

Forum Kritika: Reflections on Carlos Bulosan and Becoming Filipino

INTRODUCTION

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About the Author

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Fig. 1. Carlos Bulosan with his American friend Dorothy Babb, 1940s. Courtesy of E. San Juan, Jr. and the Philippine Cultural Studies Center

In spite of everything that has happened to me in America I am not sorry that I was born a Filipino. When I say 'Filipino' the sound cuts deep into my being – it hurts. It will take years to wipe out the sharpness of the word, to erase its notorious connotation in America. And only a great faith in some common goal can give it fullness again. I am proud that I am a Filipino. I used to be angry, to question myself. But now I am proud.

Carlos Bulosan to Dorothy Babb –
July 22, 1942 (*Sound of Falling Light:
Letters in Exile*)

IT HAS BEEN NEARLY TWENTY YEARS since the twin publication of Carlos Bulosan's *On Becoming Filipino* and *The Cry and the Dedication* (Temple University Press, 1995), both edited by E. San Juan, Jr. – a pioneering Bulosan

scholar and a leading cultural theorist of a generation of intellectuals that “turned to culture to reshape radical thought.”¹ *On Becoming Filipino* (selected poems, short stories, essays, and letters) and *The Cry and the Dedication* (a multilayered novel inspired by the militant peasant-based Huk rebellion in the Philippines under Japanese and US occupation) renewed interest in Bulosan among my generation of Filipino American college students mobilizing to defend and establish Asian American and Ethnic Studies programs.² In addition to shedding light on the diverse body of Bulosan’s writings beyond his 1946 classic ethnobiography *America Is in the Heart* (now required reading in Asian American Studies, Ethnic Studies, and American Studies courses), *On Becoming Filipino* and *The Cry and the Dedication* provide a particular framework of intelligibility anchored in Bulosan’s unflinching commitment to the self-determination of the Filipino people. San Juan’s deft editorship of the two volumes enables readers to appreciate Bulosan’s contribution to the unfinished project called “becoming Filipino.” This is a project that resists, and is subsequently silenced by, the formulaic application of dominant theoretical paradigms – postcoloniality, transnational cosmopolitanism, hybridity, multiplicity, heterogeneity – within various interdisciplinary fields of study that have domesticated Bulosan for academic consumption.³

Since US colonial conquest of the Philippines (a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898) and the violent and horrific US suppression of Filipino national sovereignty (over one million Filipinos and more than four thousand US soldiers perished in the Philippine-American War, 1899-1913), Filipinos in the Philippines and throughout the diaspora continue to engage in the process of “becoming Filipino” – the process of giving “fullness again” to the word “Filipino.”⁴ According to San Juan, “becoming Filipino” refers to ways in which the “becoming” of a subject claiming to be Filipino” is inextricably intertwined with the historic subaltern struggle for Filipino self-determination.⁵ Bulosan’s body of work provides useful tools that may enable Filipinos today to unlock their collective potential for change – provided we are able to grasp and critically engage the relevance of his liberatory vision of freedom.

Paradigmatic Shifts: The Heart of Bulosan’s Homecoming

Emphasizing the concept of “becoming Filipino” within Bulosan criticism allows us to engage the centrality of Filipino self-determination within Bulosan’s literary imagination (San Juan, *From Globalization to National Liberation*, 135-183). On the one hand, *The Cry and the Dedication* enables readers to appreciate the development of Bulosan’s literary craft from the period of the US Popular Front (*America Is in the Heart*) to the emergence of Third World Liberation movements during the Cold War period. On the other hand, the paradigmatic shift proposed by “becoming Filipino” productively complicates this linear trajectory of Bulosan’s intellectual and artistic development. The notion of

“becoming Filipino” illuminates how Bulosan as a deracinated colonized artist problematizes the discourse of Americanism of the US Popular Front.⁶ Within the very narrative of *America Is in the Heart* (a text divided into four parts), Bulosan begins the task of developing his final novel *The Cry and the Dedication*, which he completed prior to his untimely death on September 11, 1956 in Seattle, Washington.⁷

In *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*, American Studies scholar Michael Denning identifies Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart* (1946) as one of the key migrant narratives of the US Popular Front and “quintessential expression of Popular Front Americanism, a prose version of ‘Ballad for Americans’” (273). Denning’s study is salutary in that it historicizes in fine detail Bulosan’s narrative within the “other” America envisioned by a “broad based antifascist popular democratic front” that developed in the 1930s.⁸ At the same time, as San Juan suggests, reading *America Is in the Heart* as a “glorification of Americanism” obscures Bulosan’s critical awareness of US-Philippines colonial relations (San Juan 2008). “Becoming Filipino” therefore provides a useful theoretical lens. It illuminates how a Filipino subaltern collective memory undergirds that which Denning acknowledges in his reading of *America Is in the Heart* – a peculiar tension within the text that seems to interrogate – if not “subvert and affirm” (to borrow from Marilyn Alquizola) – the very meaning of “America” (273-277).

At the end of part two, our narrator’s brother Macario, a writer/worker and labor organizer in Los Angeles, provides a panoramic view of this “other” America prior to the launching of the 1934 Filipino proletarian literary magazine *The New Tide*⁹ (“the first of its kind to be published by Filipinos in the United States”):

America is also the nameless foreigner, the homeless refugee, the hungry boy begging for a job and the black boy dangling on a tree. America is the illiterate immigrant who is ashamed that the world of books and intellectual opportunities is closed to him. We are all that nameless foreigner, that homeless refugee, that hungry boy, that illiterate immigrant and that lynched black body. All of us, from the first Adam to the last Filipino, native born or alien, educated or illiterate – *We are America!* (189)

Macario’s speech dramatizes the multiracial working class solidarity that is central to the US Popular Front, which “became a radical historical block uniting industrial unionists, Communists, independent socialists, community activists, and émigré anti-fascists around laborist social democracy, anti-fascism, and anti-lynching” (Denning 4). *America Is in the Heart* documents the participation of Filipino workers in the US Popular Front, which laid the foundation for the farm workers movement of the 1960s: historic Filipino labor strikes, the

Committee for the Protection of Filipino Rights, the Communist Party, the UCAPAWA/United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (Denning 276). Throughout the text, our narrator is in constant search of a “common denominator” that could minimize suffering and unite various oppressed and exploited groups in US society (147). Tim Libretti’s observation of US Popular Front aesthetics and politics in the text sheds light on this “common denominator”: “Bulosan’s recognition that Japanese, Mexican, Filipino, and white workers all shared a faith in the working man and were all fighting a common enemy, fascism, is a paradigmatic assertion and ratification of the Popular Front’s internationalism” (26).

Noting the “sentimental, populist, and humanist nationalism” of Macario’s “We are America” speech and other “America” passages in the text, Denning suggests that such “rhetorical excess” functions as a “sign of the narrator’s desperate attempt to *transcend* a United States of violence, ‘a world of brutality and despair’” (273-274, emphasis mine). Within the context of “becoming Filipino,” the rhetorical excess functions as a sign of Bulosan’s desire to transcend that which could not be fully expressed within the discourse of Americanism – the brutality of US colonial domination of the Philippines and its impact on the everyday lives of Filipinos in the Philippines and the United States. What lies beneath the rhetorical excess of the “America” passage at the very end of the text (“the American earth . . . a huge heart unfolding warmly”) is our narrator’s juxtaposing the image of “Filipino pea pickers in the fields” of America with a memory of Binalonan – the site of familial dissolution and expulsion under US colonial occupation. This critical distancing within the text highlights the interconnectedness between Filipino workers in the United States and the peasantry in the Philippines – both connected by US colonial domination and a living legacy of Filipino subaltern struggle. This is why Felix Razon is a key character. Beyond his representing “ethnic Americanism,” the character of Felix Razon unlocks the significance of “becoming Filipino” within the text and reveals Bulosan’s critical stance against US colonial control of the Philippines.

We first encounter Felix Razon in part one of the narrative as a young participant in the Tayug peasant revolt making “impassioned speeches to harvesters” (59). The 1931 Tayug uprising organized by Pedro Calosa anticipates the formation of the Huk rebellion in the 1940s (the inspiration for *The Cry and the Dedication*). According to historian Renato Constantino, the Tayug revolt was organized to be “the spark that would ignite the whole of Central Luzon in a peasant revolution [to] achieve independence for the country” and genuine agrarian reform (354; see also Pomeroy, 1992). Felix Razon’s reemergence as an organizer (writer/worker) in Filipino labor struggles in the United States (end of part two) resonates with the political development of Pedro Calosa, who participated in subaltern struggles in the Philippines *and* the Filipino Diaspora. In addition to organizing the peasantry in the Philippines, Calosa was a worker/

organizer on the sugar plantations of Hawai'i (Constantino 353).

In part three, our narrator reconnects with Felix Razon prior to his participation in the fight against fascism in the Spanish Civil War.¹⁰

Felix Razon went away. I never heard from him again. Whether he was killed in Spain I have never found out. He was one of those who gave meaning to the futilities of other men's lives – and one who, because he came from the peasantry, had planted in my heart, the seed of black hatred against the landlords in the Philippines.

"All right, Felix Razon," I wrote in my diary when he went away. "You found no peace. The wise men lied to us. All right, go fight a war on another continent, like my brother Leon. But if I live I will go back to our country and fight the enemy there, because *he* is also among our people . . ." (240)

Our narrator's weary admiration for Razon toward the end of the passage speaks to the paradoxical position of the colonial migrant Filipino artist writing within and against the discourse of Americanism. How does one write about "the house I live in" (recall the utopian Americanism at the end of the narrative) when its construction depends on the colonial occupation of one's homeland (recall the painful dissolution of Allos's family in US occupied Philippines at the beginning of the narrative)?¹¹ What does it mean that *America Is in the Heart* was launched the same year as the passing of the Bell Trade Act which secured the Philippines' economic dependency on the United States (considered "independence with strings")? In developing the Felix Razon character, Bulosan begins to work through the contradictory position of the colonized Filipino writer in the United States and provides a glimpse of the direction his craft will take in the 1950s.

Felix Razon's development in the narrative is significant for several reasons. First, his character represents the radical subaltern contribution (tradition of peasant rebellion for land reform and national sovereignty) to Filipino labor organizing in the United States. Second, his development as a "writer as peasant/worker" anticipates our narrator's ability to fuse both sides of his character. Allos (signifying the Filipino peasantry) and Carl (signifying Filipino migrant workers in the US) are merged into one through the twin task of writing and organizing Filipino workers. Third, Felix Razon's intellectual and political development – from the Tayug peasant revolt to US Popular Front internationalism – functions as a catalyst for an "alter/native" shift within Allos/Carl. If Felix Razon, by part three of the narrative, embodies the common denominator of the US Popular Front (recognition of fascism as a common enemy), our narrator reconstituted as Allos/Carl begins to embody the common denominator of "becoming Filipino" – a recognition of the shared colonial condition of all Filipinos which can only be challenged by "the political project of national self-determination, the collective

project of popular, democratic sovereignty” (San Juan, *Toward Filipino Self-Determination* 73).

The function of Allos/Carl’s assertion – “I will go back to our country and fight the enemy there, because *he* is also among our people” – is twofold. The assertion to return is an indictment of the US colonial occupation of the Philippines. It is also a reclaiming of a tradition of subaltern insurgency within his family – “to understand what it meant to be born of the peasantry” (62). In part one, his father mentions participating in the revolution as a guerrilla fighter with the Igorot people: “Someday you will understand, and maybe . . . you will see my Igorot friends” (26). The shifting of “common denominators” within the text (Allos/Carl’s “alter/native” desire to return home) is not a disavowal of the multiracial working class radicalism and internationalism of the US Popular Front. Instead, it conveys Allos/Carl’s yearning for a deepening of its vision of solidarity, which can only develop through a critique of the racist ideology of US nationalism and an understanding of the history of US Empire.

Allos/Carl’s desire to return to the Philippines “to fight the enemy there” brings to the surface that which is repressed within the narrative and later given fuller attention in *The Cry and the Dedication* – the long memory of the peasant-based struggle for Philippine national sovereignty. In this light, Allos/Carl, the “writer as peasant/worker,” returns to the Philippines as Dante in *The Cry and the Dedication* – a Filipino migrant worker/writer from the United States who participates in the organized peasant rebellion against colonial occupation. At the beginning of the novel, Dante is introduced through a conversation between two characters that represent the continuity of Filipino subaltern resistance from one generation to the next: Old Bio and Hassim. Old Bio discovers that Dante has created a form of literature that functions as a repository of Filipino collective memory. His achievements during the revolution against Spanish colonial rule are captured in Dante’s book, which “trac[es] our history from the revolutionary viewpoint, from Chief Lapu-Lapu . . . to the formation of . . . our latest struggle against tyranny” (5).

Dante’s homecoming as a “writer as subaltern revolutionary” dramatizes Bulosan’s own literary radicalism as a neocolonial migrant artist during the 1950s – the Cold War period marked by the securing of US neocolonial control of the Philippines. In a 1952 essay “Terrorism Rides the Philippines,” Bulosan criticizes the repression of a democratic movement for national sovereignty and the collusion of the Filipino elite with US imperialism: “Continued US exploitation of the Philippines and continued violent attacks on the workers and peasants have produced the colonial pattern of riches for the few and poverty for millions” (1952 *ILWU Yearbook*, 27). As editor of the 1952 *Yearbook* of the International Longshoremen’s & Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU), Bulosan affirms his belief in the function of writing as a “powerful weapon . . . against the hysteria to destroy our civil rights and liberties” (21). To be sure, the notion of “becoming

Filipino” reveals two central concerns of Bulosan that run through *America Is in the Heart* and *The Cry and the Dedication*: 1) the task of the Filipino writer and artist to dramatize the emergence of Filipinos as subjects in revolt; 2) the task of examining the role of cultural production within movements for social transformation.¹²

Culture and Consciousness: Bulosan, Writing, Historical Cross Currents

When viewing *America Is in the Heart* through the lens of “becoming Filipino,” we become conscious of the ambitious scope of Bulosan’s literary imagination and his deep concern about the social responsibility of the writer. Far from functioning purely as documentary, *America Is in the Heart* examines the formation of a unique Filipino peasant-worker subjectivity (embodied by the Allos/Carl character). Not unlike his African American contemporary Richard Wright, Bulosan experimented with literary form and content to explore the national implications and radical potential of a subaltern consciousness.¹³ In *America Is in the Heart*, Bulosan leans upon while simultaneously pushes against the conventions of naturalism as a way to articulate the emergence of a new form of Filipino collective consciousness that shuttles between the Philippines and the United States.¹⁴ Through narrative techniques of naturalism, Bulosan is able to shed light on the hostile social, economic, and historical forces (“outward influences”) that violently overdetermine the lives of multiple characters in the narrative: from the disintegration of Allos’s family in the Philippines to the disintegration of the lives and bodies of Filipino migrant workers exploited, maimed, shot, and lynched on the plantations and canneries of the US West Coast.¹⁵

Allos/Carl bears witness to the ways in which characters are “shaped” (and misshapen) by the “crushing forces of poverty and degradation” in the Philippines (absentee landlordism exacerbated by US colonial occupation) and in the “new environment” of the United States (racist economic exploitation of migrant workers). “Thrust into a world of brutality and despair,” Allos/Carl is in constant “flight from fear.” For Allos/Carl (as it is for the central African American characters in Richard Wright’s “The Ethics of Living Jim Crow” and *Native Son*) fear is utilized as a mode of individual survival within exploitative and oppressive social systems (see Campomanes and Gernes, 1992).¹⁶

Through an experimental blending of proletarian realism (Michael Gold’s notion of working class literature with a social function) and Filipino collective memory, Bulosan is able to disrupt this mode of representation by dramatizing the narrator’s transition from individual modes of survival (constant flights from fear within “a world of brutality and despair” – parts one and two) to participation in collective working class forms of agency (merging of Allos and

Carl, peasant and worker -- parts three and four).¹⁷ The tool our narrator uses to imagine ways of contributing to collective struggles against labor exploitation in the United States *and* colonial occupation in the Philippines is his critical form of literacy – his ability to read and write about social forms of injustice within the “belly of the beast.”

I felt that it was the end of another period of my life. I could see it in my reaction to the passing landscape, in my compassion for the workers in the field. It was the end of a strange flight.

I bought a bottle of wine when I arrived in San Luis Obispo. I rented a room in a Japanese hotel and started a letter to my brother Macario, whose address had been given to me by a friend. Then it came to me, like a revelation, that I could actually write understandable English. I was seized with happiness. I wrote slowly and boldly, drinking the wine when I stopped, laughing silently and crying. When the long letter was finished, a letter which was actually a story of my life, I jumped to my feet and shouted through my tears:

“They can’t silence me anymore! I’ll tell the world what they have done to me!” (180)

While *America Is in the Heart* has been considered autobiography (“a personal history”), its innovative form and content stubbornly resists the boundaries of this particular categorization. Carey McWilliams states, in his introduction, that *America Is in the Heart* “reflects the collective life experience of thousands of Filipinos” during the 1930s and 1940s (vii). Dolores Feria asserts that *America Is in the Heart* is a “composite of Filipino experiences” in the United States *and* the Philippines (“Carlos Bulosan: Gentle Genius” 58). Michael Denning likens its structure to nineteenth century African American slave narratives that provide “portraits of a collective condition” (*The Cultural Front* 274). The narrative functions, as San Juan suggests, as a Filipino ethno-biography (a unique genre of Filipino writing) in which a collective subaltern consciousness of Filipinos in the Philippines and the United States is explored through the experiences of our individual narrator (Allos/Carl).¹⁸ When *America Is in the Heart* is read in relation to *The Cry and the Dedication*, we realize that Bulosan uses writing as a weapon to “tell the world what they have done” to Filipinos as a whole – as a racially and nationally subordinated people.

“Becoming Filipino” is a multifaceted project of liberation. “Becoming Filipino” refers to the process of obtaining national sovereignty – the ability of the Filipino people to determine their own future free from colonial and neocolonial domination. In the artistic hands and creative imagination of Bulosan, “becoming Filipino” also refers to the responsibility of the Filipino “writer as peasant/worker” to contribute to the formation of a collective Filipino subject in revolt. The realm

of culture then becomes a significant terrain of struggle. It enables Bulosan to explore the interconnected contradictions of two class societies – the United States as colonial power/racial formation and the Philippines as US colony/neocolony. In his critical examination of social and historical contradictions, Bulosan explores, to borrow from American Studies scholar George Lipsitz, “new ways of knowing and new ways of being” Filipino.

Just as Allos/Carl in *America Is in the Heart* explores the relationship between the creation of literature and the developing Filipino labor movement in the United States, central characters in *The Cry and the Dedication* provide opportunities to reflect upon the creation of alternative forms of culture. The futility of certain cultural forms – the breaking of Linda Bie’s flute and the burial of Dante’s book with his bodily remains – opens a space for readers to consider the necessity of creating new forms of “Filipino alter/native art” that are able to tap into the “whole culture” of the Filipino people, which includes the radicalism embedded in an oral tradition of Filipino storytelling and a durable tradition of Filipino subaltern revolt for genuine agrarian reform and national sovereignty.¹⁹

In a letter to his friend Jose De Los Reyes on November 2, 1949, Bulosan expressed his desire to delve into an experimental literary project that could dramatize the turbulent unfolding of “becoming Filipino.”

Perhaps the time has come for me to give this book to the world. I owe it to the Filipino people. But this is only one of a series of four novels covering 100 years of Philippine history. This one I am working on now covers 1915-1950. One will cover the period from the birth and death of Rizal. Another from his death to the outbreak of the first war. And the fourth will cover 1951-1961, which I consider will be a great crisis in Philippine history. And there you have the whole panorama of my project.

[T]he pressure for a novel about the Philippines at this stage of human civilization is demanding. And I am sensitive to historical currents and cross-currents. I hope I am right. (*Sound of Falling Light* 258-259)

“Sensitive to historical currents and cross-currents,” Bulosan’s anticipated fourth novel spanning 1951-1961 would speak to the crisis over Philippine national sovereignty and the strengthening of US imperialism in Asia. The US-backed suppression of the Huk rebellion and imprisonment of Filipino nationalists such as Amado V. Hernandez in the late 1940s and early 1950s paved the way for the intensification of US neocolonial control of the Philippines, which was indispensable to securing US military and economic interests in Asia (Schirmer and Shalom 105-123; San Juan, *Toward Filipino Self-Determination* 75). The US military bases in the Philippines – Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base – were instrumental to the US military during the Korean War in the early 1950s as well as during its interventions in “Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and the

India-Pakistan-Bangladesh war” between 1965-1975 (Schirmer and Shalom, 140). Bulosan the “writer as peasant/worker” who never claimed US citizenship and never returned to his hometown of Binalonan in Pangasinan left our planet in 1956 before completing his set of historical novels on the Philippines.²⁰ Needless to say, the project of creating innovative forms of culture that contribute to the process of “becoming Filipino” (in its totality and complexity) is an ongoing one. Perhaps a new generation of Filipino artists, intellectuals, and activists will push Bulosan’s vision forward.

Forum Kritika: Archival Anchors, Art as Practice, Collective Consciousness

This *Forum Kritika* on Carlos Bulosan presents a collection of new essays that builds upon the interconnected themes of cultural production (writing and art) and the collective project of “becoming Filipino,” which are central to several landmark publications that introduced Bulosan’s writings to readers in the Philippines and the United States: Dolores Feria’s edited collection of Bulosan’s letters titled *Sound of Falling Light: Letters in Exile* (1960); E. San Juan, Jr.’s *Carlos Bulosan and the Imagination of the Class Struggle* (1972); *The Philippines Is in the Heart* (a collection of Bulosan’s short stories on the Philippines, edited by E. San Juan, Jr., 1978); *Amerasia Journal* special feature on Carlos Bulosan (introduced by E. San Juan, Jr., 1979); *Selected Works and Letters* (Bulosan collection edited by E. San Juan, Jr. and Ninotchka Rosca, 1982); *If You Want to Know What We Are: A Carlos Bulosan Reader* (selected writings by Bulosan edited by E. San Juan, Jr., 1983); and Susan Evangelista’s *Carlos Bulosan and His Poetry* (1985) (Ordonez, “Remembering Carlos Bulosan”; San Juan, *Toward Filipino Self-Determination* 63). The editors of these pioneering introductions were, not unlike Bulosan, “sensitive to historical currents and cross-currents.” Their interest in Bulosan was informed by mass movements for change in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s (Asian American movement, Black liberation, farm workers movement, women’s movement, anti-war movement) and the development of Third World Liberation movements around the globe, especially in the Philippines. The pioneering efforts of these editors, scholars, and activists paved the way for the University of Washington Press’s reprinting of *America Is in the Heart* in 1973 and the *Alive Magazine* publication of *Power of the People* in 1977 (Ontario, Canada) – in the midst of the Asian American movement in the United States and a developing mass movement in the Philippines against martial law declared by Ferdinand Marcos on September 21, 1972.²¹

In light of the world-historic struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, it is clear to see why Bulosan’s work and artistic vision was relevant. This *Forum Kritika*, divided into three sections, seeks to explore Bulosan’s relevance for today. The first section features essays that turn to archival research to historicize Bulosan and,

in the process, discuss his relevance in the age of US global terrorism and mass surveillance. The second features essays that provide personal reflections and academic interrogations in order to examine the relationship between Bulosan's art and social transformation in the Philippines and the United States. The final section reflects on Bulosan's contribution to the formation of a collective sense of national belonging for Filipinos.

Our first section titled Archival Anchors: Approaches to Historicizing Carlos Bulosan features two essays by leading Bulosan scholars E. San Juan, Jr., Marilyn C. Alquizola, and Lane Ryo Hirabayashi. Engaging in archival research, all three authors provide a paradigmatic shift in our approach to understanding Bulosan. In a previously published essay titled "Revisiting Carlos Bulosan" in *Toward Filipino Self-Determination: Beyond Transnational Globalization* (TFSD), San Juan suggests that in order to fully grasp Bulosan's ethico-political project of "becoming Filipino," one must examine more closely the latter part of his career: 1946 to September 11, 1956. San Juan considers this Bulosan's "breakthrough." Although FBI surveillance of Bulosan intensified during this period of rampant anticommunism, he sustained his commitment to movements for social justice in the United States and in the Philippines. Embodying the Allos/Carl character (writer as peasant/worker) of *America Is in the Heart* and the Dante character (writer as subaltern revolutionary) in *The Cry and the Dedication*, Bulosan during this period "return[ed] to labor-union activism as editor of the ILWU 1952 *Yearbook*," deepened his work with progressive intellectuals and activists such as Josephine Patrick (member of the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born and Communist Party USA), and strengthened his commitment to Philippine national sovereignty (San Juan, TFSD 75-76).

Emphasizing the importance of engaging archival documents as a way to historicize Bulosan and his craft, San Juan's contribution to the *Forum Kritika* titled "Excavating the Bulosan Ruins" examines the Sanora Babb archive at the Harry Ransom Center Library at the University of Texas at Austin. His examination of the Babb materials reveals "Bulosan's intellectual involvement with leftists and possibly communist party operatives in the Los Angeles metropolitan area" (San Juan 2014). San Juan is building upon the historic optic of Dolores Feria's pioneering 1960 volume titled *Sound of Falling Light: Letters in Exile* – a collection of Bulosan's correspondence. Of this collection, San Juan notes: "The gallery of acquaintances named in his correspondence, as well as the topics addressed in the letters . . . help disabuse us of the imputed peasant naivete and the hypothesized decline of his powers in the decade before his death on September 11, 1956" (San Juan 2014).

In their essay titled "Carlos Bulosan on Writing: The Role of Letters," Marilyn

Alquizola and Lane Hirabayashi – who recently published groundbreaking work on the FBI files of Carlos Bulosan and introduced the 2014 edition of *America Is in the Heart* – examine two documents from the Carlos Bulosan Papers at the University of Washington Libraries. Alquizola and Hirabayashi's reflections on a letter supporting the 1953 International Publishers' release of Luis Taruc's autobiography *Born of the People* and a 1955 letter to Bulosan's colleague Florentino Valeros in the Philippines reveal how, despite FBI surveillance and ill health, Bulosan sustained his commitment to the project of "becoming Filipino." (Images of both historical documents are included in their essay – courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries Special Collections.)²² Bulosan's signature alongside other progressive intellectuals such as W.E.B. DuBois, Jesus Colon, and Howard Fast on the letter supporting Taruc's autobiography not only reveals the vast network within which Bulosan developed his literary craft but also sheds light on his commitment to Filipino national sovereignty during the 1950s. Bulosan's *The Cry and the Dedication* is inspired by Taruc's autobiography (published with a foreword by Paul Robeson) which documents the resourcefulness and militancy of the peasantry in Central Luzon and the formation of the peasant-based Huk rebellion under Japanese and US colonial occupations (Schirmer and Shalom 62-66; Feria, "Bulosan's Power"; Pomeroy; San Juan TFSD, 76).²³

The San Juan, Alquizola, and Hirabayashi essays also provide several key theoretical interventions that are revisited and advanced in the second and third sections of the *Forum Kritika*. San Juan's essay asserts that in order to grasp Bulosan's ethico-political project, one must challenge the immigrant assimilation paradigm, which continues to dominate Asian American Studies and US Ethnic Studies. According to San Juan, this paradigm of immigrant assimilation domesticates, tames, and deradicalizes Bulosan. It transforms Bulosan -- the "colonized subjugated native" -- into a "bonafide immigrant" (San Juan 2014). It erases the "colonial experience as foundational and definitive for the colonized artist" (San Juan 2014). It ultimately does the ideological work of US colonial and neocolonial domination by silencing Filipino subaltern resistance.

The unfortunate persistence of the immigrant assimilation paradigm within Asian American Studies, US Ethnic Studies, and even American Studies reveals our profound collective historical amnesia with regard to the US colonial (and today neocolonial) occupation of the Philippines and its impact on the incorporation of Filipinos into the United States as "deracinated subjects – without a sovereign country" (San Juan, TFSD 71). In its entry on Bulosan, the 2006 *Columbia Guide to Asian American Literature Since 1945* provides no mention of the US colonial occupation of the Philippines. Subjecting Bulosan to the immigrant assimilation paradigm, the *Columbia Guide* provides a one-dimensional understanding of Bulosan's coming to voice. In its introduction to Bulosan, the *Heath Anthology of American Literature – Contemporary Period*:

1945 to the Present also provides no mention of US colonialism other than the presence of “American schools in the Philippines.” Rendering US colonial history and its impact on Bulosan’s formation as a writer invisible, the Heath anthology encourages American literature students to focus solely on the narrative conventions of postwar American literature and the alienation and “otherness” of Filipino workers in the United States. As a result, they’re denied the opportunity to learn about Bulosan’s response to US Empire – the development of an international “Third World” perspective in his writing.²⁴

According to San Juan, “any scholarly comment on Bulosan, or any Filipino writer for that matter, that elides the enduring impact – the forcible subjugation and the resistance to it – of US colonial domination of the Philippines is bound to be partial, inadequate, and ultimately useless” (San Juan, TFSD 66). The immigrant assimilation paradigm is unable to grasp the specificity of the racial and national subordination of Filipinos. An extension of genocidal warfare against Native people in the United States, enslavement of Africans, and annexation of Mexican land, the racialized and racist US colonial domination of the Philippines marks a particular stage in the global development of the United States as a racial polity (Charles Mills; San Juan, *Racism and Cultural Studies*; Ignacio, et al., *The Forbidden Book*). Informed by these historical currents, Bulosan’s goal as a writer – the writer as peasant/worker – was not to assimilate or to function as a “goodwill ambassador” bringing good tidings from the Philippines. He was committed to developing his craft as a weapon in the struggle for social transformation.

Alquizola and Hirabayashi’s theoretical intervention enhances San Juan’s earlier discussion of Bulosan’s writing as “minor literature” (Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s theory of an alternative genre) in *Toward Filipino Self-Determination* (61-84). While San Juan applies the concept of “minor literature” to Bulosan’s *The Cry and the Dedication* which he views as “seek[ing] to fulfill the responsibility to the Other; the Other here conceived as the realm of possibilities,” Alquizola and Hirabayashi use their discussion of “minor literature” to examine Bulosan’s correspondence (San Juan, TFSD 77). In their close reading of a letter to Florentino Valeros, they highlight Bulosan’s unique historical materialist approach to cultural production.

Based on the passages examined in Alquizola and Hirabayashi’s essay, I would like to suggest that Bulosan anticipates the insightful historical materialist approaches generated by Raymond Williams (central figure of British Cultural Studies), who sought to understand the creation of alternative forms of culture and corresponding forms of human consciousness. The dialectical interplay between superstructure and economic base (base as process) reveals the ways in which hegemony is never a totalizing, static system. Bulosan’s “minor literature” produced from within the gaps and fissures of US imperial hegemony during the late 1940s up to 1956 (letters, essays, short stories, unfinished novels produced

in conversation with a broad network of progressive artists and activists in the United States and the Philippines) concretizes Williams's idea of art as practice. The creation (as opposed to production) and active interpretation (rather than consumption) of art mediates the formation of new and alternative forms of consciousness within specific social-historical formations: "The relationship between the making of a work of art and its reception is always active, and subject to conventions, which in themselves are forms of (changing) social organization and relationship, and this is radically different from the production and consumption of an object" (Williams, "Base and Superstructure" 123).

The two essays featured in our second section titled Art as Practice: Teaching, Transgression, and Transformation combine personal reflection and academic interrogation to comment on Bulosan's "art as practice." Both essays also highlight the transformative role of teachers in Philippine and US societies. Monica Feria juxtaposes the intellectual, artistic, and political development of Dolores Feria – a white American literature professor in the Philippines – with Bulosan's development in the United States. John Streamas reflects upon his teaching Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* to first generation, working class Filipino American undergraduate students.

Oftentimes when writer-activist Dolores Feria is mentioned within Bulosan scholarship, emphasis is placed on her groundbreaking collection of Bulosan's correspondence – 1960's *Sound of Falling Light*. Regrounding theoretical concepts of marginality and exile within concrete emancipatory struggles for change, Monica Feria's "Writers and Exile: Carlos Bulosan and Dolores Stephens Feria" provides insight into the artistic and political development of Dolores Feria *in relation to* Carlos Bulosan. In a passionate tribute to Dolores Feria and her generation of artists and activists, Monica Feria offers a fascinating view of her mother's contribution to the project of "becoming Filipino." From her marriage to migrant *Pinoy* Rodrigo Feria in Mexico in defiance of anti-miscegenation laws in Los Angeles to her involvement in the underground resistance in the Philippines and subsequent imprisonment, Dolores Feria is part of a generation of Americans (which includes William Pomeroy) that transgressed racial and national boundaries to support the Filipino struggle for self-determination.

While Dolores Feria transgressed beyond the boundaries of the literature classroom in the Philippines, John Streamas's "Organic and Multicultural Ways of Reading Bulosan" brings us back to the terrain of the literature classroom in the United States at a time when Bulosan has been incorporated into the Asian American/US Ethnic canon. Pushing against the boundaries of institutionalized multiculturalism (immigrant assimilation paradigm) and institutionalized postmodern frames of intelligibility (what Teresa Ebert, Mas'ud Zavarzadeh,

and Donald Morton call “post-ality”), Streamas theorizes the unique ways in which Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart* speaks to the lived experiences of first generation, working class Filipino American undergraduates in his classroom.²⁵ Streamas’s notion of “organic reading” (pedagogical translation of Raymond Williams’s “art as practice”) enables us to see how Filipino American undergraduate students are able to engage the emancipatory project of “becoming Filipino” in Bulosan’s *America Is in the Heart*. Not yet indoctrinated by post-ality which interprets the project of “becoming Filipino” as essentialist (obscuring differences within) or essentially bankrupt (the subaltern “can’t speak”), Streamas’s undergraduate students are able to see how the liberatory vision of Bulosan’s narrative resonates with other narratives by writers of color in the “internal colonies” of the United States.²⁶

The three essays featured in the final section of our *Forum Kritika* titled Collective Consciousness: Enriching Bulosan’s Vision of Freedom illustrate ways of renewing the collective project of “becoming Filipino” and open a space to consider new theoretical approaches to engaging Bulosan after the cultural turn in the academy and the institutionalization/professionalization of Asian American and US Ethnic Studies. In an earlier essay “Filipino Writers in the United States,” San Juan encourages us to turn to Teresa Ebert’s *The Task of Cultural Critique* for possible alternative theoretical approaches for renewing critical practice within the field of Asian American Studies. Pushing against post-ality, Ebert argues for a methodology that connects cultural critique with concrete movements for social change:

If cultural critique is going to matter and become more than delightful entertainment for the cynical, it must abandon the mythologies of singularity and become materialist. It must become an explanation of totality and understand the singular in the collective. Cultural critique becomes critique-al only when it becomes a critique for collectivity and joins the cultural struggles for social freedom from necessity . . . (Ebert 196; San Juan, “Filipino Writers in the United States”)

These final essays of our *Forum Kritika* grapple with the task of articulating an historical materialist approach to reading Bulosan that allows us to “understand the singular in the collective.” In the process, our essayists reveal the critique-al dimension of Bulosan’s radical literary imagination, which functions as “a critique for collectivity and joins the cultural struggles for social freedom from necessity.”

Like John Streamas’s “Organic and Multicultural Ways of Reading Bulosan” (previous section), Amanda Solomon Amorao’s “The Manong’s ‘Songs of

Love': Gendered and Sexualized Dimensions of Carlos Bulosan's Literature and Labor Activism" challenges the limitations of institutionalized multiculturalism (or "liberalism of the skin" as coined by Asian American Studies scholar Vijay Prashad) that empties Bulosan's writings of its radical class politics. Solomon Amorao argues that a reclaiming of the anti-racist labor radicalism of Bulosan must also include attention to critical issues of gender and sexuality. Using the feminist theoretical concept of intersectionality, Solomon Amorao examines how gendered and sexual violence have historically informed the racial-national subordination of Filipinos since the inauguration of US colonial violence in the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century. Solomon Amorao also examines how Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* and short story titled "As Long as the Grass Shall Grow" articulate a vision for collective liberation rooted within intersecting forms of solidarity – race, class, gender, and sexuality.

While Solomon Amorao's essay demonstrates an emerging new direction to reground theory (concepts such as intersectionality) within concrete struggles that challenge reified multiculturalism, racism, and US neocolonial domination of the Philippines, it also begins to open a much-needed space for readers to reflect upon the possibilities and limitations of knowledges (theoretical paradigms) produced by the academic industrial complex. Based on recent publications by Filipina feminist scholar-activists, what may lie ahead for a critique-al Filipina feminist cultural theory is an engagement with the gains of second-wave women of color feminism and the women's movement in the Philippines. Delia Aguilar's "From Triple Jeopardy to Intersectionality: The Feminist Perplex" traces how intersectionality has displaced a systemic critique of capitalism and imperialism that was central to the concept of "triple jeopardy" coined by women of color feminists of an earlier generation. Anne Lacsamana's pathbreaking *Revolutionizing Feminism: The Philippine Women's Movement in the Age of Terror* interrogates the limitations of contemporary feminist discourse in her examination of the ways in which the women's movement in the Philippines continues to be integral to the project of national sovereignty ("becoming Filipino").

Tim Libretti's "Beyond the Innocence of Globalization: The Abiding Necessity of Carlos Bulosan's Anti-Imperialist Imagination" examines Bulosan's unique "aesthetic practice [that] grapples with the question of how an individual and collective consciousness can grasp the systemic processes" of US and global colonial capitalism. In his reading of Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart*, *The Cry and the Dedication*, and several short stories ("Passage into Life," "Be American" and "The Story of a Letter"), Libretti explores how Bulosan's aesthetic strategies examine the unfolding of a collective Filipino subjectivity, which is bolstered by a heightened race, class, and national consciousness. Mapping Bulosan's literary approach to dramatizing the "national dimensions of Filipino life both within the Philippines and the United States," Libretti's insightful essay provides a major

intervention in our understanding of the aesthetics and politics of Bulosan's rich contribution to an "alter/native" genre of Filipino writing.²⁷

Pushing against the culture of the academic industrial complex, Michael Viola (education), Valerie Francisco (sociology), and Amanda Solomon Amorao (literature) provide our closing essay titled "Carlos Bulosan and a Collective Outline for Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies." As a way to revitalize critical practice within Asian American and US Ethnic Studies, our authors discuss the ways in which Bulosan informs their work as Filipino American activist-scholars. The form and content of this essay provide a regrounding of interdisciplinarity within concrete struggles for social justice in the United States and the Philippines. As members of the Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective, our authors produce scholarly work that is informed by the lives and collective struggle of Filipinos for self-determination: "our objective . . . is not simply . . . [to] establish an academic subfield, but to participate in the continuing struggle for a just society . . . challenging dominant ideologies that detach the individual subject from larger social forces, community formations, and resistant histories." Just like Bulosan (the writer as peasant/worker), our authors (scholars as activists) contribute to the unfinished project of "becoming Filipino."

Although nearly six decades have passed since his death, Bulosan remains with us. He haunts and challenges us whether we acknowledge him or not. Like the ghost in the novel *Beloved* by African American writer Toni Morrison, fleeting glimpses of Bulosan cause us to reflect upon our collective condition. Bulosan's spirit roams the planet as an ever-expanding Filipino Diaspora of migrant workers (Overseas Contract Workers) exceeds ten million. Flashes of Bulosan appear in the anger of Filipino Americans (now constituting one of the largest Asian American groups in the United States) over the trivialization of the pioneering contributions of Filipino *manongs* to the United Farm Workers (UFW) in the recent 2014 film on Cesar Chavez (Ochoa; Adarlo).²⁸ Perhaps Bulosan's haunting persists because the Philippines – a US neocolony with a population of over 90 million ravaged by severe economic inequality, forced migration, political repression/enforced disappearances, and ecological disaster -- is still in the painful process of becoming.²⁹ Like the ghost in *Beloved* that requires a collective response from the African American characters traumatized by slavery, Bulosan's haunting calls Filipinos everywhere to provide a collective response to the shared, traumatic condition of colonial and neocolonial subjugation. It is my hope that this *Forum Kritika* on Bulosan opens a space for reflection on ways to renew our critical collective practice – one that could transform Bulosan's haunting into a liberatory homecoming for all Filipinos.

Notes

1. Michael Denning, *Culture in the Age of Three Worlds* (New York: Verso, 2004). Denning provides a list of major intellectuals of the New Left generation that turned “to culture in order to reshape radical thought” (81). The list includes the following: “Roland Barthes, C. Wright Mills, Louis Althusser, Leo Marx, Doris Lessing, Harry Braverman, Raymond Williams, Betty Friedan, E.P. Thompson, Lucio Colletti, Amilcar Cabral, Andre Gorz, Frantz Fanon, Michel Foucault, John Berger, Gustavo Gutierrez, Jurgen Habermas, Noam Chomsky, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Andre Gunder Frank, Jean Baudrillard, Immanuel Wallerstein, Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida, Roberto Fernandez Retamar, Richard Ohmann, Samir Amin, Stuart Hall, Alexander Kluge, Antonio Negri, Susan Sontag, Stanley Aronowitz, Fredric Jameson, Amiri Baraka, Edward Said, Armand Mattelart, Nicos Poulantzas, Wolfgang Haug, Frigga Haug, Perry Anderson, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, Roberto Schwarz, E. San Juan, Juliet Mitchell, Regis Debray, Etienne Balibar, Walter Rodney, Gayatri Spivak, Ariel Dorfman, and Angela Davis” (82).
2. Hukbalahap is the term for *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon* – People’s Army Against the Japanese. It later transformed into the HMB – *Hukbo Magpapalaya ng Bayan* – Army to Liberate the People/Nation. See Schirmer and Shalom, *The Philippines Reader* (1987). See also William Pomeroy’s *The Philippines: Colonialism, Collaboration, and Resistance!* (1992).
3. See San Juan’s *From Globalization to National Liberation: Essays of Three Decades* (2008). See also San Juan’s *Beyond Postcolonial Theory* (1998) and *After Postcolonialism: Remapping Philippines-United States Confrontations* (2000).
4. The date for the Philippine American War is generally listed as 1899-1902; however, extending it to 1913 provides a more inclusive scope of Filipino resistance to US colonial domination. The Moro Rebellion (Moro-American War) in Southern Philippines occurred from 1899-1913 – the “second front” of the Philippine-American War. See chapter 7 (War against the Moro people) of *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons* (2004), edited by Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio.
5. See San Juan’s introduction to *On Becoming Filipino*.
6. In *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (1997), Michael Denning discusses the debate within the cultural left over the meaning of Americanism (129-132). See also chapter 7 of San Juan’s *From Globalization to National Liberation*, which provides a critique – from the perspective of Filipino subaltern struggle – of “reading *America Is in the Heart* as a glorification of Americanism.”
7. In his excellent essay “Revisiting Carlos Bulosan,” San Juan asks us to consider *The Cry and the Dedication* as a “sublimated sequel” to *America Is in the Heart* (*Toward Filipino Self-Determination* 79). An early title for Bulosan’s posthumously published novel was *The Hounds of Darkness*. Bulosan mentions this in a letter to his colleague

- Florentino Valeros on April 8, 1955. See San Juan's introduction to the *Cry and the Dedication* (1995) and Bulosan's *Sound of Falling Light* (1960), pages 272-274.
8. See also Libretti's "America Is in the Heart by Carlos Bulosan" (2001), pages 26-27 and San Juan's "Excavating the Bulosan Ruins: What is at Stake in Re-Discovering the Anti-Imperialist Writer in the Age of US Global Terrorism?" (2014). Chris Vials also provides a richly detailed reading of Bulosan, US Popular Front nationalism, and the production, circulation, and reception of Asian American cultural production of the 1930s and 1940s in *Realism of the Masses: Aesthetics, Popular Front Pluralism, and US Culture, 1935-1947*.
 9. *The New Tide* was published in the fall of 1934. A proletarian literary magazine with short stories and poems, it was edited by Carlos Bulosan with the assistance of Felix Rivers (managing editor) and Chris Mensalvas, Aurelio Bulosan, Julio Mensalvas, and Felipe Garia (associate editors).
 10. In his "Introduction to Carlos Bulosan," San Juan mentions the significance of the Felix Razon character in *America Is in the Heart* – "Felix Razon connects the peasant uprising in Tayug, Pangasinan with the Loyalist cause in Spain."
 11. See Marilyn Alquizola's "Subversion or Affirmation: The Text and Subtext of *America Is in the Heart*" (2001) for a detailed discussion of this tension within Bulosan's text. Also, see Frank Sinatra's "The House I Live In" (1945), which celebrates Popular Front Americanism.
 12. In the essay titled "In Search of Filipino Writing: Reclaiming Whose 'America'?" (2004), San Juan theorizes the construction of Filipino subjectivity within Bulosan's work as "subjects in revolt" – subjects that "have refused the conform to the totalizing logic of white supremacy and the knowledge of 'the Filipino' constructed by Orientalizing methods of American scholarship" (443).
 13. In part one of *America Is in the Heart*, Allos discusses the significance of learning about the achievements of Richard Wright. His learning about Wright is connected to his gaining social and political consciousness: "I was beginning to understand what was going on around me, and the darkness that had covered my present life was lifting" (71). Compare Richard Wright's "Blueprint for Negro Writing" (1937) and Bulosan's essays "The Growth of Philippine Culture" (1951), "The Writer as Worker" (1955) in *On Becoming Filipino* and his letters in *Sound of Falling Light* (1960).
 14. In parts two through four of *America Is in the Heart*, Allos/Carl remembers his childhood in the Philippines and provides multiple reflections on the Filipino peasantry—their connection to the land, their oral traditions of storytelling, their resourcefulness and ability to mobilize against exploitation.
 15. For additional information about naturalism (its historical development and philosophical evolution within American literature), see "The American Background" (1995) by Louis J. Budd in *American Realism and Naturalism: Howells to London* edited by Donald Pizer. See also Bulosan's essays "The Growth of Philippine Culture" and "My Education" in *On Becoming Filipino* for an overview of Bulosan's approach to writing.

16. In "Carlos Bulosan and the Act of Writing" (1992), Oscar Campomanes and Todd Gernes provide a terrific discussion of the relationship between Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* and Richard Wright's *Native Son*. For additional discussion of the relationship between Carlos Bulosan and Richard Wright see Helen Jaskoski's "Carlos Bulosan Literary Debt to Richard Wright" (1996). See also *Richard Wright – Black Boy* (Mississippi Educational Television and the BBC) and Richard Yarborough's introduction to *Uncle Tom's Children* by Richard Wright.
17. In the September 1930 issue of the *New Masses*, Michael Gold provides a detailed inventory of the characteristics and scope of proletarian realism which includes the following: "Proletarian realism deals with the real conflicts of men and women who work for a living. Proletarian realism is never pointless. It does not believe in literature for its own sake, but in literature that is useful, has a social function" (5). See Bulosan's essay titled "The Writer as Worker" – "Now culture being a social product, I firmly believe that any work of art should have a social function – to beautify, to glorify, to dignify man . . . if the writer has any significance, it should write about the world in which he lives: interpret his time and envision the future through his knowledge of historical reality" (*On Becoming Filipino* 143).
18. In his classic essay "Carlos Bulosan: The Politics of Literature," Petronilo Daroy examines how Bulosan uses autobiography as a way to "reconstruct the general condition of the working class" (197). Susan Evangelista's "Bulosan as a Third World Poet," in *Carlos Bulosan and His Poetry* discusses Bulosan's approaches to writing a collective history of Filipinos. See also Marilyn Alquizola's "Subversion or Affirmation: The Text and Subtext of *America Is in the Heart*" for a discussion of "Bulosan's narrator/protagonist... constructed out of the composite lives and experiences of Filipino compatriots in the United States" (199).
19. See chapter 6 of San Juan's *From Globalization to National Liberation* for his discussion of the "Filipino praxis of alter/native writing." See also Richard Wright's "Blueprint for Negro Writing" (1937) in which he discusses the responsibility of the African American writer to explore the "whole culture" of African Americans – "a culture which has, for good or ill, helped to clarify his consciousness and create emotional attitudes which are conducive to action. This culture has stemmed mainly from two sources: 1.) the Negro church; and 2.) the folklore of the Negro people" (323).
20. Although Bulosan never returned to the Philippines, he continued to be engaged in the struggle for Philippine national sovereignty through activism in the United States and correspondence with artists, scholars, and activists in the Philippines. See *Sound of Falling Light* and San Juan's introduction to *The Cry and the Dedication*.
21. See Glenn Omatsu's "The 'Four Prisons' and the Movements of Liberation: Asian American Activism from the 1960s to the 1990s" (1994); *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment* (2001); "Martial Law" in *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance* (1987); and Dolores Feria's "Bulosan's Power, Bulosan's People" (1991).

22. We are grateful to Anne Jenner (Pacific Northwest Curator) and the Special Collections Division at the University of Washington Libraries for permission to use the following documents from the Carlos Bulosan Papers for our *Forum Kritika* on Bulosan (reprinted in Alquizola and Hirabayashi's essay "Carlos Bulosan on Writing: The Role of Letters"):
 - University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Carlos Bulosan Papers, MS Collection No. 0581-012 B4 F8, Reel 6. *Letter from the Committee to Sponsor Luis Taruc's Autobiography*.
 - University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Carlos Bulosan Papers, MS Collection No. 0581-012 B4 F8, Reel 5. *Carlos Bulosan letter to Valeros, Jan. 17, 1955*.
23. According to Schirmer and Shalom, *Born of the People* was a collaborative effort between Luis Taruc and William Pomeroy (*Philippines Reader* 63). According to Dolores Feria (1991) and E. San Juan, Jr. (2009), *Born of the People* was ghostwritten by Pomeroy. See also William Pomeroy's *The Philippines: Colonialism, Collaboration, and Resistance!* (1992).
24. See Susan Evangelista's "Bulosan as a Third World Poet" (1985) in *Carlos Bulosan and His Poetry* for a discussion of "Third World" aesthetics in his poetry about life in the Philippines and the United States. See also Margarita Orendain's "Understanding the Dynamics of Third World Writing in Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart*" (1988) for a discussion of Bulosan's writing within the internal colonies of the United States.
25. "Post-ality" was coined by cultural theorist Mas'ud Zavarzadeh in his essay, "Post-Ality the (Dis)Simulations of Cybercapitalism" (1995). He defines post-ality as "the ensemble of all practices that, as a totality, obscure the production practices of capitalism – which is based on the extraction of surplus labor (the source of accumulation of capital) – by announcing the arrival of a new society which is post-production, post-labor, post-ideology, post-white and post-capitalist." See Zavarzadeh, Ebert, and Morton, eds., *Post-Ality: Marxism and Postmodernism. Transformation: Marxist Boundary Work in Theory, Economics, Politics, and Culture. Volume 1*. Washington, DC: Maisonneuve Press, 1995.
26. 26. See Teresa Ebert's "Women and/as the Subaltern" in *Ludic Feminism and After: Postmodernism, Desire, and Labor in Late Capitalism* and Terry Eagleton's *After Theory*.
27. 27. See San Juan's discussion of the "Filipino praxis of alter/native writing [that] interrogates the 'post' in 'postcolonial' theory" in *From Globalization to National Liberation: Essays of Three Decades*. In chapter six, San Juan provides a mapping of the politics and aesthetics of a unique alter/native genre of writing in the Philippines. In many ways, Bulosan's body of work can be included in this genre.
28. See Philip Vera Cruz: *A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement* (1992).
29. See 2013 *Karapatan Year-End Report on the Human Rights Situation in the Philippines*.

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