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Abstract

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In recent years, scholars like Morgan Adamson have investigated the way activists of colour in the sixties and seventies used of the theory of internal colonialism as a language for articulating racial realities. In doing so, Adamson and others have complicated the notion that use of the theory of internal colonialism represented a turn towards a cultural nationalist politics that was ill-equipped to navigate the heterogenous realities of the communities activists sought to represent. This thesis furthers our understanding of internal colonialism as a language for articulating racial realities by comparing and contrasting the way internal colonialisms was used by the Asian American and Chicanx movements in two movement-related papers. In doing so, this thesis showcases the malleability and expansiveness of internal colonialism as a lexicon for articulating minority difference and remedies both the lack of comparative research and the tendency to draw primarily on the experiences of black American activists. Despite differences in the material and cultural conditions of their respective communities, Asian American and Chicanx activists used internal colonialism to make sense of their own oppression and to position themselves within a larger, colonial, American context. In their use of the theory, Asian American and Chicanx activists were undeterred by internal differentiation with their respective communities along the lines of class or ethnicity. Instead, internal colonialism proved flexible enough that such differences could be incorporated within the framework and help inform the articulation of racial realities.

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Introduction

In 1968, black American activist Harold Cruse put forward the notion that black Americans made up a colonised people whose 'national boundaries' were made up out of skin colour, 'racial characteristics', and 'the social conditions within [their] subcultural world'.[1] In doing so, Cruse articulated the central thesis to a theory of colonisation increasingly popular among American activists of colour at that time.[2] This theory of internal colonisation posited that marginalised and racialised communities within the United States were, in fact, colonised populations whose material, cultural, and psychological conditions should be explained through a colonial lens. This, in turn, meant that resistance by such communities could be understood as existing within a greater context of anticolonial, revolutionary, activity. Though influential for a time, the theory of internal colonialism gradually lost salience to activists and has since been characterised by some scholars as a culturally nationalist theory that ignored or neglected differentiation within racialised communities, especially along lines of class or gender.[3]

This reading of internal colonisation fits a larger narrative that portrays the late sixties and early seventies as a period of decline for post-war activism. Student-led, militant, and race-focused, the activism of the latter half of the period known as the Long Sixties, the years between 1955 and 1975, is seen as a break with the activism that characterized the years between 1955 and 1965.[4] The social movements for social justice, peace and liberation that formed the primary social forces agitating for radical change during the Long Sixties are collectively known as the New Left.[5] Historiographical accounts of the New Left typically identify two periods, an early one centred on civil rights issues and a later period centred on the wars in Southeast Asia.[6] This division often carries with it the aforementioned narrative of success followed by decline, as a broad pluralistic movement set on achieving clear policy goals turned into fragmented and self-destructively militant movements plagued by cultural nationalism and self-oriented politics.[7]

The last few decades have seen an increase in scholarship that has sought to provide counternarratives to this historiography of decline.[8] These counternarratives emphasise the continuities that exist between the early civil rights movements and the movements that originated in the late sixties and early seventies. From its inception, these revisionist scholars argue, the New Left was a movement of many movements that always housed a large variety of viewpoints, goals, and strategies.[9] The organisations that made up the greater movements

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[1] Harold Cruse, *Rebellion or Revolution?* (Minneapolis, 1968), 78.
[2] Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York, 2015) 81; 91.
[3] See for example: Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 91-4; Ramón A. Gutiérrez, "Internal Colonialism: An American Theory of Race," *Du Bois Review* 1, no. 2 (2004) 290-3; 3; Linda Nicholson, *Identity Before Identity Politics* (Cambridge, 2009) 3-4; 5; Rychetta Watkins, *Black Power, Yellow Power, and the Making of Revolutionary Identities* (Jackson, 2012) 7; 35; Alex M. Saragoza, "Recent Chicano Historiography," in *The Chicano Studies Reader: An Anthology of Aztlán, 1970-2019*, ed. C.A. Noriega et al. (Los Angeles, 2020) 78.
[4] Jeremy Varon, Michael S. Foley and John McMillian, "Time is an ocean: the past and future of the Sixties," *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics and Culture* 1, no. 1 (2008) 1-7, 1.
[5] Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History* (New York, 2005) 2.
[6] Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (London, 2006) 15.
[7] Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 174; Nicholson, *Identity Before Identity Politics*, 4.
[8] Van Gosse, "A Movement of Movements: The Definition and Periodization of the New Left," in *A Companion to Post-1945 America*, ed. Jean-Christophe Agnew and Roy Rosenzweig (Oxford, 2006) 277.
[9] Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 292; Larry Isaac, "Movement of Movements: Culture Moves in the Long Civil Rights Struggle," *Social Forces* 87, no. 1 (2008) 46.

expressed differences and evolved in accordance with their differing and changing circumstances.[10] Alongside this broader revaluation of the later period of the Long Sixties, there has been a renewed interest in exploring how the theory of internal colonialism functioned as a method for explaining the conditions within which American activists of colour found themselves. In 1996, for example, scholar of black cultural studies Mae Henderson questioned how the 'paradigm' of internal colonialism could be used as a 'model for studying dominant structures of power'.[11] In 2012, Rychetta Watkins, in part influenced by Henderson, investigated the way black American and Asian American activists used internal colonialism 'to explain the sociocultural legacies of American-style colonialism', how it opened up space for international and cross-racial solidarity, and how it informed an 'ideology of revolutionary ethnic nationalism'.[12] More recently, Salar Mohandesi also explored how internal colonialism bred a new kind of internationalism among American activists.[13]

Though the examples of recent scholarship on internal colonialism have moved beyond the characterisation of narrow-minded cultural nationalism, not enough has been done to compare and contrast how the theory of internal colonialism was deployed differently between various activist groups, in accordance with differences in the material conditions of the various movements that made up the New Left. For example, in his article 'Internal Colony as Political Perspective', Morgan Adamson persuasively argues that internal colonialism functioned as a political perspective and tool for describing 'existing racial realities' and 'establishing new political subjects and alliances'.[14] Internal colonialism, Adamson argues, formed the lexicon for articulating 'minority difference', the defining of identity and social practice.[15] Throughout the article, however, Adamson solely draws on the black American experience to illustrate his thesis. In doing so, he fails to examine the full breadth of internal colonialism as the language used by activists of colour to articulate a variety of realities during the Long Sixties.

This thesis sets out to explore how the theory of internal colonialism could be used by activists of colour despite differences in the material, social and cultural conditions, and to what degree the theory was equipped to deal with the differentiation within minority communities. It will do so by examining two movement papers for the way they deployed the theory of internal colonialism. New Left movements played important roles as the producers of culture and movers of a society's social fabric. These roles have not received the same scholarly attention as the material aspects of movement infrastructure like organisation and economic resources.[16] The social ideas disseminated by movement literature are paramount, however, in understanding the how and why of movement social formations. By examining how movement literature articulated new subjectivities and described racial realities we can better understand how internal colonialism informed movement activity. This thesis hopes to illustrate what Adamson calls the malleability of internal colonialism's theoretical framework by comparing the way the theory was used in two movement papers, each associated with a different movement within the New Left.[16]

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[10] Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air*, 15-6.
[11] Mae G. Henderson, "Where, by the Way, Is This Train Going?': A Case for Black (Cultural) Studies," Callaloo 19, no. 1. (1996) 63.
[12] Watkins, *Black Power, Yellow Power*, 7.
[13] Salar Mohandesi, *Red Internationalism: Anti-Imperialism and Human Rights in the Global Sixties and Seventies* (Cambridge, 2023) 111-4.
[14] Morgan Adamson, "Internal Colony as Political Perspective," *Cultural Politics* 15, no. 3 (2019) 348.
[15] Adamson, "Internal Colony as Political Perspective," 347.
[16] Adamson, "Internal Colony as Political Perspective," 347.

The Asian American and the Mexican American, or Chicanx[17], movements both originated in the late sixties, around the same time that Howard Cruse succinctly described the essence of the theory of internal colonialism. The Asian American movement and the paper most associated with it, entitled *Gidra: The Asian American Monthly* (hereafter: *Gidra*), grew directly out of protests at Californian universities in 1968, the same year that Cruse published his book *Rebellion or Revolution?*.[18] That year also saw the publication of the first-ever issue of *El Grito del Norte* (hereafter: *El Grito*), a Chicanx paper published by activists from New Mexico.[19] Both the Asian American and Chicanx movements were made up of a variety of organisations that were spread out across parts of the United States, though both movements were most concentrated in the Southwest of the country. Neither movement was characterized by a torch-bearing organisation, akin to the Black Panther Party and their role in the black liberation movement during the latter half of the Long Sixties. Movement papers like *Gidra* and *El Grito* played an important role, then, in providing the Asian American and Chicanx movements platforms for the diffusion of movement ideas respectively.[20] Both *Gidra* and *El* Grito ran alongside their respective movements, for a five-year and a nearly six-year run respectively. In both papers the idea that their respective constituents amounted to internally colonised people was forwarded, discussed and debated. Both movements involve racial groups that do not fit neatly into America's classical black-and-white racial hierarchy. Both movements also serviced populations with differences in class composition. Through an analysis of both *Gidra* and *El Grito*, this thesis hopes to discover how Asian American and Chicanx activists imagined their internally colonised nations, how they positioned those nations within a larger colonial context, and explore what facilitates the promulgation of those ideas and what inhibited it. In doing so, the breadth of internal colonialism as a language for expressing the specificities of racial realities can be traced.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

This chapter will survey the historiography of the American New left and discuss the similarities in overall trajectories of the scholarship on both Asian American movements and Chicanx movements by giving a brief overview of both.

New Left

This thesis draws on the work of scholars like Van Gosse and Salar Mohandesi, who take a broad view of the New Left. According to Gosse, Mohandesi, and others, the New Left can best be seen as a large and multifaceted 'totality of [...] overlapping social movements for radical democracy and social justice in the post-1945 era'.[21] The decades after the second World War saw the development of a radical politics that, across the North Atlantic, sought to fundamentally

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[17] In decades prior, the term Chicano was used to refer to the Mexican American movement that arose during the sixties. Recently, however, this term is often replaced with the term Chicanx to highlight the fact that the movement has always included a variety of genders. This thesis will use Chicanx in all cases except quotations.

[18] Harvey Dong, "Third World Liberation comes to San Francisco State College and UC Berkeley," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 15 (2009) 98; Karen L. Ishizuka, *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties* (London and New York, 2016) 17.

[19] Anonymous, "To Our Readers," El Grito del Norte 1, no. 1 (1968) X. 1.

[20] Dennis López, "'El Grito del Norte', Chicana/o Print Culture, and the Politics of Anti-Imperialism," *Science & Society* 79, no. 4 (2015) 537-8; Watkins, *Black Power, Yellow Power*, 35.

[21] Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 277.

change the system and that considered the conditions ripe for such a change.[22] Those radical politics found their expression in the proliferation of social movements, defined as 'a collective, organized, sustained, and noninstitutional challenge to authorities, power holders, or cultural beliefs and practices'.[23] Though this definition of the New Left encompasses all of the movements that arose in the United States and Europe during the first three decades that followed the second World War, this thesis will focus exclusively on the New Left as it existed in the United states.

Just as the term New Left can be defined in a myriad of ways, so too do views on what constitute the American New Left differ. Scholars primarily disagree to what extent the various social movements of post-1945 period constitute a singular 'New Left'.[24] Contemporaneous writing on the movements of the period recognized the interconnectedness and shared radical politics of the social movements that arose alongside and following the Civil Rights movement.[25] As those movements imploded or otherwise receded from the political arena during the 1970s, however, the mainstream and academic conception of the New Left began to narrow. The 1980s saw activists-turned-academics like Todd Gitlin and Maurice Isserman put their experiences into writing and transform the New left into being synonymous with the Students for a Democratic Society, SDS. The SDS was a social movement primarily made up of white student-activists that were greatly inspired by former communist leftists from Britain and their attempts at formulating a new, less Soviet-dependent, radical politics.[26] According to this SDS-centered narrative, the SDS arose alongside the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a student-activist organization aimed at mobilizing black Americans in the struggle for civil rights, in 1960. The SDS alone formed the New Left in this view, existing alongside the other radical causes that arose during the period like the movements for women's rights and gay rights, and for the rights of various racial groups.[27] The end of the New Left, according to scholars adhering to this narrative, corresponds to the implosion of the SDS in 1969-1970.[28]

The 1990s saw the emergence of several critiques of the SDS-centred New Left narrative. Historians like Alice Echols, Van Gosse, and Wini Breines questioned whether the SDS, as championed by historians that had been a part of it, truly captured the radicalisms of the Long Sixties and the ways in which they intersected and -connected.[29] An influx of scholarship on the various racial movements of the period further eroded a New Left conception that focused on the rise and fall of the SDS. Most developed of these are the histories on the various black movements that existed between 1955 and 1975. While these histories were first described in the 1980s, the 90s saw increased attention on Black Power movements like the Black Panther Party.[30] Though the scholarship on other racial movements is not yet as developed, scholarship on other such movements did take flight during the 90s.

Part of the reason this broadening of the definition of the New Left has been important is that it has allowed scholarship on the New Left and the Long Sixties to take a more nuanced and inclusionary approach to comparative analysis of the period and its movements. Doing so

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[22] Mohandesi, *Red Internationalism*, 57.
[23] Isaac, "Movement of Movements," 34.
[24] Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 278
[25] Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 279.
[26] Daniel Geary, "'Becoming International Again': C. Wright Mills and the Emergence of a Global New Left, 1956–1962," *The Journal of American history* 95, no. 3 (2008) 710.
[27] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 5.
[28] Geary, "Becoming International Again," 710
[29] Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 282-3.
[30] Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 284-6.

makes for a deeper understanding of the radicalisms that arose at the time and how those radicalisms developed.[31] By doing away with a narrative that privileges the lens of white middle-class students and instead including the myriad of movements of the period, our understanding of the New Left can transcend myopic analyses that overemphasize one issue or vector of change.[32] It has also made possible the incorporation of seminal protests and movements from after the implosion of the SDS into the narrative of the New Left. As Van Gosse, Cynthia A. Young and others have argued, some of the largest protest of the Long Sixties occurred after the SDS had imploded. The nation-wide protests against Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and movements like the New Communist Movement, which sought to synthesize various movements into a larger, more organized, front, came into being in 1970 and beyond.[33]

The Asian American and Chicanx movements

Both the Asian American and the Chicanx movements emerged during the latter half of the Long Sixties and are thus part of the 'bad sixties'. Both movements centred on questions of racial identity and linked those questions to the United States' foreign policy, articulating visions of a common 'Third World' community that stood in opposition to the US' imperialist wars.[34] It is no surprise then, that to some scholars the Asian American and Chicanx movements exemplify the move to nationalist politics that is supposed to characterize the 'bad sixties'. According to some, the Chicanx movement was a movement whose politics amounted to a reactionary cultural nationalism that led to insularity and prevented the movement of actually effecting change.[35] And in their seminal book on race, *Racial Formation in the United States,* scholars Michael Omi and Howard Winant determine that the Asian American movement engaged in an insular culturally nationalist politics that lead to infighting and antagonisms instead of cooperation and solidarity.[36]

The Asian American and Chicanx movements, then, exist within a similar space in the larger discourse on the New Left and the activism of the Long Sixties, emerging at a similar time and engaging in a race-focused politics. Another commonality between the two is that they both exist on the margins of the US's black-white dichotomy, complicating the notion of the US as a bi-racial society.[37] This notion has meant that the black and white lead movements of the New Left have seen the most attention in academia.[38] Though, both the Asian American and the Chicanx movements have seen many improvements in the amount of studies published on them since the 1990s, these studies have mainly been sequestered into their own niches.[39] This has also led to certain similarities in how these historiographies that exist mainly within their own respective ethnic studies departments have developed ever since.

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[31] Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 284
[32] Cynthia A. Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left* (Durham, 2006) 6.
[33] Young, *Soul Power*, 6; Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 289; Doug Rossinow, "The New Left: The American Impress," in *Reframing 1969: American Politics, Protest and Identity*, ed. Martin Halliwell and Nick Witham (Edinburg, 2022) 23.
[34] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 134; López, "Chicana/o Print Culture", 529.
[35] Jorge Mariscal, "Left Turns in the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975," *Monthly Review* 54, no. 3 (2002) 59
[36] Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 178-9.
[37] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 132; George Mariscal, *Aztlán and Viet Nam: Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the war* (Berkeley, 1999) 3.
[38] Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 133.
[39] Gosse, "A Movement of Movements," 284-6.

The Asian American movement

In comparison to the other social movements and forms of activism taking place during the same time period, the Asian American movement has not received similar levels of scholarship.[40] The narrow field of Asian American studies, a product of Asian American movement, has primarily been the home of research into Asian American activism.[41] According to Diane Fujino the relative obscurity of Asian American activism in academia is the result of a US racial logic that works to reduce Asian Americans to a model minority, fitting neatly within a neoliberal framework that favours non-resistance, and an academic bias that has historically privileged the early Civil Rights and New Left movements of the late fifties and early sixties, and characterized the period following on those developments as one of decline, militancy and nationalism.[42]

The first scholarly overview of the Asian American movement was published in 1993. In his book *The Asian American Movement* historian William Wei argued that the movement was largely middle-class and reformist, an argument that did not sit well with many of the scholars who would follow him.[43] Many of these scholars had themselves been active in the Asian American movement. These activist-turned-scholars have been a driving force in Asian American Studies since the turn of the century but Fujino concluded that, in 2008, a 'systematic and rigorous area of social movement research ha[d] not been developed'.[44] According to Fujino the scholarship that followed Wei's overview tended to emphasize the radical politics of the Asian American movement, so as to refute Wei's reformist interpretation.[45] This desire to refute Wei's thesis might be a consequence of the large amount of former activists active in the field. There has been, for example, a large influx of autobiographical works in the study of the Asian American movement.[46] Fujino, then, noted a lack of critical analysis.[47] As such, there are still many disagreements about the actual nature of the Asian American movement.

Despite the shift towards a more radical interpretation of the movement, scholars still disagree, for example, on the success or failures of the movement both organisationally and in the uniformity of its politics.[48] Such disagreements should be considered in light of the invisibility of the Asian American movement, both popularly and academically. On the topic of how the Asian American movement declined in size and activity, and turned invisible, disagreements are also to be found. To many, the Asian American movement saw a rapid decline during the late seventies. As the Vietnam War came to an end, the US saw the arrival of many anti-communist Vietnamese refugees. Both the arrival of these refugees and the end of the war itself are fingered as largely responsible for declining Asian American movement in the period.[49] Other factors often mentioned are sectarianism and infighting.[50] Sectarianism alongside a shift in focus towards party building over mass-organising and community-based service saw the

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[40] Diane C. Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement: A Historiographical Analysis," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 11, no. 2 (2008) 129.
[41] Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement", 142.
[42] Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement", 129.
[43] Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement", 129; Karen L. Ishizuka, "Gidra, the Dissident Press and the Asian American Movement: 1969 – 1974," (Phd. Diss., University of California, 2015) 13.
[44] Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement", 130.
[45] Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement", 149-150.
[46] Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement", 149-150.
[47]Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement",149-150.
[48] Lori Kido Lopez, "The Yellow Press: Asian American Radicalism and Conflict in *Gidra*," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 35, no. 3 (2011) 238.
[49] Ishizuka, "Gidra, the Dissident Press", 80-81.
[50] Ishizuka, *Serve the People*, 168.

creation of more specific and professional organisations.[51] Some argue, however, that the seventies were not a period of decline for the movement. Fujino argues that certain radical elements within the Asian American movement took part throughout the seventies and eighties in several, often multinational, communist movements.[52]

In the thirteen years since the publication of Fujino's historiographical overview there have been many improvements in the study of the Asian American movement. Some of these improvements have occurred in the areas considered lacking according to Fujino in 2008. There has been an increase in comparative works that engage with the relationships between the Asian American movement and black movements, for example.[53] Despite these improvements, however, there is still a lack of research into the politics of the movement or its relationship to other, non-black, racial movements during the Long Sixties.

The Chicanx movement

Like scholarship on the Asian American movement, the Chicanx movement has become more developed in recent decades, having seen more studies after the 1990s, and has attracted a large base of scholars who were themselves involved as activists in the movement. This has also led, however, to a field that can be insular and that can exhibit some blind spots with regards to the movement and its history.

The field of Chicanx history emerged alongside the Chicanx movement which ignited a need for self-knowledge.[54] Starting in the early 70s, scholars like Juan Gómez-Quiñones and Rodolfo Acuña formulated new perspectives on the history of Mexican Americans, or Chicanx, and the ways in which this history could explain the present conjuncture the movement was situated in.[55] These scholars were in part responding to a greater need for historical grounding that had grown because of a rising Mexican American student population.[56] These historians were also part of a larger movement during this period towards new approaches to social history. Animated by the same social tendencies that had animated the New Left, historians began adopting bottom-up approaches to telling the nation's history. These approaches very much suited the needs of movement-adjacent or -inspired scholars of Chicanx history.[57]

While these historians touched on the ways in which historical developments had put in place the necessary conditions for the emergence of a Chicanx movement, the movement itself did not often make for their main subject matter. Gómez-Quiñones' *Mexican students por la raza: the Chicano student movement in southern California, 1967-1977*, published in 1978, forms one of the few exceptions to this fact, alongside some autobiographies published by movement figureheads.[58] Chicanx studies spawned from the namesake movement and was

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[51] Ishizuka, "Gidra, the Dissident Press", 81.
[52] Fujino, "Who Studies the Asian American Movement", 137.
[53] For examples see: Aaron Byungjoo Bae, 'The Struggle for Freedom, Justice, and Equality Transcends Racial and National Boundaries', *Pacific Historical Review* 86:4 (2017) 691–722, Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, 'Yellow Power: The Formation of Asian-American Nationalism in the Age of Black Power, 1966-1975', *Souls* 3:3 (2020) 29-38, and Laura Pulido, *Black, brown, yellow, and left: radical activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley 2006).
[54] Ernesto Chávez, "Chicano/a History: Its Origins, Purpose, and Future'," *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (2013) 507.
[55] Chávez, "Chicano/a History," 507-8.
[56] Rodolfo F. Acuna, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe*, (New Brunswick, 2011) 36, 42.
[57] Saragoza, "Recent Chicano Historiography," 76.
[58] Mario T. García and Sal Castro, *Blowout! Sal Castro and the Chicano struggle for educational justice* (Chapel Hill, 2011) 325-6.

therefore first mostly an attempt at centring the histories and realities of the community. It was during the 1990s that the movement itself increasingly became the subject of study. It was during the start of that decade that works like Carlos Munos Jr.' *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* and Ignacia M. Garcia's *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos among Mexican Americans* began to appear to shed light on the cultural, political and social realities of the Chicanx movement.

In a 2001 reissue of his overview of Chicanx historiography, however, historian and Chicanx scholar Alex Saragoza still identified a few glaring gaps and problems with regard to the study of Chicanx and the Chicanx movement. According to Saragoza, the most glaring issue were the few new scholars who entered the field, leading to an insular and derivative field whose interests are limited in scope.[59] So Saragoza asserted in 2001 that there were still gaps in the 'gender, labor, social and cultural history' of the Chicanx people and movement.[60] With regards to class, especially, Saragoza identified the need for a more in-depth and nuanced analysis of the social differentiation within the Chicanx community and a move away from simplistic explanations that hinge on the antagonism between working class and middle class Chicanx.[61]

In the years since Saragoza's assessment of Chicanx historiography the field has seen a lot of development. As historian Marc S. Rodriguez described in a similar overview done in 2019, Chicanx studies has seen more historians writing 'with an eye to the larger themes and questions of U.S. history and intentionally sought to place their work within the broader historiography of U.S. national and transnational history'.[62] Comparative scholarship like Laura Pulido's *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left* has sought to place the Chicanx activism in Los Angeles in context with other race-based activism in that city. The recently published *Rewriting the Chicano Movement*, meanwhile, features a variety of essays that complicate the notion of a singular Chicanx movement, while Juan Herrera's *Cartographic Memory* aims to trace the spatial dimensions and explore spatial meanings of the Chicanx movement in the neighbourhood of Fruitvale, Oakland. Still, Rodriguez describes the continued presence of a suspicion towards the middle class in Chicanx historiography. It is only in the last few years that scholars have begun to dismantle the traditional views of the Chicanx movement and have turned their attention to the complexities of class differentiation and social mobility. A willingness to question to extent to which the activists of the latter half of the Long Sixties were radical has accompanied the aforementioned development.[63]

Chapter 2: Theoretical context and methodology

Methodology

Examination of the historiographies of the New Left in general and the Asian American and Chicanx movements specifically, identifies a common need for more comparative analysis and for a more nuanced look at both the role of identity politics in the race-based movements of the latter half of the Long Sixties and the ways in which anticolonial thought played a role in movement politics. This thesis seeks to answer those needs by doing a comparative analysis of

[59] Saragoza, "Recent Chicano Historiography," 75.
[60] Saragoza, "Recent Chicano Historiography," 75.
[61] Saragoza, "Recent Chicano Historiography," 75, 87-9, 92.
[62] Marc Simon Rodriguez, "Chicanx History as U.S. History: Pushing the Boundaries of the Field," *Reviews in American History* 47, no. 2 (2019) 297
[63] Rodriguez, "Chicanx History as U.S. History," 305-6.

movement papers associated with the Asian American and Chicanx movements respectively. Howard Cruse's aforementioned notion of boundaries made out of skin colour, 'racial characteristics', and the conditions of one's subcultural world provides the basis for that comparison. This thesis will compare the way internal colonialism helped activists articulate and position their communities within a wider colonial context by equipping them with the necessary language. Through a literary-critical analysis focused on articulations, this thesis hopes to draw out the latent structures of meaning in these texts and the assumptions these texts made of their readers.[64] Looking for the ways in which identity and social formation are articulated in the texts allows us to engage with the text and its meaning in a structured and theorized manner. Articulations are new unities made out of separate elements; it is the 'production of identity on top of difference, of unities out of fragments of structures across practices'.[19]

To properly analyse the articulations found in *El Grito* and *Gidra* it is important to first understand the social and cultural worlds these papers inhabited. This chapter will therefore be devoted to expounding on those social and cultural worlds by exploring internal colonialism as a theory. This will provide the theoretical context that will inform the literary-critical analysis that follows. A full analysis of every issue published by these two papers published during their five-year (*Gidra*) and nearly six-year (*El Grito*) runs is not feasible but a 'long preliminary soak' in both the content and the social and cultural world of these papers allows for the selection of representative articles. In order to understand the ways in which the pages of *Gidra* and *El Grito* were used to articulate new revolutionary national identities, however, it is important to understand how the activists of the Asian American and Chicanx movements thought of both race and nationhood. To comprehend the language deployed for the purposes of nationhood creation, one needs to know the source of that language. Activists of colour in the late sixties and early seventies were steeped in a myriad of leftist ideologies and theories, inspired by the revolutionary activity in countries like Cuba, China, and Vietnam. Most prominent among these ideologies, and especially powerful with regards to understanding the societal position of racialized communities in the United States, was the theory of internal colonialism.[65]

Internal colonialism

The theory of internal colonialism has held multiple meanings, including to the activists of the late sixties and early seventies. It could be a metaphor, an invocation of colonial existence meant to superficially clarify the material reality of racialized peoples in the United States.[66] It could also be a powerful explanation for the 'territorial concentration, spatial segregation, external administration, the disparity between their legal citizenship and de facto second-class standing, their brutalization by the police, and the toxic effects of racism in their lives'.[67] Regardless of the way it was employed, it always centred around the idea that within the United States their existed colonised communities, nations within a nation, whose members where the victim of an oppressive system to which they were fundamentally external. This belief, then, included the notion that a colonised existence necessitated a form of resistance that was akin to the revolutionary anticolonial struggles waged in the colonised countries of Asia, Africa and

[64] Stuart Hall, "Introduction to Paper Voices," in *Writings on Media: History of the Present*, ed. Charlotte Brunsdon (London, 2021) 145-6.
[65] Adamson, "Internal Colony as Political Perspective," 345; Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism During the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca, 2013) 223; Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 81, 91.
[66] Gutiérrez, "Internal Colonialism," 287.
[67] Gutiérrez, "Internal Colonialism," 282.

South America.

The theory of internal colonialism knows various possible origin stories. According to some scholars, the theory emerged out of 'Lenin's critique of imperialism and his contestation that "Southern blacks should be considered an 'oppressed nation"', also known as the Black Belt nation thesis.[68] Others, instead, point towards the dependency theorists of Latin America as the originators of the theory of internal colonialism. Dependency theorists hoped to explain the economic underdevelopment of the Third World by describing the economic dimension of relations between the nations of the world. Internal colonialism, then, was used to describe the economic dimension of relations between different groups within the same nation. R. A. Gutíerrez points towards Mexican sociologist Pablo González Casanova as the one to first use the term in reference to the relations between the dominant Mexican mestizo class and the subordinated indigenous population.[69]

Regardless of where one places the origin point of the theory itself, scholars agree that it entered the American political arena through the adoption of the theory by young black activists disillusioned by the limits of the reformist politics of the civil rights movement, limits that had become increasingly clear by the mid-sixties.[70] Black activists like Stokely Carmichael, who would go on to change his name to Kwame Ture, and Harold Cruse made use of internal colonialism to characterize the relationship between white America and black America. In their book *Black Power*, Carmichael and his associate Charles V. Hamilton claimed that the only way to achieve true liberation was to imagine 'Black Power as a global liberation movement of the colonized'.[71] As Cruse put it, black Americans made up a colonised people whose 'national boundaries are the color of his skin, his racial characteristics and the social conditions within his subcultural world'.[72] The theory of internal colonisation as articulated by black activists in the mid-sixties was strongly influenced by the works of Frantz Fanon and his idea of a global collective of colonised revolutionaries.[73] By drawing on 'Fanon's critique of colonialism and his expositions on the pervasive cultural and psychic damage produced by colonialism', the activists of the sixties and seventies used internal colonialism to describe more than just the economic dimension between dominant and subordinated populations within a shared nation.[74] Internal colonialism became the way to explain the material, cultural and psychological conditions of racialised individuals and communities, and became the vehicle for explaining how to resist and revolutionize those conditions on all the aforementioned dimensions.[75]

Though black activists were the first to make use of it, other activists of colour quickly adopted internal colonialism as an explanatory theory and method for articulating nationhood as well. Asian American, Latin American and Indigenous activists all made use of the theory by the late sixties. The black activists who introduced the term to the American left's lexicon had done so under the banner of Black Power. The activists of colour that followed would do so by uniting under Yellow, Brown and Red power.[76] Just as with black activists, Asian American and Chicanx activists made us of internal colonialism to understand their position in American

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[68] Adamson, "Internal Colony as Political Perspective," 347
[69] Gutiérrez, "Internal Colonialism," 284, 286.
[70] Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 81; Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left*, 114.
[71] Gutiérrez, "Internal Colonialism," 287.
[72] Cruse, *Rebellion or Revolution?*, 78.
[73] Samantha Christianson and Zachary A. Scarlett, *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York, 2013) 28.
[74] Watkins, *Black Power, Yellow Power*, 40.
[75] Watkins, *Black Power, Yellow Power*, 45.
[76] Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 81; 91.

society and to fight for 'territorial autonomy, self-determination, community control, an end to racism'.[77] As Rychetta Watkins explained in her study on the Black and Yellow Power movements, internal colonialism and the revolutionary nationalism it espoused symbolised 'both a revolutionary ideology and a new social consciousness'.[78] To go back to the description by Harold Cruse, internal colonialism provided a way to make sense of and to build upon the material conditions arising out of a racialised existence.

Understanding internal colonialism as a theory and what it meant to the Asian American and Chicanx activists of the late sixties and early seventies, allows for the analysis of *El Grito* and *Gidra* and the exploration of the ways in which internal colonialism was used to create a sense of unified nationhood. It also allows for the exploration of how class played a role in influencing the way internal colonialism could be deployed. Internal colonialism as used by activists of colour in the United States was tied closely to the revolutionary struggles in Third World countries like Cuba, China and Vietnam, where the revolutions were led by communist parties. As such, Marxism, especially a Third Worldist Marxism, was of great importance to many on the American left.[79] The internal colonialist perspective relied heavily on Marxist explanations of economic dispossession and oppression, offering a tool for analysis that 'affirmed and substantiated class analysis'.[80] Embedded in the theory of internal colonialism was an understanding of the various ways class played a role in anticolonial struggle. In his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon argues that unity of the Third World requires the colonised people to accept the command of the peasant class.[81] Intellectuals and others who have the means to arm themselves with the knowledge of revolutionary principles and who, therefore, also have the means to enter middle class existence need to ally themselves with the peasants, so claims Fanon. Otherwise, the middle class would simply transfer the inequalities of the colonial period to their own hands.[82] Another great anticolonial thinker of the period, Amilcar Cabral, went as far as to call for the middle class to commit 'class suicide' and forego their own class interests.[83] American activists like Cruse further refined those aspects of the internal colonialism theory for the American context. Cruse notes that '[t]here are class divisions among Negroes, and it is misleading to maintain that the interests of the Negro working and middle classes are identical'.[84] Because, as Cruse puts it, 'no unity of interests exists' between the black middle and working classes, Cruse contends that the black middle class has played a 'continually regressive "non-national" role" in black affairs.[85] By exploring the ways in which internal colonialism was used in *Gidra* and *El Grito* this thesis hopes to discover the what extent it could be used a language by Asian American and Chicanx activists to articulate and contend with class differences in their own communities and made possible the articulation of a new sense of nationhood.

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[77] Gutiérrez, "Internal Colonialism," 291, 293.
[78] Watkins, *Black Power, Yellow Power*, 55.
[79] Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air*, 41.
[80] Ruodi Duan, "Solidarity in Three Acts: Narrating US black freedom movements in China, 1961-66," *Modern Asian Studies* 53, no. 5 (2019) 1355.
[81] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, 1963)11.
[82] Fanon, *Wretched*,152, 175.
[83] Elda Maria Roman*, Race and Upward Mobility: Seeking, Gatekeeping, and Other Class Strategies in Postwar America* (Redwood City, 2017) 67-8.
[84] Cruse, *Rebellion or Revolution?*, 89.
[85] Cruse, *Rebellion or Revolution?*, 90.

Chapter 3: Making the nation

In the next chapter, this thesis will draw on the entire run of both papers so as to discern the way internal colonialism was used to articulate a new sense of community and identity. In accordance to the needs of its audience, *El Grito* featured articles in both English and in Spanish. A majority of its articles were in English, however, and it is these articles that will form the basis for analysis.

As mentioned, according to Cruse the national boundaries of an internally colonised population were formed by skin colour, racial characteristics, and the social conditions of one's subcultural world. Writing in 1968, the same year that *El Grito* was founded and the Third World Liberation Front strikes kicked off the process that would lead to the founding of *Gidra*, Cruse was drawing from the same wellspring of ideas as many other activists, black, Asian, Chicanx and otherwise, at the time. The Chicanx activist Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzalez, for example, is quoted in *El Grito* calling the Chicanx people of New Mexico a colonised nation. As Gonzalez put it:

> *'This is a colonized state – Texans come in here and take out the timber. Our sweat is paying for all these businesses – we must take our share. And if we are not allowed to take our share, then we must become a nation within a nation. We need to take over our communities, de-annexate them."*[86]

In *Gidra*, likewise, activists argued that Asian Americans made up a colonised nation within a nation. One that required the development of an oppositional politics capable of achieving liberation. As the article 'Asian Nation' in the 30th issue of *Gidra* puts forward:

'*[T]he idea is a simple one: to build a power base as Asians – culturally, geo-politically, economically, and as it becomes necessary, militarily. This base we build must be broad in scope, touching all levels of our social existence, so that we can grow, together towards forging our own nation right here in Amerika'*.[87]

This chapter will proceed with an analysis of *El Grito* and *Gidra* on the way internal colonialism was used in defining their respective communities.

This Land Is Our Land

'Our struggle begins with La Tierra', so reads a title on one of the first pages of *El Grito's* final issue, where it looks back on the paper's own run and on the Chicanx movement as a whole. Underneath that title, the paper lays out in a single paragraph what La Tierra, i.e. the land, meant to the Chicanx movement:

> *'"La tierra es nuestra madra" – the land is our mother, life itself. It provides our food and much more. Over 400 years ago, Raza had roots in the land now called the U.S. […] For us, as for los Indios, the land wasn't "real estate" – something to buy and sell, own and exploit. It was nuestra madre and our homeland, that place of origin that today we call AZTLAN.'*[88]

These lines describe in essence the national boundaries of the Chicanx population, La Raza, as defined by the Chicanx movement. At its core, the Chicanx movement argued that it spoke for a community whose ties to the land of the American Southwest were second only to those of the Native American community, los Indios. The Chicanx movement described the community it

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[86]Anonymous, "All-Raza Conference Held Here", *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 16 (1969), 5.
[87] Anonymous, "Asian Nation," *Gidra* 3, no. 12 (1971) 18.
[88]Anonymous, "Our struggle begins with La Tierra," *El Grito Del Norte* 6, no. 4 (1973) 3.

was a part of as one of mixture: the offspring of Spanish colonialists and Native Americans. This community, or La Raza, were bound together by a long history with the land itself, a history of communal land usage and a traditional way of life. Land, then, functions as the source from which all the elements of a nation that Cruse described in his book *Rebellion or Revolution?* (skin colour, racial characteristics and social conditions) arise. In order to understand the way the Chicanx movement understood the community it tried to represent as a colonised nation it is necessary to consider the ways in which it used land as a common denominator.

La Raza, the term used by the Chicanx movement, denotes a people born of the Spanish colonisation of the Americas. In the article 'Our Land and Our Culture', the lineage of the people making up La Raza is explained as follows:

'Ever since King Fernando of Spain passed the law on October 29 of the year 1514, which allowed Spaniards and Indians to intermarry, we have been a mixed race and culture'.[89]

The article highlights how the culture of 'our people' is the distinct product of the mixture of Spanish and Native American cultures. Like the wheat tortilla, which combines a Spanish-brought ingredient with a native-born recipe, Chicanx culture more broadly represents the introduction of Spanish elements into the native culture of the Southwest of North America. The term Indo-Hispano is used alongside the term Chicano to illustrate this complicated heritage, one born of the violent colonisation of one ancestor by another.[90] In an article published during the 2nd year of the paper, the colonisation that sits at the base of the Chicanx heritage is described as the founding of one civilization atop the ruins of another:

'The conquest of Mexico was no conquest at all. It shattered our ancient Indian universe, but more of it was left above ground than beans and tortillas. Below the foundations of our Spanish culture, we still sense the ruins of an entirely different civilization…'.[91]

This colonised beginning has led to a 'Spanish life with Indian contradictions'.[92] These contradictions, this article explains, have not lead to an identity crisis because they have constituted Chicanx existence for 'the last five centuries'.[93] The biggest contradiction, according to the article, is the way 'Mexicans speak of [themselves] as a race'.[94] In the article, this contradiction is described as follows:

'Most of us know we are not European simply by looking in a mirror – the shape of the eyes, the curve of the nose, the color of skin, the texture of hair: these things belong to another time, another people. […] the conquistadores, of course, mated with their Indian women with customary abandon, creating a nation of bewildered half-breeds in countless shapes, colors and size'.[95]

The colonisation of the Americas by Spain, this article argues, did create a racially distinct group of people but it is a group whose racial characteristics come in multitudes. Racial characteristics, so prominent in Cruse's description of the national boundaries of black America, are not as important in delineating the Chicanx nation as is its colonised origin.

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[89] Valentina, "Our Land and Our Culture," *El Grito del Norte* 1, no. 5 (1968) 5.
[90] Anonymous, "The Great Land Robbery," *El Grito del Norte* 1, no. 5 (1968) 10.
[91] Luis Valdez, "What does it mean, "La Raza?"," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 7 (1969) 5.
[92] Valdez, "What does it mean", 5.
[93] Valdez, "What does it mean", 5.
[94] Valdez, "What does it mean", 5.
[95] Valdez, "What does it mean", 5.

At times, the term La Raza was amended with the suffix 'de Bronze', further highlighting the racial distinctiveness of the Chicano people.[96] *But more than racial characteristics, however, it was the ties to the colonised land of the North American Southwest that animated Chicano nationhood.*

Land lies at the heart of the mixed culture that unites the Chicanx people. Land refers not only to the physical places that were violently colonised by the Spanish, where they built their civilization atop the ruins of their oppressed Native subjects, but also to way of life that developed out of the mixture of Spanish and Native traditions.

As described in 'The Land: A Constant Struggle', land is more than real estate to be owned. Instead land should be seen 'as part of a whole way of living and relating to other human beings.'[97] Through colonisation, then, Chicanx were not only left without the land upon which they lived but were also robbed of their way of life. Born from the colonisation of North America by the Spanish, the resultant community was then colonised again by the English settlers who arrived in the North American Southwest in the form of the American government. This 'second colonisation' is described in an article of *El Grito* entitled 'The Great Land Robbery'. According to that article, the Southwest 'belongs to the Indian and to the Indio-Hispano people who make up La Raza. He knows that he was robbed of his land, just as the Indian was robbed'.[98] The robbing of this land occurred when the United States defeated Mexico and took the modern day Southwest for its own. As the article explains, in 1848

'Mexico is defeated in a war with the United States. She signs the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Under that treaty, the U.S. promises to respect the land grants and the civil rights of the Spanish-speaking people. Soon afterward, the long robbery begins'.[99]

As the article 'The Land: A Constant Struggle' reiterates, 'the Raza struggle in New Mexico has gone on for 122 years, ever since the U.S. army defeated Mexico in 1848 and "conquered" the land which U.S. businessmen then exploited. [...] Bit by bit, the Ango-American octopus spread its tentacles over the land in a firm grip.'[100] The Chicanx movement and the nationalism it espoused, then, centred on countering this second colonisation. The Chicanx movement saw itself as representatives of a 'new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage, but also of the brutal "Gringo" invasions of our territories'.[101] In articles thus far discussed like 'Our Land and Our Culture' and 'The great Land Robbery', the authors finish their articles by calling upon Chicanx readers to fight for a traditional way of life and the ties to the land that way of life requires.[102] This invocation can most clearly be read in the article 'la Familia de la Raza, published during the fourth year of the paper's run. In it, the article's author, describes Chicanx as those who 'have made an adjustment to their behavior pattern to combat extinction as befell the buffalo and millions of our ancestors'.[103]

To combat extinction, the Chicanx movement formulated a political program 'El Plan De Aztlan'. The program was adopted at the Chicano Youth Conference in 1969 and published that same year in *El Grito*. The plan consists of a mission statement, setting out the aims of the Chicanx movements in three points. The Aztlan in the title is Nahuatl, a language spoked by

[96] Anonymous, "El Plan Espiritual De Aztlan," *El Grito Del Norte* 2, no. 9 (1969) 5.
[97] El Monstruo de Chama, "The Land: A Constant Struggle," *El Grito del Norte* 3, no.14-15 (1970) 1.
[98] Anonymous, "The Great Land Robbery," 10.
[99] Anonymous, "The Great Land Robbery," 10.
[100] El Monstruo de Chama, "The Land: A Constant Struggle," 1.
[101] Anonymous, "El Plan Espiritual De Aztlan," 5.
[102]Valentina, "Our Land and Our Culture," 5; El Monstruo de Chama, "The Land: A Constant Struggle," 11.
[103] David Vasquez, "La Famila de la Raza," *El grito del Norte* 4, no. 1 (1971) 14.

people native to the region, for 'the lands to the north', referring to the lands north of current-day Mexico. As the first introductory statement mentions, 'El Plan esperitual de Aztlan sets the theme that Chicanx must use their nationalism as the key or common denominator for mass mobilization and organization'.[104] Nationalism, organisation and action form the three points that make up the aims of the Chicanx movement. One of the methods for achieving national liberation described under the action portion of the program consists of an '[e]conomic program to drive the exploiter out of our communities and a welding of our peoples combined resources to control their own production through co-operative effort'.[105]

El Grito showed great interest in this method of fighting exploitation and colonisation throughout its run. The paper closely followed one particular agricultural co-operative, the Cooperative Agricola Del Pueblo De Tierra Amarilla. The co-operative was founded on the Tierra Amarilla Merced, a land grant. Land grants sat at the centre of Chicanx. Land grants, merced in Spanish, were commitments made by the Spanish and Mexican governments to 'a community, town, colony or pueblo or to a person for the purpose of founding or establishing a community, town, colony or pueblo'.[106] Attempting to restore land grants established under the Spanish and Mexican governments or defending disputed land grants made up a large part of Chicanx activism.[107] The Tierra Amarilla Co-operative (TA Coop), then, represented an ideal in the defence of the traditional Chicanx way of life. Building upon ties to the land that predate the American government's presence in New Mexico, the TA Coop sought to 'revive the old traditions of working together to feed our people'.[108] As the article describes, in the old way of life:

> *'whole villages of our people owned land together, because this was provided for in the laws of the Indies. They would farm together, build houses and prepare food for the winter together. These traditions have been crushed as our people have been driven off the land and onto welfare rolls. Under the anglo system of making a living, if a person wants to survive without being poor, he has to fight to "get ahead" and sometimes against his own people. When our communal way of life went, the trust our ancestors had to work the land and prepare the food together went too'*.[109]

The T.A. Co-op represented a communal way of working the land that symbolized the Chicanx way of life that the movement sought to re-establish. That is why the paper continued to follow the Co-op's existence, reporting on the way the farmers settled into new routines, on the first harvest and on its first anniversary.[110]

The quote above, describing the traditional way of life, also describes how the 'anglo system' can incentivise people to fight 'against his own people'.[111] Throughout *El Grito*, the paper writes in opposition to those who might take up the name Chicanx or who are by their racial characteristics part of the community but who the paper considers to work against the furthering of the movement ideals. In the editorial 'Power to the people?', the paper lays out how

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[104] Anonymous, "El Plan Espiritual De Aztlan," 5.
[105] Anonymous, "El Plan Espiritual De Aztlan," 5.
[106] "New Mexico Land Grant-Mercedes," New Mexico Department of Justice, effective November 29, https://nmdoj.gov/about-the-office/civil-affairs/land-grant-merced-digital-repository/land-grant-merced/
[107] Emily Cheng, "The Vietnam War and Chicana/o Environmentalism in El grito del Norte," *American Quartlerly* 72, no.1 (2020) 55-6.
[108] Anonymous, "New T.A. Co-op Revives tradition," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 4 (1969) 4
[109] Anonymous, "New T.A. Co-op Revives tradition," 4
[110] Anonymous, "Tierra Amarilla Cooperative: A Good Life", *El grito del Norte* 2, no. 8 (1969) 4; Tessa, "La Cooperative's First Harvest", *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 15 (1969) 5; Gregorita Aguilar, "First Anniversary of Co-op," *El Grito del Norte* 3, no. 4 (1970) 3.
[111] Anonymous, "New T.A. Co-op Revives tradition," 4

such forgetting can go on to threaten the Chicanx movement and its attempt at national liberation. The 'Chicano puppets', as the editorial calls them, represent those who seek power for themselves and their friends. While they might opportunistically use Chicanx movement language, using phrases like 'Viva la Raza' and 'Chicano Power', they ultimately don't represent the Chicanx people, the editorial argues. In an editor's comment to a letter published in another issue, the paper is more direct in describing why some politically-active Chicanx do not represent the community. It is because '[u]nder colonialism, the ruling class always finds a few puppets among the colonized to serve their purposes and help keep the masses under control. [...] These people are our class enemies because they have identified with those who exploit and oppress us.'.[112] According to the paper, the vast majority of Chicanx are poor and Chicanx make up the majority of poor people in New Mexico. As the article puts it, 'class and race tend to overlap'.[113] The struggle for national liberation waged by the Chicanx movement, then, is 'also a class struggle, of poor against rich'.[114] The class aspect inherent to the Chicanx movement is exemplified by the reporting on the Chicano National Congress for Land and Cultural Reform, held in Albuquerque in 1972. The gathering had as slogan 'Unity Before Ideas' but poor reception of attendees with close links to the U.S. government showed that such unity was not possible or desirable to most Chicanx activists, including those writing for *El Grito*. As *El Grito* put it, the congress was set up for 'the middle class and not the Chicanx masses, who are poor'.[115] Chicanx unity required a different kind of unity than one based merely on racial characteristics, the paper argued. As one activist explained in a letter published by *El Grito*:

'Unity based on ideals and principles. One of these great issues on which all struggles are based on is land. Land is the greatest issue with which to organize our people'[116]

Land represented the basis for the sense of nationhood articulated by the Chicanx movement. It was the colonisation of the land and its native peoples that produced the Chicanx nation. It had its own way of life that was closely tied to the land and that determined the class position of its people. The further colonisation by the American government and the disruption it brought to the Chicanx way of life and the ties to the land that entailed sat at the centre of the Chicanx struggle for national liberation.

Yellow Power

As the fifth issue of *Gidra* showcases, which tells the stories of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Filippino migration to the United States, the people making up the Asian American movement were the children of immigrants. They had not come together to defend or reclaim a land lost to colonisation like the Chicanx movement had. Instead, what animated the Asian American movement was a desire to claim, or perhaps reclaim, a lost identity. As the author of the article 'The Emergence of Yellow Power' describes it:

'The yellow power movement has been motivated largely by the problem of self-identity in Asian Americans. The psychological focus of this movement is vital, for Asian Americans suffer the critical mental crises of having "integrated" into American society'.[117]

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[112] Anonymous, "Chicanos and Anglos – Who is What?," *El Grito del Norte* 6, no. 5 (1973) 11.
[113] Anonymous, "Chicanos and Anglos – Who is What?," 11.
[114] Anonymous, "Chicanos and Anglos – Who is What?," 11.
[115] Anonymous, "Congreso For Land and Cultural Reform?", *El Grito del Norte* 5, no. 9 (1972) 10-11.
[116] Rodolfo Gonzales, "Corky's Letter to Tijerina," *El Grito del Norte* 5, no. 9 (1972) 10-11.
[117] Amy Uyematsu, "The Emergence of Yellow Power', *Gidra* 1,no. 7 (1969) 8-11.

Whereas the Chicanx movement sought to politically recover and culturally reconnect to the land of the past, lost through colonisation by the United States government, the Asian American movement sought to recover and reconnect with a sense of self that had been lost through the integration into the American system. Colonisation here, then, was used in a different frame. No longer a system of oppression that wrests away control of and access to land and resources by an occupying force, colonisation becomes the process by which racialized individuals are left without any control over said racialisation. In this way, the colonisation opposed by the Asian American movement resembles the one opposed by the Black Power movement. The Black Power movement similarly attempted to get control over their own racialisation, rearticulating blackness as something that was beautiful, powerful and intelligent.[118] On the other hand, gaining control over and access to land and resources was still a part of the Black Power movement's ideals. For Asian Americans, however, the control and access granted to resources, not to land, was in fact one of the ways in which they had been colonised. As it is put in 'The Emergence of Yellow Power', '[h]aving achieved middle-class incomes while presenting no real threat in numbers to the white majority, the main body of Asian Americans (namely, the Japanese and Chinese) have received the token acceptance of White Americans'.[119] As a result, Asian Americans have become 'fully committed' to the racialisation that simultaneously subordinates them. The colonisation that the Asian American movement seeks to fight is one that requires Asian Americans to deny the self ('denying their yellowness') and to 'become white in every respect but color'.[120]

The Asian American movement was formed so as to express the authentic self instead of denying it. Powering the movement, then, was a desire of self-awareness and self-expression. The article 'Yellow Power!' in the first issue of the paper describes this desire as follows"

'*We [Asian Americans] have finally reached the limits of our tolerance and have begun to explore a new alternative. Asian Americans have rediscovered their spirit and pride and are becoming a force to be reckoned with. […] this is a new role for the Asian American. It is a rejection of the passive Oriental stereotype and symbolizes the birth of a New Asian – one who will recognize and deal with injustices*'.[121]

'Yellow Power' and the ideology it represented lay as the foundation for the Asian American movement's struggle for liberation. The 'passive Oriental stereotype' is the colonisation that the Asian American movement sought to liberate Asian Americans from. The boundaries of the Asian American nation, then, were determined by the racialisation imposed by the American mainstream. Asian Americans were those people subjected to the colonisation of being racialised as passive 'Orientals'. Unified by their shared racialisation, Asian Americans should 'seek greater control over the direction of [their] lives'.[122] Only through a 'consolidated yellow people' could true freedom from racial oppression be achieved.[123] As such, the aims of the Asian American movement were fundamentally different from those of the Chicanx movement. Though both movements originated in a desire to fight the perceived colonisation of their respective communities, the Asian American and Chicanx movements had very different views on what that colonisation looked like and what was needed to fight it. For the Asian American

[118] Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, (New York, 1992) 39.
[119] Uyematsu, "The Emergence of Yellow Power," 8-11.
[120] Uyematsu, "The Emergence of Yellow Power," 8-11.
[121] Larry Kubota, "Yellow Power!," *Gidra* 1, no. 1 (1969) 3-4.
[122] Kubota, "Yellow Power!," 3-4.
[123] Uyematsu, "The Emergence of Yellow Power," 8-11.

movement, the way to combat colonialism started by expressing a defiant and counterhegemonic Asian identity. According to the author of the article 'Asian Nation' in the 30th issue of *Gidra*, the Asian American movement should start by encouraging Asian Americans to develop an Asian American consciousness:

> *'Our first, and constant task is to spread this kind of social-national, and (yes) political awareness by talking, interacting on all levels, struggling to reach out and touch each other and ourselves, to begin to feel and live and fight for each other and for ourselves. We must dare to feel and be different'.*[124]

This first task was necessary, according to the author, because Asian Americans had internalized America and it was that internalisation that kept them from 'coming together' and building an 'Asian nation here in North Amerika [sic]'.[125] This internalisation is remarked upon frequently throughout *Gidra*'s five-year run. In the aforementioned article 'Yellow Power!' from the paper's very first issue, for example, the author asserts that 'yellow people have spent a great deal of time observing the behavior and mannerisms of white people'.[126] In the article 'The Emergence of Yellow Power', it is claimed that Asian Americans 'have assumed white identities', and in the article 'colonized mentality', in the paper's final issue, it is stated that the Asian American response to racism as 'overwhelmingly' been to 'aspire to be accepted by white America'.[127]

The basis for unity as formulated by the Asian American movement, then, lay in a political ideology that opposed the psychological and cultural colonisation that besieged Asian Americans. This opposition existed out of fostering a sense of self-acceptance, calling for organising on racial grounds, highlighting the ways in which racialisation has been destructive and hurtful on a personal and collective level, and, as we shall discuss in the next chapter, realigning Asian Americans with other racialised communities.

In *Gidra*, fostering a sense of self-acceptance often happened through articles that attempted to redefine what it meant to be Asian American by consciously moving away from the 'passive Oriental' stereotype and by writing about the existence of a communal spirit. The 10th issue of the paper features several articles that illustrate how *Gidra* went about fostering a sense of self-acceptance. In the issue's editorial, the *Gidra* staff exclaims that 'the future begins today' and that Asian Americans 'will not be "Quiet Americans" on issues that vitally affect our lives".[128] Instead, Asian Americans will 'work towards the creation of a more humane and just society'.[129] The phrase 'Quiet Americans' is a reference to a book on the history of first generation Japanese Americans with the phrase in its title reviewed in the very same issue. Through a critique of the book, Asian American identity is further rearticulated as being oppositional instead of passive. According to the reviewer the book presents the experience of Nisei Americans as one of mostly success stories, of the stories of 'flawless characters, singleminded in the devotion and commitment to American ideals'.[130] No mention is made, so the review states, of the possible psychological damage done by the experience of being a racialised minority in the United States and of the experience of internment during World War II. The review describes the book as

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[124] Anonymous, "Asian Nation," 18.
[125] Anonymous, "Asian Nation," 18.
[126] Kubota, "Yellow Power!," 3-4.
[127] Uyematsu, "The Emergence of Yellow Power," 8-11; JACS Philosophy Writing Team, "Colonized Mentality," *Gidra* 5, no.12 (1974) 62.
[128] Staff, "Editorial: The Future Begins Today," *Gidra* 1, no. 10 (1969) 4.
[129] Staff, "Editorial: The Future Begins Today," 4.
[130] Yuji Ichioka, "Book Review: Nisei The Quiet Americans," *Gidra* 1, no. 10 (1969) 17.

especially dangerous to sansei, or third generation Japanese Americans, who find themselves in a time of 'political, social and moral crises' that 'demand radical approaches'.[131] And so the review ends by asking the old guard responsible for a book such as this to 'quietly retire'. This theme of a new dawn arriving that ushers in a new Asian American is further explored in the article 'Rebel with a Cause'. The article details the life and struggles of Thomas Noguchi, a coroner who was fired over false accusations and who successfully fought his firing. In the article Noguchi is described as having been a youthful rebel, one who would go on to 'stand courageously in the face of insurmountable odds' and 'humble the county of Los Angeles' after fighting to be reinstated as county coroner.[132]

Through describing the qualities that exemplify the new Asian American identity, critiquing the 'passive Oriental' stereotype, and highlighting positive examples of Asian American defiance, *Gidra* put forth a rearticulated Asian American identity meant to further self-acceptance and racial pride. Through this pride one can shatter 'one's fixed limitations which are enforced by the ruling majority' and aid in 'living a better life'.[133] Alongside such articles, *Gidra* also helped organise activities that furthered the expression of a positive and active Asian American identity. One such event, a large scale picnic going by the name Cincip, is described in *Gidra* as ushering in 'the birth of Amerasia' and showcasing the feeling of 'community togetherness' needed to fight the identity colonisation plaguing Asian Americans.[134] Returning to the article 'Asian Nation', it is explained that a feeling of 'togetherness' is needed because 'every form of activity, service, organizing, struggle and digging eachother' helps Asian Americans to 'feel more powerful and human'.[135] The process through which organisations could achieve this was illustrated in *Gidra* through articles interviewing members of and describing various Asian American organisations. The organisation Yellow Brotherhood, for example, is featured extensively throughout the paper. Yellow Brotherhood was one of the first organisations aimed at Asian Americans, focusing on keeping young men and women from succumbing to drug abuse, academic failure and gang fighting.[136] As one author in *Gidra* put it, organisations like Yellow Brotherhood 'reflected a determination to survive with some sort of pride, self-dignity and respect for Asians'.[137] As the author put it:

> *'When they [Yellow Brotherhood] say, "It's more fun with a big group of people," that's like saying "We dig each other" and "We can do this together" and "We can build unity"'.*[138]

Building unity was an important aspect of the anticolonial political ideology formulated in the pages of *Gidra*. In the article 'Asian Nation' it is acknowledged that, as an identity, 'Asian American is diverse, with opposition and contradiction a part of its character. We are Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Indian; we speak Cantonese, Japanese, Toysan, English, Okinawan, Mandarin, Pidgin English'.[139] The great ethnic variety that existed within the Asian American community was a topic of much discussion in *Gidra*. Contrary to the Chicanx movement, the Asian American movement could not use a shared claim to a specific geographic location as the basis for unity. There was no land lost to colonisation that had to be reclaimed. Instead, the

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[131] Ichioka, "Book Review: Nisei The Quiet Americans," 17.
[132] Seigo Hayashi, "Rebel with a Cause," *Gidra* 1, no. 10 (1969) 6-7.
[133] R. Wu, "Racial Pride," *Gidra* 1, no.10 (1970) 18.
[134] J. Matsuoka and C. Mochizuki, "The Birth of Amerasia," *Gidra* 1, no. 6 (1969) 1.
[135] Anonymous, "Asian Nation," 18.
[136] Mary Uyematsu, "Yellow Bortherhood," *Gidra* 5, no. 7 (1975) 8.
[137] Uyematsu, "Yellow Bortherhood," 8.
[138] Uyematsu, "Yellow Bortherhood," 9.
[139] Anonymous, "Asian Nation," 18.

Asian American movement looked to a shared experience of racism to base their claim of unity on. It was through the process of racialisation that Asian Americans of various ethnic identities had been victimized by colonisation and so it was this process that formed the arena for anticolonial struggle.

In *Gidra*, authors went about showing the shared injustices that flowed from the same process of racialisation in several ways. In some articles, the focus was squarely on how racialisation, and the racism that went along with it, was an experience had by all Asian immigrant communities. In the paper's 5th issue, for example, the stories of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Filippino migration to the United States are told with several examples for each of the ways in which the respective communities have been victimized by racism. In the article on the Chinese American community references are made to a massacre that occurred in the 18th century. The Japanese American article is structured around the experience of internment. In the Korean article, mention is made of the 'poor wages, miserable working conditions and social ostracism' experiences by early migrants, as well as the fact that anti-Japanese sentiment was 'graciously extended' to Koreans as well. Finally, in the article on Filipinos, the experience of being an unwanted immigrant and being legally prohibited from marrying white Americans is used to illustrate the racism experienced by migrants from the Philippines.[140] In telling the stories of different Asian migrations to the United States, then, the shared experience of being racialised as 'Orientals' is highlighted as giving reason for unity. In the article 'Asian Nation' this shared experience is explained as being necessary for the development of a real Asian perspective. As the article puts it:

> *'If we can't righteously perceive, understand or figure out what's happening around us and within us, we can't do much to make either situation better. For instance, can we really ask questions like "Is there U.S. Imperialism? Is there really a full-scale genocide being carried out in Vietnam? […] Has Amerika really committed physical, cultural and spiritual genocide against people of color all over this world, including we Asians in America?"'.*[141]

The Asian American movement, then, was deeply invested in articulating an understanding of anti-Asian American racism that could be shared by Asian Americans of all ethnicities. Whereas the stories of migration from various Asian countries detailed in the 5th issue of the paper simply included the experience of racism, racism against Asian Americans of various backgrounds was foregrounded all across the paper's 22nd issue. In the issue's first real article, a bullet point list is provided of racist incidents experienced throughout the years by Chinese Americans. The list also makes mention of the times Japanese and Filippino migrants were victimized alongside those of Chinese descent.[142] Such lists occurred in other issues of the paper as well, providing readers with evidence of the shared experience of anti-Asian racism. In fact, the 'partial list' of racist incidents against Chinese, and other Asian, Americans is directly followed by a 'partial list' of anti-Asian legislation, calling attention to times in American history where Asian Americans were either targeted directly by racist laws and legislation or were included in laws that targeted non-white communities more broadly.[143] The histories of racist incidents and laws described in the first articles of the issue are then complemented and illustrated by articles detailing specific experiences of racism. In 'concentration camps USA', the internment of Japanese Americans

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[140] David Chan, "The Chinese in Los Angeles," *Gidra* 1, no. 5 (1969) 6; Jim Matsuoka, "From Japan to L.A." *Gidra* 1, no. 5 (1969) 7; Joyce, "The Korean Americans," *Gidra* 1, no. 5 (1969) 8; Candido Domingo, "The Filipino Immigrant," *Gidra* 1, no. 5 (1969) 9.
[141] Anonymous, "Asian Nation," 18.
[142] Pat Sumi, "Atrocities against Chinese Amerikans… a partial list," *Gidra* 2, no. 10 (1970) 4.
[143] Pat Sumi, "Anti-Asian legislation… a partial list," *Gidra* 2, no. 10 (1970) 5.

during World War II, told through the story of one camp resident, is used to position Japanese, and in extension Asian, Americans in the larger story of American racism. The article frames the internment of Japanese Americans as being one other example of American white supremacy, the same white supremacy that saw to the removal of Native American tribes and the enslavement of peoples from Africa.[144] The article goes on to caution that such repression could very well return, especially against ethnic movements like the Chicanx and Asian American movements.[145]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, seeing as that *Gidra* had a predominantly Japanese American staff, interment was referenced frequently during the paper's run as an example of the oppression Asian Americans had faced in American history. In 'Remember 1942?', an article commemorating the Japanese Americans interned at a camp called Manzanar and covering the first ever pilgrimage back to the camp, the place where Japanese Americans were relocated is called 'a monument of racism, where being Japanese meant you were a prisoner' and the burial place for 'a whole generation'.[146] Two years later *Gidra* covered another pilgrimage to camp Manzanar where the writer, a third generation Japanese American, reflects on what internment meant to him as an activist:

> *'I was crying because Manzanar, the home of my parents during the war, finally became a reality to me. [...] But I was also crying because I was angry at the system that put my folks in this camp for two years [...] I vowed right then that I would keep on fighting to never let this happen to any people and to never give up in our struggle to change this racist, oppressive system.'*[147]

In that same issue, a speech given during the 1972 pilgrimage to Manzanar ties the internment of Japanese even more directly to America's 'racist, oppressive system' when it calls interment the 'culmination' of '150 years of anti-Oriental agitation'.[148] The experience of internment is also tied to the creation of the 'passive Oriental' stereotype that is identified by *Gidra*'s Yellow Power advocates as one of the ways in which Asian Americans have been colonised.[149] In an article entitled 'Colonized Mentality, in the paper's final issue, the period of interment is said to have 'created a feeling of helplessness that made inroads into our compassion and our ability to fight back'.[150] The internment of Japanese Americans, then, was used in *Gidra* as one of the biggest examples of racism against those of Asian descent. That it specifically targeted Asian Americans of Japanese descent was mollified by tying it in with a larger system of anti-Asian racism that was visible in racist laws, racist incidents and, in another recurring topic in *Gidra*, ghettoization. In fact, the 22nd issue that featured lists of anti-Chinese incidents, anti-Asian laws and an article on interment also included an article on the problems plaguing Chinatown.[151] The ghettoization of Chinese and Japanese Americans into Chinatown and Little Tokyo, or J-Town, respectively was discussed frequently discussed in *Gidra*. In various articles, problems like poverty, endemic violence and drug abuse plaguing these ethnic enclaves are highlighted.

Ghettoization, like interment, was not as salient for some Asian ethnicities as it was for others. In the above mentioned lists about anti-Asian legislation and anti-Chinese racism, both of which focused primarily on discrimination and racism against Chinese migrants and Chinese

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[144] Anonymous, "Concentration Camps USA," *Gidra* 2, no. 10 (1971) 8.
[145] Anonymous, "Concentration Camps USA," 9.
[146] Carol, James, Seigo & Victor, "Remember 1942?," *Gidra* 1, no.10 (1969) 1.
[147] Tom Okabe, "Manzanar Pilgrimage 1972," 4, no. 5 *Gidra* (1972) 4.
[148] Sue Kunitomi Embry, 'Speech by Sue Kunitomi Embry," 4, no. 5 *Gidra* (1972) 5.
[149] Kubota, "Yellow Power!," 3-4.
[150] JACS, "Colonized Mentality," 63.
[151] Pei-Ngor Chin, "Chinatown Ferment," *Gidra 3, no. 2*(1971) 16.

Americans, mention is still made of Japanese Americans 11 times while Filipinos and Koreans are each only mentioned once across both lists.[152] *Gidra* made attempts at including Korean and especially Filippino Americans, as shown by their inclusion in the stories of migration recounted in the paper's 5th issue, but acknowledged that it did not include viewpoints other than those of Chinese and Japanese Americans often enough.[153] At various points in the paper's run the place of Filippino Americans was explicitly discussed, such as in the article 'I am curious [Yellow?]'.[154] In 'I am curious [Yellow?]', a Filippino American author opines that Filippino Americans occupy a liminal position in the American racial system that differentiates them from Asian Americans of other ethnicities. She identifies three key differences between Filippino Americans and other Asian Americans:

1. Filippino Americans are seen by most in American society as 'brown' instead of yellow.
2. Filippino Americans share a Spanish colonial legacy that is different from the Asian traditions of other migrant communities.
3. Filippino Americans are not internally unified.[155]

These differences make that Filippino Americans are 'an outcast in a white society and an outcast among other Orientals' which 'leaves the Filippino in that never land of social obscurity'.[156] In light of Cruse's observation that the 'national boundaries' of a colonised people are formed by the colour of their skin, their racial characteristics and their social conditions, then, it becomes clear that the author of the article is explaining why these boundaries differ for Filippino Americans in comparison to other Asian Americans. Or, to put it more precisely, Filippino Americans exist within the liminal space that exists between the boundaries separating racialised communities in American society. Beyond the elements of physical characteristics and cultural traditions, however, there was also a class element to the ambiguous position of Filippino Americans within the Asian American community articulated in *Gidra*. As explored, the Asian American community set out by the movement in papers like *Gidra* was based on two propositions: that people of various Asian ethnicities shared the same experience of racialisation, experiencing similar forms of racism and injustice, and that this process had cowed Asian Americans into silence, turning Asian Americans into that 'passive Oriental stereotype' decried in the very first issue of *Gidra*. Colonisation of Asian Americans had meant their incorporation into the American racial system which, as we shall soon discover, allowed for their use as a cudgel against other minorities of colour. Filippino Americans, however, complicated this second proposition. Incorporation into the American racial system presupposed some measure of material success but, as showcased in the aforementioned article 'The Filippino Immigrant', Filippino Americans performed significantly worse in terms of educational level and annual income compared to their Chinese and Japanese counterparts. The counterhegemonic anticolonial political ideology meant to unify Asian Americans thus threatened the already precarious position Filippino Americans were in. This is illustrated in 'I Am Curious [Yellow?]' by the following quote:

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[152] Pat Sumi, "Atrocities against Chinese Amerikans… a partial list," *Gidra* 2, no. 10 (1970) 4;
Pat Sumi, "Anti-Asian legislation… a partial list," *Gidra* 2, no. 10 (1970) 5.
[153] Gidra staff, "response to Filippino Views letter", *Gidra* 3, no. 5 (1971) 27; Anonymous, "Asian Nation," 16; Mo Nishida, "Where do we go from here?,"*Gidra* 6, no. 4 (1975) 21.
[154] See also: Anonymous, 'Filippino Views, *Gidra* 3, no. 5 (1972) 27;
[155] Violet Rabaya, "I Am Curious [Yellow?]," *Gidra* 1, no. 7 (1969) 7.
[156] Rabaya, "I Am Curious [Yellow?]," 7.

'But the Filippino in America today has realized that, because of the racial climate of the times, it is more beneficial to be considered oriental than any other minority group. The white middle class has, at least, verbally "accepted" the oriental. Thus, it becomes mandatory for the Filippino to assert his oriental origin.'[157]

Yellow Power, then, was an attempt by the Asian American movement to articulate a political ideology capable of undoing what it saw as the colonisation of Asian Americans through their incorporation into the American racial system. Using a wide variety of examples of racist incidents against people of Asian descent, the movement tried to build the case for a unified experience of racialisation, one that forced on Asian Americans a stereotype of passiveness and silent acceptance. This stereotype, referred to in *Gidra* as the 'Oriental' stereotype, prevented Asian Americans from bettering their position in society. Only by organising as a unified community and acting in defiance of the racist system that had and continued to hurt Americans of Asian descent could, so asserted the Asian American movement, liberation be achieved.

Chapter 4: Positioning the nation

The Chicanx and Asian American movements each articulated a sense of nationhood for their respective communities that was premised on being colonised people. Both movement's, however, conceived on their colonisation in vastly different ways, as discussed in the previous chapter. One thing that both movements agreed on was that the imagined nations they forwarded in papers like *El Grito* and *Gidra* were part of a larger Third World, a community of nations all fighting against imperialism and colonialism. One that existed within and outside the borders of the United States. In the final chapter, this thesis will explore how the Chicanx and Asian American movements aimed to position their newly imagined community within a wider social world and colonial context.

In both *El Grito* and *Gidra* this relationship with other communities, whether abroad or at home, was often touched upon. In articulating a new sense of nationhood, writers for both papers felt the need to position that nation in relation to others, to the other people fighting for liberation from colonisation and imperialism and to the people colonising and imperialising others. Often, this was done by invoking a sense of solidarity with other communities of colour. In *El Grito*, for example, a speech by Chicanx radicals at a church is covered and one of the radicals is said to:

'[E]xpress the feelings of not only the chicanos there, but of people moving for their liberation across the world. He [the activist] noted that what all brown, black, yellow and red peoples seek is self-determination. "We want to and we WILL decide for ourselves how we want to live, work, educate our children. And that is what this liberation movement is all about… self-determination.'[158]

Though such blanket declarations of solidarity were common in both *El Grito* and *Gidra*, both papers also contain articles that delved more deeply into the position of the respective community in a larger context of both domestic and international communities of the colonised and the colonisers. At times, that position and the relationship to other communities is complicated and argued over. A recurrent topic in *Gidra* was the way the Asian American community was used within the American racial system as a 'middleman' or buffer against other

[157] Rabaya, "I Am Curious [Yellow?]," 7.
[158] Maria Varela, "The Great White Fathers Squirm At San Antonia," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 8 (1969) 6.

communities of colour. In the article 'The Oriental as Middleman Minority', for example, the position of Asian Americans in comparison to other racial groups is described as follows:

> *'Orientals in America today play a unique role in the area of race relations. [...] Because the Oriental has no real power, his position in America is subject to manipulation by those in power. The Oriental is a highly visible ethnic minority that has "made it," that is, he has worked hard and has not been a threat to the Establishment. As a result, Orientals are often used as a buffer by the Establishment in the confrontation between racial groups.'*[159]

In this chapter we will explore the differing ways in which the Chicanx and Asian American movements positioned their respective communities in a larger social world and what this meant to the way they conceived of their own colonisation.

Middleman Minority

To the Asian American activists who wrote in papers like *Gidra*, positioning the Asian American nation in relation to other American minorities formed a vital part of the articulation of their anticolonial political ideology. In the very first issue, where the Yellow Power ideology is first formulated in the article 'Yellow Power!', the writer states that:

> *'Yellow Power must become a revolutionary force and align itself with the oppressed people of the Third World.'*[160]

This alignment with the Third World was seen as a necessary step for undoing the colonisation of Asian Americans. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Asian American movement conceived of their colonisation as one that was perpetuated by the incorporation of Asian Americans into the American racial system. In that same article in *Gidra*'s first issue, it is explained that Asian Americans 'have spent a great deal of time observing the behavior and mannerisms of white people' but that it was time they 'understood that white people cannot be taken as models'.[161] The 'heroes', so the article posits, 'are no longer people who are white'. Instead, the article names people of colour, like Eldridge Cleaver, Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X and Che Guevara as the heroes during the 'world revolution now under way'.[162] Asian American nationhood, then, required a repositioning within the American racial system so as to undo the assimilation by which Asian Americans had been colonised. What the Asian American movement sought to fight was what the position that the 'Passive Oriental stereotype' discussed in the previous chapter had forced them into: the middleman position. Asian American activists used terms like 'the middleman position' and the still-used term 'model minority' to refer to the way Asian Americans were used to both denigrate other peoples of colour as well as to conceal the racism still endured by Asian Americans themselves. During the late sixties and early seventies this middleman position had become a cudgel, so argued the Asian American movement, used by white America to beat down activism by other communities.

The article 'The Oriental as "Middleman Minority"' explores this dynamic in full. Asian Americans, the author claims, feel vulnerable because 'they have no power of their own'.[163] Despite this, Asian Americans have managed to attain a comfortable economic status, something the author attributes to the fact that Asian Americans have 'worked hard and [have]

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[159] Alan Nishio, "The Oriental As A Middleman Minority," *Gidra* 1, no. 2 (1969) 3.
[160] Kubota, "Yellow Power!," 3-4.
[161] Kubota, "Yellow Power!," 3-4.
[162] Kubota, "Yellow Power!," 3-4.
[163] Nishio, "The Oriental as "Middleman Minority," 3.

not been a threat to the Establishment'.[164] This, then, incentivises Asian Americans to defend the system that oppresses them. Using highly racialised language the author argues that Asian Americans function as 'houseboys' defend the 'plantation' from the 'field slaves'.[165] The article argues that one of the most pressing ways in which Asian Americans have been used against other activists of colour is by allowing themselves to be used to integrate previously all-white communities and organisations, and by allowing themselves to be used as figureheads of racist institutions.[166] In doing so, such Asian Americans were in effect increasing the distance between their community and other communities of colour, aiding in their own colonisation through their continued incorporation into the American society. Being subjected to this kind of 'political manipulation' as it is described in 'The Oriental as "Middleman Minority"' was an anxiety frequently touched upon in the pages of *Gidra*. Towards the end of the very first Yellow Power article, readers are warned that 'Yellow Power must not be used to obtain a larger piece of an "action" that is degrading and unhumanistic'.[167] Elsewhere, it is argued that Asian Americans risk looking like 'snobs' in the eyes of other activists of colour, opportunists who are simply after 'more of the money pie'.[168]

It is no surprise, then, that *Gidra* published a great deal of articles on other movements, highlighting at every turn how the Asian American movement acted in solidarity with other movements. Famous black activists like Angela Y. Davis and Bobby Seale were interviewed, articles on large forms of organised resistance like the Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War, and special coverage of the Native American occupations of Alcatraz and Wounded Knee are just some of the ways in which *Gidra* tied the Asian American movement to a larger web of racialised social movements. Often, such articles were used to strengthen the notion that Asian Americans formed a resistant nation struggling against colonialism. In 'From Manzanar to Wounded Knee', for example, the acts of solidarity by Asian American activists are said to represent the 'growing unity between Native Americans and Asians' and to showcase a 'coming together with other Third World people'.[169] Such solidarity is motivated in part, the author asserts, by the 'isolation and lack of support experienced by the Japanese Americans' during internment.[170] In an article expressing support for the Black Panther Party and the persecution of one of its members, the suppression of the Black Panther Party is not only compared to the struggle for self-determination by the Vietnamese but it is also 'viewed in context' with 'rumors of concentration camps being prepared for Chinese Americans in the event of war with Red China'.[171] In both articles, activists from the Asian American movement use the activism of other activists of colour to further their own claim of being a colonised minority.

Asian American activists felt forced to continuously reassert their alignment with other activists of colour so as to deconstruct their triangulated 'middleman position' in the American racial system. Failure to do so, it was feared, would result in the further incorporation, and therefore colonisation, of Asian Americans. So, as one author put it, the job of the Asian radical was to 'attempt a reversal of middle class values and radicalize the many Asians attending

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[164] Nishio, "The Oriental as "Middleman Minority," 3.
[165] Nishio, "The Oriental as "Middleman Minority," 3.
[166] Nishio, "The Oriental as "Middleman Minority," 3.
[167] Kubota, "Yellow Power!," 3-4.
[168] Anonymous, "Asian Nation," 19; Uyematsu, "The Emergence of Yellow Power," 8-11, 9.
[169] Merilynne Hamano, "From Manzanar to Wounded Knee," *Gidra* 5, no. 5 (1974) 9.
[170] Hamano, "From Manzanar to Wounded Knee," 9.
[171] Asian American Students Association, Yale University, "Asians Support Panthers," *Gidra* 2, no. 5 (1970) 4.

college'.[172] They are 'political prisoners [...] shackled in their split level homes, their Detroit smog belchers, their lecture halls and their minds'.[173] The activists writing in *Gidra* were also, however, cognizant of how the 'middleman position' influences Asian American radicalism. In 'Woodstock/Third World Nation', the influence is made explicit:

> *'[T]he ambivalent nature of white racism makes of Asian Americans both victim and executioner. Subordinate to whites, but manipulatively used to keep down blacks and Chicanos, Asians are oppressed members of the Third World, but also occasionally privileged tokens. This peculiar status cannot help but show itself among Asian radicals'.*[174]

The article distinguishes two facets of the Asian American struggle. The first is produced by Asian Americans with a middle class background and whose radicalization came about by a sense of alienation from mainstream culture. Of profound importance to this facet of the Asian American movement is 'a genuine alternative culture eschewing middle class materialism, restrictions and authoritarianism in favor of greater permissiveness in sex, drugs appearance and art forms'.[175] This facet of the Asian American movement is likened in the article to the white radical movement and therefore named the 'Woodstock nation'.[176] The other facet of the Asian American movement identified in the article is deemed the 'Third World nation', compromised of Asian Americans who were brought to the movement by 'gut experiences' and who, because they have been failed by America's institutions, are 'even more alienated and disenfranchised' than their Woodstock counterparts.[177] For these activists, the article posits, the (international) Third World acts as an example and source of identification. Though the article is quick to point out that these two 'nations' within the Asian nation are not in reality two 'separate, mutually exclusive camps', it does argue that this divide exists and is relevant to the Asian American position with the activist Left. Though the article mentions some of the pitfalls of this divide, it ultimately argues that Asian Americans can act as a unifier in the larger activist Left. Asian Americans, according to the article, can bridge the polarization between white and black radicals because it contains within both Woodstock and Third World facets. The article, then, turns the 'middleman position' on its head, positioning Asian Americans not as an incorporated community that acts as a buffer between black and white but as a unifier of racial divides.

Because the Asian American movement conceived their colonisation as the result of their incorporation into the American racial system, movement papers like *Gidra* were filled with articles about positioning Asian Americans within that racial system. By consciously realigning themselves with black and other activists of colour, and by explaining the way in which Asian Americans had been used to oppress others while their own oppression remained hidden, the Asian American movement hoped to strengthen its anticolonial credentials and thereby further its aim of articulating a counterhegemonic sense of nationhood.

La Raza and Los Indios

A nationhood built on a sense of ownership over a specific geographical space has, perhaps, less need for the kind of continuous positioning present in *Gidra*. As such, *El Grito* spent far fewer of its pages positioning itself against black, white or other activist movements. Instead, the articles on the 12th page of *El Grito*'s 13th issue illustrate the way *El Grito* typically covered

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[172] Bruce Iwasaki, "Organizing the "Effete Snobs"," *Gidra* 2, no. 5 (1970) 14.
[173] Iwasaki, "Organizing the "Effete Snobs"," 14.
[174] Bruce Iwasaki, "Woodstock/Third World Nation," *Gidra* 2, no. 9 (1970) 5.
[175] Iwasaki, "Woodstock/Third World Nation," 5.
[176] Iwasaki, "Woodstock/Third World Nation," 5.
[177] Iwasaki, "Woodstock/Third World Nation," 5.

other movements. The page is dedicated to the idea of solidarity between different peoples of colour, most notably between black and Chicanx Americans. The first article concerns a speech given by a black activist about the Presbyterian church in New Mexico and how its land should be given back to Mexican-Americans. Though the speech was given as part of a larger 'black manifesto' the article in *El Grito* opens with the issue most pertinent to the Chicanx movement, the support given in the speech for the Chicanx claim to the church's land.[178] Beneath that article, another one details a speech given by Bobby Seale, a Black Panther Party activist. In the speech, Seale speaks of solidarity with Mexican-Americans, poor whites and Native Americans, and proclaimed the importance of class struggle.[179] At the bottom of the page, a small, separated piece of text explains the meaning of a unity flag that was raised at the Health Centre. The flag was put up by '3 brothers representing the brown, black and red peoples' and symbolized 'the inter-relationship of all movements, all groups and the need for everyone to be concerned about the masses'.[180] The articles on this one page about groups outside the Chicanx movement, illustrate the most common way *El Grito* covered such groups. It is best summed up in a quote by one Chicanx activist whose interview also graces the page in question:

> *'In many areas, particularly today, there are issues which are important to black and Chicano and other minorities and to whites [...] In those areas, coalitions come about very easily [...] But some problems are unique to the Mexican American. Other problems are unique to the Afro-American [...] Sometimes each of these has to be dealt with on an individual basis'.*[181]

In *El Grito*, coverage on other communities and groups was often dependent on salience of the particular issue to the Chicanx movement's cause. That is not to say that the paper only ever covered other movements when those movements were involved in something related to the Chicanx movement. Activists of colour, other than Chicanx, were interviewed, high profile issues were occasionally covered and the importance of solidarity was at times championed. *El Grito*, however, often framed solidarity as something of importance for class struggle, instead of a specifically racialized issue. *The* article 'We Are Not Alone', for example, sets out to 'mention briefly some of the struggles of our brothers and sisters', referring to 'our brothers who are struggling against the same enemies as ours'.[182] The article details how the 'Anglo (gringo, white man) Divides and Conquers' by activists and their protests around the United States. The article makes mention of Puerto Rican, black, Asian and white activists, asserting that they could be considered 'our brothers'.[183] The article then considers coalitions of working class activists in both the United States and abroad, culminating in a call for the recognition that the struggle concerns 'the Haves against the Have Notes'. As the article puts it:

> *'We must know our brothers and sisters, and unite to fight the real enemy. The enemy uses "Divide and Conquer". We must begin to UNITE AND WIN'.*[184]

El Grito was thus less concerned with articulating a domestic Third World coalition so much as it was concerned with being part of a broader working class unity. The distinction between black and white or white and all other peoples of colour that was of such importance to the Asian American movement was less salient for the Chicanx movement. This is further illustrated in the

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[178] Anonymous, "Return Lands to Raza, Blacks Tell Church," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 7 (1969) 12.
[179] Anonymous, "Panther: Solidarity," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 7 (1969) 12.
[180] Anonymous, "Oh, Did You See?," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 7 (1969) 12.
[181] Corky Gonzales, "Corky on Unity," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 7 (1969) 12.
[182] Anonymous, "We Are Not Alone," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 5 (1969) 5.
[183] Anonymous, "We Are Not Alone," 5.
[184] Anonymous, "We Are Not Alone," 5.

way the white radical movement was discussed in *El Grito*. In several articles concentrated primarily in the first two years of *El Gidra*'s run, the paper discussed the impact on Chicanx of 'hippies' migrating to New Mexico. These members of what *Gidra* called the 'Woodstock nation' were discussed with mixed feelings in *El Grito*. As the first article on the topic, entitled 'What About The Hippies?', and written from the point of view of one, puts it, some of the white radicals have moved back 'in reaction to the American Way of Life' and in search of a more communal way of life.[185] These hippies, so the author posits, seek to 'learn the way of this land from its original inhabitants' and to develop a 'mutual relationship between the new [...] and the most ancient wisdom, which the Chicanx and the Indian peoples are the custodians of'.[186] The article, then, puts forth an argument for the idea that white radicals could migrate peacefully to New Mexico, without perpetuating the same colonialism that first dispossessed many Chicanx and Nate American people from the land. After the article, several reactions were published in ensuing issues. Some were positive and saw the white radicals as a 'potential revolutionary group' while others decried their 'strange ways' and Anglo-Saxon influence.[187] The reactions were best summed up, however, in an editorial by the *El Grito* staff where they state that, though they oppose the 'teaching of hatred of human beings' they must still advice white radicals not to come. As the editorial explains, white radicals should:

> *'Think about the fact that, much as you reject your middle-class Anglo society and its values, you are still seen here as gringos. Anglos. Think about the 120 year old struggle by Chicanos and the even older struggle by Indians to get back millions of acres of land stolen from them by Anglo ranchers with their Anglo lawyer buddies. Think about what it means for a new influx of Anglos- no matte how different their purpose from those others – to come in and buy up land that the local people feel to be theirs and cannot afford to buy themselves'.*[188]

In the end it was land that determined the Chicanx position on the matter. Though the ideological differences between white radicals and mainstream society was noted, the material effects their migration brought about were more important to the Chicanx activists of *El Grito*.

Unlike *Gidra*, then, *El Grito* was far less concerned with positioning the Chicanx movement within the American racial system, instead positioning its own localized issue as indicative of the larger struggle between rich and poor, and of those who have been dispossessed against their dispossessor. Noteworthy, however, is that there is one exception to *El Grito*'s comparative lack of interest in other movements and that is with regards to the activism of Native Americans. A considerable amount of articles are dedicated to covering a variety of Native American protests, struggles and issues. From large-scale actions like the occupations of Alcatraz and Wounded Knee, also covered in *Gidra*, to smaller protests and struggles like the struggle between the Taos Pueblo Native Americans and their struggle over land with the U.S. Forest Service to members of the Puyallup tribe asserting their fishing rights in Washington State. Throughout its entire run, *El Grito* was interested in showcasing the Native American struggle, dedicating over XX articles to the topic. Though the various articles differ in their exact subject matter, they all focus on the struggle for a traditional way of life that is tied to a specific land. In the article 'Indians Assert Ancient Fishing Rights; Tacoma Police Tear Gas,

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[185] Paul Prensky and Joyce Gardner, "What About The Hippies?," *El Grito del Norte* 1, no. 2 (1968) 8.
[186] Prensky and Gardner, "What About The Hippies?," 8.
[187] M.K., "Gringo Rebels," *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 10 (1969) 15; Cleofes Vigil, "The Land and the People,"*El Grito del Norte* 3, no. 2 (1970) 6.
[188] *El Grito* staff, "Newcomers and Old Struggles", *El Grito del Norte* 2, no. 9 (1969) 13.

Arrest 59', covering the aforementioned assertion of fishing rights by the Puyallup tribe, the struggle of the members of the Puyallup tribe is compared to similar struggles had by Chicanx

> *'What happened to Los Indios was much like what happened to Raza [...] Chicanos – especially the farmworkers – are on the move all up and down the West Coast, while the Indians have also been waging a drive for land and justice'.*[189]

Elsewhere in the paper, similar comparisons are made. When covering the occupation of Wounded Knee, for example, the occupation is called a 'symbol for Native American desire for freedom' and a call to listen to their demand that 'the U.S. honors all treaties' and recognizes the 'declaration of independence and sovereignty' of which those treaties speak.[190] This demand, article goes on to argue, also 'speaks for Chicanos' because they 'are part Indian (but sometimes choose to forget that) and who suffer from U.S. domination too'.[191]

The Chicanx movement, then, saw itself as part of a larger struggle for land, one that was also fought by Native Americans all across the United States. It is precisely because the struggle revolved around claims to land that it fostered the interest noticeable in *El Grito*. Land remained the dominant prism through which the Chicanx movement regarded all other movements of the period.

Conclusion

As this thesis has tried to show, the Asian American and Chicanx movements of the late sixties and early seventies sought to apply the theory of internal colonialism to their own specific situations. Though often considered to have originated a culturally nationalist politics that was blind to the complexities and differentiations within minority communities, these movements can instead be said to have developed coherent and holistic worldviews that attempted to explain and position themselves in the American racial system for the express purpose of decolonising themselves from it. In order to do so, both movements tried to set out how their respective communities constituted internally colonised nations. Differences in their material conditions, however, meant that the Chicanx and Asian Americans movement had to utilize the theory of internal colonialism in radically different ways. As shown by the examples in this thesis, however, the theory of internal colonialism proved flexible enough to be deployed by both movements. For the Chicanx movement, the theory of internal colonialism was most salient in describing the Chicanx community's relationship to the geographical space of the American Southwest. Internal colonialism was used to explain the dispossession Chicanx experienced and the loss of a way of life that dispossession entailed. Resistance within this paradigm of land, then, came in the form of fighting for the right to land and the right to what land produced. To Asian Americans, on the other hand, internal colonialism meant an experience of racialisation shared by all Asian ethnicities. Asian American activists posited that colonisation had not dispossessed Americans of Asian descent of land but of a sense of self. Asian Americans, then, considered their internally colonised condition within American society to have had psychological rather than material consequences. Though Asian American activists made ready use of any and every example of anti-Asian racism found throughout American history, when describing their position in American society they talked most often about an inability to express

[189] Anonymous, "Indians Assert Ancient Fishing Rights; Tacoma Police Tear Gas, Arrest 59," *El Grito del Norte* 3, no. 11 (1970) 3;9, 3.
[190] Anonymous, "The Second Battle of Wounded Knee," *El Grito del Norte* 6, no. 3 (1974) 3.
[191] Anonymous, "The Second Battle of Wounded Knee," 3.

a unified and authentic Asian self. Mental, not literal, colonisation is what the activists of the Asian American movement focused on. The different ways in which both Chicanx and Asian American movements made use of the theory of internal colonialism, born out of the differences in material conditions between the two groups, showcase the breadth of meaning capable within the theory.

It was not just in the way internal colonialism was used to define the own community, however, that Asian American and Chicanx activists differed in their use. Showcasing the capacity of internal colonialism to be a language for describing racialised oppression, both movements also used the theory to position their respective communities within a wider American context. Here too, differences in the material and cultural conditions of their respective communities informed the way internal colonialism was deployed by Chicanx and Asian American activists. To the Chicanx movement, their most obvious point of reference were the various indigenous nations within the United States. The Chicanx movement regarded their community as being the product of a double colonisation. First, the Spanish colonised the Americas and intermingled with the native populations to create the Chicanx people. Then, Anglo-Americans colonised both the indigenous nations and the Chicanx people in a second wave of colonisation. To position themselves within this landscape, then, the Chicanx movement spent many articles describing the struggle of various indigenous activists and equated their fight with their own. The Asian American movement, however, positioned itself much differently within the American context. The mental colonisation that the movement diagnosed their community with was caused, so posited Asian American activists, by their incorporation within the American economic system. As such, Asian Americans were used as a buffer between other communities of colour and white mainstream society. As such, the fact that some Asian American communities, primarily Chinese and Japanese Americans, occupied a relatively middle class position did not harm or inhibit the use of internal colonialism as an explanatory theory. Instead, it was incorporated into it. The middle classness of certain Asian Americans was emblematic of the way they had been colonised and used against other minorities. Resistance within this context took the shape of realigning the Asian American community with other communities of colour. Even in circumstances where the deployment of internal colonialism by activists was initially problematised by internal differentiation, internal colonialism remained the language for explaining those problems. The fact that Filippino Americans did not align perfectly with other Asian American communities could be explained by activists as the result of their different position within the American colonial system, existing somewhere between the Chicanx, or brown, community, and the Chinese and Japanese American communities.

Both the Asian American and the Chicanx movements used the theory of internal colonialism to articulate counterhegemonic ideas about nationhood and their position within an American colonial system. As such, the theory helped inform their activism. Though these movements originated within two very different communities, the language and framework provided by the theory of internal colonialism proved flexible and expansive enough to be deployable and articulate two very different racial realities.

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