The Path to Montezuma:  
The Political Economy of Indianness and Blackness

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Abstract: This paper will attempt to identify and discuss the following issues: (1) the concepts of African American and Native American identities as aspects of the mode of production in Euro-American or Western capitalism, specifically as employed by the former North American colonies that now comprise the United States, as well as the United States during the modern era; (2) How these identities in the form of “Blackness” and “Indianness” were utilized to establish Euro-American capitalism in the modern era; (3) The concept of political and economic upheaval in the form of what I have dubbed the “Montezuma Effect”; and finally, (4) how mental and physical maroon spaces within the overlapping realms of Indianness and Blackness present the potentiality of a Montezuma Effect to take hold in modern capitalism.

Keywords: African American, Native American, U.S. history, political economy, Montezuma Effect, Indianness, Blackness, maroon spaces, racial capital

From the Halls of Montezuma  
To the shores of Tripoli;  
We fight our country’s battles  
In the air, on land, and sea;  
— Marines’ Hymn

African American and Native American identity are notions engrained deeply in the fabric of the United States, yet they each remain largely uncultivated areas of study, particularly when analyzing them in the same conjoined manner in which they were constructed. The lack of comprehensive study in this area leaves much to be explored in the way of Native American and African American interactions, as well as interdisciplinary pedagogic juxtaposition. Within the sphere of international political economy, understanding the past, current and potential impact of African American, Native American and Afro-Amerindian populations in the United States cannot continue to remain unexplored. It should be further posited that scholars embedded in the realm of international relations should develop theoretical frameworks and advocate policy with this imperative in the forefront. It is through this lens that this paper will analyze international political economy. This paper will attempt to identify and discuss the following issues: (1) the concepts of African American and Native American identities as aspects of the mode of production in Euro-American, or Western capitalism, specifically as employed by the former North American colonies that now comprise the United States, as well as the United States during the modern era; (2) How these identities in the form of “Blackness” and “Indianness,” were utilized to establish Euro-

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1 U.S. Government Office of War Information, Bureau of Motion Pictures 1940.
American capitalism in the modern era; (3) The concept of political and economic upheaval in the form of what I have dubbed, the “Montezuma Effect;” and finally, (4) how mental and physical maroon spaces within the overlapping realms of Indianness and Blackness present the potentiality of a Montezuma Effect to take hold in modern capitalism.

Samuel Huntington’s influential work, “Clash of Civilizations,” claimed that cultural divisions would sow the seeds of conflict at a disastrous proportion. He insisted conflicts would arise through borderless civilizations and not the politically defined states of the past. Huntington failed to address the fact that such borderless divisions existed as integral components of Western and Western-influenced political and economic systems. A state’s “associations and antagonisms” are not merely defined by cultural identity; in some instances, as explained further in this paper, the state’s political and economic survival relies on the ethnically and culturally defined people groups within its borders. Such contradictions to Huntington’s arguments reside in both the pre- and post-Cold War eras as will be further discussed. The flaws of Huntington’s arguments notwithstanding, the politics of identity and its influence over political and economic systems cannot remain understated.

The United States’ racial paradigm primarily was used to define, control and understand the people groups integral to the political and economic systems implemented in the Americas through colonialism and then United States imperialism. It was established to define, manage and socially construct the world guided by a Euro-American lens. These racial categories in the United States are indicative of international political economics both within the United States’ borders and abroad, specifically when addressing African American and Native American populations. African American and Native American racial identities were constructed from the scope of two vantage points, or areas of value, by American colonial and later United States powers – one economic and the other political and organizational. Within the Marxist mode of production framework, the African American racial category developed primarily from the perspective of a production force, whereas the imposed Native American identity coincided with the social and technical relations of production. What makes the study of these two classifications worthy of exploration is the circumstances surrounding their development. Broadly applied racialized concepts of American indigeneity, or Indianness, and African American identity, or Blackness, were simultaneously constructed alongside the modern capitalist economic system. In the case of Blackness, it is linked to both a social strata and economic commodification.

Blackness was formed primarily to exist within the scope of the mode of production, that of both commodity and labor source. African Americans were literally and figuratively tools for production, as well as products within American capitalism. This is not to say this was Blackness’ sole function, nor the extent of its potential functions. This also does not imply other racial paradigms including Indianness did not traverse this space; however, it can be argued that the principal role of Blackness was to exist within this realm.

In her work, “Sambos and Minstrels,” Sylvia Wynter addresses both the normalization and segregation of Whiteness from other groups within the American social framework. This is

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3 Huntington 1993.
4 Ibid.
5 Fine and Saad-Filho 2010.
6 Wynter 1979.
accomplished in part through the creation and proliferation of racialized caricatures. While these caricatures exist to assert White dominance within the social structure, they also reinforce the commodification of a constructed racial category within the capitalist economic system.\textsuperscript{7} As Nancy Leong suggests, there exists selective valuation as well as commodification of non-white people groups.\textsuperscript{8}

Economics is not the sole function of Blackness, as made evident in the writings of political theorist Benjamin Barber, who equated cultural aspects of Blackness to products and merely appendages of capitalism.\textsuperscript{9} Barber also suggests that these components of Blackness can be used to enforce various political agendas; however, they primarily exist as products of the dominant society.\textsuperscript{10} This suggests that although the concept of Blackness can exist in the political sphere, as well as other realms, its prime function rests within the economic system. Thus, caricatures of African Americans as described by Wynter become Euro-American social and economic ideological exports based in capitalism. Evidence of anti-Blackness throughout the world is symptomatic of a particular political, social, and economic policy traversing the globe.

The proliferation of an anti-Black sentiment outside of the United States coincides with the proximity to Euro-American capitalism. Adopting a particular social outlook predicated on the perceived inferiority, resentment or commodification of African American people signifies that society acknowledging and embracing tenets of Western capitalism. Wynter’s sambo and minstrel caricatures become unofficial economic, political, and social ambassadors of this particular system. David Wright provides a clear example of this phenomena when discussing early Japanese and Dutch interactions.\textsuperscript{11} Africans were used in a way that emphasized a juxtaposition of Blackness and economic status and power. One might argue that through a display of military power, Blackness as a commodity and the introduction of Western ideology, the United States was attempting to utilize convertible imperialism as described by Galtung.\textsuperscript{12} Blackness, as an indicator of economic imperialism could influence a shift in culture in Japan that would bode favorably for United States and Western capitalist interest. Adding to this argument, Wright further illustrates a rather interesting event in which United States Commodore, Matthew C. Perry sought to “open the East”. Japanese delegates observed a minstrel performance by the fleet’s crew, which was so popular the performers performed locally in Japan during their stay.\textsuperscript{13} While Wright presents this as Perry and company’s introduction of skewed and demeaning characterizations of African American culture to the Japanese, it essentially served as a presentation of Blackness as a production force to a physically, economically and politically distant nation; one with whom the United States wanted diplomatic and economic relations. This subsequently instilled an anti-Black sentiment in an environment in which it previously did not exist, based on a Euro-American model. Ironically, Perry completed this diplomatic mission while aboard flagships named after two Native American

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid.  \\
\textsuperscript{8} Leong 2012.  \\
\textsuperscript{9} Barber 2001.  \\
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.  \\
\textsuperscript{11} Wright 1998.  \\
\textsuperscript{12} Galtung 1971.  \\
\textsuperscript{13} Wright 1998
\end{flushright}
tribes, the USS Susquehanna and the USS Powhatan.\footnote{14}{Ibid.}
as Blackness was created to institute a particular mode of production, Native American
identity was constructed in a similar fashion; however, from a vantage point that primarily linked
itself with concepts of political structure and organization, as well as the policies of colonial America
and later the United States. This racial classification exists in a manner in which documentation,
tribal, state and federal policy comprise the defining criteria of affiliation.\footnote{15}{Higginbotham 1978.}
While Blackness fell within the realm of externalized commodification, in which it served as an example of what
Western capitalism had to offer, Indianness appears to have pivoted toward a more domestic, or
infrastructural role. Metaphorically speaking, while Commodore Perry employed Blackness as a
diplomatic offering to the Japanese, which showcased the economic aptitude and vitality of the
United States, he simultaneously demonstrated the country’s institutional formidability navigating
the seas on the back of Indianness. Perry, and by association the United States, acted upon an
outlook still employed in the modern international setting.

Through such efforts of imperialism and diplomacy, the African American experience, both
historically and in the contemporary setting, resides in the arguments and scaffolds of international
relations, while conversely remaining unaddressed as an international issue on par with the issues
these many policy advocates seek to remedy.\footnote{16}{Franklin 2010.}
Often the historical and continued marginalization of African Americans has created a scenario in which the concept of Blackness becomes conflated with the experiences of those in the Global South. The issue lies within the framework surrounding
the creation of Blackness as an economic and ideological construct. Essentially, the concept of Blackness becomes a commodity indistinguishable in purpose from the minstrel shows showcased to the Japanese in the 19th Century. The Native American identity and narrative of the United States is often relegated to the margins of domestic policies and concerns, rarely making the leap to the international realm outside of discussion involving to the broader discussions on international indigenous policies. This is evidenced by “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,” in which indigenous concerns and grievances are addressed in broad international context to include people groups throughout the world existing under distinct contexts.\footnote{17}{Oldham & Frank 2008.}
Addressing Native American identity and advocacy on the international stage, though it occurs in the form of organizations such as the National Congress of American Indians,\footnote{18}{Riggs 2000.} does not appear as frequently as one might assume. Despite this marginalization on the international stage, with its definition resting upon organizational and doctrinal structures, the concept of Indianness had deeply rooted political implications and ramifications.

Social relations through treaties, federal law and marriage established the primary functions
of Indianness. The colonial, and later federal recognition of the Five Civilized Tribes was based
on the agreements forged between leaders, or perceived leaders of each respective nation and the
government in power.\footnote{19}{Higginbotham 1978.}
Primitive accumulation of capital, including land acquisition, was central to the establishment of capitalism and the American colonies. This was done by force, but also

\footnotesize{DOI: 10.13169/zanjglobsoutstud.3.1.0003}
by social relation. Proximity to Indianness through marriage often afforded European settlers diplomatic and economic ties with tribes. Controversies and misgivings aside, treaties such as the Treaty of Indian Springs in 1821, determined settlements and borders. The nature of these economically based relations rested upon the imposition and institutional acknowledgement of Indianness as social and technical relations of production. Conversely, intersecting demographics, such as Afro-Amerindian populations, were incorporated into the externally established concept of Blackness if said populations were unable to satisfy the political and organizational criteria necessary to exist within the externally established Native identity. This not only creates an understatement in the overlaps between Native and African American populations in the United States, but it also reinforces the respective political and economic vantage points as related to the mode of production.

According to political theorist Cedric Robinson, European economics have always contained an underlying racial element. This would underscore the development of the New World during European expansion and the centuries after, in which the United States eventually arose to economic and political prominence. Through his conceptualization of racial capitalism, the people groups integral to the mode of production were assigned identities in a manner similar to Robinson’s claim of European civilization, in which differences not only existed, but did so in opposition of each other. In turn, members of these seemingly antagonistic racial categories would desire to assume the role of the dominant bourgeois class. (Robinson, 2000) The ruling bourgeoisie, however, would ensure that the classifications are maintained as to sustain and propagate the political and economic organism that is Euro-American capitalism. In the Marxist school of thought, the proletariat would essentially overthrow this ruling class eventually establishing a new system void of capitalism; however, another plausible result could also occur which either could prolong the existing system or create a new one that does not necessarily place the society on the path toward socialism. A possible avenue to further explore this concept would be a so-called, “Montezuma Effect.”

The Montezuma Effect as theorized in this paper, is a model of regime change and regime persistence that incorporates social, economic, and political systems. This model rests upon the following four premises: (1) A regime can be replaced without fully destroying its underlying structures and norms; (2) The downfall of a regime can be brought on from within, but the new regime may not be subsequently governed by those same forces. (3) Elements of the previous system may remain and may also allow for maroon spaces; (4) Maroon spaces can recreate this cycle of regime change.

This concept is based on Spanish accounts of the fall of Aztec ruler known as Moctezuma II, whose name and historical depiction are used anecdotally and necessarily for their cultural or historical veracity. According to these accounts, Montezuma II’s welcoming of conquistador

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21 Ibid.
22 Higginbotham 1978.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Marx, Engels, and Dean 2017.
Hernan Cortes’ army eventually led the Aztec ruler to become a prisoner of the Spanish, and it was alleged he was later killed by a mob made up of his own citizenry.\textsuperscript{27} The lack of clarity surrounding the identities of those responsible for the death of the ruler,\textsuperscript{28} remains secondary to understanding of precipitous moments leading to his demise. Regardless of the identities of the perpetrators of the act, the series of events culminating in the depicted death of Montezuma and the overthrow of the Aztec empire by the Spanish may have been initiated through cultural practices and beliefs of Montezuma himself. The conquistadors operated within a maroon space within Aztec society. They had an identity separate from the dominant one, spoke a different language, and although they could observe and understand aspects of Aztec society, they were viewed as separate from it. This space was then utilized to form alliances with others already existing within these Aztec maroon spaces. Ultimately this led to an undermining and removal of the ruler and regime.

It was claimed that Montezuma II was driven to attempt befriending the Spaniards based on omens and the Spanish arrival coinciding with a sequence of natural and supernatural events.\textsuperscript{29} Subsequently the Spanish forces, unable to overtake the Aztec empire alone, allied with adjacent tribes that were politically and economically subjugated by the more dominant Aztecs. These allies only existed as such due to the nature of the prior system in place, the policies already enacted by Montezuma and the presentation by the Spanish of an alternative arrangement. Following Spanish conquest, cultural and economic components of the Aztec empire were not entirely erased, though many were severely altered or deemphasized.\textsuperscript{30} Economic commodities such as gold, obsidian and corn gained, lost or maintained value under colonial rule, depending on how the new regime sought to utilize them.\textsuperscript{31} This emphasizes the notion that a particular political and economic system can be thwarted from within, spearheaded by its own institutional practices and fundamentally transformed; however, vestiges of the former system remain. Some of these remnants of former systems are assigned value in the newly established regime; however, many may be overlooked entirely, existing within physical and mental maroon spaces.

Examples of maroon spaces span the history of the Americas from the onset of European colonialism to the present day. In relation to concepts of Indianness and Blackness, maroon spaces comprised of both African American and Native peoples exist in dual capacities, devalued spaces of remnant cultures, and incubators of social, political and economic upheaval. These spaces exist as either ideological formations, or physical locations existing in isolated conditions. It is also possible for both physical and mental maroon spaces to coexist, though they may do so independent of each other. Historical and contemporary maroon spaces, by their mere existence, pose a threat to capitalist enclaves, as do historical and contemporary assertions of identity that are introduced by marginalized groups themselves. Whether these acts are conducted knowingly or not, they present a potential destabilizing factor to American capitalist foundational structures by unraveling the foundational relationships of power and production within modern Euro-American society. Using the story of Montezuma II’s fall from power metaphorically, those residing in physical and mental maroon spaces can either embody the role of the welcomed Spanish, or the allied tribes rejecting

\textsuperscript{27} Sayre 2005.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{31} Smith 1987.
Aztec subjugation. This creates a potential for a Montezuma Effect to occur, in which a new world system, or simply a new player within the world system arises.

The knowledge-based Gramscian approach to regime change emphasizes that changes in regimes are not simply made at a political level, but that they derive from an interwoven fabric of social structures and relations. An individual or group plays a role in the act of regime change, but they are ultimately deemphasized in this approach. The individual ruler, based within a rational-actor configuration, is viewed as the guiding force of all social, political, and economic change; however, they can be cut out of the social fabric and replaced with patchwork from other systems, not unlike Catholicism assuming a substantial role in the religious practices of the Aztec people after colonization. The processes that created the regime can thereby be utilized to replace it.

Krasner defined regimes as “principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures” Regimes are often characterized solely from the perspective of individuals, groups, and organizations in a top-down structural capacity from which influence, wealth, and power flow. The Montezuma Effect reinforces a more dynamic flow in which a regime can essentially be undermined and changed through its own mechanisms in a top-down, bottom-up, or possibly lateral fashion. Regime persistence, in which aspects of the previous regime remain, can occur within this scenario. This leaves the threat of subsequent changes to the new social, economic and political system viable. The viability of this pervasive internal threat serves as a possible explanation for the visceral responses to physical and mental maroon spaces among African American and Native American populations.

In the United States, this internal threat from African American and Native Americans in particular, rests within their connections to modes of production. The Seminole Wars, the Indian Removal Act, the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, as well as responses to the 20th and 21st Century social movements led by African American and Native American activists, provide substantial evidence that when self-determining actions that may alter roles within the mode of production are conducted by these populations, the existing system responds in a defensive, self-preserving manner.

The Seminole tribe of present-day Florida and Southern Georgia had a unique history regarding maroon spaces and the external constructions of African American and Native American identity. The Second Seminole War and its outcomes were essentially the result of physical and maroon spaces among people who fell within the capacities of both Indianness and Blackness. These people rejected aspects of United States policy and posed a significant threat to the stability of the social and economic institution of slavery as well as the social and economic policies associated with Native American removal. The duality of the Seminole identity posed a unique and complex circumstance. The policy in relation to Indianness asserted that the Seminoles

32 Gill 1993.
33 Weeks 2006.
34 Keohane 1982.
35 Krasner 1982.
37 Porter, Amos, and Senter 1996.
should be removed from their settlements to designated land in the Oklahoma territory.\textsuperscript{39}

In the case of the Seminoles, a production force and the social and technical relations of production were asserting autonomy. In doing so, the tribe presented the potential for the establishment of a new system existing outside of the one established through United States policy. Within the domain of Blackness, with regard to the Seminole tribe, the political and economic policy suggested a commodification of certain Seminoles, and enslavement would result. Following the establishment of land in Mexico, the Seminoles, or Mascogos, were still in a state of combat with the far-reaching institutional policies of the United States, specifically slavery.\textsuperscript{40} Their presence in such physical and mental maroon spaces were threats to the United States political economy, simply by existing.

Virginia’s Racial Integrity Act of 1924, as well as other miscegenation laws in the United States, developed largely in response to the intermarriage and blended cultures of Native American and African American and European American people groups.\textsuperscript{41} The presence of blended Native American and African American communities provided a physical space in which people falling within both the Indianness and Blackness categories could define themselves in a manner that conflicted with the social, political and economic policies of the society at large.\textsuperscript{42} This would again provide an opportunity for physical and mental maroon spaces that could potentially jeopardize, or simply complicate, the mode of production.

Physical maroon spaces such as Atlanta, Georgia late 19th and early 20th century and Tulsa, Oklahoma’s Greenwood District, serve as examples of locales in which relative isolation provides the basis for potential subversion of the established political and economic system.\textsuperscript{43} In the case of Tulsa in the early 1920’s, it was openly professed by members of that African American community that there was a desire to accumulate wealth and maintain its circulation within the confines of that population.\textsuperscript{44} In Atlanta a pervasive notion that social mobility and acceptance in the White community would derive from economic prosperity.\textsuperscript{45} Although the populations in these, and demographically similar communities were merely participating in capitalism as seemingly deemed appropriate, they were often viewed as destabilizing forces, threatening White hegemony in the United States.

While it is accurate to claim that people residing in these locations were actively participating in the capitalist model, since they were identified as embodiments of the production force, they also represented a widespread migration outside of that designated role. The capitalist members outside of these modal forms of racial classification responded to this perceived foundational threat with extreme levels of violence. This alludes to a deeper reasoning behind the establishment of Blackness and the importance of this classification remaining a commodity.

The mid-20\textsuperscript{th} Century provides even more examples of maroon spaces complicating capitalism through perceptions of Blackness. Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King’s reliance upon

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Porter1996} Porter, Amos, and Senter 1996.
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid.
\bibitem{Smith2002} Smith 2002.
\bibitem{Brooks2002} Brooks 2002.
\bibitem{Messer2018} Messer, Shriver, and Adams 2018.
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
nonviolent civil disobedience\textsuperscript{46} was also characterized by a utilization of both maroon spaces and commodification of Blackness and the Black experience in the United States. Through the visual element provided by television, King subverted the commodity of Blackness and Black suffering, to wield it in a manner that aimed to proliferate the Civil Rights Movement and change perceptions of the United States abroad.\textsuperscript{47} In essence, the actions of King and other civil rights activists operated in a manner similar to the practice of exporting Blackness abroad with purposes of changing established orders.

Other civil rights advocates in the 20th Century, such as the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, provided mental and to some degree physical maroon spaces. The potential power of such maroon spaces did not appear lost on the organization’s leadership. Co-founder of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, Dr. Huey P. Newton, in his letter addressed to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, posited a point of view that inadvertently reflected methods employed by those he and his party resisted.\textsuperscript{48} Though Newton claimed he and his party represented a revolutionary vanguard that sought to ideologically perpetuate a progressive position, one in which statehood eventually withers away in a condition of statelessness,\textsuperscript{49} his claim harkened back to institutional practice. Through Newton’s words, again Blackness existed in the fore at the expense of understanding its contextualization. Ultimately Newton, and by proxy the party, mirrored the act of commodifying Blackness as perpetuated in the past by the United States and American colonial government. Newton’s letter serves as an example of a potential manifestation of the Montezuma Effect through the existence of mental maroon spaces. Newton uses the Black Panther Party’s ideological positions to present a vision of a new global order. Although not sailors performing minstrel shows, the commodification of Blackness in order to shape international policy and create a new political and economic order exists in much the same capacity.

The bond between the concept of Indianness and relations of production is present in the contemporary context as well, which suggests a longstanding trend in the United States of imposing and utilizing Indianness to advance or maintain Euro-American capitalism.\textsuperscript{50} The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) served as clear example of this notion. The Standing Rock Sioux tribe and the Cheyenne River Sioux tribes participated in a series of protests beginning in 2016 to end the construction of an oil pipeline through land deemed sacred.\textsuperscript{51} Through their federal recognition and political relationship to both the United States government and the land in question, these tribes represented an aspect of the social relations of production.\textsuperscript{52} These tribes through the concept of Indianness possessed some level of control over the means of production, in this situation land; however, the relation to production could easily be redefined by redefining the scope of Indianness. This means that tribal sovereignty, Native American political power and Native American control over the means of production are tied to how the Euro-American capitalist system defines Indianness and can always change. Ultimately the DAPL crisis served as an example

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{46} Fairclough 1986.
\bibitem{47} Ibid.
\bibitem{48} Stanford 2008.
\bibitem{49} Ibid.
\bibitem{50} Eid 2018.
\bibitem{51} Rome 2018.
\bibitem{52} Fine and Saad-Filho 2010.
\end{thebibliography}
of Indianness being redefined by the dominant system. Conflict then arose from Native American mental maroon spaces over what can be interpreted as Native American physical maroon space.

In terms of contemporary mental maroon spaces in relation to Blackness, the civil unrest associated with the Black Lives Matter movement functions as an additional example. The political and social activism of this movement marked an attempt to shape, or re-shape, social conditions as this particular association of individuals and organizations deems necessary. A number of critiques of this movement were largely institutional in nature. If this claim is valid, this would suggest that this was a response to Blackness existing within, or at least flirting with, mental maroon spaces.

Factors in each of these examples consisted of mental or physical maroon spaces. Ultimately these localities and states of mental being provided an opportunity for the foundational elements of Western capitalism, and international political economy to become autonomous and increasingly self-aware. Seizing control of the mode of production remains a central component in the Marxist push toward political and economic change. In the Western iteration of capitalism, in which the Euro-American constructs of Indianness and Blackness are synonymous with the modes of production, individuals and groups saddled with these constructs as identities already possess the modes of production. Through maroon spaces, these groups can develop a modicum of self-determination, which would be integral to wielding the mode of production in their favor. Not only do the metaphorical factories of Indianness and Blackness choose whether to continue to produce in this scenario, they can also decide what they produce and for whom they produce. It is in this context in which a revolution leading toward socialism eventually communism, or a possible Montezuma Effect, as posited in this paper, may occur.

Social constructions such as racism and racial categories naturalized the current world system. Just how this was accomplished, its reverberating effects on world systems, and how, more specifically, Native American and African American experiences in the United States were intertwined with these notions needs further critical analysis. The Euro-American world system based on modern capitalism is one in which Indianness and Blackness maintained particular primary roles in the formation of the United States’ political economy. Wallerstein suggested there exists an implication that these groups were excluded in the Euro-American system. On the contrary, the people and communities that were included in these Indian and Black categories were incorporated into this system from its inception. Though Wallerstein may have contended that the individuals and groups subjected to these classifications would assume an inferior standing, African American and Native American people groups played crucial roles in the stability and spread of Western capitalism. This emphasized their inclusion and importance within the system, despite existing in a marginalized state of being. This was further shaped through imposed and ever-conflicting states of inferiority and substantial systemic importance. Although racial capitalism and classifications designating both Indianness and Blackness affirmed this volatile system and state of being, much like the fall of Montezuma II began with his own decision and practices, the next era and its systems of domination may arise through the current system’s own actions.

55 Clayton 2018.
54 Marx, Engels, and Dean 2017.
55 Ibid.
56 Wallerstein, 2004
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