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CARNALES:

TRANSNATIONAL AFFILIATION IN CHICANO VIETNAM WAR PROTEST

By

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B.A., Portuguese, Hispanic Studies and Latin American Studies, King's College,
University of London, 2000

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

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Dedication

Dedicated to the loving memory of Gill Campbell

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For their love and support, I thank my family, as well as my dearest friends: Rachel Seward, Kathleen Spencer Chapman, Klara Kemp-Welch, Bill O'Neill, Jen Hobson Hinsley, David Macias, and especially the friends who survived grad school by my side: Berenika Byszewski and Anzia Bennett. Heartfelt thanks to my advisor at the University of New Mexico, Michael Trujillo, for the direction he has provided this project and his endless patience and support.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores Chicano involvement in and protest against the Vietnam war through a lens of cultural production, particularly song lyrics. It identifies a tension between the fact that Chicanos had proportionally even more to lose from the war than did Anglos, and the fact that Chicano-authored antiwar song is unknown while Anglo-authored protest song is inextricable from the era in the popular imaginary.

The study finds that Chicano antiwar song was scarce, and less explicit in tone than that composed by Anglos, and argues that this distinction was caused by a combination of assimilationist pressures and the dictates of the *corrido* genre. However, Chicanos did create powerfully oppositional discourses using other musical genres or other creative forms. Those discourses challenged assimilationist rhetoric, forged connections between the war overseas and Chicano civil rights/ liberation struggles in the Southwest, and were anchored in sentiments of transnational affiliation with the people of Vietnam.

Engaging critical regionalist methodology, the paper argues that in their transnational antiwar discourse and civil rights advocacy, Chicano artists and activists “twinned” Vietnam and the Southwest, constructing an “assemblage” of transnational affiliation comprised of skin color; economic oppression; colonial subjugation; military/police violence, and ties to the land. Through invoking these parallels within the songs and other expressive forms scrutinized here, as well as within wider Chicano Movement discourse, these artists and activists were able to effectively articulate a poetics of resistance to both their own colonization and the colonization of the Vietnamese.

The study has a broader aim of demanding a reconceptualization of the civil rights and antiwar movements; this it does in two ways. First, it foregrounds Chicanos and their discourse of transnational affiliation with the Vietnamese within the antiwar movement, which is commonly perceived as an Anglo student movement. Second, it challenges the assumption that the Chicano Movement was modeled after the Black Civil Rights Movement, situating it instead within a decolonial framework.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
“Twinning” Vietnam and the Southwest	7
The “Sixties” and the Vietnam War	11
“You Don’t Have to Go!”: The Pressures of Assimilation	12
<i>El Movimiento</i>: A Transnational and Cultural Movement	14
Aztlán and Transnationalism.....	14
Cultural Emphasis of the Movement	17
Elements of the Transnational Assemblage	19
Skin Color	20
Economic Oppression	21
Colonial Subjugation	24
Military/Police Violence	27
Ties to the Land.....	29
Summary	31
The <i>Corrido</i> Tradition: Form Dictates Function	33
Tradition Blown Apart: <i>Corrido de Ricardo Campos</i>	41
Transnational Imagery in Anglo-Authored Song	45
Conclusion	52
Bibliography	57

Introduction

In a terminal in Oakland
Lies a brown body of a man
Dead at 27
Dead and gone to heaven
Killed far away in Vietnam
- Daniel Valdez, *Corrido de Ricardo Campos*¹

A decade ago, as the United States prepared to launch itself into Gulf War II, Joe's Pub at the Public Theater in New York City played host to an event celebrating the power of protest song. The organizers of this March 1, 2003 gathering explain the evening's purpose thus: "On the eve of war in 2003 it seemed that any artists or musicians who spoke out against the current administration's policies were quickly shouted down in the media and warned that their job was to entertain, and that politics was best left to politicians. We felt that the protest song as a viable form of political discourse was severely challenged and decided to put on a concert, and show, by example, how people had once been able to express their thoughts."²

The more outspoken time to which the organizers referred was the Vietnam war era, with the majority of the songs on the evening's program coming from 1969's *The Vietnam Songbook*, a compilation of over one hundred topical numbers. Barbara Dane, activist artist and one of the *Songbook's* original editors, chose an unexpected entry for her performance at the Joe's Pub event. Rather than one of her own internationally renown numbers, Dane performed a song known only to a small segment of the population in the southwestern United States: *Corrido de Ricardo Campos*, by Daniel Valdez.

Welcome home, Richard Campos, welcome home
Welcome home to a hero's grave
You've done your duty
You've killed and destroyed
So let there be no grieving for this Mexican boy
Let America honor his name

Dane's selection of *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* points to the existence, to whatever extent, of an archive of protest song about the Vietnam war authored by and highlighting injustices specific to, as well as resistive discourses invoked by, Chicanos.³ At the same time, the very obscurity of the song forces us to recognize the dearth of widely disseminated material of this nature, and to problematize that absence. After all, the Vietnam era is inextricable in the public imaginary from topical song, as authored by Anglo artists such as Bob Dylan and Country Joe McDonald. The creative output, veterans' experiences, and antiwar activism of Anglo Americans have been well documented; by contrast, those of Mexican Americans are missing from the historiography.

That absence works to sideline the contributions and struggles of an ethnic group that is considerable in size and that, together with other Hispanic and Latino groups, comprises an increasingly large percentage of the U.S. population. Given that discourses about the “sixties” continue to exercise considerable power in cultural and political arenas today, filling in the gap in the historiography is a pressing contemporary need.

This thesis explores Chicano involvement in and protest against the Vietnam war through a lens of cultural production, particularly song, since song is the definitive protest vehicle associated with the sixties. I will demonstrate how a combination of assimilationist pressures and the conventions of the *corrido* genre led to a creative output

by Chicano artists that was generally less explicitly antiwar than that of Anglo artists. However in some cases – *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* being one such example – Chicanos did create powerful antiwar discourses using other musical genres or cultural forms. Those discourses challenged assimilationist pressures, forged connections between the war overseas and the battle for civil rights at home, and were anchored in sentiments of transnational affiliation with the people of Vietnam.

The archive I have compiled reveals that through their experiences with United States intervention in southeast Asia, some Chicanos came to better understand their experiences of living in the southwestern United States. Simultaneously, some Chicanos' awareness of domestic oppression informed the way they conceptualized the war in Vietnam. The height of the Chicano Movement and the height of Chicano protest against the war were congruent. By means of the songs and other expressive forms I examine, Chicano artists were able to effectively articulate a poetics of resistance to both their own colonization and the colonization of the Vietnamese.

Situating Chicano song within the broader, dominant framework of the famous Anglo-authored protest song of the sixties reveals that the two groups of composers enacted their respective critiques in a manner that was partially parallel, partially distinct. Anglo artists also exhibited transnational awareness and drew parallels between Vietnam and a region of the United States. However, in contrast to Chicano artists, Anglo composers connected the Vietnamese with southern Blacks and demonstrated awareness solely of African American civil rights issues, not Chicano ones. A further distinction was that while Chicanos spoke of the struggles of their own people, Anglo artists were speaking of a people and region extrinsic to their own.

To effect these arguments, I begin by engaging critical regionalist methodology, by means of which I identify five elements of an assemblage of transnational affiliation that Chicanos constructed linking Vietnam with the Southwest: skin color, economic oppression, colonial subjugation, military/police violence, and ties to the land. The assemblage concept comes from Cheryl Temple Herr, who, building on Gilles Deleuze, uses it to mean “a construction composed variously of elements from regions that history has twinned.”⁴ I also engage early Asian/ U.S. southwestern transnationalism, via a discussion of the the lived experience and work of Américo Paredes.

I then proceed to outline the backdrop against which these transnational expressions were being iterated: the “sixties,” the Vietnam war, Mexican American military participation, and the Chicano Movement. Explicating that backdrop then enables me to revisit the transnational assemblage, breaking down each of the five elements in turn, supplying examples of their use in Chicano cultural production and analyzing the validity of Chicanos engaging this framework.

Having scrutinized explicitly antiwar cultural production, I contrast that with the more ambiguous attitudes evident within *corridos*, a genre that limited explicit antiwar critique. While the assertion that Chicano critique was limited might at first appear to be a controversial intervention calling into question the resistive nature of the Chicano Movement or the *corrido* form, that is not my intent: the assertion applies only to the incompatible pairing of the *corrido* form with antiwar discourse specifically.

Understanding the conventions of the genre then equips me to revisit *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* and comprehend it as a tradition-defying piece representative of the new generation of Mexican Americans calling themselves Chicanos. Having explored Chicano

song, I proceed to situate it within the broader, dominant framework of the Anglo protest song that is inextricable from the sixties, comparing the ways in which the two exhibited transnational awareness.

The bodies of literature with which I engage include histories of the Vietnam era; Chicano history, particularly texts on military participation and on the Chicano Movement; literature on song genre, especially the *corrido* tradition; and scholars writing in the areas of critical regionalism, transnationalism, colonialism, protest movements, and folklore. The primary sources I access include song and other cultural products, located in literary compilations, recording catalogs, and archives; the discourse of political activists, printed in journals; and published memoirs of activists and veterans.

My review of the existing literature underscored my theory that the military involvement, antiwar activism, and protest song of Anglos and those of Chicanos have been treated as distinct categories by preceding scholars and that placing them in dialogue represents a pressing intervention. Bringing together previously separated archives in a new way (via the investigative lens of the overarching question of transnational affiliation) opens the door to new knowledge.

That methodological intervention is indicative of this study's broader purpose: demanding a reconceptualization of the antiwar and civil rights movements. The study achieves this in two ways. First, it foregrounds Chicanos and their discourse of transnational affiliation with the Vietnamese within the antiwar movement, which is commonly perceived as an Anglo student movement. Second, it challenges the assumption that *el movimiento* was modeled after the Black civil rights and liberation movements, situating it instead within a decolonial framework. The Movement writings,

popular music and other cultural products I examine show that Chicanos were using the anti-imperialism struggle of the Vietnamese as an additional model. For some Chicano activists and artists, Aztlán was Vietnam.

“Twinning” Vietnam and the Southwest

On my map
the two coastlines –
California's
Viet Nam's –
look like they should fit
as jigsaw pieces
if only I could bring them together
at just the right angle.
- Renny Christopher, *Viet Nam and California*⁵

Poet Renny Christopher's quest to comprehend two regions by identifying their symmetries is reminiscent of critical regionalist Cheryl Temple Herr's concepts of “twinning” and the “assemblage,” which she uses as the basis for her comparative study of Ireland and Iowa. Building on the assemblage concept originated by Gilles Deleuze, Herr explains that: “I allow the assemblage to designate a construction composed variously of elements from regions that history has twinned. I see the assemblage occupying a continuum that includes additive bricolage, inventive code-breaking, and other forms of amalgamation and reconstitution. It is a level of organization in which human beings conjoin with the extrahuman, with history, with the flows of productive desire as well as what we might call constitutive lack.”⁶

Christopher's verse parallels Herr's theory, but while Herr's study is focused on the actual similarities between two geographic entities, cultural production operates more in the realm of metaphor and sentiment. The Christopher stanza suggests the emotive affiliations that tie the respective populations of Vietnam and California; the encounters and symmetries that make their coastlines metaphorically meet. So from specifically what angle, to borrow Christopher's expression; using precisely what assemblage, to employ

Herr's theory, did Chicano activists and artists bring Vietnam and California, the experiences of the people of Vietnam and of the Chicanos of the Southwest, together?

How did Vietnam and Aztlán articulate at this particular juncture in history?

Recognizing the ironic parallels between themselves and the Vietnamese, Chicano antiwar protesters and cultural workers constructed an assemblage anchored in transnational affiliation. I identify the five key constituent elements of this assemblage as skin color; economic oppression; colonial subjugation; military/police violence, and ties to the land. As they used this assemblage to forge connections of “brown brotherhood” and “*carnalismo*” in their protest against Chicano involvement in the war overseas, they simultaneously extended their critique to incorporate the domestic battlefield over civil rights. The archive of protest discourse and art I have compiled reveals that through recognizing parallels with the Vietnamese, these Chicanos came to recognize their own colonization. At the same time and in a mutually constitutive process, Chicanos' awareness of their own domestic oppression enhanced their understanding of the injustice of American intervention in Southeast Asia.

This kind of transnational comprehension between subaltern, colonized people in the southwestern United States and in Asia had a precursor in the thinking of the legendary borderlands folklore scholar, Américo Paredes. Ramón Saldívar asserts that Paredes, in the immediate aftermath of World War II, was already forging these kinds of connections between Asia and the Southwest through his own lived experience. Saldívar illustrates how profoundly Paredes's work was influenced by his time in Japan as a news correspondent for the occupying U.S. Army. He explains that Paredes's “overlapping identities as a scholar of regional nationalist culture and as a transnational journalist and

writer taught him to see the struggle for Mexican American social justice as part of a much larger and more elaborate geopolitical puzzle. For this reason, Paredes ordinarily sees the national culture or political event as a local inflection of a transnational phenomenon that can only be read according to a hemispheric dialectic of similarity and difference.”⁷ Although it is Saldívar, not Paredes himself, who explicitly employs the term “transnational,” Saldívar convincingly argues that Paredes's work prefigured the transnational emphasis of the American Studies field today.⁸

The key link between Paredes in the wake of World War II and Chicano activists and cultural producers during Vietnam resides in their identification of a mutual history of colonization and oppression with Asian peoples. Saldívar describes a “kinship of affiliation with other races and ethnic groups that already existed in Paredes's experience of the transnational borderlands of Greater Mexico but which accelerates to fruition in Japan under the consciousness created by a sense of shared oppression and injustice, as mutual recipients of race prejudice, and of having experienced the catastrophe of imperial conquest.”⁹ Further, Saldívar asserts that this kind of transnational thinking or living opens the possibility for political and social change.¹⁰ In this study, I identify similar patterns of affiliation between Chicanos and the Vietnamese during the sixties, and the discursive avenues for antiwar protest that those affiliations opened.

In both eras, these productive transnational understandings were actually enabled by the destructive force of war: “Paredes's wartime writings from Asia offer extraordinary insight to the postwar origins of what we can now call the transnational imaginary. They offer a fundamental view of the Asian world and the instrumental nature of the American war machine in the production of literal and imaginary contact zones, especially in

relation to the connection between world war and subaltern identity.”¹¹ Here, just as in Renny Christopher's poem, we see war in a sense bringing people together. A further significant parallel is that both Paredes and the Chicano Movement highlighted the connections between war in Asia and domestic racism.¹²

The “Sixties” and the Vietnam War

As Craig Werner points out in his study on music and race in America: “The 'sixties', as they have passed into both conservative and radical mythology, actually took place between about 1965 and 1974.”¹³ In other words, the “sixties” were essentially the years of the Vietnam war. Or the official and most intensive years at least, since although the massive escalation of troops following the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution is often regarded as the start of the war, the United States had in actual fact established a military presence in Vietnam as early as 1950. Bruce Palmer, Jr., a military general who worked in the Pentagon, situates United States involvement in these terms: “Exactly twenty-five years from 1 May 1950 – the day President Truman authorized the first U.S. military assistance to Indochina – Saigon and the South Vietnamese government fell to the communist regime of North Vietnam, on 30 April 1975. Thus ended the longest conflict in American history.”¹⁴ Nevertheless, in the arena of public perception, the sixties and the Vietnam war are inextricable from one other, and in this study I use the term “sixties” in the same mold as Werner, and interchangeably with “Vietnam era.”

The unpopularity of the United States' intervention in Vietnam among its own citizens, and the degree of protest in which they engaged, are legendary. This antiwar movement is usually characterized as one led by white, middle-class students, with “folkie” protest singers serving as prominent figureheads. Where are Mexican Americans, the “invisible minority,”¹⁵ in this picture? In the following section I will show that Chicanos had proportionally even more to lose from the war than did Anglos, which begs the question of whether those disproportionate losses in Vietnam led to Chicano antiwar activism and cultural production.

“You Don't Have to Go!”: The Pressures of Assimilation

Chicanos participated and perished in United States military operations in Vietnam in numbers far higher than their percentage in the general population. It is impossible to gauge precise figures since, as Charley Trujillo explains: “Statistics on the exact number of Chicano casualties in the Viet Nam War are difficult to obtain because the Department of Defense did not count 'Hispanics' until 1979. Before then, Chicanos and Latinos were classified as 'white.' However, the Department of Defense has estimated that 83,000 Hispanics served in Viet Nam.”¹⁶

Presenting an alternative statistical methodology, the Fall 1969 edition of *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought* listed Vietnam dead to date by the combination of Spanish surname with state of origin. Twenty-four pages of the journal are dedicated to a list of 2,035 names.¹⁷ All that is certain is that Chicanos served in disproportionate numbers, and that they also perished disproportionately because they were more frequently assigned to the front lines.¹⁸

The need for proven assimilation was a significant driving force behind Chicanos' disproportionate participation in the war (in tandem with systemic racism and economic oppression, which I will revisit presently). As George Mariscal explains: “The chant 'You don't have to go!' directed at minority draftees by the relatively privileged leaders of the student antiwar movement wholly ignored the intense pressures and contradictions felt by members of working-class communities of color.”¹⁹ Guillermo Hernández asserts that many Mexican Americans went to Mexico during World War I, leading to accusations of cowardice and non-assimilation; the drive to counter these charges then fueled participation in World War II.²⁰ The World War II generation took pride in the high

number of medals awarded to Mexican American soldiers and viewed military service as an assimilationist tool: “To some Chicanos, proven patriotism has been a precondition for demanding procedural justice from the society. Many older leaders seemed to say that death in battle on behalf of the United States made it possible for the living to seek concessions from society.”²¹

But a younger generation was emergent, and – particularly as the war abroad dragged on with no apparent end in sight and as civil rights and liberation struggles intensified at home – some of its members did not feel compelled to fight on behalf of a country that did not treat them as full citizens, against a people with whom they had no quarrel. The ironic parallels between the lives of Chicanos and those of the Vietnamese did not go unnoticed by this generation, who began to frame their protest discourse around that tension. This antiwar discourse was consistent in nature with the broader current of thought and activism of which it comprised one part: *el movimiento*, or the Chicano Movement.

El Movimiento: A Transnational and Cultural Movement

The Chicano Movement, which reached its apex during the years of roughly 1968 to 1972, was a cultural nationalist movement for Chicano rights and self-determination. Movement activists raised consciousness and waged struggles in areas that included farmworker rights; land grant recognition; educational standards; urban barrio conditions such as poverty and police abuse; political representation, and the war in Vietnam. The most prominent leaders, known as the “four horsemen,”²² were César Chávez, who represented farmworkers in California; Reies López Tijerina, figurehead of the New Mexico land grant movement; Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, founder of the Crusade for Justice human rights center in Colorado; and Texas-based José Ángel Gutiérrez, Chair of *La Raza Unida* Party.²³ The unifying discourse that linked these diverse causes in multiple states was one of Chicano cultural nationalism, crystallized in the rallying concept of Aztlán. It should be noted that Chicana activists who formed part of the Movement, together with subsequent feminist scholars, have problematized the “gendered confines of Chicano cultural nationalism”²⁴ and that the feminist critique – as most notably enacted by Gloria Anzaldúa – subsequently created an alternative mythology that helps explain why the notion of Aztlán lost resonance after the 1970's.

Aztlán and Transnationalism

Aztlán was the Chicano homeland, a space that was at one and the same time mythic, geographic, and political. It was the “quasi-mythical ancient homeland of the Aztecs, said to cover most of those areas of the United States that now have large Chicano populations. A desire to reclaim Aztlán was a deeply symbolic expression of the right to feel at home within the confines of the United States, and an attempt to found a newly

awakened Chicano *raza* (people, nation) on the resurrected memory of a homeland that predated by hundreds of years the coming of Europeans.”²⁵ Asserting an affinity with Aztlán additionally meant asserting pride in mestizo identity and Chicano unity: “[Aztlán] brought us back to our beginnings It gave us a myth This made us a tribe.”²⁶ The poet and dramatist Alurista, reflecting on the concept in 1981, posited it as an activist tool: “The myth of Aztlán, as I saw it in the 1960s, was just a way to identify a people, a land, and a consciousness that said, 'Struggle. Do not be afraid.’”²⁷

Conceptualizations of Aztlán varied across a wide spectrum, from viewing it in purely symbolic terms to striving to establish it as an independent, self governing land carved out from amidst the present day U.S. Southwest. Yet the concept had sufficient resonance at this historical juncture that it seemed able to accommodate that entire spectrum and serve as a unifying community rallying point. Although it was subsequently displaced by the feminist critique, at the time, the image of Aztlán was widely embraced as offering historical justification for a contemporary struggle.

What if it was Vietnam that caused Aztlán and its associated causes to resonate so deeply at this particular point in history? George Mariscal asserts that, because Chicano youth became radicalized through participating in or protesting against Vietnam, “[i]t is difficult to imagine the development of the Chicano movement, a multifaceted social movement encompassing diverse agendas ranging from reform to revolution, without the war as a generative factor.”²⁸ 1970 is generally viewed as the peak of the Chicano Movement; it was also the year of the Chicano Moratorium against the war, the largest ever public demonstration by Latinos in the U.S.²⁹

With Vietnam, a long history of oppression was forced to a head. Poverty, bad schools and lack of opportunity had plagued Mexican American communities for a long time, but for the sixties generation they came to a crisis point: now, if you were a poor, uneducated kid, you were liable to end up on the front lines. That would explain the pragmatic impetus behind the radicalization of which Mariscal speaks. Meanwhile, the emotional level of that radicalization was perhaps rooted in Chicano soldiers seeing themselves mirrored in the Vietnamese people, then proceeding to experience racial discrimination after returning home as veterans.

Possibly the process operated in the other direction: the new generation of Mexican Americans who called themselves Chicanos were able to exhibit transnational awareness with respect to Vietnam due to the widespread dissemination of the idea of Aztlán. Because the transnational rhetoric of Aztlán and *carnalismo* had been absorbed so profoundly by this generation during their domestic struggles, they were able to conceptualize the war abroad differently than previous generations.

It is hard to be sure in which direction the awareness operated: Vietnam to Aztlán or vice versa. Most probable is that they fed one another in an ongoing mutually constitutive process, with different individuals coming to awareness in different ways. But whatever the direction, identifying the resonance that people saw between Vietnam and Aztlán makes it clear that the Chicano Movement was established on its own terms and contained unique elements, rather than chiefly being modeled after Black movements as is often assumed. Of course there were alliances and overlap: César Chávez cited Martin Luther King, Jr. as a model for nonviolence;³⁰ the Brown Berets are certainly reminiscent of the Black Panthers, and the concept of internal colonialism had been

applied to African Americans, not Chicanos only.³¹ But it was a concept that resonated absolutely resoundingly with Chicanos, resident in Aztlán. This popular understanding of being an occupied people, together with the additional elements of the transnational assemblage I have identified (skin color; economic oppression; military/police violence, and ties to the land) formed the cornerstone of Chicanos' identification with the people of Vietnam.

Cultural Emphasis of the Movement

My methodology in this study is anchored in scrutinizing cultural production because song is so inextricable from the sixties in the popular imaginary. But equally importantly, I emphasize cultural production due to the enormous extent to which the Chicano Movement did so. Enriqueta Vasquez, columnist for *El Grito del Norte* newspaper, posited the importance of culture to the Movement in these terms: “Art will be an expression of Aztlán, of who we were – who we are – what we feel. Art is a weapon to strengthen the spirit and the unity of the familia de la Raza. The arts will bring out our values of life, family and home. This will help to fight the Gringo dollar-value system and encourage human love and carnalismo.”³²

Song; epic poetry; murals; dance; theatre, and cultural-historical education were all foregrounded within the Movement's work. Indeed, it is a poem – *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*, by Alurista – that is widely considered to be the foundational declaration of Chicano cultural nationalism. Scores of theatre troupes formed, devising original works with political messages.³³ At the same time that the Crusade for Justice fought against police abuse, poor housing and discriminatory education, it also operated schools for music, dance, theatre, poetry and art.³⁴ Across the Southwest but particularly in Los

Angeles, a mural style that built on the *pulquería* tradition was reformulated to contain “complex, painted political messages that played a key role in reinventing Mexican Americans as Chicanos.”³⁵ The mass dissemination of these murals throughout urban barrios was as key to their power as the content, since, “this retaking of public space was part of a rebuilding of Aztlán not as mythic land in the mists of time but here and now as a liberated zone.”³⁶ Artistic programming functioned in a similar fashion: when engaging youth with traditional Mexican cultural forms updated to contemporary Chicano relevance, the act itself was as important as any works that resulted. Chicano cultural production and activism were thus intimately intertwined.

The type of racism that Chicanos faced was distinctive: “it appears that in the case of Mexican Americans, cultural factors are at least as important as biological ones as a basis of discrimination, and probably more so, particularly in the urban areas. Racism should thus be considered a mixed biological/ cultural category.”³⁷ Cultural pride and cultural forms of resistance were therefore essential to battling racism and achieving Chicano Movement goals. In direct refutation of previous generations' assimilationist efforts, the Chicanos of the sixties generation asserted that survival was only possible through retaining cultural distinctiveness; anything less would result in “cultural genocide.”³⁸ “[T]aking on the culture of the Anglo majority,” asserted scholars Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz and Charles Ornelas, “would not produce a noncolonized Chicano, but a noncolonized non-Chicano.”³⁹

Elements of the Transnational Assemblage

Contextualizing some of the backdrop to the era enables us to better comprehend the reasoning behind and the impact of the transnational assemblage I earlier identified. In this section, I elaborate in turn on how each of the five key constituent elements of the assemblage (skin color; economic oppression; colonial subjugation; military/police violence, and ties to the land) were employed by Chicano artists and activists to comprehend their experiences and articulate their political discourse.

What I scrutinize here, as I analyze the validity of Chicanos engaging this framework, is two-fold: both the degree to which the lives of Chicanos and the Vietnamese were in actual fact parallel and the fact that Chicanos asserted they were parallel. At certain points in history we see phenomena that are symmetric, and can deepen our historical knowledge by attempting to understand the reasons for those symmetries. The concepts of Aztlán, internal colonialism, and brotherhood with the Vietnamese resonated profoundly with Chicanos at this time. They did so not on a theoretical plane but on the level of popular understanding: the level of what Raymond Williams calls a “structure of feeling.”⁴⁰ T.V. Reed supplies an insightful characterization of this popular, emotive plane in his definition of *carnalismo*: “a 'blood' connection deeper than ideology and carried not biologically, as the term misleadingly suggests, but through a shared cultural history of exploitation, oppression and resistance.”⁴¹ Here, I detail the ways in which and reasons why the resonance was so powerful at this historical juncture.

It should be noted that although I supply examples of transnational discourse under five distinct categories, most of the examples defy neat categorization as

representing only one of the elements of the assemblage that I have identified. Rather, they illustrate the interrelated nature of those elements and the fact that they were often invoked in tandem, as is evident in the following assemblage constructed by José Sánchez, the first Chicano in Los Angeles to publicly refuse induction:

I am already fighting my war-- against facism [*sic*], racism, poverty, and oppression for LA RAZA and all subjugated people -- here at home. I will not help the United States government enslave the people of Vietnam as it has my people -- the poor people.⁴²

Skin Color

Denver resident Ernesto Vigil, among the earliest Chicanos to issue a public statement of draft refusal,⁴³ conveyed the element of transnational affiliation that is most obvious to the eye, skin color, simply and succinctly when he based his refusal on an unwillingness to enact violence against his “brown brothers in Vietnam.”⁴⁴

Skin color was of course a fundamental identifier within the Chicano Movement, whose members sought to turn racism on its head, affirming pride in its place with cries of “Brown Power!” Enriqueta Vasquez describes just one of the many times when Chicanos experienced sentiments of transnational affiliation with the Vietnamese on the basis of skin color: “A young man returned from Vietnam and said that he was really shocked by the experience of having to go to Vietnam and having to kill these brown people. He said, 'I felt like I was killing my brothers, I have nothing against these little villagers’”.⁴⁵

Juan Ramírez, author of a memoir about his experiences first serving in and later protesting against the war, traces the conflicted process he went through before he came

to foreground the skin color element in his protest discourse or indeed in his own mind. A third generation Mexican American, he primarily framed his self identity in regional terms, writing: “I have always thought of myself as a Californian,”⁴⁶ and adding that, “[m]y parents always considered themselves to be Californians first, Mexicans second, and then Americans.”⁴⁷ In contrast to his strong sense of place-based self, Ramírez always felt confused and conflicted about his racial identity, having spent his childhood being rejected by others of Mexican heritage who thought him too acculturated.

Demonstrating the enlightening power that twinings of Vietnam and the Southwest can afford, it took going to war abroad for Ramírez to begin to comprehend systemic racial oppression at home, and to work for civil rights. Finally acknowledging a racial identity after being forced to see himself through the eyes of others, Vietnam made Ramírez cognizant of “living in a racist society that systematically channeled me toward becoming a combat soldier. Brown and black people kill and are killed for a society that still calls us spics and niggers when we get home.”⁴⁸

Economic Oppression

The systemic economic oppression many Chicanos suffered did quite literally “bring them together” – to echo poet Renny Christopher's words – with the Vietnamese because it directly resulted in them going to Vietnam. Reading Chicano Movement literature, it is notable how consistently activists highlight the failure of the education system to serve Chicano students. They point to a high school dropout rate of 50% for Chicanos in East Los Angeles and emphasize that schools taught exclusionary history, banned the speaking of Spanish, and dissuaded Chicano students from considering college.⁴⁹ Poor education obviously leads to unemployment, poverty, crime and incarceration, but it had even more

pernicious repercussions for the Vietnam generation: “The only alternative for a high school dropout was to go into the army, and Chicanos had the highest mortality rate per ethnic group in Vietnam. An entire generation of Chicanos was being offered just two options – crime or death – because our schools were not doing their job.”⁵⁰

Vietnam and the Southwest can be seen to articulate again when we consider the war's drain on domestic resources. As T.V. Reed explains: “President Lyndon Johnson's 'Great Society' economic reforms were being decimated by the costs of the war. As a consequence, more Chicanos were dying in the streets of the United States from the economic violence that leads to gangs and drug abuse.”⁵¹ To some young Chicano men, military service appeared to be the one feasible escape route from the oppressive conditions of the barrio. Naomi Helena Quiñonez speaks to this in her poem *America's Wailing Wall*:

Each day
one more young man
disappeared off the streets,
hooked on the bait
dropped before carnales like you.
Jail or war
Poverty or war
Victim or war⁵²

Those who did not voluntarily enlist still found themselves on the receiving end of inequitable draft policies. Having gone through a school system that heavily impeded their likelihood of going to college, and given the prohibitive costs of college, Chicanos (together with other minorities and poor whites) rarely qualified for the student draft

exemptions that, at least during the earlier part of the war, predominantly benefited middle and upper class Anglos.

Funneling the poor into the military was more than just circumstantial: it was actually official government policy, designed to “socialize” and to provide “opportunity.” Project 100,000 sought to induct 100,000 new soldiers per year; these “new standards” men were assigned to the front lines. The initiative sought to achieve its ends by radically reducing entry standards in order to qualify those who were previously ineligible for the draft pool due to low entry test scores. It therefore massively disproportionately affected the uneducated and those whose first language was not English.⁵³ The driving force behind the Project, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, justified it in these terms: “The poor of America have not had their fair share of this Nation's abundance, but they can be given an opportunity to serve in their country's defense and they can be given an opportunity to return to civilian life with skills and aptitudes which, for them and their families, will reverse the downward spiral of human decay.”⁵⁴ George Mariscal counters that perspective with a radically different one: “It is the point at which Johnson's War on Poverty entered into an unholy alliance with the Pentagon that the government created a direct conduit from the barrios and ghettos to the killing fields of Viet Nam.”⁵⁵

In *Corrido de Ricardo Campos*, Daniel Valdez highlights how the economic oppression element played out in the life and death of the song's protagonist:

Well you never had an old man
And your mother died just trying to keep you alive
Year after year she worked so hard and long
But the money she made was somehow never enough
What was her reward?

A passage published in the 1968 edition of *La Raza Yearbook* calls attention to multiple specific elements of economic oppression inflicted upon Chicanos. It then proceeds to connect, to great effect, economic oppression at home with United States colonialism overseas:

Carnales, the government that seeks to induct you into military service is the same one that allows and promotes discrimination in employment, low wages for farmworkers, one-sided and prejudicial educational programs, urban redevelopment, and a thousand other oppressive conditions. [...] Those Gabachos even ask you to impose this system of oppression upon the people of Vietnam, Santo Domingo, Bolivia, and many other countries, as well as upon our own people.⁵⁶

Colonial Subjugation

I have shown how the Chicano Movement invoked the concept of Aztlán as a mythic and geographic homeland and a space of struggle. Chicano antiwar activists saw clear symmetries between the experiences of the Vietnamese, subjected to external invasion by the United States government, and the Chicanos of the Southwest, subjected to the same at the time of the Mexican-American War and to internal occupation ever since. For these activists at this particular historical juncture, declaring that Aztlán and Vietnam were symmetric in this way was a powerful tool in both building Chicano consciousness and resisting the war.

Enriqueta Vasquez brings the Vietnamese into a very specific colonial parallel with the Chicanos of the Southwest: “They, too, have had French, English, Spanish and U.S. troops on their soil.”⁵⁷ But most activists understood the symmetry in a broader sense, invoking colonial subjugation in their antiwar discourse not only in terms of actual

occupation but also of experiential empathy, with Aztlán being the tangible-meets-metaphorical entity that fused the two.

The 1974 play *Dawn*, by Alurista, published as the war was coming to an end, links Chicano participation in United States wars and colonial subjugation – both mental and material – at home. There is no clear causality, just a clear assertion that the author feels the two to be in relationship:

colonized
our minds
wanting us
to be like you
tell us
we'd fare off well
forgetting
our mexican blood
you tried to rinse
our skins
with spain
while we worked
in your factories
slaved
in your mines
and died in your pesticide fields
we fought your wars
and came back
to the yankee occupation
of our barrios⁵⁸

“The Barrio as an Internal Colony,” by Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz and Charles Ornelas, was an article that exerted a great deal of influence on Chicano thought upon its publication in 1972. Barrera et al. asserted that Chicano barrios were colonized spaces within the United States, with Chicanos' colonial status being marked by their lack of control over the institutions that affected them.

Although not the first to use the term “internal colonialism” to refer to minorities in the U.S., the authors' intervention lay in their redefinition of the term, which they claimed was previously “employed as an analogy with classic colonialism.”⁵⁹ Within Barrera et al.'s redefined conceptualization, “a colony can be considered 'internal' if the colonized population has the same formal legal status as any other group of citizens, and 'external' if it is placed in a separate legal category [...] this definition would classify such groups as the native people of the Union of South Africa as an external colony, even though the dominant population does not have its center in an overseas metropolis. On the other hand, the Black and Chicano communities in the United States are internal colonies, since they occupy a status of formal equality, whatever the informal reality may be.”⁶⁰ The authors proceed to further distinguish different categories within internal colonialism, ultimately labeling the subtle form of colonialism that controlled Chicanos at that time “internal neocolonialism” due to its use of mostly indirect mechanisms.⁶¹

This very specific category that Barrera et al. applied to Chicanos suggests the authors would not have considered the Southwest and Vietnam as subject to precisely the same system of colonization. Yet in terms of the resonance and influence the general idea carried in the arena of popular perception, “[t]he 'internal colony' notion was a powerful one, especially when tied to the idea of Aztlán as Chicano homeland.”⁶² Barrera et al.'s theory was the academic cognate to the popular sentiment. *El Grito del Norte* (“The Cry of the North”), a journal that “soon proved to be unrivaled among Chicano Movement publications for the attention it paid to other struggles across the nation and around the world,”⁶³ played a significant role in disseminating the internal colony idea and connecting it to the war in Vietnam.

The colonial subjugation element was eloquently conveyed by artists who juxtaposed the simultaneous foreign and home fronts of the battles in which Chicanos were engaged, as seen in the following verse from the song *Vietnam Veterano*:

In Chu Lai you were fighting away
With the *raza* on the streets in L.A.
They say this country ships us all off to fight,
To return and deny us our rights⁶⁴

The song furthermore features the refrain “On the front lines again, *los chicanos*,” which could be interpreted both as a reference to symmetric foreign and domestic battlefields and to disproportionate Chicano representation in the infantry. Written by Californian musician and journalist Al Reyes, *Vietnam Veterano* is a bilingual song over eight minutes in length, featuring a hauntingly beautiful vocal interspersed with the sounds of military hardware and spoken sections in which veteran David Rodríguez recounts his personal experiences. Released in 1983, it still, a decade after the war drew to a close and the Chicano Movement declined, employs the same transnational discourse originally framed during the time that the war and *el movimiento* intersected.

Military/Police Violence

For Vietnamese civilians, military violence obviously meant the brutal invasion of their country by a foreign army. But Chicano activists saw another clear parallel between themselves and the Vietnamese here also: Chicano civilians were regularly subjected to police violence in the barrios of occupied Aztlán. According to Barrera et al., “[t]he police have frequently been accused of brutality, harassment of political organization, and overzealous policing; at times they have been compared to an occupying army.”⁶⁵

This element of the transnational assemblage may be seen to come to a head in the events and creative responses surrounding the August 29, 1970 Chicano Moratorium. This massive protest staged in Los Angeles to highlight the disproportionate number of Chicano deaths in the war was the largest ever mass demonstration by Latinos, drawing national attendance. Police infiltration decimated the Moratorium; in fact, “for a time, an undercover agent led the national Chicano anti-Vietnam War campaign.”⁶⁶ During the event, protesters and police fatally clashed, with activists accusing police of initiating the violence, attacking “families who were guilty of nothing more than sitting in the park.”⁶⁷

To commemorate these events, muralists Willie Herrón and Gronk painted *Black and White Moratorium Wall* at the Estrada Courts housing project in East L.A. in 1973; it still remains there today, standing out among more than 90 other murals at Estrada Courts due to its unconventional color scheme.⁶⁸ T.V. Reed characterizes the message of *Black and White Moratorium Wall* in these terms: “The subject is war, war abroad and at home [. . .] The mural vividly depicts the police riot unleashed against the demonstrators at the end of the rally, capturing the screams of victims and linking this police brutality to similar acts visited routinely on barrio residents.”⁶⁹

Lalo Guerrero's *La Tragedia del 29 de Agosto* (“The Tragedy of August 29th”) is a *corrido* about the Chicano Moratorium that is traditional in form but that defies tradition with its multifaceted theme. Guerrero skillfully weaves together multiple threads to form a complex tapestry depicting the experience of urban Chicanos during the Vietnam era.⁷⁰

On one level, the *corrido* is a narrative relating the events of the Moratorium, which Guerrero attended. Its second layer is one of domestic political critique, deploring the police brutality enacted against barrio residents. Here, Guerrero both celebrates

Chicano resistance and issues a cautionary admonition about the potential for such action to morph into violent community self destruction. Thirdly, *La Tragedia del 29 de Agosto* is a tribute *corrido* to the renowned reporter Rubén Salazar, News Director for KMEX-TV and contributor to the Los Angeles Times, who was killed by police during the demonstration. Many believed Salazar was assassinated in retaliation for the sympathetic nature of his reporting or because he was working on an exposé of the L.A. Police Department,⁷¹ although Guerrero himself believed that Salazar's death was accidental.⁷²

In combining these multiple layers, *La Tragedia del 29 de Agosto* addresses not only the injustices inherent in the Chicano deaths in Vietnam but simultaneously “*los años de injusticia*” (“the years of injustice”) they had been subjected to at home. It calls attention to multiple forms of United States violent authoritarianism as it affected Chicanos on both foreign and domestic turf, thereby portraying the latter space as every bit as much a battlefield.

Ties to the Land

For rural Chicanos, the parallels between the farmworkers of Vietnam and those of the Southwest were a powerful emotive element in the assemblage of transnational affiliation. George Mariscal, speaking of Charley Trujillo's compendium of narratives from rural Californian veterans, explains that, “[m]ost of the veterans interviewed by Trujillo came from families of first- and second-generation Mexican agricultural workers. For these particular soldiers, the Vietnamese peasant evoked a certain empathy or a fleeting recognition.”⁷³ Building on Raymond Williams, Mariscal theorizes this kind of transnational affiliation as a “structure of recognition.”⁷⁴ He gives an example of how

Chicano cultural activists tapped into that kind of empathy, pointing to an extract from the 1970 El Teatro Campesino play *Vietnam Campesino*:

GENERAL: I want you to burn the house of these farmworkers, boy.

HIJO: Yes, sir!

The soldier moves toward the campesinos, who hold up a paper cut-out of a small labor camp shack. They wave at him.

CAMPESINOS: Hello, hijo.

HIJO: (*Turns back to general*) Hey, I can't burn my parents' home.

GENERAL: Not *those* farmworkers, stupid. (*Points at Vietnamese*). *These* farmworkers.⁷⁵

In 1969, *El Grito del Norte* featured a poem by Pedro Achondo entitled *Lonely Vietnam*, in which the farmworker element as a basis for transnational affiliation is similarly prominent:

I see the families
working together
in the rice paddies
and my heart shrinks
mi familia! – mi familia!⁷⁶

El Grito del Norte was the journal of the New Mexico land grant movement and therefore naturally gave extensive coverage to land-related issues and imagery. The publication included the farmworker element in the striking front cover of its August 29, 1970 edition, published on the day of the Chicano Moratorium. Demanding, “VIETNAM WAR- WHY?” the cover juxtaposes two columns of photographs entitled “Their People...”/ “Our People...” The captions read: “Children of North Vietnam”/ “Children of Northern New Mexico;” “Campesinos of North Vietnam”/ “Campesinos of Northern New Mexico,” and “A North Vietnamese Woman”/ “La Chicana.”⁷⁷

Ties to the land furthermore ran deeper for Chicanos than depending upon it for subsistence. Robert Rosenbaum, in his study of nineteenth century *mexicano* resistance in the southwestern United States, explains that: “For peasants, land is one of the givens of the world. Like family, religion, or seasonal change, land is part of the total environment that sustains the community and gives it its focus and direction.”⁷⁸ Enriqueta Vasquez, active in the land grant movement, wrote extensively on Chicanos' relationship to land in *El Grito del Norte*. Vasquez asserted that, anchored in their Native American heritage, Chicanos' connection to the land was spiritual and cultural as well as economic: “We cannot go the Gringo way. We choose; we go the way of the land; the way of the earth; the way of the water; the way of the wind; the way of Aztlán.”⁷⁹ Vasquez emphasized the relevance of land to urban Chicanos also, since it was being cheated out of their lands that had led to their displacement to deprived urban barrios.⁸⁰ The combination of land's role as both practical subsistence and profound symbol explains the importance of subaltern struggles to cling on to it: struggles that were then occurring in Aztlán, Vietnam, Latin America, and across the globe.

Summary

Through identifying and explicating these five elements of the transnational assemblage that Chicanos invoked, it becomes clear that some Chicanos came to understand their oppression in the United States through the Vietnam experience and/or that their awareness of Chicano domestic oppression enhanced their understanding of the injustice of the American presence in Vietnam. The parallels between the Southwest and Vietnam operated on two simultaneous levels: factual similarities and popular sentiments of resonance. The veracity of those similarities and the extent of that resonance mean this

transnational assemblage was indeed a valid and productive framework for Chicanos to have applied in their activism and cultural production at this historical juncture.

The *Corrido* Tradition: Form Dictates Function

I have shown how Chicanos who sought to oppose the war and simultaneously raise awareness of conditions within their own communities constructed transnational assemblages variously composed of the elements of skin color; economic oppression; colonial subjugation; military/police violence and ties to the land. They expressed these elements within creative forms that included songs, poetry, plays and public art: cultural products that were as central to Chicano Movement discourse as were publications or political speeches.

However, in contrast to the famous body of Anglo-authored Vietnam songs, definitively antiwar songs by Chicano artists are actually quite rare, and where they do exist their tone is not as confident, confrontational and irreverent. Compositions in the traditional *corrido* genre, in particular, present much more ambiguity. *El Corrido de Daniel Fernández*, by New Mexican *corridista* Roberto Martínez, is an example of one such ambiguous piece.

Daniel Fernández, of Los Lunas, New Mexico, died in Vietnam in 1966. Fernández saved the lives of his fellow soldiers by throwing himself on a hand grenade that would otherwise have killed them all, an act for which he received the Congressional Medal of Honor.⁸¹ The *corrido* that Martínez composed for him appears at first glance to be apolitical or even implicitly pro-war in its apparently patriotic and celebratory language. Why would Roberto Martínez, who not long afterward authored the deeply politically conscious Chicano Movement classic *El Corrido de Río Arriba*, compose something that can be interpreted as tacitly reinforcing the validity of the war by

celebrating Fernández's motivations; as diminishing the horror of his death by reassuring the listener that he is in heaven?

On closer examination, there are some lyrics within the *corrido* whose meaning is ambiguous and that may possibly be effecting a critique:

*Amigos, vengo a cantarles
el corrido de un paisano,
se llamó Daniel Fernández,
hijo nuevomexicano.*

*Este soldado valiente,
valiente de nuestro estado,
por el amor a su patria
la vida ha sacrificado.*

Friends I come to sing you
the ballad of a countryman,
his name was Daniel Fernández
a New Mexican son.

He was a valiant soldier,
valiant from our state,
for the love of his country
he has sacrificed his life.⁸²

(Translations by Enrique Lamadrid).

Note Martínez's use of "*hijo nuevomexicano*" and "*nuestro estado*:" he posits Fernández as a New Mexican and never explicitly as an American. His use of "*paisano*" and "*patria*" is ambiguous, since in Spanish these terms can carry either a regional or a national connotation. In the context of the repeated New Mexico references throughout the *corrido* (eg. "*¡...y arriba mi Nuevo México...!*" / "...and long live my New Mexico...!") the regional meaning seems more likely here.

A subsequent stanza appeals to New Mexico to protect itself. Could “*no des tu brazo a torcer*” be a call to resist the exploitation of Hispanics in the form of disproportionate deaths in Vietnam?

*Nuevo México querido,
no des tu brazo a torcer;
tienes soldados valientes
que cumplen con su deber.*

Beloved New Mexico,
don't give your arm to be twisted,
you have brave soldiers
that fulfill their duty.

It may be that with *El Corrido de Daniel Fernández*, Martínez intends to highlight New Mexican, perhaps specifically Hispanic New Mexican, sacrifices and exploitation, rendering it more oppositional than it appears to be at first glance. At the very least, the *corrido* presents ambiguities. Such ambiguity is consistent with the ambiguity in attitudes toward the war among the wider community beyond the militant Chicano Movement.

The theories of folklorist John McDowell regarding the role of violence in the *corrido* help to further clarify the question of why *El Corrido de Daniel Fernández* appears to be a-political and why explicitly antiwar *corridos* are so scarce. McDowell theorizes three distinct functions that violence plays in poetry: celebratory, regulatory and therapeutic. The celebratory *corridos* he examines praise the violent acts of their protagonists “as the ideal of the macho.”⁸³ Clearly, then, celebratory *corridos* are incompatible with peace activism; this I shall revisit shortly.

The regulatory poem about violence “lifts the violent episode from its actual setting and reframes it as a coherent narrative, a process that offers ample opportunity to

assign credit and blame, to assess causes and consequences, and to sift meaning in a larger moral consciousness.”⁸⁴ The regulatory function is evident in those Vietnam compositions that attempt to make sense of the situation, denounce it, or both, as seen in the *corrido*, *La Tragedia del 29 de Agosto* and in the protest songs, *Vietnam Veterano* and *Corrido de Ricardo Campos*. Quoting Mexican folklorist Miguel Ángel Gutiérrez Ávila, McDowell furthermore asserts that within this function, “[t]he *corrido* poet fully takes on the role of social critic.”⁸⁵ The regulatory function is thus clearly translatable to the Anglo-authored protest songs of the sixties also.

Therapeutic poetry, by contrast, plays a healing and memorial role for the community, within which there is little room for “politics.” McDowell explains the therapeutic function in these terms: “Poetry dealing with violence normally evinces a strong commemorative bent, adapting and modifying the experience of violent action to conform to models and archetypes widely accepted, even cherished, by members of the community. For all its commitment to factuality, the *corrido* has tolerance for equivocation in the cause of promoting the integrity of the community. As a commemorative discourse, it tends to absorb factional differences into a broadly acceptable surmise, playing down inconvenient details and playing up details consonant with a collective vision.”⁸⁶

McDowell's theories reveal that the key to understanding *El Corrido de Daniel Fernández* and indeed all Vietnam compositions lies in the dictates of genre and in the motivation driving each piece. *El Corrido de Daniel Fernández* was written more for therapeutic than regulatory reasons. Its primary motive is to commemorate and laud the

individual and bring comfort and honor to his community; within this arena, explicit political critique is inappropriate.

The existence of the conventions within the *corrido* genre dictating distinct celebratory, regulatory or therapeutic functions makes Lalo Guerrero's *La Tragedia del 29 de Agosto* a highly unusual composition, since it adheres to *corrido* norms in terms of form yet has multiple thematic intentions that diverge from the traditional purposes of the *corrido*. Had Rubén Salazar been a soldier killed in battle in Vietnam, rather than a journalist killed during a police battle in the barrio, would it still have been acceptable for Guerrero to effect a political critique within the *corrido* that pays him tribute?

I have indicated that the *corrido* form is largely incompatible with an explicit antiwar stance. But where does the resistive heritage of the *corrido* fit into this picture? After all, Américo Paredes asserts that the borderlands *corrido* tradition grew out of an occupation, that of the United States within what he terms “Greater Mexico”⁸⁷ in the wake of the U.S. – Mexico war. Borderlands *corridos* chronicled the conflict between *mexicanos* and *americanos* in the recently-acquired U.S. terrain, and celebrated heroes who resisted Anglo oppression.⁸⁸ Paredes showed, most famously in his seminal 1958 study *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and its Hero*, that *corridos* often explicitly addressed Anglo discrimination and violence. Is it not then reasonable to expect that during the sixties, with the Chicano Movement employing a language of resistance against Anglo occupation, the *corrido* might function as a protest vehicle, in a manner parallel to the Anglo-authored protest song? Could this celebration of resistance be the celebratory function of which McDowell speaks?

The figure of the wronged *mexicano* defending his right “with his pistol in his hand” certainly did appeal to Chicanos of the sixties generation, who did indeed rediscover the *corrido* tradition and the history of resistance that it chronicled. Writing of the California farmworker movement, María Herrera-Sobek explains that the *corrido* was “turned into the form par excellence that could be used to inform the general population of the travails, injustices, oppression, and exploitation suffered by the Chicano people at the hands of hegemonic society.”⁸⁹ *El Corrido de César Chávez* and *El Corrido de Río Arriba* became anthems of the California labor and New Mexico land grant movements, respectively. Yet the fact remains that there was no parallel role played by explicitly oppositional *corridos* within the Chicano antiwar movement.

One explanation for this dearth is that the earlier *corrido* tradition, in commemorating figures such as Gregorio Cortez, Joaquín Murieta, or Juan Cortina, celebrated individual social bandits rather than advocating for collective social change for the community. I take the term “social bandits” from Robert Rosenbaum, who explains their significance in these terms: “*Bandidos* covered a wide range of activities and were spurred by a mixture of motives, but *mexicanos* in general saw them as men who refused to submit and who thus symbolized resistance.”⁹⁰ The individual bandit (eg., Gregorio Cortez) is distinct from the collective movement for social change (eg. the antiwar movement) in that, “[m]en like Tiburcio Vásquez, Gregorio Cortez, and Juan de Dios Ortega fought back alone. Theirs were individual rebellions. They had no plan for social change, and their goals did not go beyond revenge or self-protection, the righting of specific wrongs, or a vague wish to return to the old ways.”⁹¹

The machismo inherent to the *corrido* is a further explanation for its incompatibility with an antiwar position. As Herrera-Sobek explains it, “[t]he *corrido* is a predominantly masculine form of literary musical expression that narrates principally the deeds, activities, aspirations, and adventures of male protagonists or male-related events such as war, battles, horse racing, and bullfighting.”⁹² Writing of the cultural values of northern New Mexico, Rosenbaum states: “Direct action, forceful action, was natural to a culture that remembered a constant hostile Indian threat and placed high emphasis on honor and the stalwart defense of one's rights [. . .] the people of the villages still tell stories and sing *corridos* about individual triumphs over insulting Texas cowboys, and the phrase *mucho hombre* – much of a man – punctuates their tales of men who defended their rights with guns.”⁹³ A war opponent would not meet the definition of “much of a man.” Enriqueta Vasquez acknowledges this traditional definition and attempts to turn it on its head when she writes (referencing *El Soldado Raso*, a World War II era *corrido* concerning a foot soldier going off to war):⁹⁴ “We see the real 'Soldado Raso' arise with all his manhood, in his machismo to say to the majority, 'No, you cannot ease your conscience and guilt by killing innocent people in Vietnam, you cannot change my focus and turn me into a killer to kill my brothers.’”⁹⁵

Not only was the older *corrido* tradition preoccupied with the individual and with machismo, but it also celebrated violent resistance: “The tales stressed the virtue of physical courage and described settings in which violent response was the most admirable course of action.”⁹⁶ This leads us to what is surely the key reason the *corrido* genre was rarely used in anti-Vietnam war discourse: in celebrating resistance, *corridos* celebrated violence. In resisting the Vietnam war, sixties protest songs celebrated peace.

Therefore while the *corrido* certainly was embraced by *el movimiento* and its endorsement of violent resistance was not inconsistent with Chicano militancy on other topics, it was incompatible with the topic of opposition to the war.

We see, then, that despite the fact that *corridos* were indeed popular with Chicano Movement activists, *corridos* explicitly protesting the Vietnam war were scarce because the celebratory tradition of the *corrido* is one of violent resistance, of machismo, and of the individual social bandit.

Tradition Blown Apart: *Corrido de Ricardo Campos*

Having elaborated the elements comprising the assemblage of transnational affiliation that Chicano antiwar protesters constructed, and investigated the conventions of the *corrido* genre, we can begin to understand why *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* is such a boundary crossing piece, both in terms of content and of genre. A note on my use of the title: some sources title the song *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* while others call it *Ballad of Richard Campos*; for consistency, I refer to it as *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* throughout.⁹⁷

The self-titled “*corrido*” was composed by Daniel Valdez, a founding member of El Teatro Campesino, the most renowned of the manifold politically conscious Chicano theatre collectives that formed during the mid to late 1960's.⁹⁸ The song's subject, Richard Campos, was a soldier from California who was killed in Vietnam in 1966.⁹⁹ All versions of the song I have located are in English, with no mention of any Spanish version existing, although in some the title alone is in Spanish. Lea Ybarra, a student organizer and draft resistance counselor in California, recalls reciting the song as part of draft resistance efforts.¹⁰⁰ Since draft counselors used it in this way and since El Teatro Campesino was an activist troupe that traveled around performing *actos* and music to raise awareness of issues affecting Chicanos, it seems likely the song was composed with the intention of being used as an organizing tool.

Corrido de Ricardo Campos, then, appears to have been composed in English, likely as an organizing tool, invoking a place in a borderlands musical tradition with its title but not actually part of the genre at all. *Corridos* must adhere to a formula that includes opening with a salutation or quest for permission to sing; ending with a farewell;

four line stanzas; no chorus; and norteño, mariachi, tejano or similar music. *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* meets none of these criteria. Most obviously of all, *corridos* are never written in English since, as John McDowell explains, they are “securely planted in the collective world view of the *corrido* community. While the *corrido* may strive to present events in an unbiased fashion, it shows no comparable effort to transcend its own ethnocentricity. On the contrary, this ethnocentricity figures prominently in the *corrido* ethos, rendering each *corrido* a powerful statement of community values and orientations.”¹⁰¹

Corridos are furthermore bound by certain conventions thematically. McDowell stresses that they are usually objective: “*Corridos* are primarily concerned to tell a story, not to pass moral or partisan judgments on the actors or events in the story. In this sense, most *corridos* are fundamentally non-propagandistic.”¹⁰² *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* clearly does not fit that thematic norm, and it totally reverses an additional one that McDowell highlights: “The fearless man of action, the capacity to die honorably – these are themes characteristic of a heroic world view, and the world view of the *corrido* is decidedly heroic. Part of the propositional intent of the *corrido* is to stipulate that a man *should* die honorably, *should* confront death fearlessly.”¹⁰³ *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* resoundingly stands in direct contrast to this convention, being vehemently oppositional on a number of simultaneous fronts.

The “*corrido*” establishes a racial emphasis from the outset:

In a terminal in Oakland
Lies a brown body of a man

It then proceeds to highlight the domestic oppression that confronted Chicanos:

So they shipped you back to where you came from
Like a dummy you were tossed around in an airplane
Back to the hell from which you tried to escape
Back to the so-called free United States

The chorus rhetorically poses a question that is rooted in a combination of civil rights struggles and assimilationist pressures:

Should a man
Should he have to kill
In order to live like a human being in this country?

In keeping with McDowell's assessment of their "heroic world view," *corridos* named for individual soldiers invariably serve a purely tributary function and not one of political critique, as evidenced by *El Corrido de Daniel Fernández*. In their organizing work, El Teatro Campesino usually embraced the *nueva canción* genre, then popular in Latin America as a vehicle for political dissent.¹⁰⁴ Why, then, does Valdez label this particular song a "*corrido*"?

Perhaps he does so to render it culturally familiar to Chicanos, and locate it in an oral tradition by which his people had for generations received their news commentaries. Or maybe to assert that, whatever else it might additionally be, the song is still intended to serve a tributary function to the man for whom it is named. I suspect that above all Valdez employs the word in order to subvert the heroic discourse of the genre, in which individual fallen soldiers receive a tribute *corrido* in their name. Through this subversion of the form and through using it as a political organizing tool, Valdez challenges the

subordination of young Chicano lives to pressures of assimilation, misplaced heroism, systemic racism, economic oppression, internal colonialism and an unjust war. As such, *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* blows apart tradition and is representative of the mold-breaking attitude of the new generation of Mexican Americans calling themselves Chicanos.

I have repeatedly emphasized that protest song and the sixties are inextricable from one another. It is therefore necessary to situate this discussion of Chicano protest song and transnational antiwar cultural production within the dominant cultural framework of the era: Anglo-authored protest song on the national stage.

Transnational Imagery in Anglo-Authored Song

The world-renown explicitly antiwar songs composed by Anglo artists such as Bob Dylan, Arlo Guthrie and John Lennon remain indelibly associated with the Vietnam era in the popular imaginary. No other historical period is so highly characterized in people's minds by the intersection of music and politics; indeed, Country Joe McDonald's *I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-to-Die* is actually referred to as “the song that stopped the war.”

And it's one, two, three,
What are we fighting for?
Don't ask me, I don't give a damn,
Next stop is Vietnam;
And it's five, six, seven,
Open up the pearly gates,
Well there ain't no time to wonder why,
Whoopee! we're all gonna die¹⁰⁵

Charles Kaiser, author of *1968 in America*, subtitles his book *Music, Politics, Chaos, Counterculture, and the Shaping of a Generation*. The positioning of music within the elements he lists as defining that watershed year is noteworthy. In one characteristic statement, Kaiser writes that, “Bob Dylan's combination of culture and politics created more than combustion. This was alchemy: the alchemy that produced the mood, color, and spirit of the sixties.”¹⁰⁶

Kaiser typifies his generation's attitude to the power of song, stating that, “everything on the tube tearing us apart was almost perfectly balanced by the remarkable unity we achieved through the music on the radio.”¹⁰⁷ He enumerates an extensive list of influential artists (both those who wrote protest song and those whose impact lay in revolutionizing musical style) and states that, “[t]he songs they produced kept us alive,

even a little hopeful, through the most terrifying year of the decade.”¹⁰⁸ Such assertions may seem naïve or presumptuous to those of us not of the sixties generation, but they are common among its members. The sixties, the war, the counterculture, and music – its pervasiveness and its tangible power – are seemingly inextricable in their perception.

Did the Anglo artists who dominated this intersection of music and politics on the national stage exhibit transnational awareness and connect United States abuses in southeast Asia with domestic civil rights issues, as did some Chicano songwriters and other cultural workers? The answer is a resounding yes: often active in the civil rights as well as the antiwar movements, Anglo artists certainly did comprehend the connection between the two and make it explicit in their songs through engaging transnational imagery. The title alone of Phil Ochs's *White Boots Marching in a Yellow Land* is a clear instance of this, as is the opening lyric of his *Talking Vietnam*:

Sailing over to Vietnam/ Southeast Asian Birmingham.¹⁰⁹

However, as the preceding lyric makes clear, the distinction between Chicano and Anglo artists in this regard is that the parallels drawn by Anglos were between Vietnam and the Black South, not the Chicano Southwest. Further, while Chicanos wrote of the struggles of their own people, Anglo artists were speaking of a people and in most cases a region extrinsic to their own. The elements of the transnational assemblage that Chicano artists and activists invoked when comparing their people with the people of Vietnam did not apply personally to prominent “folkie” singers or to student protesters, the majority of whom were white and middle class.

There are a great many instances of Anglo musicians forging transnational connections using some of the same elements of the assemblage used by Chicanos. In the following examples we see variously the elements of skin color, economic oppression, colonialism and military/police violence, but we see them employed from a different subject position and referencing a different population and region than we saw in Chicano cultural production.

Bill Frederick critiques racism, economic motives and military/police violence with his 1967 song *Hitler Ain't Dead*:

Gas in the jungle, gas on the street,
Shot by a soldier or a cop on the beat.
Saigon to Selma to City Hall
With his hand on the dollar and his back to the wall
Hitler ain't dead, he just talks with a drawl.¹¹⁰

In 1965's *We Didn't Know*, Tom Paxton connects the conflicts raging in the southern United States and in Vietnam by placing them in subsequent verses and blaming the continuation of both on white passivity and ignorance:

“We didn't know,” said the congregation
Singing a hymn in their church of white.
“The Press was full of lies about us,
Preacher told us we were right.
The outside agitators came,
They burned some churches and put the blame
On decent southern people's names,
To set our colored people aflame,
And maybe some of our boys got hot
And a couple of niggers and reds got shot.
They should have stayed where they belong
And preacher would've told us if we'd done wrong.”

“We didn't know,” said the puzzled voter,

Watching the President on TV.
“I guess we've got to drop those bombs
If we're gonna keep South Asia free.
The President's such a peaceful man,
I guess he's got some kind of plan
They say we're torturing prisoners of war,
But I don't believe that stuff no more,
Torturing prisoners is a communist game
And you can bet they're doing the same.
I wish this war was over and through,
But what do you expect me to do?”¹¹¹

Talking Flag Burning, composed in 1967 by Skip Storey, once again brings
violent oppression in Vietnam and in the southern United States into articulation:

L. Mendel Rivers has sponsored a bill,
Cost ya' \$10,000 and five years in jail,
If you defile, mutilate, or otherwise desecrate,
The flag of these United States,
Old Glory,
The red, white and blue,
Forever in War may she wave. [. . .]

Old Mr. Rivers, please hear my plea.
Propose one more bill for me.
Make against the laws of the state,
To defile, mutilate, or desecrate
children,
Vietnamese, ... Negroes in South Carolina.¹¹²

Chicanos and other Hispanic and Latino groups simply do not seem to have
registered with those Anglo artists who demonstrated awareness of Black civil rights
issues. Barbara Dane's parody *Luci Had a Baby* interconnects not only Blacks but
multiple groups of people internationally and domestically, yet excludes Chicanos:

Simmer down the black folks,
Pacify the Jews,

Kill a few thousand A-rabs,
'Cause they don't wear no

Shoot a lot of yellow people,
Get 'em off the books.
They're crowding up our airstrips,
And anyway they're

Good little targets,
To practice pulling triggers,
And when we finish them off
We'll be ready for the ¹¹³

A peculiar omission occurs in Grace Mora Newman's *Fort Hood Three*. The Fort Hood Three were soldiers who were court-martialed and jailed in 1966 for refusing to go to Vietnam on grounds that it was an immoral war. James Johnson was African American, David Samas was of Lithuanian and Italian ancestry, and Dennis Mora was Latino: a Puerto Rican raised in Spanish Harlem.¹¹⁴ In the joint statement they issued to explain their refusal, they specifically pointed to each of their distinct ethnicities, emphasizing that, “[w]e represent in our backgrounds a cross section of the Army and of America.”¹¹⁵ Yet in the song, written by Mora's sister,¹¹⁶ any mention of Latinos is omitted:

Side by side we walk as men.
Brothers one until the end.
Black and White we think alike.
We will save but not take lives.¹¹⁷

Charles Kaiser is culpable of a similar descriptive elision in *1968 in America* when he enumerates the extensive list of influential artists I referenced earlier. Although Kaiser includes the names of some Chicano musicians in the list, he goes on to collectively describe those listed as “[t]hese black and white men and women.”¹¹⁸

One intriguing exception to the blindness to Latinos among Anglo authors is to be found in the work of Bruce Springsteen. The best known song of Springsteen's prolific career is about Vietnam: 1984's *Born in the U.S.A.* The controversial misinterpretations and misappropriations of this song's intent are legendary, but a much less widely known antiwar number is 1973's *Lost in the Flood*, which biographer Dave Marsh has called, "as good a song as was written about Vietnam during the war."¹¹⁹

Springsteen's career was only beginning as the war was ending, and other famous Anglo artists are more closely associated with the period. Yet *Lost in the Flood* makes Springsteen the only Anglo artist of the Vietnam era I have found to enact a racial critique that explicitly includes a "Spanish" element. Since *Lost in the Flood*, in keeping with much of Springsteen's early work, is firmly anchored in the panorama of his native east coast, its critique does not apply to the southwestern front and to Chicanos specifically. Yet the scene Springsteen depicts of a drag racing incident in the Bronx appears to highlight the domestic battlefield of police abuse against Spanish-surnamed urban youth, together with mainstream society's incomprehension of and disregard for the problem:

And some kid comes blastin' round the corner but a cop puts him right away
He lays on the street holding his leg screaming something in Spanish
Still breathing when I walked away
And somebody said "Hey man did you see that? His body hit the street with such
a beautiful thud"
I wonder what the dude was sayin' or was he just lost in the flood?¹²⁰

Springsteen's lyric is the exception to the rule: while Anglo artists frequently forged connections between the Vietnam war and Black civil rights issues, they did not exhibit similar awareness of Latino issues, much less those specific to the Chicano

population of the Southwest. The songs that still define the sixties in the popular imaginary today, that were constitutive of and continue to reflect the history and culture of the era, elide the Chicano struggle. That elision points and indeed contributes to a wider lack of awareness about or disregard for Mexican American experiences and needs. It is this gap in the cultural historiography that this study, by foregrounding Chicano song, cultural production and activism, has sought to fill.

Conclusion

Due to the tributary, therapeutic, heroic and violent conventions of the *corrido* genre, and to a history of military service and assimilationist pressure, Chicano-authored song was generally less explicitly antiwar than was the famous Anglo-authored protest song of the Vietnam era. Chicanos did effect an antiwar critique when they authored songs with regulatory intent using alternative musical forms, as well as within their broader cultural output and political discourse. That critique extended beyond the borders of Vietnam to simultaneously encompass the civil rights battles they faced on their own home turf.

These Chicano war opponents were able to effectively articulate a unique poetics of resistance to both their own colonization and the colonization of the Vietnamese people. That resistance was anchored in discourses of transnational affiliation constructed along an assemblage of skin color; economic oppression; colonial subjugation; military/police violence, and ties to the land that connected the Chicanos of the Southwest to the people of Vietnam. The resonance between Aztlán and Vietnam at this historical juncture meant that through their war resistance efforts, some Chicanos came to better understand their own colonization, and simultaneously that through their awareness of domestic oppression, some Chicanos came to realize the injustice of Vietnam. Anglo artists also evidenced transnational awareness in their work despite not embodying the constituent elements of the assemblage themselves; however, the awareness they expressed encompassed only the southern, not the southwestern, front of the domestic battlefield.

This study and the archive it has brought together have demanded that Chicano antiwar efforts be foregrounded within the anti-Vietnam war movement and

simultaneously demonstrated that the Chicano Movement was unique, operating within a decolonial framework.

Look at my blood as it
spills into the streets of
Saigon or San Antonio,
It does not really matter
where the war was started
But it's here and we're fighting
- Juan Valdez, *Sea of Freedom*¹²¹

1 Daniel Valdez, *Ballad of Richard Campos* in Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, eds., *The Vietnam Songbook: More Than 100 Songs from the American and International Protest Movements – and Fighting Songs of the Vietnamese People* (New York: The Guardian/ Monthly Review Press, 1969), 68.

2 Vietnam Songbook, accessed April 4, 2013, <http://www.vietnamsongbook.org>.

3 A note on this study's use of the word “Chicano” and related terminology: all nomenclature denoting ethnicity is imperfect, but all authors must make decisions about what best to use. I have chosen to employ terms consistently with their predominant usage during the period of this study and consistently with the majority usage of the authors I encountered in my research. I use “Chicano” to denote people of Mexican origin born in the United States. “Chicano” further carried the connotation of a political stance and a badge of pride during a period of intense civil rights activism and cultural nationalism. At times I do employ “Chicano” more broadly, somewhat interchangeably with “Mexican American;” however, where I am deliberately looking for something closer to a politically-neutral word, or speaking of the earlier twentieth century, I use the latter. Also in keeping with the terminology of an earlier period are “*mexicano*” and “*americano*,” commonly employed in the wake of the U.S. - Mexico war as dichotomous identifiers. “Latino” and “Hispanic” in this study denote persons who would likely identify their roots as lying in Spanish-speaking countries other than Mexico. “Anglo” is employed consistently with its usage in the Southwest, where it denotes whites with no Mexican/ Spanish/ Latin American origins.

Also consistently with predominant usage during the period, I employ the masculine form of the word “Chicano.” While today the discipline is called Chicano and Chicana Studies, at the time of the Chicano Movement the feminist intervention did not yet hold sway, and a masculinist discourse prevailed. I choose to employ the masculine form not because I consider it gender-neutral or unproblematic, but because to use today's terminology would be to ignore the realities of the prior formulation.

4 Cheryl Temple Herr, *Critical Regionalism and Cultural Studies: From Ireland to the American Midwest* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 11.

5 Renny Christopher, *Viet Nam and California* (Tucson: Viet Nam Generation Inc. / Burning Cities Press, 1998)

6 Herr, 11-12.

7 Ramón Saldívar, *The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 9-10.

8 *Ibid.*, 24.

9 *Ibid.*, 343.

10 *Ibid.*, 435.

11 *Ibid.*, 393.

12 *Ibid.*, 321-22.

13 Craig Werner, *A Change is Gonna Come: Music, Race, and the Soul of America* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2002), 103.

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- 14 Bruce Palmer Jr., *The 25-Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), vii.
- 15 Jesús Salvador Treviño, *Eyewitness: A Filmmaker's Memoir of the Chicano Movement* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2001), ix.
- 16 Charley Trujillo, ed., *Soldados: Chicanos in Viêt Nam* (San José: Chusma House Publications, 1990), vii.
- 17 *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought*. Berkeley, CA. 3 (Fall 1969): 2-31.
- 18 Trujillo, vii.
- 19 George Mariscal, "Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War," in *What's Going On? California and the Vietnam Era*, ed. Marcia A. Eymann and Charles Wollenberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 115.
- 20 Guillermo Hernández, *Canciones de la Raza: Songs of the Chicano Experience* (Berkeley: El Fuego de Aztlán, 1978), 2.
- 21 John C. Hammerback, Richard J. Jensen, and José Ángel Gutierrez, *A War of Words: Chicano Protest in the 1960s and 1970s* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985), 156.
- 22 Treviño, 260.
- 23 Treviño, *Eyewitness*.
- 24 Maylei Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 1.
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- 27 George Mariscal, ed., *Aztlán and Viet Nam: Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 1.
- 28 Mariscal 2004, 125.
- 29 Treviño, xiii.
- 30 Reed, 110.
- 31 Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz, and Charles Ornelas, "The Barrio as an Internal Colony," in *People and Politics in Urban Society*, ed. Harlan Hahn (Los Angeles: Sage, 1972), 467.
- 32 Vasquez et al., 92.
- 33 Jorge Huerta, *Chicano Drama: Performance, Society and Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2.
- 34 Vasquez et al., xxxi.
- 35 Reed, 107.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 123.
- 37 Barrera et al., 484-85.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 485.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 128-135.
- 41 Reed, 119.
- 42 *Chicano Student*, Los Angeles, Vol.1 No.3 (May 18, 1968), 6.
- 43 Lorena Oropeza, *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 60.
- 44 Mariscal 2004, 115.
- 45 Vasquez et al., 184.
- 46 Juan Ramírez, *A Patriot After All: The Story of a Chicano Vietnam Vet* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 3.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 133.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 174.
- 49 Barrera et al.; Treviño; Vasquez et al.
- 50 Treviño, 96.

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- 51 Reed, 119-20.
52 Mariscal 1999, 283.
53 *Ibid.*, 19-22.
54 *Ibid.*, 20.
55 *Ibid.*, 19.
56 Mariscal 2004, 119.
57 Vasquez et al., 198.
58 Huerta, 45-6
59 Barrera et al., 482.
60 *Ibid.*, 483.
61 *Ibid.*, 491.
62 Reed, 113.
63 Vasquez et al., xxx.
64 Al Reyes (with Tony Manjarrez, Jeff Hall and David Rodríguez), *Vietnam Veterano*, 1983, in *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* (Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 2005).
65 Barrera et al., 487.
66 David Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement 1966-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 198.
67 Treviño, 144.
68 Reed, 118.
69 *Ibid.*, 118-19.
70 "Hispanic Heritage: El 29 de Agosto," Gale Cengage Learning, accessed April 4, 2013, http://www.gale.cengage.com/free_resources/chh/music/el29.htm.
71 Treviño, 147-75.
72 Lalo Guerrero and Sherilyn Meece Mentés, *Lalo: My Life and Music* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 141.
73 Mariscal 1999, 37.
74 *Ibid.*
75 *Ibid.*, 38.
76 *Ibid.*, 80.
77 *El Grito del Norte*, Española, NM. Vol. 3, No. 19 (August 29, 1970).
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79 Vasquez et al., 56.
80 *Ibid.*, 164.
81 "Medal of Honor Recipients – Vietnam (A-L)," U.S. Army Center of Military History, last modified 26 June, 2011, <http://www.history.army.mil/html/moh/vietnam-a-l.html>.
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84 *Ibid.*, 14-15.
85 *Ibid.*, 15.
86 *Ibid.*, 16.
87 Américo Paredes, *A Texas- Mexican Cancionero: Folksongs of the Lower Border* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), xiv.
88 María Herrera-Sobek, *Chicano Folklore: A Handbook* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), 34.
89 *Ibid.*, 38.
90 Rosenbaum, 55.
91 *Ibid.*, 60.
92 Herrera-Sobek, 34.
93 Rosenbaum, 122-23.

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- 94 Vasquez et al., 197.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 199.
- 96 Rosenbaum, 60.
- 97 Daniel Valdez, *Corrido de Ricardo Campos* or *Ballad of Richard Campos* recordings, extracts and references:
 Barbara Dane 2003 recording: mp3 at http://www.vietnamsongbook.org/setlist_jp.htm.
 Dane and Silber, 68-70.
 Mariscal 2004, 119.
 Oropeza, 106.
- 98 Huerta, 2.
- 99 Mariscal 2004, 126.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 119.
- 101 John McDowell, "The Corrido of Greater Mexico as Discourse, Music and Event," in "*And Other Neighborly Names*": *Social Process and Cultural Image in Texas Folklore*, ed. Richard Bauman and Roger Abrahams (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992: 46-75), 50.
- 102 *Ibid.*
- 103 *Ibid.*, 53.
- 104 Liner notes, *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* (Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 2005).
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- 107 *Ibid.*, xix.
- 108 *Ibid.*, xx.
- 109 Phil Ochs, *Talking Vietnam*, in *All the News That's Fit to Sing* (Elektra EKS 7269, 1964).
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- 111 Tom Paxton, *We Didn't Know* (1965) in Dane and Silber, 118.
- 112 Skip Storey, *Talking Flag Burning* (1967) in Dane and Silber, 121.
- 113 Barbara Dane, *Luci Had a Baby* in Dane and Silber, 128.
- 114 Dane and Silber, 82.
- 115 *Ibid.*
- 116 James E. Perone, *Music of the Counterculture Era* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 45.
- 117 Grace Mora Newman, *Fort Hood Three* in Dane and Silber, 126.
- 118 Kaiser, xx.
- 119 Dave Marsh, *Glory Days: Bruce Springsteen in the 1980s* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 28.
- 120 Bruce Springsteen, *Lost in the Flood*, in *Greetings from Asbury Park, N.J.* (Columbia PC 31903, 1973).
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