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INTRODUCTION

Today more than ever the proletariat stands face to face in a life or death struggle against capital. Because of this the unity of the working class is more crucial than ever. A central aspect in bringing about such unity is the resolution of the national colonial question, especially as it pertains to the Mexican National Minority and the Southwest Region.

Due to the fact that the revisionist Communist Party USA has failed to bring clarity to the proletariat on this all important question a great deal of confusion and ignorance has been found in the ranks of revolutionaries in the USNA.

Comrade Lenin has stated:

"The weight of emphasis in the internationalist education of the workers in the oppressing countries must necessarily consist in advocating and urging them to demand freedom of secession for oppressed countries. Without this there can be no internationalism."
(Foundations of Leninism, Chapter VI, P. 80)

We publish this document in an effort to deepen our understanding of this question; we encourage all interested individuals to study this pamphlet and to send in suggestions and criticism for further publication.

CHAPTER I

THE EVOLUTION OF A PEOPLE

The history of the Mexican National Minority can be divided into three periods. First is the Indo-Hispanic, which was the period of the colonization of the Southwest and the blending of Indian and Spanish cultures. Second is the Mexican period, 1810-1846; this period is one of encroachment by the United States of North America (USNA) and culminates in war and the annexation of half of the territory of the United States of Mexico. Third is the Consolidation of the Southwest, 1848 to the present; this period is marked by the rising rate of migration, the emergence of capitalist relations of production with the subsequent consolidation of the Southwest as part of the Anglo-American nation, the beginning of the reversed migration because of forced repatriations during the depression, the period when migration again intensified, and the revival of the struggle against national oppression.

The Indo-Hispanic Period

The exploration and colonization of the Southwest was a direct result of Spain's quest for mineral wealth such as gold and silver. Not being satisfied with the pillage of central Mexico and Peru, the Spanish Conquistadores pushed northwards in search of the Seven Cities of Gold. Charles C. Cumberland in Mexico-The Struggle for Modernity, comments on Spain's lust for mineral wealth:

"Gold and silver have ever been twin sirens, luring men to false values and blinding them to reality. The silver cascade pouring from the land of the conquered American natives made Mexico the gem of the Spanish crown, but it diverted energies from potentially more solid achievements and created an economic and social order revolving around extractive and exploitative enterprises which took much and gave little. At no time during the colonial period did the Spaniards use their massive silver deposits as a base for general economic development in Mexico or in Spain, but rather focused on precious mineral production to the degree that any economic benefits which accrued from nature's bounty came incidentally rather than deliberately."¹

Thus it was this very striving for the "precious" gold and silver that would be the main determining factor in the history of Mexico and its northern provinces (which today is the Southwest Region).

An extremely important development in the second half of the 16th century was the immense increase in the extraction of silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru. The discovery of immensely rich silver deposits at Potosi in Peru; Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and Pachuca in Mexico; and the revolutionizing of the extraction of silver with the introduction of the patio process in 1556 led to silver becoming the most important source of wealth for Spain and it immensely increased the importance of the colonies. Simultaneously silver deposits were discovered at San Bartolome and Santa Barbara in Chihuahua and in the mountains of Sonora. As a result, the frontier of Mexico was steadily advanced from

central into northern Mexico. The development of the mines and of the towns and ranchos which grew up around them created an immense demand for labor. The intense exploitation of the Indian population by the early conquistadores, the constant warring, and the introduction of diseases had reduced the Indian population of central Mexico by the end of the 16th century to such an extent that they could not meet that demand. New sources of labor had to be found. The Indians of northern Mexico which included what later was to be the Southwest became that source; as evidenced by the rise of slaving expeditions against them, and the development of plans for expeditions and missions into their areas. In addition, in the 1580's rich veins of mineral wealth were discovered in what is present day Arizona.

Faced with the danger of losing its claims to the Southwest to other European nations, the Spaniards had to consolidate their hold on these lands. In the early 18th century its only well established settlements were in the upper Rio Grande Valley, the western corner of Texas, in Louisiana, and on the eastern coast of Florida. This meant that Spain had to defend an area that extended almost entirely across the southern half of the present-day USNA with only a few settlements. In doing so, it was faced with a number of contradictions which resulted from the feudal relations that predominated throughout the Spanish Empire. Historically the Spanish boundaries had been extended through the system of granting feudal rights, privileges and duties to Spanish noblemen in return for conquering the said borderlands. Because New Spain (Mexico) lacked a sufficient population to provide the necessary settlers for the formation of the base for this feudal system, it was necessary that the indigenous population be brought into feudal relations of production, i.e., that they pledge loyalty to the lord and that they furnish labor and tribute in return for protection and Christianization. This system was known by the Spaniards as the encomienda system. This system required that the native population be brought into these production relations through bribery, missionary efforts, slaving expeditions designed to intimidate them, through the age-old tactic of divide and conquer, and through the introduction of alcohol to break down their social structure. Although the Pueblo Indians were brought into the "encomienda" system without too much difficulty, the vast majority of the tribes in the northern provinces resisted Spanish attempts to subjugate them. The result of this was that the encomienda system broke down in the northern provinces by 1720. The encomienda system functioned well in the central Mesa region of Mexico where sedentary Indians could be exploited but in the northern provinces the only place that it worked was in the northern section of what today we call New Mexico where there was a large population of sedentary Indians. As a result of their brutal subjugation which began with the robbery of their lands, the Pueblo Indian population was reduced from 72,000 to 12,000 by 1742.

To enslave the Indians the Spanish used the policy of setting tribe against tribe which was successful in terms of keeping Indians divided and worn down from constant warfare. It kept slaves flowing into New Mexico and New Spain, and enriched the aristocracy. It also served to intimidate many Indians into acquiescing to Spanish rule, and finally by driving the Indian tribes ever westward and northward it opened up new lands to exploit. However, to the majority of Indians and to the Spanish peasants it brought ruin. As Comanches became more adept and more accustomed to selling plunder to the Spaniards, they

carried their raids all the way to Mexico, modern Arizona, Texas, and the Mississippi Valley, carrying away both Indians and poor Spaniards. Navajo and Apache resistance to the Spanish soon hardened and their retaliation was difficult to contain. The victims of these Indian raids were rarely the Spanish aristocrats who were profiting from the policies of Spain--it was the peasants, muleteers, miners, etc., who themselves were exploited by the aristocracy that received the brunt of Indian raids.

The revolution of 1821 resulted in the expulsion of Spain from Mexico, and the feudal state gave way to a republican form of government. However, the old feudal landed aristocracy, the military, and the church held great power and a great struggle between these elements and the republican minded rising capitalist elements rapidly developed which continued until 1910. This resulted in great instability in Mexico during this period. Aside from the first elected president, not one president was able to finish out his term due to forced abdications as different factions seized state power whenever they were strong enough to do so.

During this period the northern provinces underwent great changes under the Mexican government. As the Spanish garrisons were withdrawn and not replaced, the security of the northern states and provinces declined greatly. The Indian population, which by and large had been subjugated by the Spaniards by 1821, took note of the weakened security and increasingly arose in revenge and rebellion. The most devastating Indian warfare in the entire history of northern Mexico was unleashed by the long-oppressed Indians against the Mexican settlements. Arizona, Sonora, and Chihuahua were so hard hit that they 1846 these areas were experiencing a sharp decline.

Colonization of New Mexico

The first 150 years of Spanish occupation of the northern part of New Mexico was devastating to the Pueblos. Their numbers were drastically reduced, their lands were expropriated, their superstructure was greatly weakened, and they were reduced to feudal slaves on the Spanish encomiendas. This allowed for the transformation of the colony from one characterized by "mission fields," whose products were largely for internal consumption, to an ever-increasing mercantile colony, where more and more surplus goods were extracted from the Indians and the peasants.

The expansion of the colony in northern New Mexico southward and westwards, was made possible only after the original colony was secure and self sufficient, and after the land was cleared of Indians occupying it. This latter expansion was accomplished largely through the issuing of land grants, which were a modification of the old feudal "entrada" and which retained feudal relations of production. There were three types of land grants. The first type of land grant was the community grant and charter made to a group of persons who promised to lay out a village site with a plaza, a church site, and delineated residential lots. Home sites and land for irrigation were distributed by lots. Each family received title to its residential site and irrigated land and the right to graze stock and cut timber in the village common. Most of the grantees were poor and were the "Shock troops" of Spanish expansion during this period.

These types of communities were usually given land in the rugged mountains of northern New Mexico and only the as-yet unsecured frontiers of the colony. They frequently bore the brunt of Indian hostilities resulting from Spanish-Indian policy. Their presence provided the first line of defense against Indian attacks. These communities tended to be the most isolated in the colony and produced little of the surplus goods for trade. The second type of grant was made to an individual of the aristocracy who promised to secure settlers, distribute residential sites and irrigated land, secure a priest, build a church, and provide for the building of dams, canals, and other necessary workers. This individual became the patron or feudal lord and had the right of appropriating the agricultural produce or labor power of the settler on his grant. The settler was also subject to the call for military service as the need arose. This type of grant tended to be located in the interior and more secure area of the colony, and was especially concentrated in Rio Abajo. These grants were also larger, used more Indian slave labor, and provided most of the surplus goods for trade. It was out of these grantees that most of the aristocratic class arose. The third type of grant was called a Sitio Grant and was usually given in reward for some type of service given to the Spanish crown. All that was required was to settle the land, the other requirements of establishing a town, church, etc., being dispensed with. In other respects, it was almost identical to the second type.

Another development in the 18th century was the increasing economic exploitation of the encomiendas attached to governmental and military offices. During the previous century, these offices had encomiendas attached to them in order to support them. They were originally few in number and extent, and exploitation of the Indians assigned to these encomiendas was checked by the priests who held the upper hand in the government and who were careful to limit the civil power. However, with the decline of the Church's power, these encomiendas became the source of surplus goods for the governors, military officials, and others of the royal administration, with the result that the number of encomiendas of this type grew and the exploitation of the Indians assigned to them was brutally intensified.

These developments in the economic basis were reflected in the superstructure. The decrease in the number of Pueblos and the failure of the Church to convert the nomadic tribes and reduce them to feudal relations led to a decline in the power of the Church. The use of military might to reduce the nomadic Indians and the resulting slave trade increased the power of the military and especially of the military officials who were the aristocracy. This shift in power resulted in an intensification of the struggle for control of New Mexico, or more specifically for control of the labor power of the Indians and Spanish settlers.

The aristocracy and the government officials slowly gained ascendancy over the Church. The mission supply services was transformed from a supply line for the missions to a conduit for disposal for surplus goods extracted from the Indians and Spanish settlers and of slaves captured in "just" wars. The number of missions and missionaries were reduced. The tribute exacted by the state came to exceed the tithes collected by the Church. The number of Indians

working on government and private encomiendas came to exceed the number working on mission property. However, it should not be inferred that the ascendancy of the aristocrats over the Church meant that the power of the latter, both materially and ideologically was not great.

The rise of trade was central to these changes, it was the main motive force for change. Trade furnished the motivation for the extraction of surplus goods in ever increasing amounts, whereas before the subsistence economy had required the exploitation of Indians in order to survive, now the mercantile economy required the exploitation of Indians and Spanish peasants alike in order to become rich. Slaving expeditions, originally meant to punish rebellious, heathen tribes and carried out following prevalent "legal" and "moral" norms were more and more carried out illegally, wantonly, without regard to distinction of heathen or christian Indian, peaceful or hostile, with the sole purpose of filling the pockets of military officials and feudal lords. The introduction of money, which was very slow, accelerated this process, gave it more impetus. A powerful "rico" class of feudal lords emerged, working hand in hand with the governmental officials, allowing each other to enrich themselves through the exploitation of Indian and peasant labor. This "rico" class was relatively small, comprising 20-30 families, and was concentrated in the Rio Abajo area of northern New Mexico.

The commodities used in trade were those of a feudal society with limited means of production. Sheep and their products were the main commodities for export along with slaves who were sold to the miners and merchants of Chihuahua. The manner in which the trade was organized was detrimental to New Mexico as a whole, but especially to the peasants and Indians. The commodities for export were first gathered in trade fairs and in trading expeditions to the Indian tribes. At this stage, worthless cheap money, alcohol, plus guns, knives, powder, etc., were used to acquire an unequal exchange favorable to the Spanish traders. Great caravans numbering up to 500 men were organized yearly to take these commodities to Chihuahua. In Chihuahua, the merchants there turned the tables of the New Mexico traders. Since they had access to goods produced by more advanced methods, the Chihuahua merchants acquired more products than were returned, thus styming the economic development of the province. The ruling class of New Mexico was well aware that the greatest percent of the wealth they extracted ended up in the hands of Chihuahua merchants and a great hatred developed toward them. For the Indians and peasants of New Mexico, this drain on the wealth they produced simply made the conditions of their existence worse and drove them deeper into poverty.

Along with the rise of the landed and mercantile "rico" class, there arose a people which were neither Mexicans, Indian, American Indian, Spanish, Mestizo, or Negro, but who were a composite of all. In terms of language, religion, and political beliefs the Spanish predominated, but in terms of blood, the Spanish was minimal. The Spanish peasants imported into New Mexico, both in the 17th and 18th century, were a heterogeneous group. They were frequently recruited from the impoverished masses of New Spain and included Mestizos, Mexican-Indian, and Negroes, few of them were Criollos (Spaniards born in Mexico) or Gachupines (Spaniards born in Spain). In New Mexico, these peasants were roughly of the same class as the Pueblos and enslaved Indians. Much intermarriage occurred between them, whereas the aristocratic class never intermarried or mixed with either Indian or Spanish peasant; the increasing exploitation of

the Spanish peasant and Indian alike by the rising aristocracy further differentiated the Indians and peasants from the aristocracy. The ouster of the Spanish by the Mexicans in 1821 led to the expulsion of a significant number of Spanish aristocrats. The result of these factors was that by and large the majority of the non-Indian people of New Mexico up until 1848 were descendants of the mixed Spanish peasants-Indian culture, the same as in Mexico proper.

By the late 18th century, the transformation of New Mexico into a mercantile colony was complete, and the hold of the feudal aristocracy was unassailable. The Indian campaigns against the Comanches of the last quarter of the 18th century had finally established the clear superiority of the Spanish military, although bands of the Comanches continued to raise havoc in south Texas. By 1806, the Navahoes were firmly controlled, although a revolt had to be suppressed in 1819-1820. By 1800 the Pueblos numbered between 8,000 to 10,000. The Spaniards numbered about 19,000, the majority of these being peasants.

Having now finally secured the province after two hundred years of effort, the province was expanded rapidly. By 1822, the number of Spaniards had increased to 30,000. Rich copper deposits were being mined and the ore shipped to New Spain in mule caravans. The population of Santa Fe grew to 6,000. Thus in its closing years as a Spanish province, New Mexico's economic and political structure was being rapidly consolidated and expanded.

Colonization of Texas

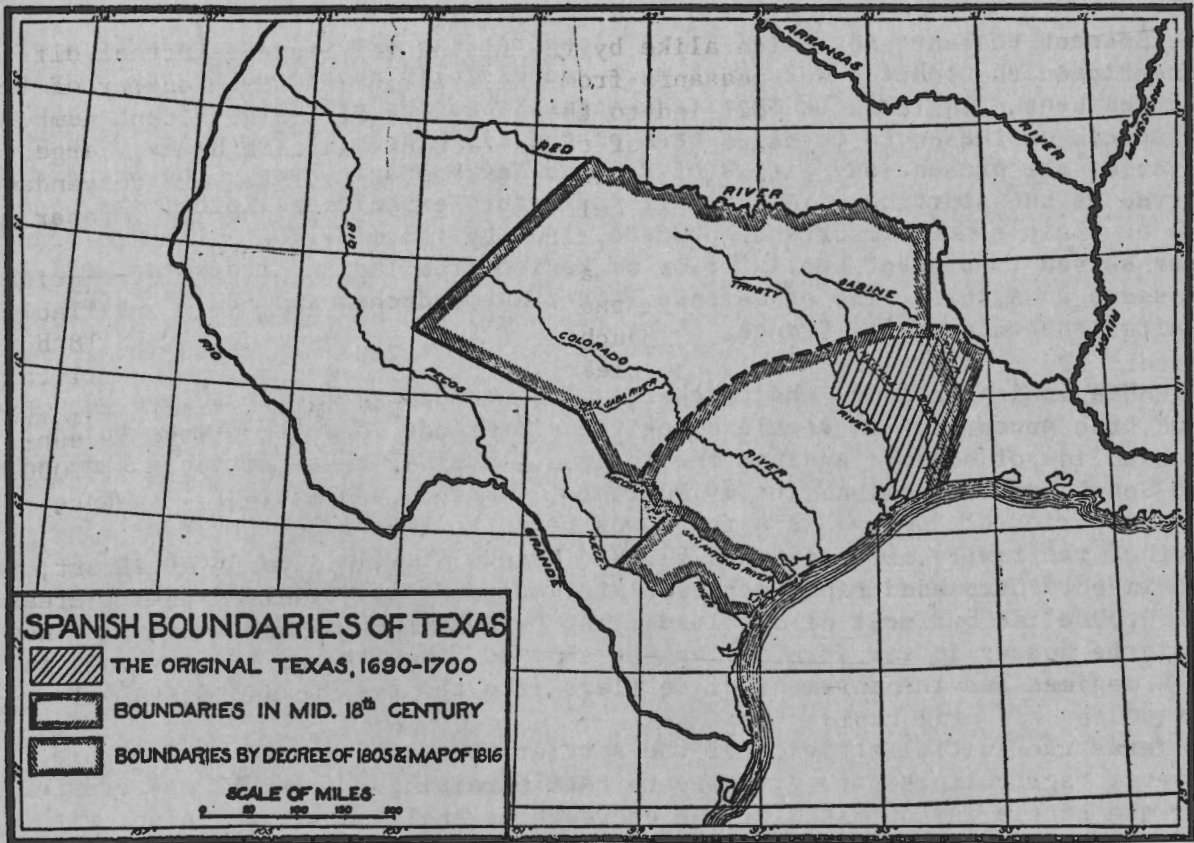
In order to contain the French in Louisiana, expeditions were sent out to establish missions in East Texas, in 1718, and a halfway base was established at San Antonio in 1718.

Cary McWilliams states in North from Mexico that:

"While a few missions were established in eastern Texas in 1716, they were soon abandoned and the principal settlements remained those at San Antonio, a combination presidio-mission and pueblo; Goliad or LaBahia, and Nacogadoches. Exposed to Indian raids on all sides, none of these settlements prospered. The great rolling plains, stretching in all directions, made it impossible for the Spaniards to subdue the Comanches, who showed a marked disinclination to be enrolled as neophytes in the missions. Between 1722 and 1744, the Spanish spent three million pesos in an effort to colonize Texas but the number of colonists was less at the end than at the beginning of the period. By 1791, most of the Indians had fled from the missions and the few who remained were dispersed some years later."²

Its distance from northern Mexico, its geography (many forests) and its proximity to Louisiana and to the USNA, combined with the withdrawal of the Spanish garrisons made Spanish control of the area a reality in name only.

Texas was comprised of what is now the Northeast corner of Texas. The Mexican provinces of Tamaulipas, Coahuila and Chihuahua all came up to the Nueces river. At no time in its history did Texas ever border on the Rio Grande River.



Above maps show Texas boundaries.. Notice how Texas was only the southeast section of what is now Texas.

In contrast to Texas the settlements along the Rio Grande, in the states of Tamaulipas and Coahuila were much more successfully developed by the Spanish and Mexicans. In 1699 the Spaniards established the presidios de San Juan Bautista, on the south or right bank of the Rio Grande, a few miles down the river of the present-day cities of Piedras Negras-Eagle Pass. The outpost served as the starting point for all the future expeditions into Texas, and was one of Spain's more important outposts. But by the mid-1700's the Rio Grande area served to protect the interior of Mexico from Indian attacks as well as to serve as a third line of defense (after Nacodadoches and San Antonio), against the encroaching French.

"Beginning in 1748, the rancheros of Santander (Tamaulipas) had been encouraged to settle along the Rio Grande in an effort to build a line of defense against the Indians. Most of these settlers came from such Mexican communities as Guerrero, Camargo, and Miero.... Over a period of some years a few towns began to appear on the Texas side of the river*, Dolores in 1767, Rio Grande City in 1757, Roma in 1768. Once Mexico had achieved its independence, the government parcelled out most of the land lying between the Rio Grande and the Nueces in the form of large grants to favorites of the new regimes and the movement of settlers into the region became rapid."³

In Texas the initial activity of the settlers was subsistence agriculture. However, agriculture soon gave way to cattle raising. A market was created for the cattle in Louisiana by the encroaching Anglo settlers. Also, with the increased demand for cattle there was a rising demand for cotton. Thus, the economy of Mexican Texas from 1821 to 1836 focused on cattle and cotton; American cotton growers were attracted to the area, increasing the Anglo intrusion into Texas.⁴

The area between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was an integral part of the states of Santander and Coahuila and of course were economically tied to the lower Rio Grande settlements. Most of the land was occupied by ranchos. Here in the settlements of the Lower Rio Grande Valley, the Spaniards set up the same feudal production relations that they set up in California and New Mexico with the feudal lords living an idle and lordly existence based on a system of peonage. The poor peasants were always in debt and very often inherited the debts of their fathers. As in most feudal societies the peasants were barely able to scratch out an existence from the land that they cultivated for the aristocracy.

From 1836 to 1846, the Anglo-Americans set foot in this part of Mexico only once, in retaliation for a successful Mexican raid which captured San Antonio, Golia (La Bahia and Refugio). The claim of the "Republic of Texas", that its borders extended to the Rio Grande were completely unfounded and were put forth to force Mexico into war with the USNA and thereby furnish the excuse to dismember the Mexican territory.

The original boundaries of Texas were extended around 1750 to the San Antoni-Median Rivers. The western and northern boundaries remained undefined because

*of present day Texas. In this period of time, Texas was bounded by the Nueces river. See map on Page 7.

the area was not settled, but were not more than 250 miles inland. By 1815 the boundaries were readjusted southward to the Nueces river running along that river to a point south of San Antonio, then continuing north to San Antonio, then westward along the Medina river, then diagonally to the Red River, then along the Red River to the Sabine, then southward along the Sabine. Thus Texas did not include legally, historically, economically, or in anyway, the area between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, the area west of the Pecos, the area of the Big Bend, the panhandle, El Paso and West Texas, or the northern New Mexico settlements. While some of these areas were as yet unoccupied by any Europeans, the areas of the lower Rio Grande Valley were well developed Mexican settlements and states. These areas were far more advanced economically than Texas. The latter was a frontier colony, small in extent, and somewhat unevenly developed with its Anglo-American population of 25,000 and its Mexican population of 5,000 in 1836. By contrast the lower Rio Grande settlements had a population of 25,000, the El Paso area had a population of 10,000 and the upper Rio Grande settlements had a Mexican population of 40,000 to 50,000. The preposterous claims that the Republic of Texas encompassed these older highly developed Mexican areas and the attempts to occupy them militarily were unquestionably aggressive acts meant to provoke war. When the Texans attempted to "claim" their territory in New Mexico in 1841, they were defeated. Five years later the USNA annexed Texas and invaded the states of Tamaulipas (Nuevo Santander) and Coahuila and precipitated the Mexican-American war. The completely unfounded claims of the slavocracy were asserted and maintained only by the USNA's military invasion of Mexico.

Colonization of California

California's discovery came relatively late in history as a result of its remoteness from civilization and the great physical barriers that blocked the approaches to the area. It was discovered in 1542 by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo while searching for the northwest passage. In 1769, four presidios were established: San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco. Later the pueblos of San Jose (1777) and Los Angeles (1781) were added. Simultaneously a mission system was begun by the Franciscans under Junipero Serra. By 1823, twenty-one missions had been established along the coast, each one separated by a day's ride.

As in early New Mexico, the colony was originally a mission colony under the Franciscans, and until the Mid-Mexican period when the missions were secularized, the Church dominated the colony's political and economic life. The ostensible purpose of the missions was to save the souls of the Indians, but their objective role was to cement Spanish feudal society in California by bringing the Indians into feudal relations of production and securing California from foreign powers. The original missionaries arrived in California supplied with provisions and could expect some support from New Spain until they became self sufficient by getting the Indians to work for them. The Indians who did not die were Christianized and taught skills in agriculture and domestic manufacturing. The rich soil and favorable climate, plus the efficient management by the Franciscans combined to make the missions of California the most productive of Mexico. Surpluses of grains, wine, oil, hemp, hides, and tallow were shipped to Acapulco in exchange for furniture, cloth, iron and tools. By 1784, there were nine missions worked by 5,8000 Indians. At their peak in the early 1830's there were twenty-one missions valued at \$78,000,000, with 10,000 acres under cultivation and millions of acres under range. The misión of San Gabriel

encompassed seventeen ranchos, 105,000 cattle, 40,000 sheep, and 20,000 horses. It was worked by 3,000 Indians.⁴

The most important institutions in feudal California were the missions, the presidios, the pueblo and the rancho. The presidios originally were forts located near missions and served to protect the colony against foreign powers and hostile Indians, and to track down runaway Indians. They were generally located at strategic positions at the entrances to the best ports. Small groups of settlers (many of them ex-soldiers granted lands as an inducement to stay), soldiers' families and traders grew up around these presidios and transformed these military posts into towns. Included in these were San Diego, San Francisco, Monterey, and Santa Barbara. As they grew into towns military rule was transformed into civil rule. Much of the work necessary to maintain these presidios, such as the erection of buildings, the care of the herds, and the growing of the food supply for the soldiers was done by Indians who were practically enslaved.

As to the pueblos, they were towns more or less established by edict. Each pueblo was granted four leagues of land, and each settler was granted a residential lot, a plot of land, rights to use the common pasture land, tools, supplies, and animals, and was exempt from taxes for five years. In return the settler could not sell his land, had to sell his surplus agricultural goods to the presidios, and was liable for military service when the need arose. San Jose and Los Angeles were pueblos of this type.

During the Spanish period there were never more than thirty ranchos. These ranchos were developed mostly from sitio grants awarded usually to members of the aristocracy for some service given to the crown. The usual patron (feudal lord) ruled the rancho and mestizos and Indians worked it. These ranchos were largely self-sufficient, but produced little surplus for trade. They were like ranchos throughout the Spanish Empire.

The ruling class of California was composed of the Church officials, the military officials, the government officials, and the patrones of the ranchos. Occupying a middle position were the mestizos, who were the vaqueros, settlers, soldiers, herders and "artisans." The Indians comprised the lowest class.

The revolution of 1810-1821 brought little change to the class structure of California, as California remained relatively aloof. During this period USNA, British, and Russian ships became more active in trading with California and plotting its take-over. After 1821, this trade increased more; the trade of tallow and hides opened up new markets for these items and as a result gave the trade itself added impetus.

Summary

The northern provinces were settled by the Spanish because of three factors: one, the drive for gold; two, the provinces were useful as frontier posts and could be used as buffers against the other expansionist powers; and third, to satisfy the need for slaves to work the mines of Central Mexico. As a rule,

*artisans

these settlements were isolated and scattered and had no communication with each other. If we can imagine a wheel, with Chihuahua in the center and the spokes of the wheel reaching out to these sparse settlements, this wheel would be a fairly accurate description of how these settlements were connected with Mexico.

The production relations during this period were feudal with the peasants being mere serfs. A fairly accurate description of the typical peasant in some of these northern provinces can easily fit the definition of Engels: "The serf has the possession and use of an instrument of production, a strip of land, in return for which he hands over a portion of the yield or performs work."⁵ Further, Engels states:

"Thus the chief form of property during the feudal epoch consisted on the one hand of landed property with serf labour chained to it, and on the other of the labour of the individual with small capital commanding the labour of journeymen. The organisation of both was determined by the restricted conditions of production--the small-scale and primitive cultivation of the land, and the craft type of industry."⁶

Along side of this feudal system existed some slave labor. At no time was slavery the dominant production relation.

The small rising merchant class that did exist was not indigenous but was from Chihuahua. The trade was totally controlled and subservient to Chihuahua. This aroused antagonisms towards Chihuahua on the part of the New Mexicans, an effect that would bring about disastrous consequences later.

The Mexican Period

During the period of Mexican Independence, 1821 to 1846, the economic and class structure of New Mexico changed more in degree than in kind. The feudal exploitation of the Indian and Mexican peasantry was intensified; agricultural, mineral and animal production was increased; and this gave rise to a greatly increased trade between New Mexico and Chihuahua. The Santa Fe Trail--the trade between the USNA and Mexico--was begun. The germ of a rising merchant class definitely existed within the context of this accelerated commercial activity. But the merchants began to come into their own only in the period after the annexation of New Mexico by the USNA state. During the Mexican period, feudal relations of production were still the main aspect in the mode of production and trade increased between the USNA and New Mexico at a rapid rate.

In California the Mexican government issued several hundred grants during this period. The result of increased immigration, increase in the number of ranchos, and increase in trade led to a tremendous increase in cattle raising. The rancheros as a class became the dominant class and engineered secularization of the missions. The result was that between 1834 and 1845, the missions were broken up and their lands and the Indians that worked them came under the control of the rancheros. During this period, 8,000,000 acres of land passed into the hands of eight hundred individuals. The hegemony of the rancheros was short lived. Shortly after they consolidated their power, the struggle between the USNA and Mexico erupted in the Mexican-American War and California was annexed to the USNA.

Westward Expansion of the USNA

By 1803, with the Louisiana Purchase, the expansionist movement of the USNA had reached the borders of the Spanish provinces. Having pushed the French and English into the background, the USNA bourgeoisie envisioned an empire extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, including all the islands of the Caribbean and the Mexican nation. The most rabid aggressive and militaristic of the bourgeoisie was the slaveocracy, and it was mainly the forces of the slave South that were behind these plans of empire.

The reasons behind the expansion of the South lay in its farming methods and in the necessity to maintain its political supremacy over the free states. The farming methods of the plantation owners tended to exhaust the soil and thereby necessitated a constant opening of new lands. In addition, if the free states were to gain hegemony over the slave states, the former would undoubtedly abolish slavery. During the ante-bellum period the South was firmly in control of the Supreme Court, the Presidency, and the Senate. But since the North was more populous and increased its population at a faster rate, the House was generally controlled by the North. The slave South therefore saw that in order to maintain and consolidate its hold on the Union, it would have to maintain control of the Senate. In order to do this it became necessary to insure not only expansion, but expansion predominantly of slave states. That is why Texas was coveted by the slaveocracy, not only for its immensely rich and fertile lands, but also because they planned to divide it into a number of slave states and thus increase their votes in the Senate. With Texas in their pocket they planned to use it as a springboard to invade and conquer all of Mexico. Yet we should not underplay the complicity of the Northern financiers and industrialists. For them, westward expansion provided both an escape valve for the impoverished farmers and workers, and thus for social unrest; further, many Northern financiers were heavily involved in land speculation on the frontier, especially in Texas. These designs which were obvious to the other capitalist countries of the world, forced the French Journal, the Journal Des Debats, to comment that the United States had ambitious plans for conquering all the American continent; it went further to give voice to its fear of American power: "The conquest of Mexico would be a wide step towards the enslavement of the world by the United States."⁷

After a number of unsuccessful attempts to seize Texas, in the 1820's, Anglo-American colonists began settling on large grants in the Mexican province of Texas. By 1830, the slavers were in a position to act. The Mexican province of Texas was almost totally in the hands of slavers; only Bexar was economically, politically, and culturally Mexican (this part of Texas was around San Antonio). Andrew Jackson, arch-expansionist and slaver, intensified attempts to acquire Texas. Agents were sent to Texas to agitate for the grabbing of Texas and the dismemberment of as much of northern Mexico as possible; the most famous and influential of these was Sam Houston. Propaganda for the venture was unleashed in the Congress, in State Legislatures, in newspapers, and in rallies. New York land companies bought up large tracts of Texas lands and lobbied for the support of annexationist plans. When it became clear that Mexico would not "sell" Texas and instead attempted to abolish slavery, prohibit further USNA immigration and enforce laws flagrantly violated by the Anglo-American colonists, the slavers and their agents, with Houston at their

head, organized and carried out their "rebellion." Men, money, and arms poured into Texas from the USNA, although the USNA proclaimed official "neutrality." By 1836, the Mexican army had been defeated and Texas was declared independent.

Texas agents and Southern politicians lobbied vigorously for immediate annexation, but failed to accomplish their goal and annexation was to wait ten more years. In March of 1845, the USNA annexed Texas, an event that Mexico warned could lead to war. When Mexico refused to sell California and New Mexico to the United States, President Polk sent General Zachary Taylor to cross the Rio Grande River and thus provoke war with Mexico and lead to the acquisition of the entire northern portion of Mexico.

In the ensuing bloody war that followed the USNA troops became notorious for their cruelty. Even General Winfield Scott readily admitted that they had "committed atrocities to make Heaven weep and every American of Christian morals blush for his country. Murder, robbery and rape of mothers and daughters in the presence of tied-up males of the families have been common all along the Rio Grande." Lieutenant George C. Meade, of later Civil War fame, said that the volunteers were "driving husbands out of houses and raping their wives.... They will fight as gallantly as any man, but they are a set of Goths and Vandals without discipline, making us a terror to innocent people."⁸

How bitter the Mexican people were can be seen by the following passage from one of the leading Mexican newspapers of the period: "The horde of banditti, of drunkards, of fornicators...vandals vomited from hell, monsters who bid defiance to the laws of nature...shameless, daring, ignorant, ragged, bad smelling, long-bearded men with hats turned up at the brim, thirsty with the desire to appropriate our riches and our beautiful damsels."⁹

Throughout Mexico there was resistance to USNA troops except in the northern state of New Mexico, which was an exception. The ease with which New Mexico was conquered was due to a number of reasons. The conflicts between the Mexican central government and New Mexico weakened the Mexican state as a whole. The commerce with the USNA had given rise to a section within the ruling class of New Mexico whose interest was more closely tied to the USNA than to Mexico. The peasant and Indians did not support the New Mexican ruling class in resisting the Anglo-Americans except as duty bound them. The Anglo-Americans had a "Fifth Column"^{*} in New Mexico which was able to effectively assist the USNA in the take-over.

An agreement was reached ending the war and a treaty was signed (the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo) on February 2, 1848. Through this treaty the USNA acquired the territory that now forms the states of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and half of Colorado, and received clear title to Texas with the southern boundary that had been previously claimed by Texas to the Rio Grande. Mexico lost more than one million square miles and was paid \$15 million in partial compensation. Although Mexico lost approximately fifty percent of her national territory, she lost less than one per cent of her population. Nearly all 80,000 Mexican citizens living in the ceded territory

*Internal group allied with external enemies.

eventually became citizens with about 2,000 moving southwest across the new political border in order to retain their Mexican citizenship.

Article IX of the treaty guaranteed that these former Mexican citizens would receive the protection of the USNA in the exercise of their civil and political rights. It also specifically provided that they would have the right to worship freely and their property rights would be protected.

"It is to the greater credit of the Mexican negotiators that the treaty contained the most explicit guarantees to protect the rights of these people, provisions for which they were more deeply concerned than they were boundaries or indemnities. It should never be forgotten that, with the exception of the Indians, Mexicans are the only minority, Indians again excepted, whose rights were specifically safeguarded by treaty provisions."¹⁰

However, none of the Mexican signers of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were aware of the fact that nine days before the signing of the treaty, gold had been discovered in California. That not only had half of the national territory of Mexico been outright stolen at the point of a gun, but that these territories were unbelievably rich in gold and silver, the very product that had lured the Spanish into the Southwest in the first place.

Summary

After Mexico had attained independence from Spain she did not maintain strict contact with its settlements in the north. It was during this period that trade between St. Louis, Santa Fe and Chihuahua was established. It was only in this period when it broke out of isolation, in New Mexico at least, that the rising merchant class began to develop. Also, New Mexico began to have much better relations with St. Louis than with Chihuahua because of the bitter resentment that they had for the latter.

Even though there was trade during this period, the main distinguishing feature however was the feudal relations of production and the isolation of the settlements.

For decades the ruling class in the USNA had desired to expand westward, all the way to the coast of California. These expansionists called this Manifest Destiny. From the beginning the slaveocracy had laid covetous eyes on Mexico, for it viewed her as future slave states, or as the Negro National Colonial Question Pamphlet has pointed out: "...the economics of slavery demand the constant expansion of slavery into fresh and fertile soils--that meant the westward motion of the slave system." On the other hand the industrial North was opposed to any annexations, mainly because it feared that it would strengthen the slaveocracy's hand. Within a decade after the annexation of the Southwest from Mexico, war broke out between the North and the South.

The dismemberment of the Mexican Nation was a direct result of the expansive nature of capitalism itself. As Lenin states:

"Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc." 11

Further:

"Capitalism's broad and rapid development of the productive forces calls for large, politically compact, and united territories, since only here can the bourgeois class--together with its inevitable antipode, the proletarian class--unite and sweep away all the old, medieval, cast, parochial, petty-national, religious and other barriers." 12

Thus while the expanding Anglo-American nation was consolidating ever larger and larger territories under its national boundaries, it was also creating the conditions for its own destruction.

The Consolidation of the Southwest Region

The USNA moved quickly in Texas and California using force wherever necessary. The northern part of California was quickly over-run because of the discovery of gold in 1849. Here there was immediate contention as the Anglo-Americans seized the mines while lynching and murdering Mexicans, especially the Mexicans from Sonora (who gave the Anglos competition; they were expert miners who introduced such innovative mining techniques as panning and the dry-wash separation of gold).

After the gold rush, the history of land in California was a story of greed, corruption, and robbery. The courts, being an instrument of class rule, were used to expropriate the Mexican people of their land holdings. Here the large land holdings were not broken up but kept intact. In regards to this phenomena Carey McWilliams in Factories in the Fields writes:

"These vast feudal holdings, which should have been purchased by the government and held as part of the public domain, were never disrupted. Some of them are intact to this day. The ownership changed from Mexican grantee to American capitalist...." 13

With the increase of expropriations of land holdings, the resistance on the part of the Mexican people also increased. The most famous figures were Joaquin Murrietta and Three Fingered Jack Garcia who were the Robin Hoods of California.

In southern California the Mexican population remained in the majority because of the increase of Sonorans; also because of the lack of mining activity which did not attract settlers from the East.

However, in Texas, the period 1846-1877 was one characterized by bloodshed and murder. Here there was real animosity on the part of the Mexican people toward the aggressive and white chauvinist Anglo-Americans. Here the capitalists seized the land by using the legal system. "For Texas, Taylor's data show that

in 1835 all of the land in Nueces country was granted to Mexicans, yet by 1883 every one of these grants had been purchased by non-Mexicans."¹⁴

The area between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was a war area. Eighty percent of the Mexicans resided here and the Anglo-American expansionists were not able to pacify things here until 1877. The first area of contention was around the ox-cart freighting business which transported goods from San Antonio to Chihuahua to the Gulf coast. The Anglo-Americans began to ambush the freight trains and what ensued is known as the Cart War. There was also what is known as the Salt War. This struggle resulted when some Anglos seized a mine in El Paso in 1877. During this period the Mexican people fought back. The most famous of the resistance fighters was Juan Cortina who terrorized the Anglo-Americans in Southwest Texas for a decade and a half with a small guerrilla army of followers.

The economic result of these land seizures (which was nothing more than primitive accumulation) would result in large-scale capitalist agriculture along with the creation of an impoverished and dependent Mexican national minority rural proletariat. Or as Karl Marx states in Capital:

"The process, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other than the process which takes away from the labourer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms, on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage-labourers."¹⁵

Also, during this period, there were elements in Texas who tried to instigate this disorder in an attempt to provide another war with Mexico and annex even more territory.

The USNA moved quickly in Texas and California using force wherever necessary. In New Mexico the process was "indirect and subtle and took the form of a gradual assertion of dominance through manipulation rather than by outright expropriation."¹⁶

At the time of the annexation, the population of New Mexico was 61,525; by 1860 it had increased to 87,034 (79,249 native-born); and then to 91,784 in 1870 (83,175 native born).

Contrary to what occurred in Texas and California the influx of Anglo-Americans was very slow. The first Anglo-American settlers were federal officials, territorial officials, lawyers, and merchants. Because there wasn't a large immigration of farm families, active competition for the resources was kept at a minimum until 1880.

The Anglo finance capitalists took over New Mexico by buying the rich landlords--using the savage events in Texas as a threat to any who might oppose them. It was the Anglo finance capitalists who formed what was known as the "Sante Fe Ring." It was they who "manipulated the Indian Bureau, controlled the allocation of contracts to supply the army posts, dictated territorial appointments

and exercised 'great influence over the courts" (McWilliams). The masses of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans had no semblance of democratic rights as the dons, who ran the haciendas, voted their sheep as well as their peons in electing legislative representatives. The USNA capitalists used the feudal relationship to their own advantage, much like the current policy of using "Asians to rule Asians"; yet even with these methods, New Mexico was kept as a territory while the overwhelming majority in the area was Spanish speaking and was not allowed statehood until 1912, until the finance capitalists were in complete control.

After 1870, the situation in the Southwest changed. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad, capitalism spread west, which meant the development of industries and urban centers.

The use of Mexican labor was indispensable in this task. The rail lines and highways that were built in this period were the old trails of the Spanish and Mexicans who had organized an elaborate system of pack-trains which were the principal means of transportation as late as the 1880's.

"Since 1880 Mexicans have made up seventy per cent of the section crews and ninety per cent of the extra gangs on the principal western lines which regularly employ between 35,000 and 50,000 workmen in these categories."^{17*}

So we see that the railroads were built mainly by Mexican labor and have been maintained, since 1880, by Mexicans. In the economic development of the Southwest, the railroads were key, because all of the products of the Southwest--copper, cotton, lettuce, produce, wool, beef, and dairy products--are transported by these railroads. We should note the importance of Mexican labor in the production of these goods in the Southwest.

Mining

Carey McWilliams writes:

"Western mining developed, of course, by a series of 'waves,' first gold, then silver, and finally copper. At first only the high-grade copper ores--those that ranged from five to twenty per cent copper--were exploited; but a new process was perfected around 1892 for smelting the low-grade ores (the disseminating or porphyry ores). The smelting of these ores involved an enormous capital outlay and brought about a rapid consolidation in ownership. Simultaneously new processes were developed for extracting ores in the underground mines."

"Between 1858 and 1940, the Arizona mines produced three billion dollars' worth of metal. Copper production increased from 800,000 pounds in 1874 to 830,628,411 pounds in 1929. It was the vast expansion in the electrical industry which enabled

*Chinese helped to build the railroads up to 1882; then the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed.

copper...to dethrone its 'white rival,' silver. One might say, therefore, that Mexican miners in the copper mines of Arizona, Utah, and Nevada, have played an important role in making possible the illumination of America by electricity. The census of 1930 listed 16,668 Mexicans engaged in the extraction of minerals; 3,880 as 'coal-miners,' principally in Colorado and New Mexico; and 12,623 'other operators,' mostly in the copper mines of the Southwest."¹⁹

We must note here how from the very beginnings of mining in the Southwest the mine owners used the Mexican labor in an effort to prevent unionization and pitted Mexicans against non-Mexicans in order to divide the working class.

Sheep Raising and Cattle

In regards to sheep raising, Bentworth and Towne state that, "sheep husbandry in the United States owes more to Spain than to any other nation on earth."¹⁷

All the Anglo-Americans did was adopt the already functioning pattern of sheep raising that had been developed in Spain and transferred to the Southwest by the Spanish. By 1870 the center of the sheep industry had shifted to the Southwest and became a specialized business, conducted on a large scale, "...by men whose sole vocation was sheep-raising."²⁰ This Spanish system that was adopted showed amazing results; in 1850 there was 32,000 pounds of wool; in 1860, 498,000 pounds; and in 1880, 4,000,000 pounds of wool.

Sheep raising quickly spread to Idaho, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Nevada, Arizona, Montana, and California. In California, the Mexican Churro was crossed with the Merino to produce the present range stock of the Western states.

With this development, USNA wool production soared from five million pounds in 1862 to twenty-two million pounds in 1880. The increase in wool production stimulated factory employment in the East and also helped the establishment of the sugarbeet industry. With sugarbeet factories, the modern era of lamb-feeding came into prominence.

The cattle industry also was completely adapted from the Spanish system that prevailed in the Southwest at the time of the annexation.

"With the exception of the capital provided to expand the industry, there seems to have been nothing the American rancher or cowboy contributed to the development of cattle-raising in the Southwest."²¹

Frank Dobie also writes in regard to this subject: "The very language of the range is Spanish."²² Terms such as: bronco, mesquite, chapparral, lariat from la riata, vamoose from vamonos, lasso from lazo, burro, stampede from estampida, calaboose from calabozo, mesa, canyon, rodeo, corral, sombrero, loco, hoosegow from juzgado are examples of their Spanish origins.

The American cowboy's elaborate lore about the rope and roping techniques was acquired directly from the Mexican vaquero. Roping by the forefeet was based on the mangana technique, while to rope by the hindfeet or "to peal" was a feat also learned from the Mexicans. The Mexican was an artist with knife and rope, both of which he used as weapons. It was only when the Texans got the Colt revolver, about 1838, that they became a terror.

Thus it becomes apparent how influential the various techniques of the original Spanish-Mexican inhabitants of the Southwest had on the economic development of this region in the fields of railroads, mining, cattle and sheep raising.

Cotton

Beginning in 1890 and culminating in 1930, cotton began to expand to middle Texas and later to West Texas. Mexican labor was substituted for Negro and Anglo-American sharecroppers and tenant farmers. This expansion of cotton coincided with the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Thus there was a great influx of Mexicans into the Southwest.

In 1902 the Southwest had a population the size of Chicago in the same year. The magic key that unlocked the resources of this region was irrigation. Irrigated farming being intensive, it brought into being the following: high yields per acre, heavy labor requirements, year-round production, and crop specialization. The development of the Southwest Region as an economic empire can be directly traced to the passage of the reclamation Act of 1902, which granted federal funds for the construction of large-scale irrigation and reclamation projects. More than any single factor it has been irrigation that has allowed for the economic growth of this region.

In order to supply the new capitalist enterprises with a cheap labor force, one that could be exploited to the fullest, the USNA imperialists turned to Mexico.

"Deeply rooted in the Mexican past, Mexican immigration to the United States between 1890 to the present is one of the great population movements in the history of the Americas."²³

Carey McWilliams points out how ten per cent of the population of Mexico came to the Southwest in this period and that it was concentrated in the old Spanish borderlands. He also stresses that:

"...in point of time it coincided with the birth of the Southwest as an economic empire; and, each instance, Mexican immigrants labored in the building of industries in which there had been an earlier Spanish-Mexican cultural contribution. The industries in which Mexicans were concentrated, moreover, were those vital to the economic development of the Southwest. In all essentials, therefore, the story of the invasion of the borderlands can be told in terms of railroads, cotton, sugarbeets, and track or produce farming."²⁴

1910-1930

Prior to 1900 there had been a trickle of Mexican immigration to the Southwest. Texas had an immigrant population of 71,062 in 1900; Arizona 14,172; California 8,096; New Mexico 6,649. Most of the immigration was restricted to the area near the border or the old Spanish borderlands. At first the immigration was limited to Texas; but after 1900 there was a rapid increase of Mexican immigrants to the border states, as can be seen in the following table:

Arizona.....	14,171	29,987	61,580	114,173
California.....	8,086	33,694	88,881	368,013
New Mexico.....	6,649	11,918	20,272	59,340
Texas.....	71,062	125,016	251,827	683,681

As is inevitable under capitalism, the period of expansion in the USNA was followed by the severe depression of the 1930's. It was at this time that the special apparatus of the state, known as the Immigration Authorities emerged as a special weapon to threaten the Mexican National Minority workers. The advantage of securing Mexican labor over other immigrant labor was not only in the relative ease with which the laborers could be rounded up, brought over and put into colonies, but also with the ease with which they could be disbanded and shipped back to Mexico when they were no longer employable. As the depression hit, relief roles swelled and labor struggles intensified, the government rounded up the Mexican National Minorities and sent them in special trains to Mexico. Half a million Mexican National Minorities returned to Mexico and over half of these were USNA citizens. Much of the special character of the Southwest has been due to the periodic herding of Mexican labor in waves back and forth without regard to rights of families, with regard only to the profits of the bourgeoisie.

Immigration

At the end of World War II two new factors worked together to increase greatly the number of migrants moving illegally from Mexico into the Southwest:

1) Widespread expansion of irrigated cultivation in northern Mexico brought large numbers of Mexican workers to the border cities in the 1940's. 2) Irrigated agriculture was being expanded in the Southwest. The addition of 7,500,000 acres to the agricultural lands of the seventeen western states between 1945 and 1955 rapidly increased the need for stoop labor.

Since 1945 the greatest number of Mexican immigrants has entered the USNA. During this contemporary period literally millions of Mexican border crossings have been recorded. According to the latest statistics as reported in the Christian Science Monitor July 18, 1974, "...the number of illegal aliens entering the U.S. each year is known to exceed 700,000 and is estimated to be over 1,000,000."

Labor Struggles

We must always keep in mind the conditions of life for the Mexican National Minority workers throughout the Southwest. In the mining camps they were

segregated into "Jim Towns" where they lived in miserable shacks. They were often paid in the form of credit at the company store and were forced to work until they paid off their debt which often meant a lifetime of servitude to the company until they died. The railroad towns were also miserable settlements where there were no health facilities or proper housing. Hundreds of Mexican families spent their lives bouncing around the Southwest in boxcar homes. As late as 1928 the boxcar labor camps of the railroads housed 469 Mexican men, 155 women and 372 children in Chicago. Wages on the railroads were \$1 a day for years. But the conditions of the agricultural workers were and still are worse than they were at the worst times of the Industrial Revolution in England. Men, women, and children labor 12-14 hours a day and still do not make enough to feed the whole family. There are no health facilities, no schools, no decent housing in the concentration camps which the migratory workers live in. The conditions are not any better in the small towns of permanent settlement throughout the agricultural areas of the Southwest. Mexican National Minority workers have always been paid less than Anglo-American workers. In 1930, the annual family wage of the average Mexican National Minority was \$600. In 1944 copper companies regularly paid an inexperienced Anglo-American worker \$6.36 per shift and a Mexican National Minority laborer over a dollar less. Even later it was brought out that Standard Oil refiners in Texas paid \$.10 an hour more for Anglo-American labor than for 'non-whites' including Mexican and Negro National Minority workers. And what did the Anglo American labor unions do? They championed the bourgeois line that wherever Anglo-American labor was employed, Mexican National Minority labor should be prohibited.

The first strike in the copper mines occurred in 1896 when the Western Federation of Labor struck at the Old Dominion Mine against the employment of Mexican National Minority labor. The A.F.ofL. and other reactionary labor unions have always opposed the importation of Mexican National Minority labor and have never attempted to organize the mass of Mexican National Minority workers. Facing the fascist oppression and deportations that followed all attempts of the Mexican National Minority to organize, the Mexican National Minority workers have also faced the staunchest opposition from the imperialist lackeys, the trade union leaders. Despite these odds, the history of the struggles of the Mexican National Minority have been characterized by militancy and courage. From the outset, the Southwest was not conquered easily. At every point the Mexican National Minority organized to try and defeat the aggressors. The chauvinist myth of the Mexican "bandito" comes from the fact that there were always Mexican National Minorities who refused to be conquered and formed outlaw bands to try and recapture the land which was stolen from them. But even more important is the long history of labor struggles. Here is but a partial list of some of the events. Carey McWilliams, in North from Mexico, gives a more complete story (p.189-205).

- 1883-The first attempt to organize agricultural workers in the USNA was begun in Texas by Mexican National Minority workers.
- 1903-Mexican National Minority and Japanese sugar beet workers go on strike in Ventura, California.
- 1910-The wave of strikes culminating in the dynamiting of the L.A. Times was initiated by Mexican National Minority railway workers.

- 1915-Three unions of Mexican miners struck copper mines of Clifton Morenci and Metcalf. The National Guard broke up the 19 week strike.
- 1917-Arizona copper miners, Anglo and Mexican National Minorities together struck for a month before a vigilante mob rounded up over 1,000 Mexican National Minority strikers and left them in the desert to die.
- 1927-The first stable organization of Mexican National Minority workers was established. It was called the Confederacion de Uniones Mexicanas and they called their first strike in 1928. It was broken by wholesale arrests and deportations.
- 1933-7,000 Mexican National Minority field workers struck in LA county. Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union called a series of strikes.
- Middle Thirties-Liga Obrera de Habla Espanola was organized in Gallup, New Mexico and reached a membership of 8,000.
- 1936-Strikes and pitched battles between 2,000 Mexican National Minority agricultural and 1500 police took place near San Pedro, California.

The Mexican National Minority workers have been staunch fighters against imperialism and for this they have faced the wrath of the state. All labor leaders and potential revolutionaries have been deported when possible or jailed and shot without hesitation. The deportation of labor leaders and revolutionaries has increased the unity of the revolutionary struggles in the Southwest and Mexico and much of the labor struggles going on in Mexico were a direct result of the work of deported Mexican National Minority labor leaders.

The famous zoot-suit riots of 1943 in which sailors, soldiers, and marines stormed through East Los Angeles shooting young Mexican National Minorities at will, demonstrate the lengths the imperialists will go to in order to keep the Mexican National Minority super-exploited. As the anti-imperialist struggles of the Mexican National Minority intensify today, we have seen a new burst of fascism from the USNA state. The shooting of Ruben Salazar, the Sanchez cousins and the incidences in Albuquerque, New Mexico and Pharr Texas in the last couple of years show that the situation for the Mexican national minority has not improved and can never improve while the Southwest remains under the thumb of USNA imperialism.

Resurgence of Mexican People's Movement

The impact of the Negro People's Liberation Movement in the 1960's was significant not only for the millions of oppressed toilers throughout the world, but also for the Mexican National Minority in the USNA.

In 1965 the Farmworkers (rural proletariat) in the San Joaquin Valley in California who were mainly Mexican National Minority began to stir. From this impetus the spark quickly spread and in 1967 armed peasants seized the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla in northern New Mexico. By the early part of 1968

high school students were walking out of the high schools of East Los Angeles with the support of their parents.

Finally on August 29, 1970, twenty-five thousand people, mainly consisting of Mexican National Minority held a large march and rally protesting the war in Vietnam. This show of force was too much for the bourgeois state to swallow and the police attacked the demonstration. East Los Angeles was quickly engulfed in flames as angry workers fought back against the brutality of the East Los Angeles sheriff's department which is hated by everyone.

This event more than anything showed the righteous anger that had been accumulated over the years by the Mexican National Minority. With no Communist Party to give the USNA working class correct leadership there was no recourse except spontaneity.

Presently the Mexican National Minority workers have been engaged in militant strike actions such as the Farah strike, the current Farmworkers struggle, and countless others in mining, garment, plastics, and steel. More than ever what is needed by the Anglo-American proletariat is a Communist party that can unite all of these separate struggles into one class struggle against capital.

CHAPTER II

MEXICAN NATIONAL MINORITY IN THE SOUTHWEST

Today the Southwest border region is a source of super profits for the USNA imperialists and is, along with the Negro Nation, Puerto Rico and Latin America, an important reserve for them.

Mexico borders the Southwest for over 1,500 miles and is a neo-colony of the USNA imperialists. It has a population of 54 million people and by 1980 should have 68 million. Beginning in 1878, the USNA flooded Mexico with investments. Most of Mexico's three billion pesos of foreign investment in that year came from the USNA, much of it sent into the development of gold, silver, copper mining, and oil. Today Mexico has a 40% unemployment rate as a result of imperialist investment; thus the Mexican workers are forced to leave their country in search of employment, and this means migration to the Southwest border area. These workers are then exploited by the USNA imperialists' "runaway" shops that have settled in the Southwest and northern Mexico.

"Dry farming, irrigation, oil, burgeoning rail and highway nets, have been instrumental in filling the previously unattractive border zones. This change has occurred both on the United States and the Mexican sides...the Mexican economy is welded into that of the U.S. at most key points; roads, railroads, and airlines have obliterated space between the two countries. The thousands of tourists pouring into Mexico from one side, the thousands of migrant laborers coming from the other, are a constant socio-economic feature that has tied the neighbors together."

Today machinery, wire, pipe, cement, steel, farm implements, glass, crockery, paint, and plumbing fixtures are moving south across the border and Mexican minerals, shoes, fish, flax, bamboo, guano, tomatoes, chickpeas and other products are moving north. Furthermore, the imbalance between imports and exports changed from \$7,000 in favor of the USNA to somewhat less than \$1,000,000 in the space of one year and even this margin may soon disappear. These statistics show how the imperialists will machine and assemble parts in northern Mexico for \$.30 or \$.40 an hour, then ship the commodities across the border to a sister plant where they are processed and shipped to their final destination, thus escaping import duties.

Just as Arizona is discovering that Nogales is the logical gateway to the west coast of Mexico, so Texas is discovering that its bordertowns are the logical gateway to eastern Mexico. In Texas, the Rio Grande is the border, and here it brings people together into twin cities with El Paso the key and important gateway. Coming westward the border towns are also twin cities like Nogales, Mexico and Nogales, Arizona, or Mexicali, Mexico, and Calexico, California.

The center of the Southwest region is El Paso, Texas. The nearest centers are Fort Worth and San Antonio, both six hundred miles away, beyond the Sierra

and the arid plains of west Texas. Denver is seven hundred miles north in the Rockies; Mexico City is the same distance south in the Sierra Madre. Los Angeles is eight hundred miles farther west, over loftier mountains and lonelier deserts. El Paso has become a business and industrial center for all the vast reach of barren land around it. It is the market place for New Mexico. Through Juarez, El Paso, the largest city anywhere along the southern border of the USNA, dominates the trade of northern Mexico. It is a major railway terminal and a port of entry for trade with Mexico. Two roads that run from coast to coast--the Sante Fe and the Southern Pacific--ride in on their own rails. Two more--The Rock Island and the Texas and Pacific--come in on the tracks of the S.P. The National Railways of Mexico link Juarez with all of Central America. These five converging lines haul machinery, ore and tourists into El Paso, haul produce and textiles and the same tourists away.

"The main business of the town is smelting. The Phelps-Dodge plant is one of the largest copper refiners in the world. The American Smelting and Refining Company in the Canon cut by the river through the hills, handles silver and copper ores from the mines of New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and northern Mexico. Cotton mills and canneries process farm products of the Valley. El Paso ships cattle from the dry pastures around it. Juarez has two big distilleries, a brewery, shoe manufacturers, and tile and pottery works."²

Other cities of importance in the Southwest (but not located on the border) are Los Angeles, California; Denver, Colorado; and San Antonio, Texas.

The Southwest Region, as a reserve for the imperialists, cannot be looked at in separation from its oppressed national minorities and oppressed peoples, the two largest groupings of which are the Mexican National Minority and the Indian peoples. In this paper we will deal only with the Mexican National Minority.

The Mexican National Minority in the Southwest

The Mexican National Minority is concentrated in certain pockets or areas in the Southwest. They are areas where they have historical and economic roots for centuries. They also happen to be areas that are agricultural or mineral extracting. These areas are Southwest Texas, northern New Mexico-southern Colorado, southern Arizona and Southern California. In North from Mexico, the author describes the phenomena as follows:

"...imagine a fan thrust north from Mexico with its tip resting on Sante Fe. Gradually the fan unfolds eastward to Texas, westward to California, with the ribs of the fan extending northward from the base in Mexico."³

Further:

"Not only is the Mexican population overwhelmingly concentrated in the Southwest, but it is highly concentrated within the belt of territory of the fan. In each of twenty-four counties extending from Santa Cruz in Arizona to Willacy in Texas, more

The four counties having the highest concentration of Mexican National Minorities are Los Angeles, El Paso, Bexar County (San Antonio) and Hidalgo (Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas) which is agricultural, the other three being large urban centers. Other large cities having a large concentration of Mexican National Minorities is Corpus Christie, Houston, Laredo, Albuquerque, Phoenix, San Diego, and San Francisco.

There are three areas of intensive, irrigated agriculture which have high concentrations of Mexican National Minorities. The Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas, the Salt and Gila River Valleys of Arizona, and the San Joaquin Valley in California.

There are three general characteristics that distinguish the Mexican National Minority and the Southwest from the rest of the USNA. One is the importance of agriculture and mining in the early economic growth of the region. Because of this the Mexican National Minority workers were placed in areas and locales that were separated from the larger community. Second is the constant flow and influx of the Mexican people across the border. Thirdly, the historical patterns of work and settlements of the Mexican people tended to be isolated, seasonal and migratory.

Since the advent of imperialism in the Southwest, the Mexican National Minorities have been channelled into exclusive employment in a few large-scale industries in the lowest brackets of employment, their employers have set them apart from other employees in segregated colonies. They also work in industries that are highly competitive, are non-union, and are small firms. With this combination the Mexican National Minority are paid lower wages and have less security of employment.

According to Moore, Gebler, and Guzman;

"The labor force participation rate for Mexican-American males in the urban Southwest was somewhat lower than for Anglos, but their unemployment in 1960 was nearly twice the Anglo rate."⁵

And:

"In 1960, only 19 per cent of the Spanish-surname males in urban areas were in white-collar occupations as against 47 per cent for Anglos. On the other hand, 57 per cent of the Mexican-Americans and only 26 per cent of the Anglos were employed in low-skill manual work."⁶

**Persons of Low-skill Manual Occupations* as a Percent
of All Employed Persons in Each Population Group,
Total and Urban, Five Southwest States, 1960**

AREA AND STATE	Urban and Rural			Urban		
	ANGLO	SPANISH-SURNAME	NONWHITE	ANGLO	SPANISH-SURNAME	NONWHITE
	<i>Males</i>					
Southwest	27.8	60.6	61.5	26.3	57.0	60.0
Arizona	28.7	69.8	65.6	26.6	61.8	64.3
California	28.0	59.0	52.4	26.7	56.6	51.4
Colorado	29.1	65.9	55.1	27.5	62.9	55.5
New Mexico	26.8	55.1	58.0	24.4	50.7	54.3
Texas	27.1	61.4	72.2	25.1	57.2	72.0
	<i>Females</i>					
Southwest	26.3	56.0	68.7	25.0	54.7	67.9
Arizona	27.9	56.8	66.6	26.9	55.7	71.2
California	26.5	53.5	57.4	25.6	52.8	57.0
Colorado	28.6	60.1	58.8	27.0	58.4	59.0
New Mexico	24.7	50.7	65.2	23.6	49.7	68.6
Texas	25.4	59.3	80.4	23.0	57.3	80.3

* Includes the following major occupational categories: operative; laborer; farm laborer and foreman; and service worker, including private household workers.
Source: See Table 9-2.

Mexican National Minority workers suffer not only the same exploitation as that suffered by Anglo-American workers, but they are victims of super exploitation as a national minority. Along with other national minorities they get the hardest work in the factories and the fields and are paid extremely low wages. Many capitalists get away with paying less than the minimum wage because they can keep Mexican National Minority workers quiet with the threat of turning them in to the immigration authorities. In 1966, some farmworkers were making only \$.40 to \$.60 an hour in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas.

The situation for the majority of the Mexican National Minority in the Southwest is one of poverty, unemployment, poor housing and health conditions.

For instance, in education, the Mexican National Minority lags far behind the vast majority of the population. In 1960, Mexican National Minority in the region completed an average of 7.1 years of school, while Anglo-Americans in this region completed 12.1 years of school. Of 22,000 graduates from five major universities in the Southwest in 1969, only 600 were Mexican National Minority.

"The Spanish-surname people in the Southwest rank low in formal education by comparison not only with non-whites. Mexican-Americans fourteen years and over in 1960 averaged about four years less schooling than Anglos and one and a half years less than non-whites. The incidence of functional illiteracy (0-4 years of school) was seven times the Anglo and nearly twice the non-white rate. Only 13 per cent of the Spanish-surname persons had four years of high school as against twenty-eight per cent of Anglos and nineteen per cent of non-whites."⁷

The Schooling Gap, Southwest, 1960

Item	Anglo	Spanish-surname	Non-white	Reference
Median school years completed by persons				
14 years and over	12.0	8.1	9.7	Table 7-1
14-24	11.3	9.2	10.6	"
25 and over	12.1	7.1	9.0	Table 7-5
Difference from Anglo schooling, years				
Age 14 and over	—	3.9	2.3	
Age 14-24	—	2.1	0.7	
Age 25 and over	—	5.0	3.1	
Years of schooling completed by persons				
14 years and over ^b				Table 7-1
0-4	3.7%	27.6%	15.1%	
5-8	22.1	33.8	29.8	
9-11	24.3	20.1	24.7	
12	27.8	12.8	18.7	
Some college ^c	22.1	5.6	11.7	

^a 1960 U.S. Census of Population, vol. 1, parts 4, 6, 7, 33, and 45, tables 47 and 103; PC(2)-1B, tables 3 and 7.

^b Percent of each group completing their schooling at specified level (number of years of schooling).

^c Includes complete college education (4 years or more) as well as one to three years of college.

In regards to health conditions, many Mexican National Minorities suffer from malnutrition. According to Matthieson in Sal Si Puedes, the Mexican National Minority migrant worker infant and maternal mortality are each 125 per cent higher than the national rate; influenza and pneumonia death rates are 200 per cent higher; and the accident rate, 300 per cent higher. In 1960, Mexican National Minority life expectancy was 56.7 years, as compared with 67.5 years for other groups of Anglo-Americans. In 1967 life expectancy for Mexican National Minority migrant workers was 49 years.

The same shameful conditions exist in housing; these areas of concentrated Mexican National Minority population (barrios in cities and colonias in rural areas) are characterized by dilapidated and deteriorating housing, overcrowding, and lack of such municipal services as street lighting, paved roads and sidewalks, gutters and sewers. In East Los Angeles, one of the county's largest areas of high population density, about 35 per cent of the housing is substandard and is occupied by Mexican National Minority.

The Mexican National Minority also share a great deal of the poverty in the Southwest. "In 1960, about 35 per cent of the Spanish-surname families fell below the poverty line of \$3,000, as against less than 16 per cent of the Anglo and almost 42 per cent of the non-white families."⁸

The Economic Gap, 1960

Item	Anglo	Spanish-surname	Non-white	Reference
Index numbers (Anglo = 100)				
Median family income				Table 8-1
Southwest	100	65	56	
Urban Southwest	100	66	59	
Median income per person in family, Southwest	100	47	51	Table 8-3
Median income of males ^a				Table 8-4
Southwest	100	57	51 ^b	
Urban Southwest	100	61	53 ^b	
Median income adjusted for schooling				Table 8-9
Males in California ^a	100	88	72	
Males in Texas ^a	100	72	56	
Labor-force participation rate, urban,^c percent				Table 9-1
Males in Southwest	80.0%	78.0%	78.0%	
Females in Southwest	36.0	31.0	46.0	
Unemployment rate, urban, percent				Chapter 9
Males in Southwest	4.5	8.5	9.1	
Females in Southwest	5.0	9.5	8.1	
Occupational structure of males, urban Southwest				
Percent white collar	47.0	19.0	18.0	Table 9-3
Percent low-skill manual	26.0	57.0	60.0	Table 9-4
Overall occupational position (index: Anglo = 100)	100	84	82	Chapter 9
Housing condition in metropolitan areas				
Percent overcrowded units	8%	35%	22%	Chart 11-1
Percent substandard units ^d	7	30	27	Table 11-2

^a Adjusted for age differentials among the three population groups. All income figures pertain to 1959.

^b Negro.

^c Percent of persons 14 years and older in labor force.

^d Deteriorating and dilapidated units.

As we can see, in general, Mexican National Minority family incomes are lower than those of non-Spanish speaking Anglos but higher than those of Negroes. Median family incomes in the Southwest in 1960 were \$4,164 for the Mexican National Minority as compared with \$4,448 for Anglo-Americans and \$3,644 for Negroes.

**Per-capita Personal Income in the Southwest and in the
United States, Selected Dates, 1929-1965
(Dollars)**

	<u>1929</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1965</u>
Southwest (weighted average)	711	580	1,504	2,328	2,862
Arizona	591	477	1,245	1,923	2,370
California	995	775	1,725	2,648	3,258
Colorado	637	516	1,385	2,204	2,710
New Mexico	407	352	1,113	1,837	2,193
Texas	478	409	1,283	1,928	2,338
United States ^a	703	556	1,382	2,163	2,746

Rank Among 48 States

Arizona	26	26	26	27	30
California	4	5	4	5	6
Colorado	19	21	18	14	18
New Mexico	39	36	35	29	38
Texas	33	31	25	26	32

^a Does not include Alaska and Hawaii prior to 1960.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Personal Income by States (supplements to the Survey of Current Business).

From the time of the annexation USNA imperialism has deprived the Mexican National Minority of all their political and democratic rights in direct violation of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which guaranteed that these former Mexican citizens would receive the protection of the USNA government in the exercise of their civil and political rights. It also specifically provided that they would have the right to worship freely and their property rights would be protected.

One of the main instruments the imperialists use to terrorize the Mexican National Minority is the Border Patrol and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Through them, the imperialists are ready to roundup millions of Mexicans into concentration camps, deport them to Mexico, or do with them as they please. Today deportations are increasing; 420,000 Mexicans were deported in 1972, that is over 1,000 per day, and an increase of 22 per cent over 1970. At the same time, the police and extra legal forces terrorize the population. For instance, the police riot that broke up the Chicano Moratorium (the largest anti-imperialist demonstration that national minority workers participated in) in 1970, the murder of the Sanchez cousins in Los Angeles in 1972, the slaying of Ruben Salazar and the brutal bombing of six Mexican National Minority activists in Denver, Colorado, in May of 1974.

On the other hand the imperialists use the ideological weapon of great nation chauvinism against the Mexican National Minority. Chauvinism is the term applied to those theories and practices which are based on the false premise that a nation or a people is superior to another nation or people, and therefore has the right to dominate and oppress other nations or peoples.

The specific role of white supremacy in the history of the USNA makes it inevitable that white chauvinism be the leading and specific form of Anglo-American national chauvinism, which the USNA imperialists take to the Anglo-American people in order to prevent the unity of the working class.

However, white chauvinism is not the only form that great nation chauvinism takes against the Mexican National Minority. Great nation chauvinism also takes the form of language and religious discrimination. This can clearly be seen by the forcible imposition of the Anglo-American culture on the Mexican National Minority and the refusal of the use of the Spanish language in all public life and in education. Along with this, the USNA imperialists have propagandized the life that "Mexicans are lazy, irresponsible, and incapable of learning."

The only reason that the Mexican National Minority has been able to retain its language and culture is that certain characteristics make their situation more than just one of a national minority. These characteristics includes the facts that the Mexican National Minority in the Southwest is a historically evolved people living in an area that has been historically and culturally tied to it; and that with the particularities involved in the annexation of the Southwest from Mexico, the flow back and forth across the politically imposed border has never ceased. The Mexican National Minority easily can be compared to the French Canadians in Quebec. Like the Mexican National Minority, the French Canadians were there first and their culture is indigenous to their respective region as well. The main difference of course being the proximity to Mexico and the fact that the Southwest was annexed.

The Mexican National Minority, as an objective part of the Anglo-American proletariat, are the key to the unity of the working class in the Southwest region. Also, because of the objective circumstances in regards to their relationship to Mexico they can unite the Anglo-American proletariat with the Mexican proletariat and peasantry thus furthering the unity of the revolutionary movement for socialism in the Americas.

Summary

The period that followed from 1877-1900 was a period of rapid development in the Southwest. By 1900, the railroad mileage of the USNA was greater than that of all of the countries of Europe. In order to supply the new capitalist enterprises with a cheap labor force, one that could be exploited to the fullest, the USNA imperialists turned to Mexico. It was during this period of imperialist growth and also as a result of the Mexican Revolution (1910) and WWI (1914-1918) that thousands of Mexicans came to the USNA; some as a result of the Revolution in Mexico and most of them as contract laborers. As we have seen the Mexican

people worked the cotton fields of Texas, Arizona, and California; the beet fields of Colorado, the mines of New Mexico, and the railroads of the entire West. It was during this period that the Anglo-American nation was consolidated, that the Southwest region became an integral part of the Anglo-American nation, and Mexico became a neo-colony of USNA imperialism.

CHAPTER III

PROPOSED RESOLUTION

In the resolution of the national question as it pertains to the Mexican National Minority, as communists we must:

1. Uphold the position that the national question can only be resolved through the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
2. Demand full equality for the Mexican National Minority as an integral part of the Anglo-American working class.
3. Wage a continuous and effective struggle against all forms of chauvinism.
4. Call for the right to political secession of **all oppressed peoples and nations.**

Any analysis of the struggle of the Mexican national minority must be seen as an integral part of the upsurge of oppressed and colonial peoples against imperialism. As was stated in the Negro National Colonial Question document we study the historic and political conclusions of the October Revolution. Comrade Stalin very clearly explained:

"Thus the October Revolution having put an end to the old bourgeois movement for national emancipation inaugurated the era of a new, socialist movement of the workers and peasants of the oppressed nationalities directed against all oppression, which also means national oppression, against the role of the bourgeoisie, their 'own' and foreign, and against imperialism in general."¹

It is obvious, because of their compromised position and their ties to capital, that the vacillating petty-bourgeoisie cannot lead this movement against national oppression. Thus, in the USNA, there can be no emancipation from the power of capital and abolition of national oppression without the defeat of imperialism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Southwest, this means that the political power must be assumed by the Mexican National Minority workers; this struggle for political power must be part of the struggle for socialism of the whole USNA proletariat, led by a multi-national Communist Party.

Comrade Josef Stalin, leading Marxist-Leninist theoretician on the national question, stated that a dialectical approach must be used regarding each situation involving the nation question. He stressed that, in analyzing each instance of oppression of a nation, national minority, or region, particular attention be given to "historical conditions in their development", and that only in this manner would we be able to resolve the problem in the interests of the international proletariat.

As we have seen, the Southwest includes depressed areas on a scale similar to Appalachia; such as northern New Mexico, as well as some of the fastest

growing urban-industrial complexes like El Paso, Texas. Therefore, in resolving the problem, we must view the oppression of the Mexican National Minority as it relates to the Southwest as a region. We have already pointed out how the Southwest was annexed from Mexico by conquest. As communists, we oppose all annexations and national oppression of any people regardless of size of population. Comrade Lenin, arguing against the Polish Social-Democratic opposition, militantly expressed the correct communist position in regards to annexations:

"... 'a protest against annexations is nothing but recognition of the right to self-determination.' The concept of annexation usually includes: 1) the concept of force (joining by means of force); 2) the concept of oppression by another nation (the joining of 'alien' regions, etc.), and, sometimes 3) the concept of violation of the status quo.... However you may twist and turn, annexation is violation of the self-determination of a nation, it is the establishment of state frontiers contrary to the will of the population."²

Further, on national oppression, Stalin states:

"National oppression is that system of exploitation and plunder of subject peoples, those measures of forcible restriction of the political rights of subject peoples, which are resorted to by imperialist circles. These, taken together, represent the policy generally known as a policy of national oppression."³

Therefore, as communists, as the staunchest fighters against national oppression, we vehemently oppose the annexation of the Southwest and the national oppression of the Mexican National Minority.

In resolving the national question, we must keep in mind that it "is not something self-contained and fixed for all time." But that as "...part of the general question of the transformation of the existing order, the national question is wholly determined by the conditions of the social environment, the character of the power in the country and by the whole course of social development generally."⁴ Therefore, "...the Party's policy on the national question changes in conformity with this."⁵ However, our resolution to the national question is always based on the four principles stated in the proposed resolution.

Concretely, our resolution of the national problem in the Southwest calls for:

1. The recognition of the rights of the Mexican National Minority in the Southwest to political secession.
2. Regional Autonomy for the Southwest region.
3. Specific laws guaranteeing freedom of development for the national minorities in the Southwest region.

In regard to the first point, clearly we cannot overthrow capital unless we have a united proletariat. Therefore, in opposition to the forcible retention of conquered and subject peoples within state boundaries we call for "disunity" for the sake of "unity." That is why we wholeheartedly fight for the right of oppressed peoples to political secession.

Secondly, in the call for "Regional Autonomy for the Southwest," we base ourselves on the position of Comrade Stalin, in regard to the national problem as it effected subject peoples in Russia:

"This...calls for wide regional autonomy and fully democratic local self-government, and autonomous regions determined by the local local inhabitants themselves on the basis of their economic and social conditions, national make-up of the population, etc."⁶

This is the only manner in which such variances as exist between national minorities in the Southwest can be resolved, whether they are Mexican National Minorities in Crystal City, Texas; Mexican National Minority peasants in northern New Mexico-southern Colorado, urban workers in El Paso, Texas, or Jicarilla Apaches in Arizona. The distinct national composition of the population, their special economic and social conditions must be taken into account and this can only be done by guaranteeing local self-government to the national minorities themselves.

Stalin in explaining the advantages of regional autonomy stated:

"The advantage of regional autonomy consists firstly 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 partitions; 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 utilising the natural wealth of the region and of developing its productive forces in the best possible way without awaiting decisions of a common centre..."⁷

In regards to its flexibility, Comrade Stalin explains regional autonomy as follows:

"Soviet autonomy is not a rigid thing fixed once and for all time; it permits of the most varied forms and degrees of development, it passes from narrow administrative autonomy...to a wider, political autonomy...; from a wide political autonomy to a still wider form of autonomy; and finally from the Ukrainian type of autonomy to the supreme form of autonomy--contractual relations. This

elasticity makes it possible to embrace all the various types of border regions in Russia, which vary greatly in their levels of cultural and economic development."⁸

Therefore, it is clear that with regional autonomy all manifestations of national oppression can be successfully eradicated.

Regarding the third point, "Specific laws guaranteeing freedom of development of national minorities," we must insure that all limitations in relation to the freedom of movement, disfranchisement, suppression of language and the restriction of schools be forbidden by law. This also means that an open border with Mexico, allowing the freedom of movement between the Southwest and Mexico, be maintained. This means an end to the Border Patrol and Immigration Service, and an end to documentation of Mexican people.

On the question of the relation of the other national minorities such as the Negro National Minority, the Indian peoples, and the Chinese national minority to the Mexican National Minority, we must insure that no national privileges be allowed. On a similar situation in Russia, Stalin wrote:

"Of course, not one of the regions constitute a compact, homogeneous nation, for each is interspersed by national minorities. Such are the Jews in Poland, the Latvians in Lithuania, the Russians in the Caucasus, the Poles in the Ukraine, and so on. It may be feared, therefore, that the minorities will be oppressed by the national majorities. But there will be ground for this fear only if the old order continues to prevail in the country. Give the country complete democracy and all grounds for this fear will vanish.

"...what minorities want is...real rights in the localities they inhabit.

"What is it that particularly agitates a national minority?

"A minority is discontented...because it does not enjoy the right to use its native language. Permit it to use its native language and the discontent will pass of itself.

"A minority is discontented...because it does not possess its own schools. Give it its own schools and all grounds for discontent will disappear.

"A minority is discontented...because it does not enjoy liberty of conscience, liberty of movement, etc. Give it these liberties and it will cease to be discontented.

"Thus, national equality in all forms (language, schools, etc.) is an essential element in the solution of the national problem."⁹

Finally, with regard to the national question, as communists we uphold Stalin's proposition: "A single...party, for the proletarians of all nationalities of the given state."¹⁰

Today the USNA is a multi-national state that expanded and was consolidated out of the conquest, annexation, and subjection of peoples and nations such as the Negro Nation, Puerto Rico, the Indian peoples and other subject peoples and territories. "The contradictions between the interests of the ruling nations and the interests of the subject nations are such that unless they are solved, the stable existence of multi-national states becomes impossible."¹¹ Any attempt to overcome these contradictions, while preserving private property and class exploitation, is futile. "The only state capable of tackling and solving the national problem is a state based on collective ownership of the means and implements of production...."¹²

Thus, the national problem is an integral part of the proletarian revolution and the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie we must have a united working class that fights as an army with one general staff--its multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

With regard to the Southwest as an oppressed region of the Anglo-American nation, the slogan, "Regional Autonomy for the Southwest" which embraces the main points that have been set forth in this document, is not "the demand of the Mexican National Minority; it is the demand of the Anglo-American working class." For it is only through the demand for the complete emancipation of all oppressed nations and peoples that the working class can seize state power and end the exploitation of man by man.

CHAPTER IV

THE MEXICAN NATIONAL MINORITY
OUTSIDE THE SOUTHWEST

Mexican National Minorities began to appear in areas outside of the Southwest region shortly after the First World War. Their immigration to the Midwest can be traced basically to the sugar-beet industry, the railroads, and the industries of the Midwest.

The sugar-beet industry has been identified with the Mexican National Minority since its inception. Today sixty-six per cent of the 100,000 workers in the industry are Mexican National Minority. In states such as Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and North Dakota they constitute seventy-five per cent of the sugar-beet labor supply.

The earnings are so low in the sugar-beet industry, that the beet workers very often would stay during the winter months. That is why wherever Mexican labor was brought in to work the fields, small Mexican communities developed.

As a result of the vast amount of Mexican labor who worked on the railroads many of the Mexican National Minority began to work in the Midwest. Especially as a result of the wartime economy, many Mexicans began to migrate to such industrial cities as St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Chicago, Gary, and Detroit. Small settlements began to develop in these cities as they obtained permanent employment. Later, coal mines, steel plants, and other industries recruited Mexicans to work in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and Michigan.

**Number of Persons of Mexican Stock
in Selected States Outside the Southwest, 1960^a**

State	Number	Percent of U.S. Total	State	Number	Percent of U.S. Total
Illinois	63,063	3.6	Ohio	9,960	0.6
Michigan	24,298	1.4	Missouri	8,159	0.5
Indiana	14,041	0.8	Wisconsin	6,705	0.4
Kansas	12,972	0.7	Nebraska	5,858	0.3
Washington	11,084	0.6	Utah	5,557	0.3
New York	10,074	0.6	All others ^b	53,163	3.1

^a Persons born in Mexico or of Mexican or mixed parentage in states having 5,000 or more such persons

^b States with less than 5,000 persons of Mexican stock.

Source: 1960 U.S. Census of Population, vol. 1, table 110.

"The workers of the national minorities come to the imperialist countries poverty racked, often in ill health, often unable to speak the language, poorly educated and often of an alien religious background or different color. Capitalists cannot fail to recognize that such immigrants are especially vulnerable and defenseless."¹

Historically, the Mexican National Minority has been used to break strikes and has been a source of cheap labor that allows the profit-hungry capitalists to divide the working class by pitting national minorities against each other and Anglo-American workers against the national minorities through bribery and white chauvinism and national privileges.

Here in the Midwest industrial centers, the Mexican National Minority has been brought into much sharper and fuller contact with Anglo-American culture than in the Southwest. Here they are interspersed with workers of other nationality groups in large factories. Because so many of the Mexican National Minority are single men, the rate of inter-marriage is much higher than in the Southwest. In the Midwest, Mexicans are merely another national minority, dispersed throughout industrial centers. But in the Southwest they are a compact group with historical and cultural roots. Further, because of the proximity to Mexico, the Mexican National Minority here is constantly expanding as a result of migration of Mexican workers. Thus, the whole region provides a source of superprofits for the imperialists. In the North, the Mexican National Minority is subjected to the chauvinism to which other national minorities are subjected, particularly in employment, housing, education, language; but the terrorism of the Immigration Service which is always on the rampage in Mexican National Minority communities is the main form of chauvinist brutality that the USNA state uses to harass the Mexican National Minority.

The Mexican National Minority worker links the Anglo-American workers to the Southwest region and through the Southwest to Mexico, Latin America, and the whole colonial world. It is with this link between the workers of the oppressor nation and the toiling and oppressed peoples of the colonial world that the "...dependent and colonial countries can be transformed from a reserve of the imperialist bourgeoisie into a reserve of the revolutionary proletariat, into an ally of the latter."²

Therefore, it is imperative for the Anglo-American proletariat to fight for the unity of the working class and to struggle against white chauvinism and national privileges. As Communists we call for national equality for the Mexican National Minority. Comrade Stalin and the Bolshevik Party made a similar demand regarding national minorities in the Soviet Union:

"There finally remains the question of the national minorities. Their rights must be specifically protected. The Party therefore demands complete equality of rights in educational, religious and other matters and the removal of all restrictions on national minorities."³

In regard to national privileges, Lenin said:

"The national program of working class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language;...introducing any privilege of any kind for one of the nations and mitigating against the equality of nations or the rights of a national minority, shall be declared illegal and ineffective..."⁴

Therefore, in the interest of the Anglo-American proletariat, we communists call for: Equal rights for the Mexican National Minority! Regional Autonomy for the Southwest!

CHAPTER V

DEVIATIONS

There are basically two deviations from Marxism-Leninism on the national question. They are national chauvinism and cultural-national autonomy (reactionary cultural nationalism). Both of these deviations disarms the proletariat and serve the interests of the imperialists in enabling them to maintain their dying system of exploitation and plunder. Therefore, it is imperative that the Anglo-American proletariat have a clear understanding of these deviations in order to expose them for what they are: ideologies hostile to the interests of the proletariat and international socialism.

National Chauvinism

National chauvinism is linked to imperialism and as such maintains the domination of one nation over another. When modern USNA imperialism arose in the late 1800's, the only place they could expand was to the backward and "colored" areas of the world. The emergence of the Negro Nation, the enslavement of the "colored" Central and South America, the conquest of the Philippines, all added to the concepts that were left over by the history of slavery... "modern imperialism enslaved whole nations--hence, white supremacy turned into white chauvinism inasmuch as the enslaved nations were colored and the U.S. ruling class is white."¹

The specific role of white supremacy in USNA history makes it inevitable that the most aggressive and brutal specific form of national chauvinism is white chauvinism. But by no means be deceived that Anglo-American national chauvinism is never directed toward whites. Any European will tell you otherwise. This even rubs off on Negro National Minorities who will sometimes tend to discriminate against blacks of other nations. This is also true of the Mexican National Minority who have lived in the Anglo-American nation; at times they will tend to discriminate against recent immigrants from Mexico, referring to them as "wetbacks" or "T.J.'s", for example. It should be clear then that white supremacy that justified slavery was supplanted by national chauvinism. So that the new ideology of aggressive USNA imperialism had to assure certain forms of its forerunner--white supremacy. But it would be politically dangerous for us not to see the difference. White chauvinism is a leading and specific form of chauvinism. White chauvinism is the excuse for the brutal exploitation of the "colored" masses of the world and is the principle ideology of aggressive USNA fascism. However, white chauvinism is not the only form that great nation chauvinism takes against the Mexican National Minority.

Great nation chauvinism also takes the form of language and religious discrimination. This can be clearly seen by the forcible restriction of the Spanish language and Mexican culture in schools or in public life. In the courts, no provision is made for Spanish-speaking people and often people are tried, convicted, and sent to jail without knowing what happened. In the factories and in the fields many people are swindled out of their meager wages or are cheated out of benefits because they don't speak English. Along with this the imperial-

ists propagandize the lie that Mexicans are lazy, irresponsible and incapable of learning, so that they can force the Mexican National Minority workers into the lowest, hardest, filthiest jobs and pay them less than the Anglo-American workers.

Thus chauvinism is a concept that does away with class outlooks and seeks to divide the working class, giving privileges to some and brutalizing others, thus dividing the workers along national lines.

"White chauvinism has become a material force--a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class to divide the working class, bribe the Anglo-American workers into accepting, if not supporting, aggressive imperialism...we must deepen our understanding that the necessary material base of white chauvinism is imperialism and white chauvinism will not be completely wiped out until imperialism is defeated."²

To hasten the downfall of imperialism we must wage a relentless struggle to unite the international proletariat. We must not allow ourselves to fall for the imperialist bait. We must take up the struggle to eliminate national privilege of all kinds, reject the fascist-imperialist ideology of white chauvinism, and demand a national program of equal rights for the Mexican National Minority and Regional Autonomy for the Southwest!

Cultural-National Autonomy

"The slogan of national culture is bourgeois deception. Our slogan is the international culture of democracy and of the world working class movement."³

National culture is a bourgeois slogan because in every nation there are two classes and, therefore two cultures. There is bourgeois culture and proletarian culture. As Lenin said, "Every national culture contains elements, even if not developed, of democratic and socialist culture, for in every nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose living conditions inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism."⁴ In the world today, and especially here in the USNA, the strongest and most violent imperialist nation in the history of the world, it is the bourgeois culture that takes the form, not merely of elements, but of the dominant culture. Therefore the general national culture is the culture of the bourgeoisie.

The general slogan of national culture is a tool of the bourgeoisie. This "national culture" of the bourgeoisie "stultifies, fools, and disunites the workers in order that the bourgeoisie may lead them by the halter..."⁵ This slogan obscures class distinctions and class antagonisms and attempts to create national divisions among the international working class. It says that the interests of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie are identical and that the interests of proletarians of different national origins are not the same; hence, the bourgeoisie can continue to oppress and exploit the toiling masses. "The place of one who advocates the slogan of national culture is among the petty bourgeoisie and not among Marxists."⁶

The question of the national-culture slogan is of great importance to the Anglo-American proletariat because the entire program of cultural-national autonomy is built on this. Let us look at the essence of this program and see what it would mean for the Mexican national minority.

1. It means that autonomy would be granted to the Mexican National Minority, irrespective of territory, no matter what part of the USNA they inhabit; that is why it is called national and not territorial.
2. It means that the Mexican National Minority, scattered all over the USNA, would be organized, not on the basis of Regional Autonomy for the Southwest; but into an autonomous nationality irrespective of territory.
3. It would mean that the national institutions which are to be created for the Mexican National Minority would have jurisdiction only over "cultural," not political questions. Specifically political questions would be reserved for the congress, which is part of the USNA state apparatus. That is why this autonomy is called cultural, cultural-national autonomy.

The call for community control is based on this type of "autonomy." What it means is that the national minority would be in control of educational and cultural processes in their scattered communities, but that the political decisions would remain in the hands of the USNA state. Stalin mentions an example of how absurd this demand is in relation to the Negroes in the Negro Nation. National oppression is a political problem and, as such, the solution is also political and not cultural.

The call for national autonomy supports and "presupposes the integrity of the multi-national state," i.e., the cultural-national autonomy program would approve of and support the multi-national state of the USNA, providing the national bourgeoisie control of the culture. Instead of acting to destroy imperialism cultural-national autonomy supports imperialism. Therefore, the Anglo-American proletariat rejects cultural-national autonomy and counterposes the revolutionary slogan: Regional Autonomy for the Southwest!

Revisionism

In regard to the Mexican National Minority and the Southwest region the revisionist Communist Party of the U.S.A. has failed to and avoided bringing forth their program on national oppression to the attention of the Anglo-American proletariat. However, the spontaneous upsurge of the Mexican National Minority in the late 1960's forced the CPUSA to make a statement in regard to this question. In 1972 they published a short twenty-five page pamphlet entitled Toward Chicano Liberation, the Communist Party position which was the presented resolution adopted by the 20th National Convention of the CPUSA.

This pamphlet is a precise exposition of the views of the CPUSA and is a clear reflection of its syndicalism, chauvinism, and outright opportunism and class-collaboration. This document is an example of the betrayal of the Anglo-American working class by these philistines. On page one and two, these "Marxists" state:

"The brutal oppression of the Chicano people by U.S. monopoly capital is indeed the oppression of a national group. Their status as second class citizens devoid of rights is an attempt to deprive them of any legal weapons to attain equal citizenship with white citizens of the United States. The robbery of their lands, the attack against their language, is a racist attempt at cultural genocide."

This is the "Communist Party position." These renegades would have us believe that "the robbery of their (Mexican National Minority) lands" is cultural genocide. Any schoolchild knows that the annexation of territories is accomplished through war and slaughter, the thievery of land means legal and extra-legal terror, the raping of mothers, the wanton slaughter and havoc at the hands of midnight riders, it means the Colt .45 of the Texas Rangers. And these scum have the audacity to call this "cultural genocide".

These philistines in the spirit of opportunism very skillfully state that the Mexican people are a national group and leave it at that. They carefully avoid any implication that the Mexican people in the Southwest are part of the Anglo-American nation for that would make the Mexican people a national minority, and an integral part of the Anglo-American proletariat. Instead they chauvinistically use abstract terms such as a nebulous "national group," etc. These abstractions are intended to: 1) separate the national oppression of the Mexican National Minority from the question of land, in this case the Southwest region; 2) it is an attempt to keep the Anglo-American proletariat divided. This is class collaboration of the worst order. With imperialism being reaction in its most brutal form the unity of the Anglo-American working class is of paramount importance. Lenin following in the tradition set by Marx and Engels long ago stated:

"The struggle of the workers becomes a class struggle only when all the foremost representatives of the entire working class of the whole country are conscious of themselves as a single working class and launch a struggle that is directed, not against individual employers, but against the entire class of capitalists and against the government that supports that class."⁶

Isn't this precisely what our friends, the "Marxists," do not want to do. But instead they promote bourgeois ideology within the working class so that it can promote the unity of the chauvinism of the imperialists with the nationalism of the Mexican national minority petty-bourgeoisie. In this way, it is assured that the Southwest remains a vast reserve of USNA imperialism.

It is the very nature of the imperialist system itself that these "Marxists" wish to hide: the fact that imperialism is the colonization of nations, the annexation of territories, the subjugation of peoples, and the entanglement of the world in the web of finance capital. Any clear understanding of national oppression and its relation to imperialism would automatically mean socialist revolution. And it is this conclusion that these "Marxists" wish to evade. That is why our friends, the CPUSA, must keep the national question within the realm of abstractions.

But abstract theories lead to abstract programs. Real Communists are concrete and the fact is that the Southwest is a reserve of USNA imperialism, that the national oppression perpetrated against the Mexican National Minority is concrete and that the most tangible manner in which to fight chauvinism is to destroy imperialism.

On page three our friends, the "Marxists," continue with their opportunist diatribe:

"Racism and white chauvinism continue to be the most highly exploitative factors pursuing the Chicano people today. Chicanos are confronted by these inhuman practices daily in their work, from white fellow workers and from bosses, from doctors, teachers, policeman, neighbors and all strata of the white population, even from among those who claim to be their friends."

Further these chauvinists claim that the real source of the national problem is the "white population." They argue: "The terrible divisive character of racism in the U.S. must be overcome. The main burden for achieving this rests on the shoulders of white workers." The CP is implying that the only solution to the national problem in the USNA is for Anglo-American workers to struggle against their own "racist" ideas. This relegating of the national question to the realm of ideas separates it from its material base which is the export of finance capital, and the resulting super-exploitation, in this particular case, of the Southwest region. From this super-exploitation USNA imperialism is able to bribe the Anglo-American workers into acceptance of colonial oppression and exploitation by the imperialists. This concept of "racism" is chauvinism, "pure and simple", and class collaboration on the part of these "Marxists." Chauvinism is linked with the conquest and enslavement of nations, territories, and peoples, not races. This rotten idealist theory of "racism" divides the working class and reduces the class struggle for socialism to a struggle against the "racial" ideas of the Anglo-American workers instead of a struggle against imperialism, the material base of chauvinism.

Thus we can see why this "Communist Party Position" of these "Marxists" is given a cheerful stamp of approval by the Wall Street financial magnates.

These "Marxists" expose themselves even further on the question of the border and deportations. On page twenty-one, these scoundrels write:

"Border crossing between Mexico and the United States must be liberalized to do away with all forms of harassment, persecution and prosecution."

Further:

"The Border Patrol along the U.S.-Mexican border in its present form must be abolished. All Immigration personnel who constitute a continuous source of racist repression, a constant threat to the lives and rights of the Mexican and Chicano peoples, must be removed."

There you have the "Communist Party Position" of these "Marxists": "border crossing liberalized," the removal of a few "racist" immigration personnel. And they have the nerve to call this Marxism! This the internationalism of these imposters--liberal reforms that protect and conceal the true nature of imperialism.

As long as Mexico is a neo-colony of the USNA with its large surplus of labor power (the unemployment rate is 40%) and an increasing population that will double by 1990, the imperialists will continue to use the Southwest region as a reserve and a haven for their runaway shops. The problem of national oppression, through the use of the Immigration Service, is not going to be terminated through the "liberalization" of laws, not when it is rooted in the imperialist system itself. In Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin in his rebuttal against the arch opportunist Kautsky, wrote:

"Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. Whatever the political system the result of these tendencies is everywhere reaction and an extreme intensification of antagonisms in this field. Particularly intensified become the yoke of national oppression and the striving for annexations, i.e., the violation of national independence (for annexation is nothing but the violation of the right of nations to self-determination)."⁸

Not a word is mentioned by these "Marxists" about the annexation of the Southwest by the USNA, of the financial stranglehold that Wall Street has over Mexico, that the imperialist system itself thrives on the subjugation of nations and peoples through national oppression and the export of capital. But then again why should they when they live off the bribes and privileges that are handed down to them by their imperialist master. It becomes apparent where the material base of these opportunist originates.

"(1) Economically, the difference is that sections of the working class in the oppressor nations receive crumbs from the superprofits the bourgeoisie of these nations obtains by extra exploitation of the workers of the oppressed nations. Besides, economic statistics show that here a larger percentage of the workers become "straw bosses" than is the case in the oppressed nations, a larger percentage rise to the labour aristocracy. This is a fact. To a certain degree the workers of the oppressor nations are partners of their own bourgeoisie in plundering the workers (and the mass of the population) of the oppressed nations.

"(2) Politically, the difference is that, compared with the workers of the oppressed nations, they occupy a privileged position in many spheres of political life.

"(3) Ideologically, or spiritually, the difference is that they are taught, at school and in life, disdain and contempt for the workers of the oppressed nations. This has been experienced, for example, by every Great Russian who has been brought up or who has lived among Great Russians."⁹

Now it becomes clear why these "Marxists" avoid the whole question of the state; they know as well as anybody that the state is an instrument of class rule, and that the state cannot be reformed but must be smashed.

There is but one solution to the border question and that lies in the overthrow of the imperialist system itself. Only then can we implement Regional Autonomy (local self-government) for the Southwest border region, abolish the Border Patrol, the Immigration Service, terminate documents for Mexican people, and rid Mexico of imperialism. But our friends, the "Marxists" can't have this because it would unite the proletariat of the Anglo-American nation with that of Mexico and thus these phony "Marxists" would be deprived of their privileges and crumbs from the imperialists' super-profits.

How Kautsky, the arch renegade and opportunist of the chauvinist Second Internation, must smile with content in his grave as these parasites and buffoons plagiarize and emulate his "theories" in their so-called "Communist Party Position." Karl Marx once said:

"Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce."¹⁰

And so it is with our friends, the "Marxists", as they try to revive the echo of Kautsky from the dustbins of history and choke on the dust in the process.

The last and concluding section of this "Communist Party Position" is entitled "Social and Cultural demands." Here our friends, the "Marxists" list thirty-three demands in an effort to prove their true "revolutionary commitment." Among these demands, they call for bilingual education in the Southwest, community control of educational facilities, "reform of the judicial system," interest-free loans, Chicano administrators and teachers in all subjects, "free breakfast and lunch for all school children," and would you believe "the fullest application of the Bill of Rights in every aspect of life"! This is the content of the "Marxist" program of the "Communist Party Position" of the revolutionary CPUSA-reactionary cultural nationalism with a strong dose of reformism. One would think that this was the program of the Kerner Commission but then again they serve the same interests--one, openly, and the CPUSA disguised as Marxism.

In 1918, Stalin, in responding to the similar demands of the Austrian Social-Democrats, wrote:

"They tried to separate the national question from politics and to confine it to cultural and educational questions, forgetting the existence of such 'trifles' as imperialism and the enslavement of the colonies by imperialism."¹¹

Nowhere do these opportunist scum, the "Marxists" propose any real political solution to this all important questions. Nowhere do they call for the placing of the political power in the hands of the Mexican national minority workers. Instead these chauvinists by relegating the demands to the realm of cultural

demands and reforms thus unite with the nationalism of the Mexican National Minority petty bourgeoisie, thereby keeping the Anglo-American proletariat divided and insuring that the shackles of imperialism are well placed and secure. Lenin long ago showed how: "The reformists try to divide and deceive the workers, to divert them from the class struggle by petty concessions."

He further demonstrated how cultural-national autonomy works in the interests of the imperialists:

"There can be no doubt that 'national culture,' in the ordinary sense of the term, i.e., schools, etc., is at present under the predominant influence of the clergy and the bourgeois chauvinists in all countries in the world. When the Bundists, in advocating 'cultural-national' autonomy, say that the constituting of nations will keep the class struggle within them clean of all extraneous considerations, then that is manifest and ridiculous sophistry. It is primarily in the economic and political sphere that a serious class struggle is waged in any capitalist society. To separate the sphere of education from this is, firstly, absurdly utopian, because schools (like 'national culture' in general) cannot be separated from economics and political life of a capitalist country that necessitates at every step the smashing of the absurd and outmoded national barriers and prejudices, whereas separation of the school system and the like, would only perpetuate, intensify and strengthen 'pure' clericalism and 'pure' bourgeois chauvinism."

"In practice, the plan for 'extra-territorial' or 'cultural-national' autonomy could mean only one thing: the division of educational affairs according to nationality, the real significance of the Bund plan will enable one to realise how utterly reactionary it is even from the standpoint of democracy, let alone from that of the proletarian class struggle for socialism."¹¹

This statement holds true today as it did in Lenin's time, the so-called "Communist Party Position" of these "Marxists" exposes itself as to where it really stands: in the camp of the bourgeoisie and reaction.

Instead of calling for the overthrow of capital these opportunists call for "the redistribution of the nation's immense wealth for the benefit of all." How cleverly they substitute this statement for the overthrow of imperialism and the freeing of the colonial world. They grossly violate proletarian internationalism by chauvinistically urging the workers to fight for a bigger slice of the pie at the expense of the toilers of the world.

They continue with their "Marxism": "The Chicano national movement is no isolated struggle, but is an objective part of the democratic and revolutionary forces of the U.S. nation as a whole and of the world revolutionary process." These chauvinist rabble seek to divide the ranks of the proletariat by confusing the U.S. state with the Anglo-American nation which are two entirely different phenomena. A state is the subjective and most conscious component of the superstructure of a society, it is an organ of

violence and oppression that is a weapon in the hands of the ruling class. A nation, unlike a state, belongs in the category of history and not of politics. National formations are the result of the consolidation of markets and of historical evolution. In other words, the USNA is the state apparatus, and Anglo-America is the nation. But what these chauvinist and imperialist bootlickers are really saying is that the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico are part of the Anglo-American nation and therefore do not exist as nations, thereby liquidating the national question.

But our friends the "Marxists" call their program the "Communist Party Position." Here we have twenty-five pages without a single Marxist analysis, without a single quote from any of the great theoreticians of the International Communist Movement, not a single word about the Dictatorship of the Proletariat or of Communism. Long ago Marx emphasized how Marxism differed from the theories of the radical bourgeoisie:

"Those who recognise only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹³

This resolution of the 20th National Convention should have been entitled "The Anti-Communist Position of the Populist CPUSA," a title that is much more aptly suited to its contents which belong in the local garbage dump along with its authors, the phony "Communists."

It took until 1970 for the CPUSA to come out with a resolution on the Mexican National Minority and even then the most that they could propose was "Liberation" (whatever that means!). This evasiveness is nothing but blatant chauvinism. To this anti-communist program, we Marxists-Leninists counterpose the program of Regional Autonomy for the Southwest! And Equal Rights for the Mexican National Minority!

Today the Anglo-American proletariat does not have a Marxist-Leninist party to guide it in its struggle for socialism. On the previous pages we have shown how the so-called "Communist Party Position" of the CPUSA is the embodiment of bourgeois ideology in the movement of the working class. We have seen the "scientific program" of these philistines: chauvinism united with idealism, reactionary cultural-nationalism with reformism. They purposely separate the national question from the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And instead, pervert Marxism-Leninism by not making proletarian democracy, class solidarity, and the proletarian revolution the cornerstone of their position.

In the revolutionary process of overthrowing capital in the USNA, as communists we see that one of our main tasks is to expose and isolate the revisionist CPUSA, theoretically and politically. We hope that this pamphlet is a step in that direction.

APPENDIX

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE CHICANO NATION PAPER

This statement will deal with certain theories as expressed in the Report of the Communist Collective of the Chicano Nation on the Chicano National Colonial Question which appeared in The Proletariat, Volume 4, Number 2. This document first of all played a very positive role in helping the Communist League deepen its analysis of the national question in the Southwest. This pamphlet is qualitatively different from the pamphlet put out by the revisionist CPUSA. It is an honest and analytical attempt to apply Marxism-Leninism on the National Question.

However, there are some serious errors and conclusions in the document that if not analyzed correctly can lead to some deviations.

First of all, Engels once said that there are no problems that cannot be solved; there are only problems that are stated incorrectly. So it is with this paper; the main thrust is that there is a nation in the Southwest. It is to this central point that we must address ourselves in order to have a more thorough understanding of the Southwest region, the Mexican National Minority, and imperialism.

Stalin's pamphlet Marxism and the National Question explains that "a nation is not merely a historical category but a historical category belonging to definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism."¹ According to the Chicano Nation paper it is claimed that the Chicano nation was formed before the Anglo-American conquest, that is, before 1846. There are no facts to support this conclusion except that on page seven the authors state:

"During this period a number of important economic events took place which contributed greatly to the development of the Chicano Nation. Copper was discovered in the Sierra del Oro and the Ortiz mine alone produced three million dollars worth of gold by 1846. The production of sheep increased greatly and some 4,000,000 head of sheep were sent down yearly to Chihuahua.

And finally, trade with the United States brought about increased trade with Chihuahua and in the quest for the accumulation of agricultural surplus, handicraft goods, the Chicano bourgeoisie developed quickly. Contemporaneous with the bourgeoisie's development was the development of the proletariat which first appeared as miners, teamsters, and wage-laborers in small manufacturing enterprises."

What is being said is that capitalist production relations existed in northern New Mexico in 1846. Which they did to a minor extent, but capitalist relations can exist side by side with feudal relations and for that matter with slave relations until they become antagonistic to each other. The point is: what production relations were the basis of the society. In North from Mexico it is pointed out how New Mexico was feudal:

"Holding the reins of social, economic, and political power--the beneficiaries of the large land grants--the ricos of the population owned all that was worth owning and were autocrats in every sense of the words. Theirs were the great estates and the vast herds of sheep in the Rio Abajo section. The soldiers, artisans and peasant farmers were allotted small family and community grants in the Rio Arriba and worked, often as peons, on the large estates."²

In regard to California and Texas the same holds true:

"In the lower Rio Grande Valley a way of life developed that was quite similar to that which had prevailed in early California. Here was to be found the same patriarchal set-up in which a few large Mexican landowners lived an idle and lordly existence based on a system of peonage, vestiges of which still survive in the region."³

It is obvious that the northern provinces of New Mexico, Texas, and California had had feudal relations of production. Just because it had a merchant class which was a petty-bourgeoisie does not make it a capitalist society with a capitalist base and a capitalist superstructure. For instance, northern Italy developed capitalism in the 14th century, but the over-riding basis of the society was still feudalism; the same holds true for the Netherlands. But neither one of them became nations until the 1800's. The same holds true for northern New Mexico which was jelling as an economic unit as a part of the Mexican nation through trade with Chihuahua. Regarding the use of the terms "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie" in this report, a study of Engels' Principles of Communism shows why the terms are incorrectly used:

"The proletariat arose as a result of the industrial revolution which unfolded in England in the latter half of the last century and which has repeated itself since then in all the civilized countries of the world."⁴

With respect to the working classes that existed before the industrial revolution, Engles remarks:

"In the Middle Ages they (the working class) were serfs belonging to the land-owning nobility.... In the Middle Ages and up to the industrial revolution there were in the towns also handicraftsmen in the service of petty-bourgeois masters...."⁵

And, further:

"The manufacturing worker of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries almost everywhere still had the ownership of his instrument of production, his loom, the family spinning wheels, and a little plot of land which he cultivated in his leisure hours. The proletarian has none of these things. The manufactory worker lives almost exclusively in the country under more or less patriarchal relations with his landlord or his employer; the proletarian dwells mostly in large towns, and his relation to his employer is purely a money relation."⁶

These "proletarians" referred to in the report were craftsmen or workers in small manufacturing. Just because sheep were traded to Chihuahua which by the way were raised in large feudal estates does not make northern New Mexico capitalist. It was feudal and its historical roots of the inhabitants lay with the Mexican people who today comprise the Mexican Nation.

Comrade Stalin emphasizes:

"...a nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the bases of the common possession of four principal characteristics, namely: a common language, a common territory, a common economic life, and a common psychological make-up manifested in common specific features of national culture."⁷

Thus the settlers in New Mexico, Texas, and California were Mexicans who were evolving into the Mexican nation, but whose development was stopped when the Southwest was annexed by the USNA.

Stalin further explain:

"...the elements of nationhood, language, territory, common culture, etc., did not fall from the skies, but were being formed gradually, even in the pre-capitalist period. But these elements were in a rudimentary state and, at best, were only a potentiality, that is, they constituted the possibility of the formation of a nation in the future, given certain favourable conditions. The potentialities became a reality only in the period of rising capitalism, with its national market and its economic and cultural centres."⁸

Thus, the Mexican people in the northern provinces would have comprised part of the Mexican nation but USNA expansionism stopped this national development by annexing the Southwest and forging it into the Anglo-American nation. This mainly occurred after 1876 with the completion of the railroads, the expansion of the cotton industry, cattle raising, mining, and large-scale agriculture. The native Mexicans thus became a national minority. As to the expansionist nature of rising capitalism, Stalin states:

"... expansion of the territory of one's own nation by seizure of the national territories of others; distrust and hatred of other nations; suppression of national minorities; ...such is the ideological, social, and political stock-in-trade of these nations.

Such nations must be qualified as bourgeois nations. Examples are the French, British, Italians, North-American and other similar nations."⁹

It was the Anglo-American nation that was capitalist and brought capitalist relations of production into the Southwest region by separating the tillers of the soil from their lands in Texas, New Mexico, and California.

In Capital, Karl Marx illustrated how the process of primitive accumulation negated small-scale commodity production by expropriating the means of production and creating large-scale industry.

"The spoilation of the Church's property, the fraudulent alienation of the State domains, the robbery of the common lands, the usurpation of feudal and clan property, and its transformation into modern private property under circumstances of reckless terrorism, were just so many idyllic methods of primitive accumulation. They conquered the field for capitalistic agriculture, made the soil part and parcel of capital, and created for the town industries the necessary supply of a 'free' and outlawed proletariat."¹⁰

In the Outline Political History of the Americas, W. Z. Foster explains:

"The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff."¹¹

As the Southwest Region became consolidated into the Anglo-American nation the Mexican people that resided in this region became part of the Anglo-American working class thereby becoming a national minority.

Because of the fact that the northern provinces of Mexico were feudal and were isolated from each other the Chicano Nation paper has a hard time defining the territory of the "Chicano Nation." First it encompasses southwest Texas and excludes California but in its entire presentation it excludes Texas in its historical, economic, and social data. The problem is that these areas were all provinces of Mexico and none of these provinces had developed a separate people, economic life, territory, language, or psychological characteristics manifested in a common culture. All of these criteria existed only as the Mexican people.

As to this so-called Chicano bourgeoisie it defines it in the following way:

"The Chicano bourgeoisie is based in small businesses such as bars, gas stations, franchises of all types, etc. Many Chicanos own construction companies and loan associations. A few also deal in real estate and a good number are large landholders and stockmen."

This is not a bourgeoisie but a petty-bourgeoisie; in the Communist Manifesto Marx says:

"The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as factions of the middle class."¹²

The historical fact that the northern New Mexico area was isolated for so long caused a great deal of confusion. But this isolation would not cause New Mexico to be a nation, a nation has to be brought into commodity exchange, only in this manner does it create a market and the industrial capacity to forge itself into a cohesive economic unit and nationhood.

However, the internationalism of these comrades in their enthusiasm to resolve this burning problem is beyond question. As communists and as internationalists we must be emphatic on the question of national oppression: that oppressed people do not have to be a nation to demand freedom; that the Southwest region having been annexed by conquest from Mexico is an oppressed region; that it does not have to be a nation to be free. Lenin spelled this out in the following way:

"However you may twist and turn, annexation is isolation of the self-determination of a nation, it is the establishment of state frontiers contrary to the will of the population."¹³

Isn't this what happened in respect to Mexico, that its frontiers were violated, its northern half of territory annexed contrary to the will of the population; that since the dismemberment of the Mexican nation the Mexican National Minority has been subjected to oppression. No matter how minute the population of a particular nationality may be, no national oppression can be tolerated. Whether the Mexican people who reside within the USNA are a nation or not the Anglo-American proletariat must fight for their emancipation.

All of the writings of the Communist leaders, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin, and Joseph Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung on the question of the general strategy and tactics of the revolution 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 with this in mind that we communists call for Regional Autonomy for the Southwest! And Equal Rights for the Mexican National Minority!

FOOTNOTES

Chapter II-The Evolution of a People

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Chapter V-Deviations

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