THIRD WORLDS WITHIN

daniel widener

MULTIETHNIC MOVEMENTS AND TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

FOREWORD BY VIJAY PRASHAD

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Duke University Press Durham and London 2024

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Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞
Project Editor: Livia Tenzer
Designed by Aimee C. Harrison
Typeset in Minion Pro, Cactus, and Mon Hugo by Westchester Publishing Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Widener, Daniel, author.
Title: Third worlds within : multiethnic movements and transnational solidarity / Daniel Widener.
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2024. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2023031700 (print)
LCCN 2023031701 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478030164 (paperback)
ISBN 9781478025917 (hardcover)
ISBN 9781478059158 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Widener, Daniel—Family. | African Americans—Relations with Asian Americans. | African Americans—Relations with Mexican Americans. | Capitalism—Social aspects—United States. | Social change—Political aspects—United States. | California, Southern—Race relations—Political aspects. | Los Angeles (Calif.)—Race relations—Political aspects. | BISAC: SOCIAL SCIENCE / Ethnic Studies / American / General | HISTORY / United States / State & Local / West (AK, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NV, UT, WY)
Classification: LCC E185.615 .W478 2024 (print) | LCC E185.615 (ebook) | DDC 305.896/073—dc23/eng/20231012
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023031700
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023031701

Cover art: Juan R. Fuentes, poster, 1976. Courtesy of the artist.

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For Mike Davis
Comrade, Mentor, Friend

"Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
we'll keep the red flag flying here"

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FOREWORD

I remember the bewilderment. Central American asylum seekers sat in every chair and on the floor in a large room inside downtown Los Angeles's La Placita Church, also known as Nuestra Señora Reina de Los Angeles, in late 1987. They told stories of the horrible acts of violence being perpetrated in their countries. Those from El Salvador, the majority, told us stories of the grotesque repression organized against the peasants and workers, the students and communists. There was an eyewitness to the assassination of Archbishop Óscar Romero, there was discussion about the massacre at El Mozote, and there was general despair about the disappearances and the murders. Father Luis Olivares, who presided over La Placita, would lead these conversations, prodding when necessary, offering comfort when needed. What seemed to grip the people in these rooms was their anger alongside the futility of their position. Chased out of Central America by wars egged on by the government of the United States, and then denied asylum once they crossed the Mexico-US border, these men and women lived in a kind of limbo that defined them.

La Placita was a sanctuary, a place where the Catholic leaders—Olivares as well as Father Mike Kennedy—defied the US government by preventing them from entering the church and deporting these brave souls. Father Mike had served in El Salvador from 1980 to 1983, bringing to Los Angeles those experiences of the US-imposed war on the poor in that country. He would offer context for the details that were otherwise overwhelming. It was Father

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Mike—and my college friend Noel Rodriguez—who sent me down to volunteer at the Los Angeles office of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The war did not end at the US-Mexico border. Earlier in July 1987, some masked men kidnapped Yanira Corea outside the CISPES office. She had come to CISPES to talk about holding an event with the Salvadorean women's organization with which she worked. The men beat her, questioned her about her activism, burned her with cigarettes, raped her, and then left her on the streets with a message: "Tell others that we are here." A few days later, a Guatemalan immigrant, Anna María López, was abducted by masked men and asked about her work with Salvadorean asylum seekers. Another woman received a phone call at home and was warned, "For being a communist, we will kill you." Finally, Father Olivares received a letter that was signed "EM1," the initials referring to Escuadron de la Muerte, the Squadron of Death, which was the name of the Salvadorean death squads.

Impossible not to have remembered these stories, including standing outside La Placita in a human chain, trying to prevent the US government from entering the sanctuary and sending the asylum seekers to their death. In those years, the US government led by Ronald Reagan had fully supported El Salvador's brutal regime led by President José Napoleón Duarte, and because of this support it could not accept the asylum applications of the thousands of Salvadoreans who fled to the United States, most to Los Angeles. Reagan's policy offered men like Duarte a green light to conduct massacre after massacre, the soldiers involved trained and supported by the US military. The Salvadoreans did not come to Los Angeles in search of the promised land. They came to flee the US-imposed war on their country. And they found that the war followed them to Pico Union, Vermont Avenue, and La Placita as well as to the office of CISPES.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador was part of a network that took form in the shadow of the US empire. In a globalizing Los Angeles that boasted it was the place "where it all comes together," polycultural affinities, shared neighborhoods, and revolutionary solidarities created an alternate vision to the wars, disappearances, and poverty peddled by Reagan and his criminal associates. The Nicaragua Task Force. The Union of Democratic Filipinos. The Communist Workers Party. Alliance for Survival. MEChA. The Coalition to Stop Plant Closings. Friends of the ANC. These, and many others, were the lights in a dark sky.

These organizations and the activists who built them left us a chronicle of resistance, not only to imperial war making but against the everyday drumbeat

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of division and discord, the "common sense" that says that working people who speak different languages can only ever see each other as rivals or enemies. Place making is part of this—Danny Widener's Louisiana-born grandmother Loretta worshipped at La Placita—and *Third Worlds Within* recalls cultural affinities and shared lives between Black, Latinx, and Asian people. So too are the legacies of war, from Native California and Mexico to Angola, Korea, and Vietnam. First and foremost, however, are stories of solidarity, among those who, as Malcolm X said, "didn't have nuclear weapons, they didn't have jet planes, they didn't have all of the heavy armaments that the white man has. But they had unity."

They also had a powerful and immoral enemy. The Salvadoran war was crafted not only in the salons of San Salvador, where the landlords and the oligarchy reigned, but also in the bureaucratic offices and steak houses of Washington. On March 19, 1963, US President John F. Kennedy told the hastily assembled presidents of six Central American states that "communism is the chief obstacle to economic development in the Central American region." Kennedy, the liberal, pushed the Declaration of San José, which strengthened the spine of these presidents to crush any sign of communist or socialist insurgency. In El Salvador, the government welcomed members of the US Eighth Special Forces unit that was led by Colonel Arthur Simons in Panama, and these Green Berets went ahead and showed the Salvadorean military how to assemble these death squads through ORDEN (a rural counterinsurgency force) and ANSESAL (the president's intelligence service). ORDEN was specifically set up to "indoctrinate peasants regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the communist system," an indoctrination program that was more extermination than pedagogy. This was the "Salvadoran option" that Dick Cheney proposed for Iraq in 2004. For Salvadoreans in Los Angeles, their history was intimately related to the history of the United States and its ugly, dirty wars.

The death squads that stalked the immigrant communities of Los Angeles did so in a city marked by generations of low-intensity war between African Americans and a police force full of imperial entanglements. William Parker, who ran a violently racist police department, had been appointed honorary chief of the national police of fascist South Korea in 1952. Parker's deputy chief, Frank Walton, served as a top advisor to the government of South Vietnam, where he oversaw what he called "the largest prison in the free world." By the 1990s, of course, the Twin Towers facility in Los Angeles was the world's largest jail. Parker's chauffeur, Daryl Gates, would develop the first SWAT team in the United States, deploy it against the Black Panthers,

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and offer it for paramilitary use to US allies abroad. Local counterinsurgency extended beyond collaboration between US police and the violent satraps of the United States. It also took the form of constant surveillance, with more than fifty thousand Black youth placed in gang databases, and more than two hundred organizations and individuals, including then-mayor Tom Bradley, investigated by the Public Disorder Intelligence Division, a strangely named outfit.

Reading Danny Widener's *Third Worlds Within* reminded me of these stories, the impact they had on me, no doubt, but more so, the impact they continue to have on El Salvador, the United States, and elsewhere. Danny's book, which bristles with stories that we are told to forget, tells us that the social and cultural history of the United States is impossible without an awareness of the international role of the United States and of the survivors of that role who often try to find their way into it, thinking, erroneously that the US bombs are intended for their homelands alone and not for them when they somehow, miraculously, cross the border into El Norte. If you drive through any neighborhood in Los Angeles, you will find restaurants that serve up food from those countries that have had their agricultural lands burned by US chemical weapons—from Vietnam to Guatemala; and if you talk to the men and women of a certain generation who work in the kitchens of these restaurants, you might find one or two people who had been active in the massive solidarity campaigns that brought their songs and slogans to such unlikely places as Claremont, Crenshaw, or Boyle Heights. That's the message of *Third Worlds Within*, a book that demystifies the landscape of US cities and "brings the wars home," as they used to say in that earlier era.

Vijay Prashad
Santiago, Chile
April 12, 2023

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A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGIES OF RACE AND PLACE

This is a book about race, solidarity, and politics in local and global contexts. Unsurprisingly, it employs a variety of racial terminologies, all of which are contested, contingent, and, in the end, somewhat unsatisfying for one reason or another. The language of race is an outgrowth of five hundred years of colonialism, slavery, and genocide, and our terminologies reflect the limits of past and present. There is no doubt that many of the terms used in *Third Worlds Within* will be seen as inaccurate or obsolete in some future moments. Indeed, since this is a work of history, some already are.

Bearing this in mind, readers may find the following explanations helpful.

Throughout this book, the terms *Indigenous* and *Native* are used interchangeably. I prioritize the use of specific tribal names as well. At the same time, many of the histories I discuss took place during a broad moment of intertribal activism, in contrast to the more specifically national and localized forms of recent years. This was also a moment when the terms *Indian, American Indian*, and *Native American* were in common usage. I use these terms occasionally, in context, as well.

People of African descent living inside the territories claimed by the United States have used a multiplicity of terms of self-reference. This reflects the evolution of peoplehood as well as the contours of the long Black liberation struggle. The racial terms used by and in reference to Black people mean different

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things in different countries. As a result, we have to be attentive to both time and place. In the United States, *Colored* was once a term of proud assertion, as was *Negro*. This is no longer the case. Moreover, both terms mean something different outside of the United States. I have tried to place terminologies of Blackness in context, as a result. I use the term *Black* to refer to people of African descent living inside the United States and as a general term for people of African descent on the African continent, throughout the Americas, and in those sites like Australia and Aotearoa where Blackness emerged as a political language that extended beyond a specific association with race or racial descent. I employ the term *Black North American* to differentiate those people of African descent living inside the United States who do not necessarily identify as Afro-Latino or as recent African migrants. I employ the term *African American* in the same context, for stylistic variation. For me, *African American* is an imperfect term that carries with it the simultaneous possibility of Black complicity with US empire and the freedom dream of a plurinational futurity based on new spatial and relational identities throughout the hemisphere.

In referring collectively to people of Latin American descent, I generally use the term *Latinx*. Few primary sources use this term, so on occasion readers will see terms gendered as male (*Chicano, Latino*) and also terms that reflect earlier efforts to produce more inclusivity, such as *Chicano/a*. I use the term *Chicano* generally in reference to the Chicano movement, as well as the term *Chicana* in referring to specific activism and activists during the movement years. When speaking of a more contemporary moment, I use *Chicanx*. I also use the term *ethnic Mexican*, which my colleague David Gutiérrez employs as a way to highlight the cultural, social, and political connections between Mexican Americans and Mexicans across the US border. I also use the term *Mexican American* in historical context. Readers will note that chapter 2 also makes use of the term *Latino* as a collective noun. Many of the tensions and fissures discussed in that chapter took place in spaces gendered as male, and I use language that reflects that those most responsible for stoking Black/Brown tensions tended to self-identify as men. Perhaps subsequent research will reveal different histories, and this will require revision in the future.

Richard Hofstadter once claimed, “It has been our fate as a nation not to have ideologies but to be one.” One clear manifestation of this US ideological conceit is the decision by citizens of the United States to refer to themselves as “Americans,” as if the other 660 million residents of this hemisphere are here on US sufferance, or by mistake. Throughout this book, I use the term *American* to refer to the Western Hemisphere as a whole, rather than to the United States.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book would have been impossible without the help of many people. First and foremost, I wish to thank my editors, Ken Wissoker and Ryan Kendall, for their enthusiasm, patience, and support.

The bulk of this book was written on the traditional and unceded territory of the Kumeyaay Nation. To them I say, Wassa Honi Mep! Let us struggle together for the total return of your and all Native lands. Let us fight as well for liberation and self-determination for African people in the Americas, for the rights of all those forced from their homes and homelands, and for the final defeat of imperialism. ¡Hasta la Victoria, Siempre!

Support for this project came from the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities (CRASSH) at the University of Cambridge, as well as the UC San Diego Institute for Arts and Humanities. My thanks to Richard Knight and the African Activist Archive, Yusef Omowale at the Southern California Library for Social Research, Jeff Place at the Smithsonian, and the entire staff at the Center for the Study of Political Graphics. Special thanks to Carol Wells and Lincoln Cushing, without whose help chapter 4 simply would not exist. Thanks as well to those artists who shared their work, including Ester Hernández, Gord Hill, Jacob Meders, Sadie Red Wing, Rachael Romero, Doug Barnes, Riel Manywounds, Sally Morgan, Daniel Veneciano, Dina Redman, Ricardo Levins Morales, Jesus Barraza, and Melanie Cervantes. Juan Fuentes graciously allowed me to use his revolutionary art as

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the basis of the cover. My thanks as well to the members of the Los Angeles History Working Group, who provided feedback on chapter 6.

Kwame Ture argued throughout his life that only organizations could produce prolonged struggle. Find an organization you support, he said, and if you cannot find an organization you support, create your own. My heartfelt thanks go to comrades in a variety of formations, including the Los Angeles Student Coalition, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the ASUC Recycling Project, the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, the Graduate Student Organizing Committee (GSOC) at NYU, the Venceremos Brigade, Students for Justice in Palestine, the Committee Against Police Abuse, the Committee in Support of the Gang Truce, the Labor Community Strategy Center, Community Movement Builders, and Pillars of the Community.

I wish to acknowledge my political and intellectual debts to my aunt Thais Aubry, as well as to Ron Takaki, Terry Wilson, Betita Martínez, Michael Zinzun, Mike Davis, Grace Lee Boggs, Clyde Woods, and Richie Perez, all of whom are gone now. Robert Allen, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Billy Woodberry, Jacques Depelchin, Ron Wilkins, Angela Davis, John Riehle, and Eric Mann taught me lifelong lessons about the shape of the struggle. As a model of commitment, erudition, and kindness, Robin Kelley is in a category of his own. I am honored to be his student. Dave Gutiérrez has shaped the entirety of my trajectory as a faculty member at the University of California, but it is his friendship that has been the greatest gift of all.

My intellectual journey has been immeasurably enriched by knowing John Burns, Koray Çalışkan, Jordan Camp, Glen Coulthard, Betsy Esch, Ivan Evans, Ada Ferrer, Mary Fu, Christina Heatherton, Kelly Lytle Hernández, Gerald Horne, Dan HoSang, Aundrey Jones, Jessica Graham, Scott Kurashige, Gaye Theresa Johnson, Moon-Ho Jung, Forrest Hylton, Nancy Kwak, George Lipsitz, Anthony Macías, Sean Malloy, Jorge Mariscal, Mychal Odom, Paul Ortiz, Eric Porter, Vijay Prashad, Dave Roediger, George Sánchez, Nikhil Singh, Nick Estes, and Ula Taylor. Jose Lumbreras, Daniel Rios, Lynne Feldman, and Joseph Stuart provided invaluable editorial assistance.

I met Natalia Molina outside an archive more than twenty-five years ago, and she has been a paragon of insight, collegiality, and grace ever since. As a teaching assistant long ago, Jason Ferreira introduced me to the Fania All Stars and recruited me into the Venceremos Brigade. Along the way he has helped me to retain my belief in our common project. In Cuba, I met Fanon Wilkins, who has been like a brother ever since. In Luis Alvarez, I am fortunate to have an intellectual inspiration, a fantastic colleague, and a dear,

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dear friend. Ens veiem a la plaça. Special props to Khalid Alexander and Jake Meders. Modupe to Baba Felipe Garcia Villamil, Ajamu Smith, and the members of Grupo Emikeke. My thanks as well to the North Terrace crew, the esteemed members of Full and Real, especially King Kip, and to the playing staff of Red Star San Diego.

My profoundest gratitude to my ancestors, whose past struggles made possible the life I lead today, and my parents, who believed in changing the world, and in the power of ideas, and who instilled both lessons in me. My partner and confidant Sara Johnson read every word of this book. It is immeasurably richer for her contributions, and exists only because of her support. I hope that Lina, Amaya, and Julian will find their own paths to the struggle and will do their part to leave this world better than they found it.

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introduction

THE DREAM OF A COMMON LANGUAGE

One winter morning in 1934, the *Sacramento Bee* published a biography of longtime Oroville resident John Widener. The "Oroville Negro," as the paper referred to the seventy-seven-year-old man, had come to California as a baby—and enslaved (figure I.1). Arriving from Missouri in 1856, during the waning days of the Gold Rush, the infant Widener and his mother had been brought west by an owner intent on striking it rich, preferably through the labor of others.

Amid the declining prospects faced by individual miners confronted with the increased adoption of capital-intensive forms of hydraulic mining, John's mother was hired out by her owner, as were many enslaved Black migrants to California.[1] After more than a year cooking and cleaning in a Nevada City hotel, Mother Widener negotiated the purchase of freedom for herself and her son. As was the case for all Black Californians in the antebellum United States, their freedom was both precious and precarious. At least one local

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Figure I.1.
John Widener, 1934.
Sacramento Bee.

John Widener, 77, of Oroville, who was born a slave in Missouri. Widener, one-time trusted servant of General John Bidwell, in later life lived in several Sacramento Valley cities, including Sacramento, Woodland, Winters and Fair Oaks.

newspaper felt comfortable publishing an advertisement for the sale of an "indentured" Black woman, and the sight of kidnappers openly roaming the streets of Sacramento and San Francisco terrorized African Americans and vexed the state's abolitionist whites.[2] Even those who could legally document their own freedom ran the risk of reenslavement. Despite the expiration of California's fugitive slave law in 1855, federal legislation, combined with the inability of nonwhite people to testify in court, meant that "any dark-skinned foreigner, child, mulatto, Negro or Indian" could be seized "by the connivance and rascality of three or four rogues."[3]

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Although California joined the Union as a free state in 1850, tens of thousands of pro-slavery whites rushed west to look for gold. As many as fifteen hundred enslaved people entered the state with them.[4] On the eve of statehood, Southern-born whites constituted more than a third of California's white populace, and both the legislature and the judiciary reflected their influence. Fear of competition from Black workers dominated attitudes among those whites opposed to slavery, moreover, who repeatedly sought to write into the California Constitution prohibitions on the entry or residency of all people of African descent, regardless of status. Against the backdrop of widespread hostility, kidnappings, and paltry legal protections, hundreds of California's Black residents moved to British Columbia, having concluded that actual freedom was impossible anywhere between the Canadian and Mexican borders.

My grandfather's grandfather stayed in California, however, and he spent the next eight decades as a fixture in the towns that dot the Sacramento Valley. From Chico and Oroville to Winters, Gridley, Woodland, Fair Oaks, and Yuba City, records reveal a circuitous lifetime of working-class jobs: bill poster, janitor, bootblack, scavenger, miner, laborer, cook.[5] Like so many people of color, he entered the historical record largely because of his association with a famous white person. In naming the white John (Bidwell), but not the Black John (Widener), the *Sacramento Bee* indicated its intended subject with a headline that read, "Oroville Negro, Born a Slave, Recalls Bidwell."[6] Columnist Tom Arden's sketch traced John Widener's impressions of his onetime employer, a celebrated "pioneer" who played a key role in the Gold Rush as one of the first Anglo settlers to arrive overland in California. Arden's column made no mention of Widener's roles in the AME church or his leadership in early Black political organizations like the Colored Citizens Convention and the Afro-American League.[7] Also unmentioned by the *Sacramento Bee* were John's children, Sherman, Oscar, Robert, and Annie, as well as Henrietta, his wife.

In contrast to John, nobody brought Henrietta to California. Her maternal ancestors had lived in the Sierra foothills and valley meadows of the Feather River watershed since Wonomi and Turtle had joined together to spread land across a world of water. Like many Native Californians, Henrietta's people, who lived in a riverside village close to Table Mountain, named themselves People. The eventual names by which they would be known to outsiders, Northwestern Maidu, Concow, Konkow, Konkau, and others, were anglicizations of a place-based term, *kóyo•mkàwi*, as the Concow Valley was

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called by those living there, which spoke to centrality of place in ordering Indigenous conceptions of the world.[8]

The Concow lived in one of the most densely settled parts of Native California, where, as one elder put it, “you go two ridges away and they talk different.”[9] Reciprocity and relationality shaped an environment characterized by material stability and cultural complexity, as expressed in basketry, stories, songs, games of chance, and ceremonies.[10] Although governed by long-standing traditions, this was a dynamic world, incorporating fire-based land management, extensive alimentary diversity, and trade links that stretched from the Pacific Northwest to the Great Basin, marked out by customary territories that delineated the spaces inhabited by the neighboring Nomlaki, Yana, Nisenan, and related Maidu peoples.[11] The custom of burning the bulk of the property of the deceased reduced hereditary social inequality. Political authority within villages was decentralized and impermanent, and conflict with neighbors, while endemic, was generally small scale.

Within a world shaped by kinship and place, one thing that mattered little to the Concow were the yellow nuggets that periodically washed up in creek beds.[12]

Gold brought strangers, though, and these strangers brought disaster. Invaders introduced new diseases, depleted game and other food sources, and polluted waterways. The threat of violence at the hands of whites made the gathering of acorns and other plants a dangerous activity. Murder was common, rape even more so.[13] Thousands of adults were killed, and their children were forced into domestic servitude as “wards,” in a process given legal cover through the adoption in 1850 of the “Act for the Government and Protection of Indians.”[14] Then, as now, the links between vigilantism and state violence were clear to see. Localities paid cash for every dead body, while the federal government offered land grants to veterans of campaigns lasting more than fourteen days. Military officials, including Secretary of War Jefferson Davis and Adjutant General William Kibbe, provided professional training and advanced equipment to California state militiamen.[15] Between 1846 and 1873, state and federal officials paid more than $1.7 million in cash bounties to murderers of people whose primary crime was that white people found them inconvenient.[16]

Like my African ancestors, my Indian people sought escape from forced labor at the hands of whites, and, like Africans, Native people had prices put on their heads.[17] White American settlers transformed existing practices of labor coercion pioneered by Spaniards and Californios, realizing new profits

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by selling captives as "indentures" rather than "simply seizing Indians for their own use."[18] Historian Benjamin Madley identifies 1862—the year my grandfather Arnold's grandmother Henrietta was born—as the peak of the "practice of murdering Native Californian adults in order to kidnap and sell young women and children for a profit."[19] Born around 1836, Henrietta's mother Polly, her father Henry, her sister Rosa, and her brother John survived years of near unimaginable violence, when more than 80 percent of California's Indigenous population perished.[20] At the behest of settlers, federal officials dispatched soldiers and militia who removed Concow, Maidu, and Pit River People, first to a short-lived coastal reservation near Fort Bragg, and subsequently, having decided that the coastal redwoods were too valuable to cede, to a mountainous area of Mendocino County that would eventually become the Round Valley reservation.[21]

In this context, survival was a victory. Albert Hurtado wrote of how the "grisly statistics of population reduction have overwhelmed" students of California history in ways that have left as a footnote the resilience and determination of Native people.[22] As William Bauer demonstrates, the displaced built new lives, incorporating the coming of whites into traditional stories, transforming reservation Christianity, entering the labor force as wage workers, renewing ceremonies, and otherwise making the Round Valley reservation their home.[23] For others, as David Chang shows, the exercise of choice consisted precisely in electing not to move to Round Valley.[24] These survivors found kinship and intimacy among others, including Kanaka Maoli, other Indigenous nations, or, in Henrietta, John, Rosa, and Polly's case, freedpeople in and around the Sierras.[25] Fight and flight, negotiation and cultural persistence, kinship and creativity. These were forms of resistance equally familiar to enslaved Africans and Indigenous Americans threatened with extinction. Recalling them is vital, for it makes us subjects of our own history, rather than the objects of a history written by someone else.

The story of John and Henrietta raises the first core concern of this book, the political excavation of historic interactions among communities of color. Jack Forbes argued that understanding the conquest of the Americas necessitated placing the experiences of Americans—and by this he meant Indigenous people across the hemisphere—and Africans in a common frame.[26] Doing so requires acknowledging the high degree of intermixture between Native American and African people across multiple centuries—"the political economy of plunder that pillaged Black lives and Indigenous lands," of course, but also the presence of Afro-Native communities, nations, and families.[27] It is likewise vital to recognize patterns by which official sources shift between

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Figure I.2. Demonstration march against racism, the Ku Klux Klan, and neo-Nazism in Oroville, California, 1982. Photograph by Larry Sharkey. Los Angeles Times Photographic Archives, UCLA Library Special Collections.

defining Native people as "Indian," "colored," "mulatto," and "Black."[28] Such was our experience. To the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials who oversaw the allotment of Round Valley, we were "diggers."[29] For the racists living around the Citrus Heights and Roseville neighborhoods where I spent summers, we were "niggers" (see figure I.2). As survivors of American slavery and the California Indian genocide, my relations lived not only at the intersection of settler colonialism and anti-Black racism, but alongside an imperial crossroad that brought Mexicans, Chinese, Chileans, and Native Hawaiians to the mines, farms, and fields of Central California.[30]

The effect of US racial capitalism upon these communities is the second theme of *Third Worlds Within*.[31] John and Henrietta Widener lived firsthand both primitive accumulation and capitalism, at a breakneck pace and amid furious violence.[32] They married a few months before Karl Marx wrote his friend Friedrich Sorge on November 5, 1880, to ask for an update on economic conditions in California. "California is very important for me," Marx told the founder of the oldest socialist party in the United States,

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"because nowhere else has the upheaval most shamelessly caused by capitalist centralization taken place with such speed."[33] John Widener's introduction to Concow people came at the Chico rancheria owned by John Bidwell, where Widener worked as a servant as a teen and where many Concow and Mechoopda moved to escape the violence swirling around them. Bidwell played a critical role in California's early Anglo history, working as a business manager on the farm where the gold rush began, serving in Congress during Reconstruction, and pioneering the commercial production of melons, raisins, almonds, and walnuts. In keeping with Cedric Robinson's view that capitalism emerged not as a revolutionary break from feudalism, but as part of an evolutionary process that betrayed its strong links to a feudal past imbued with developing ideas about race, "Don Juan Bidwell" cast himself in the manner of other Californios, adopting Spanish pretensions, acquiring multiple Mexican land grants, and styling himself, like his onetime employer John Sutter, as "patriarch, priest, father & judge" to the Indigenous people on whose labor his initial wealth was built.[34]

Although recalled today mostly as a politician and a so-called pioneer, Bidwell was among the most influential capitalists in Central California. A onetime ally and eventual rival of Leland Stanford, Bidwell had interests that extended from agricultural mechanization to transportation. Bidwell's insistence upon maintaining a racially mixed labor force made his holdings a locus for both interethnic engagement and racial animus.[35] In this sense, Bidwell serves as an early exemplar of managerial techniques that fostered competition among races and that imagined white supervision as the key to the development of putatively inferior peoples.[36] He defended strenuously the employment of Chinese workers in the face of arson attacks and death threats by working-class whites—but used Native labor to break a strike by Chinese almond workers on his farm. He authored a proposal for the treatment of Native workers that guaranteed labor rights, pay, legal representation, and access to traditional hunting and fishing grounds, but voted in favor of the 1850 law that included none of these. He demanded Indigenous people embrace monogamy, temperance, and wage labor, but complained when they demanded better pay.[37] A radical reconstructionist Congressman between 1865 and 1867, Bidwell opposed slavery, voted to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and supported the impeachment of Andrew Johnson (who had come to his wedding). Despite his abolitionist attitudes, Bidwell married a woman whose DC upbringing was reflected in her "preference" for Black household labor, and a visiting Mississippian compared the domestic organization of Bidwell's mansion to those maintained by "the better plantation owners back

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home."[38] Bidwell also defended his participation in a punitive "Indian killing" expedition, had a whipping post built on his rancheria, and angrily rebuffed charges that he held "his" Native workers in bondage.[39]

For Native people, Bidwell's rancheria was a place of both land theft and wage labor, a refuge from outright murder and a point of departure for a forced removal.[40] It was likewise a place of employment for Black, Chinese, Hawaiian, Mexican, and white workers. As a physical space, it reminds us that US capitalism is both global and inherently racial, a system of accumulation that linked "slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide," while realizing profit through the production of racial difference.[41] As with capital, so too with the state.[42] The processes witnessed by John and Henrietta Widener and John Bidwell—Indigenous dispossession, Chinese exclusion, and debates over the legal status of people of African and Mexican descent—would return time and again to twentieth-century California, where, as Harsha Walia writes, state formation took place via white supremacy.[43] From segregated classrooms and Native boarding schools to mass incarceration and Japanese internment, through waves of deportations, racist ballot propositions, and police departments famous worldwide for their violent brutality, these deployments of state power remind us that California senator James Phelan's slogan, "Keep California White," was as much a political imperative as a demographic aspiration.[44] Capitalism, racism, and the state shadow the communities whose struggles this book documents.

Finally, Henrietta and John's story brings to the fore the final theme of *Third Worlds Within*: US imperialism and the multiracial struggle to defeat it. John and Henrietta lived through not only the abolition of US slavery and the establishment of the reservation system, but the European partition of Africa, the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, and the seizure of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The California they inhabited was a colonial space, stolen twice, where existence was tied to extraction, and extraction was shaped by race.

As the terminus of the transcontinental railroad, a financial center, and a military-industrial powerhouse, California was the place where the continental empire met the overseas empire, a key node on the circuits of power that would bring the United States of America into a dominant position in the world.[45] From the rival Panama-Pacific and Panama-California exhibitions held in San Francisco and San Diego in 1915 to Kaiser Steel and General Atomics, and on to the University of California's central role in the development of contemporary drone warfare technologies, California, as Ruth Wilson Gilmore puts it, "is in some key ways, first among first" in the development of successive forms of the

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military-industrial complex.[46] California was also the space where racialized and colonized bodies entered the United States, by land and by sea. Far from Ellis Island, many of the latter were detained at Angel Island Immigration Station, a facility built upon the leveled site of a Miwok village. With all this in mind, we might paraphrase Marx, amending his note to Sorge to read something like "California is very important to me, because it furnishes an unusually clear example of the confluence between capitalist transformation, racial violence, and imperialist expansion—in both its continental and overseas modes."

As such, it hardly surprises that California offers so many examples of resistance to the same. The end of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth century brought variegated forms of communal activism, including legal challenges, new protest organizations, labor unions, and even the occasional armed confrontation. In the 1930s, waves of strikes by multiracial groups of lettuce and cotton pickers, cannery packers, and longshoremen made California a "seething cauldron of industrial unrest," and the legacies of Depression-era struggles persisted in everything from the United Farm Workers to the interracial beatnik avant-garde of 1950s-era San Francisco.[47] Later moments—Alcatraz and the I-Hotel, the Watts rebellion and the Delano Grape Strike—confirmed the state as a locus for the imagination of "alternate societies militantly pursued . . . by those who sought to make impossible the future we live today."[48]

At their most visionary and expansive, these movements crossed the barriers of race, ethnicity, and citizenship status that define and divide working people of color inside the United States. As they did so, they tried to strike a blow, from within, against the militarism and expansionism of the so-called American Century. Often, these movements were intensely local, set in *this* field, *that* wharf, *those* classrooms, and yet global in their connections and import. For this reason, this book stretches from Oroville to Oaxaca, from Los Angeles City College to Bangkok's Thammasat University, illustrating how the dual contradiction between the racist production of difference and the relations of multiethnic communities, on the one hand, and between imperialism and internationalism, on the other, formed new communities of resistance here, there, and everywhere.

A WORLD TO WIN

I was born in 1973, a year marked by the US military withdrawal from Vietnam, the Wounded Knee occupation, and the overthrow of Chile's democratically elected socialist government in a US-backed military coup. By that

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time, my parents had been actively involved in political struggle for more than a decade. The children of mechanics and maids, from families linked by Pentecostalism but divided by race, Carolyn Hazell and Michael Widener grew up on opposite sides of South Los Angeles. They entered a University of California that was both free and open to people like them, working-class children of working-class people who were the first in their families to pursue higher education. As an interracial couple looking for housing in segregated Los Angeles, they had accidentally, but not coincidentally, found a longtime member of the Communist Party for a landlord. Younger than the Old Left, and older than the New Left, they were foot soldiers in a long march through the many movements that strove to remake Los Angeles. Across the arc of civil rights, fair housing, Black Power, school blowouts, second-wave feminism, the Chicano Movement, gay and lesbian liberation, the counterculture, and Vietnam, their political lives provided the backdrop to my childhood.[49]

Together, they had participated in an early community police-monitoring project of the sort later made famous by the Black Panther Party and the Community Alert Patrol. My mother had gone with other civil rights activists to Georgia and had been a strike captain at Crenshaw High School during the 1970 work stoppage that established the United Teachers of Los Angeles. She had started a new job at East Los Angeles College a few weeks before the Chicano Moratorium march, at which marauding Los Angeles sheriff's deputies attacked peaceful antiwar protesters, injuring dozens and killing four, including journalist Ruben Salazar. My father had seen his Watts neighborhood go up in flames, and he joined hundreds of community witnesses who gathered outside the Black Panther Party headquarters as it came under attack from the Los Angeles Police Department's new Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) team. School officials transferred him from South Los Angeles to Watts to Pacoima to North Hollywood, hoping to find a school where students would reject his radical ideas. My parents had left an antiwar demonstration in Century City moments before the Los Angeles police launched a brutal attack on the crowd, and they had been outside the Ambassador ballroom the night Robert Kennedy was killed. They had lived through the political murders of Malcolm and Medgar, of King and the Kennedy brothers. They had seen their students go to war or go into hiding, and they had packed their own bags more than once.

As one result of this legacy, I grew up with a vague sense of belonging to a very different moment, of having missed a crucial period in US, or even world, history. I carried this feeling through a childhood spent in two venerable Los Angeles neighborhoods. The Echo Park of my childhood was

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multiracial, vibrant, and radical, but it was a far cry from the happenings of the late 1960s, or the Red Hill of the 1950s, when my parents' social world included Abraham Lincoln Brigade vets, gay rights pioneers of the Mattachine Society, and former affiliates of the Los Angeles chapter of the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born (see figures I.3 and I.4). Nor was my Venice the Venice of the 1950s and 1960s, of the beat poets and the Doors. Rather, it was the Venice of the Shoreline Crips and V-13, of Exene Cervenka and Alex Cox, of Ghost Town and Suicidal Tendencies. Abbot Kinney Boulevard, proclaimed "the coolest block in America" by GQ, was West Washington, a dilapidated strip of struggling businesses—many Black owned—and the famous canals were stagnant pools of brackish slime.[50]

I came to politics toward the end of what Bradford Martin terms "the other eighties," when liberation struggles for every continent surrounded me and my friends.[51] From Northern Ireland and Palestine to Central America and Southern Africa, the local and the international fused at every turn.[52] In the back room of a law office off Western and Adams, former Panthers and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) members pushed us to see the liberation of Southern Africa and South Los Angeles as a common fight. Queer activists from ACT UP LA, many of them HIV-positive, organized caravans to Orange County, where we confronted the antichoice zealots of Operation Rescue and the police who protected their efforts to blockade reproductive health clinics.[53] We learned to mix anarchist glue (wheat paste), and, equipped by artists like Robbie Conal, we put our knowledge to good use. We came to detest *la migra* as much as we reviled the cops. On weekends, we cruised the 'shaw, or brawled with the neo-Nazi skinheads of Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance outside the Roxy, the Palladium, and the Country Club.[54] Our solidarities were not a market exchange—they were a way of life, of seeing the world, and of acting upon what we saw.[55]

And we hated the police. It wasn't just the constant harassment, petty humiliations, and occasional violence. It wasn't the mass arrest facilities set up outside a publicly owned stadium that had once hosted the first integrated team in the National Football League.[56] Nor was it the way in which they ran their low-budget COINTELPRO games on us, claiming that *eses* were crossing out our tags or talking shit about us, even as they told the *vatos* the same thing. It wasn't even their periodic acts of organized fury, like the 1990 police riot in Century City that left an indelible mark on the local labor movement. For me, it was their simple omnipresence, from the SS-like black garb of the LAPD, with their dum-dum rounds, ghetto birds, and Vietnam analogies, to the SA-like thugs of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, with

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Figure I.3. Frank Carlson, cofounder of the California Labor School and education director, Los Angeles Branch, Communist Party of the United States of America, upon his release from jail, 1952. As a member of the Terminal Island Four, Carlson was among those charged under the draconian McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. In a landmark case, the US government insisted upon its right to detain Carlson indefinitely as "an alien eligible for deportation." His case ultimately wound up before the US Supreme Court. Los Angeles Herald Examiner Collection, Special Collections, Doheny Memorial Library, University of Southern California.

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their brown shirts, double lightning tattoos, and not-quite-secret neo-Nazi deputy gangs.[57] Added to this were the junior varsity departments, from Los Angeles Unified to Pasadena, who tailed us at every turn. I know that I don't speak only for myself when I recall the joy I felt when, for a few days in 1992, we pushed them off the streets.

In recent years, the languages of anti-imperialism, solidarity, and the possibility of revolutionary alliances across nonwhite populations have fallen from favor, pushed aside by rival visions characterized by fantasies of changing the world without seizing power, the narrow nationalism of porkchop (Afro)pessimism, and impossible demands for safe spaces in a country built upon and dedicated to violence. Widespread agreement about the targets of our resistance—patriarchy, capitalism, anti-Blackness, settler colonialism, and state violence toward immigrant communities—has not been accompanied by clarity about where we want to go or how to get there. This is not an accident, but follows logically from a lack of class analysis, cynicism regarding the efficacy and necessity of solidarity, and the disavowal of direct and reciprocal links between intellectuals and mobilized communities outside the academy. As a result, we are left with what Fred Hampton identified so

Figure I.4. Frank Carlson in Echo Park, Los Angeles, 1974. Infant at bottom is the author. Personal collection of author.

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many years ago: "Answers that don't answer, explanations that don't explain, and conclusions that don't conclude."[58]

In his 1963 speech at King Solomon Baptist Church in Detroit, Malcolm X told his audience, "Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research."[59] Historical examples offer concrete lessons that "minimize the risk of reductive abstraction" and that help us to see that "there are two sides to every question, but only one side is right."[60] In this vein, *Third Worlds Within* takes as its starting point the value of learning from earlier moments when multiracial movements rooted in strategy—and in the belief in victory—rather than the constant proclamation of difference, formed a basic element of the political lives of nonwhite people living in the United States. It is written first and foremost for those who refuse "to remain transfixed at the point of racial abjection, repeatedly bearing witness to the bareness of life stripped of well-being, rights, and physical protection."[61] It likewise rejects the idea that our struggles are somehow "incommensurable." Instead, it recounts a "dream of a common language," a possible history for an age of new contradictions and uncertainty.[62]

The term *incommensurable* is taken from Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's influential essay, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor." Their essay offers a uniquely valuable critique of how emancipatory mobilizations often ignore or are even complicit with settler colonialism. Yet Tuck and Yang are imprecise in their approach to the status of people of African descent in the US settler-colonial state. Their argument about "racialized" subjects who "occupy and settle stolen Indigenous land" would seem to imply that Black claims to redress in the form of land or other territorial concessions invariably bolster the ongoing process of Native dispossession.[63] Indeed, by stating, "It is no accident that the US government promised 40 acres of Indian land as reparations for plantation slavery," this point is made explicitly.[64] This perspective is historically inaccurate.[65] It is also at odds with views put forth by many radical Indigenous activists. Wounded Knee veteran Woody Kipp, for example, argued that reparations to African Americans should take the form of collectively owned land (reservations) inside the borders of the present-day United States.[66] Vine Deloria Jr. concurred, saying, "I think it was an absolute disaster blacks were not given reservations" and that "to survive, blacks must have a homeland where they can withdraw, drop the façade of integration, and be themselves."[67] More recently, formations like the Red Nation and the NDN Collective have defended the inextricable link between Indigenous and Black Liberation, with Red Nation arguing that "we must align ourselves with our relatives in the African diaspora and on the African continent as many of our ancestors first did against settler colonialism."[68]

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The decision not to engage the links developed between Indigenous struggles and a wide range of Black radical figures of disparate dispensations, including Angela Davis, Kwame Ture, Dick Gregory, Fran Beal, the Nation of Islam, the Third World Women's Alliance, and the Republic of New Africa, is another curious silence, though one that follows logically from an avoidance of the connection between Indigenous decolonization and other national liberation struggles. As a result, an entire history is lost. Tuck and Yang's dismissal of "Third World in the First World" frameworks as "ambiguating" Indigenous claims and constituting a colonialist masking seems to leave little place for the affinities expressed between organizations like the African National Congress and the Black Panther Party ("Third World" and "First World"), or between George Manuel and the Tanzanian Revolution ("Fourth World" and "Third World"), or between the Black Panther Party and the Native Alliance for Red Power, whose parallel ten- and eight-point programs range across the common concerns of police violence, economic exploitation, the criminal injustice system, and the meaning of self-determination.

The notion of incommensurability obliterates an entire range of actually existing solidarities.[69] What of the American Indian Movement and Sinn Féin, who found common cause around language revival, the repatriation of remains, armed struggle, and a range of other issues? What about Sandra Izsadore, the Black American woman from Los Angeles who played such a pivotal role in radicalizing Nigerian Pan-African Afrobeat avatar Fela Kuti? What was Nasser doing uptown, anyway? Where does a framework that negates the connection between internal colonialism, external colonialism, and settler colonialism leave West Papuans, Aboriginal Australians, and Torres Strait Islanders, whose radicalism reflected both their own traditions and their engagement with Black radical circuits, from Jack Johnson and the UNIA (United Negro Improvement Association) to the Panthers, Caribbean revolutionists, and independent West African states like Senegal and Guinea-Bissau? What of the many links between US-based Latinx radicalisms and the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional), or the formation of DQ University, a project aimed at producing a revolutionary education for Chicanx and Native people?

Instead of incommensurability, we might choose to return to an older political vocabulary centered on the idea of "contradictions among the people."[70] Doing so allows us to understand how the enslavement of Africans by Indigenous nations and the homesteading of Indigenous lands by Black freedpeople were ultimately part of a conjoined logic of "Removal" that featured as a constitutive element the production of an oppositional

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relationship between Black and Indigenous people.[71] The point here is not to negate the unique violence of settler colonialism, in either its historic or continuing iterations, but rather to argue that revolutionaries see their problems in light of the oppression suffered by others. Our situations need not be identical to be commensurate.

A parallel vision of incommensurability exists at the heart of the intellectual impasse known as Afropessimism. Afropessimism posits a world order based upon a categorical opposition between Blackness and humanity in which Black agency is an oxymoronic fiction. Multiple theorizations shape this framework, including the idea that the spectacular and hideous violence experienced by enslaved Black people is exceptional and cannot be analogized; that the idea of social death under slavery remains the essential character of Black life today; and that society is shaped in the first and last instance by a structural hostility to Black people. For obvious reasons, this framework rejects a politics of common struggle. [72] It likewise finds history, both as an intellectual methodology and as a register of human activity, deeply inconvenient. The point is not to deny the centrality of anti-Black violence to the entire enterprise of US nationality or Western capitalism. Rather, it is to point out that to perpetuate a worldview in which Blackness somehow equals permanent and unalterable social death is to adopt precisely the white supremacist worldview that our forebears knew was untrue.

As with history, so too with geography. Afropessimist ahistoricism is compounded by an unwillingness to acknowledge the efficacy of Black self-activity throughout the world, where, Brent Hayes Edwards reminds us, we mostly do not speak English.[73] Afropessimists, notes Kevin Ochieng Okoth, "frequently erase or distort beyond recognition, the various Black liberation movements that fought against racism, colonialism, and imperialism throughout the Global South."[74] They have to, since it is difficult to engage seriously what Denise Ferreira da Silva identifies as the "intrinsically multiple quality of black subjectivity" when you reject the idea that Black people have any subjectivity at all.[75]

Much of this self-activity, it should be pointed out, involves work with other mobilized communities. In Brazil, Indigenous communities, *afrodescendientes*, landless people, and environmental activists have found common cause against violence and deforestation.[76] In Bolivia, the plurinational, Indigenous-led government of Evo Morales has advocated specific constitutional entitlements and recognized the ceremonial monarchy of the Afro-Bolivian royal house.[77] In Guyana, we can point to the drawing together of the Working Peoples Alliance and the Guyana Action Party in tracing political alliances

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between Indigenous, Black, and immigrant Indo-Guyanese populations. In Mexico, Colombia, and Ecuador, *afrodescendiente* and Indigenous organizing has repeatedly overlapped. Even within North America, the pessimists are wrong, given the mutual affinity between, for example, the Republic of New Africa, the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement, and the Native Alliance for Red Power, as well as between SNCC and the United Farm Workers, to say nothing of the millions who took to the streets in the aftermath of the murders of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd. Here we might turn again to Cedric Robinson's caution against ignoring historical examples in favor of reductive abstraction.

As has happened so many times in the history of the West, the continent of Africa suffers specific erasure in both a narrowly conceived settler colonial studies and an insular Afropessimism. As Robin Kelley writes, Patrick Wolfe's formulation of settler colonialism as elimination cannot encompass African history, with the result that Africa is once again cast aside, with deleterious repercussions for Indigenous people in the Americas, since actually existing postsettler states fade from view.[78] In asking why Black North American academics would employ a term—*Afropessimism*—that has a long and pejorative history in reference to the African continent, Okoth draws attention to the neoliberal capture at the heart of an academic fad that negates "the possibility for anti-imperialist solidarity between racialized people across the world" in favor of "pseudo-politics" that is "more useful for academic promotions, Instagram hashtags, and Nike adverts."[79] Betita Martínez had a name for this kind of viewpoint. She termed it the "Oppression Olympics."[80]

In the chapters that follow, internationalist politics and alliances across communities of color come together. Independent Black radical activity is at the heart of most of the stories told herein. At other moments, the focus is on the expansive vision of global Indigenous struggles, the challenges of Black/Brown solidarity, or the influence of East Asian revolutionary movements on the US Third World Left. In taking up Black, Indigenous, Asian, and Latinx communities, I have tried to write a history that is simultaneously Black and Third World, one that is "anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist, rooted in the experiences of Third (and Fourth) World Communities in the First, who come together as a class faction without downplaying the cultural differences between them."[81]

To be sure, struggles emanate from specific historical experiences, political contexts, and cultural understandings of the world. What Cedric Robinson describes as "the Black Radical Tradition" differs from the unique relations to land, culture, and sovereignty that are at the heart of Indigenous survivance,

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just as the transnational resistance of racialized Latinx and Asian populations to empire, exploitation, and exclusion demands specific attention and understanding. The search for what Daniel Martinez HoSang terms "a wider freedom" is by its very nature heterogenous, disparate, and uneven.[82] Indeed, this variation is part of how interdependent and coproduced struggles create wider conditions of possibility. Sometimes organizations or activists are at the center of the narrative. At other moments, artistic genres or cultural formations constitute the interpretive lens. Certain chapters address specific campaigns, while others are grounded in place. The variety is deliberate. Movements are built from each of these blocks.

Taken together, the chapters that make up *Third Worlds Within* offer a compendium of struggles grouped around the two central themes of interethnicity and internationalism. The first of these concerns the production and navigation of difference among communities of color, as well as the production of community, affective bonds, and political coalitions in shared nonwhite spaces. The second theme tracks how anti-imperialism shaped antiracist activity within the United States. Keeping these frameworks together is both a political and intellectual imperative for those who intend to confront "the predatory solution of token reform at home and counter-revolutionary imperialism abroad."[83] As Nikhil Pal Singh points out, severing the analogy between external (colonialism) and internal (racism) oppression allowed a "domestication" of politics in which a narrow racial identification "submerged more expansive arguments about the relationship between race, ethics, political economy and foreign policy."[84] "Domestication" refers here to more than just a geographic orientation, for the domesticated creature is obedient, harmless, and tame. In politics, domestication replaces self-determination with diversity, promotes inclusion rather than independence, and offers equity in place of liberation. In short, it replaces a moment of world making with a world of making do.[85]

A purely domestic agenda focused on civil rights—or whatever "diversity, equity, and inclusion" is meant to be—offers a formula that both liberal humanism and US militarism can live with. After all, the US military is more integrated than most schools in the United States, and a commitment to hegemony abroad is the only real example of bipartisanship the US political system consistently shows. The promise of entry into the consumptive affluence of the American dream is a powerful lure—and it is easy to live inside the empire without asking where your shirt, shoes, or phone was made. In contrast to a domesticated rights-based framework that both oppresses and makes complicit the nonwhite citizens of the United States, the simultaneous

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struggle against empire and white supremacy constitutes an alternate geography, a "cartography of refusal" that stretches across all the cities and continents that this book surveys.[86] Alongside this alternate geography, interethnic internationalism offers an alternative approach to thinking about historical time, a possible history whose critical moments replace the major milestones of US settler history—Yorktown, Gettysburg, Midway—with global markers of resistance. The Haitian Revolution. Little Bighorn. Cuito Cuanavale. Tet.

Other examples abound. In 1915, as Kelly Lytle Hernández recounts, Mexican anarchists hatched a quixotic "Plan de San Diego" whose centerpiece was an insurrectionary "liberating army for races and peoples" that promised land return to Indigenous peoples, the Black children of the formerly enslaved, and landless Mexicanos in Texas.[87] The same year, Charlemagne Péralte began his military struggle against the US occupation of Haiti. Aboriginal Australians at the First International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World heard Marcus Garvey describe Black nationalism as an antidote to genocide in Australia. *Negro World* detailed the "vile horrors" of white rule in New Caledonia, calling them worse than those seen in South Africa.[88] Connecting conditions in the US South with the Caribbean, W. E. B. Du Bois decried "the reign of terror" imposed upon occupied Haitians by "southern white naval officers and marines."[89] Black American newspapers followed the rebellion of Augusto Sandino intently, with the Pittsburgh *Courier* writing that the nations of Latin America were "about as independent as a Negro worker in Bogalusa, L.A."[90] In a colony where the epithet "nigger" was directed with equal frequency at both Filipinos and Black servicemen, a white military observer concluded that African American soldiers "were in closer sympathy with the native population than they were with the white leaders and policy of the U.S."[91] The National Council of Negro Women and the Asociación Cultural Femenina created circuits of travel and activism dedicated to combating the parallel oppressions faced by Black North American and Afro-Cuban women.[92] Harlem rallied to defend Ethiopia and Spain. Revolution in Mexico drew in Black North American, Latin American, Asian, and South Asian radicals.[93] The creation of the Soviet Union and the rise of imperialist Japan did the same.

Engagement with these global events changed the configuration of race relations inside the United States. Japanese and Indian revolutionists proved instrumental in promoting the idea that Black North Americans constituted an oppressed nation entitled to independence from the United States. Writing in 1927, Black Bolshevik Harry Haywood argued that African Americans were "a captive nation, suffering a colonial-type oppression while trapped

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within the geographic confines of one of the world's most powerful imperialist countries."[94] With the publication of "The Mexican Question in the Southwest," the Black Belt thesis spread from Black to Brown.[95] First arrested at age sixteen, labor activist and "Mexican Question" co-author Emma Tenayuca "read everything [she] could on anarchism," joined the Communist Party, and became "la pasionara de Tejas."[96] A young Vietnamese, not yet known as Ho Chi Minh, journeyed from Boston to New York to hear Marcus Garvey speak on "Africa for the Africans—and Asia for the Asians."[97] Across the Pacific, US officials nervously watched ports and printing presses, as immigrant Filipinos, Japanese, and Indians built interethnic unions, agitated for the liberation of each other's colonies, and established links with like-minded Black radicals. In the interwar Caribbean, anarchist Puerto Ricans and Cubans rejected both US colonialism and American citizenship—a vision that likewise guided Cayuga leader Deskaheh's denunciation of US and Canadian attacks on the rights of Haudenosaunee citizens. A generation later, this parallel refusal would draw Wallace "Mad Bear" Anderson to revolutionary Cuba and prompt American Indian Movement cofounder Vernon Bellecourt to claim that "the only way we are going to bring an honest relationship between Native people and the US government is to raise this sovereignty issue as Puerto Rico is raising it."[98]

Of course, the empire struck back. The internationalist racial rebellions of the interwar period produced a massive repressive response. The US state constructed a vast structure of surveillance and disruption. It used spies, police, and ordinary racists to bring the Partido Liberal Mexicano to heel. It assisted its fellow imperialists in tracking elusive Asian radicals like M. N. Roy and Sen Katayama from British Columbia to Mexico City. It deported Garvey. Like the British and French, it deployed "Black soldiers of imperialism" across the territories it controlled, from Pine Ridge to the Philippines.[99]

More subtly, it produced differences across a great many registers. It continued to exclude people of African descent even as it forcibly assimilated Indigenous people. It told Asian people in California they could neither become citizens nor own land. Having decided who would be fit to be citizens, it made citizenship into a category that would divide Mexican and Mexican American families. From Hawaiian pineapple plantations and Californian strawberry fields to schoolyards and jails, it fostered interethnic conflicts among people of color. It made social progress for nonwhites contingent upon their distance from Black folks. And of course, it continuously updated the greatest fiction of all: whiteness.

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In the end, none of it really worked to forestall radical challenges to either racism at home or empire abroad. Such was the power of antiracism linked to anti-imperialism.

In thinking about Black radicalism, internationalist politics, and connections among communities of color inside the United States, *Third Worlds Within* follows a relational model of thinking about race inside the United States. Rather than taking race relations as a matter of how separate racialized groups interact with the white citizens or structures of the United States, relational, interethnic, or polycultural approaches to understanding racial formation (the process by which collective identities are organized and achieve social meaning) foreground the idea that race making and antiracist struggle often happen as part of a dynamic and multisided process.[100] These approaches attune us, for example, to the links between Indian removal and the expansion of slavery, how citizenship struggles waged by Black freedpeople after the conclusion of the American Civil War generated legal protections used today by immigrant rights activists, or how the model minority discourse was deployed in response to growing Black insurgency. Relational approaches highlight how the production and management of difference forms an integral element of both racial capitalism and the contours of US imperialism, as well as the possibility of new understandings and affiliation across these divides.[101] By decentering whiteness, relational approaches allow us to grasp with greater accuracy how increasing numbers of people of color inside the urban United States live their daily lives.

Part of this story can only be told via a social history of relational political activism. This point neither minimizes the value of community studies of interethnic neighborhoods, nor more sociological approaches that illustrate how the state and capital shape racial identities. If changing this country is our aim, we must understand the long history of affinities, collaborations, and alliances among Indigenous, Black, Asian, and Latinx people within the United States. We must recognize that "Black and Third World Peoples need to be made actively conscious of the commonality of heritage and interest."[102] In doing so, we can recall compelling alternatives to racial division and class rule. At times, politically moderate forces joined together across racial lines.[103] At other moments, these projects emerged within singular organizations linked to the international Left. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, enduring connections were built by radical nationalist forces.

In this vein, Lakota scholar Vine Deloria Jr. described Black Power as "a godsend to other groups," claiming that "it clarified the intellectual concepts

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which had kept Indians and Mexicans confused and allowed the concept of self-determination to suddenly become valid."[104] Métis activist Howard Adams concurred, saying, "The parallels between Black people in America and Indian people in Canada are obvious, since they both live in a white supremacist society." Dismissing the view that the specificity of Black and Native oppression rendered alliances between Native and Black people problematic, Adams argued, "I felt very strongly about their oppression. . . . As colonized natives we understood one another immediately."[105] World Council of Indigenous Peoples cofounder George Manuel described an "unwritten alliance . . . emerging between the Indian, black, and Chicano youth across North America."[106] Amid the twin context of racial strife and an unpopular war, radicals of color forged new links across the bounds of racial difference. These links lay at the heart of new struggles against police brutality, for labor rights, for education, and against war.

This book approaches race and politics from a perspective that is internationalist as well as interethnic.[107] For this reason, it is my hope that *Third Worlds Within* will be read as part of a broader boom in the study of transnational radicalisms that animated what has been called the Third World, the tricontinental, and the Global South. This framework is conceptual, not physical. As Vijay Prashad says, the Third World was a project, not a place.[108] From Cuba and Tanzania to Vanuatu and British Columbia, proponents of Third Worldism sought both a new international system and a new path to cultural and social development for their peoples.[109] The vision of anti-imperialist self-determination that raced around the world resonated profoundly within the United States.[110] Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, this mutuality of interest fostered an "anticolonial vernacular" among Native, Black, Asian American, Puerto Rican, and Chicano and Chicana activists, and the idea that communities of color formed part of a worldwide alliance lay squarely at the heart of efforts to build revolutionary relationships across racial difference within the United States and, indeed, throughout all the overdeveloped countries of the world.[111]

Radicals within the United States adopted comparativist frameworks that took colonialism as a global structure with domestic analogies. The notion of African Americans and Chicanos as internally colonized groups characterized by geographic concentration, cultural oppression, and economic superexploitation at the hands of a dominant Anglo society provided both a mechanism for understanding US racism and a contact point with liberation struggles abroad.[112] Writing in 1962, Harold Cruse observed, "From the beginning, the American Negro has existed as a colonial being." Drawing attention

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to the parallel between US domestic colonialism and external European expansion allowed Cruse to argue that “the revolutionary initiative has passed to the colonial world, and in the United States is passing to the Negro.”[113] In the case of Indigenous nations in North America, ongoing patterns of land displacement and forced assimilation made the colonial framework even more stark. For Filipinos, the legacies of US colonialism and decades of labor struggle shaped a particular dual line of antiracism and anti-imperialism. For Puerto Ricans, whether living in the “oldest colony in the world” or part of the diaspora driven to migration by the continued realities of external control, colonialism was reality, “despite all the clever phrases like ‘commonwealth’ and ‘Free Associated State’ created to confuse the issue.”[114]

Colonial analogies rested upon a global web of real-world connections. South African officials journeyed to Canada and the United States, where the operation of First Nation reserves and Indian reservations became one template for the spatially bound “native reserves” (Bantustans) for Africans that were a staple of apartheid. The US-backed military dictatorship that ruled Bolivia sought the immigration of up to 100,000 white Rhodesians and South Africans, in the hope that white flight from African decolonization might become an instrument of Indigenous displacement. Closer to home, the US advisor responsible for training South Vietnamese police, Frank Walton, had been deputy chief of the Los Angeles Police Department—where he had commanded a precinct located in Watts.[115] A fellow advisor had come from San Quentin, and would go on to oversee prisons in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Iraq. This is a twenty-first-century story too. Having pioneered a racist “broken windows” policing theory that led to a dramatic rise in incarceration rates and highly visible cases of police violence, onetime military policeman and former NYPD chief Bill Bratton advised failed Venezuelan coup plotter Iván Simonovis. Bratton was in Caracas as police commanded by Simonovis killed nineteen protesters who had flooded the streets to defend Hugo Chavez.

The erasure of the line between law enforcement and the military is both a central element of political repression and a familiar story, from Buenos Aires and San Salvador to South Central Los Angeles and Wounded Knee. With support from the United States, Israeli police instructed their US peers alongside Colombian paramilitaries and Guatemalan soldiers—while the Israeli state provided a vital lifeline to apartheid-era South Africa. In addition to compiling dossiers on more than 55,000 people in Los Angeles, officers assigned to a clandestine LAPD counterinsurgency squad liaised illegally with former CIA and National Security Council (NSC) officers attempting to evade

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congressional bans on US assistance to paramilitary groups abroad.[116] Salvadoran death squads roamed the streets of Los Angeles, kidnapping, sexually assaulting, and threatening to kill exiles and dissident activists.[117] Some, no doubt, had been to the United States before, courtesy of the training courses held at the School of the Americas, a Department of Defense training center located at the US Army base at Fort Benning, Georgia. Others, to be sure, will learn the same lessons if a planned Cop City supported by Atlanta's Black mayor, Keisha Lance Botttoms, is built.

Recognition of these connections drove not only a greater engagement with struggles abroad, but a new cognizance of the connections between communities of color inside the United States. In this sense, anti-imperialism drove interethnic convergences. During the Korean War, the Civil Rights Congress noted that "the genocidal doctrines and actions of American white supremacists have already been exported to the colored peoples of Asia." At the same time, in Los Angeles, New York, Detroit, and Texas, Civil Rights Congress chapters worked closely with the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, recognizing that deportation threats aimed at alleged subversives threatened Caribbean, Mexican American, and Asian radicals (alongside whites), many of whom were actively involved in opposition to the war in Korea.[118] Upon his release from prison, where he had been held along with fellow "Terminal Island Four" detainee Frank Carlson, Korean independence activist David Hyun described how "Negro people supported us, the trade unionists supported us, Mexican Americans supported us. . . . I learned that clear lesson that civil rights is also a fight for peace, for trade unions, for the Negro people . . . as well as a fight for the foreign born."[119] In issuing a landmark indictment that described in detail the genocidal conditions faced by African Americans, the Civil Rights Congress took up language that echoed a parallel report issued by an anti-imperialist women's commission that had toured wartime North Korea.[120] Amid the repression of the early Cold War, leftist activists produced transnational networks that were simultaneously antiracist, feminist, anticolonial, and dedicated to defending the rights of noncitizens.

These sorts of connections expanded during the era of Black power and the US war against Vietnam. The Third World Women's Alliance described how "the development of an anti-imperialist ideology led us to recognize the need for Third World Solidarity," in which "Asian, Black, Chicana, Native American and Puerto Rican sisters . . . were all affected by the same general oppressions."[121] Revolutionary women like Yuri Kochiyama, Denise Oliver, and LaNada Means moved between Asian, Black, Native, Chicana,

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and Puerto Rican formations and organizations even as they worked for international solidarity, against US interventions abroad, and for the development of the specific communities from which they came. A *Black Scholar* issue dedicated to the Third World placed updates on liberation struggles in Eritrea and Angola alongside an interview with American Indian Movement cofounder Dennis Banks and an essay on the struggle of the United Farm Workers written by Cesar Chavez. The introduction to the issue began by asserting that "the Third World—the world of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Latin America, and Asia—exists just as certainly within the United States as it does outside its borders."[122]

Whether across neighborhoods or national borders, mobility played a critical role in generating interethnic and internationalist solidarities.[123] As Elisabeth Armstrong shows, Black North American women Eslanda Robeson and Thelma Dale attended the weeklong Asian Women's Conference held in Beijing in 1949, which sought to consolidate an anticolonial and antiracist feminist movement that directly connected women in both colonized and colonizing spaces.[124] In the decades that followed, the idea of Black, Brown, Asian, and Native people as engaged in the same general struggle unfolding throughout the world drew African Americans to Mexico (Elizabeth Catlett) and China (Vicky Garvin) and brought Indigenous radicals to revolutionary Cuba (Wallace "Mad Bear" Anderson), Ireland (Madonna Thunder Hawk), and Tanzania (George Manuel). Pat Sumi joined an "Anti-Imperialist Delegation" to North Korea, China, and Vietnam, where her Vietnamese hosts dismissed her praise by telling her, "You're just like us, and we're just like you."[125] Jamaican historian Lucille Mair and Black North American educator Thais Aubry traveled to Suva for the 1975 Pacific Women's Conference, which brought together Indigenous women from throughout Oceania who spoke on nuclear testing, women's rights, decolonization, traditional culture, and the comparative histories of Oceania, the Caribbean, and North America.[126] Aboriginal Black Power activist Cheryl Buchanan joined a delegation to China, while other radicals from Oceania attended the Congress of Afrikan People (Atlanta, 1970), the Sixth Pan-African Congress (1974, Tanzania), the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts (1977, Nigeria), and the founding conference of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (Port Alberni, 1975). A cognizance of connections prompted Chicana activist Betita Martínez, who had earlier authored a firsthand account on the early years of the Cuban Revolution, to write, following a visit to North Vietnam, that "the history of the war in Vietnam began because of the land. Many years ago, the peasants lost their lands to the large landowners . . . (just like what happened to our ancestors)."[127]

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Revolutionary forces around the world reciprocated. Speaking of the role played by the Venceremos Brigade, a solidarity organization that organized annual delegations to Cuba in violation of the US ban on travel to the island, Cuban official Orlaida Cabrera described how working and living together allowed Cubans and North Americans to learn to see each other as "comrades in a common struggle for humanity."[128] The same logic led South African I. B. Tabata to write that the Watts rebellion "reminded me of my own country, and I saw that we are indeed the same people," and prompted Amilcar Cabral to proclaim, "we are with the Blacks of North America, we are with them in the streets of Los Angeles, and when they are deprived of all possibility of life, we suffer with them."[129] The African National Congress issued a communique "to express our solidarity with the Black Panther Party," describing "fascist racism" as a common enemy and acknowledging that "our struggle like yours is part of the larger struggle against international imperialism now being conducted in Vietnam, in the Middle East and most of the Third World."[130] These connections lasted well into the 1980s. Having begun by drawing attention to the presence of representatives of the African National Congress (David Ndaba) and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (Dr. Zehdi Terzi), Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop told a cheering crowd at New York City's Hunter College of a US Department of State memo that warned of the "dangerous appeal" posed by the presence of an English-speaking Black socialist state in the Caribbean.[131] Seven years later, over the objections of New York's African American mayor David Dinkins, a visiting Nelson Mandela told a quartet of former Puerto Rican political prisoners that he was honored to be seated next to them since he supported "the cause of anyone who is fighting for self-determination."[132]

Black Panther Party cofounder Huey Newton came to describe this ideological horizon as *intercommunalism*, a kind of postnational internationalism meant to recognize the central importance of locality in the lived experience of oppressed peoples. Claiming that "we see very little difference in what happens to a community here in North America and what happens to a community in Vietnam . . . [between] a Chinese community in San Francisco and a Chinese community in Hong Kong . . . in what happens to a Black community in Harlem and a Black community in South Africa," Newton placed nonstate categories alongside state and nation as viable units for identification and affiliation.[133] Although Newton cast what he was doing as novel, it was more like a return to the source, since the idea of an internationalism that went beyond nations was a recurring concept in Black radical thought.[134]

Of course, there were theoretical perspectives that drew upon poor analogies, or that had limited efficacy in terms of reaching people. Newton spoke

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frankly of getting booed offstage when trying to explain his ideas, while the colonial analogies proposed by the Revolutionary Action Movement, Malcolm X, and Kwame Ture, among others, proved incapable of surmounting the clear obstacles of the sort identified by Francee Covington, including the uniquely co-optive elements of US society, the specific challenges of revolutionary activity in urban settings, and the lack of a unifying cultural force like language or religion common to Black Americans and absent in their oppressors.[135] The lack of sustained attention to hierarchies of gender and class on the part of multiple early theorists of internal colonialism led to the outright dismissal of the entire idea.[136] There was a tendency to dissolve heterogeneous areas, historical experiences, and political situations through facile comparisons, as in arguing for the sameness of Chinese or Black communities separated by language, culture, and thousands of miles. African Americans often transposed their specific experiences with racism in ways that mapped unevenly in places like Cuba, Mexico, or Brazil. Independent states proved unwilling or incapable of providing the sort of aid some in the United States hoped they would. Personality conflicts, ideological schisms, fears of infiltration, and outright unprincipled behavior split multiethnic organizations like the Venceremos Brigade and nationalist formations like the Panthers and the Brown Berets alike. As Judy Wu so eloquently puts it, radicals operating "in the belly of the beast . . . at times also reproduced the beast within themselves."[137] Theorists of internal colonialism gave too little thought to the problem of the white majority. None of these problems were resolved by the time the movements that sought to interpret the world through a global/local continuum were destroyed.

Others, as Quito Swan reminds us, were "blinded by Bandung." Swan argues that amid the heroic elements of Third Worldism, the Indonesian slogan of "unity in diversity/*Bhinneka Tunngal Ika*" covered a refusal to acknowledge the self-determination of West Papuans, leading to occupation, mass murder, and war that continues to this day.[138] Other silences and failures, from the Cuban Revolution's unwillingness to countenance independent Black political activity, to the Sandinista revolution's disastrous treatment of indigenous Miskito people, to the repression of Kabyle people by the Algerian state, all form painful legacies of our attempts to realize our freedom dreams.[139] It is no accident that Indigenous people, national minorities, and migrants—bodies cast as beyond the national frame—often suffered the greatest violence after the arrival of political independence.

Many of the failures of postcolonial states, including impatience, corruption, and the inability to break free of the wider systemic constraints in which

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they existed, were experienced, albeit on a smaller scale, in the localities governed by Black, Latinx, and Native people during and after the 1970s and 1980s. Austerity is austerity, and if the analogy between neocolonialism in the global South and neoliberalism in the metropole bothers academics, it should be their burden to explain why crushing cuts to education and health care, state-sanctioned intercommunal violence, and a persistent lack of regard for human lives in Pine Ridge, Compton, or Redfern is somehow intellectually incompatible with parallel experiences in Kingston or Conakry.[140]

Internationalism is a perspective. The relational racial frame is a tool. What is recovered in the link between the two is simple but profound, an understanding that *we are not a minority*. Our lack of power is temporary, not a permanent condition of our being. The chapters included in this book are meant to be illustrative and evocative, rather than comprehensive or definitive. They explore subjects as disparate as the meaning of Black opposition to the Korean War, the visual elements of Indigenous internationalism, and the role of global events in the production of multiracial communities in urban Los Angeles. Sometimes the analysis tracks major social movements or vital organizations. At other times, the focus is on cultural convergences, neighborhood interactions, or other more prefigurative pursuits. Their utility is meant to extend, through stories of struggle, the observation made by Natalia Molina, who argues for the possibility of "seemingly unlikely antiracist alliances . . . when groups recognize the similarity of their stories in the collective experiences of others."[141] Written at a moment of intensifying struggle, this book seeks to show how, in the past, these recognitions of similarity lay at the heart of many polycentric radicalisms. Perhaps in our present and future moments, they might do so again.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

Third Worlds Within is divided into three thematic parts. The first of these, "Communities," explores how complex patterns of urban interaction unfold amid local and global concerns, and how politics grounded in antiracist struggles generate new relationships between African American, Latinx, and Asian American people. Chapter 1 examines the interrelated history of African Americans, Japanese, and Japanese Americans in Los Angeles, from the interwar period until the 1970s. In highlighting the history of mixed Black and Asian American neighborhoods, this chapter tracks an interethnic community through parallel patterns of migration and segregation, interwar radicalism and world war, and finally through the solidarities and

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divergences that arose in the context of postwar struggles for racial equality inside the United States. I argue that between the informal spaces of shared neighborhoods, the experience of cultural convergence, and the appeal of radical politics, Black and Japanese residents of Los Angeles developed an interethnic affinity rooted in both politics and place.

Chapter 2 explores the use of visual culture to restore interethnic affinities amid worsening tension between Mexican American and African American working people in the aftermath of the 1992 Rodney King rebellion. Public art, art shows, and the active engagement of photographers, artists, and arts educators sought what Guyanese revolutionary Andaiye termed "neighborliness" in the face of tensions over demographic change and the social conditions driven by mass incarceration, economic recession, and generalized racial discord.[142] This, too, was part of a global story, as the visual interventions aimed at detailing the connections between Black and Mexican people living in the United States drew upon a growing activism on the part of people of African descent in Mexico.

"National liberation," argued Amilcar Cabral, "is necessarily an act of culture." Taking heed of this, part II, "Cultures," transitions from place-based examinations of multiethnic community to the role of revolutionary cultures in exploring how activists used popular music and political posters to produce internationalist antiracist visions. Chapter 3, "People's Songs and People's War," traces the organizational history and creative output of Paredon Records, a US-based company created by two veteran Jewish activists with roots in the worlds of folk music and the Old Left, Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber.[143] Founded in 1970, Paredon released fifty records generated by political movements across the world, including Palestine, Greece, El Salvador, Angola, the Dominican Republic, Northern Ireland, Haiti, Mexico, and the United States. This chapter explores records covering struggles in Thailand, the Philippines, China, and Vietnam, as well as albums detailing the Asian American and antiwar movements, as an example of a musical tricontinental solidary.

Chapter 4 moves from the musical to the visual. In highlighting how global Indigenous struggles have made use of political posters—arguably the most visible and effective of radical visual materials—this chapter builds upon the visions of radical Indigenous internationalism and Left/Indigenous struggles analyzed by Glen Coulthard, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, Nick Estes, Steven Salaita, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, and Jeffrey Weber.[144] Drawing attention to the global reach of these struggles, as well as more localized struggles against ecological degradation, patriarchy, and police violence and for cultural renewal, sovereignty, and liberation, this chapter

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argues that visual culture reveals one realm in which both internationalism and interethnicity have been central to Indigenous struggles both within and beyond the Americas.

The book's final part, "Campaigns," presents two case studies of Black internationalism. Chapter 5 tells the story of Black resistance to the Korean War. Unlike the World War II–era Double V campaign, or the explosion of antiwar activity that accompanied Black participation in what the Vietnamese call the Resistance War against the United States (Kháng chiến chống Mỹ), the Korean conflict remains as generally obscure in Black history as it is in US history as a whole. Rather than offering a comprehensive study or recapitulating the Korean conflict's status as a footnote in the broader story of Cold War civil rights, this chapter examines antiwar activism, the treatment of Black servicemen and women, and Black debates over the nature of the conflict.

Chapter 6, "Continent to Continent," offers a local microhistory of how the Black community in Los Angeles mobilized around the liberation of Southern Africa. Three dimensions are taken up. The first of these concerns efforts to draw parallels between the conditions faced in South Central and South Africa. Second, the chapter recounts efforts to sever the links that fostered collaboration between multinational corporations and the South African and US governments. Finally, the chapter concludes with efforts to block cultural collaboration between African American entertainers and the apartheid state.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION: THE DREAM OF A COMMON LANGUAGE

1. Tom Arden, "Oroville Negro, Born a Slave, Recalls Bidwell," *Sacramento Bee*, January 19, 1934.

2. Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California*, 132.

3. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier*, 68. In one famous case, enslaved Missourian Archy Lee, whose owner brought him to California several months after John Widener's, escaped before he could be returned to Missouri. Black people in Sacramento hid Lee, who was discovered by police. The California Supreme Court overruled a decision that determined that Lee was a free man, and again collective action by mobilized Black Californians was necessary to secure Lee's escape from a ship bound for Panama, and from there back to the slave South. Local African Americans surveilled the docks, informed the police of the departure of the ship carrying Lee, and paid his legal fees for a final confrontation with his owner, Charles Stovall. Lee's case offers a visible reminder of the power of collective action to force the state—via the courts and police—to defend Black freedom. See Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California*, 148–53. Lapp argues that California's Black population opposed involuntary servitude in all its forms. He gives as one piece of evidence a community trial held in San Francisco to investigate claims that a Black San Franciscan had aided the return of an escaped Native American girl to slavery (154).

4. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier*, 40. See also Gillis and Magliari, *John Bidwell and California*, 207–10.

5. Occupational data taken from the following sources: Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington, DC: National Archives and

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Records Administration, 1900, T623); *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (NARA microfilm publication T624); Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC, accessed via Ancestry.com; "John Widener," *Daily Mercury* (Oroville), January 30, 1891, 4; "Capable Culinary Chef," *Oroville Daily Register*, March 12, 1903, 4; "Developing a Mine," *Oroville Daily Register*, September 5, 1895, 3; "John Widener to Plant Trees," *Oroville Daily Register*, December 31, 1896, 4.

6. Arden, "Oroville Negro."

7. Founded as a national body in 1887, the Afro-American League established a California branch in 1891 with a membership of 150. Four years later, the league boasted of being "the strongest racial organization on the Pacific Coast" (*San Francisco Call*, July 24, 1895, 7). Widener attended the 1895 convention (*Oroville Daily Register*, July 8, 1895, 2). An 1898 issue of a local Oroville paper lists Widener as president of the organization, but it is likely that this refers to a chapter presidency (see *Oroville Daily Register*, October 12, 1898, 3). The league began as an offshoot of a national body, and while the national organization declined rapidly, the organization retained a strength in California well into the twentieth century (see Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites*, 36, 51, 111). Douglas Flamming describes the membership of the league as consisting generally of working-class "Race Men" with middle-class values (*Bound for Freedom*, 129–32). Conventions of "the Colored Citizens of the State of California" took place between 1855 and 1865. African Americans living in California participated in national meetings and organized local and statewide conventions after this time as well. See "Colored Citizens Convention," *Butte Record*, January 23, 1886, 1.

8. An analytic account of the creation story is given in Bauer, *California through Native Eyes*, 11–12, 21–22, 41–44. Descriptive accounts include Dixon, *Maidu Texts*; Chase and Loofbourow, *People of the Valley*, 37–41; Jewell, *Indians of the Feather River*. *Kóyo•mkàwi* is translated both as "valley place" and "meadowland." On orthography and etymology, see Shipley, *Maidu Grammar*, 1; and Ultan, "Konkow Grammar," 2.

9. Jewell, *Indians of the Feather River*, 3. On linguistic diversity, see also Powers, *Tribes of California*, 313–15.

10. Riddell, "Maidu and Konkow," 375–78, 384–85. The 1975 recording *Songs of the California Indians* offers a unique musical and historical resource. The record features contributions from thirteen musicians, including the renowned artist Frank Day. All thirteen were elders born between 1881 and 1902.

11. On fire, see Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, 201; Lightfoot and Parrish, *California Indians*, 94–123. See also Anderson and Moratto, "Native American Land-Use Practices." On Indigenous borders in the Sierras and Sacramento Valley, see Riddell, "Maidu and Konkow," 370–72. See also Chang, "Borderlands in a World at Sea," 388–90. On the relation to physical space, see Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 60–62.

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12. According to Don Jewell, who interviewed a number of Konkow elders during the 1950s and 1960s, gold nuggets were sometimes used as toys by young children. Jewell, *Indians of the Feather River*, 76.

13. On the role of sexual violence in the California genocide, see Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 169–92. See also Smith, *Freedom's Frontier*, 144–63. For a larger theoretical elaboration of the link between sexual and gendered violence and settler colonialism in the United States, see Smith, *Conquest*.

14. With provisions that established the auctioning of "vagrant Indians" and the indenture of Indigenous children, the 1850 statute formalized patterns of Native slavery throughout California. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 126–130; Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*, 136–41.

15. Madley, *An American Genocide*, 237–40.

16. Jessica Wolf, "Revealing the History of Genocide against California's Native Americans," *UCLA Newsroom*, August 15, 2017, https://newsroom.ucla.edu/stories/revealing-the-history-of-genocide-against-californias-native-americans.

17. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 55–71. Having been pioneered by the Spanish, unfree Indigenous labor quickly became the basis of mining, ranching, and domestic economies. For two overviews that evaluate the time and place discussed here, see Magliari, "Free State Slavery," 155–92; Madley, "Unholy Traffic in Human Blood and Souls," 626–67.

18. Sherburne Cook describes the pattern by which "well into the 'fifties every wealthy American adopted without question the existing labor system" of peonage in which "the ranchero was the lord and master." This affinity for feudalism, often on the part of men who decried Southern slavery, is in some way reproduced in Cook's own work. He cites evidence of multiple rebellions but nonetheless concludes that the majority of Indigenous people drawn into Californio-style systems of forced labor were "reasonably contented," as "physical power alone could not have" allowed "a few white people" to hold sway over "a horde" of Native people. Cook, *The Conflict*, 304–5. This sort of thinking has waned in relation to studies of American slavery, in no small part as a result of the recovery of the words and deeds of the enslaved themselves. Kidnapping quote is taken from Rawls, *Indians of California*, 89.

19. Madley, *An American Genocide*, 303. Cook estimates between three thousand and four thousand children were stolen from their parents between 1852 and 1867 (*The Conflict*, 314–15). The same year, the California state legislature implemented an "Anti-Coolie Act" that imposed a monthly tax on Chinese miners and businesspeople.

20. The 80 percent figure is given in Rawls, *Indians of California*, 171. The numbers do not include the deaths that occurred amid the Spanish conquest, missionization, and Mexican independence. See Cook, "Historical Demography," 91–98. See also Madley, *An American Genocide*, 3–14. Stephanie Smallwood argues forcefully that the tendency to discuss the severity of the transatlantic

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slave trade via arguments about the number of people who died or who were sold into the Middle Passage reproduces the essential logic of dehumanization. She writes, "for the most part, historians have described the slave ship's lethal nature the same way the slave traders did: by calculating the number of dead" (*Saltwater Slavery*, 137). This is a critical point, equally applicable to Africans and Indigenous Americans. At the same time, revealing the scale of catastrophe is important given the ideological use of concepts like *terra nullius*, which masks processes of conquest by denying the existence of those pushed off their land. From Palestine to South Africa to the United States, the argument that the land was empty before the arrival of prospective colonizers forms a bedrock of colonial self-justification. We should both mourn, and count, our dead.

21. In 1862, many Concow escaped Round Valley and returned to Chico, where they joined Native people who had gone to work on the rancheria of John Bidwell. Amid both determined guerrilla resistance by intertribal groups in the mountains and unrelenting settler violence—on one day in July 1863, vigilantes murdered five Native farmhands, including a ten-year-old girl—the Concow who left Round Valley were again marched by the US Army to Mendocino County. Of the 461 who left, only 277 arrived. Bauer, *California through Native Eyes*, 90–96. The anniversary of this violent displacement is commemorated today by the descendants of those who survived. The 1862–63 removals followed a set of forcible displacements throughout the 1850s, including a mass deportation in 1857. Twentieth-century displacements took place as well. Hundreds of ancestral sites and historic villages were inundated by the construction of the Oroville Dam (1961–68), which is the tallest dam in the United States. On the continued disruption of the reservoir and dam, see Rhadigan, "Surveying the Reservoir." See also Selverston, "Historical Maidu," 77–92. The inundation of historic sites affects non-Native people as well. The submerging of Bidwell's Bar flooded multiple African American settlements, including a section of the Bidwell Bar cemetery where John Widener's brother-in-law was interred, while the construction of Folsom Lake (1955) flooded the settlement once known as Nigger Hill. Negro Hill, as the location is sometimes amended, was at one point a town of 1,200 Native, Black, Spanish, Mexican, Portuguese, and Chinese workers. In 1854, white settlers used physical violence to push nearly all Black miners out of the town. The expulsions that resulted from Chinese exclusion and from the so-called foreign miners tax of 1850 are perhaps better known than parallel efforts to ethnically cleanse California of Black people.

22. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 1.

23. The reconstruction and development of community is a primary subject of Bauer, *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 74–78, 148, 194–99. During the Depression, Round Valley was the scene of a small but thriving jazz scene. Elizabeth Willits (Pomo/Little Lake) recounts how she and her bandmates would "play music to send our delegates back to Washington to talk for our Indians' rights and to be recognized as people" (Sine, *Rebel Imaginaries*, 175–76, 198).

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24. Chang, "Borderlands in a World at Sea," 391. Cook notes the prevalence of Native Californians deliberately living apart from reservation areas after 1880. Cook, *Population of California Indians*, 62.

25. Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 158. Chang notes the parallels between Native Hawaiians who lived with and as Black people on the East Coast, and who lived as and with Native people in California.

26. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*, 1, 5, 270. For two works that seek to place Black and Indigenous histories into a common frame, see Miki, *Frontiers of Citizenship*; and Mays, *An Afro-Indigenous History of the United States*.

27. Witgen, *Seeing Red*, 346.

28. The use of a common vocabulary for referring to Indigenous and African people, as well as people of mixed Native and African ancestry, is treated at length in Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*, 151–220. David Chang and William Bauer each note the presence of Native Hawaiians on the Round Valley Reservation (Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 183; Bauer, *Migrant Workers*, 162). April Farnham notes the difficulties census enumerators had in achieving any sort of consistency. John Paniani, whose father was Native Hawaiian and whose mother was Concow, was listed as being of four different "racial" backgrounds (Mulatto, Kanaka, Black, Indian) in census records from 1880 to 1920 (Farnham, "Kānaka Hawaiʻi Agency," 125). For a more recent account that discusses the Northeast, see Rubertone, *Native Providence*, xxiii, 13, 54, 71, 120, 217.

29. Inventory and Appraisement of Indian Trust Lands of Anna Octavia Widener, Central California Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, August 1978. Copy in possession of author. Originally applied to Native peoples of the Great Basin, the term *digger* emerged as a widespread pejorative term applied to California Indians. See Lönnberg, "The Digger Indian Stereotype." Established initially as the Office of Indian Trade under the War Department, the federal agency known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs has worked under various names, including the Indian Office, Indian Affairs, and the Office of Indian Affairs.

30. Susan Lee Johnson describes the Gold Rush as "among the most multiracial, multiethnic, multinational events that had yet occurred within the boundaries of the United States" (*Roaring Camp*, 12). On Chico, see Hill, *The Indians of Chico Rancheria*.

31. In ways that recall how scholars once used the term *hegemony*, the term *racial capitalism* is increasingly used as a decontextualized rhetorical placeholder that takes the place of detailed investigations into the complex interplay between race and class. A similar phenomenon can be seen for intersectionality. The term *racial capitalism* first saw widespread usage in the context of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, where it was used to examine the role race played in structuring the specific social and economic relations of South African capitalism. See Levenson and Paret, "The Three Dialectics of Racial Capitalism," 2. Transposed from apartheid-era South Africa to the United States, Cedric Robinson's *Black Marxism* offered a wider examination of the centrality of race in the emergence

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of capitalism throughout the world. Robinson's theory is a complex, historically grounded excavation that revisits the origins of capitalist development, highlights the role of social differentiation in capitalist accumulation, proposes an oppositional "Black Radical Tradition" in opposition to the world system of the past five centuries, and explores the limits of Western understandings of Marxism as a sufficient negation of the capitalist system. Robinson's ideas are consistent with the general trend of Third (and Fourth) World analyses that draw in the specific cultural lives and historical experiences of non-European people within an anti-imperialist and anticapitalist framework. The same is true for Harold Cruse. Cruse, "Revolutionary Nationalism," 74–76. The notion of racial capitalism raises interesting points when set alongside Trotsky's formulation of a theory of uneven and combined development, a subject that is too complex to take up here. Suffice it to say that both approaches are consistent with historical materialism's recognition of the need to acknowledge "circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past" alongside the specific geographic locales where these circumstances of exploitation and development occur. Marx, *18th Brumaire*, 15.

32. There is a tendency in Marxist thought (though not always in Marx's own writings) to see primitive accumulation as taking place prior to the imposition of wage work. Glen Coulthard offers an insightful approach for framing a nonlinear path from primitive accumulation to wage labor in the context of colonial patterns in North America (*Red Skin, White Masks*, 9–15).

33. Marx, Letter to [Friedrich] Sorge.

34. Sandos, "Between Crucifix and Lance," 217–20. Bidwell purchased multiple Mexican land grants, in part from money made mining gold at the eponymously named Bidwell's Bar, where he paid twenty Native workers two calico handkerchiefs a day "if they worked well." Their labor produced more than $100,000 in gold, some of which went to funding Bidwell's Mexican land grants. Hill, *The Indians of Chico Rancheria*, 32.

35. On Bidwell's economic activity, see Gillis and Magliari, *John Bidwell and California*, 141–83. See also Tubbesing, "The Economics of the Bidwell Ranch." On African Americans in Chico, see Shover, *Blacks in Chico*. Bidwell's employment of Chinese workers, his defense of the same, and eventual turn toward a position in favor of exclusion are discussed in Gillis and Magliari, *John Bidwell and California*, 311–42. Michael Gillis and Michael Magliari describe "scattered" evidence pointing to the mobilization of Black workers by a nativist group known as the "Order of Caucasians." Peter Jackson et al. to John Bidwell, May 16, 1885, John Bidwell Papers, Meriam Library, California State University Chico, quoted in Gillis and Magliari, *John Bidwell and California*, 322. Bidwell sought to build a railroad segment that would rival the Central Pacific monopoly, as well as stagecoach lines between Chico and outposts in Oregon and Nevada. The former involved the transfer of nearly four million acres of unceded Indigenous land to corporate railroad interests, timber speculators, and Anglo settlers. See Gillis and Magliari, *John Bidwell and California*, 192–96. See also Ganoe, "The History of the Oregon and California

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Railroad." From this vantage point, Bidwell fits squarely within the framework of railroad colonialism described by Manu Karuka in *Empire's Tracks*, 40–42.

36. Roediger and Esch, *The Production of Difference*, 8–9. On one occasion, Bidwell described his happiness with a Chinese "boy" who was "not handsome," writing that the "handsome and fluent are spoiled," continuing on to say that "this rule holds good of all the dark and yellow races." Box 18, folder 20, Bidwell Papers.

37. Bidwell also allowed Mechoopda living on his rancheria to retain the roundhouse and continue religious ceremonies. This acceptance ended with his death and the assumption of control over the property by his widow, Anne Bidwell, in a pattern that accords with Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's discussion of the central role played by white women in the policing of Indigenous bodies. See Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 96.

38. Michele Shover and Thomas Fleming observed, "Mrs. Bidwell's upbringing in Washington D.C.'s southern culture influenced her early preference for black household workers" (*Black Life in the Sacramento Valley*, 13–14). Within Bidwell's mansion, domestic laborers included Chinese, Native, and African American women and men.

39. Bud Baine, a Concow elder who worked in the vinegar works established after the prohibitionist Bidwell abandoned wine production, offered the following assessment of the Anglo statesman: "Bidwell, he was a bad one." Jewell, *Indians of the Feather River*, 80.

40. Anne Bidwell willed a portion of her landholdings to the Mechoopda people upon her death. This land eventually became federally administered trust lands, until the termination of the Mechoopda under the terms of the California Rancheria Termination Acts. Today, the sites of three former Mechoopda villages in Chico form part of the California State University Chico campus.

41. Kelley, foreword to Robinson, *Black Marxism*, xiii.

42. In nineteenth-century California, as in India under the rule of the East India Company, it could be difficult to determine where capital ended and the state began. Railroad magnate Charles Crocker's brother was a California judge, having been appointed by Leland Stanford, who had been president of the Central Pacific Railroad, a senator, and governor of California. Judge Crocker told railroad magnate Collis Huntington that property in California could only be secured if the state were "inundated" with African American, Chinese, and Japanese laborers whose numbers and susceptibility to racial division would preclude strikes (quoted in Karuka, *Empire's Tracks*, 93). In a similar vein, California governor George Perkins, who had served as John Bidwell's aide-de-camp during the Civil War, declared a holiday so he could attend anti-Chinese celebrations, before releasing from prison men convicted of burning Chinese businesses and homes. For a more general examination of the centrality of the state as the entity responsible for the "organization of the general interest of the bourgeoisie," see Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism*, 128. Racial capitalism, racist state.

43. Walia, *Border and Rule*, 31–36. See also Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*; and Hernández, *City of Inmates*. Of course, racism as a method of consolidating state

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power took place beyond California. Daniel Kanstroom explores the legal links between Indian removal, fugitive slave statutes, and the legal framework of deportation and immigration law (*Deportation Nation*, 64, 74). Kathyrn Walkiewicz explores the use of Native removal and Black disenfranchisement in consolidating state structures throughout the Southeast, as well as in Kansas, Cuba, and Oklahoma. Walkiewicz, *Reading Territory*.

44. Here, the history of the state of California would seem to align precisely with Walkiewicz's view of the "state's rights logics" as the "glue that holds together" the US colonial project. Walkiewicz, *Reading Territory*, 1. It is no accident that during his presidential campaign in 1980, former California governor Ronald Reagan proclaimed, "I believe in states' rights" at a Mississippi fairground located a few miles from where three civil rights workers were murdered by the Klan in 1964.

45. As Karuka noted, the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad transformed California from an overseas possession—that is, a colonial space reached primarily via the ocean—into a continental possession where people and goods could move easily overland (*Empire's Tracks*, 98–99).

46. Gilmore, "Globalisation and US Prison Growth," 171–88, 186.

47. F. Frederick Forbes, "California Clash Called 'Civil War,'" *New York Times*, October 22, 1933, Sec. E, 1, 4. On multiethnic radicalism during the Depression, see Sine, *Rebel Imaginaries*. See also Heatherton, "Relief and Revolution."

48. Gilmore, "Globalisation and US Prison Growth," 186.

49. Mike Davis and Jon Weiner chart this "movement of movements" in their magisterial history of 1960s-era Los Angeles, *Set the Night on Fire*.

50. "The Coolest Block in America," GQ, March 20, 2012, https://www.gq.com/gallery/abbot-kinney-boulevard-shopping-venice-california.

51. Martin, *The Other Eighties*, xii–xiv.

52. As noted in chapter 6, the antiapartheid movement drew numerous links between South Africa and Los Angeles. Amid revolution in Nicaragua and civil war in Guatemala and El Salvador, solidarity and sanctuary emerged as dual goals of groups like CISPES (the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) and the Nicaragua Task Force, cofounded by Carol Wells and Ted Hajjar, who also founded the Center for the Study of Political Graphics. Amid the first Intifada, Immigration and Naturalization Service officials sought to deport eight Palestinian activists affiliated with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The "L.A. 8" faced charges under the provisions of anticommunist laws used against US leftists during the 1950s, including Frank Carlson, who is pictured in figures I.3 and I.4. Writing several years before the 9/11 aftermath made widespread surveillance of Arab Americans common, Nabeel Abraham called the case "the most alarming example of government harassment of Arab Americans to date" ("Anti-Arab Racism"). See Elhalaby, "Los Angeles Intifada." See also Pennock, *The Rise of the Arab American Left*. Although less visible than parallel efforts in San Francisco, Boston, or New York, long-standing ties connected Los Angeles to the Irish Republican cause. Multiethnic alliances between people

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of color around labor, community, and anti-imperialist struggles formed in many cities. On Seattle, see Johnson, *Seattle in Coalition*. On San Diego, see Patiño, *Raza sí, migra no*. Similar patterns took hold in places like New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco where legacies of earlier activism persisted into the Reagan years. See Lee, *Building a Latino Civil Rights Movement*; Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left*; Ferreira, "All Power to the People." Gordon Mantler explores the politics of urban multiracial mobilization in Chicago, while giving less attention to internationalist mobilizations, particularly around Puerto Rican independence and apartheid. Mantler, *The Multiracial Promise*.

53. See Roth, *The Life and Death of ACT UP/LA*, 55. In addition to clinic defense, I recall ACT UP LA playing a prominent role in Los Angeles organizing in opposition to the 1990–91 Gulf War.

54. Keith Dusenberry, "Showdown on the Shaw: The Uncertain Future of Lowriding's Infamous Strip," *Lowrider*, November 1, 2009, https://www.lowrider.com/lifestyle/0911-lrmp-crenshaw-boulevard-cruising-future. As Dusenberry's article notes, African American lowriders typically began Sundays at Venice Beach, and rolled down Venice Boulevard to Crenshaw before turning southward on the strip. Other main cruising sites included the predominantly Chicano scene on Whittier Boulevard and the multiracial crowds on Sunset Strip. All three of these zones were heavily policed. For an overview of the links between Black and Chicano lowriders, see Sandoval, "The Politics of Low and Slow." For a brief description of Tom Metzger and his connection to the resurgence of fascist politics during the 1980s, see Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 118–20.

55. The phrase "solidarity is not a market exchange" is taken from Kelley, Amariglio, and Wilson, "'Solidarity Is Not a Market Exchange,'" parts 1 and 2.

56. Robert Stewart and Paul Feldman, "Arrests Top 850 as Anti-gang Drive Continues," *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1988, 1.

57. Kennedy, *Fifty Years of Deputy Gangs*.

58. Fred Hampton, quoted in Alk, *The Murder of Fred Hampton*.

59. Malcolm X, "Message to the Grassroots," Charisma Records, MX-100, 1970.

60. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 307; Boggs, "Think Dialectically."

61. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*, xi.

62. The phrase "the dream of a common language" is taken from Adrienne Rich's 1978 book of poetry of the same name, *The Dream of a Common Language*.

63. Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 7.

64. Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 29.

65. The widespread misconception that the US government promised freedpeople land is due to General Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 (January 1865), which set aside a portion of the Sea Islands and the South Carolina low country for the use of enslaved people who had escaped their plantations. The loan (loan!) of mules came in a later document. The Sherman who fought the Civil War, notes historian Eric Foner, was no friend of Black people, having opposed both the Emancipation Proclamation and the inclusion of Black

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soldiers in his ranks. Sherman viewed his order as a temporary measure aimed at ridding the Union Army of the "immediate pressure caused by the large number of impoverished blacks following his army." Sherman explicitly rejected the idea that the land transfers were intended to last beyond the duration of the Civil War. Foner, *Reconstruction*, 70–71. In the event, the general's order was countermanded by President Andrew Johnson during the fall of 1865. As far as I am aware, the United States government has never sought to transfer land en masse to Black people.

In fact, across the broad sweep of US history, the pattern is the opposite. By 1870, only 1 percent of Black North Americans owned land in the states of the former Confederacy. Over the next 150 years, the state, capital, and ordinary white citizens have done their best to make sure Black people remained landless. This was done through policies developed by the Federal Housing Authority, by the extensive use of restrictive housing covenants, via urban renewal programs that razed neighborhoods, by defrauding Black farmers, by the use of convict labor and sharecropping, and by simply ethnically cleansing places like Rosewood (FL), the Greenwood district of Tulsa, Oscarville (GA), East St. Louis (IL), Manhattan Beach (CA), Mena (AR), and at least forty other locales.

Rather than drawing people of African descent into the settler project, the white majority has consistently seen Black land ownership as a direct threat to its political and economic supremacy. Ill-paid wage labor, rather than land ownership, was meant to be the end point of emancipation throughout the Western Hemisphere, save in those instances where convict leasing or mass incarceration could return Black people to a condition of involuntary servitude. Indeed, many whites simply hoped Black people would "go back" to where we had been stolen from. Thus the Memphis *Argus* editorialized, "Would to God they were back in Africa" (Foner, *Reconstruction*, 262), while Abraham Lincoln, who US children are taught freed the enslaved, told a delegation of "colored" men in 1862 that he thought they should go to a colony in Central America, where "as to the coal mines, I think I see the means available for your self-reliance." Lincoln, "Address on Colonization," 373–74. One can argue that all forms of land ownership by non-Native people constitute a form of settler colonialism. To argue that the United States government has supported Black land claims in a systematic way, however, is false.

66. Kipp, *Viet Cong at Wounded Knee*, 142.

67. V. Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, 194.

68. The Red Nation, "Black Liberation," accessed September 29, 2023, https://therednation.org/black-liberation/. For a work that poignantly describes the violent racial terror suffered by Indigenous nations, enslaved Caribbean people, and those living under twentieth-century US military occupation, see Johnson, "'You Should Give Them Blacks to Eat.'"

69. "Actually existing solidarities" is borrowed, obviously, from the phrase "actually existing socialism," which defenders of the Soviet experiment coined

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to argue that those who championed alternate revolutionary forms did so in an idealist way detached from the challenges and contradictions that revolutionary societies were trying to overcome.

70. The phrase comes from Mao Zedong's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People." Mao's wide-ranging 1957 speech discusses several key issues that confronted the Chinese Revolution following the socialist seizure of power. These include the role of intellectuals, relations between the Han ethnic majority and China's national minorities, the place of the national bourgeoisie, and freedom of artistic expression under socialism. Central to the speech's argument is the dialectical process of "unity-criticism-unity" in which the basic desire for a shared outcome (socialist transformation) and the recognition of difference (between nationalities, across classes supportive of socialism, and between the people and the party) is resolved through a process of criticism that leads again to a new position of unity. Mao also draws a distinction between two sorts of contradictions, an antagonistic contradiction between the people and their class enemies, and those within the people themselves. As an attempt to think through problems of difference, the notion of contradictions among the people has something important to offer theorists of how the increasingly interethnic fabric of US race relations can serve as a terrain for a renewed challenge to US society. It also provides a political language for discussing past moments of interethnic tension. This is not to say that the methods proposed in the speech resolved any of the complicated issues about which Mao spoke. That isn't the metric for assessing the utility of a given piece of writing. For one view on how China's leadership navigated ethnic difference during the first decades of the revolution, see Dreyer, "China's Minority Peoples."

71. Walkiewicz, *Reading Territory*, 205.

72. Afropessimism also struggles with how to acknowledge or comprehend moments when Black self-activity was mobilized in ways deleterious to the lives of others. See Kauanui, "Tracing Historical Specificity," 259–60. As Tiffany Lethabo King notes, "Under relations of conquest . . . the circumstances under which you as a Black or Indigenous person lived . . . were often tethered to the death of the Other" (*Black Shoals*, xi). Yuko Miki writes that Brazilian archives "are shaped by a vested state interest in creating racialized tensions among blacks and Indians" (*Frontiers of Citizenship*, 92). A similar pattern took place in colonial Mexico, where Spanish rule made extensive use of Black miliary auxiliaries.

73. Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 7.

74. Okoth, "The Flatness of Blackness."

75. Ferreira da Silva, "Facts of Blackness," 231.

76. The drawing together of peasant activists and Indigenous people has been part of a process in Brazil that has evolved over decades of struggle. During its initial formation as a revolutionary organization opposed to the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil, the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) came into conflict with Indigenous nations over the seizure of vacant or fallow (and unceded) lands.

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Increasingly, however, these contradictions were resolved in favor of collective struggle as the MST shifted its demands to the preservation and expansion of Indigenous land sovereignty and the seizure of private lands owned by large absentee landowners. Hendlin, "Environmental Justice," 126.

77. Cetti, "La reemergencia del pueblo afroboliviano," 69–74; Heck, *Plurinational Afrobolivianity*.

78. Kelley, "The Rest of Us," 267–76.

79. Okoth, "The Flatness of Blackness."

80. Elizabeth "Betita" Martínez, discussion with Angela Y. Davis, "Coalition Building among People of Color," UC San Diego, May 12, 1993, https://culturalstudies.ucsc.edu/inscriptions/volume-7/angela-y-davis-elizabeth-martinez/.

81. Kundnani, introduction to *Communities of Resistance*, xx.

82. HoSang, *A Wider Type of Freedom*, 7.

83. Barrington Moore, "Revolution in America," *New York Review of Books*, January 1969.

84. Singh, *Race and America's Long War*, 172. Where I work, at the University of California at San Diego, this process replaced student demands for a liberation college named for Patrice Lumumba and Emiliano Zapata with one named for Thurgood Marshall. Beyond replacing two non-US citizens associated with revolutionary independence and self-determination with a paragon of integration, the transition shifts a Black/Brown coalition toward a figure associated overwhelmingly with only one community. On the original Lumumba-Zapata college struggle, see Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children*, 210–46.

85. Adom Getachew describes world making as a global language of self-determination based in a collective realization of the need for international institutions, legal structures, and political affiliations that went beyond the national state (*Worldmaking after Empire*, 2). Multiple factors drove the attenuation between external colonial and domestic framings of racial oppression. The era of decolonization brought to an end direct European rule over much of the world, but also reduced the spaces in the metropole for the "intercolonial internationalism" that linked Algerians, Senegalese, Martinicans, Madagascans, Vietnamese, and sojourning African Americans. In this sense, the Global South is a frame distinct from the previous formation of the Third World. Edwards, "The Shadow of Shadows," 18. In the United States, this problem accelerated with the arrival of the modern civil rights era, whose collateral damage included an independent Black press committed to covering the colonized world. Malcolm X decried the pitfalls of a civil rights framework that confined the Black struggle to "the jurisdiction of Uncle Sam," presciently noting that it would cut Black North Americans off from other colonized people. It was in line with this that the NAACP defended the continuance of the US war against Vietnam. Bayard Rustin suggested that embracing antiwar activism on the part of the civil rights movement would be "suicidal," while Roy Wilkins criticized Black peace advocates for giving too

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much attention to "Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea." Simon Hall, "Response of the Moderate Wing," 672, 673. In the postwar period, anticommunism played a decisive and negative role, in the sense that the defeat of interracial labor campaigns like Operation Dixie shifted the central terrain of domestic decolonization from the workplace to the schoolhouse, with negative outcomes regarding the confluence of race and class. That political frameworks that linked Harlem and Havana, Soweto and South Central, or the Mission District and San Salvador persisted into the early 1990s—and waned with the collapse of the socialist alternative—suggests ultimately that the existence of an international Left is the critical context for sustained links of the sort I have described.

86. The term "cartography of refusal" is borrowed from Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 33. This notion of refusal, which shares much with Katherine McKittrick's excavation of Black women's "cartographies of struggle," points both to an intriguing crossroads of Black and Indigenous insurgency and the fundamental role of space in thinking about domination and resistance. From Mike Davis's analysis of a "Planet of Slums" and Harsha Walia's exploration of the link between borders, racist nationalism, and class rule, to Cynthia Hamilton and Ruth Gilmore's trenchant critiques of the racist political economy of contemporary California, it is clear that racial capitalism, whether approached at the international, national, or local level, is fundamentally about the organization and domination of space. So, too, is its negation, whether in the affective bonds of a neighborhood as imagined by multiracial residents rather than Realtors; the cultural convergences of Jane Castillo and John Outterbridge's or Nobuko Miyamoto and Martha Gonzalez's collaborative arts practices; or mass mobilizations that simultaneously fought plant closures, US military interventions, and apartheid.

87. Hernández, *Bad Mexicans*, 298.

88. Swan, *Pasifika Black*, 31.

89. Byrd, *The Black Republic*, 223. Brandon Byrd argues that Haitian resistance to US occupation helped shift Du Bois away from Victorian ideologies of uplift and toward the fusion of anticolonialism, antiracism, and class struggle that marked the latter half of his life.

90. Vincent, "Sandino's Aid," 40.

91. Bonsal, "The Negro Soldier," quoted in Brown, "African-American Soldiers and Filipinos," 50.

92. Guridy, *Forging Diaspora*, 156, 182–83.

93. On the Mexican revolution as a key site of antiracist internationalism, see Heatherton, *Arise!*.

94. Quoted in Jung, *Menace to Empire*, 215. Haywood gave voice to what millions of Black people, few of whom would ever come to consider themselves communists, already knew. From "exchanging our country marks" during enslavement to the "classical age of Black nationalism" in which intellectuals, ministers, and ordinary freedpeople sought a sovereign and independent national territory, to the political growth of Garvey, the mass base for a political solution

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found outside the national structures of the United States has animated people of African descent living inside the United States time and again. In the postwar period, Black nationalism would find revolutionary (the Black Panther Party), religious (the Nation of Islam, Rastafarianism), territorial (the Republic of New Africa), and cultural (Congress of Afrikan People, US organization) expressions. See Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks*; Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*; Stuckey, *The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism*; Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet*; Davis, *The Emancipation Circuit*. This is not to minimize the role of the political Left. As Robin Kelley puts it, "the political idea that black people reside in the eye of the hurricane of class struggle" is quite possibly the one defining characteristic common to the various factions of the US Left (*Freedom Dreams*, 38). The entrenched, imbricated problems of the "Negro" and "national" questions remain fundamental for both Black North American self-determination and the possibility of a durable US Left.

95. Coauthored by Emma Tenayuca and Homer Brooks, "The Mexican Question in the Southwest" offers both an interesting snapshot of a particular political moment and an engagement of longer-time-scale ideas about race and class as they pertain to ethnic Mexican people on both sides of the US-Mexico border. In criticizing the "sterile path" of Americanization and insistence that ethnic Mexican struggles in the United States should be viewed in light of anti-Blackness and connected to Black demands, the document raises issues of continuing interest long after its publication. Less helpful is the atavistic notion of the US conquest of Mexico as a "progressive" event in developmentalist terms. At the end of the day, the central theoretical conclusion—that Mexican people living in the United States did not constitute a nation as set out by Stalin's pamphlet on the national question—owes more to the timing of Tenayuca and Brooks's intervention, amid the Popular Front–era turn to the right during the New Deal, than to any demonstrable evidence that Mexican people inside the areas seized by the United States were anything other than a colonized people.

96. Tenayuca's moniker was in homage to Spanish communist leader Dolores Ibárruri, "La Pasionara," who played a prominent role in the Spanish Civil War.

97. Minh, *The Black Race*, vi.

98. Vernon Bellecourt, *Akwesasne Notes*, early winter 1975, 27.

99. Padmore, *The Life and Struggles*, 111–20.

100. "Relational forms of racial formation" comes from Molina, HoSang, and Gutiérrez, *Relational Formations of Race*. The term *interethnic* is taken from Lipsitz, "Like Crabs in a Barrel." The term *polycultural* appears in Prashad, *Everybody Was Kung Fu Fighting*. Each of these models adapts Omi and Winant's conception of racial formation as "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" by the multiracial nature of US society (*Racial Formation*, 55–56).

101. David Roediger and Elizabeth Esch examine the production and management of racial difference within US capitalism in *The Production of Difference*, 11.

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As Kevin Anderson points out, Marx wrote at great length about both race and gender and its connection to capitalism. This point seems lost on many in the academy, who prefer both a fictional version of Marx and an avoidance of the work of thousands of revolutionaries who have seen Marx's writings not as scripture but as a point of departure for thinking about struggle in specific local contexts. See Anderson, *Marx at the Margins*. As we approach the centenary of Eric Williams's landmark examination of the relationship between capitalism and slavery (*Capitalism and Slavery* [1944]), new histories of economic development in the United States that take capitalism and race as intimately intertwined continue to appear. For an overview, see Hudson, "The Racist Dawn of Capitalism." For an examination of the resistance to Williams's interventions, see Robinson, "Capitalism, Slavery and Bourgeois Historiography."

102. Donaldson, "Commentary," n.p.

103. See, for example, Kurashige, "The Many Facets of Brown," 56–68; Sánchez, *Boyle Heights*, 158–59, 183–84. See also Brilliant, *The Color of America*.

104. Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, 180.

105. Adams, *Prison of Grass*, 176.

106. Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 246.

107. Here, I follow the line laid out by Paul Ortiz, who posits an emancipatory internationalism as a framework through which Black and Latinx theorists and popular movements fought for self-determination and justice against the twin forces of domestic white supremacy at home and imperialism abroad. Ortiz, *An African American and Latinx History*, 6, 13–14, 104.

108. Prashad, *The Darker Nations*, xv.

109. Tricontinental Institute for Social Research, "Dawn"; Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 5, 246. Comprising the aboriginal peoples of the world, from North America and the Basque Country to Polynesia, Northern Scandinavia, Japan, and the Soviet Union, the Fourth World as envisioned by George Manuel was both a "possible history," in the sense of finding a revolutionary connection to the Third Worldism of the Global South, and a specifically Indigenous framing of internationalism around reciprocity, land, kinship, the acknowledgment of tradition, and survival.

110. Cynthia Young and Anne Garland Mahler provide wide-ranging evaluations of the influence of Third World radicalism on Black and Latinx movements in the United States, with particular attention to culture. See Young, *Soul Power*; Mahler, *From the Tricontinental to the Global South*, especially 10–15. Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road*, explores the complicated dynamics of gender, race, orientalism, and anti-imperialism at play among Third World radicals. Robin Kelley and Betsy Esch point out the particular resonance developments inside China held for the Black liberation movement inside the United States ("Black Like Mao"). For a broad look at the US Third World and antirevisionist Left, see Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air*.

111. The term "anticolonial vernacular" is taken from Malloy, *Out of Oakland*, 70–106. Manu Karuka's concept of a "mode of relation" offers one way of thinking

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about the affective and actually existing commitments that undergird revolutionary internationalism (*Empire's Tracks*, 36). Glen Coulthard traces the developments that linked Indigenous and Black radicals in the Pacific Northwest ("Once Were Maoists"). As Coulthard shows, both Black radicalism and global revolutionary developments, particularly the Chinese example, informed Indigenous radicals in ways that generated new solidarities without subsuming or negating the concerns specific to Indigenous nations and people. John Narayan notes pointedly that in contrast to the view that holds political blackness as dissolving African, Caribbean, and Black British concerns into an undifferentiated mass, the framework developed by the British Black Power (BBP) movement developed a sophisticated worldview that could transcend colonial racial divisions and that anticipated the limitations of postcolonial independence ("British Black Power," 15). Cynthia Young and Laura Pulido note the web of connections—interpersonal, interethnic, and internationalist—that bound US-based anti-imperialists of color together (Young, *Soul Power*, x, 12–14; Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left*, 66). Jason Ferreira observes that the critical figures in the Asian American, Native American, Chicano, and Black Liberation movements in San Francisco knew each other personally and had often worked or gone to school together. He cites Roger Alvarado, member of the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State University, who spoke of "the mixing and connections" that took place between activists from multiple racialized communities, pointing out that the 22 MUNI line from Hunters Point to Chinatown crossed African American, Native American, Latinx, Japanese American, and Chinese American sections of San Francisco. Ferreira, "With the Soul of a Human Rainbow," 22.

112. As they do with their evaluation of US-based Third Worldist and Marxist-Leninist attempts to theorize the confluence of race, place, and class, Omi and Winant tend to erect a strawman as they dismiss internal colonialism theory (*Racial Formation*, 42–46, 162n4). Omi and Winant concede that "concepts such as 'internal colonialism' *might* offer important insights into US racial conditions, but because they reason by analogy, they ultimately cannot range over the uniqueness and complexity of American racial ideology" (italics added). This argument veers perilously close to an argument for American exceptionalism and relies on an overly rigid definition of colonialism. For an overview of the debate that suggests reasons why the framework of internal colonialism never quite seems to go away, see Chávez, "Aliens in Their Native Lands," 786.

113. Cruse, "Revolutionary Nationalism and the Afro-American," 75–76.

114. Andrés Jiménez, "The Situation in Puerto Rico," liner notes to Andrés Jiménez, *Puerto Rico: Como el filo del machete / Like the Edge of the Machete*, P-1040, Paredon, 1978, 1.

115. "The Tiger Cages of Con Son," *Life Magazine*, July 17, 1970, 26–29.

116. Shrader, *Badges without Borders*, 230. See also Stop LAPD Spying Coalition, "A Timeline of LAPD Spying and Surveillance," 3–4, accessed October 2,

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2023, https://stoplapdspying.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Timeline-of-LAPD-Spying-Surveillance. . . . .pdf.

117. Cristina Garcia, "Death Squads Invade California," *Time*, August 3, 1987.

118. Horne, *Communist Front?*, 216–17, 278. Buff, *Against the Deportation Terror*, 39, 126, 128–29. Buff notes that the defense of noncitizens threatened with deportation affected leftist activists and ordinary workers alike, as each group faced increasingly violent INS sweeps during the early 1950s. Both leftists and nonwhite immigrants were cast as security threats to the United States. During a visit to Los Angeles, Claudia Jones, a Black communist leader of West Indian ancestry, described "the attempt to deport me" as "a boomerang. I'm out on bail, and I'm traveling all over the country, telling people of the dangers of Fascism." Marian Anderson, "Things I See," *California Eagle*, May 13, 1948, 6. See also, "Reception Planned for Claudia Jones," *California Eagle*, May 6, 1948.

119. Ineligible for naturalization as a result of anti-Asian laws, Hyun was detained as a "dangerous alien" despite having come to the United States as a seven-year-old "when my family sought refuge from Japanese imperialist oppression." "Korean States Case to Editor of the California Eagle," *California Eagle*, November 23, 1950; speech by David Hyun, quoted in Buff, *Against the Deportation Terror*, 159.

120. See chapter 5.

121. Third World Women's Alliance, "Women in the Struggle," 1.

122. "The Third World," 1.

123. Elizabeth Stordeur Pryor shows how the highly charged issue of Black travel during the antebellum period constituted both a key index of African American citizenship struggles and a means by which transnational Black abolitionist networks were built. Pryor, *Colored Travelers*, 2, 149. Writing in 1862, the same year Lincoln urged a delegation of African Americans to leave the United States, and while Black folks waited to see whether or not Lincoln's emancipation order would come, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner stated, "We are going just where we please; going to church, going to stay here, going away, going to Africa, Hayti, Central America, England, France, Egypt, and Jerusalem; and then we are going to the jail, gallows, penitentiary, whipping-post, to the grave, heaven and hell. But we do not intend to be sent to either place unless we choose." Mobility was inextricably tied to self-determination. H. M. T., "Washington Correspondence," *Christian Recorder*, December 6, 1862.

124. The 1949 conference was sponsored by the Women's International Democratic Federation, a feminist, antiracist, and anticolonial federation that mobilized women throughout the world against imperialism and war. US authorities considered the WIDF a so-called communist front organization. Elisabeth Armstrong argues that the WIDF explicitly mobilized around differences between colonized women and those from colonial sites as it adopted a "two-part" struggle toward transnationalist feminist anti-imperialism that placed specific responsibilities on

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women from colonized and colonizing nations. Armstrong, *Bury the Corpse*, 2, 30–31, 51–53.

125. Wu, *Radicals on the Road*, 153.

126. Griffen, *Women Speak Out!*, 111–33. As Quito Swan notes, the PWC adopted forty-six resolutions on topics ranging from politics and law to education and health, as well as land return, compensation for South Sea Islanders, and support of ongoing Maori activism. The meetings also led to the creation of a Pacific Women's Resource Center whose steering committee comprised a balanced representation from Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. Swan, *Pasifika Black*, 182–90.

127. Betita Martínez, "Lo que vi en Vietnam (What I Saw in Vietnam)," *El Grito del Norte*, August 29, 1970, 11–12.

128. Latner, *Cuban Revolution in America*, 43.

129. Cabral, "The Nationalist Movements," 62–69; Tabata, "An African Revolutionist Comments on Watts," 1.

130. Bloom and Martin, *Black against Empire*, 252–53.

131. Bishop and Clark, *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers*, 8, 19.

132. In 1990, New York–based Puerto Rican *independentistas* pressed the local committee organizing Nelson Mandela's New York tour stop to include a quartet of Puerto Rican revolutionaries among those seated near to Mandela. Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Oscar Collazo had each served twenty-five years in prison as a result of their pro-independence activities. Lebron, Flores, and Cancel Miranda had launched a symbolic attack (there were no casualties) on the US House of Representatives, while Collazo had attempted to assassinate US President Harry Truman following a failed uprising on the island during which the town of Jayuya was bombed and strafed by US planes. Dinkins referred to the four as terrorists, but longtime Harlem Pan-African figure Elombe Brath insisted that the four be given a prominent place among those seated onstage at Yankee Stadium. James Estades, "Nelson Mandela's Visit to New York and the Puerto Rican Nationalists: The Untold Story," *Venture*, December 10, 2013, https://www.theventureonline.com/2013/12/nelson-mandelas-visit-to-new-york-and-the-puerto-rican-nationalists-the-untold-story/. See also Todd Purdum, "Praising Mandela, Dinkins Shakes Fragile Coalition," *New York Times*, June 16, 1990, 23.

133. Huey Newton, speech at Boston College, November 18, 1970, accessed October 2, 2023, https://thefactsofwhiteness.org/huey-p-newtons-speech-at-boston-college-18th-november-1970/. Noting the similarities (and differences) between Newton's theory of intercommunalism and Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's influential discussion of transnational capitalism, *Empire* (2000), John Narayan mines what he terms Newton's "unacknowledged theory of empire" for insights into our contemporary moment. See Narayan, "Huey P. Newton's Intercommunalism." Driven in part by the Black Panther Party's uneven experiences in Cuba, Algeria, and other radical postcolonial states, Newton's attempt to theorize

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beyond the state shares some congruence with Walkiewicz's vision of "the erosion of state maps" as opening a space for "radical decolonial spatialities." Walkiewicz, *Reading Territory*, 206. As noted earlier, Getachew's history of Pan-African anticolonialism highlights the multiple nonstate visions that animated transnational anticolonial activity from the interwar period through the era of decolonization. As she notes, the failure to achieve a world of different international arrangements combined with the internal crisis faced by newly independent states to produce a situation in which "the idea of the postcolonial state as the site of a politics of citizenship that could accommodate racial, ethnic, and religious pluralism was called into question as movements from below resisted and repudiated the majoritarian, homogenizing, and exclusionary tendencies that appeared embedded in the structure of the nation-state." Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire*, 179. To make the point again, in Newton (Black North American revolutionary), Walkiewicz, (Cherokee theorist of the US state), and Getachew (Ethiopian-American scholar of anticolonial self-determination) we can see the alignment between three nonstate visions of human liberation that cross the boundaries of the First, Fourth, and Third worlds.

134. The bibliography of Black internationalism is extensive. For an introduction, see Padmore, *The Life and Struggles*, 1971; James, *A History of Negro Revolt*; Diop, *The Cultural Unity of Negro Africa*; Kelley, "'But a Local Phase'"; Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*; Gomez, *Black Crescent*; Stephens, *Black Empire*; West, Martin, and Wilkins, *From Toussaint to Tupac*; Adi, *Pan-Africanism and Communism*; Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*. Gerald Horne has also produced an extensive list of titles covering African American engagements with anti-imperialist struggles in Asia, the South Pacific, Latin America, and Africa (*Black and Brown*; *Race War!*; *The Deepest South*; *The White Pacific*; *The End of Empires*; *Race to Revolution*; *Facing the Rising Sun*).

135. Stanford, "The World Black Revolution"; see also Stanford, "The Revolutionary Action Movement." In an article published in the Cuban newspaper *Juventud Rebelde*, Stokely Carmichael argued, "If we are going to turn into reality the words of Che, . . . we must recognize that Detroit and New York are also Vietnam." "Carmichael Urges a 'Vietnam' in U.S.," *New York Times*, July 28, 1967, 10. See also Covington, "Are the Revolutionary Techniques Employed in *The Battle of Algiers* Applicable to Harlem?" On the resonance of Algeria for the Black liberation movement inside the United States, see Meghelli, "From Harlem to Algiers"; Daulatzi, *Fifty Years*; Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution*. For an insider account, see Mokhtefi, *Third World Capital*.

136. Chávez, "Aliens in Their Native Lands," 786.

137. Wu, *Radicals on the Road*, 182.

138. Swan, "Blinded by Bandung?," 58–81.

139. On Cuba, see Domínguez, *Race in Cuba*; Pérez and Lueiro, *Raza y Racismo*. On Nicaragua, Hale, *Resistance and Contradiction*. On Algeria, Feraoun, *Journal*.

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140. Here, I follow the lead of my former teacher, Robert Allen, who described a program of "domestic neocolonialism" as a corporate response to the threat posed by Black insurgency. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*, 17.

141. Molina, *How Race Is Made in America*, 10.

142. What Andaiye called "neighborliness" is an affective multiethnic structure of feeling that vies with ideas about racial difference as part of a broader struggle over hegemony in the context of Guyana's racialized politics (*The Point Is to Change the World*, 58–76).

143. The Old Left refers to the pre-1960s socialist, anarchist, and communist Left. In contrast to the New Left, the Old Left generally maintained a base in the trade unions, focused on questions of class rather than culture, and was grounded in either a direct link with or strong opposition to the Soviet Union.

144. Coulthard, "Once Were Maoists,"; Dunbar-Ortiz, "The International Indigenous Peoples' Movement,"; Estes, *Our History Is the Future*, 201–45; Salaita, *Inter/Nationalism*; Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 55–70; Weber, *Red October*.

CHAPTER ONE. THE AFRO-ASIAN CITY: AFRICAN AMERICAN AND JAPANESE AMERICAN LOS ANGELES

An early version of this chapter appeared in *positions: asia critique* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2003), a special issue titled *The Afro-Asian Century*, edited by Andrew F. Jones and Nikhil Pal Singh.

1. Peter Hong, "It's Last Frame for Crenshaw's Holiday Bowl," *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 2000, B7; Jeffrey Gettleman, "Panel Wants Bowling Alley Preserved," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 2000, 26; Peter Hong, "Lanes May Be Declared Landmark," *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 2000, B11; Don Terry, "Los Angeles Journal; Last Rites for a Cherished 'Landmark of Diversity,'" *New York Times*, May 8, 2000, A14.

2. Terry, "Los Angeles Journal."

3. The phrase "intertwined but autonomous" appears in Allen, "When Japan Was Champion." On the impact of Japanese power on African America, see Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter*; Lipsitz, "'Frantic to Join.'"

4. Lipsitz, "'Frantic to Join'"; Horne, *Race War!*; Horne, *Facing the Rising Sun*.

5. Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*; Clarke, *Alliance of the Colored Peoples*; Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 124.

6. Robinson, *After Camp*.

7. Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 2.

8. Tygiel, "Introduction," 2.

9. McWilliams, *Southern California*, 170.

10. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 156, 210; Davis, *City of Quartz*, 160–64.

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