

The Chicano National Question (reprinted from the Maoist Conference for Line Struggle book – with updated theses)

I. Recent editions, self-criticisms, criticisms and revisions:

With the presentation of the following Red Guards - Los Angeles (RGLA) position paper on the Chicano Nation, we received criticism and united with most of it at the time of the Maoist Conference of Line Struggle (MCLS) but especially afterwards - mostly from Red Guards Austin (RGA).

For that, we are indebted to the Maoists in the country who tirelessly sharpen our analyses and the analyses of other pre-party formations.

The end-result of two-line struggle is for the mastery of guidance for People's War by the genuine proletarian line. We understand that under the capitalist mode of production and the rampant and treacherous revisionist hegemony in the U.S. Communist movement, we must engage ruthlessly in line struggle. The future of the Party, the People's Army and the United Front is at stake.

One particular point we must self-criticize for was our erroneous theorization and claim that contemporary colonialism lives on mostly in the superstructure of society instead of in the economic base. We arrived at this conclusion due to the fact that in comparing Chicano national oppression from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s - with the public lynching of people of Mexican descent, including Chicanos of course, the restrictive anti-Mexican/Chicano laws, the regional (but actually national) and repressive relegation to second-class citizenship - the settler-colonialism of that era looked distinct from present-day colonialism. While true things have changed, as all things do, we made the mistake of not studying the different forms of colonialism.

There is no such thing as a monolithic colonialism. Spanish, Dutch, British and French colonialism were global conquests of foreign territory for the expansion of

their respective empires/kingdoms (focused on the exterior). But *settler-*colonialism was more about the permanent moving in and supplanting the native populations, the colonization of the native population and conquering of native territory (this can be thought of as focused on the interior). European settlers were principally motivated for the conquering of the so-called New World, not for enriching their respective empires, but for making a new home and kingdom of their own. South Africa, Israel, New Zealand and Australia are examples of present-day settler-colonialism countries.

The U.S. became the new superpower principally because of the enslavement of Africans and the genocide of the native nations and groups, and the Chicano Nation, for the primitive accumulation needed for building capitalism. The blood of Africans, the territory of the Chicano homeland and the bones of the natives laid the foundation for the construction of White Nation settler-colonialism capitalism.

Therefore, we *now* say that, no, colonialism does in fact still exist, but specifically settler-colonialism, which means the country's internal colonies are fully colonized and not, as we have erroneously theorized earlier, semi-colonies.

Another point of agreement that we now self-criticize for is on the naming of the Chicano Nation and the over-usage of the term "Chicanx" to be interchangeable with Chicano for the mere sake of inclusion of Chicano trans people. This was an error principally for the reason that in this position paper and the larger book we did not offer a single Chicano trans case study or analysis of trans Chicanos. For that, we self-criticize twice for opportunistically presenting an inclusive naming of the paper and book without actually having the substance to qualify it and for not taking the research of Chicano trans people and Chicano revolutionaries seriously. We aim to better our analysis by dedicating time and energy in this pursuit.

But most importantly, and our gravest error, was that the Chicano Nation would move toward national liberation *prior* to or during socialist integration into a countrywide dictatorship of the proletariat. While we did not idealistically wish for a Communist Party of the Chicano Nation or Aztlán, we now warn that it would be dangerous to the countrywide socialist revolution – precisely because it would abandon the rest of the oppressed nations within the prison house U.S.

We say that the fundamental and antagonistic contradiction of national oppression exists and continues to rack up national casualties, deaths, imprisonments, deportations, economic and political repression.

RGLA operates in the Chicano Nation. We understand our national context. We are part of the Chicano Nation's up-and-coming leading Maoist revolutionary organizations. We have consistently maintained Chicano leadership in the organization and in all mass projects and organizations. There is a growing Maoist presence and leadership growing. Inside our nation there exists intense line struggle, with nationalism representing the capitalist line and Maoism representing the proletarian line.

We take lessons away from the Kurdish national liberation movement and the liquidation of proletarian theory and leadership (at the time Marxism-Leninism) and the capitulating to petite-bourgeois leadership by the PKK (which now calls for democratic federalism). We must uphold and represent a Communist line. Nationalism poses a reactionary threat to the national liberation movement of the Chicano Nation. The nationalists would lead the nation through a bourgeois national liberation movement. Like revolutionary China with its Communist Party leading their national liberation movement, so to must the countrywide Maoist Communist Party led but not exclusively focus on one nation at the expense of others.

Precisely because of the criticisms we have received, namely from RGA over our subjectivism and incidental chauvinism - of putting the Chicano Nation as the

center of our analysis without contextualizing its relation to the Black Nation – both nations making up the country’s Southern Sunbelt region - we have revised our position on Chicano national liberation by theorizing two possible scenarios or theses as detailed below, one of which is RGA’s “Sunbelt Thesis,” of which we unite with. We are not laying out two options but rather possibilities as a warning and urgent push into immediate theorizing and struggling over the countrywide national question.

For Chicanos, as a colonized nation, self-determination is of the utmost importance. The question of national self-determination, at its most profound essence, is really a question of *freedom*. There are several positions on the national question and specifically the Chicano Nation, but generally there are two possible outcomes, or theses, in the movement toward Chicano national liberation. They are:

- i. ***The separatist line: that the liberation of the Chicano Nation may exercise its right of secession from the U.S. and establish an indigenous republic of the Southwest governed by its own national Communist Party before, during or after countrywide PPW.***

With this trajectory of the Chicano national liberation struggle, the nation could take the form of an independent indigenous republic of the Southwest. But even though it could be governed by the proletariat of the oppressed indigenous nations and the Chicano Nation of the Southwest, it would effectively abandon the entirety of the rest of the internal colonies such as the native nations outside of the Southwest and especially its immediate neighbor to the east, the Black Nation. That sort of prioritizing of Chicano national liberation over all other oppressed nations - even if governed by the proletariat of the Chicano and indigenous nations - is counter-revolutionary for its abandonment of the countrywide proletariat. We would effectively abandon revolutionary (continental) internationalism and say with this secession

and construction of the independent republic, you are all on your own, come what may.

The size of the indigenous population and nations in the territory and their kettled reservations must factor into any national analysis, even if it's only speculation. Educated and informed speculation is not a hindrance to a revolutionary movement. It enables revolutionaries to strategize for possible outcomes – even though those ideas are truly only tested when applied.

Indigenous revolution is part and parcel to the history of the Chicano Nation and its Southwestern territory, but revolutionary class struggle also has a place in the heart of the Chicano Nation history, as laid out in the book – miner, port workers, railroad workers, and agricultural and industrial proletariat struggles in and out of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Texas, Colorado, Utah, and parts of Kansas, Oklahoma and Wyoming.

However, we are against a federation model giving separate oppressed native nations complete autonomy without a centralized body of leadership. We are against federalism, not for wanting to dominate the Chicano, Black or native nations or its people (contrary to what nationalists or Third-Worldists would idealistically criticize us for) *but rather for arming them - us - with the weaponry to guard the revolution and defend it against counter-revolutionary forces.*

The secession of the Chicano Nation, while a right for any oppressed nation in exercising self-determination, would support a dividing up of oppressed nations in the country and not uniting the oppressed nations as the strongest weapon against their principal enemy: U.S. imperialism.

An enemy surrounded by one army under one centralized command is far easier to topple rather than several autonomous armies surrounding the enemy. War calls for discipline and hierarchy – especially the greatest war on earth, PPW against the U.S. – an army capable of annihilating the enemy from the face of the planet with revolutionary vengeance.

As Communists, especially operating within the Chicano Nation, *our aim ultimately is to unite the people and the proletariat*, not to delineate unnecessarily oppressed nations from one another. That would be bundism, which we reject. The principal national enemy of the Chicano Nation, other indigenous nations and the Black Nation is the oppressor White Nation, the U.S. So, then, a more effective strategy is uniting the proletariat of all oppressed nations against the U.S.

The Chicano Nation is oppressed by the U.S. Our complete freedom, beyond national freedom, will only come when the U.S. is destroyed and reconstructed under socialism administered by the dictatorship of the countrywide proletariat.

- ii. ***RGA's sunbelt thesis as generally summarized in "Condemned to Win":*** *That PPW will initiate in the sunbelt region – the Southern half of the U.S. mostly following the Northern borders of both the Chicano and Black nations – specifically in the Black Nation region; that both the Chicano and Black nations will not secede but integrate, without their own separate national parties, into the countrywide project of socialist construction under one multinational Communist Party.*

The multinational countrywide Communist Party is a necessity for the destruction of the U.S. and the liberation of all people, all oppressed

nations, from national oppression and capitalist-imperialist exploitation. To advocate for one oppressed nation to be liberated while the rest are still being held captive in the prison house of nations is treacherous. The nationalist line is: we matter firstly. The Communist line is: all of us or none of us – but not as a moral choice, rather a political-military strategy.

National liberation is not being liquidated in this thesis but rather it is integrated into the socialist revolution because anything other than a centralized militarized Maoist Communist Party leading a countrywide PPW will guarantee colossal failure. The Party's role would be to form and lead national liberation-specific organizations to win over and militarize the oppressed nations' masses under a Communist line and reject a nationalist line. Nationalism leads to capitalism. Internationalism leads to communism.

In the past, the national question has been poorly theorized – with either capitulating to Great White Nation Chauvinism and liquidating national liberation struggles entirely or abandoning socialist revolution in favor of nationalist-capitalist segregation. These two lines have been well documented in the New Communist Movement. But even as far back as the 1940 and 50s, the arch-revisionist CPUSA led by Earl Browder had pushed the liquidation of oppressed nations, namely the Black Nation as theorized by Harry Haywood, in favor of a more patriotic American (chauvinism) trajectory toward socialism. This has plagued the national Communist movement into the present and is embodied in the revisionist Chicano national minority line.

And so a line must be clearly demarcated by Maoists that we must not liquidate the right to self-determination of oppressed nations, in our outside of the U.S. The oppressed nations/internal colonies of the U.S.

require painstaking dedication of theoretical study – especially the native nations lightly touched upon in this book. Failing to treat the right of self-determination for oppressed nations seriously is a rejection of Leninism. Maoists must not tail national liberation struggles; when we are nationals of those oppressed nations in question, we mustn't merely be critical supporters but instead be active participants – to win over a proletarian line from a nationalist-capitalist line.

Whatever scenario is to come to fruition, a central truth that cuts through the two theses presented is that the Chicano Nation has played and will subsequently play a crucial role in the coming PPW in some resemblance of unison with the Black Nation. The Maoist forces within these nations, namely RGLA in the anti-gentrification movement and RGA in the antifascist movement, have already planted the seeds to grow the most advanced pre-Party formations in the Sunbelt region. Following that premise, a Communist Party must be leading the Chicano national liberation movement ensuring that a nationalist hegemony capitulating to capitalism does not win out. Whereas the first thesis called for a separate national Maoist Communist Party of Aztlán, the second thesis still gives priority to Chicano national liberation but working in unity with the Black Nation and all-around priority given to concentric construction of the countrywide Maoist Communist Party, the People's Army and the United Front.

Because each of the two theses uphold the Chicano Nation as an oppressed nation and internal colony and does not dispense with its necessary liberation and freedom, these theorized trajectories all fall under the Chicano National Liberation line. The theses are not options. We are not arguing that we can pick and chose one over the other; we are theorizing of a future where the possibilities revolving around the oppressed Chicano Nation and a Maoist Communist movement will produce one of these two possible outcomes, and we will move toward the realization of the second thesis, that is, formally adopting RGA's Sunbelt thesis.

National liberation is a permanent aspiration of an oppressed nation throughout its continued oppression; but if the oppressor nation – in our case, and most of the world, being the U.S. - is destroyed, then the oppressed nation ceases to be oppressed. Both theses are predicated on a revolutionary war – PPW – intended on destroying the U.S. For our people, our class and our nation to be free, the U.S.'s domination over our lands must cease to exist.

We are experiencing a growing hegemony of the Maoist movement in the country, but principally in the Chicano Nation with RGLA and Red Guards Austin, the latter being the principally-Maoist leading pre-party force. We must seize the time.

Another point of disagreement is on our position that the Chicano Nation's capitalism is distinct from the rest of the country's capitalism, whereas the Chicano Nation is exploited and oppressed by stunted, corrupted, state-and-non-state capitalism; there are strong aspects to bureaucratic capitalism, as theorized initially by Mao and later on by other Marxist-Leninist and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thinkers, but principally by Presidente Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru, as part of the Maoist theory of New Democracy as applied in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial nations. It is true that the Chicano Nation is not semi-colonial or semi-feudal, although it once had a feudal mode of production. The Chicano Nation no longer has a peasantry and its proletariat is big, from the West Coast to the middle of Texas and the border of the Black Nation. Where once we couldn't convincingly claim the Chicano Nation has or does not have bureaucratic capitalism, we now agree with RGA's criticism that bureaucratic capitalism is exclusive to semi-colonial and semi-feudal nations - whose national development is stunted by outside national. For that, we offer a self-criticism in not having more thoroughly studied the concept and allowing ourselves to be confused by oppressed nation capitalism versus oppressed nation semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism.

II. The U.S. oppressed nations

The following is a condensed summation on RGLA's upcoming book on the Chicano national question, "Colonization and Vengeance: Toward a Maoist Position on the Chicano Nation" due out soon. The book is finalized and in its last editing stages.

The United States of America is a country housing several oppressed nations within it like a multinational prison - similarly as how Lenin described Tsarist Russia.

These oppressed nations are:

- i. The Black Nation, or what some theoreticians refer to as New Afrika.
- ii. Puerto Rico, or Borinquen.
- iii. The continental indigenous nations, including Alaska.
- iv. The indigenous nations outside of the continental U.S.
 - a. Guam
 - b. Virgin Islands
 - c. Hawaii
 - d. Mariana Islands
 - e. American Samoa
- v. The Chicano Nation of the Southwest, or what some theoreticians refer to as Aztlán.

Another general self-criticism is in order. We do not have a position on every single oppressed nation within the U.S. This is only forgivable if there is a genuine effort in the near future for the general U.S. Maoist movement to take up the task of theorizing on the oppressed nations in the U.S. We will dedicate more study and discipline in developing a position and analysis on more oppressed nations, beginning with the continental indigenous nations and groups, with the hopes of differentiating between the two and have our positions guide our future political work.

Nonetheless, our position on the U.S. overall is that the fundamental contradiction in the U.S. is the private character of the aggregation of wealth with its public character of production, generally.

However, the existence of oppressed nations within the U.S. is also a fundamental contradiction: between oppressor nation (principally the U.S.'s Euro-American Nation, or White Nation) and the oppressed nations - which is similar to the international, or global, contradiction between imperialist nations and oppressed nations.

So, then, the two fundamental contradictions facing the Chicano Nation are capitalism and national oppression, with the latter being generally primary although in certain specific moments - prolonged or brief - capitalism can be the primary contradiction and national oppression can become secondary

III. The Chicano Nation as an oppressed nation

The Chicano Nation developed during the mid-1800s throughout the early 1900s with the Mexican-American War. The main factors for the U.S.'s pursuing a war with Mexico was to gain access to the Western ports, as well as securing the resource-rich lands of the Northern part of Mexico, specifically Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. It was a historical necessary step along the march toward developing American capitalism. In fact, it only took one year after the end of the war and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo for settlers en masse to move to different parts of the newly-acquired territory for the Gold Rush, but mainly in Central and Northern California. It is not happenstance that this also marks one of the darkest and bloodiest eras of anti-Mexican and anti-Chicano oppression. The lynching of Mexicans and Chicanos is an historical reality that has been largely forgotten and buried. But thousands were hanged, brutalized, mutilated and killed. Laws were passed legally displacing or discriminating against the original nations of the region - particularly the indigenous Mexicans/Chicanos. Laws like California's Indentured Servant Act of

1820 which formally recognized the legality of enslaving natives, including native children, into slave labor and auctions. Or like the Anti Vagrancy Act of 1855, known as the Greaser Act, which made it illegal for Mexicans and Chicanos to literally move around California. Or state mining taxes of 1850 on foreigners and Mexicans, taxing non-white miners \$20 per month, effectively excluding all non-whites from the early mining capital.

These examples of the legality of national oppression will have to suffice - for the sake of time and patience.

IV. Chicano Nation mode of production

The Chicano Nation has undergone a transition from feudalism to capitalism. Big landowners had Mexican and Chicano peasants working in the agriculture and farming industry, living on the property as temporary tenants. This was, however, prior to the literal dividing up of the countryside by the U.S. railroad companies - a manifestation of growing and expanding capitalism, forcing the peasantry and weaker petite-bourgeoisie to move into urban centers and factories and mines to become proletarian. This was co-facilitated by the state when many of the most repressive anti-Chicano/Mexican laws were repealed, officially facilitating a proletarianization of natives, Chicanos and Mexicans.

Medium-to-big landlords attempted to survive as a class - feudalism flailing to survive as a mode of production as the unforgiving march of history went on - through mass rebellions, such as the insurrectionary independence movement led by Juan Cortina in the mid-1800s in Texas, a cattle-rancher and family landowner who lost big chunks of land after the 1848 treaty. Cortina and his followers wanted to establish a Chicano republic, a Republic of the Rio Grande in Texas.

The minority position of the emerging Chicano proletariat meant that they were not yet able to act as a class. In their place, the landlords and bourgeoisie fought

for their class and national interest. Therefore, most Chicano rebellions of the 1800s till the early 1900s remained bourgeois to petite-bourgeois in nature.

But eventually capitalism reigned supreme as the dominant mode of production, although forever-stunted in its development by white national aggression, with pockets of semi-feudalism surviving in the countryside of the Chicano Nation, lasting largely until approximately the 1940s. But the economic boom from the second World War further proletarianized large sectors and classes of the Chicano Nation, integrating former peasants and petite-bourgeoisie into the proletarian rank and file.

Therefore, contemporarily the dominant mode of production in the Chicano Nation is capitalism, but specifically stunted state-non-state collaborationist capitalism.

V. Do Chicanos constitute an oppressed nation?

In order for a group of people to constitute a nation they need to meet the Marxist criteria of nationhood developed by Stalin; namely, do they have a common language, a common economic way of life, a common culture, and a shared territory. This, as we see it, is not an isolated ahistorical Stalin interpretation of nationhood but rather a thoroughly investigated and lasting Marxist comprehension of nationhood. We stand by the criteria not because Stalin developed it (for that would be dogmatism) but because it is the most advanced and soundest method of analyzing nationhood to date - a method and criteria still widely used by revolutionaries and academics alike, by the capitalist state and the international anti-revisionist and Maoist Communist movement.

We can say confidently that, yes, Chicanos do in fact constitute a nation, an oppressed nation at that, where Chicanos have a common language, economy, culture or psychological world outlook and territory or land. This is in direct opposition to the revisionists' claim that Chicanos only make up a "national minority" and not a nation. The arch-revisionist Communist Party, USA, are the

originators of this line within the Marxist camp since 1939. Most Trotskyites and Marcyites hold similar lines, give or take some opportunistic posturing or phrase mongering like the Party for Socialism and Liberation and both Freedom Road Socialist Organizations (Fight Back and Refoundation).

Not only is the Chicano Nation an oppressed nation, but it is also an internal colony of the U.S. It differs from a colony because it is not completely dominated by the U.S. It retains limited freedom, specifically political and cultural freedom. However, the capital extracted from the Chicano Nation, the means of production within the Chicano Nation and the land within the Chicano Nation are all under the direct control of the White Nation of the U.S. In this way, then, the Chicano Nation is an internal colony. Additionally, in order for the Chicano Nation to be a full colony it would have to have a feudal mode of production, but it does not.

Generally, there are three lines on the Chicano Nation:

- i. The Socialist Reunification of Mexico line
 - ii. The National Minority Line, or the Chicano Nation liquidationist line
 - iii. The Chicano National Liberation line
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- i. *The Socialist Reunification of Mexico Line*

A political line developed during the early 1900s and then rehashed during the height of the New Communist Movement is the idea of returning the territory ceded to, or rather stolen by, the U.S. after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 at the end of the Mexican-American War - although the line goes as far back as the 1850s with roving so-called bandit and insurrectionary Tiburcio Vasquez.

Originally, it was proposed by Mexican and Chicano nationalist and other insurrectionists. But it received its theoretical development and concretization in the 1970s by groups such as Union del Barrio, Centro de Acción Social Autónoma - Hermandad General de Trabajadores

(CASA-HGT) and Movimiento de Liberación Nacional. Today, it is not as popular as it once was. But Union del Barrio and a minority of others still uphold the line.

It is a thoroughly revisionist and even racist position, despite its militant posturing. It is revisionist because it liquidates the Marxist conception and position on nationhood. The Southwest region, regardless of one's thoughts or opinions, is a vastly different area culturally, politically, economically and linguistically from Mexico - and even from the rest of the U.S. Union del Barrio and the other pan-nationalists claim the Chicano Nation belongs to Mexico, that it is undeserving of independent nationhood, for in their ultimate flat analysis all of Latin America, including the U.S. in it - which they dub Nuestra America - is one, vaguely, ignorantly and proudly.

A reunification of the Chicano Nation with Mexico would be disastrous. There is nothing progressive of integrating into a narco-fascist corrupt capitalist empire. How would this reunification strengthen or advance the proletarian struggle? It wouldn't. It would devastate the Southwest, sending it backwards, not forwards.

Even the socialist part of their reunification line is inconceivable. They advocate for a reverse national liberation revolution while also simultaneously defeating capitalism and establishing a pan-American socialist republic. Why not just launch a Global People's War to build immediate communism too while they're at it?

Two contradictions cannot exist at the same time, occupying the same exact place; one has to overcome the other; one is primary, the other secondary. So, which is it? Does the Chicano Nation need to be returned to Mexico first? Or does it and the rest of Mexico need to

launch a socialist revolution first? To advocate for both at the same time is, at best, an idealist death wish, or, at worst, a treacherous death wish.

ii. The National Minority Line

A popular line, perhaps the hegemonic position, on the Chicano Nation is that it simply does not exist. These proponents say: it is a made-up nationalist conception meant to divide the multinational working class in the U.S. (because it's already enjoying some unity?) They say: Chicanos, like all "people of color" are minorities who suffer from racial oppression and discrimination. But not from national or colonial oppression. That's all. Nothing more.

The revisionists (as closeted anti-Marxists) and those boldly anti-Marxists share unity in their hatred of Chicano nationhood. They detest the idea of a liberated socialist nation at war with its surroundings, advancing the proletarian struggle in the U.S. and internationally. Wouldn't a national liberation struggle, and the construction of an independent socialist republic, weaken the world's leading imperialist power? They don't see it this way. For them, it complicates their perfect vision of an Americanized socialist republic. How can we build socialism, they ask, if natives, Black and Chicano people scream they are not free and have the arrogance to demand national liberation prior to socialist integration? These revisionists forgive settler-colonialism. They don't want to end settler-colonialism - they want to make it socialist. They don't want to end the United States as it currently exist, but rather dress it up in red and give it an empty slogan for a name. They'd keep the blood-drenched imperialist flag if a revisionist Soviet Union was hoisted by its side! But we know Marxism and national liberation are not simply compatible; they are inseparable. It is a

revisionist and chauvinist project to attempt to do so.

In the end, proponents of the National Minority Line are proponents of - either ignorantly or consciously - the continued settler-colonialism by the U.S. over its colonized subjects and nations.

iii. *The National Liberation line*

If theoreticians subscribe to and defend the argument that Chicanos constitute a nation, and that it is an oppressed nation within the U.S. prison house of nations, then what must subsequently follow is the question: is the characteristic of the particular national liberation struggle progressive or reactionary?

By progressive in this context we mean, will it advance the proletariat struggle toward socialism. By reactionary in this context we mean, will it reverse the proletariat course, moving away from socialism and into something reactionary.

We say the former, not the latter. Chicano national liberation is generally progressive.

As mentioned earlier, in order for the Chicano Nation to exist, it must have a common language, a common economy, a common culture or psychology and most importantly a common connection to a shared land base or territory.

So, then, let's unpack this briefly. In our Chicano Nation position book we spell out the following in far more detail so if there are questions or comments, which we are sure there will be, please bring them to our

attention:

a. Language

While Spanish remains the main language spoken by most Chicanos and people of Mexican descent, English is also common. Since the 1930s and 40s, during great repression against the Chicano Nation, the Chicano proletariat was inventing its own language, borrowing from Spanish, English and New Afrikan culture. This produced Caló, a Pachuco, proletariat-developed language still spoken today - even by newly-arrived Mexican immigrants, and most if not all sectors and classes. Although we cannot definitively qualify with hard data to which extent it is used nationally.

Nonetheless, even prior to the 1930s and 40s, most Chicanos spoke English and Spanish but probably more Spanish. However, today, many researches like the Pew Research Center suggests that English will dominant in the entirety of the so-called "Hispanic" population in the U.S. - including the Southwest. The jury is still out. Whether the national language is Spanish or English matters little to none in the respect of its validity of existence.

Therefore, we would argue that the national language would now, today, primarily be a mixture of both languages, English and Spanish, with English being the dominant language in the near future.

b. Economy

As mentioned above, settler-colonialism and stunted, corrupted,

collaborationist state-and-non-state capitalism make up the main system or common economic way of life that ties in all Chicanos - of all classes, from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

c. Culture

A national Chicano culture exists. This is perhaps the easiest of the nationhood criteria to prove. There are distinctly Chicano music, fashion and world outlook, a common psychology. It can be characterized as having aspects of traditional Mexican culture, borrowed aspects of New Afrikan culture, indigenous culture and U.S.-exclusive based characteristics. Interestingly, we see another common aspect that nuances all aspects of Chicano culture: a normalized mistrust of government and bourgeois politics generally. Even newer Mexican and Central American immigrants that assimilate into the Chicano Nation share this position.

VI. The territory, or land question

One of the central questions for an oppressed nation is the question of land. Another easily identifiable national characteristic of the Chicano Nation.

We can say rather confidently that this applies coherently to the Chicano Nation - a nation thrust atop the U.S. so-called Southwest, occupying the complete or partial territories of the 10 states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, Utah and parts of Colorado, Oklahoma, Wyoming and Kansas. All stolen by the U.S. after the war. These are the borders of the Chicano Nation. This is the expansive territory inhabited by Mexicans and then Chicanos for hundreds - and in some cases, thousands - of years. Their way of life was violently and totally altered by the switching from Mexican citizenship to U.S.

citizenship, a second-class status, a colonized second-class status. This reality remains unchanged.

VII. Colony or internal colony?

A colony/internal colony is a completely dominated and dependent oppressed nation. It is politically and economically dominated by an imperialist country. The only freedom the colony and the colonized have is of cultural expression, and even that is limited such as the anti-Spanish language regulations in schools popular in the early 1900s - something which today is becoming more popular due to the rise of alt-right fascism - and anti-Chicano history education, such as the banning of ethnic studies (which included native and Chicano studies) in Tucson, Arizona.

Again and it bears repeating, the specific type or dominant characteristic of capitalism in the Chicano Nation is state-and-non-state collaborationist capitalism. That is, an underdeveloped capitalism dependent on the oppressor nation - in our specific case the imperialist Euro-American Nation. While no longer feudal or semi-feudal, the Chicano Nation has backwards characteristics of corrupt state and city officials profiteering through semi-secret dealings with big landowners, multi-millionaire investors and other private capitalists. We see this as a combination of state and non-state capitalism. Brown, or Chicano, capitalism is riddled with cronyism, nepotism and political corruption.

The relationship between the Chicano workforce and the largely Euro-American owners of the means of production shows not only the exploitative aspect of capitalism but also the national oppression and settler-colonialism faced by the Chicano proletariat. But the relationship between the Chicano workforce and its white counterparts also show a vast discrimination totally, and particularly in wages. It is sometimes described as colonial labor. It is more in line with how colonial masters dominate their subjects, but with pay. This served, and serves, to benefit capitalism - but not proportionally for the White Nation.

VIII. Chicano genocide - ongoing state repression and cultural war of ideological annihilation

Similar to the “kill the Indian, save the man” campaign from approximately 1879 to the mid-to-late 1970s which coerced assimilation of native children into the U.S. White Nation as continued genocide through boarding and vocational schools, Chicanos have also had their (our) history ripped away from us, hidden from us, erased even within us - with many Chicanos claiming to be Hispanic, Latino, Latinx, etc.

This is not entirely the fault of the Chicano intelligentsia or even the whole of the Chicano Movement capitulating into petite-bourgeois cultural nationalism or civic reformism. It is more so the blame of the educational system under the ideological apparatus of the state. Public education - from elementary to high school, with one or two schools nationally being the exception, is devoid of Chicano culture and most importantly Chicano history. Chicano has been regulated to irrelevance as a relic of the 60s and 70s. Chicano has become - or more correctly stated, has been turned into - a costume that can be put on or taken off. In other words, the white supremacist capitalist state is all-around destroying the Chicano Nation.

What is this if not an aspect of a campaign, whether stated clearly or implicit, of genocide?

But of course ideology is one thing, just one - albeit fundamental - component of genocide and national oppression.

What of the police killing of Chicano youth and Mexican and Central American immigrants in the Chicano Nation? The millions who were deported, and will continue to be deported? The ICE raids? The increasing homelessness of our people? The permanence of unemployment? The displacement occurring in the urban centers of the nation? The close to 300,000 Latinos - with a majority of them being of Mexican descent - incarcerated? So-called Hispanics make up

approximately 19 percent of the inmate population - not including immigration detention centers - while only comprising approximately 16-to-17 percent of the country's population.

While our bodies are no longer swinging from branches, we remain a brutalized and colonized population, an oppressed nation.

Ultimately, the goal is for the abolition of nations, but not without the exercising of national self-determination by the internal colonies. Additionally, the goal is for the unification of all genuine Maoist Communist forces into a countrywide multinational Maoist Communist Party marching forward toward the destruction of the U.S. and the annihilation of our shared enemies.

Thank you all for being patient, attentive and for putting forth the necessary energy in struggling over these issues. We reaffirm the Maoist position that rupture is the bases for fundamental change and for unity. We struggle for the correct line for the sake of our class and our nation's liberation. We will not rest until we have won the establishment of communism throughout the country, throughout Turtle Island.

Every breath, every step, every theorization must move the Maoist closer to the coming Protracted People's War. The White Nation capitalist state has already been waging a war against its internal colonies and the country-wide proletariat. It is pass the time we organize and fight back with revolutionary vengeance.