the USNA state. Only a third were treaties of peace; the rest were for land cession. Congressional enactments, the constitution, executive orders and judicial decisions would also be part of the capitalist scheme of development.

#### NORTHWEST ORDINANCE (1787)

Aside from the treaties, the new USNA state used other means throughout history to regulate Indian affairs. One such device was the unilateral action of Congress. Although a treaty would promise one thing, subsequent legislation, designed to expand the treaty provisions, often changed the agreements between the tribe and the government completely.

Congress has passed a number of important pieces of legislation pertaining to the relationships between the USNA government and the various Indian Tribes. Some of these stand out over the years as land marks in the ever changing federal Indian policy.

Even before the Constitution, the Northwest Ordinance was passed by the Congress of the Articles of Confederation, outlining a lofty attitude and policy for dealing with the Indian people. "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and their property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in the property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them." (14)

Yet within a year Marietta, Ohio was settled by immigrants from New England and a stockade was built as protection against the Indians. And as pointed out by Vine Deloria, "Many a land steal has been covered up with the generalities of the Northwest Ordinance." (15)

#### THE USNA CONSTITUTION

Once the new USNA state was consolidated, Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution provided the basis for congressional interference into the realm of Indian activities. "(Congress had) the power to regulate commerce...with the Indian tribes..." From this obscure phrase the government established an Indian policy whose central tenet was the "incompetency" of the Indian, his wardship, and the plenary power of Congress to exercise its whim over the Indian people. (16) That document conferred on the government the power not only to regulate commerce, but to make treaties, to control the public land of the Indians, and every aspect of Indian life.

#### THE "NEW" AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY

Because the new USNA state had been founded on the principles of "liberty and blessings of a free government," the founding fathers early showed a great desire to justify their expansion and subjugation of the Indians. Their justification was conditioned by the 18th century views of Locke, Mill, and Rosseau of natural man and his improvability. The Indian occupants of the land were to give up their state of nature, but in exchange were to be given the inestimable blessing of Anglo American civilization: "the highest and happiest state that man has yet attained."

At the same time congress established the war department early in the first congress and its secretary was given the responsibility relative to Indian affairs. Location of control over these "wards" implied that the relations were those of control and subjugation outside the framework of the Union. Among the early duties assigned to the secretary of war was the negoti-

ation of treaties. This meant that the USNA wanted to move further into lands being occupied by Indians, and was prepared to do so by a combination of force and persuasion.(17)

Theoretically, death of the Indian race was to be accomplished through attrition and assimilation rising out of the gradual, ordered, intelligently-controlled expansion westward. This policy achieved formal recognition early, so that in 1789, secretary of war, Henry Knox, could serenely declare, "... As population shall increase and approach the Indian boundaries, game will be diminished, and new purchases may be made for small considerations. This has been, and probably will be, the inevitable consequence of civilization. It is, however, painful to consider, that all the Indian tribes, once existing in those states now best cultivated and most populous, have become extinct. If the same effects will happen, and in a short period, the idea of and Indian on this side of the Mississippi will only be found in the pages of the historian."(18)

The full expression of the philosophy of expansion over the Indians came with the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, who was the main drafter of the Constitution and felt compelled to justify the acts of the USNA. By this time (1800) the population in the area west of the mountains had already reached 700,000 and the total Indian population was estimated at 600,000. We can see that this philosophy did not separate idealism from the reality of the relentless drive for new land.

Whatever Jefferson thought of the natural man, he was not giving the Indians a choice between their existing state of society and Anglo-American civilization. Jefferson had no doubt that the government was offering the Indians the chance of participating in the "greatest state of society the world had ever known." With this confidence in the ultimate "good" of what the USNA was accomplishing, the Indians could not be allowed to stand in the way.

It was also Jefferson who first proposed the removal of Indians from the eastern states to a region west of the Mississippi where they might continue to live undisturbed by "civiliza-

tion." Though he approved in theory of the various schemes to "civilize" the Indians so that they might become self-sufficient and assimilate with the growing Anglo-American population, he was naturally more concerned with the problems of Anglo-American citizens. Thus he acquiesced in the negotiations of the 1802 Georgia Compact which committed the federal government to promote the future removal of the Creek and Cherokee.

#### THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

When the new USNA government purchased the Louisiana Territory from the French in 1803, Jefferson was presented with the first satisfactory solution to the "Indian problem." Since he did not foresee extensive Anglo-American settlement of the new USNA territory west of the Mississippi, he considered it a perfect sanctuary for the eastern tribes who would be given the opportunity to relocate there. This moderation did not spring altogether for moral or ethical considerations, for the military power of England and Spain was still entrenched on either flank of the American west.

#### TECUMSEH

The Indian wars of the old Northwest broke out after the close of the American revolution. When the revolution ended, the English refused to surrender forts which they held among the Indian tribes in the area that is now Ohio. The English were also in control of Canada and still much interested in the fur trade in this vast area. It was from these forts that they were getting the arms to fight the colonialists who were coming into this region and intruding on lands that the Indians lived on.

When the Indian tribes who had banded together to resist the intrusion into the Ohio Valley were finally defeated in the Battle of the fallen Timbers, this defeat marked the beginning of a long series of land-ceding treaties which were wrung from the crushed tribes. In the Treaty of Greenville, the Indians ceded to the USNA all

of eastern and southern Ohio and a large tract of land in Indiana.

The Indian resistance and fighting spirit was broken for the time being. However a great Indian leader was soon to rise to power -- his name was Tecumseh. After the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Tecumseh, a Shawnee, visited every border nation from the deep south of Florida to the far north of the upper Missouri River, his object being to hold the Ohio River as a permanent Indian border.

One of the struggles involved the Fort Wayne Treaty, in which six river tribes were forced to cede nearly 3 million acres of land. Tecumseh decided to go to the territorial capital at Vincennes to negotiate a more favorable settlement. The formation of a great Indian federation of southern and northwestern tribes was now uppermost in his mind. In holding council with Governor Harrison, Tecumseh and many other chiefs were ridiculed in their claim that the land was owned in common by the Indians. The conference ended without either side coming to any agreement, and Tecumseh made plans to go south among the Alabama Indians to present the idea of an Indian confederacy.

The northern tribes were in unity in the plans for a confederacy. But in holding council with the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw in the south only the Red Sticks of the Creeks agreed on the plan. In June 1812, the USNA declared war with Great Britain and there was no more time for debate. The tribal turmoil over the Confederacy of Indians came to a rapid climax.

When Tecumseh returned home, events had taken place which brought him to the depths of despair. During his absence, his plans had been wrecked by a premature military action undertaken by his brother the Prophet. The Prophet ordered an attack on Harrison's army which was massing against Tecumseh's headquarters. In the battle that followed, losses were about even, but the Indians were forced to retreat. When the battle of Tippecanoe was over, the village lay in ruins. Tecumseh's hopes for a confederacy had been shattered forever. He

then left for Canada where the wily British welcomed him with open arms. Tecumseh was killed in the battle of the Thames in Ontario, October 5, 1813. He died a great Indian chief, who had fought against the USNA for taking his peoples land in the Ohio Valley.

#### THE WAR OF 1812

In the War of 1812 in which the USNA fought the British, Tecumseh's struggle to form an Indian Confederacy turned into another battle with the USNA. The Red Sticks (Creeks) were pursuing a party of rivals to the confederacy, and in the process overwhelmed Fort Mims, where the Indian fugitives sought sanctuary along with hundreds of settlers. The USNA launched three invading armies into Creek country. The other southern Indian tribes were compelled to take positions in the wars between the Anglo-Americans and British and between the Anglo-Americans and Creeks. Two courses were open to them. They could move to defend the Creek, and by this defiance of the USNA accept an alliance with Great Britain, as had Tecumseh's northern Indians. Or they could remain neutral, permitting later negotiation with the victor. Instead they adopted a third position. They joined the American invaders and vigorously assisted in the destruction of their Creek neighbors.

Nearly 1000 Cherokee warriors sided in the army lead by Andrew Jackson. The Creek forced into unity with the British, defended themselves with valor, but had little hope in the face of such odds. Jackson was twice compelled to retreat to his base camp while the weight of his campaign was carried on by his Cherokee allies. His eventual victory gave him the reputation of the west's great hero. These services that the Indians gave were immediately and bitterly regretted. As in every former instance of Anglo-American victories gained with Indian assistance, the fruits of victory were reserved entirely for land seeking territorial governments. Jackson's response to the allegiance of his Indian allies was to appoint himself the chief adversary. At

the peace conference concluding the Creek war, he opened up a wide corridor to settlement leading through the center of Indian country from Tennessee to the Gulf. There after he began at once to insist that not only the Creek, but all southern Indians be removed to the land across the Mississippi.

### THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

In the years following the War of 1812, things remained relatively quiet on the frontier, at the same time a tide of nationalism was on the rise in the USNA. The young nation had defeated a major European power and forever eliminated the British as a major threat to the security of the USNA. "Immigrants were entering American ports in increasing numbers, settlers were pouring west, new states were entering the union; from one end of the country to the other the story was one of growth and prosperity. Confidence in the USNA as a bastion of freedom and progress reached new heights." (19)

At the same time, Jefferson's idealistic theory of natural man was collapsing. The Indians refused to accept their lot as American farmers, and as the USNA became convinced that her expansion benefitted the whole world, a new rationale had to be found to justify further expansion.

It is important to understand the reasons that nationalism was rearing its ugly head at this time. "Nationalism is a bourgeois ideology," and was being used by the developing capitalist class to intensify the growth of industry with the support of the working class. In the same period, nationalism was being expressed in the ideology of white supremacy to rid the western lands of the Indians. As might be expected, the ideology of white supremacy became the most powerful weapon amongst those who had the greatest interest in acquiring Indian land.

Perhaps the most revealing insight into the new attitude came in a discussion in John Quincy Adams's cabinet in December 1825. This cabinet in many ways represented the transforma-

tion that was occurring in American attitudes toward the Indians. Secretary of State, Henry Clay argued, "it is impossible to civilize Indians; that there was never a full-blooded Indian who took to civilization. It is not their nature. He believed they were destined to extinction, and although he would never use or countenance inhumanity towards them, he did not think them as a race worth preserving."

Thus the idea that the Indian represented not merely man at a different stage, who could readily be assimilated, but rather an inferior savage who blocked progress, gained considerable ground in the late 1820's and 1830's. It is clear that Indian removal must be viewed from this background to understand why it was so readily accepted.

### REMOVAL SENTIMENT GROWS

During the 20 years preceding 1830, the Anglo-American population north of the Ohio increased by 1.2 million and that south of the Cumberland by 1.5 million. Roads, steamboats, factories and mines were multiplying. Villages were becoming cities, and the railroad began moving westward. The immediate impact of the surging increase of population was upon the value of land. Of land east of the Mississippi still unoccupied the Anglo-Americans, the largest tracts were those reserved to the Indians by earlier treaties. The Indians had already been stripped of most of what they once claimed and the little to which they still clung had taken on greater value than all that they had lost, (20)

This new threat was more difficult to resist than the perpetually encroaching settler, for it was primarily political and the Indian had neither the right to vote nor the influence to counter it. The central threat sprang from the southern state houses where the demand for Indian removal was politically popular, and the congressional caucuses where regional political favors could be traded. Party managers and land speculators manipulated the growing excitement.

After General Jackson invaded Florida in the

first Seminole war and seized St. Mark's and Pensacola, Spain ceded Florida to the USNA. This was the end of Spain in the south east, and the end of the Indians in the southeast. They were no longer of use as a buffer against rival European nations. Indian trade and Indian middlemen east of the Mississippi were of no further importance.

By 1830, the USNA population had reached 13,000,000 and the USNA view of the Indian merged into a more elaborate ideology which built a basis of justification for USNA expansion over any lands. More and more the talk was of superior or inferior race, rather than of the different stages of human society. Thus the stage was set for the Georgians to forcibly remove the Cherokees from their southeast home.

#### CHEROKEE REMOVAL

In 1802 the state of Georgia negotiated a release to the federal government of all its claim to the western land by the instrument known as the Georgia Compact. In ceding its western claim, reducing its limits to the present state, Georgia took advantage of the unwary federal authorities, including Jefferson, by extracting a promise that as soon as "peacefully" and reasonably possible the federal government would arrange for the conveyance to Georgia, of title to all remaining Indian lands within the state borders.

But by the middle 20's nearly one-third of the state was still in the possession of the Creeks and cherokees. White supremacy, the value of the Indian lands, the large slave holders pressing need for wider acreage and the federal government's failure to act on the Georgia Compact were the major reasons Indian expulsion had become such a popular force.

In reply to Georgia's insistent demands that the USNA fulfill the promises made in the Georgia Compact, the administrations of Monroe and Adams returned evasive answers. The federal government had been doing all that could reasonably be expected. Commissioners had been sent to per-

suade the Indians to cede their lands. All sorts of pressures and outright bribery of their leaders had been attempted. Cherokee unity and political sophistication had provided no legal opening in which Georgia could take advantage but the Creek were not as well organized.

William McIntosh, a sub-chief of the Creek negotiated an agreement relinquishing Creek land in Georgia, and was later killed by his fellow Creek for this act. President Adams questioned the validity of the treaty and ordered it re-negotiated. Georgia refused to admit the president's authority and commenced a survey preparatory to white occupation. Having got rid of the Creek, Georgia's attention was now concentrated on dislodgement of the Cherokee.

Two things were to happen in 1828 that would mark the beginning of the end of the Cherokee in the southeast. Gold was discovered on Cherokee land and Andrew Jackson was elected president. The Indians were prevented by presidential order from conducting mining activities on their own lands, and there was now no effective way the Cherokee could stop the steady stream of prospectors and settlers.

One of the first pieces of business for the Jackson administration was passage of the Indian Removal Bill, which became law in the spring of 1830. The laws of Georgia were declared extended over Cherokee land within her borders; all the Cherokee laws were declared null and void; Indians were disqualified as witnesses; and a gigantic land lottery was organized whereby the Indian lands were distributed to the Anglo-American citizens of Georgia.

In 1831 the Supreme court in Worcester vs. Georgia held that the "Cherokee nation possessed a full right to the lands they occupied until that right should be extinguished by the US with their consent ...That within their boundary no state could interfere, and that the whole power of regulating the intercourse with them was vested in the US. The legislation of Georgia on this subject was therefore unconstitutional and void." (21) But neither President Jackson nor Georgia paid the slightest respect to this decision of

the highest court of the land. Jackson was quoted as saying, "John Marshall has rendered his verdict, now let him enforce it." And the Governor of Georgia pointedly reminded Georgians that if they yielded on this Indian question, they were inviting similar dictation on the slavery question.

Finally, with the excuse of a false treaty, the army in 1838 and 39 removed the Cherokee by force, with the exception of a few hundred who hid in the mountains of North Carolina where their descendants still live.

The first detachment set out on October 1, 1838 on the dreaded journey over the route which in Cherokee memory became known as the Trail of Tears. Their trail led through southern Illinois where, due to the ice in the Mississippi River, many died waiting to be ferried across. During the winter of 1838-39, 17,000 Cherokee were forced to travel this death march; over 4,000 would perish from exhaustion, starvation, and the brutality of the USNA army. Of the 50,000 Indians of the several southern tribes who made the forced march, almost one half perished. Yet in President Van Buren's report on the Indian removal in December of 1838, he announced, "It affords me sincere pleasure to surprise the Congress of the entire removal of the Cherokee nation of Indians to their new home west of the Mississippi. The measures authorized by Congress at its last session have had the happiest effects. By an agreement concluded with them by the commanding general in that country, their removal has been principally under the conduct of their own chiefs, and they have emigrated without any apparent reluctance." (22)

Only the resistance of the Seminoles was successful against removal. The Seminole War would eventually cost the government over \$20,000,000, or over \$10,000 for every Seminole killed or removed from Florida, and over 1000 men lost in the guerrilla fighting in the Everglades. This was to prove to be one of the costliest wars ever waged against the Indians in the USNA. In the North, surviving remnants of the Shawnee, Miami, Ottawa, Huron, Delaware and many other might tribes walked or went by horseback

and wagon beyond the Mississippi to escape forced removal, and became refugees in their own country.

#### "PERMANENT" INDIAN TERRITORY AND MANIFEST DESTINY

Even before the refugees had settled behind the security of the "permanent Indian frontier" the USNA government had designs on the lands in the Oregon Territory, and on the land claimed by Mexico in the Southwest, all of which was west of the "permanent Indian territory." As early as the 1820's the Mexican government had encouraged immigration of Anglo-Americans by offering land grants to men who promised to colonize the land. By 1835, approximately 35,000 Anglo-Americans were living in Texas, and in 1836 the Mexican Army was defeated in the battle of San Jacinto, a full two years before Cherokee removal.

Beginning in 1841, thousands of pioneers set out for Oregon to exploit "the rich soil and lovely climate of Oregon as well as the spiritual condition of the Indians." The settlers struck by "Oregon fever" followed the Oregon trail 2000 miles through "permanent" Indian country to reach their destination, and by 1845 some 5,000 Anglo-Americans were living south of Columbia -- demanding that the government take possession of Oregon. In June 1846, the government intimidated Britain into signing a treaty fixing the northern boundary at the 49th parallel. The USNA had secured the larger and better part of the Oregon country and certainly all that it could have legitimately expected to acquire.

During the administration of James Polk (1845-1849), the USNA acquired over one million square miles of new territory, and the western boundary of the USNA expanded from the Louisiana Purchase line to the Pacific Ocean. To justify these breaches of the "permanent Indian frontier," the policy makers in Washington invented "Manifest Destiny," a term which lifted land hunger to a lofty plane. To the policy makers, military conquest was Manifest Destiny. In other words, "the USNA had the divine mission to take the whole of North America, by force if necessary, and thus make room for its own rapidly growing capitalist

economy while carrying the blessings of democracy to less favored peoples who happened to occupy attractive lands nearby.

The proponents of Manifest Destiny found little difficulty in applying the same theory of the inherent inferiority of the Indians, to cover their designs on land claimed by Mexico. One newspaper made a simple and direct connection, "The Mexicans are aboriginal Indians," it was maintained, "and they must share the destiny of their race." "The Mexican race, now sees, in the fate of the aborigines of the north, their own inevitable destiny," argued the Democratic Review. "They must amalgamate and be lost in the superior vigor of the Anglo-saxon race, or they must utterly perish." (23)

#### GOLD IN CALIFORNIA

When gold was discovered in California in 1848, the word of the strike spread like wildfire to all areas of the USNA. By the end of the summer the news had reached the eastern states, and the gold rush was on. By the end of 1849, California had a population of approximately 100,000. "It was the greatest migration since the crusades."

In the process of their quest for gold, thousands of would be prospectors would cross Indian country and expected the USNA army to protect them. Hunters and settlers turned the western plains into a slaughterhouse, leaving the dead buffalo carcasses to rot where they fell; 75 million buffalo would perish by their guns in a few short years. The destruction of the buffalo herds also meant the destruction of a pattern of life for the plains Indians.

For the Indians of California, the discovery of gold meant almost total extinction. In a short span of year, it is believed, the miners eliminated nine-tenths of the population.

In 1850, although none of the Modocs, Mohaves, Paiutes, Shastas, Yumas, or a hundred other less known tribes along the Pacific coast were consulted on the matter, California became the 31st state of the Union. In the mountains

of Colorado Territory, gold was discovered, and new hordes of prospectors swarmed across the plains. Two vast new territories were organized Kansas and Nebraska, encompassing virtually all the country of the Plains tribes. In 1858, Minnesota became a state, and its boundaries extended a hundred miles beyond the 95th meridian, the "permanent Indian frontier." (24)

Nationalism arose out of the need to expand the USNA frontier westward. The growing capitalist class of the north needed new lands for the resources and raw materials that they held while the large plantation owners needed new lands to expand their slave base economy and maintain their hegemony in the Senate. Also the frontier played an important role as a "safety valve" for the seaboard colonies. "Here," as Engles wrote, everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading with his own means, for his own account." (25) Thus it was the interests of the ruling classes of both sections of the USNA to push the growing nationalist sentiments and ultimately the most reactionary form of nationalism, white supremacy.

#### TREATIES WITH PLAINS INDIANS

By 1849, the military significance as well as the numbers of Indians had been so reduced that the Indian Service was moved from the War Department to the newly established Home Department of the Interior (bureau of Indian Affairs - BIA). For a brief period, the Plains Indians would display a determined resistance to the expansionist policies, and even defeat the USNA army in several large scale military encounters, but they also would be forced into submission.

The USNA government fully realized that control of the nomadic Plains Indians would be very expensive, and preferred to negotiate more treaties with the tribes to pacify the bands and concentrate them onto reservations far from areas of Anglo-American settlement. As pointed out earlier, under most treaties, the Indians were forced to surrender their rights to vast areas of land in return of payment for land in the form of rations. Since the plains Indians were

now suffering from scarcity of food, owing to the slaughter of the Bison, there was little choice. Besides, encounters with the USNA were becoming more and more one-sided.

A pattern was developing that would be followed throughout this period until the Plains Indians were finally crushed at Wounded Knee in 1890. The Indians would sign a treaty ceding land to the USNA; in payments they would get promises of an end to all land cedes. Pressures would mount by the growing need for land; the Indians would resist, and the USNA army would enforce the demands of the squatters.

There was also emerging, in the western territories, a form of corruption known as the "Indian ring." It involved a politician, an Indian agent, and a contractor. The politician installed the agent who selected the contractor and all then shared in the funds which were supposed to be given out as Indian payment for land. Thus while many governors of western territories were making tremendous profits by operating the Indian ring, their Indian constituents were forced to eat rancid meat and rotten flour, and many times less than that.

#### THE SIOUX UPRISING

By 1860, the USNA population had reached 31 million and the total Indian population amounted to less than 300,000. By 1862, the government was caught up in the War between the states, and was lax in its land payments that were due to the Midewakanton Sioux. In 1862, the Sioux of Minnesota had two things to show for more than half a century of treaty making with the USNA; a reservation ten miles wide and 150 miles long on the Minnesota River, and a deep and smouldering resentment over years of having been swindled. At a treaty signed in Washington in 1837 the Sioux "gave up" all lands east of the Mississippi; and at a great council at Traverse des Sioux in 1851, the Indians were forced to cede the rest of their lands, more than 30,000,000 acres in Iowa, Dakota Territory, and Minnesota for \$1,665,000 -- about a nickle

an acre. There were to be cash payments for fifty years, but those good friends of the Indians, the traders, had arranged for the signing of separate "traders papers" by which the Sioux agreed to turn over their cash payments for debts that they "owed" the traders.

The summer of 1862 had not been good for the Indians. This year they had put off their annual buffalo hunt in early July to await the distribution of their payments, so they had neither buffalo meat nor the goods that were part of the payment by mid-August. The money had not arrived although the food and goods were on hand at the two agencies on the reservation. On August 4, the Sioux at the upper agency finally had enough and broke down the door of the warehouse and carried out the provisions stockpiled there. It was not a warlike move; the Indians only wanted the food that was theirs.

The Indians at the Upper Agency had obtained temporary relief by forcing the distribution of food and goods, but nothing of the kind happened at the lower agency. There the Indians continued to buy on credit from the traders until the traders became worried that they might have trouble collecting, especially if the Sioux barred them from the pay tables. When the traders sought help from the army in the event of trouble, the commanding officers at Fort Ridgely told them the army was not in the collection business. So the traders cut off all further credit. When protests were made that many of the Sioux would suffer from hunger as a result, one of the traders, retorted, "So far as I'm concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass or their own dung." He was later found dead with grass stuffed in his mouth. (26)

On August 15, four young Indian men returned empty handed from a hunting trip and found a nest of eggs belonging to a settler. The finder was warned by another that the eggs belonged to the settler. The dispute grew from who was afraid of the settler to who was afraid to kill the settler. The incident ended with five settlers being killed.

On hearing of the killings, the young war-



riors of the tribe wanted to go out on a war party, knowing what the army's retaliation would be when they found the dead settlers. Little Crow, the Sioux war chief, was forced to yield to the warriors' demands to fight in view of all the encroachments by some 40,000 settlers into Indian land and by the acts of the lawless frontiersmen. The conflict got underway August 17, and during the weeks that followed over 800 settlers lost their lives.

Military forces under General Sibley eventually defeated and dispersed the Sioux. Chief Little Crow was killed a year later, and his scalp and wrist bones were put on public display. Thirty-eight Sioux were hanged at Mankato, Minnesota, and many others were imprisoned at Fort Snelling. A military tribunal condemned 306 more Indians to be hanged, but President Lincoln intervened and changed the sentences of 268 to terms in prison. After the uprising started, the payments for the land arrived, but too late to avert the tragedy.

#### THE MASSACRE AT SAND CREEK

The growing disregard for the rights of the Indians and the brutality of white supremacy during this period is demonstrated by the massacre of Sand Creek, Colorado. On the morning of Nov. 29, 1864, 700 men under the command of Col. Chivington murdered over 300 Indian men, women, and children in what is often referred to as the West's bloodiest massacre.

The Indians in the valley of Sand Creek, had been promised protection earlier and had surrendered most of their arms. When the soldiers appeared on the hill over looking the Creek, Black Kettle brought out the American flag and a smaller white one. Then Col. Chivington gave the order to attack. The Indians' horses soon stampeded and the Indians in the village were cut off with no means of escape, except on foot. The charging cavalry, sweeping in from all sides, soon encircled the camp firing at every living thing. Men, women and children were shot and cut down by the swords of the galloping horsemen. Chivington,

the former Methodist minister, had instructed his men to "kill and scalp all -- big and little; nits make lice." Women were shot down pleading for mercy. Other women were cut down with sabers and otherwise mutilated, to be left alive and chased by mounted soldiers. Children carrying white flags were slaughtered and pregnant women were cut open. The slaughter and mutilation continued until late afternoon over many miles of the blood stained creek.

Of the massacre the Denver News reported that "All (soldiers) acquitted themselves well." The prisoners taken are two women and five children who were exhibited like caged animals in Denver as proof of this "great victory." From the hell of Sand Creek the soldiers brought over 100 scalps to the Denver Opera House where they displayed them between acts, to great applause. (27)

For the plains Indians, the Sand Creek massacre served to unify their ranks, and to dismiss any notion of a peaceful settlement. Their fighting organization would resist a force of 8,000 USNA troops fresh from the Civil War battle fields supplied at a cost of some \$30 million.

#### POST CIVIL WAR EXPANSION

Following the close of the Civil War, westward expansion took an even more aggressive turn. The era of transcontinental railroads was beginning in which 175 million acres of land were to be given to railroad companies as rights of way and later sold at tremendous profits. Also during this period, a method of commercially tanning buffalo hide was invented, justifying the slaughter of millions of buffalo in the name of free enterprise.

The government policy continued to be the reduction of Indian land holdings through treaties. The Homestead Act was passed which granted prospective settlers 160 acres of western land for \$1.50 per acre, and soldiers of the Confederacy were given mules and land to become farmers, while the Indians were pushed further west.

Everywhere, the government was pressing the Indians to give up their centuries-old life-styles and to adopt Anglo-American ways. Churches began

lobbying in the 1860's at the Indian Bureau in Washington for franchises over the respective reservations. Many times, rations due to the Indians were "mysteriously" late in coming until the tribes responded to the pleading of the missionaries. Soon the only social activity permitted on the reservations was the church service. Signs of any other activity would call for a cavalry troop storming in to rescue civilization from some non-existent threat. (28)

Although the Southern Plains Indians had submitted to the treaties, the Northern Plains Indians further resisted the occupation of their territories by the army, as well as the transformation of their lands into a right of way for the railroads. As early as 1866, the USNA army began constructing a line of forts along the Bosman Trail in Montana. Railway roadbeds were to be built alongside the trail earlier beaten by wagons. The trail penetrated the hunting grounds of the Teton Sioux, and during the summer of 1866, the Sioux mounted an offensive against the forts. By the spring of 1867, forts Reno, Kearney and Smith were under permanent siege.

In April 1868, the Peace Commission signed a treaty with the Oglala, Brule, Hunkpapa, Miniconjou and Yanktonais Sioux and the Arapaho in which they agreed to accept reservations, but retained the right to hunt, "so long as the buffalo may range in number sufficient to justify the chase." Yet most of the Sioux did not accept the treaty until the Bosman Trail was closed. In May of that year, the trail was ordered closed, and in August the forts were abandoned. Each fort was burned by the Indians as the troops marched away.

In the treaty Red Cloud finally signed on November 6, 1868, a large tract of land west of the Missouri River was set aside as a reservation and most of the Indians moved onto it. Red Cloud went from Fort Laramie where he signed the treaty not realizing its full meaning, and returned home confident he had bluffed the USNA into recognizing the terms. (29)

## GOLD IN THE BLACK HILLS

For the next 20 years, the contents of the treaty would remain in dispute. What the Chiefs understood to be in the treaty and what was actually therein written after Congress had amended it, were two different things.

The military victory of Red Cloud only served as a temporary setback to USNA expansion into the territory of the Northern Plains Indians. The payments were undoubtedly swindled, and poor, yet relationships were relatively quiet until 1874, when gold was discovered in the Black Hills. Although the strike proved small, miners flooded into the area which the 1868 treaty at Fort Laramie had closed to such invasion. Other squatters were settling (again in violation of the treaty) in the mountain valleys of Wyoming and Montana and then complaining of harassment by the Sioux.

Pressures were mounting for the USNA government to seize more land and to place the Sioux under tighter control. So, a treaty commission was sent to attempt to purchase the Paha Sapa, the Black Hills, from the Sioux. As usual the commission was made up of politicians, missionaries, traders and military officers. The principal missionary, Reverend Samuel Hinman, had long been trying to replace the Sioux religion and culture with Christianity, and separating the Sioux from their sacred place was uppermost in his mind.

The offer was \$400,000 per year for mineral rights; or if the Sioux wished to sell the Hills outright the price would be \$6 million. (This was a markdown price, indeed, considering that one Black Hills mine alone yielded more than \$500 million in gold. Both offers were rejected, firmly, and when the commissioners returned to Washington they recommended that Congress disregard the wishes of the Indians and appropriate a sum fixed "as a fair equivalent of the value of the Hills." This forced purchase of the Black Hills should be "presented to the Indians as a finality," they said. (30)

During this period, a band of Sioux were hunting on the Powder River, having been given permission to do so because of the sorry state of the rations which were supposed to nourish them. When the Commissioner of Indian affairs issued the demand that the Sioux return to their agencies by Jan. 31, 1876, or be deemed hostile, most of the hunters elected to stay and get meat to feed their starving women and children. The army was sent to discipline them, and there ensued the defeat of Custer and his seventh calvary at Little Big Horn. After this battle it was decided that it would be foolish to carry on another large engagement so the Indians started down the Bighorn Mountains; the tribes separated along the way taking different directions.

#### LOSS OF THE BLACK HILLS

When word of the defeat reached the East, the Great Council in Washington decided to punish all the Indians they could find-- those who had remained on reservations and had taken no part in the fighting. On July 22, General Sherman received authority to assume military control of all Sioux Reservations and to treat all Indians to give all rights to the Powder River and the Black Hills, maintaining the Indians had violated the treaty of 1868. To break down the opposition of the reservation Indians, the commissioners dropped strong hints that unless they signed, the government would cut off all rations immediately, remove them to Indian territory in the south and take away all their guns and horses.

There was no way out, the reservation Indians were now dependent upon rations and in a poor position to bargain. The Black Hills were stolen; the Powder River country and its herds of wild game were gone.

After months of fighting the military might of the USNA, the last groups of Sioux led by Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull finally surrendered, and were duly assigned to reservations. Yet intrigue continued by which the USNA attempted to kill off the leadership of the Indian people

so as to undermine any further resistance against USNA expansion. Thus, Crazy Horse, the great Oglala was assassinated in 1877, Spotted Tail in 1881, and Sitting Bull was killed in order to break the power of the chiefs and transfer it to men who would bow to the will of the Indian Bureaus' Agents.

#### THE GENERAL ALLOTMENT ACT

By 1880 the USNA population had surpassed 50 million and already a great wave of emigration from northern Europe poured into eastern Dakota, pressing against the Missouri River boundary of the Sioux reservation. At Bismark, a westward pushing railroad was blocked by the reservation. Settlers bound for Montana and the northwest clamored for roads to be built across the reservation. Promoters eager for cheap land to be sold at high profits, hatched schemes to break up the reservation.

In the 1880's Indians tribal sovereignty came under severe attack, as a result of the clamoring for new land. When the supreme Court held that the district courts of the USNA had no say so over the Indian offenses committed on the reservation, in the case of the ExParte Crow Dog, Congress quickly passed the Seven Major Crimes act. This act listed certain crimes which were no longer punishable under tribal law. The act was held valid in US Vs. Kagama as a valid exercise of inherent federal sovereignty because of the trustee status of the Indian land.

Then in 1887 Congress passed the General Allotment Act with great approval of the churches and the settlers. The Indians still owned nearly 138 million acres of land at the time of the passage and the settlers, speculators and states wanted as much land as they could steal. If, the argument went, land was divided on a per capita basis of 160 acres per Indian, the Indians would have enough to farm and the surplus could be sold.

The act was based on the theory that an

Indian who possessed his own plot would automatically become a farmer or livestock operator. Contact with Anglo-Americans and private ownership of property was expected to teach him to become educated, "civilized", and self-supporting - like his neighbors - relieving the government of further supervision, and at the same time throwing large quantities of surplus land to non-Indians. (31)

Each allotment was to be held in trust under which an Indian was declared an incompetent. The Indians were encouraged to ask for their competency papers, "after which the land was sold for a song by the untutored Indian who had never heard of buying and selling land by means of a paper." (32)

Under operation of the law of 1887, tribal landholdings were cut from approximately 138 million acres to roughly 48 million acres when the process of allotment stopped in 1934.

#### WOUNDED KNEE 1890

Three years after the passage of the Allotment Act, Sitting Bull was assassinated in a ridiculous attempt to arrest him during the suppression of Ghost Dance, and hundreds of the leaderless Hunkpapas fled their reservation seeking refuge with the last of the great chiefs, Red Cloud, or one of the Ghost Dance camps. About 100 of them reached Big Foot's camp near Cherry Creek. That same day the War Department issued orders for the arrest of Big Foot. He was on the list of "formentors of Disturbances."

When the Big Foot band was rounded up at Wounded Knee an attempt was made to disarm the warriors and a shot was fired. "Immediately the soldiers returned the fire and indiscriminate killing followed." (33) When the madness ended Big Foot and nearly 300 of the original 350 men, women and children were dead. The dead were buried on New Years day 1891 in a long pit, most of them naked, for there were many souvenir hunters with the burial party, and an item in great demand were the Ghost shirts. There was no ceremony; the several missionaries in the

area who had been preaching christianity among the living Indians, could not be bothered by the dead ones.

The massacre marked the end of Indian resistance in this period. "The strength of the tribes everywhere was gone. They were broken up; apathy, hopelessness, hunger and disease became their constant companions... they had "lost three-fifths of the land they still possessed shortly before wounded knee - and what they managed to keep is largely sand or rock that no one has considered worth taking from them." (34)

#### THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM

By the time the Allotment Act was passed, imperialism was the dominant aspect of the USNA economy. It could no longer be doubted that the USNA has already experienced, "The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid process of concentration of production in ever-larger enterprises...", that is a characteristic of imperialism. (35)

By 1880, the Standard Oil Company had already demonstrated the efficacy of the trust form of monopoly, competition had been transformed into monopoly. The result was the immense socialization of production, with ownership of the means of production in the hands of a few. The development of industry increased the proportion of unskilled laborers needed, thus in 1882 some 800,000 immigrants entered the USNA. It was also in that year that the government initiated the first immigration quota against a specific group of people - the Chinese. The imperialists by this time had the trans-continental railroads built and no longer needed laborers.

Virtually all USNA business enterprise came under the influence if not the control of the investment bankers by the end of the 19th century and the financial power of a few was growing stronger than the political power of the many. Given this general development, it is easy to see how and why the Indians lost 90 million acres of land between 1887 and 1934.

The Indians were still in possession of land that contained substantial amounts of natural resources all of which were desired by the imperialists. In addition, the Indians could no longer even put up any sort of defense, they had been defeated militarily. Politically the Indians were impotent and could not vote until 1924, despite the fact that the 15th amendment was passed 54 years earlier.

#### THE INDIAN NEW DEAL

Once the most desirable Indian land had been stolen, there seemed to take place a dramatically changed governmental policy towards the Indians. By the citizenship act of 1924, 125,000 native born Indians were finally granted the right to participate in the USNA form of "democracy".

The USNA bourgeoisie's tactical program to bring the Indian reservations under their complete control culminated in the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), passed in 1934. This act, which has been described as, "perhaps the only bright spot in Indian-congressional relations", was actually a well thought out plan to consolidate the imperialist controlled development of capitalism on the Indian reservations, couched in liberal reformist demagoguery about, "proclamation and enforcement of cultural liberty, religious liberty, and unimpeded relationships of the generations." (36)

The IRA was an attempt to integrate a liberal encouragement of tribal custom with a speeded-up boost to the tribes capitalist development.. Its four main provisions were: " 1, The Indian societies were to be reorganized, and to be empowered and helped to undertake political, administrative and economic self-government.. 2, Provision was made for an Indian civil service and for the training of Indians in administration, the professions and other vocations. 3, Land allotment was to be stopped, and the revestment on Indians with land was provided for 4, A system of agricultural credit was to be established, and the needed funds authorized." (37)

Let us let the primary author of this

typical "open door" policy speak for himself. What kind of "freedom" was this "liberal" imperialist offering? "Each and all of the freedoms should be extended to Indians, and in the most convincing and dramatic manner... Credit is necessary to freedom; cooperatively managed credit must be supplied. Knowledge is necessary to freedom.... Technology and business and civic education must be supplied to adults, professional and collegiate training must be opened to the post adolescent group.... Capital goods are necessary to freedom, and responsibility must be applied to capital goods: a tribe that handles its revolving credit fund irresponsibly must know that shrunken credit will be its lot tomorrow."

"...The experience of responsible democracy is, of all experiences, the most therapeutic, the most disciplinary, the most dynamogenic and the most productive of efficiency." (38)

The imperialists understood full well that bourgeois democratic illusions had to be fostered among the Indian peoples if they were to be pulled into the capitalist economy. "The Indian service... has striven to the end that every one of the particular programs... should serve the primary aims of freeing and regenerating the Indian societies, and infusing them with the spirit of democracy, implementing them with democratic tools, and concentrating their attention upon their basic practical exigencies." (39)

And, running down the "success" of this tactic, this arch-imperialist paints a picture of rapid development of capitalism among the Indians; "We have seen the Indian prove himself to be the best credit risk in the United States... We have seen the Indian beef-cattle holdings... increase 105 per cent in number of animals and 2,300 per cent in yield of animal products... We watched scores of ancient tribal systems reorient themselves towards modern tasks, while more than a hundred tribal democracies have been newly born... these democracies are political, industrial, and social." (40)

And finally in the words of another apologist of this liberal tactic; "By it (IRA) the United States recognized the importance of Indian communal life as an agency for preserving and encouraging social controls and values..." (41)

We should be absolutely clear that these schemes all have the aim of bringing the Indian peoples on the reservation under the complete economic control of the USNA, of training them for the role of wage slaves.

The act was in operation for only seven years when the USNA entered world war II. During the war there occurred a reduction in BIA appropriations. Physical plants, schools, roads, hospitals, vehicles, etc... all deteriorated. There would be very little progress on the reservations during these years. Simultaneously, 25 thousand young men left the reservations to fight in the imperialist war, and left a vacuum of "competent" BIA men to assume tribal leadership. Following the war the same tactics toward the most resolution of the "Indian problem" changed again.

#### TERMINATION

In 1947 the Senate Civil Service Committee held hearings on ways that government payrolls would be cut and expenditures reduced. The republicans had captured congress that autumn and were looking for New Deal programs to trim. The BIA was to prove to be a natural.

House concurrent resolution 108 passed Congress in 1953 and reversed most of the principles of the IRA. "Its stated purpose was to free Indians from federal control and supervision, end their wardship, and make them subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges as other citizens." (42)

The manner in which the purpose was to be carried out was through the termination of

federal services to the existing tribes, thus placing them at the mercy of the states. The tribes were categorized according to the degree of acculturation and economic condition, and the tribes with the highest rating would be axed. Pursuant to this plan, the Eisenhower administration prepared separate bills for the Klamath, Osage and Menominee tribes.

It must also be pointed out that both the Klamath and Menominee held rich timber regions which the growing housing industry wanted to get their hands on, and the Osage owned rich oil producing lands in Oklahoma. The Indian tribes were also seen as a tremendous pool of reserve labor that the imperialists could take advantage of once the Indians were separated from the cohesiveness of their tribal communities. These reasons were the economic reasons for this latest attempt at cultural extermination.

The effects of termination were disastrous to the affected tribes. The once self-sufficient tribes soon found themselves unable to meet the burden of taxation of their lands. For example, with termination came the closing of the Menominee hospital, which had operated on tribal as well as federal funds. Deprived of medical services and with poor housing, the infant death rate continues to rise as did the incidence of TB." (43)

Menominee country soon became the most poverty stricken county in Wisconsin. The federal government would spend \$5 million in special aid, and the state of Wisconsin would spend \$1 million in attempting to keep the Indians above water. By 1964, 15% of the county, which was the former reservation area, was receiving welfare. The state estimated that Menominee county needed a transfusion of 10-20 million dollars to bring it up to par with other Wisconsin counties.

"In practice, termination was used as a weapon against the Indian people in a modern war of conquest." At the root of termination

policy was the old tactic of the allotment period--forced assimilation through the break up of Indian land holdings and cultural values.

#### THE 1968 INDIAN CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Counter pressures against the policy of termination began in the 1960's. The policy makers in Washington had again changed hats. The Indians had become a symbol of great sentiment for the liberal bourgeoisie, and such sentiment was a potential asset for any politician seeking a national audience. Robert Kennedy used his subcommittee on Indian education to give publicity to the sorry condition of Indian education, and thereby also consolidated his reputation as a liberal and a reformer.

It was during this period that the Indian Civil Rights Act passed congress "to correct what was felt to be a double standard of justice. It guarantees to reservation residents many of the same civil rights and liberties in relation to tribal authorities that the federal constitution guarantees to all persons in relation to federal and state authorities." (44) There was little support for the act from the Indian tribes but was passed anyway, as a rider to the federal housing bill. Many of the tribes feared the act would undermine tribal institutions and tribal law, but the policy makers wanted to do something "for" the Indians regardless of their wishes.

#### POLITICAL SITUATION TODAY ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS

"Developing capitalism," says Lenin, "knows two historical tendencies in the national question. First: the awakening of national life and national movements, struggle against all national oppression, creation of national states.

Second: development and acceleration of all kinds of intercourse between nations, breakdown of national barriers, creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc."

"Both tendencies are a world-wide law of capitalism. The first predominates at the beginning of its development, the second characterises mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society." And as Stalin says, "For imperialism these two tendencies represent irreconcilable contradiction; because imperialism cannot exist without exploiting colonies and forcibly retaining them within the framework of the 'integral whole'; because imperialism can bring nations together only by means of annexations and colonial conquest, without which imperialism is, generally speaking, inconceivable." (45)

We have seen that the genocide and enslavement of the Indian people for over four hundred years has only meant that the lies of the imperialists through the USNA government completely contradict the facts of poverty and subjugation of Indian people. Indians were brought under control before the rise of modern finance imperialism. Under imperialism Indians have become a reserve labor force for the capitalists. The reservation land once thought to be worthless, is fast being colonized for the exploitation of natural resources.

In 1974 there are 312 distinct Indian tribes, 300 languages spoken and a total population of 843,000. (46) The USNA government has broken over 360 treaties and has limited the Indian people to less than 2% of the total land area. They have been given "self determination" supposedly expressed in tribal governments. "Tribal governments are supposed to maintain autonomy, over their affairs, unless explicitly circumscribed by congress." In

reality, the federal government reserves the right to regulate in utmost detail the administration of federal programs for Indians, a mandate which the federal officials exercise with great diligence. This denies reservation Indians control not only over their own educational, social, and welfare institutions but also over their own resources." (47)

Indian lands and their use are subject to BIA jurisdiction but this is not all. Ever since the BIA was transferred to the Interior Department, there has been a conflict of interest. On the one hand, Indians are trying to preserve what little land they have left, and the Interior Department on the other hand is an agency that provides land and resources for economic and recreational development. The 16,000 man bureaucracy known as the BIA is used to keep control of Indians' right to self government and drain the land of all natural resources.

"Huge mining companies like Peabody and Consolidation Coal have been quietly buying up mineral and surface mining rights from federal and state governments and private owners." (48) Great Western Cities, El Paso Natural Gas, Western Gasification Company, Kerr McGee, Vandium Corporation of America, Shell Oil and others all have used their political influence in the Interior Department to "develop" Indian land and use the Indians as cheap labor. On the Navajo reservation, tribal law prohibits unionization of Indian labor and all companies that develop Indian land are exempt from state taxes. In short, the lackeys of the imperialists have made the Indian land an ideal place to exploit. (49)

In 1968, 114 plants were on reservation land and 46% of the labor used was Indian. This employment was mainly in industries involving electronics, candy factories, needle trades, furniture, and defense plants which arose with

with the USNA involvement in Vietnam. (50)

<u>1969 Use of Indian Land</u>	<u>Acres in Thousands</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Total	55,750	100
Open grazing	33,971	61
Non-commercial timber	8,821	16
Commercial timber	5,475	10
Oil and gas	3,483	6
Dry farm	1,832	3
Other minerals	940	2
Irrigation	650	1
Other uses	479	1
Business	99	- (51)

#### EMPLOYMENT

In the proletarianization of the peasantry by capitalism, comrade Lenin says, "...the large factory, with machine production that requires regular work the whole year around completely breaks the tie between the worker and the land turning him into an absolute proletarian." And further, "The workers possess no instruments of labor or materials and so they have to sell their labour power to the capitalists, who pay the workers what is necessary for their keep, and place all surplus produced by labour in their pockets; thus, they pay for only part of the working time they use and appropriate the rest." (52)

Indian social history gives grim testimony to the devastating effects of sustained hard-core unemployment on the individual, the family, and the group. Technology plays an important role in a capitalist economy in creating unemployment. The significance of technology is that, "...it cheapens production, replacing human labour by machine work. Thus with the development of technical improvements fewer workers are needed to produce the same quantity of commodities. Machines supplant workers. Machines compel workers to labour more intensely." "...Raising the intensity of labour they also



increase the number of unemployed." ... "The existence of a constant army of unemployed gives the capitalists a powerful weapon in their struggle against the working class. The unemployed are usually willing to go to work on any conditions; threatened with starvation they have no choice." ... "Another significance of the reserve army is that it furnishes free hands at any time when the conditions of the market require an expansion of industry". (53)

Due to the lack of relevant statistical data and uniformity between similar sets of BIA information, it is difficult to analyze in detail the present conditions on reservation. However, about 70% of all Indian males are employed in four broad occupational groups: craftsmen and foremen, operatives, laborers, and service workers. (1970 statistics) (54) Only 9% are in the professional and technical ranks. The unemployment on reservations runs from 40-80% due to seasonal work Indians engage in. Seasonal work includes tourist industries, fire fighting and farmwork much of which is done in the general area of reservations with a considerable amount done in migrant camps. (55)

The BIA is the largest employer of Indians. Though Indians fill more than half the jobs, they hold less than 1/5 of the top executive jobs which pay more than \$14,000, a year. The majority are paid at a GS-7 rating and lower. The Indian Health Service (IHS) is the second largest employer with only 18% paid more than \$8,000 compared with 2/3 of all other workers. In 1939 38% of income for Indians came from wages. In 1964 75% came from wages, 10% from agriculture, 5% from arts and crafts, 10% from various sources of "unearned" income (welfare, social security). (56)

Fifteen Reservations that have 53% of Indians living on the Reservation:

<u>Reservation</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% Un- Employment</u>
Navajo	Arizona	125,000	40
San Carlos	"	4,473	74
Salt River	"	2,212	43
Gila	"	7,113	55
Annette Island	Alaska	1,000	19.3
Zuni Pueblo	New Mexico	5,000	77
Mescalero	"	1,559	61
Black Feet	Montana	6,381	39
Crow	"	4,097	44
Red Lake	Minnesota	2,538	38
Fort Berthold	N. Dakota	2,657	79
Standing Rock	S. Dakota	4,720	47
Pine Ridge	"	10,495	32
Rose Bud	"	5,432	61.5
Lower Brule and Crow Creek	"	1,731	70.5

#### 1967 statistics (57)

The average per capita cash income for Indians on or near reservations in 1968 was only \$900, less than 1/3 the national average. The median family income of Indians on reservations surveyed by the BIA was \$3,600 while the Bureau of census reports that Anglo-Americans earned \$8,937 and non-Anglos earned \$5,141 in 1968. (58)

#### HOUSING

The job deficit and low income are further reflected in deplorable housing conditions. More than 50% of Indian and Alaskan natives live in one or two room houses, tar paper or mud shacks, old car bodies or similar sub-standard housing. Approximately 3/4 of the 76,000 units of housing on reservations and trust lands fall below minimum standards. Water for more than 50% of Indian families comes from open wells or ditches, or from potentially contaminated sources. (59)

## HEALTH

The national Indian population is very young. According to the 1972 BIA estimates, the median age for rural Indians was 18 years. About 63% of the rural Indian population is under 25 years of age and over 40% were under 16. Indians have one of the highest birth rates of any nationality groups. In 1968 IHS reported that the birth rate among Indians was 38.5 live births for each 1,000 Indians. This is 2.2 times the national rate of 17.5. The life expectancy in 1970 for Indians was 64 compared to 70 for the general population. (60)

In recent years over 1/2 of all Indian deaths have been attributed to four causes: accidents, influenza and pneumonia, malignant neoplasma (tumor) and diseases of the heart. Indian rates for traffic accidents are four times the USNA rate. Indians have four times the sudden death rates of non-Indians. (61) 71% of Indian sudden death victims had been drinking before hand compared to 32% for non-Indians. Further, deaths from alcoholism are 6.5 times as high as in the general population. (62)

Further, over 1,000 Indians commit suicide each year and over half are under 25 years of age. The Indian suicide rate is ten times the national average, and for teenagers as high as a hundred times the national average. In 1966 a reservation Indian was seven times as likely to contract TB, eight times as likely to be afflicted with hepatitis and three times likely to die of influenza and pneumonia as a non-Indian. (63)

One can concretely see where the wealth of an imperialist nation comes from when you observe the conditions the national minorities live under. Alcohol once used to destroy the culture and subjugate Indians; now it has become a main social force in Indian communities for their further pacification. The myths of the "oil rich Indians" and the false images pushed

by Hollywood movies and the history text books that show Indians as "savage red skins" further shows the white chauvinist lies used to keep the struggles of Indians isolated from the struggles of other workers.

## EDUCATION

Education is the means by which the Indian child is "emancipated" from his home, his parents and his cultural heritage. At the root of the BIA's assimilation policy is the need to divest the Indian of his land and natural resources.

Further, the individualism and competitiveness that is alien to Indian values, is pushed on Indian children and only perpetuates the already devastating affects of the assimilation policies. Only recently has the idea of bilingual/bicultural education been introduced in some reservation schools. But the monies pumped into the system are still controlled by the BIA as well as the politics. This program, while progressive in itself, has turned into a more subtle form of assimilation because it is in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In 1969 BIA operated a total of 223 schools located on or near reservations. More than 16,000 Indian children of school age were not attending school in 1966. 40,000 Navajos or 1/3 of the tribe are functional illiterates in English. The median years of schooling (1970 census) was 9.8 for Indians over 25, while the national average was 12.1. On the Navajo reservation the median number of years is 4.1 and only 17% of persons 25 and over have finished high school. The drop-out rate for Indians is two times the national average. The BIA spends only \$18.00 per year per child on text books and supplies, compared to the national average of \$40.00. Only 3% of the Indian students who enroll in college graduate, the national average is 32%. (64)

An example of how the bourgeoisie runs Indian education at boarding schools can be seen in the exposure of Inter-mountain boarding school in Brigham City, Utah. The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) filed a suit alleging 20 violations of the civil rights of Indian students in 1971.

- Inter-mountain allowed thiorazine, a powerful tranquilizing drug to be used on intoxicated students.
- Inter-mountain employees require students to open personal mail in their presence
- The predominantly Mormon staff discourages the Navajo youth to practice their religion in favor of the Mormon religion. (65)

The continued fascist attacks on Indians is further shown in the BIA's threats to cut off funds to Indian students whenever they show resistance to the oppression of the bourgeoisie. We can see concretely that Indian education is neither Indian nor education, and as the Indian struggles to maintain his culture and religion, the bourgeoisie struggles to tear down the culture and push Indians into the mainstream.

The morality of Anglo-Americans concerning the genocide of the last century and the continued aggressive colonizing of Indian land has meant the bourgeoisie must appear as though they are improving the lives of Indian people. This is clear in the publicity given to the anti-poverty programs. In truth 90% of the money in these programs goes to run the BIA bureaucracy. At the same time the people's culture, land, religion and right to sovereignty becomes empty promises. Indians can never go back to the old way-- imperialism won't let them. Instead the BIA offers relocation programs in order that Indians

assimilate and the bourgeoisie can exploit the land and rid themselves of the "Indian problem."

#### URBAN-INDIANS

Although there has been some migration to cities by American Indians since the advent of urban centers, the major stimuli appear to be WWII. WWII caused the exodus from reservations into the armed forces and jobs in war-related industries. Seasonal agricultural labor, railroad work and in the case of Indian women domestic work were the main types of employment. In 1952 the relocation service program now called "employment assistance," was a means for the government to move Indians from the low-reservation employment to the cities where employment was greater. The imperialists, faced with a labor shortage because of the drafting of millions of young men, began to draw on this reserve labor force.

In order that the BIA can justify its existence to congress, a move to the city by Indians must be initiated through this agency. In selling the idea of relocation to a young graduate a nice picture of job placement, income and benefits of urban living is painted. A young relocatee armed with a welding "certificate," expecting to earn \$3 to \$4 an hour finds the job market flooded with welders or that the certificate means nothing without apprenticeship. The over-powering pressures to conform and the ugliness of life in the slums causes many Indians to go back to the reservation. 100,000 Indians leave reservations each year (net migration). Yet 50% return because of cultural and family ties that enable Indians to maintain their "Indianess." (66)

Indian Population of the USNA in Thousands

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
1890	248	-	
1900	237	1	236
1910	266	12	254
1920	244	15	229
1930	332	33	299
1940	334	24	310
1950	343	56	287
1960	524	146	378

US Department of Commerce Bureau of Census (67)

The Indian who is brought to the city by relocation finds it hard to shake off the BIA dependence. However, the BIA has a time limit for assisting the Indian and after this time has passed, he is dependent on what ever apparatus is available to the non-Indian. The hardships a single person faces coming off the reservation is magnified for families who must seek welfare and employment assistance. One index of what happens to Indians who become proletarianized, is the frequency with which they are arrested because of alcohol.

Comparative Rates of Arrest of Various Nationality Groups in the USNA (1960). (rate per 100,000 population)

<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Total Arrests</u>	<u>Alcohol Related</u>	<u>% Alcohol Related</u>
Total Population	2,200	940	43
Anglo	1,700	780	47
Negro	5,900	2,000	33
Indian	15,000	11,000	76
Chinese-Japanese	1,100	270	24

(68)

In 1970, some 200,000 Indians were estimated to be living in the areas of major cities. The total Indian population in 1973 was 843,000, less than one half of one percent of the total population.

Urban Areas With 10,000 or More Indians - September 1969

<u>Urban Area</u>	<u>Estimated Indian Population</u>
Los Angeles County	47,000
San Francisco Bay Area	18,000
Tulsa	15,000
Minneapolis, St. Paul	13,000
Oklahoma City	12,000
Chicago	12,000
Phoenix	1,000

(69)

"The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate is the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." (70) And further, Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto say the bourgeoisie, "compels all nations, on the pain of extinction to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word it creates a world in its own image." (71)

Since WWII many Indians have been forced into the proletariat. The bourgeoisie must keep the Indian dependent in order to extract super profits from cheap labor pools on reservations as well as the natural resources that are coveted. The other aspect of assimilation is pushed to colonize the land and use the Indians

as a reserve labor force off the reservations, too. Concretely, the Indian question, throughout this paper has been a question of sovereignty and land. At this point, the general struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people will be analyzed with the particulars of the Indian question.

#### NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

"Nationalities and class are questions which are inter-related. The questions of nationalities is in essence a class question." ... "Among the people of the oppressed nationalities, those who actually suffer national oppression are mainly the oppressed and exploited classes, the workers and broad masses of labouring people..." ... "As to the reactionaries of the oppressed nationalities who are in league with the imperialists, they will unite with the ruling class of the oppressor nationalities, become their lackeys and collaborate with them in the oppression and exploitation of the working people of their own nationalities. From this we can see that national oppression is in reality class oppression." (72)

Prior to 1917, "the national question was a question of completing the democratic revolutions amongst the "cultured" peoples of the world. The proletarian revolution of 1917 put an end to this political state of affairs. The analysis of imperialism by Lenin showed that the imperialist system cannot survive without colonies. The Soviet revolution proved that the colonies cannot emancipate themselves without the overthrow of imperialism. WWI and the proletarian revolution showed that far from being a question of reform and far from being a question apart from the proletarian revolution, the question of the colonies was a most revolutionary question, a question that

presented itself in such a way that the proletarian revolution cannot succeed without simultaneous emancipation of the colonies. So we see that the proletarian revolution transformed the national question into the National Colonial question and made it into a question of highest importance." (73)

Stalin teaches that the solution to the national question proceeds from these propositions: a) "The world is divided into two camps, the camp of a handful of civilised nations which possess finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe, and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonies and dependent countries that comprise that majority; b) the colonies and the dependent countries, oppressed and exploited by finance capital, constitute an enormous reserve power and a most important source of strength for imperialism; c) The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries against imperialism is the only road that leads to their emancipation from oppression and exploitation; d) The principal colonial and dependent countries have already entered on the path of the national liberation movement, which is bound to bring about a crisis in world capitalism. e) The interests of the proletarian movement in the advanced countries and of the national liberation movement in the colonies require the fusion of these two aspects; f) The victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front; g) The formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nation renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples

against the imperialism 'of its own country,' for 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nation' (Marx); h) This support implies the advocacy, defence and realization of the slogan of the right of nations to secession and to independent political existence; i) Unless this slogan is put into effect, the amalgamation and collaboration of nations within a single world system of economy, which constitutes the material basis for the victory of socialism, will be impossible; j) This amalgamation can only be a voluntary one and must be based on mutual confidence and fraternal relations between the nations." (74)

In speaking to the general strategy and tactics of the revolution, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao are basically addressing themselves to one central point. That is: what are the necessary moves that must be taken to unite the working class, establish the leadership of the proletariat over the rest of the toiling masses, overthrow the capitalist class, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and proceed to build socialism. It is in this light that the Communist League and the future communist party of a new type, firmly supports the just struggles of the Indian peoples.

#### INDIAN PEOPLES LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Indian resistance to the oppression of USNA imperialism, has taken the form of organizations like: the American Indian Movement, National Indian Youth Council, Indians Against Exploitation and Dine' Coalition ('Dine' is a Navajo word meaning 'the people'). Oppression breeds resistance and the long history of Indian struggle from the Trail of Tears to the struggle for fishing and land rights, the seizure of Alcatraz Island and the most recent Wounded Knee seizure, show concretely that Indians are

determined to secure their democratic rights and freedom.

However, the struggles of one nationality, of one organization or of one reservation cannot continue to be separate and isolated struggles. This can only mean continued defeat. We must begin to educate the working class and oppressed peoples to the nature of imperialism and the use of white chauvinism that divides the class on "race" lines. The Communist League contends that there is only one race-- the human race. Oppression is not a "race" question but a class question. The use of "white chauvinism provides the excuse for the brutal exploitation of the 'colored' nations and peoples of the world; white chauvinism is a form that the social bribery takes to the Anglo-American people that prevents the unity of the working class and prevents the building of a party of the class." ... "Successful struggle against exploitation requires that the proletariat be free of nationalism, and be absolutely neutral so to speak, in the fight for supremacy that is going on among the bourgeoisie of the various nations. If the proletariat gives the slightest support to the privileges of its own national bourgeoisie, that will inevitably rouse distrust among the proletariat of another nation; it will weaken the international class solidarity of the workers and divide them, to the delight of the bourgeoisie." (75) The demand of the Anglo-American proletariat is for unity of its class, and this unity can only be achieved through the struggle for the establishment of democracy for Indian peoples. As Stalin pointed out in a "Report on the National Question," "Thus, our views on the national question reduce themselves to the following propositions; a) the recognition of the rights of peoples to secession; b) regional autonomy for peoples which remain within the given state; c) specific laws guaranteeing freedom of development for national

minorities; d) a single indivisible proletarian collective body, a single party, for the proletarians of all nationalities in the given state." (76) Thus the Communist League raises the slogan, "Regional Autonomy for the Indian Peoples," as a concrete application of the Marxist line.

#### REGIONAL AUTONOMY

"The advantage of regional autonomy consists first in the fact that it does not deal with a fiction deprived of territory, but with a definite population inhabiting a definite territory. Secondly, it does not divide people according to nation, it does not strengthen national partition; on the contrary, it only serves to break down these partitions and unites the population in such a manner as to open the way for division of a different kind, division according to class. Finally, it provides the opportunity of utilizing the natural wealth of the region and of developing its productive forces in the best possible way without awaiting the decisions of a common center, functions which are not proper to national cultural autonomy. Thus regional autonomy is an essential element in the solution of the national problem." (77) Regional autonomy will guarantee that the Indian people will control their land with no imperialist influence. Regional autonomy will guarantee that the Indian people can practice their own religion and develop their cultures, art, literature and languages to the fullest. Regional autonomy will insure Indian control over Indian land and Indian concerns.

The fight for Regional Autonomy for Indian Peoples, and the fight to free workers and oppressed peoples in general cannot be separate from the fight for socialism, democracy and peace in the world. The only way Indian people will win their just rights is if the Anglo-American working class fights hard for Regional Autonomy for the Indian peoples.

The only way the workers of the world can defeat imperialism is to unite. To carry these struggles forward, we must build an honest multi-national Communist Party of a New Type, to unite and lead the working class to seize state power. Let us raise these slogans:

REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLES!  
REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE SOUTHWEST!  
INDEPENDENCE FOR THE NEGRO NATION!  
INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!  
BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF A NEW TYPE AND A UNITED FRONT  
AGAINST FASCISM!

"WE DO NOT STAND ALONE. WE FIGHT NOT ONLY IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY BUT WITH HUMANITY. TODAY WE CAN AGAIN RAISE OUR BATTLE CRY. OUR FORCES ARE LEGION, OUR RESERVES ARE WITHOUT NUMBER, ALL ROADS LEAD TO COMMUNISM!"

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- (\*) This became the symbol of the Creek Indians who sided with Tecumseh. The war clubs were painted red to distinguish them from other Creek Indians who did not go to war against the Americans and became known as Red Sticks.
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