

THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS:
POPULAR PROTEST, RADICALISM, AND ACTIVISM, 1968-1980

By

Joseph Gomez Moreno

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for a degree of

Chicano/Latino Studies – Doctor of Philosophy

2015

ABSTRACT

THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS: POPULAR PROTEST, RADICALISM, AND ACTIVISM, 1968-1980

By

Joseph Gomez Moreno

Chicano Studies Movement on Campus focuses on four particular groups protagonists at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB), the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), the University of Washington, (UW) and California State University at Northridge (CSUN) and how they formulated organizational and political frameworks for each of their struggles. Chicana/o students, faculty, and community members participated in planning and protesting to compel the university administrations to recognize the Chicana/o Studies academic presence, programs and departments. Fundamentally, these movements attempted to convert Anglo-American universities into multicultural learning institutions.

I examine how Chicana/o activists and radicals created and engaged political coalitions at UCB, UCLA, UW and CSUN. I demonstrate how Chicanas/os formulated social and educational movements to implement Chicana/o Studies programs and departments. In this intellectual history, I adopt social movement theory and contextualize the political encounters involving Chicana/o radicals and activists with university administrations. Finally, I offer a critical and historical investigation on how the power behind the culture of the empire responded to and fought to undermine these social movements.

Copyright by
JOSEPH G. MORENO
2015

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife Julia Cardenas, my parents, Louie and Gloria Moreno, and my brother Dr. Luis H. Moreno III.

Also, I dedicate it to the late Ernesto Bustillos, the Tucson K-12 Ethnic Studies Teachers Political and Legal Struggle, and to all the working-class peoples that have been denied a relevant education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I remember at the end of the first grade, my parents informed me that for the second grade I would be attending special education classes at a different school. For the next two years, I faced discrimination from various students and I was labeled a special education kid. However, after many years of reflecting about my personal experiences during this period, I realized that my parents made the right decision. The outcome of this experience guided the ideological and academic direction of this dissertation and taught me the concepts of struggle, passion, and hard work. In addition, my political and grassroots organizational experience and activism were a major factor in the quest of attaining a doctoral degree from a major Tier 1 research university.

The historical origins of this dissertation started over twenty years ago, by spending hours with various activists and organizers discussing the history of Chicana/o Studies and the current issues facing the modern world. First of all, I like to thank my parents Louie and Gloria Moreno for all of their support and encouragement over the years. My parents taught me the value of standing up for what you believe in and never let anyone put you down in the quest of reaching your dreams. Next, I like to show appreciation to my brother Dr. Luis H. Moreno III, for showing me the pathway to Chicana/o History and activism and being one of my life heroes. At times, Luis is my worst critic, but is one of my biggest supporters and without him I would not have finished my dissertation. I like to give a special gratitude to my wife and best friend Julia

Cardenas, for helping me with the editing process and putting up with my moods and the time away in the last seven years. Julia is one of the major motivations that I did not throw in the towel when trying to finish this critical dissertation. Finally, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Luis, and Julia; I will never forget our struggles during this personal journey in my life.

I like to recognize my late grandmother Margaret Gomez for her support, encouragement, and teaching me the importance of life and being humble about your cultural background. Subsequently, I want to thank the late Ernesto Bustillos for his friendship, support, and the many discussions about the Chicana/o Studies and the significance of grassroots organizing within the Chicana/o working class community. Ernesto's lifetime passion to political struggle guided my academic and political direction. I wish he lived long enough to witness the completion of this dissertation, but his spirit provided the strength to continue on with the struggle to conclude my doctoral studies. I also, like to dedicate this dissertation to Ernesto for his lifetime political and organizational involvement to the national liberation and self-determination of the working class people of las Americas.

Over twenty years ago, I met two great comrades that impacted my political ideology and the direction of this dissertation. I like to show gratitude to my brother Francisco "Chavo" Romero for his friendship, support, and for his commitment to the struggle for social justice and self-determination within the working class community. I remember two young kids who took on the struggle to change the world and never gave up on their political views when all of the odds were against us. Our All Power To The People electoral campaign for city council and school board in 2006 made a huge

impact on our local community and the outcome of this election led me back to graduate school to develop this dissertation. I like to show appreciation to my comrade Pablo Aceves for teaching me how to become a successful grassroots organizer and political strategist. Pablo's lifetime commitment to the political struggle for national liberation and self-determination of the working class people of las Americas guided my passion for social justice and the development of this dissertation. Both Francisco and Pablo have been great friends and they hold a special place in my heart for their dedication to the struggle for social justice.

I like to show gratitude to my California State University, Northridge (CSUN) Chicana/o Studies family. First of all, I like to thank my mentor and personal hero Dr. Rodolfo (Rudy) Acuna for believing in my talent and pushing me to become a better historian and scholar. Rudy dedication to the development of the Chicana/o Studies and History guided the academic direction of this dissertation. Next, I like to recognize my second CSUN Chicana/o Studies mentor and good friend Dr. Jorge Garcia for his support, encouragement, and for his love & passion for teaching and learning. My many discussions with Jorge provided research material and guidance in the dissertation process. I like to thank my master thesis advisor Dr. Gabriel Gutierrez for teaching me the significance of historical research and writing, and pushing me to reach my full potential. Also, I want to express gratitude Dr. David Rodriguez, Dr. Mary Pardo, the late Lozano "Topy" Flores and Dr. Rosa Furumoto for helping me in developing my academic theory, research and writing tools. Finally, I like to dedicate this dissertation to Rudy and Jorge for their long commitment to the struggle for Chicana/o Studies and social justice.

I like to show appreciation to my Michigan State University (MSU) Chicano/Latino Studies family. First, I like to express gratitude to my dissertation advisor and mentor Dr. Dinoicio Valdes. Dinoicio pushed me to my limit, but he was my biggest supporter and believed in developing my full potential to become a scholar. Dinoicio was a major reason that I was able to finish this dissertation and write this acknowledgment. Secondly, I like to recognize my committee members Dr. Theresa Melendez, Dr. Scott Michaelson, Dr. Dylan Miner, and Dr. Jerry Garcia for their encouragement and support with the dissertation process. I like to express thanks to my fellow graduate students for providing a support base during my residency at MSU. Also, I like to show gratitude to Dr. Juan Javier Pescador, Dr. Estrella Torrez, and other faculty & staff members that provided the support to conclude my doctoral studies. Finally, I like to thank my best friend Rainer Delgado for his support and friendship over the years.

I like to show appreciation to my Estrella Mountain Community College family for their support and providing me the space to finish this dissertation. First, I like to thank my department chair Dr. Pablo Landeros for providing me with an opportunity to teach as an Adjunct Professor and for his encouragement. I like to express gratitude to my good friend Vidal Rivas for his support and friendship over the last two years. Also, I like to recognize my good friends Sean Acre, Rene Martinez, and the other teachers from Tucson, Arizona that never gave up their passion, politics and believes to struggle for an Ethnic Studies program that would change the lives of the local youth and working class community. I like to dedicate this dissertation to the Tucson Ethnic Studies teachers for taking a stand when all of the odds were against them.

There are many other individuals that I like to show gratitude, but I will have to

write a whole book to acknowledge their support. However, I like to recognize my National Association of Chicano and Chicana Studies (NACCS) working partners Dr. Gilberto Garcia, Dr. Raoul Contreras, and Dr. Manuel Hernandez for their support, mentorship, and allowing me the space to discuss my academic ideas and politics. Also, I like to recognize my community college professors and mentors Dr. Tomas Salinas, Dr. Linda Chaparro, and the late Ronald Jackson, for providing the mentorship and training to attain a graduate degree beyond my undergraduate studies. I like to show appreciation to my students; they are one of the main reasons that I never gave up on making this dissertation a reality. I feel grateful that my community and organizational comrades guided my political ideology and supported my personal struggle to attain a doctoral degree. Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to people that sacrifice their lives for the betterment of the Chicana/o Studies and the quest for a relevant education.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
THE GEOGRAPHY OF CHICANA/O STUDIES AND THE CHICANO POWER MOVEMENT	4
CHICANA/O STUDIES AND CHICANA/O MOVEMENT HISTORIOGRAPHY	6
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	18
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS.....	24
ENDNOTES.....	28

CHAPTER ONE – THIRD WORLD RADICALISM: THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, 1965-1975	
INTRODUCTION	42
UCB LEFTIST POLITICS AND THIRD WORLD RADICALISM	43
THE UCB CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT	47
EL GRITO AND CHICANA/O STUDIES RESEARCH.....	51
CONCLUSION.....	54
ENDNOTES.....	55

CHAPTER TWO – ETHNIC STUDENT RADICALISM: THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 1965-1980	
INTRODUCTION	65
ETHNIC STUDENT RADICALISM ON THE UCLA CAMPUS.....	67
GRASSROOTS ACTIVISM AND UCLA CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT...	70
THE ORIGINS OF THE CHICANO STUDIES RESEARCH CENTER	73
AZTLAN JOURNAL AND CSRC PUBLICATIONS.....	75
CONCLUSION.....	79
ENDNOTES.....	81

CHAPTER THREE – STUDENT RADICALISM AND ACTIVISM: THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, 1968-1980	
INTRODUCTION	93
STUDENT ACTIVISM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON	95
THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT....	97
CONCLUSION.....	107
ENDNOTES.....	109

CHAPTER FOUR – POLITICAL ACTVISM: THE CHICANA/O STUDIES
MOVEMENT AT CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE, 1968-
1975

INTRODUCTION	123
POLITICAL ACTIVISM AT SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE COLLEGE.....	124
CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE..	128
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHICANA/O STUDIES DEPARTMENT ...	131
CONCLUSION.....	135
ENDNOTES.....	136

CONCLUSION – SURVIVAL AND THE LOST HOPE: WHAT HAPPEND TO THE
CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION	147
CHICANA/O STUDIES AND THE CULTURE OF THE EMPIRE	149
CONCLUSION.....	157
ENDNOTES.....	159

BIBLIOGRAPHY	166
--------------------	-----

INTRODUCTION

The year 1968 was the critical year of the modern political era. Many historians and scholars argue that events in 1968 changed the direction of the nation and the world.¹ Social movements emerged to challenge the United States (U.S.) educational institutions, and made possible the foundation of the Chicana/o Studies Movement.² On March 5, 1968, a massive Chicana/o student movement conducted a walkout of five East Los Angeles high schools to protest the educational inequalities and the lack of ethnic studies curriculum and courses.³ This gathering inspired nationwide student walkouts. A few month later, two critical social movements emerged at first the San Francisco State College (SFSC), and then at the University of California at Berkeley, to struggle for a Third World College and Ethnic Studies academic departments.⁴

The topic of my dissertation examines the new energy of activism and radicalism that marked an exceptional chapter in the Chicana/o Power Movement, which academic literature has not adequately recognized. Jorge Mariscal is among a handful of Chicana/o Studies scholars who linked internationalist and third world ideological frameworks to this movement.⁵ According to Mariscal, "the term internationalism precisely because of its associations with a socialist project that during the Viet Nam war period posited an alternative and often-utopian model for society that transcended national boundaries and imagined a diverse working- class community."⁶ His argument supports the notion that the Chicana/o Power and Studies Movements incorporated an internationalist and Third World vision.

In this dissertation I hope to contribute to the scholarship on the foundation of the Chicana/o Power Movement, along with other works that have presented new

perspectives and narratives. This will include *The Chicano Movement: Perspectives from the Twenty-First Century* (2014) edited by Mario Garcia, which offers comparative accounts of the movement.⁷ I continue along this path in linking national, regional, and local historical narratives. I will examine the unfolding of the Chicana/o Power Movement on four major university campuses.

During the 1960s and 1970s, a new cohort of Chicana/o activists appeared directly confronting the culture of the empire. Following the lead of Gilbert Gonzalez, I use the concept the culture of the empire, to contextualize the cultural and political effects of United States imperialism and colonialism on the Chicana/o population.⁸ Gonzalez argued that, "U.S domination of key sectors of the Mexican economy set the stage for the creation of a culture of empire by American writers."⁹ In response, Chicana/o Power Movement activists and radicals created grassroots and social movement organizations to challenge the well-established nation's elite educational and social institution. Increased political involvement by young people made possible the appearance of Chicano Power and Studies Movements on campuses.¹⁰ Chicana/o students formed collective organizations including the United Mexican American Student (UMAS), the Mexican American Student Association (MASA), the Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC) and the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), to lead the struggle. Chapters of UMAS, MASA and MASC chapters emerged at the University of California at Berkeley (UB), University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), University of Washington, (UW) and California State University at Northridge (CSUN); these are the four campuses I will examine in detail.¹¹

In 1969, these student organizations merged into the Movimiento Estudianti

Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA), which was critical to the growth and recruitment of future Chicana/o students and to the appearance of the Chicana/o Studies Movement nationwide.¹² Simultaneously, students formed cross-cultural coalitions to establish ethnic studies departments and colleges.¹³ Due to the limited number of people-of-color students, these collectives engaged students to establish a political presence and to survive. Then, in late 1969, most Chicana/o student organizations made a critical decision to articulate an independent Chicana/o Studies movement separate from the ethnic studies struggle, while maintaining a third world radical ideological framework.¹⁴ The students' demand for autonomy accompanied political conflict, compromise, false promises, and restructuring by opponents who defended traditional higher education process.¹⁵ Chicanas/os demanded that universities and colleges serve working-class communities and develop new missions and learning outcomes.¹⁶ They attempted to transform the academy, staging mass-based struggles against university administrations over the direction of education and the meaning of Chicana/o Studies.¹⁷ Nevertheless, they framed it; I argue within a framework of anti-imperialist resistance against the embedded culture of the empire in the universities.

I will focus on three particular group protagonists at UCB, UCLA, UW and CSUN, and how they formulated organizational and political frameworks for each of their struggles. Chicana/o students, faculty, and community members participated in planning and protesting to compel the university administrations to recognize the Chicana/o Studies academic presence, programs and departments.¹⁸ Fundamentally, these movements attempted to convert Anglo-American universities into multicultural learning institutions.¹⁹ They demanded the hiring of Chicana/o faculty and the

desegregation of the core curriculum and assessment processes, through recognition and respect for the Chicana/o Studies discipline.²⁰ I examine how Chicana/o activists and radicals created and engaged political coalitions at UCB, UCLA, UW and CSUN. I demonstrate how Chicanas/os formulated social and educational movements to implement Chicana/o Studies programs and departments. In this institutional and social history, I adopt social movement theory and contextualize the political encounters involving Chicana/o radicals and activists with university administrations. Finally, I offer a critical and historical investigation on how the power behind the culture of the empire responded to and fought to undermine these social movements.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF CHICANA/O STUDIES AND THE CHICANO POWER MOVEMENT

In this dissertation, Marxist Geographer Edward W. Soja's ideas are incorporated to demonstrate a distinct geography of Chicana/o Studies in the four case studies I investigate.²¹ Soja writes that, "Modern Geography has been so introverted and cocooned with respect to the construction of critical social theory and so confined in its definition of historical geography."²² My decision to adopt Soja enables me to examine political and class borders between the imperialist establishment and working- class communities within greater precision. Also, I will delineate the historical geography of Mexican and Chicana/o labor migration to identify links between Mexican workers and institutions of higher education. The first mass generation of Chicana/o university students emerged from this labor migration, but regional patterns varied in the educational institutions of California and Washington State.²³

Yet, the unfolding of the Chicana/o Studies struggle was highly selective and did not reflect the burgeoning Mexican population in the United States.²⁴ According to the 2010 census, 50.5 million of the 308.7 million of the nation's inhabitants are of Mexican and Latino origin.²⁵ Why is there not a Chicana/o Studies program and department in every U.S. university and college? Since the birth of the nation, the United States government promoted a popular campaign of westward expansion, based on domination and aggression of conquered peoples.²⁶ In its ideological supports, writers and newspaper reporters, including John L. O' Sullivan, have popularized the doctrine of American Manifest Destiny, in 1845.²⁷ It consistently portrayed Anglo-Americans as superior to Mexicans, and it justified the War of 1846-1848.²⁸ In order to fully understand this perspective, Dinoicio Valdes posits that a continental empire has been enhanced by the ongoing U.S. military and economic conquest of Mexico, and it has influenced the class and cultural experiences of the working class Mexican population.²⁹

Mexicans continually crisscrossed the imposed U.S./Mexico Border for survival, but especially in response to the demands of capital.³⁰ Valdes believes that, "the U.S. military conquest and annexation of California predated the economic conquest and modern corporation."³¹ It was accompanied by massive labor migration of Mexican workers to the Midwest, the East Coast, the Deep South, the Far West, and Pacific Northwest.³² The mastering of the culture of the empire and the conditions of domination imposed living and working conditions, deportation, educational segregation, and cultural repression on the immigrant workers and their descendants.³³ In response and in self-defense, they formed mutual aid societies

and labor and civil rights organizations.³⁴ They also participated in labor strikes in locations as diverse as New Mexico, California, Texas, California, Michigan Washington State, Colorado, and Arizona.³⁵

Their earlier grassroots organizations prepared the ground force for the unfolding of the Chicana/o Power and Chicana/o Studies Movements.³⁶ As Juan Gomez Quinones and Irene Vasquez have argued, "historical research amply documents that civil organizing continued with programmatic ideas and energetic leadership into the 1960s."³⁷ As a result, a new Chicana/o youth generation materialized to formulate new political organizations that focused on labor and civil rights, anti U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, electoral politics, and community development.³⁸ The youth also organized the Chicana/o Student and Studies Movements on university and college campuses, challenging academic industrial complex and institutional segregation.³⁹ In response, university and college leadership adopted repressive imperialist approaches, which set the stage for battles over the academic direction of the Chicana/o Studies.⁴⁰ This political climate limited the success of Chicana/o Studies efforts at every U.S. higher education institution.

CHICANA/O MOVEMENT AND CHICANA/O STUDIES HISTORIGRAPHY

In the process of developing this historiography section, I handpicked scholarship that would be relevant to the scope of this dissertation. However, my decision will not take away from the published scholarly literature that is similar to this critical subject matter. Furthermore, I will examine the unfolding and making of Chicana/o Movement and Chicana/o Studies historiography. Between the 1890s and

1940, Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893), Victor Clark's governmental report, *Mexican Labor in the United States* (1908), and Emory S. Bogardus in *Mexican In the United States* (1933), provided a framework for mainstream academic scholarship on Mexicans in the United States, and in effect a justification for nativist and segregation policies.⁴¹ Their writings popularized the concept of modern American Exceptionalism and promoted a historical imagination and cultural imperialist judgments that disparaged Mexico as well as the Chicana/o inhabitants of the United States.⁴²

Countering Turner, Clark, and Bogardus, Ernesto Galarza argued that the Mexican population of the Americas has a deep historical and cultural presence in the modern world.⁴³ Apart from Galarza, most pre-Chicana/o Studies scholars failed to challenge this American exceptionalism, and at most adopted reformist and assimilationist perspectives.⁴⁴ Why Chicana/o Studies? Galarza and a handful of his counterparts inspired Chicana/o Studies as an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach to the Chicana/o historical and cultural experiences in North America.⁴⁵ Chicana/o scholars have established a discipline to formulate practical and ideological paradigms and approaches to challenge Anglo- American nativist, traditional and the culture of the empire perceptions.⁴⁶ Chicana/o Historiography historiography has unfolded over the last forty-five years and impacted the intellectual direction of the Chicana/o narrative.

In 1969, Chicana/o students, scholars, professors, and community activists gathered at the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB), to create *El Plan de Santa Barbara*, and define the ideological and historical roots of the Chicana/o

Studies discipline.⁴⁷ Many Chicana/o historians and scholars have utilized this critical historical document to support radical perspectives in the making of Chicana/o Historiography.⁴⁸ Rodolfo Acuna's *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation* (1972) became an influential monograph to challenge Turner's *Frontier Thesis* and Bogardus's Mexican Problem ideology.⁴⁹ Meanwhile, Juan Gomez Quinones published "Toward A Perspective on Chicano History," (1971), which contextualized the unfolding of the counter historical narrative.⁵⁰ As a result, Acuna and Gomez Quinones have influenced Chicana/o historiography for the last four decades.

In the heat of the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, radical and leftist Chicana/o scholars and historians emerged and attempted to shape Chicana/o historiography and Chicana/ Studies scholarship.⁵¹ However, they were accompanied by a greater wave of moderate and conservative politics and writing reducing the spaces for radicalism and maturation of Chicana/o Studies throughout academia.⁵² Most knowledge pertaining to Mexico and to Mexicans in the United States appears in traditional and mainstream structures.⁵³ The traditional powers also forced political divisions among Chicana/o scholars and historians, encouraging a new type of Chicana/o scholar and historian with an agenda of gaining access without rocking the boat.⁵⁴ This academic mainstreaming of Chicana/o historiography permitted the appearance of many published texts and a small number of Chicana/o historians with successful academic careers, but in scholarship failed to change social and political conditions for the Chicana/o population.⁵⁵

In the late 1970s, Chicana/o scholars and historians had initiated writings on

the Chicana/o Power Movement. In 1977, Juan Gomez Quinones published *Mexican Students Par La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement In Southern California, 1967-1977*, the first scholarly contextualization of the historical politics of the Chicana/o Student Movement.⁵⁶ In 1981, in the second edition of *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, Rodolfo Acuna added a new chapter entitled "Goodbye America." Various Chicana/o Studies scholars and historians have conducted academic conferences and symposiums on Chicana/o Studies and Chicana/o Movement Historiography.⁵⁷ By the early 1980s, The National Association of Chicano Studies (NACS) had become the leading space for critical debates scholarly publications. In particular, NACS published *The Chicano Struggle: Analyses of Past and Present Efforts* (1984), *Chicana Voices: Intersections of Class, Race and Gender* (1990), and *Chicano Discourse* (1992), whose ideological and political discourse changed the direction of Chicana/o Studies scholarship.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, Isidro Ortiz and others organized a symposium, *Chicanos and the Social Sciences: A Decade of Research and Development* (1970-1980), to contextualize the first generation of Chicana/o Studies scholarship and suggested directions for its future development in *Chicano Studies: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (1984).⁵⁹

Another influential work appeared in 1984, "Chicano Studies: 1970-1984," in which Renato Rosaldo contextualized the first generation of Chicana/o Studies anthropological scholarship.⁶⁰ Rosaldo observed, "anthropological writings on Chicanos over the past 15 years must be understood in relation to the politics of the late 1960s and early 1970s."⁶¹ Renato argued that the discipline of anthropology had to embrace the research politics of Chicana/o Studies scholarship and predicted the

coming generation of Chicana/o scholars would make this critical subject matter "more visible" to traditional anthropologists.⁶² Renato concluded optimistically, that Chicana/o Studies challenge "ideological, political and economic forms of oppression," as set by the culture of the empire.⁶³

During the 1980s, Carlos Munoz wrote two influential articles in advance of his text at the end of the decade. "The Quest for Paradigm: The Development of Chicano Studies and Intellectuals" (1983) and "The Development of Chicano Studies 1968-1981" (1984), which both contextualized the first generation of the Chicana/o Studies discipline.⁶⁴ Munoz argued that it never reached the original organizational outcomes and goals of the *El Plan de Santa Barbara* and that not establishing Chicana/o Studies Ph.D. programs during the 1970s prevented the preparation of organic intellectualism. Finally, in *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (1989), Munoz wrote on the work that sentinels the direction of Chicana/o Power Movement Historiography.⁶⁵ Munoz argued that the Chicana/o student sector and participants in the broader Chicana/o Power Movement were searching for a new social and ideological identity and political control. Munoz emphasized that the historical legacy of the Chicana/o Power Movement would influence the future development of any counter-hegemonic social movement and was crucial in the debates on this critical subject matter. In a second edition, Munoz offered minor revisions to address major criticisms, including his failure to incorporate gender in the first edition. While Munoz toned down the male elitism of first generation Chicana/o Studies scholars and professors, his gender analysis remained feeble.

Another important book, *United We Win* (1989), enabled Ignacio Garcia to

contextualize the political foundation of the Chicana/o Third Political Party Movement of the 1970s, with a historical analysis on the La Raza Unida Party (LRUP).⁶⁶ Garcia argued that LRUP was influential, particularly by enhancing working-class Chicana/o involvement in the U.S. electoral process. The first major academic full-length work on LRUP, *United We Win* concentrated on the LRUP Texas experience but failed to examine party chapters at the national level. Garcia contributed to critical debate on the role of the La Raza Unida Party in the Chicana/o Power Movement; the party was its most influential, in Texas, on the electoral level.

Another important facet of the Chicana/o Power Movement appeared in the writing of Alma Garcia who published "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980" in the *Journal of Gender and Society*.⁶⁷ Her examination of the historical foundation of Chicana feminist scholarship argued that the first generation of the Chicana Feminist Movement, from its inception, offered various Chicana perspectives both to the larger Chicano Power Movement and to the U.S. feminist movement. While Garcia utilized important primary material and publications to document the significance of the Chicana feminist movement, her work shied away from critical questions or an assessment of how it changed the political and ideological direction on the Chicana/o Power Movement. Like many of her counterparts she also argued, optimistically, that emerging Chicana feminist scholars would enhance the Chicana/o Studies Movement for the rest of the twentieth century.

In the 1990s, Armando Navarro emerged as an influential scholar for La Raza Unida Party and Chicana/o Power Movement Historiography. His first major text, *Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde of the Chicano Movement in*

Texas (1995) contextualized the foundation of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) in the state of Texas.⁶⁸ He argued that MAYO played a major role in the development of the La Raza Unida Party. He also demonstrated its significant organizational presence in the 1970 Crystal City, Texas High School District walkouts, challenging many Chicana/o Studies historians and scholars through an explicit class-based and dialectical approach.

In 1998, Navarro followed up by publishing *The Cristal Experiment, A Chicano Struggle for Community Control* (1998), which focused on the struggle for Chicana/o political control and the LRUP in the Crystal City, Texas.⁶⁹ He argued that the 1964 city council election and the rise of LRUP in 1970 were two major local Chicano community control and political power struggles. Crystal City, Texas was the major hub for the La Raza Unida Party, and the hometown of Jose Angel Gutierrez, the most visible LRUP leader in that regional center. Both monographs could have included more testimonies from the LRUP rank and file membership and the Crystal City Chicana/o population. However, *The Cristal Experiment and Mexican American Youth Organization* is the most influential, published scholarship on this critical Chicano Power Movement to date.

In 2000, Navarro broadened his analysis into the national level in *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge to the U.S. Two-Party Dictatorship* (2000).⁷⁰ He argued that LRUP attempted to challenge the century- and-a-half lock on electoral politics by Democrats and Republicans, thus two-party dictatorship. He also argued that LRUP failed because of non-realistic goals and objectives, ideological conflicts, and lack of resources. His text is marred by his personal portrayals and his own involvement; yet, it is strengthened by his ability to address political geography, including the LRUP in the

Midwest. Following up on this text, Navarro completed three additional monographs on the political history of the U.S. Chicana/o population, and the rise of the Mexican Immigration Rights Movement. While Navarro's published scholarship made an impact in the development of Chicana/o Power mainstream, Chicana/o academics have eschewed his work because of his radical ideologies and methodologies.

Influential work appeared as a result of two conferences. The first, organized by the Julian Samora Research Institute (JSRI) at Michigan State University, examined the current status of Chicana/o Historiography. Senior and junior Chicana/o historians gathered to critically debate and address the past, present, and future of the Chicana/o historical experience. *Voices of A New Chicano History* (2000), edited by Refugio Rochin and Dionicio Valdes emerged from this conference.⁷¹ Another second conference occurred a decade later, at California State University, Northridge and was organized by Gabriel Gutierrez. It invited influential scholars and historians to reflect on the unfolding of Chicana/o Studies and the contributions that Rodolfo Acuna made to Chicana/o history. Both conferences offered important assessments and criticisms of the Chicana/o Historiography from the previous decades.

Still another venture for a critical publication appeared as a result of *Acuna v. The Regents of the University of California*. This lawsuit occurred because of Acuna's University of Santa Barbara Chicana/o Studies/History professorship offer had been subsequently denied by the university administration. Acuna used the court proceedings as a basis for *Sometimes There Is No Other Side: Chicanos and the Myth of Equality* (1998), which examined the cultural myth of equality and equal access in the U.S. educational industrial complex. Acuna investigated the Chicana/o

experience in higher education, and examined why truth and objectivity do not exist based on what Acuna refers to as, the American Paradigm process.⁷² Acuna applied the Thomas Kuhn-based scientific revolution theoretical model to further contextualize how the culture of the empire controls access and the production of what is considered knowledge in higher education. Acuna argued that most traditional Chicana/o scholars are neither loyal nor have an ideological understanding of the Chicana/Studies discipline, but rather have accepted the tenets of the university imperial structure and its system of reward and punishment. *Sometimes There Is No Other Side* is critical understanding to discourse on the political and practical direction of Chicana/o Studies scholarship and historiography. Subsequently, Acuna published *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe* (2011), which contextualized the historical and political creation of the Chicana/o Studies over the previous four decades.⁷³ In both texts, Acuna adopted a personal narrative style to demonstrate how the Chicana/o Studies discipline lacks a counter hegemonic voice and analysis.

During the 1970s, Chicana and feminist scholars and activists were asserting their voice within the Chicana/o Studies discipline, and creating a social identity and scholarly space by challenging sexism and male centrism. They developed organic publications to incorporate feminist perspectives, and to write critical Chicana feminist scholarship and historiography within larger U.S. feminist movements. In a 1996 assessment, Gilberto Garcia published "Beyond the Adelita Image Women Scholars in the National Association For Chicana/o Studies (NACS) 1972-1992," on the historical and political evolution of Chicana scholarship in Chicana/o Studies and NACS.⁷⁴ He was the first Chicana/o Studies male scholar to offer a critical examination on the role

of women. Garcia argued that Chicana/o scholars and intellectuals were overlooked in the historical creation of NACS, and made a major significance in the development of the Chicana historiography. His bibliographical database demonstrated that Chicana scholars challenged first generation male dominated Chicana/o Studies research and perspectives from the earliest years of the discipline.

Meanwhile, Teresa Cordova published "Anti-Colonial Chicana Feminism" in the *Journal of New Political Science* (1998), which contextualized Chicana feminist scholarship during the 1980s and 1990s, utilizing anti-colonial and oppositional consciousness methodologies and approaches.⁷⁵ She argued that most recent Chicana feminist literature had no connection to anticolonial struggles, and that traditional feminist theory had failed to challenge the culture of the empire. Cordova offered critical perspectives on how first generation Chicana feminist scholars influenced the current body of Chicana/o Studies scholarship, and why feminists must continue to develop theoretical and practical methodologies and approaches to define their scholarly role for the twenty-first century.

In the early twenty-first century, additional scholarship and historiography has emerged on Chicana/o Power Movement. Guadalupe San Miguel's *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston* (2001), offered an historical account of the Chicano Power Movement in the city of Houston, Texas.⁷⁶ He argued that the rise of the Chicano Power Movement led to school integration in the Houston Independent School District, and that the movement was not a quest for political and social identity, but a struggle against racial discrimination. San Miguel challenged other Chicana/o Studies scholars and historians about the notion of student and community collaboration in the Chicana/o Power Movement. In another influential

work, *"Mi Raza Primero" Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles 1966-1978* (2002), Ernesto Chavez examined the rise and decline of the Chicano Power Movement in the city of Los Angeles from 1966 to 1978.⁷⁷ Chavez argued that Chicano Power Movement had long-term political and social effects for the Chicana/o community within the areas of electoral politics, immigration rights, civil rights, and economic development.

In *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era* (2004), Lorena Oropeza contextualized the political and historical role of the Chicana/o Anti-Vietnam War Movement.⁷⁸ Oropeza argued that the social movement had an internationalist ideology and that its leaders made third world alliances with other people of color movements. She challenged Chicana/o Studies scholarship by focusing on the importance of a broader, not Chicana/o specific, struggle to demonstrate an autonomous Chicana/o Movement with the broader Anti-War Movement, as well as the much wider dimensions of the Chicano Power Movement. In another broadly focused work, Jorge Mariscal published *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement 1965-1975* (2005), which contextualized the Chicana/o Power Movement at the national level, based on literary criticism.⁷⁹ Mariscal demonstrated how the Chicano Power Movement had an internationalist and third world political and ideological framework in its organizational and practical structure. He provided critical symbolic representations using artwork and propaganda materials that were created during that historical era. Mariscal challenged mainstream Chicana/o Studies scholars and historians, despite a weak definition of concepts of Chicana/o internationalism and third world radicalism. *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*

has set the stage for future inventive scholarship on the Chicana/o Power Movement.

In “Empirics and Chicano Studies: The Formation of Empirical Chicano Studies, 1970-1975” Michael Soldatenko proclaimed that the early years of the Chicana/o Studies discipline were marked by the concept of empiricism, which stems from postmodern theory and scholarship.⁸⁰ Unfortunately Soldatenko failed to fully define the concept of empiricism or how it enhanced our understanding of the intellectual origins of the Chicana/o Studies discipline. He argued that the historical foundation of the *El Plan de Santa Barbara* limited the mainstreaming of Chicana/o Studies into the university and its core curriculum and instead forced many Chicana/o scholars to adopt outside methodologies and theories. He was unsuccessful in demonstrating how outside ideological frameworks were incorporated in the scholarship of first generation Chicana/o Studies academics. The article foreshadowed Soldatenko’s monograph on the historical evolution of the Chicana/o Studies intellectualism a decade later.⁸¹

In *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline* (2009), Soldatenko investigated the first fifteen years of Chicana/o Studies scholarship, perspectivist ideological frameworks and empiricism.⁸² He argued that a perspectivist struggles for an alternative perspective, and an empiricist aspires to mainstream into the mindset of a traditional academy. He argued by the late 1970s, the empiricists were able to fully dominate the political and intellectual direction of the Chicana/o Studies discipline, and that first generation Chicana/o Studies faculty and scholars were clueless of their ideological understanding, both positions disputed by many Chicana/o scholars due to political climate of the time. Soldatenko did not provide convincing evidence on how empiricists destroyed radical and progressive viewpoints, and he failed to offer a substantial and

compelling historical analysis. In the past five years, recent works on the Chicana/o Power Movement historiography has incorporated new narratives and perspectives, by examining Chicana Power, multiethnic population coalitions, and local social movements.⁸³ However, none of this new scholarship has contextualized the historical and educational foundation of the Chicana/o Studies Movement on the national stage.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Marxist geographer David Harvey observed, “crises are essential to the reproduction of capitalism.”⁸⁴ His observation undergirds my decision to adopt anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist ideological frameworks for this dissertation. We can consider the Chicana/o Power Movement as a series of major challenges to another crisis in the reproduction of capitalism and its order as articulated in the university. It provides a framework in which I account for the ability of the Chicana/o Studies Movement on campus to challenge the culture of the empire. I will incorporate concepts of dialectical materialism, hegemony, internal colonialism, classicism, and empire building, as examined by Antonio Gramsci, Karl Marx, Frantz Fanon, Robert Blauner, Louis Althusser, V.I Lenin, Albert Memmi, and others.⁸⁵ Furthermore, I will set the historical narrative process for the intellectual direction and main argument of this dissertation.

In the 19th century, social and political theorists Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels advanced Socrates’s and Hegel’s notions of dialectics and historical materialism.⁸⁶ Engels wrote that, “dialectics, comprehends things their representations, ideas,” which produced a one-world argument to dispute the mode of capital and class production.⁸⁷

The concept of the dialectics led to the development of historical materialism that incorporated the impression of utopianism and radicalism, in order to challenge the culture of the empire. In the 1960s and 1970s, French Marxist Louis Althusser developed the concept of the ideological state apparatuses (ISA), which analyzed the concept of modern mainstream institution expansion and the mode of social capital production.⁸⁸ I argue that the Chicana/o Studies Movement was challenging the ideological state apparatuses by encouraging political expression on campus.

According to Mao Tsu-Tung, “there is no reason for the existence of imperialism,” which he considered the maximum level of capital production in a contemporary civilization.⁸⁹ As a result, understanding the meaning of anti-imperialism shaped the class struggle for national liberation and self-determination. V. I. Lenin confirms Tse-Tung’s argument in *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917).⁹⁰ Together Tse-Tung and Lenin created a practical anti-imperialist framework that informed many radical actors of the Chicana/o Studies Movement their rhetoric and organizational application. The interaction of anti-imperialist writings and practices shaped the development of the third world paradigm, which became popular during the 1960s and 1970s.

Organic intellectual and Italian socialist Antonio Gramsci similarly adhered to anti-imperialist perspectives adopted by Tse-Tung and Lenin, in creating the concept of hegemony.⁹¹ Hegemony means “the domination of one group over another with the partial consent of the dominated group.”⁹² Defending the culture of the empire adopted it to control the modes of higher education institutionalism, while the social movement for Chicana/o Studies became a counter-hegemonic political struggle that attempted to

build an organic educational process for the Chicana/o population. Therefore, this educational struggle formulated within Third World and anti-imperialist ideological frameworks and organizational concentrations.

I will implement Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), and Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and Colonized* (1965) to examine how the leadership of various higher education institutions attempted to co-opt the academic and political direction of the Chicana/o Studies movement on campus, and the degree to which they succeeded.⁹³ According to Fanon, "history teaches us clearly that the battle against colonialism does not straight away along the lines of nationalism."⁹⁴ The concept of nationalism causes splits between movement actors and between idealists seeking to create imagined communities on campus. Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2006), and C. Wright Mills's *The Sociological Imagination* (1959), reinforced Fanon's arguments about how nationalism has created false community environments and imaginary borders and political representations.⁹⁵ They attempted to create a discourse, in order to construct a methodology to contextualize the cultural and language symbolic production of the dominant culture. Stuart Hall elaborated this concept in *Representation Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (1997).⁹⁶ He wrote that, "we must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate."⁹⁷ Higher educational administration utilized cultural and class domination to incorporate its political position to restrict the development of Chicana/o Studies in the academy.

In reaffirming the imperial process within the United States culture of the empire, I will adopt ideas from Pablo Gonzalez Casanova's "Internal Colonialism and National Development" (1965), Robert Blauner's "Internal Colonialism and the Ghetto Revolt" (1969), and *Racial Oppression in America* (1972).⁹⁸ While several Chicana/o Studies Movement scholars incorporated the ideological framework of internal colonialism, many of the actors understood Gonzalez Casanova more profoundly. According to Blauner, internal colonialism involved "establishment of domination over a geographically external political unit, most often inhabited by people of a different race and culture."⁹⁹ The concept of internal colonialism is a product of foreign and hegemonic domination over a native population in the geographic setting. In this case, the Mexican/American War of 1846-1848 created the Chicana/o population as a United States colonial subject. In enhancing my arguments, I will utilize E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1966) to further guide my writing in this critical dissertation.¹⁰⁰ Thompson argued that class-consciousness is "embodied in traditions, value systems, ideas, and institutional forms."¹⁰¹ University administration embodied the vision of the culture of empire and held the ideas of the power directors in the United States.

I also incorporate the American Paradigm argument of Rodolfo Acuna in contextualizing how the culture of the empire dominates and applies the modes of advanced educational knowledge and social production.¹⁰² Acuna wrote, "Fundamental to the paradigm are loyalty to government and Western Civilization."¹⁰³ His challenge to this ideological framework addressed the harm and cultural genocide committed against oppressed populations and at times, with their consent. Simultaneously, the

ethnocentrism embedded in the culture of the empire reinforced assumptions by university administrators and the dominant culture of their superiority and practices that subordinated the colonized. It permitted institutional racism and classism and it justified segregation, and as Antonia Darder argued made it easier for “most Anglo-Americans to move from an individual context to an institutional context,” which is not possible for the internal colonized as a people.¹⁰⁴

I also incorporate Edward Said’s *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), in addressing the hegemonic process within the United States industrial educational complex.¹⁰⁵ According to Said, “in our time, direct colonialism has largely ended; imperialism, as we shall see, lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices.”¹⁰⁶ The U.S. culture of the empire engaged in the imperial process in order to control modern institutional development, and the modes of educational and cultural production has become a product of class hegemony and political domination. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Toward A Radical Democratic Politics* (1985) reinforced Said’s ideas, by writing “class hegemony is not a wholly practical result of struggle, but has an ultimate victory of the working class, since this depends upon its capacity for hegemonic leadership.”¹⁰⁷ Therefore, I will adopt the concept of class hegemony in contextualizing the conflicts between the leaders in Chicana/o Studies Movement and the university administration.

I am influenced also by ideas expressed by George Lukacs and C. Wright Mills on the concept of world system and class-consciousness, which influenced Third World and Chicana/o Studies campus movements.¹⁰⁸ According to Lukacs, “This internal

consciousness of the bourgeois is further aggravated by the fact that the objective limits of capitalism do not remain purely negative.”¹⁰⁹ The university leadership has utilized this bourgeoisie understanding to block radical and leftist academic and student methodologies and pedagogies to fully materialize on the campus environment. Mills elaborated on “the very difficult problems of ‘class consciousness’ and of ‘false consciousness’ of conceptions of status, as against class.”¹¹⁰ He meant that people adopted a counterfeit class-consciousness often against their collective best interests, which weakened the political environment and direction of Chicana/o Studies programs and departments. Lukacs and Mills further enhanced this historical dissertation by addressing the illusion of changing and challenging the U.S culture of the empire without conducting an insurgent revolutionary transformation.

Contemporary with the social movement period, Immanuel Wallerstein and Andre Gunder Frank elaborated on the concepts of the World System and of dependency theory.¹¹¹ I will adopt a World System analysis to demonstrate the functioning of the culture of the empire in a traditional university institution. Wallerstein argued, “A world system is not the system of the world, but a system that is a world and which can be, most often has been, located in an area less than the entire global.”¹¹² In the United States the government and the capitalist elite class created a global market structure to restrain the modes of capital and cultural production, and together they manipulated the Chicana/o Studies Movement. Ellen Meksin Wood, in *Empire of Capital* (2003) supported this argument, by writing, “capitalism is a system in which all economic actors – producers and appropriators – depend upon the market for their most basic needs.”¹¹³ David Harvey added that, “it is not only the capitalist elites and their intellectual and

academic acolytes who seem incapable of making any radical break.”¹¹⁴ The World System theory allows me to contextualize the historical discourse and the institutional manipulation of the Third World and Chicana/o Studies Movements.

Lastly, to guide my writing, I am influenced by Linda Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999) and Paul Blackledge’s *Reflections on the Marxist Theory of History* (2006).¹¹⁵ According to Smith, “themes such as cultural survival, self-determination healing, restoration and social justice are engaging indigenous researchers and communities in a diverse array of projects.”¹¹⁶ Smith created a twenty-five step research process on how to incorporate radical and indigenous perceptions and voices into the historiography development process. Blackledge demonstrated ways to develop a radical and class analysis in the production of historiography, and wrote, “the recent emergence of global anti-capitalist and anti war movements created a space within which Marxism can flourish as it has not been able to for a generation.”¹¹⁷ Furthermore, adopting these theorists and concepts enhanced the contexts and arguments of the dissertation process.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

I will now turn to the content of my dissertation. I offer an institutional and political history of the critical local struggles on behalf of Chicana/o Studies, by examining personal perspectives, program building, and curriculum development. I offer an innovative series of research and critical questions as a methodology specific to the topic. What caused the local Chicana/o Studies Movements on the campuses of UCB, UCLA, UW, and CSUN? What were their political concerns? What were their internal

and external struggles? Lastly, to what degree were they successful in creating academic programs and/or departments? Consistent with the ideals of the Chicana/o Studies Movement, I hope in this dissertation to impact the future development of Chicana/o Studies programs and departments in the nation.

In Chapter One, *Third World Radicalism: The Chicana/o Studies Movement At The University Of California At Berkeley*, I explore the influences, personalities, and the strengths and weaknesses of Chicana/o Studies at this important university. I examine how radical politics and Third-World radicalism in turn, profoundly influenced the creation of UCB's Chicana/o Studies Movement. In 1968, the Third World Liberation Front appeared at Berkeley, which galvanized people-of-color, as protests, scholarship, and hard work eventually lead to the formation of the Ethnic Studies Department. When the university refused to provide a separate department, scholars, students, and community representatives struggled to develop a strong Chicana/o Studies program presence. I conclude by arguing that the university administration co-opted the leadership and planted non-organic administrative representatives into this local Chicana/o Studies Movement.

In Chapter Two, *Ethnic Student Radicalism: The Chicana/o Studies Movement At The University Of California At Los Angeles*, I examine the intensification of radicalism and Chicana/o Studies in Los Angeles. I argue that the Chicana/o Studies Research Center (CSRC) and *Aztlan Journal* owe much to the third-world radicalism and community activism of the 1960s generation. The last section examines the early stages of the *Aztlan Journal* and its academic influence on the advancement of first generation Chicana/o Studies scholarship. Finally, I highlight the establishment of the CSRC and

how the early political struggles failed to make a Chicana/o Studies Department a reality.

In Chapter Three, *Student Radicalism And Activism: The Chicana/o Studies Movement At The University Of Washington*, I first examine the politics of student activism and radicalism on the university campus. I then discuss how student campaigns laid the groundwork and foundation for UW Chicana/o Student Movement. Student organizations, and participants in the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA), played critical roles in the struggle. As activism declined on campus and in the community by the early 1980s, the UW administration combined all the school's people-of-color academic disciplines into the Department of American Ethnic Studies, and weakened the impact of each of the groups involved.

Chapter Four, *Political Activism: The Chicana/o Studies Movement At California State University, Northridge*, begins with a discussion of the transformation of San Fernando Valley State College (SFVSC) into the California State University, Northridge (CSUN), and contextualizes how it became the largest Chicana/o Studies Department in the nation. Massive campus political unrest in the late 1960s resulted in the foundation of this academic department. I then examine the development of the departmental organizational model, which became the primary task in the department's formative years. I conclude that the actors who struggled on behalf of Chicana/o Studies maintained unity more successfully, which permitted the department to venture into a national leader.

In the concluding chapter, *Survival And The Lost Hope: What Happened To The Chicana/o Studies Movement*, I argue that by the late 1970s, oppositional and

reactionary scholars and professors marginalized their leftist and radical counterparts. Also, it offers a historical examination and argument for how traditionalists shifted the political direction of Chicana/o Studies and it identifies ideological conflicts that occurred in dismantling and professionalizing Chicana/o Studies. Finally, I conclude that the CSM, in its challenge of the U.S. Empire and the culture of the academy, was largely exhausted by 1980.

I use the terms *Mexican* and *Chicana/o* to identify protagonists in the movements examined in this dissertation. I utilize the term *Latino* to reference a broader group of people who merit inclusion in the discipline. I adopt the concept of U.S. Empire and the culture of the empire to identify the power structure within the society and university. Finally, I use the term *political activism* to distinguish social and political movements that led to the founding of the discipline of Chicana/o Studies. I hope this dissertation fills in blanks about this magnificent academic field that are long overdue. My personal connection provides a distinct perspective to the research and scholarship due to the numerous discussions with various Chicana/o Studies scholars and activists over the decades. Moreover, I conducted this dissertation to fully advance the understanding of Chicana/o Studies and the actors who made these social movements a political and cultural reality.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

1 George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston: South End, 1987); Max Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?" *Radical History Review*, Vol. 82 (Winter 2002): 37-64; Robert L. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969); Carlos Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*. (New York: Verso, 1989).

2 Michael Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2009); Rodolfo Acuna, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011).

3 Guadalupe San Miguel, "The Schooling of Mexicanos in The Southwest, 1848-1891," in Jose F. Moreno ed., *The Elusive Quest For Equality: 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education* (Cambridge: Harvard Educational Review, 1999), 31-51; Gilbert G. Gonzalez, "Culture, Language and The Americanization of Mexican Children," in *Latinos And Education: A Critical Reader*, eds. Antonia Darder, Rodolfo D. Torres, and Henry Gutierrez (New York: Routledge, 1997), 158-173; Guadalupe San Miguel, *Let Me Of Them Take Heed: Mexican Americans And The Campaign For Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1987); Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown, Not White: School Integration And Chicano Movement In Houston* (College Station: The University of Texas A&M Press, 2001).

4 David Croteau, William Haynes, and Charlotte Ryan, eds., *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), ix-xviii; Jim Downs and Jennifer Manion, eds. *Taking Back The Academy!: History of Activism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-8.

5 George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun: Lessons From the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

6 Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*, 54

7 Mario Garcia, ed., *The Chicano Movement: Perspectives from the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

8 Gilbert Gonzalez, *Culture Empire*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

9 Gonzalez, *Culture Empire*, 7.

10 Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*; Acuna, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

11 Ibid.

12 Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How A Radical Social Movement Became An Academic Discipline*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Cynthia A. Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of A U.S. Third World Left* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*.

13 Juan Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement In Southern California, 1967-1977* (Santa Barbara: La Causa, 1977); Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*; Ernesto Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!* (San Diego: La Verdad Publications, 1992).

14 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*.

15 Ibid.

16 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

17 Ibid.

18 Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and The Politics of Solidarity* (Oakland: AK Press, 2006); Jeremy Varon, *Bring The War Home: The Weather Underground The*

Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

19 Ibid.

20 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*.

21 Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989).

22 Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, 45.

23 Sharon Smith, *Subterranean Fire: A History of Working Class Radicalism in the United States* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2006); José Amaro Hernandez, *Mutual aid For Survival: The Case of the Mexican American* (Malabar: Krieger, 1983); Richard Griswold del Castillo and Arnoldo de León, *North To Aztlán: A History Of Mexican Americans In The United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996); F. Arturo Rosales, *Pobre Raza: Violence, Justice, And Mobilization Among Mexico Lindo Immigrations, 1900-1936* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1999); Juan R. Garcia, *Mexicans In The Midwest, 1900-1932* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1996); Jeffrey Marcos Garcilazo, "Traqueros: Mexican Railroad Workers In The United States 1870 to 1930," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1995). Tomas Almaguer, "Racial Domination And Class Conflict In Capitalist Agriculture: The Oxnard Sugar Beet Workers Strike Of 1903," in *Working People Of California*, ed. Cornford Daniel (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1995); Frank P. Barajas, "Work And Leisure In La Colonia: Class, Generation, And Interethnic Alliances Among Mexicanos In Oxnard, California, 1890-1945" (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2001).

24 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*.

25 Sharon R. Ennis, Merarys Ríos-Vargas, and Nora G. Albert, "The Hispanic Population: 2010," 2010 Census Briefs, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, May 2011).

26 Dennis Berge, "A Mexican Dilemma: The Mexico City Ayuntamiento and the Question of Loyalty, 1846-1848," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50 (1970): 229-256; Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 5th ed. (New York: Longman, 2004); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

27 Julius Pratt, "The Origin of Manifest Destiny," *American Historical Review* 32 (1927): 795-798; Julius Pratt, "John L. O'Sullivan and Manifest Destiny," *New York History* 14 (1933): 213-234; Carl Schurz, "Manifest Destiny," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 87 (Oct. 1893): 737-746.

28 Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*; Acuña, *Occupied America*; Laura Gomez, *Manifest Destines: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Monica Russell y Rodriguez, "Mexicanas and Mongrels: Policies of Hybridity, Gender and Nation in the US-Mexican War," *Latino Studies Journal* 11. no. 3 (Fall 2000): 49-73; Maria del Rodriguez Diaz, "Mexico's Vision Of Manifest Destiny During The 1847 War," *Journal Of Popular Culture* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 41-51.

29 Dinoicio Valdes, *Organized Agriculture And The Labor Movement Before the UFW* (Austin: University of Texas, Press, 2011).

30 Acuña, *Occupied America*; Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*; Antonia Castaneda, "The Political Economy Of Nineteenth Century Stereotypes of Californianas," Adelaida R Del Castillo ed., in *Between Borders: Essays On Mexicana/Chicana History* (Encino, Ca: Floricanto Press, 1990): 213-236; Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History Constructing Race: The Indian, Black And White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2001); Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People Of The United States* (New York: Praeger, 1948).

31 Valdes, *Organized Agriculture*, 2

32 McWilliams, *North From Mexico*; Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Marking of Texas*; Zaragosa Vargas, *Proletarians of the North: A History Of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit And The Midwest, 1917-1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Vicki Ruiz, *From Out Of The Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Labor And Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900-1950* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1994); Gilbert G. Gonzalez and Raul A. Fernandez, *A Century Of Chicano History: Empire, Nations, and Migration* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade Of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in The 1930s* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Dennis Valdes, *Barrios Nortenos: St Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2000); Beverly Trulio, "Anglo American Attitudes Toward New Mexican Women," *Journal of the West* 12 (1973): 229-239; Deena J. Gonzalez, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

33 Ibid.

34 Gonzalez, *Labor And Community*; Gonzalez and Fernandez, *A Century Of Chicano History*; Griswold del Castillo, Valdes, *Barrios Nortenos*; Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Mexican Consuls And Labor Organizing: Imperial Politics in the American Southwest* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1999); Devra Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton and the New Deal* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1994); Arnold De Leon, *Ethnicity In The Sunbelt: Mexican Americans In Houston* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001); Juan Gomez Quinones, *The Chicano Politics: Reality & Promise, 1940-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990); Matt Garcia, *A World Of Its Own: Race, Labor, And Citrus In The Making of Greater Los Angels, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2001); Mario T. Garcia, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans Of El Paso, 1880-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Juan Gomez Quinones, *Making Aztlan: Ideology and Culture of the Chicana and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), xix.

38 Pulido, *Black Brown Yellow & Left*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*; Acuna, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Victor Clark, "Mexican Labor in the United States," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, no. 8 (Washington, D.C. 1908); Mark Reisler, "Always The Laborer, Never the Citizen: Anglo Perceptions of the Mexican Immigrant during the 1920s," *Pacific Historical Review* 45 no. 2 (May 1976): 231-254. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, 1893; Wallace Thompson, *The People of Mexico: Who They Are and How They Live* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921); Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe: The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1963); Max Handman, "The Mexican Immigration in Texas," *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* 7 (1926): 33-41; Robert Foerster, "The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration From Latino American and the West Indies to the United States." *A Report Submitted to the Secretary of Labor* (Washington D.C. Government Printing Office, 1925); Emory S. Bogardus, *The Mexican in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1970); Wallace Thompson, *The Mexican Mind* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1922); Wallace Thompson, *Trading with Mexico* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1921).

42 Ibid.

43 Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero History* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964). Ernesto Galarza, *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970); Ernesto Galarza, *Farm Workers and Agri-Business in California, 1947-1960* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977).

44 Americo Paredes, *With a Pistol In His Hand: A Border Ballad And Its Hero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958); Julian Samora, *La Raza: Forgotten Americans* (Norte Dame, University of Norte

Dame Press, 1966); Carlos E. Cortes, *Gaúcho Politics in Brazil: The Politics of Rio Grande do Sul, 1930-1964* (Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 1974); Carlos Castaneda, *The Teachings of Don Juan; a Yaqui Way of Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Arthur Campa, *Los Comanches: A New Mexico Folk Drama* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942); Ramon Eduardo Ruiz, *The Mexican War: Was it manifest destiny?* (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963); Ralph C. Guzman, *The Political Socialization Of the Mexican American People* (New York: Arno Press, 1976); George I. Sanchez, *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940); Manuel P. Servin, ed., *An Awakened Minority: The Mexican Americans* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1970); Julian Nava, *Viva La Raza: Reading on the Mexican Americans* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1973).

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*.

48 Ibid.

49 Rodolfo, Acuna, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972).

50 Juan Gomez Quinones, "Toward A Perspective on Chicano History," *Aztlan* vol. 2. no. 2 (Fall 1971): 1-49.

51 Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*. Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!*.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Juan Gomez Quinones, "To Leave To Hope or Change: Propositions on Chicano Studies, 1974," in *Parameter of Institutional Change: Chicano Experience in Education* (Hayward: Southwest Network, 1974); Mario Barrera, Carlos Munoz, and Charles Ornelas, "The Barrio As An Internal Colony," *Urban Affairs Annual Review* 6 (1972): 465-498; Rodolfo Acuna, "On Chicano Studies," *La Raza Magazine* (Feb. 1973); Refugio I. Rochin "The Short And Turbulent Life Of Chicano Studies: A Preliminary Study Of Emerging Programs And Problems," *Social Science Quarterly*, 53, vol. 4): 217-238; Estevan Flores, "The Mexican-Origin People In the United States And Marxist Thought In Chicano Studies," Vol. 3, eds. Bertell, Olleman and Edward Vernoff (New York: Praeger, 1986).

55 Ibid.

56 Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*.

57 Rodolfo, Acuna, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 2nd Edition. New York: Harper and Row, 1981.

58 Mario T. Garcia, et al., eds. *History, Culture, and Society: Chicano Studies in the 1980s*. (Ypsilanti, Mich.: Bilingual Press, 1983); Tatcho Mindiola, and Emilio Zamora. *Chicano Discourse: Selected Conference Proceeding Of National Association For Chicano Studies*. (Houston: Mexican American Studies Program, 1992).

59 Eugene Garcia et al. eds. *Chicano Studies And Multidisciplinary Approach* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1984)

60 Renato Rosadlo, "Chicano Studies, 1970-1984." *Annual Review Of Anthropology* 14 (1985): 405-427.

61 Rosadlo, "Chicano Studies, 1970-1984", 419.

62 Ibid, 419.

63 Ibid : 419.

64 Carlos Munoz, "The Quest for Paradigm: The Development of Chicano Studies And Intellectuals." in *Latinos and Education: A Critical Reader*, eds. Antonia Darder et al. (New York: Routledge, 1997): 439-453; Carlos Munoz, "The Development of Chicano Studies 1968-1981," in *Chicano Studies And Multidisciplinary Approach*, eds. Eugene Garcia et al. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1984): 5-28.

65 Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

66 Ignacio M Garcia, *United We Win: The Rise And Fall Of La Raza Unida Party* Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, 1989.

67 Alma Garcia, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980" *Journal of Gender and Society*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (June 1989): 217-238.

68 Armando Navarro, *The Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde Of The Chicano Movement In Texas* (Austin: University Of Texas Press, 1995).

69 Armando Navarro, *The Cristal Experiment: A Chicano Struggle For Community Control* (Madison: University Of Wisconsin Press, 1998).

70 Armando Navarro, *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge To The U.S. Two Party Dictatorship*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000).

71 Refugio Rochin and Dionicio Valdes ed., *Voices of A New Chicano History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000).

72 Rodolfo Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side: Chicanos and the Myth of Equality* (Norte Dame: University of Norte Dame Press, 2008).

73 Acuna, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

74 Gilberto Garcia, "Beyond the Adelita Image Women Scholars in the National Association For Chicano Studies (NACS), 1972-1992," in *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies*, Volume 5, ed. Juan Garcia (Tucson: Mexican American Studies and Center University of Arizona, 1996), 35-61.

75 Teresa Cordova, "Anti-Colonial Chicana Feminism," *Journal of New Political Science*, Vol. 20 no. 4 (December 1998): 379-397.

76 Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown, Not White: School Integration*.

77 Ernesto Chavez, *My People First "¡Mi Raza Primero!": Nationalism, Identity, And Insurgency In The Chicano Movement In Los Angeles, 1966-1978* (Berkeley: University Of California Press, 2002).

78 Lorena Oropeza, *Raza sí!, Guerra no! : Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

79 Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*.

80 Michael Soldatenko "Empirics and Chicano Studies: The Formation of Empirical Chicano Studies, 1970-1975" *Latino Studies Journal* Vol. 10 no. 3 (Fall 1997): 67-97.

81 Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*.

82 Ibid.

83 Maylei Blackwell, *Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); David Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966-1981*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010); Marc Simon Rodriguez, *The Tejano Diaspora: Mexican Americanism and Ethnic Politics in Texas and Wisconsin* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Lee Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and Its Legacies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Gomez Quinones's and Vasquez's *Making Aztlán*; Brian D. Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Texas*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Lauren Araiza, *To March For Others The Black Freedom Struggle and the United States Farm Workers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Gordon K. Mantler, *Power to the Poor: Black-Brown Coalition & the Fight For Economic Justice, 1960-1974* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), Randy J. Ontiveros, *In the Spirit of a New People: The Cultural Politics of the Chicano Movement* (New York: New York

University Press, 2013); Felipe Hinojosa *Latino Mennonites: Civil Rights, Faith, and Evangelical Culture* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), Mario T. Garcia and Sal Castro, *Blowout! Sal Castro & the Chicano Struggle for Educational Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Darius V. Echeverría, *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968–1978* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014); Guadalupe San Miguel, *Chicana/o Struggles for Education: Activism in the Community* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013).

84 David Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions And The End of Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), ix.

85 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006; Antonia Darder, *Culture and Power in the Classroom: A Critical Foundation for Bicultural Education* (New York: Bergin & Garvey 1991); Edward Said, *Culture And Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993); Althusser, *On Ideology*; Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From The Prison Notebook*, trans. Quintin Hoare and Goffery Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishhart, 1971); Stuart Hall, *Representation Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications, 1997); Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1970).

86 Marx, Engels, Lenin, *The Essential Left: Four Classic Texts on the Principles of Socialism* (London: Unwin Book, 1961); Robert C. Tucker, ed. *The Marx-Engles Reader Second Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978); Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy Volume One* (New York: International Publishers, 1967).

87 Marx, Engels, Lenin, *The Essential Left*, 121.

88 Althusser, *On Ideology*.

89 Mao Tse Tung *Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung Volume 5* (Perking: Foreign Languages, Press, 1975): 308-311.

90 V.I Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers 1969).

- 91 Gramsci, *Selections From The Prison Notebook*.
- 92 Joan Wink, *Critical Pedagogy: Notes from the Real World* (New York: Longman, 2000), 53.
- 93 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched Of The Earth* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963); Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, 1965); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967); Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer And The Colonized*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965).
- 94 Fanon, *The Wretched Of The Earth*, 148.
- 95 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).
- 96 Hall, *Representation Cultural Representations*.
- 97 Ibid, 25.
- 98 Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National Development" *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Volume 1, Issue 4, (April 1965): 27-37; Robert Blauner "Internal Colonialism and the Ghetto Revolt," *Social Problems* 16 (1968): 395-408; Robert Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers 1972).
- 99 Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America*, 395.
- 100 E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Vintage, 1966).
- 101 Ibid, 10.
- 102 Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*.
- 103 Ibid, viii.
- 104 Darder, *Culture and Power*, 38.

105 Said, *Culture And Imperialism*.

106 Ibid, 9.

107 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Toward A Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso,1985) , 69.

108 Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*; George Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics* (Boston: MIT Press, 1972).

109 Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness*, 64

110 Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, 54.

111 Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Waltham: Academic Press, 1976); Andre Gunder Frank, *Latin America: underdevelopment or Revolution: Essays on the Development of Underdevelopment and the Immediate Enemy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969).

112 Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 13.

113 Ellen Meksin Wood, *Empire of Capital* (New York: Verso, 2003).

114 Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions*, xii.

115 Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999); Paul Blackledge, *Reflections on the Marxist Theory of History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2006).

116 Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 143.

117 Blackledge, *Reflections on the Marxist Theory of History*, ix.

CHAPTER ONE

THIRD WORLD RADICALISM: THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, 1968-1975

INTRODUCTION

In 1964, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) emerged at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB) over the lack of academic freedom and campus political expression.¹ By 1968, FSM inspired the emergence of radical and third world politics, including the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), which challenged the university administration, established an ethnic studies college and academic departments, and helped inspire the appearance of the Chicana/o Studies Movement (CSM) at UCB. Radical student Manuel Delgado stated, “we had raised the question of a Third World college last fall and [Chancellor] Heyns insisted that we would have to go through the traditional channel.”² For a five-year period, CSM participants struggled with the university leadership, and Chicana/o Studies was forced to become a program unit within an Ethnic Studies department.

Chapter One examines the UCB Chicana/o Studies Movement between 1968 and 1975. In its first section I contextualize how the Free Speech Movement (1964) and the Third World Liberation Front (1968-1969) set the stage for the advancement of Ethnic and Chicana/o Studies. The second section offers a historical examination of the Chicana/o Studies Movement and explains political conflicts between the university administration and their internal struggles. The final section examines the role of the *EI Grito* publication and how it impacted the development of the Chicana/o Studies

discipline. Finally, I examine how the culture of empire utilized neo-colonialists to destroy the radical student voice, and prevent the creation of an autonomous Chicana/o Studies Department.

UCB LEFTIST POLITICS AND THIRD WORLD RADICALISM

Activists and students of various ethnic backgrounds around the United States have formulated movements to challenge the academic-industrial complex and culture of the empire.³ In 1962, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) emerged at the University of Michigan and articulated the Port Huron Statement to proclaim a brand new radical and leftist ideology, which led to the birth of the 1960s New Left generation. Adherents included students and community radical social movement activists who developed anti-imperialist and third-world political perspectives.⁴ By 1964, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) had materialized to confront the anti-political expression and civil rights policy established by the administration on the UCB campus in 1934.⁵ By September of 1964, FSM leaders had organized a series of unsuccessful meetings and discussions with the university administration to seek a change in prohibitions on social engagement and student demonstrations on campus grounds.⁶ Administration hostility led to a massive campus uprising and Mario Savio became an iconic figure of this movement.⁷ In an attempt to halt student political assembly, Governor Edmund “Pat” Brown ordered the arrest of 800 demonstrators, but the repression failed to destroy the FSM momentum, and instead sparked a new wave of campus activism.⁸

Between 1965 and 1968, the FSM shifted from struggles over academic freedom to an anti-Vietnam War and counter hegemonic movement.⁹ New anti-imperialist collectives arose and UCB became a major center of political activity, thus, inspiring the appearance of local social movements across the nation.¹⁰ This political struggle was significant in challenging the culture of empire, but failed to address the concerns of various politically subordinated ethnic groups and the establishment of Ethnic Studies academic programs.¹¹ Why did the Free Speech Movement fail to address racial and ethnicity issues? Most FSM members came from privileged and middle class families and failed to understand radical viewpoints of the working class ethnic population.¹² This exclusion meant that distinct independent organizations and political coalitions were required which, by 1968, materialized into third-world student and radical movements.¹³

On the UCB campus, and throughout the world, 1968 was a critical year in political struggles against global capitalism.¹⁴ Most of the world was experiencing social unrest and people were establishing organizations to change contemporary societies.¹⁵ This included the appearance of massive student movements in Mexico and France, as well as revolutions around the world.¹⁶ In California, the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) appeared on the campuses of San Francisco State University and UC Berkeley.¹⁷ The appearance of third world politics in the U.S. stemmed from the historical exclusion of ethnic populations from the experiences of a quality education, compared to their Anglo- American counterparts.¹⁸ Sociologist, Fabio Rojas contended, “The Third World Strike of 1968-1969 stands out as one of the most memorable in American educational history,” because of the radical presence and consciousness between Chicana/o, African American, Native American, and Asian American activists.¹⁹

By late 1968, TWLF established multiethnic student alliances to challenge the academic-industrial complex and address the non-existence of Ethnic Studies programs.²⁰

The Third World Liberation Front incorporated the radical ideologies of the Anti-colonial and imperial struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which caused a paradigm shift among leftist and radical academics and intellectuals.²¹ The TWLF broadly accepted a world view based on the existence of three major blocs of nations conveniently depicted as the First World (the imperialist nation of the “West,” including Western Europe and several former British colonies including the United States, Canada, and Australia), the Second World (the Soviet bloc), and the Third World (formerly colonized nations of Asia, Africa, and the Americas, people of ethnically diverse backgrounds).²² Third World ideologies and radicalism changed the political directions of the Afro-American Student Union (AASU), the Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC), and the Asian American Political Alliance (AMPA).²³ On January 21, 1969, The Third World Liberation Front organized a general educational strike to showcase the lack of respect by the university administration toward political movements and made five critical demands.²⁴ These included the implementation of a Third World College, four independent Ethnic Studies departments, and the hiring of core faculty of similar ethnic backgrounds.²⁵ Furthermore, the TWLF demanded that no person or student organization should be punished for participation in the strike.²⁶

In response, the university administration increased the magnitude of police repression to disperse the TWLF strike.²⁷ On January 29, 1969, eight days after the start of the strike, campus and local police forces attempted to end the political

demonstrations, which occurred on Bancroft Avenue, Telegraph Avenue, and Sather Gate.²⁸ However, the police failed to disband the strike and in response the TWLF orchestrated a campus wide mega-march. In the days that followed, the university administration decided to lobby rightwing California Governor and UC Regents Board Member Ronald Reagan to assist in formulating solutions to neutralize the Third World campus movement.²⁹ Historically, Reagan consistently opposed radical and leftist movements and the legal right to protest. On February 27, Reagan, with the support of the university administration, declared a state of emergency by sending the National Guard to administer tear gas and to attack strikers at Sproul Plaza.³⁰ The police repression included 150 arrests and 38 student suspensions, and forced the TWLF to halt the strike for the rest of the spring semester.

The strike failed to achieve most of the five critical demands, but it did pressure the Academic Senate to vote 550 to 4 in support of establishing of an Ethnic Studies Department, in the hope of preventing future protests.³¹ However, the TWLF strikers opposed the clustering of Native American Studies, Asian American Studies, Black Studies, and Chicana/o Studies into an academic department.³² Most TWLF members realized this proposal would co-opt the autonomy of Ethnic Studies and the groups involved.³³ However the movement was significant in bringing in third-world leftist politics and developing an Ethnic Studies discourse into more widespread understanding across the nation.³⁴ By late 1969, internal differences and unclear organizational strategies led TWLF to split into four individual ethnic studies collectives. In the future, these new social movements would unite on the principle of developing an Ethnic Studies College to house their academic departments and research units. The

Free Speech Movement and The Third World Liberation Movement were an influential political training ground and structural base in the construction of the UCB Chicana/o Studies Movement.

THE UCB CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT

In the midst of the 50-day strike and Regan's crusade of political repression, the Chicana/o Studies Movement emerged to demand that the university administration establish an academic department and research division. Chicana/o Studies scholar Jorge Mariscal argued, "the late 1960s and early 1970s were marked by a series of radical projects that challenged the traditional educational system in California," and inspired the appearance of Chicana/o youth and student organizations.³⁵ During the mid-1960s, the Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC) formed a chapter at UC Berkeley and became the leading Chicana/o campus organization.³⁶ Between 1966 and 1968, MASC organized a series of meetings with the goal of formulating a special committee to design a Chicana/o Studies department and a Third-World curriculum proposal.³⁷ This effort led to a sequence of unsuccessful meetings with Charles J. Hitch and his cabinet members. By early 1968, MASC had become politically frustrated with Hitch and joined TWLF as major actors in the strike.³⁸

Before joining TWLF, MASC created three organizational committees to enhance its political struggle against the university administration. The first committee focused on developing a general strike with TWLF and attaining support within the student body. MASC also assembled a committee that designed a curriculum and a governance

structure, thus upgrading its academic proposal. The third committee aimed to consider and incorporate various perspectives from students, faculty, and community members within the decision making process. The ad-hoc committee structure was an attempt to create a united front between MASC members and supporters. In May of 1969, MASC terminated its association with TWLF due to its increased involvement in the Chicana/o Power Movement and the rise of cultural nationalism. Furthermore, the national Chicana/o Student Movement consolidated the participating groups into the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA).

June of 1969 marked the MASC merger into MEChA and the incorporation of a cultural nationalist ideology and governance. The new MEChA Berkeley chapter decided to spend most of the summer months refocusing its political and organizational framework for the next phase of direct action. By the fall of 1969, it had prepared to once again engage the university administration, in granting a Chicana/o Studies Department within an Ethnic Studies College.³⁹ This political shift marked the foundation of the UCB Chicana/o Studies Movement (CSM), which included student, faculty, staff, and community participants.⁴⁰ However, the UCB administration had a distinct perspective by agreeing to establish an Ethnic Studies Department under the leadership of Andrew Billingsley. CSM's focus was to attain an academic department, but Chancellor Heyes approved a Chicana/o Studies program under the university's organizational control. This action divided Chicana/o faculty and staff members into two political camps, and the university administration appointed Oswaldo Asturias as the first Chicana/o Studies program chair.⁴¹ CSM activists countered with a demand for an advisory board and the appointment of Professor Octavio I. Romano as chairperson.⁴²

Heyes conceded to the creation of an advisory board, with the stipulation that Asturias was to control the academic program. However, many Chicana/o student radicals and leftists continued to demand an independent Chicana/o Studies department. Claiming that their proposal was a compromise and an effective balance of interests in the campus general body, Heyes and Billingsley suggested the formation of an academic program, within an Ethnic Studies Department, in a traditional college.

In December of 1969, the university administration appointed a group of Chicana/o faculty and staff amenable to its interests, to a new advisory board.⁴³ Chicana/o Studies Movement adherents responded by creating a counter executive committee and their own curriculum proposal. After two more months of political protest Asturias was forced to resign, and the CSM preferred executive committee replaced the earlier advisory board. On March 12, 1970, the new executive committee selected Eduardo Hernandez Chavez to serve as interim program coordinator until a permanent director could be selected by the university administration and the CSM.⁴⁴ During the search process, well known Chicana/o scholars and professors Rodolfo Acuna, Ernesto Galarza, Ralph Guzman, and Julian Samora were contacted, but all declined to accept the CSM short-list invitation.⁴⁵ This pursuit of a permanent program chair failed to meet Chancellor Heyes deadline, and forced the re-appointment of Hernandez Chavez for the 1970-1971 academic year.⁴⁶

During the fall of 1970, the CSM and the executive committee continued to work on creating a program curriculum and structure.⁴⁷ However, internal differences led to the appearance of two program committees.⁴⁸ Committee one, composed of the radical members who demanded a Third World curriculum and college, and an enhanced

Chicana/o Studies Department with a multicultural student service center.⁴⁹ This Third World curriculum would offer lower and upper division courses that incorporated interdisciplinary and global paradigms, with sequences examining social institutions, as well as historical cultural expression, technological symbols and concepts.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the second curriculum committee, in opposition to the Third World and radical proposed, designed a counter-insurgency oriented proposal.⁵¹ This second curriculum would offer an interdisciplinary Bachelor of Arts Degree (BA) in Chicana/o Studies, an academic program within an Ethnic Studies department and student resource center.⁵² Chancellor Heyes secretly supported the second curriculum committee and worked to undermine the CSM and the Third World proposal. John Waterhouse and Hernandez Chavez were its architects, aimed at mainstreaming the Chicana/o Studies discipline to make it acceptable to the culture of the academy.

By the spring of 1971, the two curriculum committees held a series of political and debates and negotiations with the new Advisory Board.⁵³ Unfortunately for the Third World interests, the majority of the Advisory Board membership accepted the oppositional committee's perspective.⁵⁴ On February 18, 1971, the Council for Special Curricula of the Academic Senate approved the BA in Chicana/o Studies academic program proposal.⁵⁵ This ignited another cultural and class internal conflict between CSM and various Advisory Board members, and ultimately forced the resignation of Hernandez Chavez.⁵⁶ The Chancellor's office marginalized radicals and the student decision-making body and pressured the Advisory Board to select Jorge Acevedo as the new program coordinator.⁵⁷ But the debates between various oppositional faculty

and staff participants continued, leading to the disbandment of the Advisory Board, and forcing the administration to appoint Luz Hernandez as interim program coordinator.⁵⁸

On June 5, 1972, the faculty leadership had an informal sit down with Vice Chancellor John Henry Raleigh, to discuss the future of the Chicana/o Studies academic program.⁵⁹ After the meeting, pro-administration faculty and staff members established new policies to ensure the non-existence of student and leftist voices. But radical and student CSM members would continue their opposition to the university administration and its sympathetic faculty who fronted the Chicana/o Studies program. By 1975, the Chicana/o Studies Movement at Berkeley had largely collapsed into a memory of history and a forgotten voice of radical campus politics. A victorious, university administration clustered the four Ethnic Studies programs into a single academic department, and the dream of an autonomous Chicana/o Studies Department seemed improbable. Meanwhile, the interest at UCB in establishing a venue for Chicana/o Studies research had a distinct trajectory.

EL GRITO AND CHICANA/O STUDIES RESEARCH

Prior to the 1960s, Spanish language publications *El Clamor Publico* and *Regeneracion* emerged to challenge the culture of the empire.⁶⁰ Continuing with their influential legacy, Chicana/o Power Movement organizations had created newspapers and tabloid magazines to highlight their political work and struggles.⁶¹ To encourage Chicana/o Studies research and scholarship at UC Berkeley, Octavio I. Romano created *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican American Thought*. According to

Chicana/o Studies scholar Michael Soldatenko, “Chicano (a) intellectuals have to wage war against the “intellectual mercenaries,” to offer new scholarly perspectives on the Chicana/o population and their experiences.⁶² *El Grito* emerged in the midst of local campus activism and published the work of radical and leftist Chicana/o activists and intellectuals. In the fall of 1967, Romano and Nick Vaca edited the inaugural issue of *El Grito*, to formulate debates and challenge the traditionalist and nativist Social Science and Humanities paradigms.⁶³ Romano and Vaca utilized the opening issue to promote self-consciousness, highlighted by “Minorities, History, and the Cultural Mystique.” The article would set the intellectual and ideological discourse for subsequent *El Grito*’s publications.

From 1967 to 1975, Romano wrote some of *El Grito*’s most significant scholarly articles. He presented an academic and political dialogue on how Chicana/o Studies scholars should conduct their research and present their scholarly writing.⁶⁴ In the Winter 1968-1969 issue, his article “The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican Americans” investigated the importance of Chicana/o contributions in the development of American cultural and political production.⁶⁵ He followed up with, “Social Science, Objectivity, and Chicanos,” and “The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican Americans: The Distortion of Mexican-American History,” to argue that confrontationist philosophies and new rhetorical structures would encourage positive symbolic representations of the Chicana/o population and experience.⁶⁶ Romano’s articles emphasized that through Chicana/o Studies literature, the culture of the empire and capitalist production could be challenged and discredited.

Co-editor Nick Vaca also proved to be a major contributor to the creation of *El Grito*. In 1970, Vaca wrote an extended article entitled “The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences,” which contextualized the Chicana/o political and cultural experience within traditional Social Science disciplines.⁶⁷ He offered an ideological analysis on the meaning of the “The Mexican Problem,” and Anglo-American nativists’ scholarly and journalistic perceptions.⁶⁸ Vaca presented a new oppositional methodology and approach to demonstrate how Chicana/o Studies scholars should develop future research and academic scholarship. These articles answered the general question of why a Chicana/o Studies Movement and discipline had to emerge in the academy. During the lifetime of *El Grito*, Chicana/o scholars, professors, students, and community members had the opportunity to showcase their research and offered perspectives that created and broadened Chicana/o Studies scholarship. The creation of *El Grito*, led to the establishment of Quito Sol Publications, which published the early literary works by Chicana/o authors including Tomas Rivera and Rodolfo Anaya.⁶⁹

A major weakness of *El Grito* was that its editors published only a handful of articles by Chicana scholars and failed to address gender issues. Its foremost strengths included the publishing of articles that debated the culture of the empire and contemporary imperial politics. *El Grito* also inspired the origins of *Aztlan Journal*, *The Journal of Mexican American History*, and other Chicana/o Studies publications. The development of *El Grito* influenced the research scholarship of the UCB Chicana/o Studies Movement. By 1975, internal conflicts had hurt the production of *El Grito*, and led its disbandment, consistent with the decline of the curricular element of the struggle at Berkeley. Along with the clustering of all Ethnic Studies into a single academic

department, *El Grito* had become a historical memory of the first generation of the Chicana/o Studies Movement.

CONCLUSION

The UCB Chicana/o Studies Movement motivated a culture of activism and political unrest between 1969 and 1975. Internal differences contributed to the downfall of the struggles for academic departments and Third World Colleges nationwide. University administration capacities to create and exploit movements' internal conflicts provided them with the opportunity to control intellectual and political discourses. By clustering all ethnic studies programs, it could prevent third-world radical ideologies from gaining a more solid footing in a Third World College. The unfulfilled promises of a new college and individual Ethnic Studies academic departments influenced the growth and structure of this discipline and profoundly contributed to the decline of the participation by radical Chicana/o Studies Movement actors. Furthermore, *El Grito's* collapse became the second of the CSM'S defeats. Rodolfo Acuña emphasized, "Academe is a microcosm of society. It creates illusions of self-governance."⁷⁰ The case of Berkeley provided further historical evidence on how the culture of the empire challenged and changed the paradigms of the Chicana/o Studies discipline.

Meanwhile a distinct local Chicana/o Studies Movement appeared at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), under the banner of grassroots ethnic population radicalism.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

1 George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston: South End, 1987); Max Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?" *Radical History Review*, Vol. 82 (Winter 2002): 37-64; Robert L. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969); Carlos Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*. (New York: Verso, 1989); Michael Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*. (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2009).

2 Daryl Lembke, "Viewpoints at Odds in Aftermath of UC Strike: Chancellor Says It Ended in No Benefit but One of Its Leaders Insists Otherwise," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1969.

3 David Croteau, William Haynes, and Charlotte Ryan, eds., *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), ix-xviii; Jim Downs and Jennifer Manion, eds. *Taking Back The Academy!: History of Activism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-8.

4 Martin Klimke "Between Berlin and Berkeley, Frankfurt and San Francisco: The Student Movement of the 1960s in Transatlantic Perspective," in *Taking Back The Academy!: History of Activism*, eds. Jim Downs and Jennifer Manion (New York: Routledge, 2004), 35-56; Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?."

5 Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1997); Peter B. Levy, *The New Left and Labor In the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and The Politics of Solidarity* (Oakland: AK Press, 2006); Jeremy Varon, *Bring The War Home: The Weather Underground The Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao, and Che* (New York: Verso, 2006).

6 Robert Cohen and Reginald E. Zelnik, eds., *The Free Speech Movement Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); "The Principles Behind the

FSM Platform," Michael Rossman for the Steering Committee, Nov. 20, 1964, Steering Committee, 1964-1965, Box 3 Folder 14, Free Speech Movement Records, CU-309, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as FSM).

7 Cohen and Zelnik, eds., *The Free Speech Movement*; "The Principles Behind the FSM Platform," FSM.

8 "FSM Report on SLATE, 1959-1961" 1964, Work Committees, 1964-1965, Box 4 Folder 31, FSM; Cohen and Zelnik, eds., *The Free Speech Movement*; "Progress reports and Position statements 1964-65", Work Committees, 1964-1965, Box 3 Folder 20, FSM; *Mario Savio and the Radical Legacy of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties: The Education of An Activist, 1961-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); David Lance Goines, *The Free Speech Movement: Coming of Age in the 1960's* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 1993).

9 Ibid.

10 FSM, *Free Speech Movement Newsletter* (nos. [1]-V) 1964, Work Committees, 1964-1965, Box 3 Folder 29, FSM; Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*; Goines, *The Free Speech Movement*; Cohen, *Freedom's Orator*.

11 Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*.

12 Cynthia A. Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of A U.S. Third World Left* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*.

13 Ibid.

14 Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?"; Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air*; Varon, *Bring The War Home*; George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun: Lessons*

From the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975 (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Berger, *Outlaws of America*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*; Young, *Soul Power*; Ogbar, *Black Power*; Michael Soldatenko, "Mexican Student Movements In Los Angeles And Mexico City 1968." *Latino Studies*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (2003): 1-17; Ronald Fraser, ed., *1968: A Student Generation In Revolt* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1988); Seymour Martin Lipset and Philip G. Altbach, eds., *Students In Revolt* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969).

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Croteau, Haynes, Ryan, eds., *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship*; Downs and Manion, eds., *Taking Back The Academy*; Klimke "Between Berlin and Berkeley, Frankfurt and San Francisco; Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968"; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*; Soldatenko, "Mexican Student Movements In Los Angeles And Mexico City 1968"; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air*; Varon, *Bring The War Home*; Berger, *Outlaws of America*; Young, *Soul Power*; Ogbar, *Black Power*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*.

18 Young, *Soul Power*; Ogbar, *Black Power*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*; Soldatenko, "Mexican Student Movements In Los Angeles And Mexico City 1968."; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?."; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*; Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide*; Cleaver and Katsiaficas, eds., *Liberation, Imagination, And The Black Panther Party*; Daryl J. Maeda, *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Michael Liu, Kim Geron, and Tracy Lai, *The Snake Dance of Asian American Activism: Community, Vision, and Power*. (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008).

19 Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How A Radical Social Movement Became An Academic Discipline*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007): 45.

20 Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*; Young, *Soul Power*; Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?."; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*; Soldatenko, "Mexican Student Movements In Los Angeles And Mexico City 1968."; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Croteau, Haynes, Ryan, eds. *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship*; Downs and Manion, eds. *Taking Back The Academy*; Klimke "Between Berlin and Berkeley, Frankfurt and San Francisco".

21 Young, *Soul Power*; Ogbar, *Black Power*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*; Soldatenko, "Mexican Student Movements In Los Angeles And Mexico City 1968"; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Mark Chiang, *The Cultural Capital of Asian American Studies: Autonomy and Representation in the University* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*; Arnold Krupat, *Red Matters: Native American Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie, *Native American Studies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How A Radical Social Movement Became An Academic Discipline* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

22 Ibid.

23 Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, Carlos Munoz Collection, Chicano Studies Collection, Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as CMC); Black Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 26, Chicano Studies Program Records, 1961-1996, Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as CSPR); Black Studies Program, 1969-70, 1969 September, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 30, CSPR; Statements and Memoranda from the Office of the Chancellor, Roger W. Heyns and the Academic Senate 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 1-2, CSPR.

24 Strike Demands 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 3, CSPR; Demands and Background Materials, 1969 January, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 18, CSPR; Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC; History/Background 1968-1979, Introduction, History and Background 1969, Carton 1, Folder 23, CSPR; Strike Demands 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 3, CSPR.

25 Strike Demands 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 3, CSPR; Demands and Background Materials, 1969 January, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 18, CSPR; Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC; Introduction, History and Background 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 23, CSPR.

26 Ibid.

27 Introduction, History and Background 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 23, CSPR; Demands and Background Materials, 1969 January, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 18, CSPR; Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC; Black Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 26, CSPR; Black Studies Program, 1969-70, 1969 September, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 30, CSPR; *Third World Studies at Berkeley* by Andrew Billingsley undated, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 41, CSPR.

28 Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC; Demands and Background materials 1969 January, Carton 1, Folder 18, History/Background 1968-1979, CSPR; Negotiations 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 11, CSPR.

29 Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC; Negotiations 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 11, CSPR; Introduction, History and Background 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 23, CSPR; Student Conduct Committee Materials and Arrest Records 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 23, CSPR.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Negotiations 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 11, CSPR; Asian Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 25, CSPR; Native American Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 28, CSPR; Chicano Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 27, CSPR; Black Studies Program, 1969-70, 1969

September, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 30, CSPR; Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun*, 213.

36 Soldatenko, "Mexican Student Movements In Los Angeles And Mexico City 1968"; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Henry Joseph Gutierrez, "The Chicano Education Rights Movement And School Desegregation Los Angeles, 1962-1970," (Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Irvine, 1990); Dolores Bernal Delgado, "Chicana School Resistance And Grassroots Leadership: Providing An Alternative History Of The 1968 East Los Angeles Blowouts," (Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Los Angeles, 1997).

37 Negotiations 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 11, CSPR; Strike Demands 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 3, CSPR; Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC.

38 Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC), History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 6, CSPR; Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC; Negotiations 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 11, CSPR; Strike Demands 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 3, CSPR; Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC.

39 Third World Strike, Strike 1969, Box 30, CMC; Negotiations 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 11, CSPR; Introduction, History and Background 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 23, CSPR; *Third World Studies at Berkeley* by Andrew Billingsley undated, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 41, CSPR.

40 Ibid.

41 Chicano Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 27, CSPR; La Raza Studies, 1969-70, 1969 September, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 31, CSPR; History, Proposal, and Working Paper 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 46, CSPR; Raymond V. Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California, Berkeley: En Busca del Campus y la comunidad," (Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Berkeley, 1975).

42 Ibid.

43 Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California"; Chicano Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 27, CSPR.

44 La Raza Studies, 1969-70, 1969 September, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 31, CSPR; Chicano Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 27, CSPR; History, Proposal, and Working Paper 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 46, CSPR; Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California, Berkeley".

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 History, Proposal, and Working Paper 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 46, CSPR; Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California, Berkeley."; La Raza Studies, 1969-70 1969 September, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 31, CSPR; Chicano Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 27, CSPR.

48 Ibid.

49 Chicano Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 27, CSPR; Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California, Berkeley".

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 La Raza Studies, 1969-70 1969 September, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 31, CSPR; Chicano Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 27, CSPR; Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California, Berkeley".

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California, Berkeley".

56 Chicano Studies 1969, History/Background 1968-1979, Carton 1, Folder 27, CSPR; Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California".

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Acuña, *Occupied America*, 5th ed.; Bustillos, *Chicano Journalism*.

61 Ibid.

62 Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*, 22.

63 The fall 1967 inaugural issue of *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican American Thought*.

64 Richard A. García, "Creating a Consciousness, Memories and Expectations: The Burden of Octavio Romano," in *Chicano Discourse*, eds. Mindiola, Tatcho and Emilio Zamora (Houston, TX: National Association for Chicano Studies, 1992).

65 Octavio I. Romano- V., "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican Americans" *El Grito*, Vol. 2. no. 2 (Winter 1968-69): 32-46.

66 Octavio I. Romano- V., "Social Science, Objectivity, and the Chicanos" *El Grito*, Vol. 4 no.1 (Fall 1970): 4-16; Octavio I. Romano- V., "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican Americans: The Distortion of Mexican-American History," *El Grito*, Vol. 2. no.1 (Fall 1968): 13-26.

67 Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican-American In The Social Sciences: 1912-1970, Part 1: 1912-1935," *El Grito*. Vol. 3. no. 3 (Spring 1970): 3-24; Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican-American In The Social Sciences: 1912-1970, Part 2: 1936-1970," *El Grito*, Vol. 4. no. 1 (Fall 1970): 17-51.

68 Vaca, "The Mexican-American In The Social Sciences: 1912-1970, Part 1".

69 Tomas Rivera, *y no se lo tragó la tierra* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publication, 1971); Rudolfo Anaya, *Bless me, Ultima* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1972).

70 Acuna, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*, 75.

CHAPTER TWO

ETHNIC STUDENT RADICALISM: THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 1965-1980

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the late 1960s, the miniscule student population of Chicanas/os at major universities was highly marginalized by the culture of the empire.¹ This was the case at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), whose intent was not to increase the population of Chicana/o students on their campus or to advance knowledge pertaining to Chicanas/os, but to advocate for the advancement of their highly ranked football and basketball programs. Therefore, UCLA administration invested their efforts in acquiring the most skilled African American and Chicana/o athletes. In support of this argument, Juan Gomez Quinones observed, "At UCLA in the spring of 1967 there were perhaps sixty Mexican American students."² Similarly, Rodolfo Acuña emphasized, in *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe*, that the University of California (UC) system had historically excluded Chicanas/os from its student admission process.³ But enrollments did increase, and along with them a proliferation of ethnic student movements on university campuses in California. By 1968, the UCLA campus experienced the emergence of the Chicana/o Studies Movement (CSM). The aftermath of the 1965 Watts Riots in Los Angeles further influenced the formation of the local Chicana/o and Black Power Movements.⁴ The formation of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, Los Angeles Chapter (BBP), increased Black Power politics and ethnic student radicalism on the UCLA campus.⁵ Additionally, the 1968 East Los Angeles Walkouts were significant in the bursting forth of the Chicana/o Student Movement at

several Southern California universities and community colleges.⁶ There was also a cross-fertilization with the Third World radical student's general strike at San Francisco State University (SFSU) and the University of California, Berkeley (UCB).⁷ In Southern California, among the most prominent were the Third World student movements on the campuses of University of California, San Diego (UCSD), California State University Northridge, (CSUN), and California State University, Los Angeles (CSULA), all of which challenged the culture of empire.⁸

Chapter two contextualizes the UCLA Chicana/o Studies Movement between 1968 and 1980. It argues that third world and leftist ideologies made possible the establishment of the Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC). Section one examines the growth of ethnic student radicalism on the UCLA campus during the late 1960s. It focuses on how student activism compelled the university administration to establish the Institute of American Cultures (IAC) in response to massive political unrest. The second section explores how CSM activists participated in community grassroots organizing within the local Chicana/o Power Movements. Section three examines the foundation of CSRC, by demonstrating how the increase of Chicana/o student radicalism and activism enhanced the political orientation of this research center. The last section contextualizes the formation of the *Aztlan Journal* and its academic influence on the advancement of first generation Chicana/o Studies scholarship. It concludes that internal political conflicts and administrative neglect provided an excuse for the UCLA administration to dismantle the Chicana/o Studies academic program during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

ETHNIC STUDENT RADICALISM ON THE UCLA CAMPUS

During the 1960s, a major ideological paradigm shift occurred to challenge the culture of the empire and shift the U.S. popular political climate.⁹ Radicalism filled the air and activists in working class communities began organizing around burning social problems.¹⁰ Major contributing factors in this political shift included the U.S. imperialist military involvement in Vietnam and the intensification of right wing Cold War politics.¹¹ Furthermore, the growth of leftist radicalism compelled Civil Rights Movement participants to incorporate new organizational methodologies and ideologies.¹² This shift influenced the 1967-1968 Poor People's Campaign and March Against Poverty on the nation's capital.¹³ However, the assassination of Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., contributed to the decline of this social movement and the rise of cultural nationalism.¹⁴ By mid-1968, ethnic working class population communities had further radicalized their political strategies and established social organizations and collectives. Chicana/o, African American, Asian American, and Native American movements, became the social norm in promoting urban and community uprisings and political activism.¹⁵

The increase of ethnic radicalism impacted the subsequent organizational stage of the Chicana/o Student Movement.¹⁶ On March 5, 1968 more than ten thousand Chicana/o students from East Los Angeles, California, conducted a school walkout from five local high schools.¹⁷ This unprecedented activism became known as the 1968 East Los Angeles School Blowout and motivated similar actions cross the nation. In response, purveyors of the culture of empire adopted a counter-insurgency strategy targeting thirteen (13) Blowout organizers in retaliation.¹⁸

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPP) and the United Slaves Organization (US) also influenced these social and educational movements.¹⁹ In addition, the Black Panther Party Los Angeles Chapter and US had a critical role in formulating the UCLA African American Studies campaign.²⁰ By late 1968, a small percentage of the ethnic student population had established the UCLA Third World Alliance Movement (TWAM) to demand an Ethnic Studies College, academic departments, and funding for Ethnic Studies research.²¹

In 1969, the UC Board of Regents promoted Dr. Charles Young from Vice Chancellor of Administration to UCLA Chancellor.²² In theory Chancellor Young supported the concept of diversity and had liberal perspectives than most of his administrative colleagues.²³ Following his inauguration, TWAM conducted a series of discussion gatherings with Chancellor Young, which led to the implementation of the Institute of American Culture (IAC). IAC created the Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), the Asian American Studies Research Center (AASRC), the Center for Afro-American Studies (CAAS), and the American Indian Studies Research Center.²⁴ However, the creation of Ethnic Studies research centers and IAC were not sufficient to prevent further student and political activism in the coming decade.²⁵

Meanwhile, internal ideological conflicts arose between student members from US and the BPP over the future direction of the African American Studies department and research center.²⁶ BPP student activists advocated a Black revolutionary and class ideology, whereas the US fraction demanded cultural nationalist and Pan Africanist focus.²⁷ On January 17, 1969, their political conflict became violent as a shootout occurred during an African American Studies planning meeting at Campbell Hall.²⁸ This

was highlighted by the death of two BPP members, John Huggins and Bunchy Carter, and intensified the internal struggle between both political collectives.²⁹ It also compelled Black Student Union (BSU) actors to recommend the appointment of Acting Assistant Professor Robert Singleton as the first director of the Center for African American Studies (CAAS).³⁰ However, Singleton decided to hold separate conversations with the student leaders from the BPP and US before accepting this academic position.³¹

During the fall of 1969, the Department of Philosophy hired Angela Davis as an Assistant Professor of Philosophy expecting she would also assist in the development of CAAS and the African American Studies program.³² However, Governor Ronald Reagan rejected the hiring of Davis because of her membership in the Communist Party USA and the Black Panther Party, and pressured the University of California Board of Regents to block her professorship appointment.³³ Davis successfully appealed the decision and was allowed to teach her courses for the rest of the academic year.³⁴ The CAAS founding Advisory Board created a Defense Committee to save Davis's appointment.³⁵ Singleton and Hank McGee conducted a meeting with the UC Board of Regents in San Francisco, California to dispute Davis' dismissal.³⁶ However, Davis was unable to remain at UCLA. She was forced into hiding after being falsely charged with conspiracy for her affiliation with Black Panther Party members involved in the Marin County Courthouse incident. Eventually she was brought to trial and exonerated.³⁷ But the attack on the left had accomplished its purpose, and Ethnic Studies as well as mainstream departments were pressured not to hire radical and leftist professors, especially activists and the outspoken.

For most of the 1970s, the four UCLA Ethnic Studies Research Centers confronted lack of institution funding, misleading administration promises and internal political differences.³⁸ Conflicts between student activists, organizers, faculty and administrators delayed formulating academic programs and departments.³⁹ Despite his rhetorical support for the illusive concept of diversity, Chancellor Young had failed to provide institutional development funding, or leadership, on a bridge between the Third World Alliance Movement and the university administration.⁴⁰ Advocates for Chicana/o Studies, Asian American Studies, Native American Studies, and African American Studies struggled to establish stable academic programs.⁴¹ However, through the four research centers, they allowed Young and promising ethnic population researchers to publish their scholarly work that never had interested traditional academic journals.⁴² Furthermore, The Third World Alliance Movement influenced the appearance of the UCLA Chicana/o Studies Movement because it permitted increased Chicana/o student participation.

GRASSROOT ACTIVISM AND UCLA CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT

Grassroots activism at UCLA had both campus and local community roots. During the early 1960s, United Mexican American Students (UMAS) and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA) emerged on to the UCLA campus as the leading Chicana/o student organizations.⁴³ More significantly, the Los Angeles and Southern California Chicana/o working class communities have had a long history of student and political activism.⁴⁴

Many Chicana/o Studies Movement actors were involved in the Brown Berets, La Raza Unida Party (LRUP), National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC), and the Centro de Accion Social Autonomia-Hermandad de General de Trabajadores (CASA).⁴⁵ Even earlier, in the 1930s and 1940s, the Mexican American Movement (MAM) organized local Chicana/o youth and students.⁴⁶ Several local Chicana/o Power and Student Movement actors were former members of MAM. The formation of UMAS and MEChA influenced the UCLA Chicana/o Studies Movement, but the larger Chicana/o Power Movements beyond the ivory tower guided the political ideological framework and organizational direction.⁴⁷ As a result, CSM participants became involved in the Brown Berets, La Raza Unida Party (LRUP), the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC), and the Centro de Accion Social Autonomia-Hermandad de General de Trabajadores (CASA).⁴⁸

In 1967, the Brown Berets established their first chapter in East Los Angeles, with the general objective of serving as a community peace group to combat police brutality and create local community survival programs.⁴⁹ The Brown Berets were critical in supporting Chicana/o students because they provided leadership and organizational guidance.⁵⁰ In 1969 UCLA students Rosalio Munoz and Ramses Noriega, along with others, founded the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC) to protest the Vietnam War.⁵¹ The NCMC organized two major national antiwar community moratoriums, on February 28, 1970, and August 29, 1970.⁵² The August 29 gathering, became the largest and bloodiest Chicana/o Power Movement activity, as police attacked a peaceful crowd and murdered Los Angeles Times reporters, Ruben Salazar, Angel Diaz, and Brown Beret Lyn Ward.⁵³ Nevertheless, the community organizations

inspired the CSM to engage in a struggle with the university administration at UCLA, to attain an academic department.

In 1970, La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) was established as an independent political third party, to challenge the two-party system and to attain working class control in Chicana/o communities.⁵⁴ La Raza Unida Party established chapters in East Los Angeles, West Los Angeles, the City of Terrence, San Fernando, La Puente, and other Southern California locations.⁵⁵ Their efforts later made possible the running of candidates for elected public office.⁵⁶ LRUP also provided grassroots organizational training for UCLA Chicana/o students and activists.⁵⁷ The relationship at the local community level between LRUP and the CSM helped the struggle for a Chicana/o Studies department at UCLA. In 1968, Centro de Accion Social Autonoma-Hermandad (CASA HGT) de General de Trabajadores formed, addressing the important Mexican migration and immigration issues. It was the first organization of the Chicana/o Power Movement to link itself directly to political struggles on both sides of the U.S./Mexico border.⁵⁸ Most importantly, CASA created the symbolic slogans “Somos un Pueblo Sin Fronteras” (“We Are A People Without Borders and We Do Not Crossed the Border, the Border Crosses Us”), which became a cultural icon for the immigration rights movement.⁵⁹ In the early 1970s, CASA faced a major split among membership, based on organizational and ideological differences.⁶⁰ Some of the members preferred to focus exclusively on migrant advocacy work, while others sought to pursue a more radical Marxist collective.⁶¹ As a result, a number of UCLA Chicana/o Studies Movement actors took over the political framework of CASA.⁶² Furthermore, action by CASA leaders in pursuit of power, domination, and grassroots leadership had created irreparable

fractions within the CSM.⁶³ But, CASA politically influenced the struggle at UCLA for an academic department throughout the 1970s.

Participation by Chicana/o students in community grassroots activist movements, greatly contributed to their own organizational skills and outlook, and furthered the evolution of the Chicana/o Power Movement.⁶⁴ However, internal conflicts and unrealistic objectives within the community leadership weakened CSM campus organizing.⁶⁵ The CSM framework of combining community and campus, to balance the university and community demands, caused a high burnout rate among active participants.⁶⁶ Thus the different demands of CASA and the student collectives became a major factor in the decline of this social movement.⁶⁷ Yet, community engagement and activism were critical in the political and ideological advancement of the UCLA Chicana/o Studies Movement.

THE ORIGINS OF THE CHICANO STUDIES RESEARCH CENTER

In 1968, the United Mexican American Students and the Black Student Union formed a political alliance, to engage with the university administration in the creation and implementation of Ethnic Studies academic departments.⁶⁸ Three steering committees were formed to focus on politics, curriculum design, and research and publication.⁶⁹ On June 29, 1968, an all-day conference was held to further create a political ideology and practical strategies, to serve as a vehicle for the UCLA Ethnic Studies Movement.⁷⁰ Shortly, after this conference, Asian American and Native American radical students joined the alliance.⁷¹ In 1969, under Chancellor Young's

diversity initiatives, the Chicano Studies Research Center was established as an academic unit to promote and develop new research and publications of the Chicana/o population and their experiences.⁷² The newly formed CSRC recruited Chicana/o faculty and students to assist in the structuring of the Center's mission statement.⁷³ By the summer of 1970, CSRC founding members had adopted general objectives and learning outcomes to guide future projects and position papers.⁷⁴ In 1971, a major change to enhance the CSRC mission for the historical and cultural preservation of the Chicana/o working class community, led to the incorporation of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary methodologies and approaches.⁷⁵ It also created a venue for publications and public policy briefs in order to achieve this new research objective.⁷⁶

In its first five years, the Chicano Studies Research Center successfully established a scholarly journal, a research library, and organized conferences and panel discussions.⁷⁷ Chicana/o Power Movement activists and organizers including Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Jose Angel Gutierrez, Ernesto Galarza, Cesar Chavez, and Bert Corona, appeared and presented their viewpoints.⁷⁸ Between 1969 and 1974, the CSRC had a three-faculty member committee, and acting directors who administered the research center.⁷⁹ The leadership and decision making body was composed of faculty, plus undergraduate and graduate students.⁸⁰ Each group held a political and organizational perspective on the academic direction of CSRC.⁸¹ In 1974, Juan Gomez Quinones became the first permanent director, and with the CSRC leadership, he created a Chicana/o Studies academic program and department proposal supporting the CSM struggle with the university administration.⁸² In 1975, CSRC produced a five-year governance report on its growth and accomplishments, and the new objectives

focused on creating research publications and materials, curriculum development at the graduate and undergraduate levels, and support for Chicana/o Studies beyond of the UCLA campus.⁸³

In 1978, CSRC wrote a second annual report that highlighted a new set of objective and learning outcomes.⁸⁴ The changes made to the vision statement ultimately misrepresented the purpose and research agenda of the Chicana/o Studies Research Center.⁸⁵ This modification greatly affected the realization of a Chicana/o Studies Department and contributed to the decline of Chicana/o radicalism and leftist politics on the UCLA campus for the greater part of the twentieth century.⁸⁶ Consequently, the university administration would utilize this opportunity to modify the four Ethnic Studies research centers leadership by appointing oppositional and reactionary faculty and students in various positions.⁸⁷ Even though CSRC was able to make scholarly contributions to the first generation of Chicana/o Studies scholarship, CSM would regrettably fail to reach its full potential.⁸⁸

AZTLAN JOURNAL AND CSRC PUBLICATIONS

In 1969, CSRC and various CSM members established *Aztlan* Publications, which led to the birth of *Aztlan: Chicano Journal of Social Sciences and Arts*.⁸⁹ This publication became a beacon of Chicana/o Studies scholarship and non-scholarly articles. The editorship and leadership of Juan Gomez Quinones, Roberto Sifuentes, Reynaldo Macias, and others, influenced the first stage of production through the creation of core principles.⁹⁰ According to *Aztlan Journal* Mission Statement:

*“AZTLAN introduces a vital self-sustaining analytical and philosophical dialogue on issues involving Chicanos. Its stated objectives are (1) to encourage and support research in all areas of knowledge relevant to the Chicano community (2) to assist in developing programs and research focusing the unique resources of the University on problems of the Chicano community (3) to assist in developing new curriculum and bibliographical materials dealing with the culture, history and problems of the Chicanos (4) to actively engage in furthering the involvement of the University of California with the Chicano community”.*⁹¹

This editorial declaration argued that *Aztlan Journal* would provide philosophical and analytical perspectives of the Chicana/o population and their experiences. These general outcomes and objectives would allow first generational Chicana/o Studies scholars and activists to publish in a non-traditional environment. This mission statement would become the founding document and motivational drive for the majority of issues published in the early 1970s.⁹²

In the spring of 1970, the first issue of *Aztlan Journal* became a reality and impacted the growth of Chicana/o Studies scholarly literature. Fernando Penalosa’s “Toward an Operational Definition of the Mexican American” (1970), opened a new series in which various labels and stereotypes of the Chicana/o population and their experiences were defined and examined.⁹³ Meanwhile, Ronald W. Lopez in “The El Monte Berry Strike of 1933” (1970), argued that Chicanos/o had an organizational impact on the 1933 agricultural labor strikes. Both articles highlighted the new scholarship created by *Aztlan Journal* throughout the early developmental years. The next issues published three critical articles that showcased its mission. Carlos E. Cortes’s “CHICOP: A Response to the Challenge of Local Chicano History” (1970) examined the evolution of local and regional Chicana/o Studies historical literature.⁹⁴ The article became a primary example on how *Aztlan Journal* would publish future articles throughout the early 1970s. Carlos Munoz’s “Toward A Chicano Perspective of

Political Analysis,” was a second essential article in the fall 1970 issue.⁹⁵ He argued for a political and ideological voice as necessary for the Chicana/o Studies discipline within the academy. Lastly, Raymond A. Rocco’s “The Chicano In Concepts, Myths, and Images” (1970) impacted the general outcomes of this critical issue.⁹⁶ He developed a new ideology on cultural production and the concept of symbolic representations, and he would impact future *Aztlan Journal* articles. The Munoz and Rocco articles provided excellent contemporary anticolonialist and imperialist analysis on the Chicana/o experience. Ultimately, these initial publications set the foundational framework that would enhance and promote Chicana/o Studies scholarly and popular literature.

In the spring 1971 issue, another article provided an anti-imperialist and counter hegemonic perspective. Tomas Almaguer’s “Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism” (1971), argued that the internal colonial model was the most appropriate framework to contextualize the Chicana/o political and cultural experience.⁹⁷ Almaguer asserted that Robert Blauner’s work on the concept of internal colonialism influenced first-generation Chicana/o Studies scholars, and the intellectual and ideological development of early Chicana/o Studies internal-colony model. In the next issue published, Juan Gomez Quinones’s article, “Toward A Perspective on Chicano History” (1971), contextualized Chicana/o Studies historiography, and argued that conceptualizing the Chicana/o experience challenged the hegemonic perspectives of the culture of the empire.⁹⁸ This was the first historiographical essay published in *Aztlan Journal*.

The spring and fall 1974 issues exclusively focused on Chicana/o political and organizational engagement. Armando Navarro’s, “The Evolution of Chicano Politics” (1974), examined the historical development of Chicana/o politics in the culture of

empire from 1846 to 1972.⁹⁹ Navarro argued that the Chicana/o population experienced a political evolution of social change through four historical stages of civil engagement and radical resistance since 1848. Despite its length and lack of elaboration on the future of the Chicana/o participation in mainstream electoral politics, it was one of the first on politics, and motivated other first-generation Chicana/o Studies scholars to investigate the topic. Another pioneer article in this issue was Adalijiza Soza Riddel's, "Chicanas and El Movimiento" (1974), which contextualized the political and cultural responsibility of Chicana women in a social movement.¹⁰⁰ She suggested a solution to political divisions between males and females in the Chicana/o Power Movement. Critics focused on its lack of in-depth political analysis on Chicana women and gender issues.

My focus on these articles is not meant to dismiss other early scholarship in the two academic journals. However, my concern is the importance that these articles offered the superb counter hegemonic perspectives published in *Aztlan Journal*. By 1975, the termination of *El Grito Journal* allowed *Aztlan Journal* to become the premier Chicana/o Studies scholarly publication. Chicana/o Studies academic journals were limited in number due to the decline of activism and political radicalism. Despite the appearance of a handful of short-lived publications in the early 1970s, such as the *Journal of Mexican American History*, *Aztlan Journal* held a special place in early Chicana/o Studies scholarship.

CONCLUSION

In the late 1960s, ethnic people's community radicalism inspired the UCLA Chicana/o Studies and Ethnic Studies movements. Internal differences promoted by the university administration and struggles, thwarted the implementation of a Chicana/o Studies Department and restricted the autonomy of the governing structure and the intellectual and political discourse of the CSRC. Chancellor Young then utilized the establishment of Ethnic Studies research centers so as to prevent the CSM from establishing a Chicana/o Studies Department, which limited the autonomy and scope of Chicana/o Studies as an academic discipline. The CSM declined significantly within Chicana/o faculty, students, and community members in the coming decade. Additionally, the ideological and political shift of *Aztlán Journal* and the CSRC during the late 1970s further hindered the realization of a Chicana/o Studies Department. Yet, the development of Chicana/o Studies research model at UCLA would find more success than UC Berkeley's attempt to establish an independent research center. Specifically, UCLA's administration would attempt to cluster all of the Ethnic Studies academic programs and units into one single department, but in the end they would fail to gain the upper hand. The details of this struggle provided further evidence for how the bearers of the culture of the empire attacked the Chicana/o Studies Movement. Furthermore, throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, the state of California would face a recession and an economic budget crisis, which would allow Chancellor Young to impose a political disbandment on all of UCLA's Ethnic Studies academic programs and research units. Meanwhile, Chicana/o students, faculty, and community members would regroup and unite to stop this political crusade, and once again call for the creation of a

Chicana/o Studies Department. In 2005, after thirty-five years of political struggle, they forced the university administration to establish an academic department. The UCLA research model would further assist the advancement of Chicana/o Studies research and scholarly publications in the subsequent four decades.

As in Los Angeles, early community and student radicalism inspired struggles elsewhere, as will be seen with the Chicana/o Studies Movement in the Pacific Northwest that would take root at the University of Washington.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

1 Rodolfo F. Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In The Trenches of Academe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011); Juan Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement In Southern California, 1967-1977* (Santa Barbara: La Causa, 1977); Carlos Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement* (New York: Verso, 1989); Ernesto Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!* (San Diego: La Verdad Publications, 1992); Michael Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2009).

2 Juan Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California 1967-1977*. (Santa Barbara: Editorial La Causa, 1977) : 20.

3 Rodolfo Acuna, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011).

4 Judson J. Jeffries, ed., *Comrades; A Local History of the Black Panther Party* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Peniel E. Joseph, *Neighborhood Rebels: Black Power at the Local Level* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Curtis J. Austin, *Up Against the Wall: Violence in the Making and Unmaking of Black Panther Party* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2006); Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*.

5 Amy Abugo Ongirl, *Spectacular Blackness: The Cultural Politics of the Black Power Movement and the Search for A Black Aesthetic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, Press, 2010); Jeffries ed., *Comrades*; Joseph, *Neighborhood Rebels*; Austin, *Up Against the Wall*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Paul Alkedulan, *Survival Pending Revolution: The History of the Black Panther Party* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007); Youhura Williams and Jama Lazerow, eds., *Liberated Territory: Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

6 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*.

7 David Croteau, William Haynes, and Charlotte Ryan, eds., *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), ix-xviii; Jim Downs and Jennifer Manion, eds., *Taking Back The Academy!: History of Activism* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-8; Martin Klimke, "Between Berlin and Berkeley, Frankfurt and San Francisco: The Student Movement of the 1960s in Transatlantic Perspective," in *Taking Back The Academy!: History of Activism*, eds. Jim Downs and Jennifer Manion (New York: Routledge, 2004).

8 George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Croteau, Haynes, and Ryan, eds., *Rhyming Hope and History*; Downs and Manion, eds., *Taking Back The Academy!*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*.

9 Lorena Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Jeremy Varon, *Bring The War Home: The Weather Underground The Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*.; Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao, and Che* (New York: Verso, 2006); Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and The Politics of Solidarity* (Oakland: AK Press, 2006).

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 "The Port Huron Statement," in *"Takin' it to the Streets": A Sixties Reader*, eds. Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 61-74; Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air*; Berger, *Outlaws of America*; Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No!*; Varon, *Bring The War Home*.

13 Kathleen Cleaver and George N. Katsiaficas, *Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party: A New Look at the Panthers and Their Legacy* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981); Bobby Seale, *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* (New York: Random House, 1970); Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967); George Jackson, *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1970); Philip Sheldon Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970); Elaine Brown, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992); Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No!*; Varon, *Bring The War Home*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air*; Berger, *Outlaws of America*.

14 Ibid.

15 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Cleaver and Katsiaficas, eds., *Liberation, Imagination, And The Black Panther Party*; Carson, *In Struggle*; Seale, *Seize The Time*; Ture and Hamilton, *Black Power*; Jackson, *Soledad Brother*; Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak*; Brown, *A Taste Of Power*; Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No!*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*.

16 Ibid.

17 For further reading on the 1968 East Los Angeles Blowouts, see Michael Soldatenko, "Mexican Student Movements In Los Angeles And Mexico City 1968." *Latino Studies*, Vol. 1, no. 2 (2003): 1-17; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Henry Joseph Gutierrez, "The Chicano Education Rights Movement And School Desegregation Los Angeles, 1962-1970," (Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Irvine, 1990), 59-70; Dolores Bernal Delgado, "Chicana School Resistance And Grassroots Leadership: Providing An Alternative History Of The 1968 East Los Angeles Blowouts," (Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Los Angeles, 1997), 117-157; Ian F. Haney Lopez, *Racism On Trial: The Chicano Fight For Justice* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003): 90-95; Dolores Bernal Delgado, "Historical Struggles For Educational Equity: Setting The Context For Chicana/o Schooling Today," in *Charting New Terrains Of Chicana(o)/Latina(o) Education*, eds. Tejeda Carlos Martinez and Zeus Leonardo (New Jersey: Hampton Press Inc., 2000).

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Brown, *Fighting For US*; Jeffries, ed., *Comrades*; Joseph, *Neighborhood Rebels*; Austin, *Up Against the Wall*; Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

21 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files, bulk 1970s - 1980s, University of California, Los Angeles (hereafter cited as CSRC); Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC.

22 Ibid.

23 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC.

24 Ibid.

25 Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC.

26 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC.

27 Young, *Soul Power*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Amy Abugo Ongiri, *Spectacular Blackness The Cultural Politics of the Black Power Movement and the Search for a Black Aesthetic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010); Jeffries, ed., *Comrades*; Joseph, *Neighborhood Rebels*; Austin, *Up Against the*; Cleaver and Katsiaficas, eds., *Liberation, Imagination, And The Black Panther Party*; Carson, *In Struggle SNCC And The Black Awakening Of The 1960s*; Seale, *Seize The Time*; Ture and Hamilton, *Black Power*; Jackson, *Soledad Brother*; Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak*; Brown, *A Taste Of Power*; Brown, *Fighting For US*.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC; Brown, *Fighting For US*.

31 Ibid.

32 University Correspondence, Box 1 Folder 1, Angela Davis Academic Freedom Case & Trial and Defense Movement Records, Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, California (hereafter cited as AD).

33 Kenneth Reich, "UCLA Red Lays Ouster Proceeding to Racism: Black Teachers Says Stand for Liberation Made Regents Act," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 Sep 1969; Angela Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (New York: Random House, 1974); Disagreements/Red-baiting, Box 1 Folder 3, AD; University Correspondence, Box 1 Folder 1, AD.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Press Releases Put Out by Faculty of the UCLA Philosophy Department, Box 1 Folder 5, AD; University Correspondence, Box 1 Folder 1, AD; Disagreements/Red-baiting, Box 1 Folder 3, AD; Davis, *Angela Davis*.

38 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC; Brown, *Fighting For US*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Pulido, *Black Brown Yellow & Left*.

39 Ibid.

40 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC.

41 Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Pulido, *Black Brown Yellow & Left*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

42 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Pulido, *Black Brown Yellow & Left*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Ignacio Garcia, *United We Win: The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party* (Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, 1989); Armando Navarro, *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge to the U.S. Two Party Dictatorship* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000); Ernesto Chavez, *My People First! "Mi Raza Primero!" Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978* (Berkeley, California: The University of California Press, 2002); Jorge Garcia, "Forjando Ciudad: The Development Of A Chicano Political Community in East Los Angeles," (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Riverside, 1986). Jorge Garcia, interview by author, minidisc recording, Northridge, CA, 17 December 2003; David Rodriguez, interview by author, tape recording, Northridge, CA, 12 December 2003.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Chavez, *My People First!*; Pulido, *Black Brown Yellow & Left*.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement* (Los Angeles, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 1975); *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978* (Los Angeles, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 1978).

69 *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement* (Los Angeles, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 1975); *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978* (Los Angeles, UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 1978); Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development,

Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC.

70 *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement; Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978.*

71 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1978, Asian American Studies Center, The Five Year Plan, Projects/Proposals, Box 19, Folder 2, CSRC; *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement; Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978.*

72 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files n.d., Applied Humanities and Chicano Studies Program Proposal to the Chancellor's Committee on Instructional Development, Projects/Proposals, Box 13, Folder 4, CSRC; Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC; *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement; Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978.*

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

76 Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files 1973-1974, IAC Chicano Studies Research Grant, Projects/Proposals, Box 5, Folder 8, CSRC; *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement; Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978.*

77 Ibid.

78 *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement; Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978.*

79 *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement; Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978.*

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement.*

83. Ibid.

84 *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Annual Report, 1977-1978.*

85 Ibid.

86 Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Pulido, *Black Brown Yellow & Left*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 *Chicano Studies Documents, Chicano Studies Center: Growth and Development, 1969 to 1975: A Summary Statement.*

90 Ibid.

91 "Principles of *Aztlan Journal*" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no.1 (Fall 1970) : iv.

92 Ibid.

93 Fernando Penalosa, "Toward an Operational Definition of the Mexican American" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no.1 (Spring1970) : 1-12

94 Carlos E. Cortes, "CHICOP: A Response to the Challenge of Local Chicano History" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no. 2 (Fall 1970) : 1-14.

95 Carlos Munoz, "Toward A Chicano Perspective of Political Analysis" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no. 2 (Fall 1970) : 15-26.

96 Raymond A. Rocco, "*The Chicano In Concepts, Myths, and Images*" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no. 2 (Fall 1970) : 75-97.

97 Tomas Almaguer, "Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism," *Aztlan* vol. 2. no. 1 (Spring1971) : 7-21.

98 Juan Gomez Quinones, "Toward A Perspective on Chicano History," *Aztlan* vol. 2. no. 2 (Fall 1971) : 1-49.

99 Armando Navarro, "The Evolution of Chicano Politics," *Aztlan* 4 (1974), 57-84.

100 Adalijiza Sosa Riddel "Chicanas and El Movimiento," *Aztlan* 4 (1974), 155-165.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDENT RADICALISM AND ACTIVISM: THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, 1968-1980

INTRODUCTION

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Washington State became a major agricultural belt due to the advancement of technology as well as a new modern commercial and industrial farming structure.¹ In 1902, the construction of the irrigation system occurred in the areas of Yakima, Wenatchee, and Okanogan Valleys.² This new farming system required the use of European, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Mexican immigrant and working-class laborers.³ This inexpensive workforce was subject to repressed and harsh conditions by the growers.⁴ In response, farm workers union organizing emerged unsuccessfully in Washington State for most of the early twentieth century.⁵ In an attempt to prevent agricultural labor strikes and organizing, the United States government and the Washington State growers utilized the Bi-National Agreement of 1941 (Bracero Program) to recruit Mexican guest workers from Mexico.⁶ This guest worker program increased the Mexican population to the Pacific Northwest in record numbers, and created new working-class community settlements in Seattle, the Yakima Valley, Quincy, the Othello Region, and other locations in Washington State.⁷

With the increase in Mexican migration and immigration settlements, racism and class segregation simultaneously occurred by the hegemonic process.⁸ For instance, the Mexican population was labeled as a problem and threat to American popular cultural production and practices.⁹ In response to this nativism and subjectivism,

Mexicans established mutual aid societies and civil rights organizations.¹⁰ These social organizations combated the racism, and developed support networks to increase community activism and engagement within the Mexican population.¹¹ The Spanish American Club, the Latin American Association, Mexican American Federation, The Yakima Valley Council for Community Action, and other organizations were created to help highlight the social and economic problems and issues within communities.¹² The growth of Washington State Mexican American generation politics influenced the future development of social and community activism and radicalism in the late 1960s and 1970s.¹³

Throughout the late 1960s, the University of Washington (UW) was a major geographical center for the Chicana/o Studies Movement (CSM), influenced by the long presence of working-class radicalism throughout the Pacific Northwest.¹⁴ Several local Chicano Power Movements had emerged in the state of Washington, primarily in the Seattle metropolitan area and the Yakima Valley. In 1966, Yakima Valley students Tomas Villanueva and Guadalupe Gamboa conducted a series of meetings with the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) and labor organizer Cesar Chavez, to organize the farm workers movement locally. This led to the establishment of chapters of the Brown Berets in the Yakima Valley, Seattle, and other locations in the Pacific Northwest. By the early 1970s, Brown Berets Seattle chapter had reached 200 active members, who assisted in establishing the community and cultural center of El Centro de La Raza and the SeaMar Community Clinics. In the Yakima Valley, the Brown Berets collaborated with the United Farm Workers Union in developing La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) and the Yakima Farm Worker Clinic.¹⁵ In 1971, Chicana/o students and

community youth participated in the UFW Yakima Valley Hop Worker Strike and voluntarily ran electoral candidates for local and state public office under the La Raza Unida Party banner. The increase of local Chicana/o community radicalism and activism inspired the birth of the UW Chicana/o Studies Movement because of their involvement in both social movements.

Chapter Three examines the rise and decline of the University of Washington Chicana/o Studies Movement between the years of 1968 and 1980. It argues that the CSM emerged in part due to the growth of local Chicana/o community radicalism and activism throughout the Pacific Northwest. Section one investigates student activism and radicalism on the UW campus. The second section critically analyzes the political struggle and academic landscape of the CSM on the Seattle campus. Finally, I examine struggles that forced UW's Chicana/o Studies and other Ethnic Studies disciplines to merge into a single American Ethnic Studies Department.

STUDENT ACTIVISM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

In the 1960s, radical student movements had emerged on the University of Washington campus, which soon formed a local chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). This chapter organized middle-class Anglo American students to combat the Cold War Era politics of the UW administration and Board of Regents.¹⁶ Marches, sit-ins, educational forums, and other political activities marked a new culture of activism and leftist politics.¹⁷ It increased SDS membership, which established a working relationship with the Draft Resistance of Seattle to coordinate an Anti-Vietnam War educational campaign.¹⁸ The local radical social movements and Third World

movements had spread student activism, as well as resistance, popular throughout the state of Washington.¹⁹ The Black Power Movement organized on the UW campus to gain an academic space for the local African American working-class community.²⁰ This student radicalism expanded the ethnic student population and changed the campus climate.²¹

By 1968, the Afro-American Student Society (AASS), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Seattle chapter (SNCC), and the Black Panther Party, Seattle chapter (BBP) combined efforts to develop a Black Student Union (BSU) chapter.²² On May 6, 1968, the new BSU chapter sent a letter to University President Dr. Charles Odegaard, addressing their educational concerns, including the need to increase recruitment of ethnic population students, the development of an African American Studies curriculum, and the establishment of an Ethnic Studies Planning Committee.²³ Four days later, representatives from BSU met with President Odegaard, seeking to create and promote a peaceful solution.²⁴ However, they only reached a preliminary agreement, while Odegaard failed to address the future hiring of African American Studies and Ethnic Studies faculty, thus causing a need to hold future meetings to resolve this issue.²⁵

In subsequent sessions, Black Student Union members Nathan Ware and James Garrett met with university representatives from the Anthropology, Art, English, History, Music, Psychology, and Sociology Departments to discuss curriculum for the foundation of the African American Studies program.²⁶ On May 20, 1968, the BSU wrote another letter to President Odegaard demanding the allocation of fifty thousand dollars to implement the program, but their request was ignored.²⁷ In response, the following day,

BSU members took over President Odegaard's office suite, and more than one hundred fifty students occupied his administrative headquarters.²⁸ Sit-in organizers sought to pressure UW leadership to uphold the promises made and agreed upon during the May 6 meeting, and their efforts forced Odegaard to sign a new agreement with BSU.²⁹ However, the university administration used mainstream media to deny that the deciding factor for the change in UW's position was the direct result of the political action taken against the culture of the empire.³⁰ This event made President Odegaard address racial and class inequalities that had been ingrained on campus throughout the early twentieth century.³¹ As a result, political activism had increased the growth of the ethnic student population and the ideological development of Ethnic Studies academic programs at UW.³² BSU and radical activism also contributed to the unfolding of the University of Washington Chicana/o Studies Movement.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT

In the summer of 1968, BSU members traveled to the Yakima Valley to assist in the recruitment of twenty-five (25) Chicana/o students for the fall of 1968.³³ Most students arrived at UW with political and community organizational experience.³⁴ The Yakima Valley became the recruiting hub for most of the first wave of Chicana/o students who attended the University of Washington. On October 1, 1968, United Mexican American Students (UMAS) appeared on the University of Washington campus to challenge the traditional hegemonic academic complex and engage in a struggle for educational rights.³⁵ UMAS had successfully increased Chicana/o radical student activism and made UW's Chicana/o Studies Movement a political reality.³⁶ The spread

of the Chicana/o Power Movement throughout the state of Washington added to the expansion and experience of this student campus organization.³⁷ The organizing of the UFW grape boycott and the local farm workers union, further motivated the appearance of UMAS, many of whose members participated in the agricultural labor struggle.³⁸ By the end of 1968, UMAS made political alliances with several radical and ethnic student organizations, and together they established a united front between the Black Student Union and the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).³⁹ This new political alliance helped UMAS to organize a political and activist cultural environment.⁴⁰ The local Brown Berets chapter also assisted in developing a radical student grassroots organizational strategy for UMAS to utilize to engage the university administration.⁴¹

According to Gilberto Garcia, “Chicana/o students played an important role in leading the grape boycott through the work of UMAS.”⁴² In fact, UMAS formed a local United Farm Workers of America Grape Boycott and Committee on the UW campus and it utilized new radical and student alliances to publicize this grassroots crusade.⁴³ The boycott was initiated as part of a nationwide organizational effort by UFW to attain a labor contract for grape workers in Delano, California.⁴⁴ Most of the first wave of UW’s Chicana/o students had come from migrant families and had worked in the agricultural fields.⁴⁵ UMAS’ purpose for this political movement was to support the farm workers’ demands and encourage a growth in student and community activism.⁴⁶ For the remainder of that fall quarter, the boycott remained their major campus political activity.⁴⁷ On November 14, 1968, various campus members and students organized a four-day fast as an organizational strategy to promote the farm workers struggle.⁴⁸ This

hunger strike would lead to the grape boycott becoming a primary issue and a campus direct action for the coming year.⁴⁹

During the winter quarter of 1969, the UW Young Republicans (YR) politically attacked the grape boycott by hosting a series of campus events.⁵⁰ On January 10, 1969, the YR organized a political event in which three major Delano grape growers were invited onto campus to present their hegemonic viewpoints.⁵¹ In response, the boycott supporters organized a counter protest to challenge the Young Republicans ideology and perspective.⁵² Consequently, this became a new political struggle between YR and the local Grape Boycott Planning Committee (GBPC).⁵³ Twelve days later, the two groups went head-to-head at a special Husky Union Building (HUB) Advisory Board meeting to present their individualized views on the distribution of table grapes across UW.⁵⁴ This forced the Grape Boycott Planning Committee to organize a political campaign against the HUB and the university administration.⁵⁵ A few days later, GBPC conducted a hundred person picket line outside the HUB with the objective of introducing a campaign to boycott all of UW campus food services.⁵⁶ A HUB boycott coalition was then established among various radical student organizations to pressure the university leadership into resolving this critical issue.⁵⁷

The newly formed coalition prearranged daily political activities to increase the support of the student body.⁵⁸ On February 5, 1969, the Graduate and Professional Student Senate and Residence Hall Council officially joined the HUB boycott as major organizational members.⁵⁹ In the following days, the university administration conducted special meetings to offer a compromise to end the boycott.⁶⁰ On February 17, after a series of diplomatic talks, UW administration made a public announcement that

California's table grapes would not be sold in the HUB for the remainder of the growing season.⁶¹ The local UFW grape boycott campaign had influenced the ideological foundation of UMAS and had provided a radical testing ground for future campus political activities.⁶²

UMAS' first major direct action promoted a new organizational framework in the following years.⁶³ To begin, the UFW grape boycott campaign would politically empower Chicana/o student radicalism to force the University of Washington to become the first major university to discontinue the sale of all types of table grapes.⁶⁴ This political struggle catapulted UMAS into a leading radical organization on campus.⁶⁵ In the spring of 1969, the local Grape Boycott Planning Committee and UMAS decided to focus their efforts in the working-class communities of the Seattle metropolitan area, by organizing political protests outside local Safeway grocery stores and hosting community informational events.⁶⁶ The general purpose of shifting the grape boycott to the community-at-large was to pressure local and national businesses to stop the sale of table grapes and to support the California agricultural grape workers.⁶⁷ This shift also allowed UMAS to build a grassroots working-class political base beyond the university.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, UMAS continued to conduct a series of general membership meetings to implement a new political and practical structure, through a merger with Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA).⁶⁹ For the remainder of the spring quarter, MEChA de UW organized and participated in various events throughout the Yakima Valley, and La Escuelita project in Granger, Washington.⁷⁰ Also, this MEChA chapter sponsored a High School Student Conference in Toppenish, Washington, which focused on the recruitment of future Chicana/o students for the upcoming academic

year.⁷¹ Meanwhile on campus, MEChA de UW had organized a political educational action for the Crusade For Justice, chairman Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, and helped Eloy Apodaca become the first Chicana/o student elected to the Associated Students of University of Washington (ASUW) Board of Control.⁷² This new political identity shaped the UW Chicana/o Studies Movement.⁷³

MEChA de UW organizational development and work in the spring quarter of 1969 was essential in the ensuing political battle to attain a Chicana/o Studies Department.⁷⁴ By the summer of 1969, a Chicana/o Studies proposal was created and submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.⁷⁵ The proposal led to the establishment of a Chicana/o Studies Curriculum and Advisory Committee. This committee, along with CSM, created a ten-point platform that became the key arguing points for the increase in admissions of Chicana/o students as well as the full financial support of the Chicana/o Studies academic and student service program.⁷⁶ CSM and the Chicana/o Studies Curriculum and Advisory Committee spent most of the summer months developing organizational and practical steps in preparation of the anticipated Chicana/o Studies political struggle with the university administration.⁷⁷

In the fall of 1969, the UW Chicana/o Studies Movement entered a second stage of political and ideological transformation.⁷⁸ CSM developed a mission statement that stated:

“Chicano Studies cannot be meaningful if it is confined to the time and space of a university campus. Chicano Studies must address itself to the problems of the community (high rates of infant mortality, low levels of education, high drop-out rates in school, chronic unemployment and psychical violence). A general goal of Chicano studies is to produce community leaders and workers who are aware of and familiar with, community problems.”⁷⁹

This critical mission statement would become a major political factor in shifting the organizational focus from the grape boycott to the Chicana/o Studies Movement.⁸⁰ As a result, CSM spent the next two quarters struggling with the university administration in the quest to get an academic department proposal accepted and to attain faculty tenure-track lines.⁸¹

In order to build support, the CSM networked with various ethnic populations and radical student organizations outside their usual grassroots political base.⁸² This effort gained support from the BSU, SDS, and various student groups, to strengthen the struggle for the establishment of a Chicana/o Studies Department.⁸³ Equally, regional and national Chicana/o Power Movement organizations and networks were called upon as reinforcement in the political battle with the UW administration.⁸⁴ The extended outreach paid off in gathering letters and organizational solidarity beyond UW and Seattle.⁸⁵ With all of the campus, regional, and national pressure, the university leadership agreed to implement a Chicana/o Studies academic program and planning curriculum committee for the 1970-1971 academic year.⁸⁶ During the fall quarter of 1970, the Chicana/o Studies Curriculum and Advisory Committee faced new political challenges with the university administration.⁸⁷ On November 30, 1970, Antonio G. Cardenas sent a memo to all CSM members requesting a December emergency meeting at the residence of Tomas Ybarra Frausto.⁸⁸ The purpose of the assembly was to address the lack of respect from the UW administration and create new political and organizational strategies for the upcoming 1971 winter quarter.⁸⁹

Concurrently, the National Concilio of Chicana/o Studies conducted a meeting with CSM representatives to discuss the possibility of hosting a three-day national

conference at UW.⁹⁰ The outcome of this gathering led to the submission and acceptance of a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) grant, which provided funding for the June 23-25 1971, UW Chicana/o Studies National Conference.⁹¹ Their objective was to strengthen the Chicana/o Studies Movement across the nation and create a network of communication to develop a cooperative curriculum and organizational structure.⁹² Furthermore, this national conference would expand the drive to create a Chicana/o Studies Department.⁹³ Prior to the national conference, two different organizational strategies were utilized to demand the university administration fully fund and hire an academic program director.⁹⁴ Specifically, on February 23, 1971, a proposal was submitted to transform the Chicana/o Studies program into the *El Centro de Estudios Chicanos*, which was influenced by the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center's ideological model, and became a model in the development of this new proposal.⁹⁵ The *El Centro de Estudios Chicanos* mission statement argued that CSM should merge the various collectives into six areas.⁹⁶ The suggestion of the clustering of CSM's membership and committees enhanced their political argument. However, the university administration failed to acknowledge the new *El Centro de Estudios Chicanos* proposal.⁹⁷

The second part of the strategy was to exercise a radical grassroots approach by establishing MEChA de UW as the student wing to organize massive protests, events, and meetings in an effort to resolve this critical issue.⁹⁸ The activists spent the 1970-1971 academic year in struggles, without favorable results or outcomes.⁹⁹ As an effort to improve their organizational strategies, a series of meetings took place throughout the summer months.¹⁰⁰ Once the new academic year emerged, the University of

Washington admitted a new group of Chicana/o students.¹⁰¹ With this growth, they increased the demand for a Chicana/o Studies Center, which became the primary focus for all the CSM members.¹⁰² The 1971 fall quarter was mostly consumed with planning new political strategies to confront the university administration for the academic year.¹⁰³ Then, on March 1972, MEChA de UW conducted a public protest and moratorium to stress the pressing need to hire and recruit Chicana/o faculty.¹⁰⁴ The CSM spent most of the 1972 spring quarter working on a campaign to attain Chicana/o Studies faculty tenure-track lines.¹⁰⁵ By the end of the academic year, CSM's members became very irritated with the university administration's continual disrespect and lack of funding appropriation.¹⁰⁶

In the 1972 fall quarter, CSM created a Chicana/o Studies academic program status report in an effort to direct future organizational work.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile, UW's President's Advisory Committee on Cross-Disciplinary Studies and Vice Provost of Special Programs, Theresa Aragon de Shepro, developed a counter Ethnic Studies Center proposal.¹⁰⁸ In theory, the development of an Ethnic Studies Center might enhance this academic discipline, however it followed the common practice of cluttering all ethnic studies programs into a single department to weakened them all, as was the case at the University of California, Berkeley.¹⁰⁹ The administration proposal undermined CSM political autonomy and forced the continuation of the head-to-head conflict with the university's leadership, oppositional faculty, and staff supporters for the next two years.¹¹⁰

During the 1973-1974 academic year, one joint Chicana/o Studies and Political Science tenure-track faculty line was granted by the administration.¹¹¹ After conducting

a nationwide search, the selection committee decided to hire Dr. Carlos Munoz as the first full-time Chicana/o Studies faculty member. However, the UW administration rejected Munoz because of his radical political history and lack of published scholarship in established academic journals.¹¹² This led to a mass demonstration and sit-in on May 13, 1974 at the office of Dr. George Beckmann, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.¹¹³ Beckmann promised to appoint a Chicana/o associate dean to develop an academic program, which would have become the first program academic tenured-faculty professorship.¹¹⁴ However, he quickly broke his promise and forced a change in CSM's political direction for the 1974-1975 academic year.¹¹⁵

Meanwhile, critical race legal scholar Richard Delgado was denied an appointment as Assistant Professor at the UW School of Law.¹¹⁶ However, in response to political pressure from the CSM, the law school faculty reversed its earlier denial.¹¹⁷ In the meantime Delgado accepted a position at Santa Clara University Law School and declined the UW offer.¹¹⁸ A second major political battle would take place over Dean Beckmann's false promises.¹¹⁹ Previously, the dean had rejected four qualified Chicana/o applicants from a general faculty hiring short list.¹²⁰ On April 29, 1975, eight Chicana/o Studies staff and students met with Beckmann to discuss the selection process for the Associate Dean.¹²¹ The meeting proved to be unsuccessful as Beckmann claimed that CSM's radical tactics jeopardized his well-being.¹²² As a direct result, Beckmann attempted to dismantle the ever-growing Chicana/o Studies Movement on campus.¹²³

On April 30, 1975, President John Hogness issued a personal statement directing all UW students and employees to cease the interrupting of all university

courses, gatherings, and administrative meetings.¹²⁴ The following day, the UW student newspaper, *The Daily* published Hogness's political statement. In response to the president's disposition, five hundred copies of *The Daily* were collected and burned in a campus garbage bin, as a show of protest.¹²⁵ On May 2nd, Beckmann vowed to resign his current position if President Hogness failed to provide any campus police or political support.¹²⁶ Four days later, the university administration fired Chicana/o Studies Director Genaro Padilla and staff member Juan Sanchez, along with suspended staff member Rosa Morales, for their participation in the April 29 meeting at Dean Beckmann's office.¹²⁷ As a result, on May 7th, twenty-one (21) Chicana/o Studies faculty and staff resigned in solidarity to protest this administration attack.¹²⁸

In response, MEChA de UW and CSM held a press conference to publicly proclaim a two-day Support Chicana/o Studies walkout of all courses for the following week.¹²⁹ On May 8th, eight additional Chicana/o Studies staff members resigned to show their political support.¹³⁰ A few days later, various CSM members met with President Hogness to seek a peaceful solution, but failed to prevent further radical political protests against the university administration.¹³¹ On May 13th, a boycott took place with two thousand people marching through UW's campus, highlighted by a rally at the administration building.¹³² After fifteen days of mass protest, President Hogness decided to resolve the issue by rehiring Padilla, reversing the Morales suspension, and promising future academic and student service funding.¹³³ However, Hogness refused to reappoint Sanchez because of his actions during the boycott.¹³⁴ On June 2nd, MEChA de UW and CSM accepted President Hogness's settlement and returned to their positions.¹³⁵

During the late 1970s, a political shift took place on the UW campus due to the decline of radical and leftist politics and a decrease in activism and mass actions.¹³⁶ CSM and MEChA de UW faced a major transformation in their political ideology and organizational direction.¹³⁷ They had fewer radical members as many Chicana/o students started to relocate or move onto different issues.¹³⁸ However, two major Chicana/o Studies political battles emerged in 1978 when MEChA de UW organized a mass sit-in at the Chicano Division of the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) office to protest the re-organization of its program.¹³⁹ The second occurred on May 21, 1980, when twenty (20) Asian American and Chicana/o EOP students organized a sit-in to demand the resignation of EOP Vice President Herman Lujan and to prevent the university administration from dismantling this student service program.¹⁴⁰ However, their efforts failed due to the lack of political support and student activism.¹⁴¹ By the early 1980s, UW's Chicana/o Studies program was forced to become part of the new American Ethnic Studies Department. This reduced the autonomy of the Chicana/o Studies Movement and prevented their goal of obtaining an academic department.¹⁴²

CONCLUSION

During the Chicano Power Movement, community and student radicalism would guide the direction of UW's Chicana/o Studies Movement. Internal differences and struggles inhibited the development of a Chicana/o Studies Center and academic program. The university administration took advantage of latent political differences to prevent the realization of a Chicana/o Studies Department. University bureaucrats would utilize the clustering concept to merge all ethnic studies disciplines into a single

academic unit. Misleading assurances for funding of tenure-track faculty lines blocked the expansion and organizational structure of CSM. The UW Chicana/o Studies Movement had failed and would lead to a major decline of campus and local political activism in the subsequent three decades. The ideological and political shift on UW's campus in the late 1970s was the main factor in not making a Chicana/o Studies Department a reality. The details of this local social movement have demonstrated how university administrations, politically and ideologically, controlled the direction of the Chicana/o Studies discipline. Nonetheless, this political struggle motivated and inspired other Chicana/o Studies Movements across the nation.

The next battle of the Chicana/o Studies Movement that I will examine appeared on the campus of California State University, Northridge. As mass political action rocked the campus, this local social movement would be deeply influenced by the first generation of Chicana/o Movement political actors.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

1 Agricultural and Immigration Washington State Bureau of Statistics, *Agricultural, Manufacturing And Commerical Resources And Capabilities Of Washington 1903* (Olympia: G. Hicks, State Printer; First edition, 2010); Mark Fiege and William Cronon, *Irrigated Eden: The Making Of An Agricultural Landscape in the American West*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); Hermry Charles Taylor, *A Farm Economist In Washington 1919-1925*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Tony Zaragoza, *Apple Capital: Growers, Labor, and Technology in The Origin and Development of the Washington State Apple Industry, 1890-1930*. Unpublished Dissertation, (Pullman, Washington State University, 2008).

2 Ibid.

3 Zaragoza, *Apple Capital: Growers, Labor, and Technology in The Origin and Development of the Washington State Apple Industry, 1890-1930*; Jerry Garcia and Gilberto Garcia eds., *Memory, Community, And Activism: Mexican And Labor in the Pacific Northwest*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2005); Carlos Maldonado and Gilberto Garcia eds. *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest* (Dubuque: Kendall Hunt, 1995); Greg Hall, *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905-1930*. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001); Gilberto Garcia and Jerry Garcia eds. *The Illusion Of Borders: The National Presence Of Mexicanos in the United States*. (Dubuque: Kendall Hunt, 2001).

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Zaragoza, *Apple Capital: Growers, Labor, and Technology in The Origin and Development of the Washington State Apple Industry, 1890-1930*; Garcia and Garcia eds., *Memory, Community, And Activism: Mexican And Labor in the Pacific Northwest*; Maldonado and Gilberto Garcia eds. *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*; Garcia and Garcia eds. *The Illusion Of Borders: The National Presence Of Mexicanos in the United States*.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Garcia and Garcia eds., *Memory, Community, And Activism: Mexican And Labor in the Pacific Northwest*; Maldonado and Gilberto Garcia eds. *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*; Garcia and Garcia eds. *The Illusion Of Borders: The National Presence Of Mexicanos in the United States*.

13 Ibid.

14 Gilberto Garcia, "Past, Present and Future Directions: Chicana/o Studies Research in the Pacific Northwest" in *Memory, Community and Activism: Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest*, eds. Jerry Garcia and Gilberto Garcia (East Lansing, MI: JSRI Books, 2005), 309-321; Rodolfo Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011); Dianne Louise Walker, *The University of Washington Establishment And the Black Student Union Sit-in of 1968*, Master Thesis (University of Washington, 1980); Walt Crowley, *Rites of Passage: A Memoir Of the Sixties in Seattle* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1996); Yolanda Alaniza and Megan Cornish, *Viva La Raza: A History of Chicano Identity & Resistance* (Seattle: Red Letter Press, 2008).

15 Ibid.

16 Jessie Kindig, "Student Activism at UW, 1948-1970," *Antiwar and Radical History Project – Pacific Northwest*, http://depts.washington.edu/antiwar/vietnam_student.shtml (accessed Dec 2013); Crowley, *Rites of Passage*; Garcia, "Past, Past, and Future Direction"; Alaniza and Cornish, *Viva La Raza*; Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1997); Peter B. Levy, *The New Left and Labor In the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and*

The Politics of Solidarity (Oakland: AK Press, 2006); Jeremy Varon, Bring The War Home: The Weather Underground The Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Max Elbaum, Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao, and Che (New York: Verso, 2006).

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Acuña, The Making of Chicana/o Studies; Walker, The University of Washington Establishment And the Black Student Union Sit-in of 1968; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza; Crowley, Rites of Passage; Garcia, "Past, Past, and Future Directions".

20 Lane Smith "Black Community Power Will End Abuses, Says Carmichael," Seattle Times 20 Apr 1967; Quintard Taylor, The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era (Seattle: University of Washington, Press, 1994); Kurt Schaefer, "The Black Panther Party in Seattle, 1968-1970," Seattle Civil and Labor Rights Project, http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/Panthers1_schaefer.htm (accessed Dec 2013).

21 Marc Robinson, "The Early History Of The UW Black Student Union," Seattle Civil and Labor Rights Project, http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/BSU_beginnings.htm (accessed Dec 2013); Walker, The University of Washington Establishment And the Black Student Union Sit-in of 1968; Taylor, The Forging of a Black Community.

22 Robinson, "The Early History Of The UW Black Student Union"; Schaefer, "The Black Panther Party in Seattle, 1968-1970".

23 Robinson, "The Early History Of The UW Black Student Union"; Walker, The University of Washington Establishment And the Black Student Union Sit-in of 1968.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Robinson, "The Early History Of The UW Black Student Union".

27 Ibid.

28 Walker, The University of Washington Establishment And the Black Student Union Sit-in of 1968; Robinson, "The Early History Of The UW Black Student Union".

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Robinson, "The Early History Of The UW Black Student".

32 Ibid.

33 MEChA, 1970-1981, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto Papers, Accession No. 4339-001, University of Washington Libraries (hereafter cited as TYFP); Casteneda, "The Chicano Movement in Washington State, 1967-2006, Part 1; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions"; Garcia and Garcia, eds., Memory, Community, And Activism; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza.

34 Ibid.

35 Oscar Rosales Casteneda, "The Chicano Movement in Washington State, 1967-2006, Part 1 - Political Activism," Seattle Civil and Labor Rights Project, http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/Chicanomovement_part1.htm (accessed Dec 2013); Garcia, "Past, Past, and Future Direction"; Jerry García and Gilberto García, eds., Memory, Community and Activism: Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest (East Lansing, MI: JSRI Books, 2005); Carlos S. Maldonado and Gilberto García, eds., The Chicano Experience in the Northwest (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co, 1995); Gilberto García and Jerry García, eds., The Illusion of Borders: The National Presence of Mexicanos in the United States (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Pub, 2002); Jesus Lemos, "A History of the Chicano Political Involvement and the Organizational Efforts of the United Farm Workers Union in the Yakima Valley, Washington," (Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 1974); Jeremy Simer, "La Raza Comes To Campus: The New Chicano Contingent

and the Grape Boycott at the University of Washington, 1968-69,” Seattle Civil and Labor Rights Project, http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/la_raza2.htm (accessed Dec 2013); Gilberto Garcia, “Organizational Activity and Political Empowerment: Chicano Politics in the Pacific Northwest,” in *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*, eds. Carlos S. Maldonado and Gilberto García (Dubuque, IA.: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1995), 75-80; Alaniza and Cornish, *Viva La Raza*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Casteneda, “The Chicano Movement in Washington State, 1967-2006, Part 1”; Garcia, “Past, Present, and Future Directions”; Garcia and Garcia, eds., *Memory, Community, And Activism*; Maldonado and Garcia, eds., *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*; Garcia and Garcia, eds., *The Illusion Of Borders*.

40 UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP.

41 Garcia, “Past, Present, and Future Directions”; Garcia and Garcia, eds., *Memory, Community, And Activism*; Maldonado and Garcia, eds., *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*; Garcia and Garcia, eds., *The Illusion Of Borders*; Casteneda, “The Chicano Movement in Washington State, 1967-2006, Part 1”.

42 Garcia, “Past, Past, and Future Direction: Chicana/o Studies Research In the Pacific Northwest” : 311.

43 Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 13, TYFP; UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP.

44 Ibid.

45 Simer, "La Raza Comes To Campus"; Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder, TYFP.

46 UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP; Simer, "La Raza Comes To Campus"; Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder, TYFP.

47 Ibid.

48 Simer, "La Raza Comes To Campus"; Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder, TYFP.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 13, TYFP.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 13, TYFP; Simer, "La Raza Comes To Campus".

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 13, TYFP.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 UMAS - United Mexican American Students , 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP.

64 Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 13, TYFP.

65 UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP.

66 Grape Boycott, 1969-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 13, TYFP; UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza; MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP; UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Mexican-American Studies Committee 1968-1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 2, TYFP; Plan for Chicano Studies Department, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 10, TYFP.

76 UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP; Mexican-American Studies Committee 1968-1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 2, TYFP; Plan for Chicano Studies Department, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 10, TYFP.

77 Ibid.

78 UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza.

79 Estudios Chicano, 1969, Speeches and Writings, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 11, TYFP.

80 Estudios Chicano, 1969, Speeches and Writings, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 11, TYFP; UMAS - United Mexican American Students, 1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 7, Folder 28, TYFP; Mexican-American Studies Committee 1968-1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 2, TYFP; Plan for Chicano Studies Department, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 10, TYFP.

81 MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 Mexican-American Studies Committee 1968-1969, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 2, TYFP; Plan for Chicano Studies Department, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 10, TYFP; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions".

85 Ibid.

86 Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto Papers Files, bulk 1968-1988, Collection Number: 19.25.4339, University Library Special Collection, University of Washington, and Seattle, Washington.

87 Ibid.

88 Antonio C. Cardenas Memo, November 5, 1970, Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP.

89 Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP.

90 Three 3-Day Institutes In Mexican American Studies Programs To Be Held During 1970/1971, Conferences and Conventions, 1970-1980, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 4, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto Papers Files, bulk 1968-1988, Collection Number: 19.25.4339, University Library Special Collection, University of Washington, and Seattle, Washington.

91 Three 3-Day Institutes In Mexican American Studies Programs To Be Held During 1970/1971, Conferences and Conventions, 1970-1980, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 4, TYFP.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP.

95 A Proposal for Centro De Estudios Chicanos, Proposal, 1971-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 8, TYFP.

96 A Proposal for Centro De Estudios Chicanos, Proposal , 1971-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 8, TYFP.

97 A Proposal for Centro De Estudios Chicanos, Proposal , 1971-1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 8, TYFP.

98 Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions"; MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP.

99 Ibid.

100 Three 3-Day Institutes In Mexican American Studies Programs To Be Held During 1970/1971, Conferences and Conventions, 1970-1980, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 4, TYFP; MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP; Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP; Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions".

104 Minority Staff, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 3, TYFP; Plan for Chicano Studies Department, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 10, TYFP; Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP.

105 MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP; Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions".

106 Ibid.

107 Ibid.

108 Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP; Incoming Letters, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 4, TYFP.

109 Proposal For Ethnic Studies Research Institute, January 25, 1973, Incoming Letters, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 4, TYFP.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP; Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions"; Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP.

113 Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP; MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP; Chicano Studies Committee 1970-1974, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, TYFP; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions".

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.

116 Ricardo Delgado, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 8, TYFP.

117 Ibid.

118 Ibid.

119 Chicano Student Division Annual Report, Reports, 1972-1980, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 5, TYFP.

120 Ibid.

121 Ibid.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid.

124 Chicano Student Division Annual Report, Reports, 1972-1980, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 8, Folder 5, TYFP; Alaniza and Cornish, Viva La Raza; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions".

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid.

129 Confrontations Between Chicanos and the University, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 6, TYFP; Spring Conflict, 1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 6, TYFP.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

133 Spring Conflict, 1975, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 6, TYFP; Confrontations Between Chicanos and the University, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 9, Folder 6, TYFP.

134 Ibid.

135 Ibid.

136 Lauro H. Flores, "Thirty Years of Chicano and Chicana Studies," in *Color-Line To Borderlands: The Matrix of American Ethnic Studies*, ed. Johnnella E. Butler (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Alaniza and Cornish, *Viva La Raza*; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions".

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid.

139 MEChA, Personal and Professional Papers, Box 10, Folder 1, TYFP.; Alaniza and Cornish, *Viva La Raza*; Garcia, "Past, Present, and Future Directions".

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid.

142 Flores, "Thirty Years of Chicano and Chicana Studies".

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL ACTIVISM: THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE, 1968-1975

INTRODUCTION

By 1975, the Chicana/o Studies Department (CSD) at California State University, Northridge (CSUN) became a major geographical center for the Chicana/o Studies Movement (CSM) at the national level.¹ According to Rodolfo Acuña, “Today, California State University, Northridge (CSUN), is the largest Chicana/o Studies department in the United States, offering 166 sections per semester.”² How did this occur? How did it begin? During the 1960s, San Fernando Valley State College (SFVSC), now known as California State University, Northridge, had admitted a small number of ethnic population students who impacted the origins of a local ethnic studies movement.³ Prior to the CSD foundation, Chicana/o students made up less than one percent of the student body within the California State University (CSU) system.⁴ This was due to class and education segregation, which would force the ethnic working-class population to attend underprivileged schools, and to be placed into segregated classrooms and excluded from attending a higher education institution.⁵ In response, the Ethnic Studies and Chicana/o Studies social movements materialized in the CSU system to struggle for political autonomy and educational rights.⁶ By 1968, ethnic population students began addressing major concerns to SFVSC administration through involvement in campus-wide gatherings, popular protests, and teach-ins.⁷ This new environmental landscape matured and intensified student radicalism and activism, thus motivating the appearance of CSUN’s Chicana/o Studies Movement.⁸

Chapter Four contextualizes political activism and the making of a massive Chicana/o Studies Movement on the campus of California State University, Northridge in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In it I argue that popular resistance and social radicalism would force the administration to accede to the formation of a Chicana/o Studies Department. Section one investigates the origins of campus activism and mass action by focusing on the local Ethnic Studies Movement and CSM. The second section examines the first stage of CSD's political and academic organizational development between 1970 and 1975. Finally, I interpret how CSD became the largest Ethnic Studies Department in the United States.

POLITICAL ACTIVISM AT SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE COLLEGE

The late 1960s marked the peak of a movement of international revolution and mass protest, which would impact U.S and global politics.⁹ With the origins of the New Left and social radicalism in the United States, a new chapter of cultural activism emerged nationally and on the San Fernando Valley State College campus.¹⁰ In the counter-hegemonic movements that filled the air in 1968, individuals and organizations would engage in civil disobedience and popular resistance around the world.¹¹ The happy days and apple pie ideologies of the 1950s became a historical memory, as the baby boomer population challenged its own middle-class privilege and cultural whiteness.¹² Student movements appeared at major universities, with student uprisings occurring from coast to coast.¹³ In Northern California, activism peaked at the University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco State University. In Southern California, grassroots and leftist social movements were particularly noteworthy at the University of

California, Los Angeles; California State University, Los Angeles; University of California, Santa Barbara; and University of California, San Diego.¹⁴

In 1966, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) established a chapter at SFVSC, to organize campus and local area protests against the Vietnam War.¹⁵ In November 1966, the SDS conducted an anti-war rally at the Van Nuys Air National Guard Base, where members were arrested for their participation and the distribution of unauthorized political literature.¹⁶ Following the arrests at this anti-war protest, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) began to appear regularly at campus and local political events.¹⁷ However, the LAPD failed to curtail campus political protest or eliminate organizational radicalism.¹⁸ By the spring of 1967 the SFVSC Faculty Senate urged the university administration to stop utilizing the LAPD.¹⁹ Because of the pressure, the SFVSC police department was denied authority to arrest and target student organizations or individuals for their participation in peaceful campus protests.²⁰

On January 15, 1967, two thousand five hundred CSU system faculty members attended a political rally at SFVSC, aimed at protesting Governor Ronald Reagan's proposal of increasing student tuition and cutting the state college system budget by ten percent.²¹ Reagan was a major enforcer in disbanding student political unrests and demonstrations, employing police, sheriffs, and the California National Guard, and establishing policies to suppress the first Amendment rights of radical and leftist politics.²² The state repression failed to halt mass political activities, which became a successful student practical strategy . to enhance mass critical awareness.²³ Militant-organizational approaches and methodologies were used to promote a new social movement. In the fall of 1967, SFVSU students formed a Black Student Union (BSU)

chapter with the general purpose of increasing the ethnic student population and establishing an Ethnic Studies Movement.²⁴ BSU would then spend a year developing an organizational structure and a strong political ideology, while cultivating social alliances with various radical and ethnic population campus and community organizations.²⁵

For the 1968 fall semester, SFVSC admitted two hundred twenty-four ethnic population students under the new state college system's Educational Opportunity Program (EOP).²⁶ The EOP aided activists in the formulation of a new organizational stage, an educational master plan and structure for SFVSC's Ethnic Studies Movement.²⁷ Meanwhile, Dr. Ralph Prator resigned as President of SFVSC due to his increasing annoyance with ongoing student activism and political tensions on campus.²⁸ In the month after Prator's resignation, political conflicts intensified when SDC invited Mark Rudd, a student activist at Columbia University known for the "Days of Rage," to present his political views at a public lecturer on campus.²⁹ SFVSC administration considered Rudd a major campus-security concern due to his personal involvement in the mass political demonstration and administration-building takeover at Columbia.³⁰ A few days prior to Rudd's presentation, the *Daily Sundial*, in an attempt to develop a negative hegemonic perception of the instructional system, printed an image of a police officer dressed in riot gear leading the student body.³¹ Rudd's speaking event motivated various SFVSC student movement organizations to continue engaging in political activism and to push for the creation of a non-credit experimental course on "Marxism, Leninism, and Revolution," offered by student organizer Cliff Fried.³²

On October 17, 1968, a class uprising occurred at a freshman football game when three Cal Poly San Luis Obispo football players and two African American SFVSC team members exchanged words after the game.³³ This was the first time that ethnic population athletes had experienced classism on a sport field.³⁴ As a result, the BSU and the Ethnic Studies Movement demanded a meeting with the university administration to address this incident, but administrators denied the request.³⁵ In frustration, a massive protest was organized, and over two hundred students inundated the administration building.³⁶ Additionally, more than six hundred students gathered outside of the building to support the twelve-point platform of demands, which included the establishment of ethnic studies academic departments, the hiring of new ethnic population faculty, and the recruitment of future minority students.³⁷ To prevent the expansion of this political movement, the university administration called in two hundred fifty campus and local police officers.³⁸ After hours of student protesting, interim President Dr. Paul Blomgren tentatively agreed to the twelve-point platform demands.³⁹ However, in the days following the protest, Blomgren refused to honor the agreement and the Associated Students Senate passed a resolution to invalidate the BSU's charter.⁴⁰ University officials responded by filling felony and misdemeanor charges against nineteen students for their participation in the occupation of the administration building; however these charges would be overturned by the appeals process.⁴¹ By the end of the 1968-1969 academic year, the SFVSC administration would commit to upholding eight of the twelve-point demands.⁴² Thus, at SFVSU the Pan-African American Studies Department and Chicana/o Studies Department were born,

accompanied by the hiring of Rodolfo Acuña as the first Full Professor and chairperson of the Chicana/o Studies Department.⁴³

CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT AT SAN FERNANDO VALLEY STATE

During the late 1960s, the United Mexican American Students (UMAS), later becoming Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MECHA), emerged on the CSUN campus to challenge the hegemonic academic complex and culture of the empire.⁴⁴ The local Chicana/o Power Movement was instrumental in the foundation of SFVSC's Chicana/o Studies Movement.⁴⁵ The UFW grape boycott, the 1968 East Los Angeles Blowouts, and the 1969 National Chicana/o Youth Liberation Conference further increased Chicana/o radical and leftist student and faculty awareness and activism.⁴⁶ According to SFVSC's model: "Chicano studies are different. The area came about because of student activism."⁴⁷ In CSMs early developmental stage, its members sought to enhance the social awareness of the Chicana/o working-class student in the classroom and community at large and adopted a student-centered pedagogy.⁴⁸ The political ideological framework was informed by Marxism, class-consciousness, and cultural and revolutionary nationalism, which influenced the curriculum and infrastructure expansion of the SFVSU Chicana/o Studies social movement.⁴⁹ This instructional and participatory political process would become the primary factor in building a strong Chicana/o Studies Department with political swagger and class organizational focus.⁵⁰

By late 1968, a Chicana/o Studies Department Advisory Committee (CSDAC) was established by CSM and MEChA de SFVSC leadership.⁵¹ On January 27, 1969, CSDAC conducted its first meeting as an organizational collective, elected Everto “Beto” Ruiz as its first chairperson, and recommended the hiring of Acuña as department chair at the rank of Full Professor.⁵² The establishment of this Chicana/o Studies Department would become one of CSM most notable achievements.⁵³ To finalize Acuña’s appointment a CSM membership meeting was held on February 5, 1969, where he would accept the faculty position, and lead a discussion on developing a strong Chicana/o Studies curriculum.⁵⁴ Additionally, at the meeting, Mike Moutez, Julian Nava, Warren Furumoto, Martha Sanchez, and Frank Lechuga were appointed to CSDAC, and a subcommittee was established to examine the current recruitment and educational attainment process.⁵⁵ On April 23, 1969 the Advisory Committee changed its name to the Chicana/o Studies Affairs Committee (CSAC), appointed Irene Tovar as Director of the Chicana/o Studies Community Center, and hired Rafael Perez as a full-time tenure-track core faculty member.⁵⁶ Furthermore, it was decided that a conference would be organized to examine the goals and problems of several Chicana/o Studies programs.⁵⁷

In May 1969, CSAC compiled a list of faculty for potential appointments and created a summer academic and student service program.⁵⁸ On June 9th, Gerald Resendez and Carlos Arce were appointed as full-time core faculty members, Warren Furumoto became an affiliate faculty member, and Bert Corona and Aminta Lara were hired as adjunct lecturers.⁵⁹ The second part of the meeting contextualized the new Chicana/o Studies Department’s academic and student service summer program, which

was established to enhance the basic writing and critical thinking skills of incoming and returning Chicana/o students.⁶⁰ The summer program offered three credit core courses that focused on Chicana/o culture, literature and communication skills.⁶¹ These core courses served as the Chicana/o Studies curriculum model for the upcoming fall semester.⁶² In the late summer of 1969, Jose Hernandez and James Dennis were hired to expand the founding core faculty.⁶³ The addition of these faculty members and the increase of Chicana/o students transformed CSAC and CSM into fully-functioning academic departments.⁶⁴

By the end of 1969, the Chicana/o Studies Affairs Committee finalized the internal and praxis processes and expanded its membership.⁶⁵ On November 19, 1969, Guadalupe Ramirez, Susan Morales, Jose Galvan, Jose Luis Vargas, Luz Gallegos, Victor Alvarez, Molly Zapata, and Arturo Sais were appointed as new student and community members.⁶⁶ CSAC adopted new bylaws and officers, and appointed Jose DeAnda as special assistant to the President to aid in further expanding the CSD.⁶⁷ This new governance structure enhanced CSM political and practical strategies because it centralized the decision making process.⁶⁸ At the final CSAC meeting of the year, on November 26th, Vargas became the vice chairman and “Beto” Ruiz was appointed as general secretary.⁶⁹ Based on his years of secondary school teaching, Acuña would go on to suggest the need to offer Chicana/o students additional remedial courses to support classroom developmental skills.⁷⁰ It was decided that a subcommittee would examine this suggestion and assess students’ skills levels at the beginning of the 1970 spring semester.⁷¹ The meeting ended with an agreement to design a future Community/Barrio Studies program and center.⁷² CSAC had a triumphant year after

successfully establishing an infrastructure and formulating a curriculum.⁷³ It had fifty-four (54) Chicana/o Studies courses and had hired a faculty collective to transform the CSM into a Chicana/o Studies Department.⁷⁴

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHICANA/O STUDES DEPARTMENT

The Chicana/o Studies Department experienced a cultural and political transformation as a result of the second stage of political battles with the university administration.⁷⁵ In the summer of 1969, President James Cleary approved the first phase of the interdisciplinary curriculum proposal.⁷⁶ The first core curriculum included ten lower division and forty-five upper division courses, which focused on Chicana/o cultural production, history, social issues, education, the arts, and other specialized topics.⁷⁷ By the end of the 1969 fall semester, a new segment of political unrest encounters would arise with the university administration regarding the process of curriculum development and funding.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, the Chicana/o Studies Department core faculty members and CSAC had started to create a Master of Arts program, with the intended goal of increasing the attainment of graduate and doctoral degrees by Chicana/o students.⁷⁹ Feliciano Rivera, a faculty member from the Mexican American Studies Program at San Jose State College consulted and assisted CSD on the design of the academic program.⁸⁰ This new graduate program offered students thirty units of seminar courses on the U.S. Chicana/o experience, and interdisciplinary methodologies and approaches, to fully comprehend the diverse populations of their communities.⁸¹ The educational establishment of this Masters Degree program was fundamental to the

future foundation of Chicana/o Studies and Ethnic Studies doctoral programs that would emerge over the next three decades.⁸²

During the early 1970s, CSAC incorporated a student and community voice within the decision making process. In order to make this participation a political reality, a revision occurred in CSAC's bylaws and constitutional structure.⁸³ The development of a Chicana/o Studies Barrio Center and Studies Program enhanced local Chicana/o community participation.⁸⁴ After the political foundation of this barrio center, CSAC and CSD struggled to attain a student space, which was named the Chicano House.⁸⁵ In May of 1970, an Anglo American fraternity burned down the first Chicano House.⁸⁶ . A series of community and campus meetings were organized to address the issue and help bail out the arrested Chicana/o students.⁸⁷ On the campus front, the university administration fully investigated the origins of this racial attack and provided CSD with a new location to reconstruct their community center.⁸⁸ The Chicano House episode made racial and class tensions a key issue on campus, as CSM leaders won a clean victory over an entrenched symbol of campus racism: the Anglo fraternity, whose act was not brushed off as prank, but exposed as a life threatening, racist hate crime.⁸⁹

In the following years after the establishment of CSD, a massive Chicana/o cultural movement materialized at SFVSC.⁹⁰ Chicana/o students developed a visual art collective to organize art shows and produce symbolic representations, which documented the local Chicana/o Power Movements.⁹¹ Also, Teatro Aztlán and traditional Mexican and Chicana/o music collectives were established to promote Chicana/o political and cultural expression within a drama and performing arts

environment.⁹² The utilization of the arts and visual culture was a critical strategy, used by CSD, to recruit and retain Chicana/o students.⁹³

In its early years, the CSD adopted community activism and organizing methods to guide the development of its core curriculum and political direction.⁹⁴ Furthermore, various Chicana/o students and faculty members would become major actors in the local Chicana/o Power Movements.⁹⁵ In summer 1970, they participated in organizing the August 29 Chicano Moratorium March against the Vietnam War, which took place in the working-class community of East Los Angeles.⁹⁶ Several months after this historical gathering, faculty member Raul Ruiz ran for a State Assembly seat in the City of Terrance, as a La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) candidate.⁹⁷ Additionally, the MEChA de SFVSC political committee decided to establish an LRUP chapter in the San Fernando Valley.⁹⁸ In early 1972, SFVSC Chicana/o students Richard Corona and Jess Margarito ran for San Fernando city council under the LRUP political banner and confronted the Anglo American political monopoly.⁹⁹ For a decade, CSD students and faculty associates participated in the development of the LRUP San Fernando chapter.¹⁰⁰ In 1974, during the proposed East Los Angeles incorporated campaign, faculty members Jorge Garcia and Raul Ruiz ran on in the LRUP's political slate.¹⁰¹ Faculty and student participation in LRUP ultimately made a strong impression on local grassroots and radical politics.¹⁰²

In the first generation of the CSD, MEChA de SFVSC had a major function in the decision making process, as its members participated in CSAC and the Faculty Hiring and Promotion Committee.¹⁰³ This MEChA chapter contributed to the local Chicana/o Power Movements and organized campus political activities that publicized CSD's

battles with the university administration.¹⁰⁴ It promoted cultural and political pride, through teach-ins and informational sessions that heightened awareness among general membership and attracted new MEChA members.¹⁰⁵ MEChA de SFVSC also, balanced the governance and decision making process of the CSAC.¹⁰⁶ In 1972, the administration changed the name of the institution to California State University, Northridge as the state of California transformed its educational college model from the liberal arts college, to the four-year teaching university, a paradigm shift in its mission and vision.¹⁰⁷ This new status required CSUN's administration to upgrade the academic and student affairs guidelines, and hiring and tenure procedures for full-time tenure-track faculty.¹⁰⁸ It required academic departments and programs to hire faculty with terminal degrees from major universities.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, CSUN's Chicana/o Studies Department had to change its hiring process and forced current faculty to obtain doctoral or terminal degrees.¹¹⁰ By 1975, CSD had fifteen full-time tenure-track faculty and more than 10 part time lecturers.¹¹¹ The increase in full-time tenure-track lines was achieved from political sacrifices made by Chicana/o students, support from an organized and involved community, and the capacity of Chicana/o Studies faculty to unite and limit crippling divisions.¹¹²

The early 1970s political encounters between CSD and the university administration increased.¹¹³ Initially, the CSUN's administration would attempt to prevent the growth of CSD's faculty and funding growth by refusing to support the academic department.¹¹⁴ In response, CSAC and MEChA de CSUN conducted a series of meetings with the university administration, which included strategic mass sit-ins and protests.¹¹⁵ This grassroots and political radicalism was successful against the culture of

empire, because of a successful strategy of confrontation and the collective wisdom of the CSM at Northridge.¹¹⁶ The sequence of political encounters resulted in the largest Chicana/o Studies Department in the United States.¹¹⁷ The successes of this early stage of Chicana/o Studies inspired the discipline of Chicana/o Studies for future decades.¹¹⁸

CONCLUSION

Through the late 1960s and early 1970s, student political activism assisted in successfully establishing CSUN's Chicana/o Studies Department. Students and their allies created a Chicana/o Studies Movement to challenge the university administration and compel it to establish independent ethnic studies academic departments. University administrators at CSUN adopted authoritarian tactics and policies to restrict the efforts of students who demanded a CSD. However, in 1969 politically informed students, supported by staff, faculty, and the community members, would overcome the opposition, and the department became a reality. By 1975, core department courses were incorporated into CSUN's general education curriculum and university structure, permitting expansion of the department and inclusion of Chicana/o Studies into the education of thousands of CSUN students. The Chicana/o Studies Movements at these universities, while most successful at CSUN, influenced a generation of Chicana/o students, faculty, and community members throughout the nation to demand an educational space.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

1 Rodolfo Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011); Juan Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement In Southern California, 1967-1977* (Santa Barbara: La Causa, 1977); Carlos Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement* (New York: Verso, 1989); Ernesto Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!* (San Diego: La Verdad Publications, 1992); Michael Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2009).

2 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*, 48.

3 Donald R. Gerth, *The People's University: A History of the California State University* (Berkeley: Berkeley Public Policy Press, 2010); Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

4 Ibid.

5 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Bustillos, *Education, Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*.

6 Ibid.

7 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and The Politics of Solidarity* (Oakland: AK Press, 2006); Jeremy Varon, *Bring The War Home: The Weather Underground The*

Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

11 Ibid.

12 Varon, *Bring The War Home*; Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1997); Peter B. Levy, *The New Left and Labor In the 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Lorena Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2005); Max Elbaum, "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?," *Radical History Review* Vol. 82 (Winter 2002): 37-63; George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston: South End, 1987) Mark Edleman Boren, *Student Resistance: A History of the Unruly Subject* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

13 Ibid.

14 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

15 John Broesamle, *Suddenly A Giant: A History of California State University, Northridge*. (Northridge: Santa Susana Press, 1993); Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*.

16 Ibid.

17 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Broesamle, *Suddenly A Giant*.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Lisa M. Proctor, *November 4, 1968: Valley State – A Microcosm of National Civil Rights Activism*. Senior Proseminar Paper, Dr. John Broesamle, Spring 1992; Broesamle, *Suddenly A Giant*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Kathleen Cleaver and George Katsiaficas, eds., *Liberation, Imagination, And The Black Panther Party: A New Look At The Panthers And Their Legacy* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle SNCC And The Black Awakening Of The 1960s*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Bobby Seale, *Seize The Time: The Story Of The Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1970); Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics Of Liberation* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967); George Jackson, *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters Of George Jackson* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1994); Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Black Panthers Speak* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1970); Elaine Brown, *A Taste Of Power: A Black Woman's Story* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990); Bob Baker, "Did CSUN Takeover Win? '69 Rebels Disagree," *Los Angeles Times*, San Fernando Valley Edition, 24 June 1969; Rodolfo Acuña interview by Vicki Porter, Virtual Oral/Aural History, Chicano Student Movement, Archive of California State University, Long Beach, 8 March 1972; Proctor, *November 4, 1968: Valley State – A Microcosm of National Civil Rights Activism*.

25 Ibid.

26 Proctor, *November 4, 1968: Valley State – A Microcosm of National Civil Rights Activism*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Broesamle, *Suddenly A Giant*.

27 Ibid.

28 Broesamle, *Suddenly A Giant*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Broesamle, *Suddenly A Giant: A History of California State University, Northridge*; Proctor, *November 4, 1968: Valley State – A Microcosm of National Civil Rights Activism*.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Broesamle, *Suddenly A Giant*.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Broesamle, *Suddenly A Giant*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Proctor, *November 4, 1968: Valley State – A Microcosm of National Civil Rights Activism*.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

46 Daniel Contreas, "How Did We Get Chicano Studies", *El Popo*, Sep-Oct. 1976; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Chicano Affairs Committee Correspondences, California State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 4, Rodolfo F. Acuña Collection, Urban Archives Center, Oviatt Library, California State University, Northridge (hereafter cited as RFAC); Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*.

47 Rodolfo, Acuna, "On Pedagogy" *Harvard Latino Review* Vol. 12. No. 7 (Spring 2009): 7-13 : 7.

48 Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. (New York: Continuum, 1970); bell hooks, *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

49 Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963); Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, 1965); Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer And The Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965); Louis Althusser, *On Ideology* (London: Verso, 2008); Ernesto Che Guevara, *Che Guevara on Guerrilla Warfare* (New York, Praeger, 1961); Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Rodolfo Acuña, "On Pedagogy," *Harvard Latino Law Review*, Vol. 12 (2009): 7-14.

50 Ibid.

51 Chicano Studies Department, Courses Proposal, Apr 1969, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 11, RFAC; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

52 Advisory Committee Minutes, January 27, 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

53 Ibid.

54 Advisory Committee Minutes, January 27, 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC; Advisory Committee Minutes, February, 5 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

55 Ibid.

56 Advisory Committee Minutes, April 23, 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

57 Ibid.

58 Chicano Studies Department, Chicano Faculty Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 7, RFAC.

59 Advisory Committee Minutes, June 9, 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

60 Advisory Committee Minutes, June 9, 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Chicano Studies Department, Chicano Faculty Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Series VI., Box 126, Folder 7, RFAC.

64 Ibid.

65 Chicano Affairs Committee, Constitutions & By Laws, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 2, RFAC.

66 Advisory Committee Minutes, November 19, 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

67 Ibid.

68 Chicano Studies Department, Chicano Faculty Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 7, RFAC.

69 Advisory Committee Minutes, November 26, 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Advisory Committee Minutes, December 10, 1969, Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

74 Ibid.

75 Chicano Studies Department, Chicano Faculty Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 7, RFAC.

76 Chicano Studies Department, Courses Proposal, Apr 1969, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 11, RFAC; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

77 Ibid.

78 Chicano Studies Department, Chicano Faculty Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 7, RFAC.

79 Chicano Studies Department, Proposal for Master of Arts, 1970, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 15, RFAC.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC; Chicano Affairs Committee: Constitutions & By Laws, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 2, RFAC.

84 Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Chicana/o Community Center Annual Report, Chicano Affairs Committee, Constitutions & By Laws, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 2, RFAC.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid.

90 Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

95 Ibid.

96 Chicana/o Community Center Annual Report, 1969-1970, Chicano Affairs Committee, Constitutions & By Laws, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 2, RFAC.

97 Jose G. Moreno, "Political And Social History of La Raza Unida Party In Los Angeles County: The Struggle For A Political Voice in Electoral Politics." Master Thesis (California State University at Northridge, 2004).

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Moreno, "Political And Social History of La Raza Unida Party In Los Angeles County".

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

104 Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

107 Gerth, *The People's University*.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.

113 Chicano Affairs Committee, Minutes, California, State University Northridge, Department of Chicano Studies, Box 126, Folder 5, RFAC.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

118 Ibid.

CONCLUSION

SURVIVAL AND THE LOST HOPE: WHAT HAPPEN TO THE CHICANA/O STUDIES MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

In 2004, Marcos Pizarro declared, “Chicana/o Studies is in a coma.”¹ Rodolfo Acuña’s *Sometimes No Other Side* (1998) and *The Making of Chicana/o Studies* (2011), have further addressed the mainstream and professionalization that has co-opted the Chicana/o Studies discipline.² Since the late 1970s, the culture of the empire has marginalized and eliminated many accomplishments of the Chicana/o Studies Movement (CSM).³ CSM participants were engaged in debates and discourses that questioned their recognition, academic definition, and legitimacy, which became the major objectives for their survival. Many critics have disputed the need for curricular consistency, since Chicana/o Studies did not present a single methodology that fit the boundaries of traditional academic disciplines. Consequently, various university administrations pressured Chicana/o Studies programs and departments to develop a standardized curriculum in order to be incorporated into the academic mainstream complex.⁴ Many academics argued that higher education should provide ethnic student population with a critical and innovative consciousness for ethnic population students.⁵ However, I argue that Chicana/o Studies was co-opted in order to gain academic acceptance and failed to promote the production of radical and leftist scholarship. In addition, alternative perspectives and research innovations became secondary in the quest of a Chicana/o Studies intellectual life.

The culture of the empire in the late 1970s formulated practical methods to dismantle and regulate Chicana/o Studies and Ethnic Studies course content.⁶ The goal of this process was to change the social justice and political mission of Chicana/o Studies and Ethnic Studies disciplines; , and to signify the professionalism of the core curriculum and elevate its academic reputation. By 1980, the majority of Chicana/o Studies programs and departments adopted traditional models of historical, cultural, and social and behavioral studies as their three primary content areas.⁷ Meanwhile, scholars and professors influenced by radical and leftist ideologies were marginalized from this procedure. Furthermore, CSM participants could not avoid engagement with contemporary internal struggles, which would affect their organizational and practical framework.⁸ The mainstream incorporation of Chicana/o Studies programs and departments into the traditional academic industrial-complex would come to enhance political contradictions and disagreements.⁹

In this chapter I examine the critical question: What happened to Chicana/o Studies and the social movement that struggled to create this discipline? I argue that by the late 1970s oppositional and reactionary scholars and professors supported by sympathetic politicians, administrators, and academics, largely marginalized their leftist and radical counterparts. It offers a historical examination and argument on how traditionalists shifted the political direction of Chicana/o Studies and it identifies ideological conflicts that occurred in dismantling and professionalizing Chicana/o Studies. Finally, I conclude that the CSM, in its challenge of the U.S. Empire and the culture of the academy, was largely exhausted by 1980.

CHICANA/O STUDIES AND THE CULTURE OF THE EMPIRE

The four local Chicana/o Studies Movements that are examined in this dissertation were part of a larger national social and educational movement. Each CSM collective had its own ideology and social identity that made it different from other Chicano power movement battlegrounds. The local CSM struggles were linked nationally through communication networks and organizational frameworks that were established to formulate a Chicana/o Studies ideology and mission statement. In the early years, Chicana/o student radicals overwhelmingly impacted the political development and direction of the CSM. The concepts of internationalism and nationalism gained prominence by proliferating critiques of the US war on Vietnam and its military and political intervention in Latin America, which profoundly influenced the Chicana/o Studies Movement challenges of American exceptionalism and institutional classism. The strong radical and leftist political commitment by CSM actors, concretely and dramatically illustrates this perspective. But, they faced resistance from university administrators and faculty in mainstream departments. Also, most Anglo-American scholars and professors objected to ethnic studies programs and departments, particularly when dominated by ethnic population groups. Activists and teachers in the social and educational movements were generally unable in the short term, to achieve a student and community centered Chicana/o Studies collective. University administrators and their sympathizers also limited the scope of the Chicana/o Studies to the United States, with a degree of success. They feared its radicalism, its innovative research and teaching pedagogies, and the threat it posed in adopting the internationalism. Therefore, more narrowly focused and less threatening cultural nationalist CSM actors

gained greater political influence on Chicana/o Studies ideology and vision for the most of the 1970s.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the University of California at Berkeley was a political center for the Chicana/o Studies Movement because of the Third World Liberation Front and its ongoing popular protests. The major accomplishments of the UCB CSM were the establishment of *El Grito* and the adoption of third world radicalism and international leftist politics. Its weaknesses were the cultural nationalist and oppositional Chicana/o actors. It also suffered by adopting unrealistic objectives, and because of internal class and political conflicts between CSM participants. The development of a Chicana/o Studies program within a single ethnic studies department was the main factor in the decline of the local movement. The UCB CSM was similar to the one at UCLA in the success of the research publications, but was sharply dissimilar in lacking UCLA's mass involvement in the local Chicana/o power movement. Significantly at UCB, this Chicana/o Studies Movement made a major impact on the CSM geographical environment on the west coast.

Meanwhile, the UCLA Chicana/o Studies Movement had a prominent place in the Los Angeles area Chicano Power Movement, as it shared participants and grassroots organizers. The UCLA CSM struggle successfully developed a research center, *Aztlan Journal* and the publications. Additionally, CSM participation in the local Chicano Power Movement was critical to the organizational framework for its campus political work. Members encountered difficulties balancing community grassroots, organizing with campus activism, and handling internal and external social conflicts. UCLA's Chicana/o Studies Movement had a commonality with the UCB struggle because of the impact that

El Grito made to the development of *Aztlan Journal* and publications. But, the UCLA CSM was more successful than UCB or the University of Washington because of the UCLA Chicana/o Studies Research Center and *Aztlan* publications, which impacted the foundation of scholarship on the Chicana/o population and experience. In addition, the UCLA struggle was able to achieve the goal of an academic department ., with the emergence of a new generation of Chicana/o radical student actors during the 1990s.

The University of Washington was a major organizational location for the Chicana/o Studies Movement in the Pacific Northwest and the state of Washington. The strengths of UW CSM were its triumphant United Farm Workers Grape Boycott campus campaign and the recruitment of Chicana/o students from the Yakima Valley and eastern valleys of Washington State. Also, activists in local and statewide Chicano Power Movement influenced the UW CSM political direction and campus activism. Unfortunately, the UW CSM failed to achieve a research unit, having been hampered by internal and external political conflicts, and was compelled to accept a merger of the Ethnic Studies disciplines into a larger American Ethnic Studies division. This outcome was similar to UCB, which also had a single academic department. It was similar to CSUN and UCLA with widespread student activist participation in the local Chicano Power Movement.

By 1975, the California State University at Northridge Chicana/o Studies department (CSD) had become the largest Ethnic Studies division in the United States. The effectiveness of the CSUN struggle was the result of establishing a culture of campus activism and success in attaining staff and faculty alliances resulting in a strong organizational structure and an academic department. CSUN CSM developed a strong

relationship with the local Chicano Power Movement, through collaboration and involvement. Like other locations, CSUN was weakened by internal and external disagreements, and failed to establish a Chicana/o Studies community resource center in the San Fernando Valley. It also failed to develop relationships with traditional academic departments, which might have been a blessing in disguise, limiting channels for cooptation. CSUN CSM was similar to the other three social movements, but experienced further success in creating a Chicana/o Studies department and conducting a counter-hegemonic battle with university administration. The struggle at CSUN was distinct in part because CSUN is a teaching university and UW, UCB, and UCLA are research institutions. It could justify its curriculum on the basis of teaching educating future teachers who were responsible for preparing the rapidly growing Chicana/o population in their midst. The triumphant Chicana/o Studies campaign at CSUN influenced the next generation of CSM actors and organizers, and its department influenced the development of this discipline .. The cultural geography of the Chicana/o Studies Movement was critical in developing a collaborative voice, but each local social movement had a major role in organizing at the national stage. Furthermore, the turn to cultural nationalism limited the growth of international radical politics and influenced the decline of the first generation of CSM.

In teaching Chicana/o Studies in the United States, one cannot minimize or discount the impact of research and scholarship.¹⁰ Despite oppositional portrayals of Chicana/o Studies as intellectually barren or steeped of class essentialism, Chicana/o Studies scholars have produced work that has challenged disrupted, motivated scholars and altered the academy. However, it is beyond the scope of this conclusion to examine

the groundbreaking works of first generation scholars.¹¹ Yet, it is important to stress that a Chicana/o scholarly tradition was already established prior to the unfolding of the Chicana/o Student Movement. Chicana/o studies programs and departments however encourage scholarship and provide a more solid base for growth and development. Defining Chicana/o Studies was a point of contestation in its early years in the academy. University administration and traditional departmental hegemonic efforts were successful in limiting and controlling the direction of a great deal of Chicana/o Studies scholarly production.

Early Chicana feminists argued for the inclusion of gender issues, which would bring heightened attention to class and sexuality.¹² Chicana actors had to wage an intense conflict to inculcate a feminist critique of the CSM and they often encountered withering criticism from their male counterparts. In the early 1970s academic disciplines were overwhelmingly male dominated. All ethos and political strategies of the Chicano Power Movement were primarily race oriented rather than gender directed. Furthermore, the lack of awareness or interest by Anglo-American feminist activists about the needs and life experiences of ethnic women hindered gender consciousness in the Chicano Power Movement.¹³ The small numbers of Chicana professors and scholars were faced with marginalization, consternation, resistance, and were denied equal opportunities to function in the academy. Nevertheless, they raised critical questions about the development of the CSM.¹⁴ Many Chicanas feared that unless they asserted themselves, Chicano men and Anglo-American women would be the prime beneficiaries of affirmative action policies. Chicanas defined their unique status in

American life and emphasized their commonalities and differences with Chicano men and Anglo American women.

In the 1970s the first Chicana/o studies courses, campus lectures and programming appeared on campuses throughout the nation and set the stage for a rise of second-generation Chicana/o scholars.¹⁵ The first generation Chicana/o Studies scholarship emerged in a highly contentious political and cultural landscape. Radical and leftist Chicana/o scholars and professors had to struggle against Anglo American mainstream academics and the Chicana/o scholars who retained traditional views.¹⁶ The patriarchal politics of traditionalism and subjectivism circumscribed and limited the radical and leftist actors who created the discipline, along with their effort to offer an inclusive Chicana/o Studies counter-hegemonic vision.¹⁷ By the 1980s, Chicana/o Studies scholars were forced to rethink their research agenda and pedagogy, and many succumbed to tradition. Perhaps most significantly, Chicana/o Studies failed to bridge the gap between campus and community. It was most successful when it did as in the case of CSUN.

The stature of Chicana/o Studies literature has rested on the production of innovative and influential scholarship.¹⁸ The quest for curricular standardization and a single authoritative Chicana/o Studies methodology has generated engaging debates and useful materials, opening space for discourses in academia, as its initial founders had attempted to do. Such a strategy permits marginalized groups, including African Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans, to present their research and teaching methodologies.¹⁹ Most university administrations have sought to cluster Chicana/o Studies, Asian American Studies, African American Studies, and Native

American Studies, together in one entity, in order to weaken the autonomy of each, to promote internal distractions, and to reduce the investment overall.²⁰ This was evident at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB), where the administration wanted the students' original demand for a third world college combined into a single ethnic studies department.²¹ Chicana/o Studies advocates justifiably feared losing visibility, autonomy, and power. Ethnic Studies typically arose in the aftermath of struggle for autonomous departments on campuses with smaller ethnic student populations. Chicana/o Studies was often grouped together with Asian American Studies, African American Studies, and Native American Studies, to form a single Ethnic Studies academic department or program.²²

In the early 1970s, skeptics and opponents had questioned whether Chicana/o Studies would survive. Conservative scholars predicted low quality, weak reputations, and an overly political orientation would limit its life span. In contrast, CSM actors feared that the academy would refuse to incorporate an intellectual insurgency led and defined by Chicana/o scholars as a social and educational movement. Chicana/o Studies was defeated before it had the opportunity to mature. CSM participants waged a profound struggle, and their effort has been largely forgotten in dominant historiography.²³ Perhaps it is not surprising that challenges to the culture of the empire have been quickly discredited in hegemonic narratives. As a social and educational movement, Chicana/o Studies have encompassed wide-ranging critiques of American society, from militarism to racial and class oppression, and has united a broad spectrum of Chicana/os, African Americans, Anglo Americans, Native Americans, and Asian American liberals and radicals.²⁴ Recent scholarship, and campus commemorations of

the 45th anniversary of student strikes and Chicana/o Studies programs has begun to alter our understanding of the complexity of the late 1960s and its connections to long standing civil rights struggles.

The Chicana/o students and activists of the late 1960s believed they could change society, and translated Chicano Power Movement ideologies into concrete gains.²⁵ They sought to gain control of public institutions in Chicana/o communities; reclaim their heritage; identify with international anti-colonial struggles; and challenge class oppression and racism.²⁶ Students demanded open admissions and affirmative action, Ethnic Studies and Chicana/o Studies cultural centers, and to gain an autonomous presence in traditionalist higher education institutions. They soon demanded academic recognition and respect for African American Studies, Asian American Studies, Native American Studies, and Chicana/o Studies, broadening the dimensions of intellectual life and culture in the United States.²⁷

In the struggle for Chicana/o Studies departments and programs the CSM failed to sufficiently pressure higher education institutions.²⁸ Most Chicana/o students were not part of the new wave of immigrants who came after the passing of the 1965 congressional immigration reform, but rather were descendants of earlier immigrants.²⁹ They were more susceptible to Cold War patriotism that silenced Chicana/o support for anti-colonial and anti-war struggles.³⁰ While the uprisings of the late 1960s radicalized the movements, nothing could counter the power of the empire culture, and most were co-opted or repressed.³¹ The students' evolving consciousness was shaped by experiences with ethnic population struggles, in study groups, meetings, mass actions, and on occasion in the classroom.³² Chicana/o activists also joined labor, human rights,

educational, environmental, prisoner rights, anti-war, and other social justice movements.³³ Scholars, including historians of educational rights, and the Chicana/o Power Movement, have neglected to develop a comparative historical analysis of the CSM.³⁴

CONCLUSION

In 1971, Professor Julian Samora, with the support of the University of Notre Dame (UND) administration and funding from the Ford Foundation and the U.S. Department of Education, established the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program (MAGSP).³⁵ Between 1971 and 1985, MAGSP had awarded funding to fifty-seven (57) Chicana/o doctoral students.³⁶ The purpose of this academic program was to train the next generation of Chicana/o Studies scholars and professors. However, Samora only handpicked traditionalist Chicana/o graduate students who would support the ideology of the culture of the empire. Why was Samora extremely selective in admitting graduate students into the MAGSP? One major factor was the allure of the University of Notre Dame's elitist and conservative academic structure, and Samora believed that working within the culture of empire would reform the political and social conditions of the Chicana/o population. On another level, the Mexican American Graduate Studies Program weakened the CSM by planting oppositional seeds to force the decline of student and community participation within the decision-making and development process.³⁷ Samora created an "imaginary community" and two generations of oppositional Chicana/o Studies scholars and professors with funding from the Ford

Foundation. In 1985, the UND administration used Samora's academic retirement to disband MAGSP, but the reality was that the funding source was discontinued.³⁸

The moderate and conservative political climate of the past three decades slowed the growth and shifted the direction of this academic discipline. Most established Chicana/o Studies programs and departments were forced to adopt traditional political and academic methodologies to survive the university administration attacks. Yet, the federally supported affirmative action and diversity programs have profoundly shifted the political and ideological environment in which Chicana/o Studies scholars and intellectuals function, and a majority have turned to enhancing their personal careers rather than advancing the cause of students or the communities left behind. Yet, their presence was made possible by the radicalism, collectivism, and grassroots organizing of the first generation of students who introduced Chicana/o Studies courses into the university curriculum. Chicana/o leftist and radical scholars will continue to challenge the culture of the empire through activist scholarship and social justice and action research. The political and ideological conflicts among CSM actors are a primary example of how this counter-hegemonic dream was once again forced into the defensive.

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

1 Marcos Pizarro, "Searching for Curanderas: A Quest to Revive Chicana/o Studies," *Journal of Latinos and Education*, Vol. 3, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 145.

2 Rodolfo Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side: Chicanos and the Myth of Equality* (Norte Dame: University of Norte Dame Press, 2008); Rodolfo Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011).

3 Guadalupe San Miguel, *Chicana/ Struggle for Education: Activism in the Community* (College Station: University of Texas A&M Press, 2013); Darius V, Echeverria, *Aztlan Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014); Juan Gomez Quinones and Irene Vasquez, *Making Aztlan: Ideology and Culture of The Chicana and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014); Carlos Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement* (New York: Verso, 2007); George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun: Lessons From the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Juan Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement In Southern California, 1967-1977* (Santa Barbara: La Causa, 1977).

4 Michael Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2009); Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*; *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Rodolfo Acuña, "Chicana/o Studies: A Public Trust," in *Chicano Studies: Critical Connection Between Research and Community*, ed., Teresa Cordova (The National Association for Chicano Studies, March 1992); Juan Gomez Quinones, "To Leave To Hope or Change: Propositions on Chicano Studies, 1974," in *Parameter of Institutional Change: Chicano Experience in Education* (Hayward: Southwest Network, 1974); Mario Barrera, Carlos Munoz, and Charles Ornelas, "The Barrio As An Internal Colony," *Urban Affairs Annual Review*, Vol. 6 (1972): 465-498; Rodolfo Acuña, "On Chicano Studies," *La Raza Magazine* (Feb. 1973); Refugio I. Rochin "The Short And Turbulent Life Of Chicano Studies: A Preliminary Study Of Emerging Programs And Problems," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 53, no. 4 (March 1973).

5 Ibid.

6 Carlos Munoz, "The Quest for Paradigm: The Development of Chicano Studies And Intellectuals." in *Latinos and Education: A Critical Reader*, eds. Antonia Darder et al. (New York: Routledge, 1997): 439-453; Carlos Munoz, "The Development of Chicano Studies 1968-1981," in *Chicano Studies And Multidisciplinary Approach*, eds. Eugene Garcia et al. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1984): 5-28; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power*; Alma Garcia, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980," *Journal of Gender and Society*, Vol. 3, no. 2 (June 1989): 217-238; Estevan Flores, "The Mexican-Origin People In the United States And Marxist Thought In Chicano Studies," *The Left Academy: Marxist Scholarship on American Campuses*, Vol. 3, eds. Bertell Ollerman and Edward Vernoff (New York: Praeger, 1986).

7 Teresa Cordova, "Anti-Colonial Chicana Feminism," *Journal of New Political Science*, Vol. 20, no. 4 (December 1998): 379-397; Gilberto Garcia, "Beyond the Adelita Image Women Scholars in the National Association For Chicano Studies (NACS), 1972-1992," in *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies, Volume 5*, ed. Juan Garcia (Tucson: Mexican American Studies and Center University of Arizona, 1996): 35-61; Teresa Cordova, "Plugging the Brain Drain: Bringing our Education Back Home," in *Latino Social Policy: A Participatory Research Model*, eds. Juana Mora and David Diaz (New York: The Haworth Press, 2004); Ignacio Garcia, "Juncture In The Road: Chicano Studies Since 'El Plan de Santa Barbara'," in *Chicanas & Chicanos At The Crossroads*, eds. David Maciel and Isidro Ortiz (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1996); Raoul Contreras, "Chicano Studies: A Political Strategy Of the Chicano Movement." in *Mapping Strategies: NACCS And The Challenge of Multiple (RE) Oppression*, eds. Maria Antiona Beltran-Vocal, et al. (Phoenix: Editorial Orbis Press, 1999); Rene Nunez, "Taking Back Chicana and Chicano Studies: Reflections On Chicana/o Student/Faculty Relations," in *Mapping Strategies: NACCS And The Challenge of Multiple (RE) Oppression*, eds. Maria Antiona Beltran-Vocal, et al. (Phoenix: Editorial Orbis Press, 1999).

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ernesto Bustillos, Education, *Chicano Studies, and Raza Liberation!* (San Diego: La Verdad Publications, 1992); Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

11 Ibid.

12 Cordova, "Anti-Colonial Chicana Feminism,"; Garcia, "Beyond the Adelita Image Women Scholars in the National Association For Chicano Studies (NACS), 1972-1992,"; Cordova, "Plugging the Brain Drain: Bringing our Education Back Home,"; Garcia, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*; Young, *Soul Power*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun*; Quinones and Irene Vasquez, *Making Aztlan*; Laura Pulido, *Black Brown Yellow & Left: Racial Activism in Los Angeles*.

16 Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; San Miguel, *Chicana/ Struggle for Education*; Echeverria, *Aztlan Arizona*; Gomez Quinones and Vasquez, *Making Aztlan*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*; Mark Chiang, *The Cultural Capital of Asian American Studies: Autonomy and Representation in the University* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*; Arnold Krupat, *Red*

Matters: Native American Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie, *Native American Studies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

20 Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*; Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*; Chiang, *The Cultural Capital of Asian American Studies*; Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*; Krupat, *Red Matters: Native American Studies*; Kidwell and Velie, *Native American Studies*.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 San Miguel, *Chicana/ Struggle for Education*; Echeverria, *Aztlan Arizona*; Gomez Quinones and Vasquez, *Making Aztlan*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

24 Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*; Chiang, *The Cultural Capital of Asian American Studies*; Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*; Krupat, *Red Matters: Native American Studies*; Kidwell and Velie, *Native American Studies*; Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*; San Miguel, *Chicana/ Struggle for Education*; Echeverria, *Aztlan Arizona*; Gomez Quinones and Vasquez, *Making Aztlan*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun*; Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies*; Chiang, *The Cultural Capital of Asian American Studies*; Maeda, *Chains of Babylon*; Krupat, *Red Matters: Native American Studies*; Kidwell and Velie, *Native American Studies*; Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*; San Miguel, *Chicana/ Struggle for Education*; Echeverria, *Aztlan Arizona*; Gomez Quinones and Vasquez, *Making Aztlan*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*.

28 Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Barbara: A Chicano Plan For Higher Education* (Santa Barbara: La Causa Publications, 1970); Adalberto Aguirre, "The Personal Narrative as Academic Storytelling a Chicano's Search for Presence and Voice in Academe" *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* Vol. 18 no. 2 (March, 2005) : 147-163; See Reynaldo Macias, "El Grito en Aztlan: Voice and Presence in Chicana/o Studies" *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* Vol. 18 no. 2 (March, 2005) : 165-184.

29 Richard Valencia, Martha Menchaca and Ruben Donato, "Segregation, Desegregation and Integration of Chicano Students: Old and New Realities," in *Chicano School Failure and Success: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Richard Valencia (New York: Routledge, 2002), 70-113; Kevin Brown, *Race, Law And Education in the Post Desegregation Era* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2005).
 4 Guadalupe San Miguel, "The Schooling of Mexicanos in The Southwest, 1848-1891," in *The Elusive Quest For Equality: 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education*, ed. Jose F. Moreno (Cambridge: Harvard Educational Review, 1999), 31-51; Gilbert G. Gonzalez, "Culture, Language and The Americanization of Mexican Children," in *Latinos And Education: A Critical Reader*, eds. Antonia Darder, Rodolfo D. Torres, and Henry Gutierrez (New York: Routledge, 1997), 158-173; Guadalupe San Miguel, *Let Me Of Them Take Heed: Mexican Americans And The Campaign For Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1987); Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown, Not White: School Integration And Chicano Movement In Houston* (College Station: The University of Texas A&M Press, 2001).

30 Lorena Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Jeremy Varon, *Bring The War Home: The Weather Underground The Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); "The Port Huron Statement," in *"Takin' it to the Streets": A Sixties Reader*, eds. Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 61-74.

31 Gomez Quinones and Vasquez, *Making Aztlan*; San Miguel, *Chicana/ Struggle for Education*; Echeverria, *Aztlan Arizona*; Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*; Gomez Quinones and Vasquez, *Making Aztlan*; San Miguel, *Chicana/ Struggle for Education*; Echeverria, *Aztlan Arizona*; Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children Of The Sun*; Gomez Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza*; Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*.

35 Ibid.

36 Alberto Lopez Pulido, Barbara Driscoll de Alvarado, and Carmen Samora, eds., *Moving Beyond Borders: Julian Samora And The Establishment of Latino Studies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Acuña, *Sometimes There Is No Other Side*; Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies*; Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Urban Archives Center. Oviatt Library. California State University, Northridge. Northridge, California

Rodolfo F. Acuña Collection

University Archives. Oviatt Library. California State University, Northridge. Northridge, California

Campus Unrest Collection Department of Chicano Studies

Chicano Studies Research Center. University of California, Los Angeles. Los Angeles, California.

Chicano Studies Research Center Internal Files

Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research. University of California, Los Angeles. Los Angeles, California.

Angela Davis Academic Freedom Case & Trial and Defense Movement Records

University Special Collections. Michigan State University. East Lansing, Michigan.

Julian Samora Collection

Ethnic Studies Library. University of California, Berkeley. Berkeley, California.

Carlos Munoz Collection

Chicano Studies Program Records

University Archives. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Berkeley, California.

Free Speech Movement Records

University Special Collection. University of Washington. Seattle, Washington.

Tomas Ybarra-Frausto Papers

SECONDARY SOURCES

ARTICLES

Acuña, Rodolfo. "On Chicano Studies." *La Raza Magazine*, Feb 1973.

_____. "Mexican-American History: A Reply." *Pacific Historical Review* 43, no. 1 (February 1974): 147-150

_____. "Chicano Studies: A Public Trust." In *Chicano Studies: Critical Connection Between Research and Community*, ed. Teresa Córdova, 2-13. The National Association for Chicano Studies, Mar 1992.

_____. "Truth and Objectivity and Chicano History." JSRI Occasional Paper #9. *Julian Samora Research Institute*, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1997.

_____. "On Pedagogy," *Harv. Latino*, no. 7 (2009): 7-13.

Agricultural and Immigration Washington State Bureau of Statistics, *Agricultural, Manufacturing And Commerical Resources And Capabilities Of Washington 1903* Olympia: G. Hicks, State Printer; First edition, 2010.

Almaguer, Tomas. "Toward the Study of Chicano Oppression." *Aztlán* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 7-21.

_____. "Historical Notes on Chicano Oppression: The Dialectics of Racial and Class Domination in North America." *Aztlán* 5, no. 1-2 (Spring/Fall 1974): 27-55.

_____. "Class, Race and Chicano Oppression." *Socialist Revolution* (Jul-Sep 1975): 180-194

Bailey, Ronald and Guillermo Flores. "Internal Colonialism and Racial Minorities in the U.S.: An Overview." In *Structures of Dependency*, eds. Frank Bonilla and Robert Girling, 149-160. Stanford: Stanford University, 1973.

Baker, Bob Baker, "Did CSUN Takeover Win? '69 Rebels Disagree," Los Angeles Times, San Fernando Valley Edition, 24 June 1969.

Barrera, Mario. "The Struggle for Third College at UC San Diego." In *Parameter of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education*, 62-68. Hayward: Southwest Network, 1974.

Barrera, Mario, Carlos Munoz, and Charles Ornelas. "The Barrio As An Internal Colony," *Urban Affairs Annual Review* 6 (1972): 465-498.

Blackwell, Maylei. "Contested Histories: Las Hijas de Cuauthtemoc, Chicana Feminisms, and Print Culture in the Chicano Movement, 1968-1973." In *Chicana Feminisms: A Critical Reader*, ed. Gabriela Arredondo, 59-89. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Blatchford Iram Siraj. "Critical Social Research and the Academy: The Role of Organic Intellectuals in Educational Research." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 16, no. 2 (1995): 213.

Briegel, Kaye. "Chicano Student Militancy: The Los Angeles High School Strike of 1968." In *An Awakened Minority: The Mexican-Americans, 2nd ed.*, ed. Manuel P. Servin, 215-225. Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1974.

Broesamle, John. "Upheaval." *Suddenly A Giant: A History of California State University, Northridge*. Northridge: Santa Susana Press, 1993.

_____. "The Seventies: New Dawn and Morning After." *Suddenly A Giant: A History of California State University, Northridge*. Northridge: Santa Susana Press, 1993.

Bustillos, Ernesto. "Chicano Studies, MEChA, and The Community." *Voz Fronteriza*, Dec 1996.

_____. "Youth And Revolution: A Critique Of The Chicano Student Movement, 1969-1999." *Voz Fronteriza*, Fall 2000.

Calderon, Jose. "We Have the Tiger by the Tail: A Interview with Rudy Acuña." *ColorLines*, Summer 1999.

Casanova, Pablo Gonzalez. "Internal Colonialism And National Development." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 1 no. 4 (1965): 27-37.

Calderon, Jose. "We Have the Tiger by the Tail: A Interview with Rudy Acuña." *ColorLines*, Summer 1999.

Castaneda, Antonia. "The Political Economy Of Nineteenth Century Stereotypes Of Californianas." In Adelaida R Del Castillo ed.,, *Between Borders: Essays On Mexicana/Chicana History*. Encino, Ca: Floricanto Press, 1990: 213-236.

_____. "Women Of Color And The Rewriting Of Western History: The Discourse, Politics And Decolonization Of History." *Pacific Historical Review* 61, no 4 (1992): 501-533.

"Chale No, We Won't Go!." *La Raza Magazine*, 1970.

"Chicano: Internal Colony." *Inside The Beast: A Progressive Third World Voice*, 8 Jun 1973.

"Chicano Moratorium." *La Raza Magazine*, 1970.

"Chicano Studies Center: A Rebuttal." *La Gente de Aztlán*, May 1981.

"Chicano Studies: MEChA Critique." *La Gente de Aztlán*, Jun 1979.

Contreras, Daniel. "How Did We Get Chicano Studies." *El Popo*, Sep-Oct 1976.

Contreras, Rauol. "Chicano Movement Chicano Studies: Social Science and Self-Conscious Ideology." In *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies, Volume 6*, ed. Juan Garcia, 22-51. Tucson: Mexican American Studies and Center, University of Arizona, 1997.

_____. "Chicano Studies: A Political Strategy Of The Chicano Movement." In *Mapping Strategies: NACCS And The Challenge Of Multiple (RE) Oppression*, eds. Maria Antonia Beltran-Vocal, et al., 92-112. Phoenix: Editorial Orbis Press, 1999.

Cordova, Teresa. "Power and Knowledge: Colonialism in the Academy." In *Living Chicano Theory*, ed. Carla Trujillo, 17-45. Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 1998.

_____. "Anti-Colonial Chicana Feminism" *Journal of New Political Science* vol. 20 no. 4 (December 1998): 379-397

Corona, Bert N. "Chicano Scholars and Public Issues in the United States in the Eighties." In *History, Culture, and Society: Chicano Studies in the 1980s*, eds. Mario T. Garcia, et al., 11-18. Ypsilanti, Mich.: Bilingual Press, 1983.

Cortes, Carlos E. "CHICOP: A Response to the Challenge of Local Chicano History" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no. 2 (Fall 1970) : 1-14.

Chavez, Cesar E. "The Mexican-American and the Church," in Octvaio I. Romano- V., ed., *Voices: Reading From El Grito A Journal Of Contemporary Mexican American Thought 1967-1973*. (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., 1973) : 215-218.

Clark, Victor. "Mexican Labor in the United States." *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, no. 8 Washington, D.C. 1908.

Del Castillo, Adelaida R. "Malintzin Tenepal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective." In *Essays on La Mujer*, eds. Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martinez Cruz, 124-149. Los Angeles : Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977.

_____. "Mexican Women in Organization." In *Mexican Women in the United States: Struggles Past and Present*, eds. Adelaida R. Del Castillo and Rosa M. Martinez, 7-16. Los Angeles : Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, University of California, 1980.

Delgado Bernal, Dolores. "Grassroots Leadership Reconceptualized: Chicana Oral Histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles School Blowouts." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19, no. 2 (1998): 113-142.

_____. "Historical Struggles For Educational Equity: Setting The Context For Chicana/o Schooling Today," in Tejeda Carlos, Martinez, and Zeus Leonardo eds *Charting New Terrains Of Chicana(o)/Latina(o) Education*, New Jersey: Hampton Press Inc., 2000.

Diaz del Rodriguez, Maria del. "Mexico's Vision Of Manifest Destiny During The 1847 War," *Journal Of Popular Culture* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 41-51.

"Editorial." *La Gente de Aztlán*, Mar 1976.

"Editorial: The Polarization of MEChA." *Voz Fronteriza*, Feb 1986.

"Editorial, On The Termination of Anna Nieto Gomez." *El Popo*, Mar 1976.

"Education: As A Process of Liberation." *Inside The Beast: A Progressive Third World Voice*, 8 Jun 1973.

"Education To Be Relevant To Our People, Must Serve As A Tool For Self-Determination." *¡La Verdad!*, Jan-Mar 1996.

Elbaum Max. "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?." *Radical History Review* 82 (Winter 2002): 37-63.

Escobar, Edward. "The Dialectics Of Repression: The Los Angeles Police Department And The Chicano Movement, 1968-1971." *The Journal Of American History* 79, no. 4 (March 1993): 1483-1541.

Espinoza, Dionne. "Revolutionary Sisters: Women's Solidarity And Collective Identification Among Chicana Brown Berets In East Los Angeles, 1967-1970," *Aztlán* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 17-58.

Flores, Estevan. "The Mexican-Origin People In The United States And Marxist Thought In Chicano Studies." In *The Left Academy: Marxist Scholarship On American Campuses*, Vol. 3, eds. Bertell, Ollman and Edward Vernoff, 103-138. New York: Praeger, 1996.

Flores, Guillermo. "Race and Culture in the Internal Colony: Keeping The Chicano in His Place." In *Structures of Dependency*, eds. Frank Bonilla and Robert Girling, 189-223. Stanford: Stanford University, 1973.

Flores, Lauro H. "Thirty Years of Chicano and Chicana Studies," in Johnnella E. Butler *Color-Line To Borderlands: The Matrix of American Ethnic Studies*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 200.

Flores Magon Ricardo. "The Repercussions Of A Lynching" *Regeneracion*, November 12, 1910.

_____. "Class Struggle" *Regeneracion*, March 4, 1911.

_____. "The World War" *Regeneracion*, November 14, 1914.

_____. "Revolutionary Progress" *Regeneracion*, February 12, 1916.

Fuller, Elizabeth. "The Mexican Housing Problem In Los Angeles, 1920" Carlos E. Cortes ed. *Perspectives On Mexican-American Life*. New York: Arno Press, 1974.

Garcia, Alma M. "Studying Chicanas: Bring Women into the Frame of Chicano Studies." In *Chicana Voices: Intersections Of Class, Race, And Gender*, eds. Theresa Cordoba, et al., 11-18. Austin: CMAS Publications, 1986.

_____. "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1970-1980." *Gender & Society* 3, no. 2 (June 1989): 217-238.

Garcia, Gilberto. "Organizational Activity and Political Empowerment: Chicano Politics in the Pacific Northwest," in Carlos Maldonado and Gilberto Garcia eds. *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest*. Dubuque: Kendall Hunt, 1995.

_____. "Beyond the Adelita Image: Women Scholars in the National Association for Chicano Studies, 1972-1992." In *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies, Volume 5*, ed. Juan Garcia, 35-61. Tucson: Mexican American Studies and Center, University of Arizona, 1996

_____. "Past, Past, and Future Direction: Chicana/o Studies Research In the Pacific Northwest" in Jerry Garcia and Gilberto Garcia eds., *Memory, Community, And Activism: Mexican And Labor in the Pacific Northwest*. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2005.

Garcia, Ignacio. "Juncture In The Road: Chicano Studies Since "El Plan de Santa Barbara." In *Chicanas & Chicanos At The Crossroads*, eds. David Maciel and Isidro Ortiz, 181-203. Tucson: University Of Arizona Press, 1996.

_____. "Constructing the Chicano Movement: Synthesis of A Militant Ethos." In *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies, Volume 6*, ed. Juan Garcia, 1-19. Tucson: Mexican American Studies and Center, University of Arizona, 1997.

Garcia, Jerry. "Mexican and Japanese Labor in the Pacific Northwest, 1900-1945" in Jerry Garcia and Gilberto Garcia eds., *Memory, Community, And Activism: Mexican And Labor in the Pacific Northwest*. East Lansing: Michigan State University, 2005.

Garcia, Mario T. "Introduction: Chicano Studies in the 1980's." In *History, Culture, and Society: Chicano Studies in the 1980s*, eds. Mario T. Garcia, et al., 7-10. Ypsilanti, Mich.: Bilingual Press, 1983.

Garcia, Richard A. "The Origins of the Chicano Cultural Thought: Visions and Paradigms – Romano's Culturalism, Alurista's Aesthetics, and Acuña's Communalism." *California History* LXXIV, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 290-305.

_____. "Creating A Consciousness, Memories, And Expectations: The Burden Of Octavio Romero," in Tatcho Mindiola and Emilio Zamora eds., *Chicano Discourse: Selected Conference Proceedings of the National Association for Chicano Studies*. (Houston: NACS Publication, 1992): 6-31.

Garza, Hisauro. "Origins and Evolution of An Alternative Scholarship and Scholarship Organization." In *Chicano Discourse: Selected Conference Proceeding Of National Association For Chicano Studies*, eds. Tatcho Mindiola and Emilio Zamora, 40-50. Houston: Mexican American Studies Program, 1992.

Garcilazo, Jeffrey Marcos. "Mccarthyism, Mexican Americans, And The Los Angeles Committee For Protection Of The Foreign-Born, 1950-1954," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 273-295.

Gomez-Quinones, Juan. "Toward A Perspective on Chicano History," *Aztlan*, Vol. 2, no. 2 (Fall 1971) : 1-49.

_____. "To Leave to Hope or Change: Propositions on Chicano Studies, 1974." In *Parameter of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education*, 153-166. Hayward: Southwest Network, 1974.

_____. "Critique on the National Question, Self-Determination and Nationalism." *Latin American Perspectives* IX, no. 2, (Spring 1982): 62-83.

Gomez-Quinones, Juan and Luis Leobardo Arroyo. "On the State of Chicano History: Observations on Its Development, Interpretations, and Theory, 1970-1974." *Western Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (April 1976): 155-185.

Gonzalez, Gilbert G. "Culture, Language and The Americanization of Mexican Children," in *Latinos And Education: A Critical Reader*, eds. Antonia Darder, Rodolfo D. Torres, and Henry Gutierrez, New York: Routledge, 1997, 158-173.

Guerrero, Carlos. "Student Learning Outcomes" National Association of Chicano and Chicana Studies Newsletter Volume 34, No 3, (Winter 2006).

Gutierrez, Gabriel. "Affirmative Action Of The First Kind: Social And Legal Constructions Of Whiteness And White Male Privilege In Nineteenth-Century California." *Latino Studies Journal* 11, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 4-48.

Hernandez, Patricia. "Lives of Chicana Activists: The Chicano Student Movement." In *Mexican Women in the United States: Struggles Past and Present*, eds. Adelaida R. Del Castillo and Rosa M. Martinez, 17-25. Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, University of California, 1980.

Klimke ,Martin. "Between Berlin and Berkeley, Frankfurt and San Francisco: The Student Movement of the 1960s in Transatlantic Perspective," in Jim Downs and Jennifer Manion, eds. *Taking Back The Academy!: History of Activism*. New York: Routledge, 2004 : 35-56.

León, David J. "Manuel M. Corella: The Broken Trajectory of the First Latino Student and Teacher at the University of California, 1869-74," *Aztlán* 26, no. 1 (2001): 171-79.

León, David J. and Dan McNeil, "The Fifth Class: A 19th Century Forerunner of Affirmative Action," *California History* 64, no. 1 (1985): 52-57.

_____. "A Precursor to Affirmative Action: Californios and Mexicans in the University of California, 1870-72," *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies* 3 (1992): 179-206.

Lopez, Sonia A. "The Role of the Chicana with the Student Movement." In *Essays on La Mujer*, eds. Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martinez Cruz, 16-29. Los Angeles : Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977.

MacDonald Victoria-María and Teresa García. "Historical Perspectives on Latino Access to Higher Education, 1848-1990," in *The Majority in the Minority: Expanding the Representation of Latina/o Faculty, Administrators and Students in Higher Education*, eds. Jeanette Castellanos and Lee Jones (Sterling, V A: Stylus Publishing, 2003), 15-43.

Marin, Christine. "Go Home, Chicanos: A Study of the Brown Berets in California and Arizona." In *An Awakened Minority: The Mexican-Americans*, 2nd ed., ed. Manuel P. Servin, 226-246. Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1974.

Mariscal, George. "Left Turns In The Chicano Movement, 1965-1975." *Monthly Review* 54, no. 3 (July-August 2002): 59-68.

Martinez, Elizabeth. "Chingon Politics Die Hard: Reflections on the First Chicano Activist Reunion." In *Living Chicano Theory*, ed. Carla Trujillo, 123-135. Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 1998.

_____. "A View From New Mexico: Recollections Of The Movimiento Left." *Monthly Review* 54, no. 3 (July-August 2002): 79-86.

Michaelson Scott. "Between Japanese American Internment and the USA Patriot Act: The Borderlands and the Permanent State of Exceptionalism," *Aztlan Vol. 30, Issue 2* (Fall 2005): 87-111.

Moreno, Luis and Jose Moreno. "Chicano Studies and Community-Based Organizations: The Struggle For Raza Self-Determination." Paper presented at XXIV NACCS Annual Conference. Chicago, Illinois, 2002.

Nieto-Gomez, Anna. "History of Chicanas at CSUN." *The Daily Sundial*, 30 Oct 1975.

Munoz, Carlos. "Toward A Chicano Perspective of Political Analysis" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no. 2 (Fall 1970) : 15-26.

_____. "The Politics Of Protest And Chicano Liberation: A Case Study Of Repression And Cooperation," *Aztlan* 5, no. 1-2 (Spring/Fall 1974): 119-140.

_____. "The Development Of Chicano Studies, 1968-1981." In *Chicano Studies: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, eds. Eugene Garcia, et al., 5-18. New York: Teachers College Press, 1984.

_____. "The Quest For Paradigm: The Development Of Chicano Studies And Intellectuals." In *Latinos And Education: A Critical Reader*, eds. Antonia Darder, et al., 439-453. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Navarro, Armando. "The Evolution of Chicano Politics," *Aztlan* 4 (1974), 57-84.

_____. "The Post Mortem Politics of the Chicano Movement: 1975-1996." In *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies, Volume 6*, ed. Juan Garcia, 52-79. Tucson: Mexican American Studies and Center, University of Arizona, 1997.

Negrete, Louis R. "Culture Clash: The Utility of Mass Protest As A Political Response." In *La Causa Politica: A Chicano Politics Readers*, ed. F. Chris Garcia, 347-359. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974.

Nieto-Gomez, Anna. "History of Chicanas at CSUN." *The Daily Sundial*, 30 Oct 1975.

_____. "Chicana Print Culture and Chicana Studies: A Testimony to the Development of Chicana Feminist Culture." In *Chicana Feminisms: A Critical Reader*, ed. Gabriela Arredondo, 90-96. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Nunez, Rene. "Taking Back Chicana And Chicano Studies: Reflections On Chicana/o Student/Faculty Relations." In *Mapping Strategies: NACCS And The Challenge Of Multiple (RE) Oppression*, eds. Maria Antiona Beltran-Vocal, et. al., 19-36. Phoenix: Editorial Orbis Press, 1999.

Nunez, Rene and Rauol Contreras. "Principles and Foundation of Chicano Studies: Chicano Organization on University Campuses in California." In *Chicano Discourse: Selected Conference Proceeding Of National Association For Chicano Studies*, eds. Mindiola, Tatcho, and Emilio Zamora, 32-39. Houston: Mexican American Studies Program, 1992.

"On The Question of Youth Movement: The Current Contradictions Facing MEChA And Its Relationship To Revolutionary Struggle Of Our People, Part I." *¡La Verdad!*, Jun-Oct 1997.

"On The Question of Youth Movement: The Current Contradictions Facing MEChA And Its Relationship To Revolutionary Struggle Of Our People, Part II." *¡La Verdad!*, Nov 1997-Apr 1998.

Oropeza, Lorena. "Making History: The Chicano Movement." JSRI Occasional Paper #17. *Julian Samora Research Institute*, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1997.

Ortega, Carlos F. "Introduction: Chicano Studies as a Discipline." In *Chicano Studies: Survey and Analysis*, eds. Dennis J. Bixler-Marquez, et al., v-xiv. Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1997.

Penalosa, Fernando. "Toward an Operational Definition of the Mexican American" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no.1 (Spring1970) : 1-12.

Petras James. "Role of the Intellectuals in Social change." *Rebellion* (March 2005): 1-5.

Pizarro, Marcos. "Searching for Curanderas: A Quest to Revive Chicana/o Studies," *Journal of Latinos and Education* Vol. 3 no. 3 (Fall 2004) : 145-164.

Pratt, Julius. "The Origin of Manifest Destiny." *American Historical Review* 32 (1927): 795-798.

_____. "John L. O'Sullivan and Manifest Destiny," *New York History* 14 (1933): 213-234.

Proctor, Lisa M. *November 4, 1968: Valley State – A Microcosm of National Civil Rights Activism*. Senior Proseminar Paper, Dr. John Broesamle, Spring 1992.

Pulido, Laura. "Race, Class, and Political Activism: Black, Chicana/o, and Japanese American Leftists in Southern California." *Antipode* 34, no. 4 (2002): 762-788.

Reisler, Mark. "Always The Laborer, Never the Citizen: Anglo Perceptions of the Mexican Immigrant during the 1920s," *Pacific Historical Review* 45 no. 2 (May 1976): 231-254.

Rios-Bustamante, Antonio. "A General Survey of Chicano(a) Historiography." JSRI Occasional Paper #25. *Julian Samora Research Institute*, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 2000.

Rocco, Raymond A. "The Chicano In Concepts, Myths, and Images" *Aztlan* vol. 1. no. 2 (Fall 1970) : 75-97.

Rodriguez, y Russell Monica. "Mexicanas and Mongrels: Policies of Hybridity, Gender and Nation in the US-Mexican War," *Latino Studies Journal* 11. no. 3 (Fall 2000): 49-73.

Rodriguez, Roberto. "The Origins And History Of The Chicano Movement." JSRI Occasional Paper #7. *Julian Samora Research Institute*, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1996.

Romano- V. Octvaio I. "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican Americans: The Distortion of Mexican-American History", *El Grito* vol. 2. no.1 (Fall 1968) : 13-26.

_____. "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican Americans" *El Grito* vol. 2. no. 2 (Winter 1968-69) : 32-46.

_____. "Social Science, Objectivity, and the Chicanos" *El Grito* vol. 4 no.1 (Fall 1970) : 4-16.

Rosadlo, Renato. "Chicano Studies, 1970-1984." *Annual Review Of Anthropology* 14 (1985): 405-427.

Ruiz, Vicki L. "La Nueva Chicanas: Women and the Movement." In *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in the Twentieth-Century American*, 99-126. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Sanchez, Rosaura. "The History of Chicanas: A Proposal for A Materialist Perspective." In *Between Borders: Essays On Mexicana/Chicana History*, ed. Adelaida Del Castillo, 1-29. Encino: Floricanto Press, 1990.

San Miguel, Guadalupe. "Actors Not Victims: Chicanas/os And The Struggle for Educational Equality." In *Chicanas & Chicanos At The Crossroads*, eds. David Maciel and Isidro Ortiz, 159-180. Tucson: University Of Arizona Press, 1996.

_____. "The Schooling of Mexicanos in The Southwest, 1848-1891," in Jose F. Moreno ed., *The Elusive Quest For Equality: 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education*. Cambridge: Harvard Educational Review, 1999, 31-51.

Santana, Ray and Mario Esparza. "East Los Angeles Blowouts." In *Parameter of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education*, 1-9. Hayward: Southwest Network, 1974.

Saragoza, Alex. "The Significance of Recent Chicano-Related Historical Writings: An Appraisal." *Ethnic Affairs* 1 (1987): 24-62.

Schurz, Carl. "Manifest Destiny," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 87 (Oct 1893): 737-746.

Serna, Elias. "Criminalization, The Xicana/o Movement, & Decoding Mass Media." n.d.

Smith, Lane. "Black Community Power Will End Abuses, Says Carmichael, Seattle Times, (April 20, 1967): 5.

Soldatenko, Michael. "Perspectivist Chicano Studies, 1970-1985." *Ethnic Studies Review* 19, no. 2 & 3 (June/October 1996): 181-208.

_____. "Empirics And Chicano Studies: The Formation Of Empirical Chicano Studies, 1970-1975." *Latino Studies Journal* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1997): 67-97.

_____. "The Genesis Of Academic Chicano Studies, 1967-1970: The Emergence Of Perspectivist And Empirical Chicano Studies." *Latino Studies Journal* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 3-25.

_____. "Radicalism in Higher Education: How Chicano Studies Joined the Curriculum." In *The Hidden Curriculum in Higher Education*, ed. Eric Margolis, 193-212.

_____. "Mexican Students Movements in Los Angeles and Mexico City, 1968." *Latino Studies* 1, no. 2 (July 2003): 284-301.

Sosa Riddel Adalijiza. "Chicanas and El Movimiento," *Aztlan* 4 (1974), 155-165.

Sweeney, Judith. "Chicana History: A Review of the Literature." In *Essays on La Mujer*, eds. Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martinez Cruz, 99-121. Los Angeles : Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977.

De La Torre Adela. "Activism Isn't Enough Any More" *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1996.

"The Port Huron Statement" in Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines eds., *"Takin' it to the Streets": A Sixties Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995: 61-74.

Turner Jackson, Frederick. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, 1893.

Vaca, Nick C. "The Mexican-American In The Social Sciences: 1912-1970, Part 1: 1912-1935," *El Grito* vol. 3. no. 3 (Spring 1970): 3-24.

_____. "The Mexican-American In The Social Sciences: 1912-1970, Part 2: 1936-1970," *El Grito* vol. 4. no. 1 (Fall 1970): 17-51.

Valencia, Richard, Martha Menchaca and Ruben Donato. "Segregation, Desegregation And Integration Of Chicano Students: Old And New Realities." In *Chicano School Failure And Success: Past, Present, And Future, 2nd Edition*, ed. Richard Valencia, 89-103. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Vasquez, Carlos. "August 29 – What it Means." *Sin Fronteras*, Aug 1976

_____. "The Chicano Movement – A Step." *Sin Fronteras*, Oct 1976.

_____. "The Chicano Movement – A Step, Part 2." *Sin Fronteras*, Nov 1976.

_____. "The Chicano Movement – A Step, Part 6." *Sin Fronteras*, Jul 1977.

_____. "The Chicano Movement – A Step, Part 9." *Sin Fronteras*, Oct 1977.

_____. "The Chicano Movement – A Step, Part 10." *Sin Fronteras*, Nov 1977.

_____. "Trends in the Student Movement." *Sin Fronteras*, Mar 1977.

Vigil, Ernesto. "Aztlán: Indian Country, And The FBI." Paper presented at XXVIII NACCS Annual Conference 2001. Tucson, Arizona, 2001.

BOOKS

Acuña, Rodolfo. *The Story of the Mexican Americans: The Men and the Land*. New York: American Book Company, 1969.

_____. *A Mexican American Chronicle*. New York: Charter Schools Books, 1971.

_____. *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation*. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972.

_____. *Sonoran Strongman: The Times of Ignacio Pesqueira*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974.

_____. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos, 2nd Edition*. New York: Harper and Row, 1981.

_____. *Sometimes There Is No Other Side: Chicanos And The Myth Of Equality*. Norte Dame: University Of Norte Dame Press, 1998.

_____. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos, 5th Edition*. New York: Longman, 2004.

_____. *Corridors Of Migration: The Odyssey Of Mexican Laborers, 1600-1933*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007.

_____. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos, 7th Edition*. New York: Longman, 2011.

_____. *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In The Trenches of Academe*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011.

Acuna, Rodolfo and Peggy Shackelton. *Cultures In Conflict: Problems of The Mexican Americans*. New York: Charter Schools Books, 1970.

Adams, Wallace David. *Education For Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995.

Alaniza, Yolanda and Megan Cornish. *Viva La Raza: A History of Chicano Identity & Resistance*. Seattle: Red Letter Press, 2008.

Alkedulan, Paul. *Survival Pending Revolution: The History of the Black Panther Party*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2007.

Allen, Robert L. *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969.

Allen Theodore W. *The Invention of the White Race: The Origins of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America*. London: Verso, 1997.

_____. *The Invention of the White Race: Racial Oppression and Social Control* London: Verso, 1997.

Althusser Louis. *On Ideology* London: Verso, 2008.

Alvarez, Robert R. "The Lemon Grove Incident: The Nation's First Successful Desegregation Court Case." *The Journal San Diego History* 32, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 116-135.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, revised and extended edition. London: Verso, 1991.

Austin, Curtis J. *Up Against the Wall: Violence in the Making and Unmaking of Black Panther Party*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2006.

Balderrama, Francisco E. *In Defense Of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate And The Mexican Community, 1929-1936*. Tucson: University Of Arizona Press, 1982.

Balderrama, Francisco E. and Raymond Rodriguez. *Decade Of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation In The 1930s*. Albuquerque: University Of New Mexico Press, 1995.

Barajas, Frank P. "Work And Leisure In La Colonia: Class, Generation, And Interethnic Alliances Among Mexicanos In Oxnard, California, 1890-1945," Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2001.

Barkan, Elliott Robert. *From All Points : America's Immigrant West, 1870s-1952*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Barraclough, Laura R. *Making The San Fernando Valley: Rural Landscapes, Urban Development, And White Privilege*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Barrera, Mario. *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality*. Notre Dame: University Of Notre Dame Press, 1979.

_____. *Beyond Aztlán: Ethnic Autonomy in Comparative Perspectives*. Notre Dame: University Of Notre Dame Press, 1988.

Barrera, Mario and Geralda Vialpando, eds. *Action Research: In Defense of the Barrio*. Los Angeles: Aztlán Publications, 1974.

Barrow, Clarence W. *The Mexican Problem*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917.

Berge, Dennis. "A Mexican Dilemma: The Mexico City Ayuntamiento and the Question of Loyalty, 1846-1848," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50 (1970): 229-256.

Berger, Dan. *Outlaws of America: The Weather Underground and The Politics of Solidarity*. Oakland: AK Press, 2006.

Billington Ray Allen. *The Protestant Crusade: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism 1800-1860*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

Blackledge Paul. *Reflections on the Marxist Theory of History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press 2006.

Blea, Irene. *Toward A Chicano Social Science*. New York: Praeger, 1988.

Bogardus, Emory S. *Essentials of Americanization*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1919.

_____. *The Mexican Immigrants: An Annotated Bibliography*. Los Angeles: Council On International Relations, 1929.

_____. *The Mexican in the United States*. New York: Arno Press, 1970

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *The Spanish Borderlands: a chronicle of old Florida and the Southwest*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921.

Boren, Edelman Mark. *Student Resistance: A History of the Unruly Subject*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Bradley, Stefan M. *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s*. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Broesamle, John. *Suddenly A Giant: A History of California State University, Northridge*. Northridge: Santa Susana Press, 1993.

Brown, Elaine. *A Taste Of Power: A Black Woman's Story* New York: Anchor Books, 1990.

Brown, Scot. *Fighting For US: Maulana Karenga, The US Organization, and Black Cultural Nationalism*. New York: New York University Press, 2003.

Brown, Kevin. *Race, Law And Education in the Post Desegregation Era* Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2005.

Branch, Taylor. *Pillar Of Fire: America In The King Years 1963-65*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998.

Bufe, Chaz and Mitchell Cowen Verter, eds. *Dreams of Freedom: A Ricardo Flores Magón Reader*. San Francisco: AK Press, 2005.

Burt, Kenneth C. Burt, *The Search For A Civic Voice: California Latino Politics*. Claremont: Regina Books, 2007.

Bustillos, Ernesto. *Chicano Journalism, Its History And Its Use As A Weapon For Liberation*. San Diego: La Verdad Publications, 1992.

_____. *Education, Chicano Studies, And Raza Liberation!*. San Diego: La Verdad Publications, 1992.

California State Board of Education and Liaison Committee of the Regents of the University of California, *A Restudy of the Needs of California in Higher Education*. Sacramento: California State Department of Education, 1955.

Campa, Arthur. *Los Comanches: A New Mexico Folk Drama*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942.

Carson, Clayborne. *In Struggle SNCC And The Black Awakening Of The 1960s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Carson, Mina. *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlements Movement, 1885-1930*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Castaneda, Carlos, *The Teachings of Don Juan; a Yaqui Way of Knowledge*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Chavez, Ernesto. *My People First "¡Mi Raza Primero!": Nationalism, Identity, And Insurgency In The Chicano Movement In Los Angeles, 1966-1978*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 2002.

Chavez, John. *The Lost Land: The Chicano Image Of The Southwest*. Albuquerque: University Of New Mexico Press, 1984.

Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education. *El Plan De Santa Barbara*. Santa Barbara: La Causa Publications, 1970.

Chiang, Mark. *The Cultural Capital of Asian American Studies: Autonomy and Representation in the University*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.

Churchill, Ward, And Jim Vander Wall. *Agents Of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against The Black Panther Party And The American Indian Movement*. Boston: South Press, 1990.

_____. *The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents From The FBI's Secret Wars Against Dissent In The United States*. Boston: South Press, 1990.

Cleaver, Kathleen and George Katsiaficas, eds. *Liberation, Imagination, And The Black Panther Party: A New Look At The Panthers And Their Legacy*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Clotfelter, Charles T. *Big-Time Sports In American Universities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Cohen, Robert *Freedom's Orator: Mario Savio and the Radical Legacy of the 1960s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Cohen, Robert and Reginald E. Zelnik, ed.s., *The Free Speech Movement Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Coons, Arthur G. *Crises In California Higher Education: Experience Under The Master Plan And Problems of Coordination, 1959 to 1968*. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1968.

Cotera, Martha. *Diosa Y Hembra: The History And Heritage Of Chicanas In The U.S.* Austin: Information Systems Development, 1976.

Cordova, Teresa, ed. *Chicano Studies: Critical Connection Between Research And Community*. National Association for Chicano Studies, 1992.

Cortes, Carlos E. *Gaúcho Politics in Brazil : The Politics of Rio Grande do Sul, 1930-1964*. Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 1974.

Croteau David, William Haynes, and Charlotte Ryan. eds. *Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Social Movement Scholarship* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Creelman James. *Diaz, Master of Mexico*. New York: Appleton, 1911.

Crowley, Walt. *Rites of Passage: A Memoir Of the Sixties in Seattle*. (Seattle: University of Washington, 1996.

Dagbovie, Gaglo Pero. *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007.

_____. *African American History Reconsidered*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Daniels, Roger. *Guarding The Golden Doors: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

_____. *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004.

Del Castillo, Adelaida, ed. *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*. Encino: Floricanto Press, 1990.

Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefancic. *No Mercy: How Conservative Think Tanks And Foundations Changed America's Social Agenda*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.

Denning, Michael. *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Verso, 1997.

Diaz, David R. *Barrio Urbanism: Chicanos, Planning and American Cities*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Douglass, Aubrey John. *The California Idea and American Higher Education: 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Donner, Frank J. *The Age Of Surveillance: The Aims And Methods Of America's Political Intelligence System*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980.

Downs Jim and Jennifer Manion, eds. *Taking Back The Academy!: History of Activism*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Darder Antonia. *Culture and Power in the Classroom: A Critical Foundation for Bicultural Education*. New York: Bergin & Garvey 1991.

Darwin, Charles. *On Origins of the Species*. New York: New York University Press, 1988.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Fawcett, 1961.

Dunne, John Gregory. *Delano: The Story Of The Grape Strike*. New York: Farrar, Straus, And Giroux, 1967.

Eagleton Terry. *Ideology: An Introduction*, New Edition. London: Verso, 2007.

Elbaum Max. *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao, and Che*. New York: Verso, 2006.

Escobar, Edward J. *Race, Police, And The Making Of A Political Identity: Mexica Americans And In Los Angeles Police Department*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1999.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched Of The Earth*. New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963.

_____. *A Dying Colonialism*. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

_____. *Black Skin White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

Farber Raul and Hamilton Cravens, eds., *Race and Science: Scientific Challenges to Racism in Modern America*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2009.

Fergus, Devin. *Liberalism, Black Power, and the Making of American Politics, 1965-1980*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009.

Ferrier, William Warren. *Origin and Development of the University of California*. Berkeley: The Sather Gate Book Shop, 1930.

Fiege, Mark and William Cronon. *Irrigated Eden: The Making Of An Agricultural Landscape in the American West*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

Field, Rona Fox. "The Berets: A Participant Observation Study Of School Action In The Schools Of Los Angeles," Ph.D. diss., University Of Southern California, 1970.

Fixico, Donald. *The American Indian Mind a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Foerster, Robert. "The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration From Latino American and the West Indies to the United States." A Report Submitted to the Secretary of Labor. Washington D.C. Government Printing Office, 1925.

Foner, Philip S. *The Black Panthers Speak*. New York: DaCapo Press, 1970.

Fraser, Ronald. ed., *1968: A Student Generation In Revolt*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1988.

Freeman, Jo. *At Berkeley in the Sixties: The Education of An Activist, 1961-1965*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy Of The Oppressed*. New York: Continuum, 1970.

Galarza, Ernesto. *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story*. Charlotte: McNally & Loftin, 1964.

_____. *Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970.

_____. *Barrio Boy*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971.

_____. *Farm Workers And Agri-Business In California, 1947-1960*. Notre Dame: The University Of Notre Dame Press, 1977.

Gamboa, Erasmo. *Mexican Labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.

Gamio, Manuel. *Mexican Immigration to the United States* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930.

_____. *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Ganz; Marshall. *Why David Sometimes Wins; Leadership, Organization, and Strategy in the California Farm Worker Movement* New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Garcia, Alma M., ed. *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Garcia, Eugene, Francisco A., Lomeli, and Isidro Ortiz, eds. *Chicano Studies: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1984.

Garcia, Gilberto and Jerry Garcia eds., *The Illusion Of Borders: The National Presence Of Mexicanos in the United States*. Dubuque: Kendall Hunt, 2001.

García, Jerry and Gilberto García. *Memory, Community, and Activism: Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest*. East Lansing, MI: Julian Samora Research Institute and Michigan State University, 2005.

Garcia, John, Theresa Cordova, and Juan R. Garcia, eds. *The Chicano Struggle: Analyses Of Past And Present Efforts*. New York: Bilingual Press, 1984.

Garcia, Juan. *Perspectives In Mexican American Studies, Vol. 4*. Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, University Of Arizona, 1994.

_____. *Mexicans In The Midwest, 1900-1932*. Tucson: The University Of Arizona Press, 1996.

Garcia, Jorge. "Forjando Ciudad: The Development Of A Chicano Political Community In East Los Angeles." Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Riverside, 1986.

Garcia, Ignacio M. *United We Win: The Rise And Fall Of La Raza Unida Party*. Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, 1989.

_____. *Chicanismo: The Forging Of A Militant Ethos Among Mexican Americans*. Tucson: University Of Arizona Press, 1997.

_____. *Viva Kennedy: Mexican Americas In Search Of Camelot*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000.

_____. *Hector P. Garcia: In Relentless Pursuit of Justice*. Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2002.

Garcia, Mario T., et al., eds. *History, Culture, and Society: Chicano Studies in the 1980s*. Ypsilanti, Mich.: Bilingual Press, 1983.

_____. *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans Of El Paso, 1880-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

_____. *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology & Identity, 1930-1960*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

_____. *Memories Of Chicano History: The Life And Narrative Of Bert Corona*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1994.

_____. *The Making Of A Mexican American Mayor: Raymond L. Telles*. El Paso: Texas Western Press at the University of Texas El Paso, 1998.

Garcia, Matt. *A World Of Its Own: Race, Labor, And Citrus In The Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Garcia, Richard A. *Rise Of The Mexican American Middle Class San Antonio, 1929 1941*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991.

Garcilazo, Jeffrey Marcos. "Traqueros: Mexican Railroad Workers In The United States 1870 To 1930." Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Santa Barbara, 1995.

Garrow, David J. *Protest At Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and The Voting Rights Act of 1965*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.

Gates, Charles. *The First Century at the University of Washington. 1861-1961*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961.

Gerth, Donald R. *The People's University: A History of the California State University*. Berkeley: University of California, 2010.

Gomez, Laura. *Manifest Destines: The Making of the Mexican American Race*. New York: New York: University Press, 2007.

Gomez-Quinones, Juan. *Sembradores Ricardo Flores Magon y El Partido Liberal Mexicano: A Eulogy And Critique*. Los Angeles: University Of California, Chicano Studies Center, 1977.

_____. *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement In Southern California 1967-1977*. Santa Barbara: La Causa, 1978.

_____. *Sembradores Ricardo Flores Magon y El Partido Liberal Mexicano: A Eulogy And Critique*. Los Angeles: University Of California, Chicano Studies Center, 1977.

_____. *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise 1940-1990*. Albuquerque: University Of New Mexico Press, 1990.

Goines, David Lance. *The Free Speech Movement: Coming of Age in the 1960's*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 1993.

Gonzalez, Gilbert G. *Chicano Education In The Era Of Segregation*. Philadelphia: The Balch Institute Press, 1990.

_____. *Labor And Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages In A Southern California County, 1900-1950*. Urbana: University Of Illinois Press, 1994.

_____. "Culture, Language And The Americanization Of Mexican Children," In *Latinos And Education: A Critical Reader*, eds. Antonia Darder, Rodolfo D Torres, and Henry Gutierrez, 158-173. New York: Routledge, 1997.

_____. "The 1933 Los Angeles County Farm Workers Strike." In *Local Social Movements: Historical And Theoretical Perspectives*, eds. Torres Rodolfo and George Katsiaficas. New York: Routledge, 1999.

_____. *Mexican Consuls And Labor Organizing: Imperial Politics In The American Southwest*. Austin: The University Of Texas Press, 1999.

_____. Gonzalez, Gilbert. *Culture Empire*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004.

_____. *Guest Workers or Colonized Labor?: Mexican Labor Migration to the United States*. Boulder: Paradigm Press, 2006.

Gonzalez Gilbert G. and Raul A. Fernandez. *A Century Of Chicano History: Empire, Nations, And Migration*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Gonzales, Manuel. *Mexicanos: A History Of Mexicans In The United States*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Gonzales, Rodolfo and Antonio Esquibel, eds. *Message To Aztlán: Selected Writing Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales*. Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2001.

Gordon, Milton M. *Assimilation In American Life: The Role Of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Grant, Colin. *Negro With A Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People: America's Second Largest Minority*. New York: Free Press, 1970.

Griswold del Castillo, Richard *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.

Griswold del Castillo, Richard and Richard A. Garcia, *Cesar Chavez: The Triumph Of Spirit*. Norman: University Of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Griswold Del Castillo, Richard and Arnoldo De Leon. *North To Aztlán: A History Of Mexican Americans In The United States*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996.

Guevara, Ernesto Che. *Guevara on Guerrilla Warfare*. New York, Praeger, 1961.

_____. *Episodes of the Revolutionary War*. New York, International Publishers 1968.

Gutierrez, David. *Walls And Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, And The Politics Of Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1995.

Gutierrez, Henry Joseph. "The Chicano Education Rights Movement And School Desegregation Los Angeles, 1962-1970." Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Irvine, 1990.

Gutierrez, Jose Angel. *The Making Of A Chicano Militant: Lessons From Cristal*. Madison: University Of Wisconsin Press, 1998.

Guzman Ralph C. *The Political Socialization Of the Mexican American People*. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Hall, Greg. *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905-1930*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001.

Hall, Stuart. ed., *Representation Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications, 1997.

Handman, Max. "The Mexican Immigration in Texas," *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* 7 (1926): 33-41.

Haney-Lopez, Ian F. *Racism On Trial: The Chicano Fight For Justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Harmon, Alexandra. *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities Around The Puget Sound*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Harold, Claudrena N. *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South, 1918-1942*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Hart, John M. *Anarchism & The Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931*. Austin: University Of Texas Press, 1987.

Havery Helfand, *The Campus Guides: University of California Berkeley*. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001.

Hawkins, Billy. *The New Plantation: Black Athletes, College Sports, and Predominantly White NCAA Institutions*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Hernandez, José Amaro. *Mutual Aid For Survival: The Case Of The Mexican American*. Malabar: Krieger, 1983.

Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983.

Hess, Penny. *Overturning The Culture Of Violence*. St Petersburg: Burning Spear Uhuru Publications, 2000.

hooks, bell. *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Holmes, S.J. *Human Genetics and Its Social Import*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936.

Horsman, Reginald Horsman. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Huggins, Nathan Irvin. *Harlem Renaissance*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Jackson, George. *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters Of George Jackson*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1994.

Jeffries Judson J. ed., *Comrades; A Local History of the Black Panther Party*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Jenkins, Craig J. *The Politics Of Insurgency: The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Joseph, Peniel E. *Neighborhood Rebels: Black Power at the Local Level*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Katsiaficas, George. *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968*. Boston: South End, 1987.

Katz, Loren William, *Breaking the Chains: African-American Slave Resistance*. New York: Aladdin Paperbacks, 1998.

Kelley, Robin. *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

_____. *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, And The Black Working Class*. New York: Free Press, 1994.

Kidwell Clara Sue, and Alan Velie, *Native American Studies*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Klein, Kerwin Lee. *Frontiers of Historical Imagination*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Krupat, Arnold. *Red Matters: Native American Studies*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions Third Edition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Laclau Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards A Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 1985.

Lemos, Jesus. "A History of the Chicano Political Involvement and the Organizational Efforts of the United Farm Workers Union In Yakima Valley, Washington," Unpublished Master Thesis, Seattle: University of Washington, 1974.

Lipsitz, George. *The Possessive Investment In Whiteness: How White People Profit From Identity Politics*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998.

Liu, Michael, Kim Geron, and Tracy Lai. *The Snake Dance of Asian American Activism: Community, Vision, and Power*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008.

Loftis, Anne. *Witnesses to the Struggle Imaging the 1930s California Labor Movement*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998.

Lopez, Haney Ian F. *Racism On Trial: The Chicano Fight For Justice* Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003: 90-95.

Ludmerer, Kenneth M. Ludmerer, *Genetics and American Society: A Historical Appraisal*. Balitmore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972.

MacDonald, Victoria-María. *Latino Education in the United States: A Narrated History from 1513-2000* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Macias, Reynaldo, et al. *A Study Of Unincorporated East Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center University Of California, Los Angeles, 1973.

Madrigal, Reyes Rachel. "La Chicana And The Movement: Ideology And Identity." Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1977.

Maeda, Daryl J. *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Maldonado Carlos and Gilberto Garcia eds., *The Chicano Experience in the Northwest* Dubuque: Kendall Hunt, 1995.

Marin, Christine. *A Spokesman Of The Mexican American Movement: Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez And The Flight For Chicano Liberation, 1966-1972*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1977.

Mariscal, George, ed. *Aztlán And Vietnam: Chicano And Chicana Experiences Of The War*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1999.

_____. *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.

Marquez, Benjamin. *The Evolution Of A Mexican LULAC: American Political Organization*. Austin University Of Texas Press, 1993.

Martinez, Oscar. *Mexican-Origin People In The United States: A Topical History*. Tucson: University Of Arizona Press, 2001.

McLean, Robert N. *That Mexican! As He Really Is, North and South of the Rio Grande* New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1928.

McWilliams, Carey. *III Fares The Land: Migrants and Migratory Labor in the United States*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942.

_____. *North for Mexico: Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*. New York: Praegar, 1990.

_____. *Factories In The Field: The Story Of Migratory Farm Labor In California*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1999.

Medenhall, Nancy. *Orchards of Eden: White Bluffs on the Columbia 1907-1943*. Seattle: Far Eastern Press, 2006.

Meier, Matt and Feliciano Rivera. *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican American*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.

Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer And The Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965.

Menchaca, Martha. *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History Of Marginalization And Discrimination In California*. Austin: University Of Texas Press, 1995.

_____. *Recovering History Constructing Race: The Indian, Black And White Roots Of Mexican Americans*. Austin: University Of Texas Press, 2001.

Miller, Jason W. *Langston Hughes and American Lynching Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.

Mindiola, Tatcho, and Emilio Zamora. *Chicano Discourse: Selected Conference Proceeding Of National Association For Chicano Studies*. Houston: Mexican American Studies Program, 1992.

Mirande, Alfredo. *The Chicano Experience: An Alternative Perspective*. Notre Dame: University Of Notre Dame Press, 1985.

Montejano, David. *Anglos And Mexicans In The Marking Of Texas, 1836-1986*. Austin: University Of Texas Press, 1987.

Mora, Carlos. *Latinos in the West: The Student Movement and Academic Labor in Los Angeles*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2007.

Moreno Luis H. "Chicano Studies and Community Activism: A Struggle For a Community Voice in Southern California 1968-2003." Master Thesis, California State University at Northridge, 2007.

Moreno Jose G., "Political And Social History of La Raza Unida Party In Los Angeles County: The Struggle For A Political Voice in Electoral Politics." Master Thesis, Northridge: California State University at Northridge, 2004.

Moreno, Paul D. *Black Americans and Organized Labor: A New History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.

Muñoz, Carlos. *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*. New York: Verso, 1989.

_____. *Youth, Identity, Power, and Chicano Movement*. Updated Edition, New York: Verso, 2007.

Nava, Julian. *Viva La Raza: Reading on the Mexican Americans*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1973.

Navarro, Armando. *The Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde Of The Chicano Movement In Texas*. Austin: University Of Texas Press, 1995.

_____. *The Cristal Experiment: A Chicano Struggle For Community Control*. Madison: University Of Wisconsin Press, 1998.

_____. *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge To The U.S. Two Party Dictatorship*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.

Negrete, Louis Richard. "A Symbolic Interactionism Perspective On The Emerging Chicano Movement Ideology In East Los Angeles, 1968-1972." Ph.D. diss., University Of California At San Diego, 1976.

Newton, Huey P. *Revolutionary Suicide*. New York: Writers And Readers, 1973.

Nicolaides, Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life And Politics in the Working – Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Odegard, Charles E., *The University of Washington: Pioneering in its First and Second Century*. New York: The Newcomen Society In North America, 1964.

Ogbar, Jeffrey O.G. *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Ongiri Abugo, Amy. *Spectacular Blackness: The Cultural Politics of the Black Power Movement and the Search for a Black Aesthetic*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010.

Oropeza Lorena. *Raza sí!, Guerra no! : Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam War Era*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Otten, Michael C. *University Authority and the Student: The Berkeley Experience*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

Outka, Paul. *Race and Nature from Transcendentalism to the Harlem Renaissance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Padilla, Raymond V. "Chicano Studies at the University of California, Berkeley: En Busca del Campus y la comunidad." Ph.D. diss., University Of California, Berkeley, 1975.

Paredes, Americo. *With His Pistol in His Hand*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958.

Pawel, Miriam. *The Union of Their Dreams: Power, Hope, and Struggle in Cesar Chavez's Farm Worker Movement*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010.

Peacock, Scot. *Hispanic Writer*. Second Edition. Detroit: Gale Group, 1999.

Perez, Emma. *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Persons Stow. *Ethnic Studies at Chicago 1905-45* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Phillips, Kimberley L. *Alabama North: African-American Migrants, Community, and Working-Class Activism in Cleveland, 1915-45*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Pitt, Leonard. *The Decline Of California's: A Social History Of Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1970.

Price, Glen W. *Origins of the War with Mexico: The Polk-Stockton Intrigue* Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1967.

Pycior, Julie Leininger. *LBJ & Mexican Americans*. Austin: University Of Texas Press, 1997.

Pulido, Alberto Lopez, Barbara Driscoll de Alvarado, and Carmen Samora, eds., *Moving Beyond Borders: Julian Samora And The Establishment of Latino Studies*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009.

Pulido, Laura. *Black Brown Yellow & Left: Racial Activism in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Raigoza, James Jose. "The Ad Hoc Committee To Incorporate East Los Angeles: A Study On The Socio-Political Orientations Of Mexican American Incorporation Advocates." Ph.D. diss., University Of California Los Angeles, 1977.

Ramos, Raul A. *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 182-1861*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Ransby, Barbara. *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Reese, Jenny. *Pacific-10 Men's Basketball: UCLA Bruins History, Head Coaches, Notables Players and Other Facts*. Los Angeles: Will Write for Food Books, 2010.

Resendez, Andres. *Changing National Identities At The Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Rivera, John-Michael. *The Emergence of Mexican America: Recovering Stories of Mexican People Hood In U.S. Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.

Rivera, Tomás *y no se to tragó la tierra. . . and the earth did not part*. Trans. Evangelina Vigil. Houston: Arte Publico, 1987.

Rochin, Refugio and Dennis Valdes, eds. *Voices Of A New Chicano/a History*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000.

Roediger, David R. *The Wages Of Whiteness: Race And The Making Of The American Working Class*. London: Verso, 1991.

_____. *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White*. New York: Basic Books, 2005.

Rojas, Fabio. *From Black Power to Black Studies: How A Radical Social Movement Became An Academic Discipline*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

Romo, Ricardo. *East Los Angeles: History Of A Barrio*. Austin: University Of Texas Press, 1983.

Romano-V, Octavio Ignacio. *Voices: Readings from El Grito, a journal of contemporary Mexican American thought, 1967-1971*. Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1971.

Romero, Mary and Candelaria, Cordelia, eds, *Community Empowerment And Chicano Scholarship*. National Association for Chicano Studies, 1992.

Romo, Ricardo and Raymund Paredes, eds. *New Directions in Chicano Scholarship*. La Jolla: Chicano Studies Monograph Series, 1978.

Rosales, Arturo. *Chicano! The History Of The Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*. Houston: Arte Publico, 1996.

_____. *Pobre Raza: Violence, Justice, And Mobilization Among Mexico Lindo Immigrations, 1900-1936*. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1999.

Ruiz, Eduardo Ramon *The Mexican War Was It Manifest Destiny*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

Ruiz, Vicki. *From Out Of The Shadows: Mexican Women In Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

Sales William W. *From Civil Rights To Black Liberation: Malcolm X And The Organization of Afro-American Unity*. Boston: South End Press, 1994.

_____. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1993.

Samora Julian. *La Raza: Forgotten Americans*. Norte Dame: University of Norte Dame Press, 1966.

San Miguel, Guadalupe. *Let All Of Them Take Heed: Mexican Americans And The Campaign For Educational Equality In Texas 1910-1981*. Austin: University Of Texas Press, 1987.

_____. *Brown, Not White: School Integration And The Chicano Movement In Houston*. College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2001.

Sanchez, George I. *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

Sanchez, George J. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, And Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Sanders, Jane. *Cold War On the Campus: Academic Freedom at the University of Washington, 1946-64*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.

Schrag, Peter. *Not Fit For Our Society: Nativism and Immigration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

Seale, Bobby. *Seize The Time: The Story Of The Black Panther Party And Huey P. Newton*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1970.

Seliger Marti. *Ideology and Politics* London: Allen & Unwin, 1970.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People* London: Zed, 1995.

Smith, Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior. *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*. New York: The New Press, 1997.

Smith, Sharon. *Subterranean Fire: A History of Working Class Radicalism in the United States*. Chicago: Haymarket, 2006.

Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion Of Space In Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso, 1989.

Soldatenko, Michael. *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of A Discipline*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009.

Stadtman, Verne A. *The University of California 1868-1968*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1970.

Starr, Kevin. *Golden Dreams: California In An Age of Abundance 1950-1963*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Stern, Kenneth S. *Loud Hawk The United States Versus the American Indian Movement*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Streeby, Shelley. *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Street, Richard Steven. *Beast Of The Field: A Narrative History Of California Farmworkers, 1769-1913*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Stern Kenneth S. *Loud Hawk The United States Versus the American Indian Movement*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Sullivan, Shannon. *Revealing Whiteness: The Unconscious Habits of Racial Privilege*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Taylor, Hermry Charles. *A Farm Economist In Washington 1919-1925*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.

Taylor, Paul S.. *Mexican Labor in the United States* 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928-1934.

_____. *An American-Mexican Frontier* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934.

Thelin John R. *A History of American Higher Education*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Thelin John R. and Fredrick Rudolph. *The American College and University: A History*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991.

Thompson, EP. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage Books, 1966.

Thompson, Wallace. *The People of Mexico: Who They Are and How They Live*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1921

_____. *Trading with Mexico*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1921.

_____. *The Mexican Mind*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1922.

Tomlan Michael A. *Tinged With Gold: Hop Culture in the United States*. Athens: University of Georgia, Press, 1992.

Tucker, Robert C., ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader, 2nd Edition*. New York: Norton, 1978.

Turner Jackson Frederick. *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829*. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1906.

_____. *The Frontier In American History* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920.

Twitchell, Emerson Ralph. *Old Santa Fe: The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital*. Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1963.

Valdés, Dionicio N. *Al Norte: Agricultural Workers in the Great Lakes Region, 1917-1970*. Austin: University of Texas Press 1991.

_____. *Organized Agriculture and the Labor Movement before the UFW: Puerto Rico, Hawaii, California* Austin, University of Texas, Press, 2011.

Valle, Maria Eva. "Mecha And The Transformation Of Chicano Student Activism: Generational Change, Conflict, And Continuity." Ph.D. diss., University Of California, San Diego, 1996.

Van Nuys, Frank. *Americanizing The West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890-1930*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.

Varon, Jeremy. *Bring The War Home: The Weather Underground The Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Vazquez, Francisco H. and Rodolfo D. Torres, ed. *Latino/a Culture, Politics And Society Thought*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

Vigil, Ernesto. *The Crusade For Justice: Chicano Militancy And The Government's War On Dissent*. Madison: University Of Wisconsin Press, 1999.

Vincent, Theodore G. *Black Power and the Garvey Movement*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 2006.

Walker, Dianne Louise. *The University of Washington Establishment And the Black Student Union Sit-in of 1968. Master Thesis*, University of Washington, 1980.

West, Cornel. *Race Matter*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

Whitman, Stephen T. *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake: Black and White Resistance to Human Bondage, 1775-1865*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2007.

Williams, Youhura and Jama Lazerow. eds., *Liberated Territory: Untold Local Perspectives on the Black Panther Party*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Wintz, Cary D. *Black Culture and the Harlem Renaissance*. Houston: Rice University Press, 1988.

Wollenberg, Charles. "Mendez V. Westminster: Race, Nationality And Segregation In California Schools." *California Historical Quarterly* LIII, no.4 (Winter 1974): 317-332.

_____. *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation And Exclusion In California Schools, 1855-1975*. Berkeley: The University Of California Press, 1976.

Young Cynthia A. *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of A U.S. Third World Left*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Young, R.J. *Antebellum Black Activists: Race, Gender, and Self*. New York: Garland, 1996.

Zaragoza Tony. *Apple Capital: Growers, Labor, and Technology in The Origin and Development of the Washington State Apple Industry, 1890-1930*. Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 2008.

Zinn, Howard. *A People's History Of The United States Of The United States 1492-Present*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1995.