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The Impacts of Capitalist Incorporation and Terrorism on Indigenous Americans

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THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON INDIGENOUS AMERICANS

Abstract

This article critically explores the essence of colonial terrorism and its consequences on the indigenous American peoples during their colonization and incorporation into the European-dominated racialized capitalist world system between the late 15th and 19th century. It employs multidimensional, comparative methods, and critical approaches to explain the dynamic interplay among social structures, human agency, and terrorism to explain the connection between terrorism and the emergence of the capitalist world system or globalization. Raising some complex moral, intellectual, philosophical, ethical, and political questions, this paper explores the essence, roles, and impacts of colonial terrorism on the indigenous Americans. First, the paper conceptualizes and theorizes colonial terrorism as an integral part of the capitalist world system. Specifically, it links capitalist incorporation and colonialism and various forms of violence to terrorism. Second, the paper examines the structural aspects of colonial terrorism through connecting it to some specific colonial policies and practices. Third, it identifies and explains different kinds of ideological justifications that the Euro-American colonial settlers and their descendants used in committing crimes against humanity.

Introduction

Colonial terrorism and other forms of violence played central roles in the expansion of capitalism to the Americas and in devastating indigenous Americans between the late 15th and 19th centuries. The development of capitalism as the modern world system with its ideological intensity of racism and religious extremism and the concomitant advancement in technology and organizational structures had strengthened the interconnections among world-systemic processes, colonization, incorporation, and the use of violence as terror to intensify these complex processes. In the capitalist world system, the contestation over economic resources, such as land, minerals, and other commodities, and over power and the resistance to domination and repression have facilitated the intensification of terrorism from above (i.e. state actors) and from below (i.e. non-state actors). My focus here is state-sponsored or colonial terrorism that was committed on the indigenous American peoples. Among their many weapons, the Euro-American powers systematically imposed colonial terrorism on these and devastated them in order to exploit their economic and labor resources mercilessly and to take-over their homelands.

Although many authors have explained the role of colonial violence in the Americas, they did not explore the connections among capitalist incorporation, various forms of violence, and colonial terrorism. Competing European colonial forces engaged in state-sponsored terrorism that was practiced in forms of unjustified wars, organized and systematic mass killings, mutilation, ecological and cultural destruction, the spreading of lethal diseases, and continued subjugation. By engaging in such crimes against humanity, the European colonial forces had laid the foundations for the economic and political supremacy of North America and Western Europe in the global capitalist world system. Although the competing European colonial forces initially used contacts, cooperation, exploration, trade, diplomatic mechanisms, such as negotiations, treaties, and land cessions, as well as different forms violence, their main political tool for destroying and/or suppressing indigenous communities and establishing settler colonialism and its institutions in the America was colonial terrorism.

Conceptualizing and Theorizing Terrorism

Considering the historical and global context in which terrorism developed and intensified, we need a more comprehensive, historical, and broader definition of terrorism. So, I define *terrorism as a systematic governmental or organizational*

policy or strategy through which lethal violence is practiced openly or covertly to terrorize and impose fear on a given population group beyond the direct victims of terror to change their behavior of political resistance to domination or their behavior of domination for political and economic gains or other reasons. Both state and non-state actors use terrorism; the former has used it to maintain state power or to loot resources and the latter mostly to resist the oppressive and exploitative policies of states. There are also non-state terrorist agencies that advance extremist religious and racist ideologies and practices on a sub-national or international level. According to John W. Sloan (1984: 84), “Since governmental groups have the resources of the state at their disposal, they are usually capable of engaging in higher levels of terrorism than the guerrillas” and other terrorist forces. However, transnational terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda have adequate human, financial, and intellectual resources to impose horrifying terrorist activities on targeted audiences.

Since the frequency, intensity, and the volume of terrorism have increased with the development of global capitalism, a definition and theory of terrorism cannot be adequately developed without considering terrorism as an aspect of the racialized capitalist world system. Beginning in 1492, European colonialists engaged in terrorism, genocide, and enforced servitude in the Americas and extended their violence into Africa through racial slavery. Then, in the 19th century, they incorporated other parts of the world into this system through colonial terrorism and genocidal wars. Most scholars have avoided providing a comprehensive and critical analysis and an objective definition and theorization of this aspect of the modern world system. Even critical scholars like Karl Marx, Andre Gunder Frank, Immanuel Wallerstein, and others who have studied the emergence, development, and expansion of the capitalist world system have primarily focused on trade, the international division of labor, exploitation, capital accumulation, political structures, development and underdevelopment, and social inequality, and ignored the role of terrorism in creating and maintaining the system.

We learn from history that different forms of political violence including terrorism has increased as different societies engaged in improved techniques of production, produced surplus wealth, developed their organizational capacities, and improved their technological innovations. The emergence of the nation-state with the development of capitalism in the 16th century in Europe created the organizational and technological capacity to engage in more lethal violence including terrorism. In European countries such as England, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, the 16th century was the period of the formation of the nation-state (Frank 1978: 51-52). With the formation of the nation-states, state-centered colonial expansion and terrorism expanded all over the world. For instance, Bartolome’ De Las Casas, who traveled to the New World in 1502 with the Spaniards in their quest to colonize and rob the treasures and lands of the indigenous peoples of the Indies, provides an eyewitness account of the anatomy of colonial terrorism and genocide: “They forced their way into native settlements, slaughtering everyone they found there . . . Some they chose to keep alive and simply cut their wrists, leaving their hands dangling, saying to them: ‘Take this letter’—meaning that their sorry condition would act as a warning to those hiding in the hills” (De Las Casas, 1992: 15).

All these crimes against humanity particularly the partial cutting of wrists of indigenous peoples and using them as warning to those who were hiding were acts of terrorism. They were intended to terrorize and defeat the surrounding populations. Such terrorist acts were sponsored by European states or state agencies. When “state terrorism can be seen as a method of rule whereby some groups of people are

victimized with great brutality, and more or less arbitrarily by the state or state supported actors, so that others who have reason to identify with those murdered, will despair, obey or comply” (Schmid, 1991: 31), genocide can be considered as the elimination in part or in whole of a certain group of people in order to expropriate their resources or stop their resistance to the state or the agents of the state. Furthermore, since terrorism and war can be seen as a continuum process, it is often impossible to draw a clear and neat boundary between political repression, state terrorism, war, and genocide. The policy of state terror can sometimes lead to genocide (Schmid, 1991: 31). The Spaniards imposed fear on various indigenous Americans through mass terror and genocide so that they could achieve their economic and political goals without any obstacle. These acts of terrorism and genocide were guided and financed by the government of Spain (see Cohen 1969: 32-36). Later, several European governments engaged in committing similar crimes. Today mainstream Euro-American scholars gloss over such crimes and refer to them as actions of “discovery” and “civilization.”

Although some government elites and their apologists claim that the state provides protection from domestic and external violence, “governments organize and, wherever possible, monopolize the concentrated means of violence” such as political terror (Tilly 1985: 171). Political terror and other forms of violence have always been involved in producing and maintaining structures, institutions, and organizations of privileged hierarchy and domination in society. State terrorism is a massive and extreme aspect of political violence. Those who have state power, which includes the power to define terrorism, deny their involvement in political violence or terrorism and confuse abstract theories of the state with reality. Based on the assumption of the ideal relationship between the state and society, philosophers and political thinkers identified three functions of the state that would earn it legitimacy. According to these theorists, the state protects and maintains internal peace and order in society; it organizes and protects national economic activities; and it defends national sovereignty and national interests (Bushnell et. al 1991: 6; Campanella 1981; More 1989; Plato 1985). In reality, most states violate most of these theoretical principles by engaging in political repression and state terrorism to defend the interest of powerful elites, particularly when they engage in colonial expansion. Various forms of violence including political terrorism are closely related to the art of statecraft (Tilly 1985: 18-19).

As capitalism developed in Western Europe, the need for raw materials such as gold and silver, markets, and free or cheap labor expanded due to the desire to minimize the cost of production and to increase the rate of profit and accumulation of capital or wealth. This need was fulfilled through colonialism, racial slavery, terrorism and genocide. “The treasures captured outside of Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement, and murder,” Marx (1967: 753-754) writes, “floated back to the mother-country and were there turned to capital.” Capitalism had “witnessed the first long, sustained, and widespread quantitative and qualitative development . . . in its mercantile stage and the first period of concentrated capital accumulation in Europe” (Frank 1978: 52). Western powers and some states in the Global South still engage in terrorism and hidden genocide to implement their draconian economic and political policies. “The war on terrorism is being used as a continuation of the war on social justice, as waged with the economic weapons of the international financial institutions” (Eisenstein 2001: 136). Western powers, multinational corporations, and state elites in the Global South have collaborated and engaged in massive human

rights violations and terrorism (Blakeley 2009) even as Western-based human right organizations have systematically exposed such crimes.

In theorizing non-state terrorism, scholars such as Senechal de la Roche (1996) assert that the accumulation of grievances causes terrorism and “social polarization” between socially and culturally distant groups. Long standing collective grievances and the right social geometry, such as a higher degree of cultural and religious differences, relational distance, and social inequality between the aggrieved and the dominant population groups can sometimes contribute to the development of non-state terrorism (see Black 2004). Jeff Godwin (2006: 2038) advances a theory of categorical terrorism: “The main strategic objective—the primary incentive—of categorical terrorism is to *induce complicitous civilians to support or to proactively demand changes in, certain government policies or the government itself*. Categorical terrorism, in other words, mainly aims to apply such intense pressure to complicitous civilians that they will demand that ‘their’ government change or abandon policies that the revolutionaries oppose.” Using this theory, Godwin concludes that Al Qaeda attacked the United States on September 11, 2001, because it considered Americans to be “complicitous citizens” who support the foreign policy of the US in the Middle East. Recently a few critical scholars have started to explore the essence and characteristics of state terrorism or colonial terrorism. These scholars include Caroline Elkins, Mark Curtis, Ruth Blakeley, Richard Jackson, Doug Stokes, Sam Raphael, and Marie Breen Smyth.

For instance, Elkins (2005) explains that the British colonial government used political terror to destroy a Kenyan liberation movement known as the Land and Freedom Army (the Mau Mau) in the early 1950s through forced removals and deportations of millions of Kenyans, tortures (“a kind of public spectacle, often conducted in the open barbed-wire areas for all to see”) and public rape at gunpoint for introducing public terror to the whole population. Scholars such as Blakeley (2009) and Curtis (1995, 1998) explore how the Global North or the West particularly the US and the UK have been contributing to gross human rights violations and state terrorism in the Global South. Particularly Blakeley (2009: 4) provides “a detailed history of Northern state terrorism, within the context of the foreign policy objectives of those states and the strategies they use to achieve them, dating back to the European colonial era, through to the practices of the US and its allies in the ‘War on Terror.’” Western powerful states directly or indirectly engage in terrorism to dominate economic resources and markets in the Global South and to promote the politics of order at the cost of democracy and social justice. Generally speaking, as some states and their agencies engage in terrorist activities to promote their economic and political domination, non-state terrorist forces use similar tactics to oppose and challenge such policies, behavior and practices, and to advance their agendas. In this piece, I demonstrate that colonial terrorism was a form of state terrorism since it was planned and executed by colonial states and their agencies.

Colonial Terrorism and Capitalist Incorporation

A few world systems analysts and other critical scholars have started to explore some aspects of colonial violence during different phases of the incorporation of the indigenous Americans into the capitalist world system. However, they do not adequately explain that the extermination of the indigenous Americans and the implementation of the capitalist system in the Americas involved colonial terrorism. Recently, however, a few critical scholars have started to show interest in colonial terrorism studies. For example, Blakeley (2009: 55) notes that the European colonial

powers used various forms of coercion including state terrorism in their acquisition of territories and establishing their colonial institutions: “Violence against the indigenous populations . . . involved the initial terrorising of the indigenous populations into supplying conquerors with food supplies, threatening them with death if they did not acquiescence, and the wiping out of whole [cultural groups] that were deemed of no use to the economic projects of the European settlers. Those that did survive were terrorized into forced labour, often as slaves, as part of the imperial efforts of [the European crowns].”

Most Euro-American scholars and institutions intentionally distorted the humanity, cultures, and civilizations of the indigenous peoples to justify colonial violence including terrorism, cultural destruction, genocide, and continued subjugation (Wilson 1997; Josephy 1991). Those scholars, such as R. Brian Ferguson and Neil L. Whitehead (1992) and Eric Wolf (1981) who have tried to explain the impact of colonial violence on indigenous peoples did not go far enough to explain the essence and consequences of colonial terrorism. The European colonial powers could not defeat the numerous indigenous Americans without imposing fear through various forms of violence including terrorism. Richard Jackson (2009: 174) argues that terrorism is “the intrusion of fear into everyday public and private life, the denial of the right to live free from fear and the erosion of the capacity, for clearly thinking and unimpeded decision making.” Practically colonial terrorism introduced disorders and destruction of institutions and normal life in the Americas.

When certain indigenous groups were coerced through various forms of violence to provide their economic resources such as food items and labor to the European colonizers, neighboring “populations would witness the violence and would then be sufficiently terrorised into providing the resources demanded by the colonisers, or face the same violence outcomes” (Blakeley 2009: 56). Thomas D. Hall (1989a: 17-18) notes that incorporation started with exploration and trade that had serious impacts on lifestyles, security, tastes, social organizations, and communities. The incorporation of indigenous Americans to the European-dominated capitalist world system resulted in repeated warfare among indigenous Americans and between Europeans and the former and caused social and institutional disruption and devastation (Dunaway 1994; 1996a). As Thomas D. Hall and James V. Fenelon (2004 155) correctly explain, “Colonial expansion into the Western Hemisphere is tightly connected to the rise of the modern world-system from European states. This usually violent expansion included a land take-over literally on a continental scale, massive labor exploitation systems including genocide or slavery, natural resource extraction that fueled industrialization, and development of large states.”

European states and their agents used colonial terrorism in committing genocide and in reorganizing peoples on a racial criterion; “these processes coincided with the spread of European diseases, which tore apart the social fabric, especially the system of marriage alliances” (Hall 1993: 243). The spread of European diseases was extended for many centuries as contact was “temporally extended process, rather than a single instant or event that rupture[d] the otherwise pristine Garden of Eden into which the Europeans at first believed they had stumbled” (Whitehead 1993: 288). Sometimes, indigenous Americans were affected by European and African diseases without encounters of any person from the European and African continents; since the spread of epidemics was not uniform the transmission rates were “affected by diet, physical settings, social practices and active native responses to epidemics” (Whitehead 1993: 289). Some colonial forces intentionally used smallpox as a warfare to eradicate some indigenous Americans (Fenn 200). In addition to colonial terrorism,

“the introduction of new pathogens was probably the single most dramatic source of change in Indian Society, within a century reducing native population to about one-tenth of its former extent” (Hall 1989a: 71). Furthermore, the destruction of indigenous ecosystems, ‘germ colonization,’ warfare, slavery, famine, and alcoholism dramatically depopulated indigenous peoples (Dunaway 1996: 362). The Spaniards moved from places to places by destroying the indigenous Americans through employing several terror tactics: one of these tactics was torture. As Blakeley (2009: 228) states, torture can be a tool of terrorism “carried out by representatives of the state against civilians to instil fear for political purposes.”

The complex processes of incorporation started when Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand of Spain granted Christopher Columbus on April 17, 1492 the privilege of exploring, colonizing, and plundering by financing his expeditions. The monarchs appointed Columbus as the Admiral of the Ocean Sea, promising him 10 percent of the profits from gold and spices he would bring back, and to appoint him as a governor over new areas he would colonize (Zinn 2003: 2). The first expedition occurred between 1492-3; on October 12, 1492, his expedition arrived in the Indies accidentally with three ships, namely the Santa Maria, the flagship, the Pinta, and the Niña. Columbus thought that he “discovered” Asia although Alonso de Ojeda and Amerigo Vespucci, a Genoese clerk who accidentally gave his name to the new continent, tried to convince him that the place was not in Asia (Cohen 1969: 16). When they first arrived, “the Spaniards were favourably received and entertained by the Arawak people, who traded food and water and a few gold ornaments for such trifles as newly minted copper coins, brass bells and even bits of broken glass and pottery” (Cohen 1969: 17-18). Columbus called the Indies “the earthly Paradise” (Cohen 1969, 19), and wrote a letter explaining the behaviors and conditions of the Arawak people as he understood: “They have no iron or steel or arms. . . All the weapons they have are canes cut at seeding time, at the end of which they fix a sharpened stick, but they have not the courage to make use of these, for very often when I have sent two or three men to a village to have conversation with them a great number of them have come out If one [would] ask for anything they never [said] no” (Cohen 1969: 17-118).

Assuming that the Arawak people and others could not defend their homelands from the invading Spaniards, Columbus wrote a letter to the monarchs of Spain stating that “I found very many islands with large populations and took possession of them all for their Highnesses; this I did by proclamation and unfurled the royal standard. No opposition was offered” (Cohen 1969: 115). The Spaniards characterized one of the indigenous groups called the Caribs cannibals and singled out for annihilation (Joseph 1991: 3). The Caribs suffered in the hands of the Spaniards: “Some of the Caribs survived ‘the terrible five-century American Indian holocaust’ and ‘commencing with Columbus’ arrival among them, Spanish, French, and English invaders, colonizers, pirates, and imperial exploiters all but exterminated them, slaughtering Caribs wholesale with fire, steel, European torture, and wiping out their settlements with the pox, measles, diphtheria, and other white men’s diseases to which the Indians had no resistance” (Joseph 1991: 3). The Spaniards imposed terror on the people they encountered to frighten the surrounding peoples in order to reduce their will to resist Spanish colonialism. To prove the profitability of his expeditions to his sponsors, Columbus frequently sent cargoes of gold, other valuables, and slaves to Spain that he obtained through terrorizing the indigenous Americans.

Initially his main goal was to obtain gold. He captured some indigenous peoples as soon as he arrived in the Indies to collect information from them on the

sources of gold: “The information that Columbus wanted most was: Where is the gold? He had persuaded the king and the queen of Spain to finance an expedition to the lands, the wealth, he expected would be on the other side of the Atlantic—the Indies and Asia, gold and spices” (Zinn 2003: 2). This first expedition set the stage for “the racism and savagery of the world conquest” (Chomsky 1993: 5). The arrival of Columbus and his sailors in the Indies had also gradually brought disaster and violence including colonial terrorism to the peaceful and generous Arawak people and others. At the beginning, without knowing with what kind of people they were dealing with, they peacefully traded with Columbus and his sailors, and “brought them food, water, and gifts because of their culture of hospitality and their belief in sharing” (Zinn 2003: 1). The Spaniards, however, considered the kindness and hospitality as backwardness and started to take advantage of the people by intimidation, force, and terrorism. During his first expedition Columbus started to terrorize and enslave some of the indigenous peoples (Blakely 2009: 56-57). At the beginning of Columbus’ second expedition, on May 4, 1493, through his “Bull of Donation,” Pope Alexander VI of Rome granted all lands occupied and would be colonized in the Americas and the Orient by Christopher Columbus and not already occupied by any Christian king or prince as of Christmas 1492 to the Catholic monarchs of Isabel and Ferdinand (Shiva 1997: 1). Columbus established the first colony early in 1494 on the island of Hispaniola (now Haiti), and collected a sizable amount of gold and shipped back to Spain. Columbus and his associates continued to use terrorism to obtain more food, gold, women, slaves, and lands.

In 1495, the Spaniards went from island to island taking indigenous Americans as captives and taking women and children as slaves for sex and labor: “Some of the captives were forced to wear copper tokens on their necks . . . those who were ‘found without a copper token had their hands cut off and bled to death’” (Zinn 2003: 4). The Spaniards forced the indigenous peoples to work on mining of gold and silver and agriculture to grow crops, cotton, and sugar cane; in almost two decades “their population on this fertile island had shrunk from a quarter of a million to fourteen thousand; in a few more years they had become extinct” (Debo 1995: 19-20). Forced labor and violence gradually caused the destruction of the indigenous peoples. As we shall see below, the Spaniards and other European groups continued the projects of terrorism and slavery, the process of cultural destruction and genocide or continued subjugation for several centuries. Although “it is beyond human capacity to compile an accurate log of the murder, cruelty, false imprisonment and other crimes committed” (De Las Casas 1992: 37), let me briefly explain the anatomy of colonial terrorism in the Indies. The Spaniards used the strategy of terrorism “in all lands they invaded: to stage a bloody massacre of the most public possible kind in order to terrorize those meek and gentle people” (De Las Casas 1992: 45).

As Bartolomé De Las Casas (1992: 13) testifies, “the indigenous peoples never did the Europeans any harm whatever.” But the settlers and their descendants terrorized the indigenous peoples and raped their women for perpetuating terrorism and sexual gratification. “The serial rape of captive Indian women became ritualized public spectacles at . . . trade fairs,” Ned Blackhawk (2006: 77) writes, “bringing the diverse male participants . . . together for the violent dehumanization of Indian women.” Terror and genocide studies ignore “the full extent of the humiliation of the ethnic group through the rape of its women, the symbols of honor and vessels of culture. When a woman’s honor is tarnished through illicit intercourse . . . the ethnic group is also dishonored. The after effects of rape—forced impregnation, psychological trauma, degradation, and demoralization—go beyond rape victims

themselves” (Sharlack 2002: 107). When the Spaniards needed more and more lands and labor of the indigenous peoples to build their expanding colonial settlements, they latter began to realize the essence of their agendas (De Las Casas 1971: 121). As the indigenous peoples refused to supply food and labor for the Spaniards, the latter intensified the use of violence and intimidation.

Practically “every Spaniard went out among the Indians robbing and seizing their women wherever he pleased, and doing them such injuries that the Indians decided to take vengeance on any Spaniards they found isolated or unarmed” and killed some of them (Cohen 1969: 187). The Spaniards used various tactics of terrorism and warfare for annihilating various indigenous peoples: they used the divide and conquer policy by recruiting and mobilizing the warriors of one indigenous group against the other to facilitate mutual self-destruction. “This fighting generated many captives who could be traded to Spaniards who would ask no questions and pay in horses and guns . . . As both raiding and trade increased, more and more horses and guns came into Indian hands, making formidable foes of formerly annoying attackers and intensifying inter-group fighting. Horses and guns became vital necessities for any group that wished to remain safe and free” (Hall 1989a: 68). Consequently, various indigenous warriors enslaved and merchandized their war captives while collaborating with competing European colonial powers.

The Spaniards aimed always at inspiring terror by their cruelties; one time they “built a long gibbet, low enough for the toes to touch the ground and prevent strangling, and hanged thirteen [indigenous Americans] . . . When the Indians were thus still alive and hanging, the Spaniards tested their strength and their blades against them, ripping chests open with one blow and exposing entrails . . . Then, straw was wrapped around their torn bodies and they were burned alive” (De Las Casas 1971: 121). The Spaniards first focused on establishing their colonial settlements in the Greater Antilles that led to the decimation of the indigenous people by warfare, diseases, and slavery or forced labor (Wilson 1997: 7). After 1620, the Lesser Antilles became the contested area for colonization by the French, Dutch, and English and other European groups. Ricardo Alegría (1997: 12) asserts that the Spaniards “eagerness to impose their religion and to obtain the greatest possible profits, were far from scrupulous in their treatment of the natives. Indeed, their cruelty hastened the disintegration of the native culture and its eventual annihilation.

By 1510 the Indian population of the islands was almost totally extinct, and colonizers had to import natives from South America to work in the Antillean gold mines.” Within twenty years, the conquistadors colonized the islands of Hispaniola, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, and captured Mexico from 1519 and Guatemala from 1523, and dramatically reduced the size of indigenous peoples through terrorism, enslavement, deportations, and diseases. Spanish colonial authorities used terrorism and Christianity to exterminate or dominate the indigenous population groups. According to Neil L. Whitehead (1992: 147), “Evangelism was itself often a military process, and where it was successful it exacerbated existing intertribal divisions or even opened new divisions within the discrete tribal structures that had been created by the first phase of conquest and occupation.” When the settlers exhausted the exploitation of gold, they began to use the indigenous peoples as slave labor on agriculture (Zinn 2003: 5). De Las Casas (1992: 13) provides vivid description of the anatomy of the terrorism imposed by the Spaniards in the Indies to obtain gold and other valuables: “The reason the Christians have murdered on such a vast scale and killed anyone and everyone in their way is purely and simply greed. They have set out to line their pockets with gold and to amass private fortune as

quickly as possible so that they can then assume a status quite at odds with that into which they were born.”

By 1542 the Spanish colonizers killed more than twelve million people in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central America (Kiernan 2007: 77). To impose terror and fear on the surrounding population groups, the Spaniards started flogging, beating, thrashing, punching, burning alive, cutting the legs or hands off, burning and roasting them alive, butchering babies and feeding dogs, and throwing them to wild dogs. In the processes, the Spanish settlers had lost their own humanity and “had become so anaesthetized to human suffering by their own greed and ambition that they had ceased to be men in any meaningful sense of the term and had become, by dint of their own wicked deeds, so totally degenerated and given over to a reprobate mind” (De Las Casas, 1992: 3). De Las Casas (1992, 103) asserts “that the longer men have operated in the New World and the more they have become accustomed to the carnage and butchery around them, the more brutal and more wicked have been the crimes they commit against God and their fellow-men [and women].” The conquistadors were criminals who deliberately engaged in terrorism, genocidal massacres, and extermination through different mechanisms (Kiernan 2007: 85). In addition, they worked the surviving peoples to death in the gold mines as well as on agricultural work. They burned people alive or cut them to pieces or tortured them or killed them by swords.

Slavery was also a major cause for the death of some of the indigenous peoples. Men were separated from their wives and communities to work the soil or to mine gold; they were not allowed to take care of their families and communities. Similarly, mothers overworked and famished and had no milk; consequently, their newly born babies perished. Beginning from 1514, the Spaniards developed a new policy known as a *repartimiento* after annihilating most of the indigenous peoples; they divided the lands of the indigenous peoples and the survivors among the settlers to work as semi-slaves in *encomienda*. “The settlers put men to work in gold mines and sent women ‘into the fields of the big ranches to hoe and till the land,’ preventing them from cohabiting and having children. Men and women died ‘from the same causes, exhaustion and hunger.’ Cruelty, violent greed, and the imposition of agricultural serfdom all took their continuing genocidal toll” (Kiernan 2007: 86). The indigenous of Central America were hunting and agricultural communities with a few complex empires such as Aztec and Inca. Jared Diamond (1999: 68)) notes that the Inca emperor “Atahualpa was absolute monarch of the largest and most advanced state in the new world;” this monarch with his army of 80,000 soldiers confronted “the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro at the Peruvian highland town of Cajamarca on November 16, 1532.”

This powerful monarch was only defeated because of the Spaniards’ superior weapons. Various Spanish forces continued to terrorize and extract economic resources of the indigenous Americans. Specifically the Spanish merchants and landlords from Spain who were interested in gold to make money financed the expedition of Hernando Cortés. To fulfill his own objective and the goal of these merchants and landlords “Cortés . . . began his march of death from town to town, using deception, turning Aztec against Aztec, killing with the kind of deliberateness that accompanying a strategy—to paralyze the will of the population by a sudden frightful deed” (Zinn 2003: 11). Hernan Cortés with an army of 400 started his “spectacularly brutal campaign” to colonize Mexico in April 1519 with the help of his coastal native allies; he first attacked and terrorized the kingdom of Anahuac and its capital Tenochtitlan. His army and his indigenous allies annihilated the Otomi people

by lancing, stabbing and shooting them with iron bolts, crossbows, and guns (Kiernan 2007: 88).

The conquistadors captured Tlaxcala and killed thousands of people and burned thousands of houses. After reaching the city of Cholula in October, the Spaniards destroyed it by depopulating it by massacring the people. One official of Cortés noted that the conquistadors “were dripping with blood and walked over nothing but dead bodies” (quoted in Kiernan 2007: 90). Furthermore, Cortés and his army continued the conquest of the areas that became Guatemala and Colombia. He sent Pedro de Alvarado, his lieutenant, in 1523 with 120 cavalry, 300 infantry, and four artillery pieces to repeat the butchery of the indigenous in Mexico (Kiernan 2007: 93) by using similar mechanisms of terrorism and mass killings. The colonial terrorists needed human trophies to show to and terrorize the surviving population; they also used these trophies to demonstrate their achievements and convince the colonial governors that they accomplished their missions. Using their knives and “approaching the victims and pulling up their heads by the hair, they swiftly removed tender cartilage from the skulls of all the dead. After filling their sacks with the lightweight, blood harvest, the attackers returned to camp and prepared for another campaign” (Blackhawk 2006: 16).

The barbarism and cruelty of these terrorists were also demonstrated by their use of strings of dried ears in their homes (Blackhawk 2006: 19). The Spaniards totally controlled the city of Tenochtitlan and Ixtapalapa in 1521; they destroyed Ixtapalapa by indiscriminately killing its people and reducing it to “human wreckage” (cited in Kiernan 2007: 91). As Kiernan (2007: 88) notes, “The contemporary population of what is now Mexico has been estimated at 12 million. After Cortés’s conquistadors took over Anahuac in 1519-21, that population fell by 85 percent, to as low as 1 million by 1600, in what historians call ‘one of history’s greatest holocaust.’” The De Soto expedition exterminated the entire indigenous population of the Southeast (Hollis 2005: 116). It was not only the Spaniards who committed horrendous crimes in South and Central America. The colonial Portuguese also engaged in colonial terrorism in the area that is called Brazil today. The Portuguese admiral Pedro Álvares Cabral anchored his fleet of twelve ships off the coast of Brazil on 23 April 1500 and claimed the official “discovery” of the land after staying there for ten days on his way to India.

With increased competition from Spain, France, and England to colonize Brazil, after thirty years of Cabral’s expedition, João III, the king of Portugal, granted to Martin Afonso de Sousa the right to establish the first official colony in Brazil at São Vicente. Then within short time the Portuguese monarch announced his plan to colonize all Brazil “already inhabited by hundreds of Indian groups” (Metcalf 2005: 77). The Portuguese settlers were less aggressive in their approaches than the Spaniards, and they established alliances with indigenous American groups such as the Tupinikin through marriage strategies as headmen ‘adopted’ outsiders as son-in-laws. These alliances gradually assisted the expansion of Portuguese colonization, and “the captaincy of São Vicente had six hundred colonialists, three thousand slaves, and six sugar mills [in 1548]. These slaves were Indians from traditional enemies of the Tupinikin” (Metcalf 2005: 79). Since the private colonization initiative was not successful, the Portuguese king sent his governor to build the capital city in Brazil and to expand Christianity. According to Alida C. Metalf (2005: 83), “The justification for the colonization of Brazil . . . was no simple possession but evangelization. It quickly became apparent that it was not enough for the Tupi-Guarani speaking peoples to

supply brazilwood and labor for the Portuguese. They were now expected to accept and practice Christianity.”

The Portuguese promoted Christianity and racial slavery simultaneously. Racial “slavery [was] firmly rooted in Brazil, where it would be the foundation of Brazil’s economic development for nearly four hundred years” (Metcalf 2005: 157). The Portuguese colonialists enslaved the Tupi, Guarani, Gê, and Arawak peoples; these “slaves cleared the first fields and planted them with sugarcane, Indian slaves built the first mills and produced the first sugar harvest. [Enslaved Africans] joined Indians on the sugar plantations in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the numbers increased rapidly after 1550” (Metcalf 2005: 158). Both slavery and diseases that were brought to Brazil from across the Atlantic led to the rapid decline of the indigenous peoples during the second half of the sixteenth century. “Unlike Spanish America, where epidemics accompanied colonization, the first epidemics that likely occurred in Brazil before 1550 did not destroy the political or social structure of independent indigenous groups But between 1550 and 1580, Brazil began to follow a pattern similar to that seen in the Spanish Caribbean in the thirty years after 1492: significant outbreaks of disease coincided with the ratcheting up of the tempo of colonization” Metcalf (2005: 120).

Gradually colonial terrorism, racial slavery, and diseases decimated the indigenous peoples of Brazil. The processes of colonization, incorporation, and terrorism gradually moved from South and Central America to North America. Despite the fact that Sir Walter Raleigh attempted to create an English colony at Roanoke in 1584 on the coast of North Carolina, the English did not successfully establish a colony until 1607. The Virginia Company under the leadership of Captain John Smith established this first settlement in 1607 in Jamestown, Virginia. After settling in Jamestown, the English settlers expanded their settlements that led to the opposition of the Powhatan people. As this Virginia settlement grew and its population increased from 1,300 in 1625 to 8,000 in 1640, the settlers’ policy “did not seek the Powhatans’ total extermination, but it required their full subjugation, and eventual slavery for survivors” (Kiernan 2007: 223). However, gradually the Powhatans were annihilated (Kiernan 2007: 224). The English settlers continued to confiscate the lands of the indigenous peoples by using colonial terrorism.

In 1621, the English pilgrims also settled at Plymouth in a section of the continent that later became New England and pursued policies of terrorism, extermination, and slavery on the Wampanoag, Narragansett, Pequot, and other indigenous peoples. To transfer the communal ownership of the lands of these peoples, the Puritans “developed a tactic of warfare used by Cortés and later, in the twentieth century, even more systematically: deliberate attacks on noncombatants for the purpose of terrorizing the enemy” (Zinn 2003: 14). John Winthrop, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, “created the excuse to take Indian land by declaring the area legally a ‘vacuum.’ The Indians, he said, had not ‘subdued’ the land, and therefore had only a ‘natural right’ to it, but no a ‘civil right.’ A ‘natural right’ did not have legal standing” (Zinn 2003: 14-15). By abrogating the communal land rights of the Pequot and Narragansett peoples, Winthrop justified the establishment of private property through violence and expropriation. The Puritans asserted that the heathens who resisted the power of Europeans, God’s children, should be condemned and lose their lands violently. In the 17th century, the Spaniards, English, French, Russians, and the Dutch simultaneously began to establish their permanent colonies in the area north of Mexico.

As the English settled at Jamestown in 1607, the French founded Quebec in 1608. However, the French arrived in North America around 1524 in the region that presently called Canada, and their explorers such as Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain established business relationship with indigenous American peoples from the Upper Northeast down the Mississippi River and New Orleans. The Russians also established fur-gathering posts on the Alaska Peninsula; they exterminated the Aleut people. They “treated them with unspeakable cruelty; they raped the women and held them as hostages until the men ransomed them with furs; they destroyed settlements and murdered people from sheer barbarity. It is estimated that the population when they came was 25,000; a count made in 1885 showed 3,892” (Debo 1995: 83). Through diplomatic intrigues and the game of imperial rivalry, these European colonial powers made indigenous American ethnonations their political pawns by inciting them to fight against one another to promote their respective interest. Angie Debo (1995: 69) notes that “the imperial rivals used their colonies as footholds from which they worked to outdistance their adversaries and enlarge their dominions by bringing as many native [groups] as possible into their spheres of influence—obtaining their trade, inciting them to war against their opponents or the Indian allies of their opponents, and reducing them to protectorate.”

Nevertheless, various indigenous Americans were reduced to serfdom or enslaved or exterminated. The economic and labor exploitation of the Americas gradually transformed western European countries such as Spain, England, and France and “gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry an impulse never before known” (Loewen 1995: 69). The competing imperial powers introduced competition to the indigenous peoples by changing their lifestyles and tastes through new technology of house building, farming, domestic animals, European fruits, hunting, cooking, and luxury items such as rum or whisky (Debo 1995: 69-70). Consequently, various ethnonations for perceived or small material benefits “allied with rival powers scalped each other or fell upon outlying white settlements with fire and death” (Debo 1995: 70). After thirteen English colonies emerged as the United State after the American Revolution of 1776, the colonial settlers wanted to continue to expropriate the lands of indigenous Americans under different ideological pretexts. The United States began to expand to the Pacific west coast through terrorizing indigenous American peoples and expropriating their homelands.

White Americans convinced themselves that it was God’s will to control from the Atlantic sea to the Pacific sea and later across the continent and beyond. The United States also intensified terrorism on indigenous peoples within its geo-political territories and in its neighbors and opened up western frontiers later in Texas, California, and the Great Plains to confiscate lands and other resources. American apartheid democracy under the leadership of George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and others promoted colonial terrorism, war, expansion, and genocidal massacres on indigenous Americans. Soldiers, vigilante groups, and other settlers burned villages and towns, destroyed cornfields, massacred women, old men, and children, and scalped their heads for trophy. In 1779, George Washington declared war on the six nations of the Iroquois northwest and ordered “to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent them planting. That fall, General John Sullivan burned down 40 Iroquois towns and destroyed 160,000 bushels of corn. [American forces attacked one town and] ‘put to death all the women and children, excepting some of the young women, whom they carried away for the use of their soldiers and were afterwards put to death in a more shameful manner’” (Kiernan 2007: 325).

After becoming President in 1801, Thomas Jefferson continued and intensified terrorism and war on indigenous Americans; he dispatched his general, George Rogers Clark and the U.S. Army to attack, terrorize, and destroy the Cherokee, Shawness, Peankeshaw, Ouabash, Kickapoes, Mingoes, Munsies, Windots, and Chickasaws to remove or exterminate them (Kiernan 2007: 319-325). He wrote a letter to John Page describing that “even friendly Indians as ‘a useless, expensive, ungovernable ally’” (Kiernan 2007: 320). When he was the governor of Virginia, Jefferson also ordered the attack on Cherokees and the forces of Arthur Campbell “destroyed over 1,000 houses of the over hill Cherokees in 1780 The next year, John Sevier ‘burned fifteen Middle Cherokee towns.’ In 1782, Sevier’s son took part in another campaign against Lower Cherokees, reporting ‘We destroyed their towns, stock, corn, [and] everything they had’” (Kiernan, 2007: 325). After purchasing Louisiana from France in 1803, Jefferson promoted the policy of voluntarily or forcefully removing of indigenous peoples from their territories. In the letter he wrote to the German scholar Alexander von Humboldt in 1812, Jefferson testified the commitment of his policy to destroy indigenous Americans: “The confirmed brutalization, if not extermination of this race in our America is therefore to form an added chapter in the English history of the same colored man in Asia, and of the brethren of their own color in Ireland and wherever else Anglo-mercantile cupidity can find a two-penny interest in deluging the earth with blood” (Jefferson 1813: 792-93).

Andrew Jackson also continued the process of terrorizing indigenous Americans after he was elected president in 1828; the plundering of the lands of the indigenous peoples was intensified through terrorism and racial/ethnic cleansing in states like Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. Jackson informed the indigenous peoples that since the federal government did not have power to help them, they should move to a new territory by abandoning their homelands. Supporting the forced removal of the indigenous Americans and the dispossession of their homelands, Jackson, in the State of the Union Address, said: “What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessing of liberty, civilization, and religion?” In the same speech, he professed the inevitability of the extinction of indigenous peoples to make room for the civilized people (Perdue and Green 2005: 127).

One of the shocking examples of colonial terrorism and racial cleansing through forced removal was practiced on the Cherokee nation. “With the dispossession of the Cherokee Nation via the Trail of Tears,” Amy H. Sturgis (2007: 65) comments, “the previous relocations of the Choctaw, Creek, and Chickasaw Nations, and the defeat and ejection of the Seminole Nation, new U.S. policy toward Native America were established.” The United States expropriated the lands of indigenous American peoples and created for them what was known as “an Indian Territory.” In addition to forced relocation, the United States destroyed the institutions of indigenous Americans. The US government in Mississippi abolished the government of Choctaws in 1830 and forced them to move to Oklahoma between 1830 and 1833. This resulted in the deaths of many of them due to the hardships imposed on them. Similarly, in Alabama the US government through various forms repression including terrorism forced the Creeks to surrender all their lands by breaking their resistance. In 1836, the Creek “men were placed in irons and their

wailing women and children—a total of 2,495 people—were transported to Oklahoma and, literally naked, without weapons or cooking utensils, were dumped there to live or die” (Debo 1995: 119).

In the next year, 543 of them were hunted by the military and dragged into to the new place. Those who remained in Alabama “were hanged for participating in the ‘uprising’ and others were reduced to slavery;” overall, they had lost 45 percent of the population (Debo 1995: 119-120). As Pleasant Porter, an indigenous American, explains, “there is no life in the people that have lost their institutions. Evolving a thing out of itself is natural, transplanting it is a matter of dissolution, not growth” (quoted in Debo 1995: 8). Continuing pushing the indigenous peoples to the west, the United States occupied California, Texas, and Oregon between 1845 and 1848. After occupying California in 1845, U.S. regular forces, local militia, and settlers began to terrorize and exterminate indigenous peoples (Kiernan 2007: 351-4). Colonial terrorism and genocidal massacres also took place on the Great Plains. Texas declared its independence from Mexico in 1836, and its government, militia, and settlers exterminated almost 20,000 of indigenous Americas (Kiernan 2007: 334-49). Texas expanded its territory by destroying indigenous communities.

With the U.S. annexation of Texas in 1846, the extermination of indigenous peoples continued. Persifor F. Smith, U.S. major general ordered his soldiers and officers to terrorize and destroy indigenous peoples: “All predatory Indians, no matter where discovered, will be pursued, attacked, and put to death. It is not advisable to take prisoners” (Kiernan 2007: 349). The killers of the indigenous peoples prospered, as they exterminated the latter and transferred their lands and other resources to themselves and their states and the federal government. Then they removed the remaining indigenous peoples from Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Iowa, Nebraska, and Texas. Finally the same policy was applied to the Apaches of the Southwest. In 1871 the U. S. government developed an Apache policy, and the Congress appropriated seventy thousand dollars “to collect the Apache Indians of Arizona and New Mexico upon reservations” (Debo 1995, 270). The Navajo, the Nez Perce, and the Sioux peoples were removed from their respective homelands in the same way. “From such policies came the reservation system, the practice of assigning native peoples to specified federal lands, and the trust system,” Sturgis (2007: 65) notes, “the practice of the U.S. government holding funds owed to native nations on their behalf, much in the same way as guardians would hold property on behalf of their wards.”

In order to further dispossess the indigenous peoples by breaking up reservations, the U. S. government passed the Dawes law of February 8, 1887. Privatizing and dividing reservation lands to each head of a family (160 acres for each family) resulted in selling and transferring lands to white settlers. Generally speaking, colonial terrorism targeted most of the indigenous Americans and their institutions to destroy them and transfer their resources to the colonizers. Out of about 2,000 ethnonations, about 250 lived in North America, some 350 in Mexico and Central America, and about 1,450 in South America (Josephy: 1991). They had separate and mutually unintelligible languages. During the arrival of Columbus, according to the estimation of demographers, there were about 75 million indigenous Americans in the both continents (Josephy 1991, 6). Some demographers estimated that “the first hundred years of European presence in America brought about the demise of ninety-five percent of the Native population, while others suggest that a death rate of seventy-five percent may be accurate” (Perdue 2005: 18). As we shall see below, the Euro-American colonialists justified their crimes against humanity through different ideological discourses.

The Ideological Justifications of Colonial Terrorism

The European colonizing nations of the Americas and their descendants harnessed a variety of rationalizations to justify colonialism terrorism, extermination and/or continued subjugation; they justified “their scramble for foreign territories as fulfillment of a sacred duty to spread their form of civilization to the world” (Bodely 1982: 12). These nations used various ideological claims to promote and justify their terrorist and genocidal policies and actions. The Euro-American colonizers used the ideology of religious and cultural absolutism and the discourse of race to justify their colonial projects. The discourses of Christianity, commerce, culture, civilization, progress, and race were used to rationalize and justify colonialism terrorism and its consequences. The concept of Christianity combined with the heavenly power of God, the earthly power of monarchy, and the unbounded love for money had become lethal to the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

Almost all of the missionaries were members of the European political machineries that engaged in terrorism and genocide. The missionaries played a central role in undermining the political, economic, and cultural institutions of the indigenous populations and facilitating their destruction. Pope Alexander VI of Rome set the tone of robbery in the Americas through various forms of violence including terrorism by endorsing the charter that Columbus received from the monarchs of Spain in 1492 (Shiva 1997: 2). This pope and his associates granted all the lands that would be colonized by Christopher Columbus to the Catholic monarchs of Isabella and Ferdinand in 1493 rather than denouncing the expropriation of the native lands (Shiva (1997). These religious leaders and the monarchs interconnected Christianity, civilization, and capitalism to justify colonial terrorism and the dispossession of the native lands. The Spaniards and other Europeans claimed that they were sent by God to spread Christianity; but, in reality, they spread terrorism and extermination.

Alvin M. Josephy (1991: 5) argues that Europeans “fostered violent hatred and racism, massacres, and the plundering and dispossession of the Indians.” The settlers used words in manufacturing lies, deceptions, illusions, and misinformation about the indigenous Americans to hide their crimes against humanity and to satisfy their economic interests. People or groups that engage in any large-scale oppression, discrimination, segregation, enslavement, and massive political violence or annihilation use name-calling such as deficient human beings or less human, animal or beast, parasitic creature, infectious disease, waste product, and non-person (Bernnan 1995: 3). The colonial settlers also called indigenous Americans inferior, not human, untamable carnivorous animals, vermin, pestilence, anthropological specimen, the dregs and garbage of the earth, and non-persons (Bernnan 1995: 7).

By degrading and erasing the cultures, histories, and humanity of indigenous Americans from the human historical record, the settlers convinced themselves that they could terrorize, annihilate, and dispossess the resources of these peoples without any moral and political responsibilities. Semantic warfare is “a deliberate and unremitting phenomenon usually under-girded by fully elaborate systems of concepts, beliefs, and myths,” and groups “who control language control thought and eventually semantic corruption leads to the adulteration of thought itself” (Bernnan 1995: 8, 12). After sometimes these “fully elaborate systems of concepts, beliefs, and myths” had become the ideological foundation of society and started to have their autonomous lives and corrupted the minds of the public. According to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (1973-74, 1:173-74), “Ideology—that is what gives evil-doing its long-sought justification and gives the evil-doer the necessary steadfastness and determination.

That is the social theory which helps to make his acts seem good instead of bad in his own and others' eyes, so that he won't hear reproaches and curses but will receive praise and honors."

So people like Columbus and most religious and political figures that engaged in various ideological discourses to commit the crimes against humanity in the Americas are celebrated today and the same ideology is in full gear in the capitalist world economy. A very few pay attention to the reality that "Native Americans were robbed their lands, massacred, forcibly removed to uninhabitable western territories, and herded onto reservations" (Bernnan 1995: 4). The public has been denied an opportunity to learn about the humanity, cultures, and histories of indigenous American peoples since it has been fed by the ideologies of racism, Christian absolutism, and Euro-American centrism. Today, the elites who run and maintain institutions such as schools, churches, and colleges, publishing houses; reporters, broadcasters, columnists, editors, bureau chiefs, and executives; and writers, artists, producers, and stars in the television and movie-making industries serving as "gatekeepers of information who determine what ideas, perceptions, attitudes, and values are allowed into the public domain" (Bernnan 1995: 17). In history books and films, indigenous Americans have been wrongly portrayed "as wild savages who wantonly slaughtered innocent white settlers and displayed their scalps as an exhibitions of hunting acumen" (Bernnan 1995, 58-59).

Although the degradation, terrorism, annihilation, and dispossession of indigenous American peoples were originally rationalized and justified in the ideological discourses of Christianity and civilization or progress, gradually the discourses of race and racism became a powerful tool. The processes of colonial terrorism, dispossession, slavery, and continued subjugation resulted in hierarchical organization of peoples first in the Americas and later in the entire world through the creation of an elaborate discourses of race and racism to justify the crimes against humanity and to maintain the capitalist world system. The Euro-American colonizers, to maintain the identities of the dominant population groups and their power and privileges through policy formulation and implementation, socially and culturally constructed the concepts of race and racism (Jalata 2001). By inventing nonexistent "races," racism was used to justify colonial terrorism, genocide, slavery, and continued subjugation by institutionalizing "the hierarchies involved in the worldwide division of labor" ((Balibar and Wallerstein 1991: 43-44).

"Scientific" claims were made to promote personal and group interests at the cost of humanity. Accepting ideologically and culturally blind thinking has prevented most of these colonialists, their descendants, and collaborators from critically understanding the meaning and consequences of colonial terrorism. Gradually the ideologies of savagery or barbarism and paganism were totalized in the master ideology of racism. Truly speaking, the Euro-Americans were only superior in their destructive weapons and their cruelty to engage in colonial terrorism, genocide, slavery, and continued subjugation to accumulate more capital. According to William Bernnan (1995: 57), "The wholesale departure of Native Americans from the landscape of North America was not the inevitable result of a primitive, inferior race naturally wilting before the march of progress and modern civilization. It was due, instead, to a deliberate and pervasive policy of rank exploitation and extermination." The generosity, kindness, humanness, and the less of cruelty and as well as the lack of weapons of destruction made indigenous Americans 'inferior' "tribes/races" that must be destroyed by different Euro-American colonial policies in which terrorism played the major role.

Conclusion

The theoretical and empirical explanations provided above demonstrate how the use of colonial terrorism as the main tool enhanced the processes of capitalist incorporation through broadening and deepening in the Americas and resulted in the extermination of most of the indigenous population groups and reduced the surviving groups into permanent subjugation. Consequently, the economic and labor resources of the indigenous Americas played a key role in facilitating industrialization in Western European and in North America and enabled them to become rich and powerful countries in the capitalist world system. Therefore, all powerful individuals and groups in the Global North should critically interrogate themselves morally, culturally, socially, and politically in order to develop their humanness rather than hiding their criminal behaviors and actions under the discourses of modernity, civilization, religion, race or culture and continue to commit similar crimes by engaging or supporting unjust and corrupt political and ideological practices. Engaging in or supporting a system that annihilates human beings is morally, ethically, and intellectually wrong because of ideological and cultural blindness and/or to satisfy the appetite for power and money.

By understanding the devastating effects of colonial terrorism on the indigenous American peoples, the present generations of Euro-American descendants should start to uplift the surviving ones by making restitution and by promoting their struggles for self-determination and multicultural democracy. Furthermore, all governments and institutions in the Americas need to stop repeating lies and misinformation about the indigenous American peoples by recognizing and incorporating their authentic history, culture, and humanity in school and college education. Celebrating the contributions of the indigenous American peoples, recognizing the crimes committed and compensating them, and accepting the diversity of these countries will blossom the humanity and the diverse cultural and ethnonational backgrounds of these countries by resurrecting the damaged humanity of the executioners and the victims. Without critically understanding the processes of capitalist broadening and incorporation and without adequately learning about the crimes of colonial terrorism we cannot confront the moral, philosophical, and political contradictions in the capitalist world system in order to move toward establishing a just and truly egalitarian democratic world order.

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