



BMUN LXXII



# THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT (TWLF)



# LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

Dear delegates,

Welcome to BMUN 72's Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) committee! My name is Vivian Kuang (she/her), and I will be your Head Chair for TWLF. A little bit about myself—I am a senior majoring in Political Economy and Data Science, born and raised here in the Bay Area. Academically and professionally, my passions lie in ending incarceration and policing, Asian American/Ethnic Studies, and the radical power of community and community organizing (which is probably not surprising to you considering the content of this committee). This will be my fourth year in BMUN, but my first time head chairing, so I am super excited! Outside of BMUN, I have done a lot of policy work and organizing relating to prisons and jails, including currently volunteering for UC Berkeley's Teach In Prison tutoring program at San Quentin State Prison. I also coordinate a community organizing fellowship for the Asian American Political Activation program at Cal, help teach the introductory data science course, and compete on the Cal Figure Skating team! In my free time, you'll find me reading, hanging out on Memorial Glade, or going to a concert.

Coming to Berkeley is one of the best decisions I have, and probably ever will, make, in large part because of how I benefited from the multifaceted legacy of the TWLF. For instance, when coming to Berkeley, I had no idea what the TWLF was, much less that Ethnic Studies (and more specifically for me, Asian American Studies) was something that I could pursue. Taking these courses was one of the first times I felt truly seen in academia, and genuinely felt like my studies were generative and motivating. The TWLF legacy also manifests itself in the people I was able to meet and organizations I was able to become involved with here. These relationships have deeply shaped me by constantly challenging and expanding my politics, showing me the power of community care, and allowing me the opportunity to build community in a politically meaningful way. It is in gratitude to the TWLF, and all the ways it continues to shape myself and other Third World students, that this committee was created.

In this committee, we will delve into the TWLF and its legacy in order to gain a deeper understanding of social movements and the ways in which the past, present, and future of liberation are intertwined. We will also challenge how we think about socio-political institutions like the police and the university, and reconsider who, and to what ends, they should serve. With this in mind, we encourage you to keep several guiding principles in mind in your research process and during committee.

First, we believe that education should be a collective and participatory process. Just like we hope you learn from us, we hope to learn from you! Each of you brings a perspective and experience that no one else has, and our goal is to create a learning environment in which you feel comfortable being your authentic self. Secondly, we cannot stress enough the importance of working together in committee. MUN is often characterized by how you can leverage the position of your country or character, but here, your individual abilities

(although they do matter) are limited in comparison to what is possible when you think and act with others. We encourage you to throw traditional notions of MUN power politics out the window! In its place, try to develop and practice new ways of engaging with others. Finally, as you will see in this synopsis, the TWLF was imbued with a spirit of radical imagination. The strikers had no precedent for what a Third World College or a liberated Third World would look like, but they chose to take a leap of faith that it was possible and work towards making it a reality anyway. We hope that you adopt the same radical imagination to think outside the box, both in committee and in your own lives.

I have the privilege of chairing this committee alongside my amazing Co-Chairs: Amber Chen, Martin Bagadion, Somer Alrai, and Sahba Azarli.

Hello everyone! My name is Amber Chen (she/they) and I'll be one of your Vice Chairs this session. I'm a third year studying Sociology and Ethnic Studies and this is also my third year in BMUN. For Fall Conference III, I'll also be the Head Chair of the Occupation of Alcatraz so I hope to see some familiar faces once BMUN 72 rolls around! I'm professionally and academically interested in abolition, cultural studies (especially in the intersection of queer, gender, and ethnic studies), and educational organizing but I'm truly interested in everything social science. Outside of BMUN, I work at UC Berkeley's Multicultural Community Center as a Cross Cultural Student Development intern, engaging in curriculum and pedagogy development, and as a research mentee for the Social Sciences Research Pathways, exploring political re-entry and anti-policing in San Francisco. Beyond this, I love cooking/baking, Mitski, Pride and Prejudice (2005), and live performances. I'm so excited to dive into this fascinating committee topic and work with you all during BMUN 72!

Hi delegates! My name is Martin Bagadion, my pronouns are he/they, and I am one of the Vice Chairs making up this amazing committee this year. At Berkeley, I am a third-year majoring in Political Economy with a concentration in International Development and minoring in City & Regional Planning. BMUN 72 will be my second year as a member of Berkeley Model UN, so I am excited to be back and share the space with everyone. Regarding some of my academic interests, I find passion in development on the community and international scale, new urbanism, equitable urban planning/design, decolonization and its history, multicultural solidarity and activism, and many other subjects in the same vein. I have been a part of organizations such as bridges, a multicultural coalition that is part of the twLF's legacy, as a coordinator for Gender and Sexuality Awareness within the Pilipinx Academic Student Services. But, I currently serve as a board member for the Pilipinx American Alliance, continuing that excellence of advocating for the Pilipinx community on campus. In my personal life, I am an avid explorer of restaurants, love live music (especially EDM and k-pop), and a constant romanticizer of life. So excited to explore this topic with all of you!

Hi everybody! My name is Somer Alrai (she/her) and I'm a first year at Berkeley! I'm hoping to study Global Studies interested in the pre law path. This is my first year of BMUN and I'm so excited to see what it has to offer. At Berkeley I am also involved in the Political Action committee in the Muslim Student Associa-

tion as well as the ASUC MEMSSA office. I am most passionate about human rights especially in the international sphere and want to pursue a career fighting for them, especially as a Palestinian Muslim American! Some other things I love are anything Disney, sunsets, exploring cities like SF and more. I am so excited to learn and of course teach you all about the ethnic studies movement here on our campus!

Howdy everyone! My name is Sahba Azarli (he/him) and I'm a fourth year undergrad here at Berkeley studying political science and public policy. This is my first year in BMUN so I'm super excited for conference! I've dedicated the majority of my time and energy on the Berkeley campus to combatting sexual violence and harrasment (SVSH) as Chair of the ASUC Sexual Violence Commission. Ensuring a safe, dignified space for all Bears is of utmost importance to me. Outside of the Berkeley community, I've been deeply involved in labor organizing, particularly throughout New York state in the fight to end subminimum wage laws one state at a time. Other than my academic and professional inclinations, I love to play video games, skate, and chill with my cat. I'm beyond excited to meet all of you, and to explore the establishment of ethnic studies here at Cal through the eyes of the TWLF!

If you have any questions or input, feel free to email us at [twlfbmun72@bmun.org](mailto:twlfbmun72@bmun.org)! We are so excited to engage in this project of learning with you all, and look forward to seeing you in March!

Best,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'V-Kuang'.

Vivian Kuang  
Head Chair of TWLF  
Email: [vkuang@bmun.org](mailto:vkuang@bmun.org)



# UC BERKELEY THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT STRIKE OF 1969

## TOPIC BACKGROUND

### **What and Who is the Third World?**

In the contemporary moment, the term “Third World” often has negative connotations, connected to ideas of a country suffering from impoverishment and malnourishment. However, in the context of the Third World Liberation Front, this term takes a different, more empowering definition. Rather than being an actual place, the Third World was a political term used to describe a movement of countries across Asia, Africa, and Latin America in order to address the economic ruin colonialism left them in. The term is connected to the Cold War, signaling the disempowerment of post-colonial countries in Asia and Af-

rica (Tomlinson 309). Its institutional roots lie in the United Nations in 1948, where delegates from across the globe advocated for the redistribution of the world’s resources, return of labor, and an acknowledgement of the science, technology, and culture that colonialism had stolen from them (Prashad xvii). The Third World is a set of anti-imperialist ideas that unified formally colonized people across the globe to fight for their culture and economics.

The people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America who were colonized by European countries built the Third World, set on ideas of unifying their collective struggle across culture and nations (Prashad xvi). One



of the reasons the term was adopted was because it encapsulated the experience these countries shared, especially due to European imperialism (Tomlinson 311). The Third World spanned across social parties and social class, creating a strong cultural and international nationalism that empowered the movement (Prashad xvii). As Americans connected to this term in their struggle for racial justice, the idea of who the Third World represents has expanded to include Asian, African, and Latine immigrants and descendants who are still connected to the economic and social aftereffects of colonization and white supremacy.

Most essentially, “Third World” is a political term to describe a collection of anti-imperialist and anti-racist ideas that have guided people from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and beyond to advocate for their own liberation. The stigma around the term is a Eurocentric, capitalist belief that their economic hardship and advocacy decreases their value as a country. We encourage you, the delegates, to use this term freely as long as it is done so correctly, because it is merely a descriptor for a vast history of racial justice.

## **1960s Student Activism and the San Francisco State Strike**

To understand the TWLF strike at Berkeley, we must first examine the legacy of student activism that preceded it, and the shifts in student consciousness that contributed to the strike’s origin. To begin, the 1960s was one of the most turbulent decades in modern American history and was characterized by extensive activism. Some of the most prominent student activists included anti-war protestors as well as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which led impactful sit-ins during the Civil Rights Movement. However, towards the end of the 1960s, student activism began to take on a more defiant

and revolutionary color, and young activists began to question the ideals of nonviolence, integration, and racial liberalism that undergirded the Civil Rights Movement (Biondi 13-14). As American society supposedly became more equal and students of color began to attend predominantly white universities in higher numbers, they found themselves experiencing racism and pressure to assimilate to the racial majority. Despite their acceptance into these spaces, they increasingly began to question and distrust their educational institutions, as well as political and economic systems as a whole (Biondi 20-21).

This new generation of students of color began to question how the university could be relevant to Black communities and other communities of color. As political scientist Charles Hamilton wrote, students began to conceive of the university not just as a place for “a few black students [to] come and graduate and move up and out (to the suburbs),” but as a place where “new ideas and techniques are developed for the political and economic benefit of the total black community. In other words, they look up to the university, naively or not, as a beginning place for social reform or ‘revolution’” (Biondi 22). Seeking ideological guidance, students were heavily influenced by Stokely Carmichael and the Black Power movement, as well as the work of revolutionaries like Frantz Fanon, Karl Marx, and Malcolm X (Biondi 22-23).

The direct predecessor of the Berkeley TWLF strike was the first TWLF strike at San Francisco State College (known today as San Francisco State University). San Francisco State was a pioneer for Black Studies, beginning to offer Black Studies courses in 1965 through its Experimental College (Biondi 46). These courses were taught by alumni, community members, and even students themselves, and Black

Studies classes were also offered sporadically in other departments (Biondi 48). In 1967, graduate student Jimmy Garrett submitted a proposal to the university for a Black Studies department. Highlighted in his proposal was the involvement and autonomy of Black students in their own education (for instance, he proposed that seven out of ten of the board of directors be chosen by students), as well as a plan to support Black student admissions. University administration accepted the proposal, and sociologist Nathan Hare was hired to help design the new department. However, as time went on, Black students became frustrated with the administration's bureaucracy and lack of urgency to make Black Studies a reality (Biondi 48).



*Third World Liberation Front strikers at UC Berkeley in 1969.*

In 1968, Black, Mexican American, and Asian American students at San Francisco State formed the first chapter of the Third World Liberation Front, with a mission to “challenge institutionalized racism on campus” (Biondi 53). Other chapters of the TWLF were later founded at universities around the country, including at UC Berkeley. However, as the TWLF

coalesced, the prospects for Black Studies became increasingly bleak. California governor Ronald Reagan began to put financial pressure on public universities, including cutting funding for the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP), which helped students of color access higher education. Disheartened by these developments, more liberal administrators began to leave the university, and new university president Robert Smith was extremely hostile towards the development of Black Studies (Biondi 53-54).

Hoping to force the university's hand, the Black Student Union launched a student strike on November 6, 1968. Their demands included moving courses into an autonomous Black Studies department, more open admission for Black students, and rehiring and hiring more Black professors (Biondi 56). Two days after the strike began, the TWLF endorsed it and added their own demands, including a push for a School of Ethnic Studies. The strike became a campus-wide shutdown and lasted for five months, with over 800 people arrested throughout its duration (Biondi 57-58). While Black students and students of color were at the forefront of the movement, the strike was also supported by many liberal and radical white students, many of whom were arrested during the strike too (Biondi 60-61).



*A BSU leader rallying students at San Francisco State College in December 1968.*

On November 26, President Smith resigned and was replaced by Governor Reagan with S.I. Hayakawa, a Japanese American professor who sought to “crush the strike.” On December 3, known as “Bloody Tuesday,” Hayakawa declared a state of emergency, suspended civil liberties on campus, and sent in hundreds of police, leading to days of extensive violent clashes between police and strikers in which strikers and even non-participating bystanders were beaten (Biondi 62-63).



Gordon Peters / The Chronicle

*Police standing in front of the library on December 3 (“Bloody Tuesday”), 1968.*

However, as time went on, the TWLF found it difficult to maintain the coalition and morale began to decline, particularly as the administration became more open to some of the strike demands. The overwhelming majority of strike leaders were also wanted for arrest or otherwise intimidated into staying off campus. After negotiations, the administration and the strikers reached a settlement on March 20, 1969. In the settlement, the administration agreed to create a School of Ethnic Studies (later renamed to the College of Ethnic Studies and including Chicano, Asian American, and Native American Studies) as well as a Department of Black Studies. They also agreed to take steps to increase student of color enrollment and

reduce police presence on campus. Most ordinary strikers received amnesty under the settlement, but all of the BSU and TWLF leaders were ultimately arrested at least once during the strike, and many served jail time (Biondi 72-73). Despite the settlement of the strike, Hayakawa was extremely hostile towards the new school in its early years—firing professors, resisting the development of the department, and intimidating students (Biondi 74). The Black Studies department in particular experienced conflict between students and administrators on whether students or faculty should have control over the department, and what direction it should go in: a more traditional form of education, or revolution (Biondi 76).

Ultimately, the San Francisco State TWLF was not able to achieve the full extent of their demands, such as freedom from administrative control and student self-determination. Nathan Hare, who tried but failed to regain his job at the university, ultimately described most Black Studies departments as “polka-dot studies”—too traditional, and not aligned with the struggles and experiences of Black communities (Biondi 77). However, there is still broad acknowledgement of what the strike did accomplish, and the standard it set that institutions of higher education should serve the needs of students of color (Biondi 78). It is also important to acknowledge that while the TWLF worked as a coalition to sustain the strike, Black students were the first to mobilize and laid the groundwork for student action.

## **Origins of the UC Berkeley Strike**

Amidst this climate of student organizing around the country, students of color at UC Berkeley began to organize to address racism on their own campus.



These efforts were in large part a natural development of the isolation they felt due to low levels of enrollment for students of color. For instance, in 1966, combined Black, Chicana, and Native American student enrollment was only 1.5% of the entire student body (Dong 7). “You had to do something,” striker Estella Quintanilla said. “We were on the lookout for each other.” She and other Latina students were able to talk to each other and organize at commonly visited locations like the financial aid office and the EOP office (Serrano, “Estella Quintanilla”). In another example, in January 1968, LaNada War Jack became the first Native American to attend UC Berkeley; as she recruited more Native American students into the university, they created the Native American Student Union (War Jack). Brought together by a need for support networks for students of color, as well as a desire to act against injustice, student organizations began to coalesce that would become the basis of action during the 1969 strike.

### *The Struggle for Black Studies*

The Berkeley TWLF strike had similar origins as its San Francisco State predecessor: a struggle for Black Studies. In April 1968, the Afro-American Student Union (AASU) at Berkeley submitted a proposal for the creation of a Black Studies program, with the intention for it to eventually evolve into an autonomous department (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”). The emerging revolutionary sentiment of student strikers mentioned above is evident throughout the AASU’s proposal. “Henceforth,” the proposal states, “our education must speak to the needs of our community and our people. We can no longer prostitute our minds to the vain and irrelevant intellectual pursuits of western society while our community lies in ruin and our people are

threatened with concentration camps. This would amount to intellectual shuffling and we are determined to shuffle no more.” They also emphasized that the white, Eurocentric viewpoint of the university limited its ability to serve its students and society as a whole, writing, “Lily-white student bodies have been taught by lily-white teachers from a lily-white, middle class perspective. The product of this union has been, and continues to be, scholars who view the world from a unidimensional perspective ... Only by including that which has been systematically excluded—the Black experience—can the University begin to adequately address itself to and prepare its students for living in the world as it is, and work to change it to what it should be” (“Black studies proposal”).

The AASU’s proposal outlined their vision for a Black Studies program and eventual Department of Afro-American Studies. It is important to note the rigor and development of the AASU’s demands—the students did not just say what they wanted, but put forward a concrete plan to implement it. For instance, the AASU outlined a budget and administrative structure for the department, composed of a Black Studies Coordinator and support staff ranging from administrative assistants to a Student Affairs officer. They proposed a list of suggested Black Studies courses in disciplines such as anthropology, art, criminology, education, and sociology, as well as a “student profile” outlining the four-year trajectory for a typical Black Studies student, including field work and a dissertation. In line with the community focus of their demands, they also outlined mechanisms such as community-based programs and partnerships in which students would both learn from and contribute to the community. Finally, beyond the structure of the program itself, the AASU’s proposal included a framework for recruiting and admitting

students to Black Studies (“Black studies proposal”).

In August 1968, Dr. Andrew Billingsley was appointed to develop a plan for the department and submitted it for university review. In December, the Executive Committee of the College of Letters & Sciences met to discuss Billingsley’s proposal; however, their revisions omitted several key points, including student and community involvement and a field work requirement. These changes were made unilaterally, as the AASU and Billingsley were excluded from all Executive Committee meetings and decisions (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”). On January 13, 1969, Chancellor Roger Heyns and the University of California Regents approved the creation of a Black Studies program, but with no Black student or staff membership on the implementing committee. Faced with this significant curtailment of their proposal, the AASU rejected the proposal (Gilmore and Nham).

### *Forming the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF)*

On January 19, 1969, the AASU officially joined with the Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC) and Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) to form the Berkeley chapter of the Third World Liberation Front (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”). The Native American Student Union (NASU) would also later join after LaNada War Jack was asked to join by the MASC (War Jack). The formation of the TWLF came amidst the frustrations these groups faced when negotiating with the administration alone; the TWLF began to discuss the need for collective action and possibly a strike (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).



*Four TWLF leaders, one from each represented group in the coalition, march down Bancroft Way. From left to right: Charles Brown (AASU), Ysidro Macias, (MASC) LaNada War Jack (NASU), and Stan Kadani (AAPA).*

The TWLF constitution outlined the purpose of the organization—including discussing the need for Third World unity, studying and engaging with the Third World and Third World peoples, and working towards solutions to uplift “economic and political self-sufficiency of the Third World community.” It also set out a loose structure for the organization and governing of the coalition, in which the officers were composed of the chairperson of each sub-organization and the members were composed of any student that “identifies, contributes to and lives up to the standards of the Third World.” Additionally, the constitution is almost entirely based on the AASU constitution; the document is a photocopy of the AASU constitution, but with “Black” and “African American Student Union” replaced with “Third World Liberation Front,” and other edits made with pen (“Third World Liberation Front Constitution”).

Zooming in on the inner workings of one of the organizations within the TWLF, AAPA members outlined their vision for their organization in a document called “Understanding of AAPA.” AAPA underscored two main principles: first, it sought to

redefine leadership as “effective action whether that action is work, writing, speaking, talking to friends or plain secretarial labor. What is important is getting things done.” This emphasized an organizational style in which everyone could be a leader in their own way, rather than a top-down structure in which the most charismatic or dominant personality gave orders to everyone else. Secondly, and relatedly, AAPA emphasized the importance of democracy and involving as many people as possible in the decision-making process of the group, depending on the situation. Following these principles, AAPA was based on a “sliding structure,” composed of “us groups” of five

to six people that worked together on tasks and were sustained by personal relationships, trust, and affinity between its members. However, there was still an element of centralization with AAPA, such as a spokesperson to serve as a consistent “communicational cog,” as well as a central “us group” to coordinate work amongst the other groups and oversee recruitment and publicity (“Understanding of AAPA”). In your research, consider how the structure, rules, and purpose of the TWLF and its sub-organizations influenced the effectiveness of their work, as well as the dynamics within their memberships. In hindsight, is there anything you would change?



*Richard Aoki (AAPA), Charles Brown (AASU), and Manuel Delgado (MASC) with their hands together in solidarity.*

## CURRENT SITUATION & COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

Our committee begins on January 20, 1969, right on the cusp of the strike. For simplicity, assume that all four sub-organizations (the AASU, AAPA, MASC, and NASU) have already joined the TWLF. Generally, committee procedure will be a combination of standard BMUN procedure and crisis procedure. Similar to crisis committees, committee will default to a perpetual moderated caucus with one minute speaking times, where the dais will continuously call on delegates to speak, rather than using motions for specific moderated caucuses. You may motion for unmoderated caucuses to discuss with other delegates and work on deliverables (see below for more information on deliverables), as well as formal caucuses and voting blocs to present and vote on deliverables (these will operate according to standard BMUN procedure). A full explanation of the procedures of committee is available in our Procedure Guide.

The first deliverable the committee will be tasked to create is an amended version of the original TWLF constitution. Feel free to make whatever amendments you feel are necessary to create a solid decision-making structure and set of values for committee; specifically, you should consider what requirements should be set for deliverables, such as the number of sponsors/signatories and what vote margin it needs to pass (i.e. majority, supermajority, agreement by a certain number of sub-organizations, etc.). The structure you create in the constitution will determine the rules for

the rest of committee. Next, you will begin the strike by debating, writing, and voting on the TWLF's strike demands, as well as its first communique to strike participants.

As the strike unfolds, committee will alternate between the dais providing crisis updates and the TWLF responding by debating, writing, and voting on deliverables. Deliverables can be thought of as similar to directives in a crisis committee or resolutions in a standard BMUN committee. There will be two kinds of deliverables in this committee: communiques (see this [example](#)), which are directed towards participants in the strike, and press releases, which are directed towards the general public and university administration. These deliverables can convey an action the TWLF announces it will take or an action it directs strikers to take. They may also include general statements by the TWLF that are not explicit actions, such as guidance to strikers, responding to statements by the administration, or stating the coalition's values and opinions.

Note that all the information provided from this point on in the synopsis is based on how the strike happened in actuality. This is to provide proper historical context, inspiration, and guidelines for what actions are feasible. However, events may unfold differently in committee depending on the deliverables that are passed.





*A mass rally at Sather Gate.*

## THE UC BERKELEY TWLF STRIKE OF 1969

### Strike Demands

For reference, these are the five demands released by the TWLF upon the outset of the strike (“TWLF Demands”).

1. For the university to allocate funds for a Third World College by the Fall 1969 semester, with four departments: Asian Studies, Black Studies, Chicano Studies, and Native American Studies.
2. For more Third World People to occupy positions in the university, including faculty, administration (such as deans, admissions office, counselors, and chancellors), campus staff, and the University of California Regents.
3. A list of specific immediate demands:
  - For the university to provide admission, financial aid, and academic assistance to all prospective Third World applicants to the university.
    - On January 27, the TWLF clarified that this demand would apply to “any Third World student with potential to learn and contribute as assessed by Third World people” (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).
  - The creation of 30 work study positions for students to work in community initiatives in San Francisco’s Chinatown and Manilatown, and 10 counselors for EOP.
  - The creation of at least 30 work study positions for students to work at the AASU’s Tutorial Project at Berkeley High School.
  - Permanent status and funding for the Center of Chicano Studies.
4. For Third World programs to be administered and controlled by Third World people, from funding to implementation.
5. For no disciplinary action to be taken against participating strikers.



*Manuel Delgado (MASC) leading a rally through Sather Gate.*

## Strike Timeline

All dates take place in 1969.

January 22:

- First day of the strike. The TWLF begins by establishing educational pickets, in which groups of strikers hand out leaflets to passersby at major sites on campus in order to spread awareness of the strike's demands and garner broader support (Gilmore and Nham).
- In the nighttime, a fire destroys Wheeler Auditorium. The TWLF quickly disavows any involvement with the fire and tests fail to show any sign of arson, but the administration implies that the TWLF endorsed or sponsored the fire (Dong 14-15).
- The Associated Students of the University of California Senate (ASUC Senate), UC Berkeley's student government body, votes against a resolution endorsing the strike by a vote of 6-9-5. Of the five abstentions, three were Third World ASUC senators and one was a white allied senator, who abstained in protest. In a statement, the

abstaining senators explained that they viewed the Senate as hypocritical and did not want to give it the "credit" of supporting the strike when the resolution did so in words only. "We ... are fully committed to supporting the TWLF strike, not only in words, but in action," they said ("ASUC Response").

- Note: one day prior, on January 21, allied white students formed a Strike Support Committee in support of the TWLF ("Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet"). Support Committee meetings were attended by many white radical left students and were important forums for white allies to carry out decisions made by the TWLF (Dong 12).



*Pickets on Sproul Plaza.*

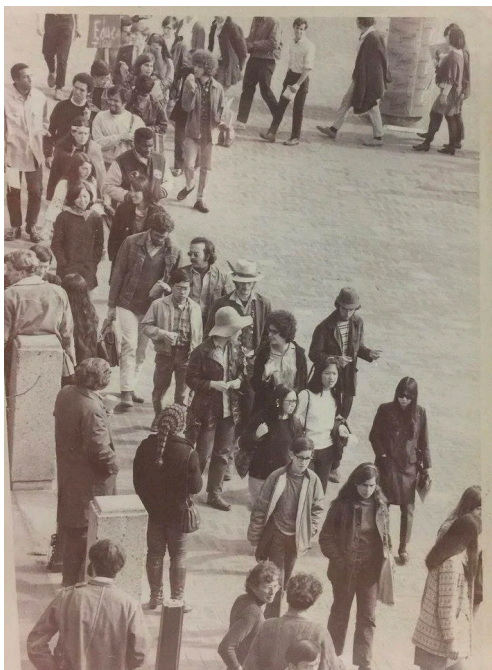
January 27:

- AFT Local 1570, the graduate student Teaching Assistant (TA) union, narrowly votes against going on strike to support the TWLF. An overwhelming majority of Third World faculty and administration announce support for the strike ("Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet").
- January 28:

- Police are called onto campus in relation to the strike for the first time, with over 100 police deployed to find students who were allegedly disrupting class (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

January 29:

- Police try to break up TWLF pickets. Strikers begin their tactic of conducting serpentine marches around campus (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”). This tactic was adopted to circumvent Chancellor Heyns’ restrictions on students of color congregating together, as strikers operated in small, mobile groups marching around campus (Serrano, “Victoria Wong”).



*Strikers using serpentine march tactics.*

January 30:

- First two arrests of the strike are made, and the university states that disciplinary action will be taken against strikers who violate campus guidelines.

- ASUC Senate passes a resolution to support the strike, with a vote of 12-3 (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

February 3:

- The Academic Senate (UC Berkeley’s faculty governing body) passes a resolution condemning “disruptive and violent tactics” and urges students and faculty to cooperate with administration to create a department of Black Studies (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

February 4:

- The TWLF begins to escalate their tactics, sealing off Sather Gate with shoulder-to-shoulder pickets (Dong 15). As officers try to arrest strikers, a scuffle breaks out—20 people are arrested and 20 people are injured (Gilmore and Nham).

February 5:

- Chancellor Heyns and the police ask Governor Reagan to declare a “state of emergency” to allow for heightened law enforcement presence on campus (“Chancellor Heyns to Campus Community”).

February 8:

- Chancellor Heyns and the TWLF Progress Committee, set up by the TWLF to negotiate with the administration, reach a tentative agreement on a committee to oversee the implementation of the strike demands, but the agreement falls apart (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

February 13:

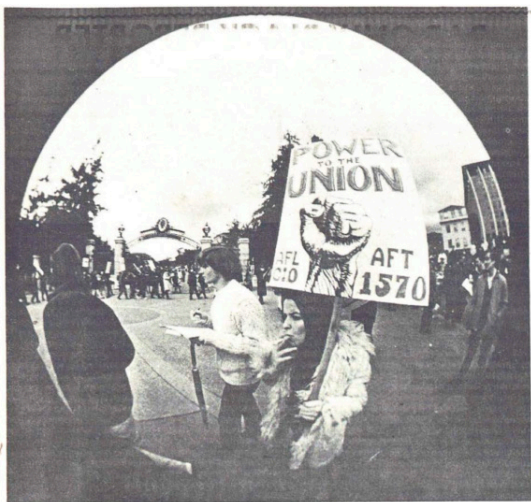
- Police arrest 17 TAs participating in a peaceful picket demonstration (Mountain).



- Police beat several students in the basement of Sproul Hall. Rumors begin to spread and are confirmed a week later (Armistead 172-173).

February 18:

- In the aftermath of the arrests on February 13, AFT Local 1570 (the TA union) votes to go on strike in solidarity with the TWLF, resulting in the disruption of classes from the teaching side in addition to the student side (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).
- AASU striker Jim Nabors is arrested and beaten by police (Armistead 173).



*AFT Local 1570 on strike.*

February 19:

- Further violent clashes between strikers and police lead to 24 more arrests, with three to four thousand students watching (Armistead 173).
- The Daily Cal, UC Berkeley’s official student newspaper, endorses the strike. Prior to this point, the Daily Cal had been supportive of the goals of the strike, but critical of the TWLF’s tactics. In an editorial piece titled “The Horror,” the Daily Cal’s editorial board wrote, “We urge

you join the strike for the Third World demands and an end to police on campus. We urge you support the right of peaceful picketing and the right to walk across campus and emerge alive. The reign of terror can no longer be endured” (Davidson).

February 20:

- Over 300 strikers and 300 police clash in “campus guerrilla warfare” including tear gas used on strikers, rocks thrown at police, and strikers turning over police vans (Davidson).
- Governor Reagan puts the National Guard on alert (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).
- An emergency AAPA meeting is held to discuss how to handle the escalating violence of the strike. AAPA votes 20-7 to “cool it” and the TWLF leadership also takes a majority vote concurring (Dong 19).



*Campus covered in clouds of tear gas.*

February 21:

- TWLF members give the directive to strikers for no violence to occur, saying, “don’t give Reagan an excuse to call out the [National] guard” (Dong 19). 4,000 strikers participate in a non-violent demonstration outside University Hall



while Governor Reagan and the UC Regents meet inside (Armistead 174).

February 26:

- The police “brutal[ly] arrest” MASC strikers Manuel Delgado and Ysidro Macias and beat them to the point of unconsciousness (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).
- Chancellor Heyns breaks off negotiations with the TWLF, citing violence from the strikers (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

February 27:

- The National Guard comes onto campus for the first time. More tear gas is used on strikers (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

March 2:

- AFSCME Local 1695 (the union representing UC Berkeley’s clerical, technical, and service employees) votes to go on strike in solidarity with AFT (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

March 3:

- At this point, 150 arrests have been made related to the strike. A third of the arrests are for felony charges, some with possible sentences of up to 15 years (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

March 4:

- The Academic Senate votes to establish a Department of Ethnic Studies (Lembke). The TWLF continues negotiations with Chancellor Heyns and the administration, as this vote does not meet their demand for self-determination in Third World programs (no student involvement is planned for the implementing committee of the department), and community involvement in the department is also excluded (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

March 10:

- The TWLF negotiates with Chancellor Heyns in hopes of creating a 5-person committee to head the newly approved Department of Ethnic Studies, composed of a chair and four division heads (one each for Black, Asian, Chicano, and Native American Studies). The TWLF frames this as a key condition that could lead to a strike moratorium, in which the strike would be on pause while the TWLF would work with the administration to form the department. However, negotiations do not lead anywhere (Israeli).

March 14:

- The TWLF announces a moratorium on the strike until the start of the next academic quarter (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”).

## Key Components of the Strike

### *Self-Determination, Not Paternalism*

Arguably the most crucial component of the TWLF's demands and vision for the university was self-determination: the ability for Third World students to have agency and ownership over their own education. With respect to self-determination, the university's stance throughout the strike was that similar to other academic programs at the university, the administration should maintain control over any form of Third World Studies. While they were open to students playing a role, they only envisioned it as an advisory role in which students would not be able to meaningfully influence decisions concerning the program. This was reflected in the proposal approved by the Academic Senate on March 4, after 10 weeks of striking, in which Third World student and community involvement was excluded from the implementation of the department. The strikers were strongly opposed to this lack of self-determination for a variety of reasons. First, on principle, "We don't need to be told what to think or how to do it," a TWLF pamphlet stated. "We are capable of determining on our own what kind of education we want and need. We must have the right to determine our own destiny." Beyond that, the strikers emphasized that considering the racism that students of color had experienced in all parts of the university, it could not be trusted to administer Third World Studies in good faith and in a way that aligned with the needs and desires of students of color. Finally, the TWLF saw a deep connection between their struggle for self-determination in education and the international struggle of Third World peoples against colonialism and imperialism during this time ("Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet"). Just as all countries should have freedom from colonization and political, eco-

nomic, and social control, the TWLF believed that they deserved the right to determine their own path in the university.



*A TWLF logo used on TWLF pins, emphasizing its values of self-determination.*

### *Connecting the Campus and Community*

The second key tenet of the TWLF's vision for Third World Studies was that it should bridge the gap between UC Berkeley's campus and the surrounding community. This desire was grounded in what the TWLF called "academic colonialism": a dynamic in which communities of color were made into "experimental laboratories" to be studied by white social scientists who had the privilege of "distant objectivity" and a lack of understanding of structural racism and inequality. The TWLF argued that for students of color in this system of academic colonialism, attainment of higher education "directs their interests, commitment and identity away from their communities of origin—a world destined by the system to remain one of dishwashers, fruit-pickers and laundry workers that cry out for the leadership and direction of its progeny" ("Proposal for a Third World College").

With this context in mind, the TWLF proposed a Third World College with the “primary goals ... to produce students having knowledge, expertise, understanding, commitment and desire to identify and present solutions to problems in their respective communities ... In this respect the Third World College will be significantly more community-oriented and community-based than is the case with other academic structures to be found on this campus” (“Proposal for a Third World College”).

This commitment to community was evident in many ways. For instance, TWLF strike demand #3 explicitly called for more work study positions and institutional support for student initiatives throughout the Bay Area, such as tutoring students at Berkeley High School, working in San Francisco Chinatown community programs, and organizing with the [International Hotel](#) anti-eviction struggle in San Francisco Manilatown. It was also built into the TWLF’s proposals for their vision of Third World Studies. The MASC’s Chicano Studies Proposal, for example, emphasized that the major should “develop students’ abilities to serve their communities” and allow for opportunities for field work, directed research, and other forms of learning outside of the classroom. Their proposal envisioned that a student could “be on campus for the fall quarter, then go to the Central Valley for the winter quarter, return to campus for the spring quarter, then to the barrios for the summer” (“Chicano Studies proposal”). This connection also extended the other way, as TWLF also envisioned bringing community members and experts to campus to enrich Third World students’ education (“Chicano Studies proposal”).



*Harvey Dong (AAPA) founded Everybody’s Bookstore, the country’s first Asian American bookstore, in the basement of the International Hotel, which was a crucial source of low-income housing in San Francisco’s Manilatown. Later, he would found Eastwind Books on University Avenue in Berkeley.*

Evidently, the TWLF hoped to redefine the university for students of color as not just a place to study abstract concepts or a job training factory, but a scholarly training ground for them to become agents of change in their communities. Indeed, many TWLF strikers went on to become notable community organizers, activists, and academics, and numerous Bay Area community organizations and movements have their roots in the TWLF.

### *The Role of Police and Violence*

Finally, a discussion of the strike would be incomplete without an analysis of the role of police. The 10 weeks of the strike were marked by mass police presence, tear gas, riot police, beatings, and hundreds of arrests and injuries; the National Guard was even deployed onto campus by the state. To date, the strike marked the largest deployment of law enforcement in Berkeley’s history, with over 1,600 officers across over 20 law enforcement agencies present on

or near campus (Dong 19-20). In hopes of repressing the strike, the police inflicted very visceral and physical consequences on participants. This strategy did not come as a surprise to the TWLF, however. “The police are not strange to Third World People,” the TWLF wrote. “They have come to represent, from countless personal experiences, the meaning of Third World status. In many cases these representatives have been the only link between the established powers that are responsible for the direct suffering that is meted out by their uniformed agents” (“TWLF Solidarity 1969”). From their prior experiences living in overpoliced communities of color, they recognized the role of police as liaisons of the government in enforcing the criminalization of people of color.

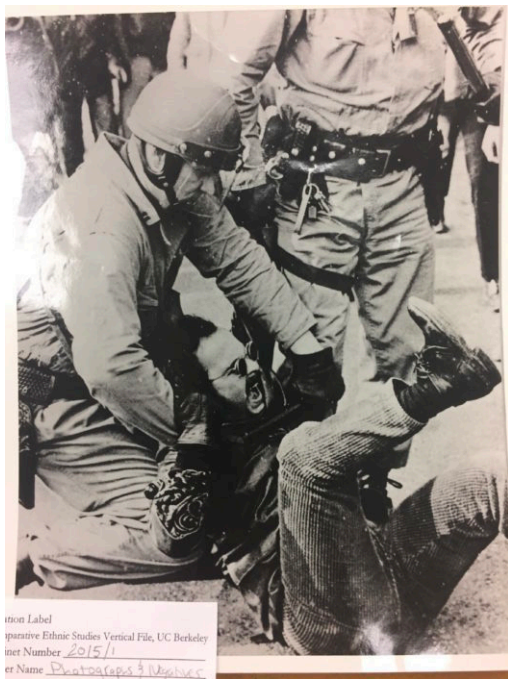


Photo Label  
 Descriptive Ethnic Studies Vertical File, UC Berkeley  
 Identifier Number 2015/1  
 Identifier Name Photographs & Videos

The university and law enforcement officials justified the presence and actions of police in the name of responding to violent strikers. For instance, Heyns decried the strikers as “packs of vandals” perpetrating disorder and violence (“Chancellor Heyns to Academic Senate”). However, the TWLF objected to this claim, putting blame for the strike’s escalation to violence on the heavy-handed tactics of the police. “Do

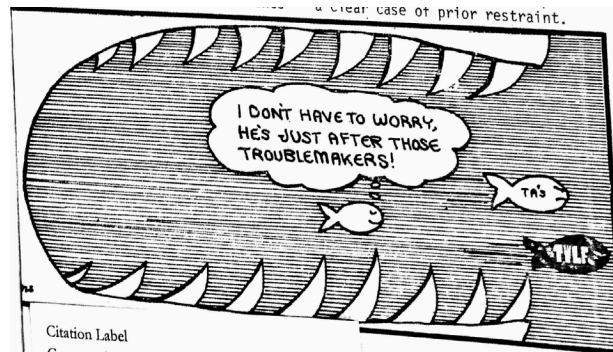
not put the responsibility of violence and frustration on the TWLF,” they said in a TWLF newspaper article. “Only those with real power can frustrate; those without it are the frustrated” (“What Do ‘You People’ Want?...”). Indeed, as noted in the Strike Timeline, the TWLF made efforts to deescalate tensions even as the law enforcement presence on campus ballooned.

Notably, however, the TWLF thought deeply about the value of their strike tactics, and was extremely intentional about the disruption it caused and the violence that occurred in its course. In comparison to prior movements like the mainstream Civil Rights Movement, which preached nonviolence even in the face of brutality, the TWLF questioned the dichotomy between nonviolent and violent resistance. “The TWLF does not speak of violence because as a platform we reject violence,” it wrote. “However the TWLF embraces struggle. We recognize that struggle may manifest itself in many manners from community organizing to self-defense” (“TWLF Solidarity 1969”). Engaging in this struggle through a disruptive and at times violent strike was precisely the TWLF’s intention, since their moral, logical appeals to the administration had been exhausted. “Clearly, the only language that Chancellor Heyns and the Regents understand is that of power,” they wrote. “Our only power is the power of numbers. The strike is one way of demonstrating that power” (“Third World Liberation Front Strike 1969 pamphlet”). Rather than assuming that social movements could only achieve a moral high ground through nonviolence, the TWLF recognized the complex circumstances it was experiencing, and left the door open for violence and self-defense as one of many tools at its disposal in the broader picture of the strike.

Interestingly, the violence of the strike ultimately worked against the administration, as the sheer brutality enacted on the strikers led to broader support



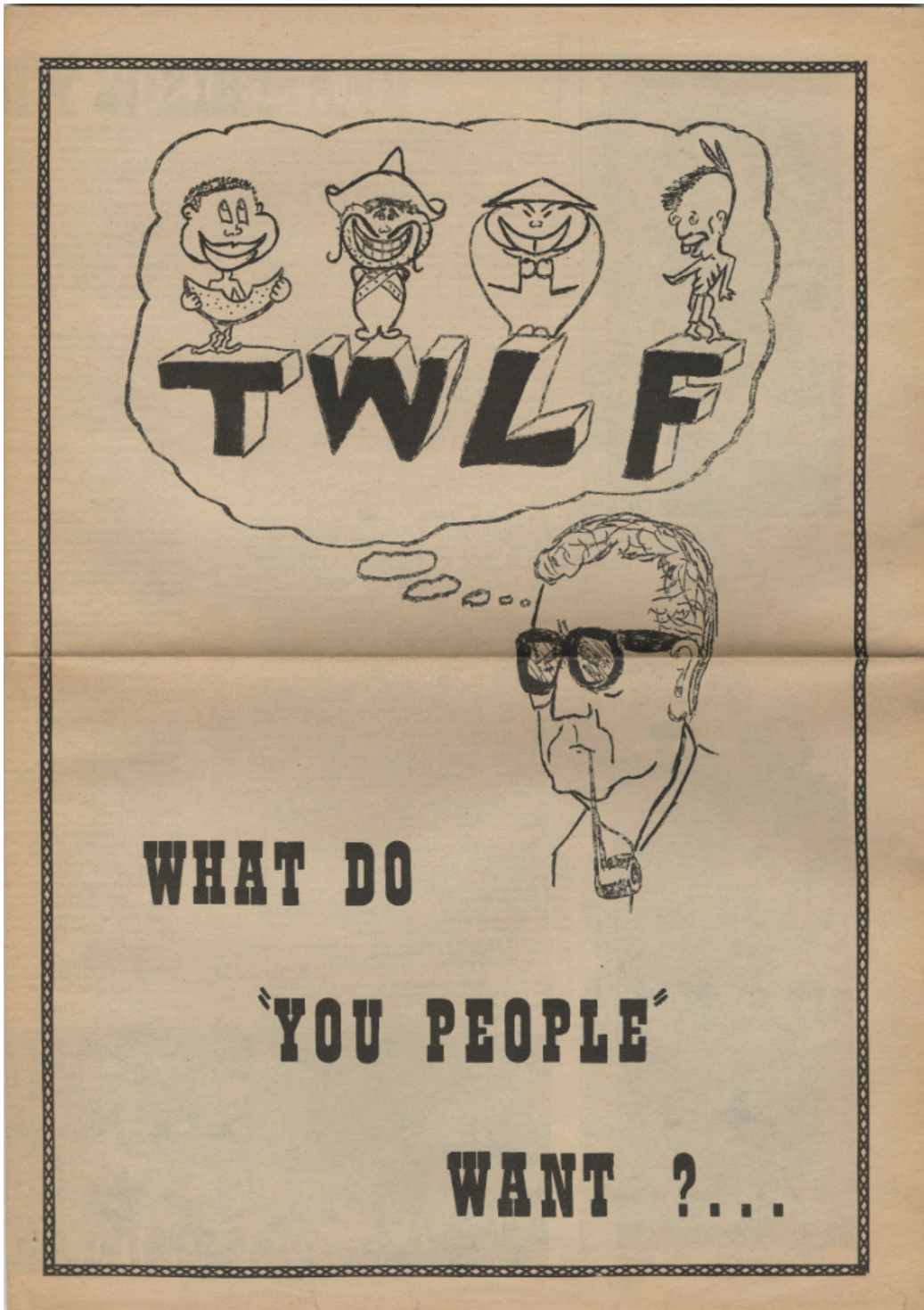
of the TWLF. As noted in the timeline above, other organizations on campus (such as the AFT teaching assistant union, the Daily Cal newspaper, and the ASUC Senate) were initially reluctant to endorse the strike, despite their general support of students of color. However, after the escalation of police violence, they threw their support behind the strike and condemned the actions of the police. In another example, graduate student Fred Armistead conducted a small survey of 142 non-strikers on Sproul Plaza to gauge their reaction to the police presence on campus on February 19 and 20, amidst the height of the strike's violence (Armistead 174-175). When asked if the police presence on campus had influenced their opinions on the strike, 33% fell into the category of "police off campus", in which students believed that police were aggravating a situation they should not be involved in to begin with (Armistead 176). 21% were categorized as "increased support for the strikers with increased hostility towards the police", although these responses were still generally characterized by a negative response to police violence rather than increased support for the TWLF's demands themselves (Armistead 177-178). These dynamics raise the complicated question of why these more mainstream groups only began to explicitly support the strike in response to police violence, and not simply on the basis of the demands and actions of the TWLF itself—as if the TWLF's revolutionary nature had to be justified by the very visible violence enacted by the police, rather than the less visible, but still pervasive, harm inflicted by racist educational institutions.



Just like self-determination and community engagement were key parts of the strike, violence was a critical throughline during the struggle for a Third World College, continually reshaping the relationships between the TWLF, administration, police, and broader campus community.

## Negotiating with the University

The TWLF made several efforts throughout the course of the strike to engage in dialogue with the university. At the beginning of the strike, the TWLF asked Chancellor Heyns to call a campus-wide convocation to discuss the strike, but he refused. "The Administration seems to fear public discussion with our leaders," the TWLF noted in one of its newspapers. The TWLF also set up a TWLF Progress Committee to negotiate with the administration ("What Do 'You People' Want?..."). However, the university often engaged in evasive tactics; for instance, claiming at times that Chancellor Heyns had been meeting with students when the TWLF had received no invitation to speak ("TWLF Communique #8"). When they did meet for negotiations, such as after the Academic Senate vote, the university often disregarded key TWLF demands and principles such as self-determination.



*The cover of a TWLF newspaper, depicting Chancellor Heyns' perception of the four student groups involved in the TWLF.*

Chancellor Heyns outlined his objections to the TWLF's demands in a March 4 address to the Academic Senate. Firstly, Heyns opposed the idea of students in Third World Studies having more autonomy than other academic programs and departments, arguing that curriculum and hiring decisions should be left up to faculty, traditional review mechanisms, and ultimately, his power as chancellor. Notably, throughout the address, Heyns referred to any potential Third World Studies field as a "unit" of the university, demonstrating his fundamental resistance to the notion of an autonomous Third World College. Heyns was also strongly opposed to community involvement in the program, arguing that allowing an academic program to "becom[e] an instrument of community action" would politicize the university ("Chancellor Heyns to Academic Senate"). Finally, Heyns decried the strike as counterproductive, violent, and vandalous, which he presented as a barrier preventing him from negotiating meaningfully—despite the role of police in the violence of the strike. Much of Heyns' rhetoric framed his opposition to the strike's demands as opposition to such demands for any field of study, and as a defense of the traditional mechanisms of bureaucracy and checks and balances in a university. By masking his fundamental opposition to the goals of the strike as a defense of the university in general, he could plausibly avoid accusations of overt racism—despite the TWLF pointing out past precedent for creating an autonomous department to eventually evolve into a college (in the creation of Department of City and Regional Planning, which eventually became the College of Environmental Design) ("What Do 'You People' Want?...").

Overall, the TWLF found negotiating with Heyns and the administration extremely frustrating; rather than engaging with the strikers on issues like self-determination and racism on campus in a meaningful

way, their notion of what was possible was constrained by an unwillingness to work and think outside traditional means, as well paternalistic attitudes towards the strikers. The TWLF acknowledged that there were liberal faculty and administration who seemed sympathetic to their cause and the idea of Third World Studies. However, despite this general value alignment, because they were constrained by their jobs and university bureaucracy, they were ultimately seen as enemies of the strike. "They are trapped into a position of defending a position they do not believe in, simply because their employment is dependent upon their ability to uphold the positions that their tradition-bound racist employers hold," the TWLF wrote in their newspaper. "As a result ... there is no open talk and there is no objective reasoning going on at the University. It is clear that these liberals are our enemies, and it is also clear that in a struggle for one's human rights the fight is to freedom or death" ("What Do 'You People' Want?...").

## **Aftermath of the Strike**

In the aftermath of the Academic Senate's vote to establish a Department of Ethnic Studies, mobilization for the strike began to waver, especially with finals for the academic quarter approaching and the TWLF's demands partially met (Israeli). After the TWLF called the moratorium and the next quarter began, the strike itself never regained its original visibility and mobilization. Indeed, even during the 10 weeks of the strike, its momentum ebbed and flowed significantly. Journalist Jeff Gerth described "picket lines of 50 on one day, 1,500 on another ... mass meetings of 50 one day, 500 another." As to why participation in the strike was so variable, Gerth noted that UC Berkeley was generally "a training ground for middle class kids who are assured niches in the professional world." Compared to the strike at San Francisco



State, which was carried out by an older and mostly working-class group of student strikers with a stronger sense of their political framework, “Berkeley failed to find such solid political footing ... Although the Berkeley student body ... is more left-leaning than most, and easily enflamed, it has generally been apathetic or cynical about struggle” (Gerth). While a subset of Berkeley students in the TWLF had committed themselves to a protracted political struggle, the broader student body ultimately did not make the same commitment.

The Department of Ethnic Studies faced numerous challenges in its early years. For instance, in its own words, the Asian American Studies program was “struggling to survive” by 1971 (“Asian Studies Program Study”). In its first year of existence alone, it underwent three types of organization, ranging from a program coordinator advised by an equal number of faculty and students, to a Graduate Student Council, to an Executive Council of undergraduate students. Each form of organization lasted for just several months before a struggle for control triggered a reorganization of the program, indicating the extent to which there was a “diffusion of goal consensus” within the program. The disagreements about the direction of Asian American Studies reflected many of the debates that occurred during the strike, such as whether the program should be more campus-oriented or community-oriented, and whether trying to build it into a full-fledged department was worth the struggles and limitations of operating within a racist university. The Asian American Studies Program also lacked the space and resources to attract full-time and/or tenured faculty; this reliance on part-time and non-tenured staff led to instability in curriculum and a sense of isolation from the broader campus community. “It is indeed a minor miracle,” the program wrote, “that the Division has survived its first year” (“Asian Studies Program Study”).

**asian studies** spring 1971 pre-enrollment

WITHOUT THE HELP AND REGULATION OF STATE THIS COURSE WILL BE THE PROPERTY AND JURISDICTION OF STRIKE COMMITTEES AND WILL BE CONTROLLED BY THE STRIKE OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS.  
From the UC/AAW

Prerequisite for the following courses: A.S. 10, 20, 50, 50A, 100C will be held in 1971. Delia will be held on Monday March 29, beginning at 1pm and all day Tuesday March 30. Results will be posted outside 5000 Delia on Thursday April 1. For other classes, attend first class meeting. For further information, call 642-2330.

**131 COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION**  
Prerequisite: A.S. 50, 100A/C, 197 or consent of instructor.  
Basic community organization practice theories and methods shall be examined for their organizing and understanding Afro-American communities. Emphasis shall be placed on developing the student's skills and analytical thinking.  
Lec: MW 7-8:30p 24 Wheeler 2000w

**150 SCIENTISTS & ENGINEERS**  
Prerequisite: Consent of instructor.  
The goal of this course is to develop an awareness of the potential which exists between training in the sciences and engineering and service in the community. Study of traditional relationships between scientists and their communities and analysis of contemporary issues affecting these communities is intended to create a new role for individuals with such training.  
Lec: MW 10:30-11:30a 100a  
Sections: TBA

**161 REVOLUTION IN CHINA**  
Prerequisite: Background in modern Chinese history preferred, with consent of instructor.  
Analysis and discussion will emphasize the impact of modernization, the emergence of new socio-economic and political forces in building the present Chinese socialist system, and other revolutionary changes during the last half century.  
Lec: MW 3:30-5 TBA LLU  
Sec: 9-4-8 TBA

**10 READING & COMPOSITION**  
Prerequisite: Passing grade in A.S. 1A and consent of instructor.  
Continued training in effective written expression with an introduction into the study of literature. Selected works of English Literature and Asian Literature in translation with universal themes.  
10 new/developing — 85 Surveys, new/developing  
2 TBA 12:30-2 333 Classical Reference  
2 MF 11 2002 LBR King  
4 MF 12 205 Moffitt King  
6 MF 13:30-5p 115 Newark Hansen

**10 INTRODUCTION**  
Historical, social, and political evolution of Asian-American. From immigration to present. Special emphasis on social forces and their influence on creating characteristics of modern Asian-American individuals and communities.  
Lec: TuTh 11 101 Wurster Kawachi TBA  
2 MW 3-5p 225 Delia TBA  
4 TuTh 12-2 415 Warren TBA

**50 ASIAN COMMUNITIES**  
Prerequisite: Consent of instructor.  
Cross-cultural analysis of social, religious, economic, and political organizations of Asian communities in America. Emphasis will be on developing creative approaches to understanding the nature of these communities by implementing real projects to supplement the theoretical material.  
Lec: MF 2 TBA Wong

**50 A.C. CANTONESE**  
Prerequisite: Must be taken in sequence or consent of instructor.  
This is mainly concerned with the spoken aspects of Cantonese. The written will be incorporated in the two last quarters of the sequence.  
50A TuTh 10 30 Wheeler Tu  
1 MF 12 121 Latham  
2 MF 12 122 Latham  
3 MF 3 232 Delia

**50C JAPANESE**  
Prerequisite: Must be taken in sequence or consent of instructor.  
Objective: To develop mastery of Japanese. Emphasis on communication, cultural context—myths, customs, and institutions—and community relevance. Written facility will be taught, but not incorporated until the fourth quarter.  
1 Winter 10 220 Delia Dystra  
2 Winter 10 222 Delia Dystra

**62 A.C. TAGALOG**  
Prerequisite: Must be taken in sequence or consent of instructor.  
Verbal skills are emphasized although students will progress from conversation to writing in a four-quarter sequence. Special emphasis is placed on the use of newspapers, magazines, and field trips to provide an insight into culture, myths, and institutions.  
52A Winter 10 100 Wheeler Delan  
52C Winter 9 309H L50 Delan

**103 filipinos in u.s.**  
Prerequisite: Consent of instructor.  
A survey of Filipino history and programs, as a minority group in the U.S., particularly patterns of migration in the context areas of labor force in agri-  
cultural lands, professionals in the city, and technical manpower in other areas. Focus is on historical and present problems.  
TBA Delan

**108 asians and the law**  
Prerequisite: A.S. 100A/B or consent of instructor.  
Continuation of survey of American Law with emphasis on Civil, Law, Analysis of various legal problems and their political-social implications (e.g., immigration, selective service, intercommunal, juvenile delinquency, law reform/development). Field work.  
Lec: TuTh 10:30-11:30a 523 Warren Kawachi  
Sections: TBA

*An Asian American Studies course listing for the Spring 1971 quarter.*

The Native American Studies Program underwent similar struggles. Dr. Jack Forbes, who was originally tapped to direct the program, stepped down after coming to the belief that “working within UC Berkeley would be limiting and confining,” choosing Lehman Brightman to fill his role instead. Although Brightman was a favored choice by many, TWLF students were concerned that Forbes and university officials did not incorporate student input into the decision—a trend that continued as the program continued to develop. Indeed, the university ultimately appointed many “mainstream” and conventionally educated faculty to teach Native American Studies classes who “had recently ‘discovered’ their alleged Indian identities” (War Jack).



Beyond depriving the emerging department of resources and adequate faculty, the university also employed a divide and conquer strategy with respect to Black Studies. Of all the programs within the Department of Ethnic Studies, Black Studies was the most developed, with 30 course offerings in 1970 (outnumbering the other three programs combined) (Taylor 260). However, in 1971, Ron Lewis, the Black Studies Program coordinator, was fired and replaced with Bill Banks. Not only was this decision unilaterally made by administration, echoing the issues faced by other programs, but Banks' vision for Black Studies was extremely unpopular ("Keep Black Studies in Ethnic Studies! Flyer"). "We don't need any more courses based on political rap," Banks said of the Black Studies curriculum. Instead, he hoped to revamp the curriculum, hire mainstream tenured faculty, and most problematically, move Black Studies into its own department within the College of Letters & Sciences (Taylor 260). This severing of Black Studies would be a massive setback for the eventual goal of a unified, autonomous Third World College, and

was opposed by the Native American, Chicano, and Asian American Studies programs (as well as many Black faculty and students) ("Keep Black Studies in Ethnic Studies! Flyer").

In protest of the proposal, the AASU boycotted the Black Studies Program, with enrollment dropping from 421 students in Fall 1971 to 93 in Fall 1972. The AASU and allied groups also mobilized over 215 students, faculty, and community members in June 1972 to attend a meeting to protest the move, submitting over 600 signatures in opposition (Taylor 260). However, despite community efforts, Banks' proposal to create a separate Department of African American Studies was approved in 1974 ("Keep Black Studies in Ethnic Studies! Flyer"). In the same year, the Academic Senate removed funding for community engagement components from Ethnic Studies programs (Dong 21). To this day, the department exists separately, and the TWLF's vision of a Third World College remains unrealized.

## THE STRIKE IN PERSPECTIVE

### Gender and the Strike

As was the case with many social movements of this time, the strike leadership was overwhelmingly male, with LaNada War Jack being the only female member of the highest ranks of TWLF leadership. War Jack was a prominent and well-respected leader within the TWLF, voting on major decisions, discussing strategy with other strike leaders, and marching on the picket line (Serrano, "LaNada War Jack"). However, beyond

the highest level of strike leadership, women were still crucial members and contributors to the strike effort. Clementina Duron, a MASC striker, described her role in the strike as a "foot soldier", describing how she picked up flyers and posters for the picket line in the early morning hours and participated in educational pickets on campus (Serrano, "Clementina Duron"). Female strikers described their participation in the movement as a fun, liberating experience, in which they felt (in the words of AAPA co-founder

Victoria Wong) “freedom we have never felt before.” Further, despite the struggles of the strike, Wong described it as “colorful ... full of laughter, music, art, [and] magical moments of joyful and intense struggle and collaboration” (Serrano, “Victoria Wong”). Strikers described building friendships in the movement that last to this day.

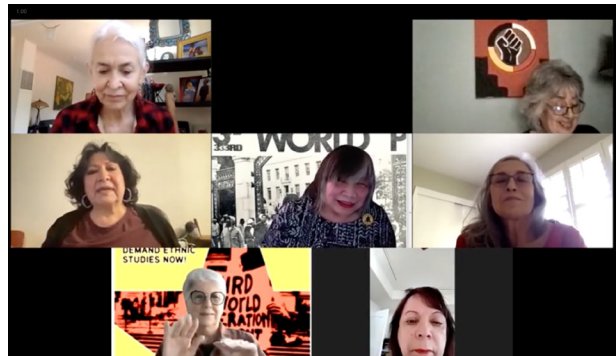


*Clementina Duron (right) protesting during the strike.*

While War Jack was one of few women in strike leadership, she still felt respected and valued by her peers. “Fortunately, I did not have to fight for power or to express my voice since the male leadership generally respected me and wanted to hear my perspective,” she wrote. “Although male privilege was evident in certain spaces, the men treated me courteously and acted respectfully” (War Jack). While there were male strikers with large egos (“Interview” 19:30-19:52), War Jack’s sentiment was echoed by others such as MASC striker Lea Ybarra, who said that any male chauvinism was countered by women’s evident contributions to the strike. “From day one ... We were in leadership roles, we were involved in the planning meetings, strikes and demonstrations” (Serrano, “Lea Ybarra”). However despite this baseline of respect,

female strikers’ gender undoubtedly did impact their experience. For instance, while MASC striker Estella Quintanilla’s father supported her involvement in the strike, he was concerned about her physical safety and asked the MASC to keep her mostly working in the MASC office, rather than engaging in “heavy-duty activism.” Quintanilla managed the office and took messages, and occasionally overheard discussions from male MASC leadership about the strike (Serrano, “Estella Quintanilla”). War Jack was also a single mother at the time of the strike, and while this did not prevent her from being a strike leader, she had to arrange for a babysitter for her son while she engaged with TWLF organizing (Serrano, “LaNada War Jack”).

Despite the barriers that female strikers faced, they made invaluable contributions to the strike. After leaving Berkeley, they went on to lead social movements, found community organizations, and be some of the first women of color in their graduate school and PhD fields, blazing a trail for future generations of women of color.



*TWLF strikers Clementina Duron, Maria Ramirez, Nina Genera, Lea Ybarra, LaNada War Jack, Estella Quintanilla, and Victoria Wong reconvening in 2020 on Zoom to discuss their experience as matriarchs of the TWLF.*

## The TWLF Legacy

### *1989 UC American Cultures Requirement*

One of the most distinct legacies of the TWLF strike for UC Berkeley students is the American Cultures (AC) requirement, where undergraduate students across the entire campus are required to take a course that covers the history, society, culture, and race/ethnicity of African Americans, Indigenous Americans, Asian Americans, Chicano Americans, and European Americans. The courses span across disciplines, from Linguistics to Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies, all engaging in comparative frameworks to explore American culture. The foundation for the AC requirement began in the 1960s, where the student body rapidly diversified and the 1968 TWLF strike brought to the academy's attention the need for a more diverse curriculum to match the new student population ("Introduction to the American Cultures Requirement" 3:53-5:18). In 1986, anti-Apartheid sentiment was swelling in UC Berkeley, inspiring the students to advocate for an Ethnic Studies requirement ("Introduction to the American Cultures Requirement" 5:19-6:03). Three years later, the UC Berkeley Academic Senate would instead pass the AC requirement and the program was developed by 1991 ("Introduction to the American Cultures Requirement" 6:39-7:38). Although it is not as powerful or autonomous as a Third World College or as particular as an Ethnic Studies requirement, the AC requirement continues to be a distinct, important mark on Berkeley's curriculum that encourages all students to engage in critical race-conscious scholarship through multiple disciplines.

### *1999 Berkeley twLF Strike*

The fight for an Ethnic Studies education at Berkeley

continued three decades later with the 1999 Berkeley twLF Strike ("On Strike: Ethnic Studies 1969-1999" 0:00-6:00). Organized under the same banner of the twLF, with the 'tw' being lowercase to represent the marginalization of people from the Third World, students mobilized for a similar cause to the 1969 protests—the Ethnic Studies Department that was established from the original strike was facing drastic budget and staff cuts at the end of the millennium (Luna 84). The 1969 protests left a historical impact in educational equity, but unfortunately, students were still not being taken seriously by the administration. These cuts to resources were coupled with the anti-immigrant sentiments of the 1990s where propositions such as Proposition 209 and Proposition 187 created barriers for many students of color to learn critically about their own communities.

**twLF**  
third world  
Liberation Front

**What you can do?**

1. Get informed about the drastic cutbacks that are dismantling the Ethnic Studies Program at UC Berkeley.
2. Contact Chancellor Robert Berdahl and Provost Carol Christ, and ask them what they will do to support Ethnic Studies.  
Chancellor Robert Berdahl  
200 California Hall  
Berkeley, CA 94720  
phone numbers: 442-7444 or 442-7445  
email: rberdahl@uclink.berkeley.edu  
Provost Carol Christ  
200 California Hall  
Berkeley, CA 94720  
phone numbers: 442-7444 or 442-2831  
fax: 442-5051  
email: chrisc@uclink.berkeley.edu
3. Send letters of support to the twLF in care of Ethnic Studies Department  
506 Hearnes Hall  
Berkeley, CA 94720
4. To help support our struggle please send your personal and/or organizations endorsements of our demands to the Ethnic Studies Department/collective above.
5. Send financial contributions, written to the A.L.U.C. Ethnic Studies Collective through the Ethnic Studies address above.

**THURSDAY NIGHT VIGIL**  
@ 9pm  
on the westside of California Hall  
(next to the flagpole)

**DEFEND ETHNIC STUDIES**

**Welcome to the U.C. Berkeley of the 21st century.**

- Ethnic Studies has the smallest budget in the college of letters and science. This fact makes the entire board just after the Ethnic Studies Department and its programs disproportionately.
- Ethnic Studies has received a \$200,000 budget cut (that's 1/2 of the overall budget for the department, which has forced the department to cut classes).
- The classes that were cancelled include: Chinese American History; Asian American Women Theory and Practice; Latino Politics, Chicano, Law and Criminal Justice; People of Mixed Race; Diaspora; Black in London; Sex, Space and Commerce; Making Resistance Working.
- The department has lost 4.5 faculty members that the University has not allowed us to replace. After next year we will have lost 6 professors.
- Currently there are NO full time tenured professors in Native American Studies.
- After next year, there will be only ONE full-time tenured professor in Chicano Studies.
- Due to the shortage of faculty, Asian American Studies professors are forced to cancel their classes to teach the general Ethnic Studies curriculum.
- There is cutting up of faculty or South Asian representatives within the faculty of the Asian American Studies department, among the professors, of Southeast Asians or Filipinos.
- Why should we care?
- Ethnic Studies teaches curriculum that is relevant and important to students on campus, and helps in the anti-racist community. It teaches the history of people of color, histories that are not included in other disciplines. Ethnic Studies classes reflect the diverse racial, ethnic, and national backgrounds of California and the United States.
- Development of the Ethnic Studies program would further bolster the University's reputation for excellence, financial growth, a responsive and empowering environment for recently students from "global" racial identities.
- The University has shown continuous disregard and neglect for diversity in education ever since its creation, and especially over the last 30 years since students of color rose up to demand a more just education. The Ethnic Studies Department must be saved and expanded to ensure a brighter future for all people.

*An twLF informational pamphlet mobilizing students for the 1999 strike.*

Campus mobilization spanned multiple years amongst the political actions made by low-income, first-generation students of color, including walkouts, teach-ins, building takeovers, and protests ("On Strike: Ethnic Studies 1969-1999" 7:40-19:00). Again, these actions were met with a violent police

response. As more students began to back the fight for Ethnic Studies Department, twLF 1999 leaders formulated the demands for the department: to hire new tenure track faculty, establish a research center, develop a multicultural center, and amnesty for protesting students that were faced with police brutality and unfair arrests. The administration continued to ignore these demands until the catalyzing twLF Hunger Strike occurred on campus, where for five days, students starved themselves on campus to show the importance of this cause. Still, violent arrests occurred the last day and solidified to the public that the administration was against the fight for the Ethnic Studies Department.



*The tents of the hunger strikers outside California Hall, 1999.*

With community pressure, negotiations finally ensued, which were met with less difficulty than imagined. However, amnesty for protesting students was never granted or discussed, despite the rest of the demands agreed to by the chancellor (“On Strike: Ethnic Studies 1969-1999” 20:34-31:56). The inability for the administration to meet all of the demands from the 1999 twLF even after the historic 1969 strike shows the continued need for students of color to mobilize together for educational equity, even to this day.

## *bridges*

bridges is a multicultural coalition of seven recruitment and retention centers (RRCs) that all focus on bringing in and providing resources to first-generation, low-income students of color at Berkeley. bridges, italicized and lowercase when written, is represented this way as the coalition does not believe in a hierarchy and is always moving forward. The coalition was founded in 1997 as a politically motivated response to Proposition 209, banning affirmative action in California, as well as Special Policies 1 and 2, which were specific restrictions to the University of California system (Veiga 4-10). As race was phased out of college admissions, access to higher education for Black, Latine, Native American, and Asian students was severely stunted as these communities faced systemic barriers to accessing higher education. To avoid being punished for outreaching to specific communities of color amidst the banning of affirmative action, the existing RRCs mobilized as one to engage in multiethnic outreach to form the bridges coalition. The first multiethnic outreach event was bridges Senior Weekend.

With that same revolutionary spirit of twLF strikes, the bridges coalition held the 2001 Senior Weekend strike, where the coalition refused to hold the event to show the importance of their work in recruiting underrepresented students of color (Veiga 11). That year, there was a dramatic drop in enrollment of students of color, proving the importance of race in higher education and the work done by the coalition. As a result, the UC Regents repealed Special Policies 1 and 2, but Proposition 209 continued to bar communities of color to a better education. Political mobilization of bridges didn’t stop there—the 2016 #Fight4Spaces Campaign sparked political actions such as study-ins, occupations, and mobilization



to secure a safer and permanent space for bridges to continue their work in recruiting and retaining communities of color (Veiga 15-16). The multicultural collaboration, solidarity, political mobilization,

and consistent struggle against the administration seen in bridges mirrors the legacy of the Third World Liberation Front in many ways.

## ETHNIC STUDIES TODAY AND BEYOND

### Ethnic Studies Today and Beyond

#### *Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley Today*

Today, UC Berkeley houses the Ethnic Studies Department in the College of Letters & Science. It includes Chicano Studies, Asian American and Asian Diaspora Studies, Native American Studies, and Comparative Ethnic Studies, while the Department of African American Studies is separate but housed in the same college. Although the strike distinctly advocated for the creation of a Third World College,

the demand has not been met, alongside the desire for educational autonomy and administrative control (“twLF Negotiation Notes”). Arguably, it is not aligned with the intent of the TWLF strike, which was to create student self-determination, create community, and remove hierarchy in the academy. Because it continues to be subjected to the confines of a department rather than a college, Ethnic Studies as a discipline continues to have a connection to institutional systems that may be the antithesis of the movement’s revolutionary ideology.



*Ethnic Studies students at a rally commemorating the 50th anniversary of the TWLF strike in 2019.*



However, Ethnic Studies, even in the face of limited funding and visibility, continues to be a respected part of UC Berkeley's academic work. UC Berkeley's Ethnic Studies PhD Program was the first of its kind in 1984 and remains one of the most renowned Ethnic Studies graduate programs in the nation. Especially as Ethnic Studies has become more integrated into education as a whole, the sector remains an important site of radical scholarship and racial liberation. As a new discipline that has historically been led by young people of color, Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley and beyond has become an exciting subject on the forefront of the next wave of academia.

### *New Visions of Revolutionary Education*

As we are left to grapple with the legacy and unfinished business of the Berkeley TWLF strike, the question of what exactly Third World Studies and a revolutionary education entails remains up for debate. One scholar who has attempted to answer this question is Gary Okihiro. In his 2016 book *Third World Studies: Theorizing Liberation*. In *Theorizing Liberation*, Okihiro aims to introduce the discipline of Third World Studies, which "never existed because it was extinguished at birth" when Ethnic Studies became a traditional academic department at San Francisco State and UC Berkeley (1). He begins by tracing the development of Ethnic Studies throughout the time, starting with pre-1968 "Chicago ethnic studies," which studied how people of diverse cultures and ethnicities could assimilate into the American nation state but did not recognize the systemic impact of race (10). Following the TWLF strikes, "post-1968 Ethnic Studies" emerged and is what persists today in Ethnic Studies departments at UC Berkeley and elsewhere. This iteration of Ethnic Studies is characterized by racial formation theory, which "contends that race is persistent, central, and

irreducible within US history and society" (10). Post-1968 Ethnic Studies generally focuses on how racial categories are socially constructed, and subsequently lead to systemic racial inequality in the United States. However, Okihiro critiques post-1968 Ethnic Studies as a nebulous discipline without well-defined theories and methodologies. He in part attributes this to a mistranslation of the TWLF's emphasis on self-determination into the "identity politics and intellectual segregation" of Black, Asian American, Chicano, and Native American Studies into separate disciplines that is present today. He believes that these disciplines should engage in dialogue with each other rather than "each group speaking for and about itself" (2).

So, what precisely is Third World Studies, then? Okihiro outlines four main points of his vision for the field:

First, he highlights that the TWLF, and thus Third World Studies, is rooted in anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and anti-capitalism (36). Studying and understanding the struggle for self-determination by people of color worldwide is a crucial part of Third World Studies in the United States.

Second, Okihiro proposes "social formation theory" as a guiding framework for Third World Studies (as opposed to racial formation theory). Broadly, social formation theory studies how power organizes societies, and how social structures such as race, gender, sexuality, class, and nationality create social categories that uplift some and oppress others (1-2). He emphasizes that social formation theory is not synonymous with intersectionality: a now-mainstream idea that discussions of privilege and oppression should how different identities intersect (for example, how someone's experience as a Black person is not just influenced by their race, but their gender as well). Rather,

social formation theory not only takes into account intersecting social identities, but also considers how certain identities can expand and contract over time depending on the context, leading to intersections, conflicts, and accommodations that intersectionality may not account for. For instance, distinctions of race and gender can diminish in favor of working-class consciousness when workers are on strike for better wages and working conditions (144-145). “Third World studies is about society and the human condition broadly ... the forms and movements of society, its structures, relations, and changes over time,” Okihiro argues, “The social formation [theory] demands a complexity in our thinking and action to engage and resist the forces that oppress us all” (1-2).

Third, Okihiro discusses Third World Studies’ “daunting if not possible task of dismantling the master’s house while speaking in the language and ideology of the master and ruling class” (119). For instance, Black, Brown, Red, or Yellow Power is a concept created in opposition to “White Power,” but it was termed in reaction to white supremacy and is thus “accordingly limited by its model” (3). Okihiro argues that while a liberatory education does involve “a dismantling of the master’s house with his tools” (122), in order to achieve liberation, new forms of thinking, speaking, and acting must be created that are not “not of the master’s creation” (122). He provides social formation theory as an example, but leaves space for other new forms of discourse and ideology.

Finally, Okihiro critically examines what role education plays in social justice and liberation work. He argues that “education can colonize, but it can also

liberate” (94). For instance, many Indigenous people were forced into schools that were intended to “civilize” and Christianize them by wiping out Indigenous traditions and modes of thinking (95). In contrast, the TWLF advances a new vision of education that uplifts Third World peoples and resists oppression. However, similar to the TWLF’s emphasis on making a university education relevant to communities of color, he warns that education is a means to an end, not the end itself (106). Glenn Omatsu concurs, writing that the bedrock of Ethnic Studies is its community-based nature of knowledge, and “its special approach to knowing about the world and changing it while simultaneously changing ourselves” (196).

Developing a concrete understanding of Third World Studies (or Ethnic Studies, or some other name yet to be created) is crucial as Ethnic Studies departments at UC Berkeley and around the country continue to navigate the complex waters of their institutions. Omatsu describes the competing forces at play in Ethnic Studies departments that, on one hand, must resist attempts to be assimilated into mainstream academic practices, but on the other hand, must “continuously challenge the institution and, even more important, create projects that concretely show others what our alternative vision stands for” (172-173). Developing a robust intellectual understanding of this field and its role in the broader social world is not only an ongoing task, but a necessary one, if we are to continue onwards towards liberation. While the seeds of Third World Studies were sown over 50 years ago by the TWLF at UC Berkeley, the fate of revolutionary education is yet to be determined, and is for the students and scholars of the future to shape.

## QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

1. What are the ideological and historical influences of the TWLF and how did it impact the decisions and demands of the strikers?
2. What was the significance of building solidarity across ethnic and racial identities within the TWLF, as well as with groups outside of it? What challenges did strikers run into in this process?
3. UC Berkeley was one of the first schools in the nation to create a Department of Ethnic Studies. What ripple effects did the TWLF strike have on other universities and educational institutions?
4. In your personal opinion, what should the future of revolutionary education for Third World peoples look like, whether it be “Ethnic Studies,” “Third World Studies,” or something of your own invention?
5. What is a social issue that you are passionate about and why? How does the TWLF strike affect your views on this issue and your relationship with it as a potential agent of change?

# ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

In addition to the sources cited in the bibliography, here are some additional resources that may assist you in your research!

150W: Matriarchs of the Third World Liberation Front at UC Berkeley. [Interview footage](#) and [profiles](#) of the featured female strikers, created by Jacquelyn Serrano.

[AAPA Oral History Project](#)

Berkeley Revolution Project's Third World Liberation Front [archive](#)

[History of Ethnic Studies Reader](#), created by Professor Ling-Chi Wang

[Power of the People Won't Stop: Legacy of the TWLF at UC Berkeley](#), edited by Professor Harvey Dong and Janie Chen

[The Third World Liberation Front and the Origins of Ethnic Studies and African American Studies](#), library guide curated by Sine Hwang Jensen

[TWLF Materials](#). Includes photos, newspapers, audio, and other archival materials, digitized and provided by UC Berkeley Asian American and Comparative Ethnic Studies Librarian Sine Hwang Jensen

[TWLF Strike Collection](#) on Calisphere

# CHARACTER PROFILES

In these profiles, you may notice that information about strikers is limited and that some strikers have more information available than others. This reflects the lack of documentation of people's stories when they are not larger-than-life figures with institutional political and social power, and that certain strikers became more well-known public figures and/or participated more in TWLF archival initiatives in the decades after. The strikers listed below already stand out in terms of notability relative to the many others whose names are not represented in the public archival history of the strike. As you develop an understanding of who you are representing in committee, we suggest that you focus less on trying to find out all the exact beliefs or motivations they held (as this is likely not available in the public record for most of the strikers) and instead use the information that is available about them to construct your interpretation of how their life experiences and social position may have influenced their perspective and politics. Many strikers' profiles also include information about what they went on to do later in life, which will likely assist you in this process.

We encourage you to do your own investigation into your character, as the profile may not cover everything (and in some cases, there are some very interesting critiques of what the strikers would go on to do later in life). Finally, we encourage you to read all the profiles in order to understand the connections between the strikers; you will notice that some strikers grew up together, worked together after the strike, became lifelong friends, and even married each other!

## **RICHARD AOKI:**

Richard Aoki is an AAPA and TWLF leader. Born in San Leandro, California, he and his family were interned at the Japanese concentration camp in Topaz, Utah during World War II. After the war, Aoki grew up in predominantly Black West Oakland. He briefly served in the military and enrolled in Merritt Community College in Oakland upon his discharge. At Merritt, he met future Black Panther Party founders Bobby Seale and Huey Newton, eventually becoming a founding member and field marshal for the Party. In 1966, he transferred to UC Berkeley to study sociology. Aoki's past experiences deeply informed his approach to AAPA, which he was a co-founder of; he emphasized his belief in Asian American solidarity with other people of color and prioritized self-determination with respect to political, economic, and social institutions. Aoki would go on to become a community college instructor, administrator, and counselor. (Source [1](#), [2](#))

## **HARVEY DONG:**

Harvey Dong is an AAPA member. Dong, who grew up in Sacramento, California, came from a military family. When first arriving at UC Berkeley, he joined the ROTC, but soon quit in favor of participating in anti-war activism and other student organizing. After the strike, Dong was active in Asian American community struggles such as the fight to prevent evictions at the International Hotel in San Francisco's Manilatown. He also founded the first Asian American bookstore in the U.S., known as Everybody's Bookstore, and later



came to co-own Eastwind Books (an Asian American bookstore in Berkeley). Dong returned to UC Berkeley in 1994 to complete a PhD in Ethnic Studies and teaches Ethnic Studies and Asian American Studies courses at Berkeley to this day. (Source [1](#), [2](#)).

### **JEFF LEONG:**

Jeff Leong is an AAPA and TWLF leader. Raised throughout Southern California and the Bay Area, Leong enrolled at UC Berkeley but struggled academically due to his lack of engagement with the “Eurocentric traditions” of Berkeley’s academics. He withdrew from the university briefly in 1968, pursuing music and nearly being drafted into the military despite his anti-war beliefs. Upon returning to Berkeley in the fall of 1968, he joined AAPA and represented AAPA in the televised reading of the TWLF strike demands on the strike’s first day. After the strike, he would go on to complete his degree in Asian American Studies and became a teacher, public health administrator, attorney, and independent scholar. (Source [1](#))

### **FLOYD HUEN:**

Floyd Huen is an AAPA and TWLF leader. In addition to AAPA, Huen was also part of the Chinese Student Club and the ASUC student government. Huen wrote of AAPA as a means for Asian American students at Berkeley who were “tired of being labeled ‘oriental’ and ‘meek and passive’” to organize and develop their own political identity. After earning his degree in sociology, he would go on to become a doctor, community health advocate, and activist, as well as marry fellow striker Jean Quan. (Source [1](#), [2](#), [3](#))

### **JEAN QUAN:**

Jean Quan is an AAPA member. While Quan was raised in Livermore, California, she spent significant amounts of time growing up with relatives living in San Francisco and Oakland, as her mother ran a restaurant alone after her father’s death when Quan was very young. Quan entered UC Berkeley in 1967 and was involved in numerous student organizing efforts, ranging from organizing with farmworkers to the TWLF. After graduating and marrying fellow striker Floyd Huen, she continued to be involved with public health and patient advocacy, and eventually served on Oakland’s school board and city council. She served as the mayor of Oakland from 2011 to 2015, and was its first female and first Asian American mayor (Source [1](#)).

### **VICTORIA WONG:**

Victoria (Vicki) Wong is an AAPA leader. Raised in a farmworker family in Salinas, California (and growing up alongside fellow striker Lillian Fabros), she worked in the fields as young as age 11. She came to UC Berkeley in 1966 and co-founded AAPA, which she described as a way to connect the very few Asian students at Berkeley together in a socio-politically meaningful way. After the strike, Wong went on to become a community organizer, activist, and artist. Wong was heavily involved with immigrant rights, labor organizing, and progressive cultural work such as founding May 4th Singers, the first Asian American anti-imperialist cultural group (among numerous other radical community arts and publishing groups). (Source [1](#))

### **LILLIAN FABROS:**

Lillian Fabros is an AAPA member. Raised in Salinas, California (growing up alongside fellow striker Victoria Wong) and the daughter of two farmworkers, Fabros grew up working in the fields. She came to Berkeley as an “escape” from Salinas, but also credited her upbringing with showing her the importance of bottom-up organizing. At Berkeley, Fabros was involved with radical organizing initiatives ranging from anti-war protests to farmworker organizing to the Free Huey movement to joining AAPA; she was one of the first Pilipinx students to become involved with AAPA and the TWLF. She was also an active member of the KDP (Katipunan ng Demokratikong Pilipino, or Union of Democratic Filipinos), a radical democratic Pilipinx organizing group. After graduating from Berkeley, Fabros earned her Master’s in Social Work and became an attorney; she would go on to continue organizing within Asian American and Pacific Islander issues and oversee mental health programs for underserved Asian Pacific Islanders in Los Angeles County. ([Source](#))

### **STAN KADANI:**

Stan Kadani is an AAPA member. While not much information is known publicly about Kadani, he is pictured in several iconic photographs from the strike: a photo of him walking in a demonstration with Charles Brown, Ysidro Macias, and LaNada War Jack down Bancroft Way in a display of the unprecedented racial solidarity fostered through the TWLF, and another of his arrest by police during a demonstration ([Source 1](#), [2](#)).

### **MANUEL DELGADO:**

Manuel (Manny) Delgado is a MASC and TWLF leader. Raised in the barrio in San Bernardino, California, he dropped out of high school at 16 but later attended community college and transferred to UC Berkeley in 1968 to study political science. Delgado co-founded MASC alongside Ysidro Macias and began organizing Chicax students, namely around protesting UC Berkeley’s purchase of grapes amidst the Delano Grape Boycott called by Cesar Chavez, and later for the TWLF strike. Delgado and Macias were notable targets of police violence and beatings. After the strike, Delgado founded Frente de Liberation, a Chicax youth radical organizing group in Berkeley and Oakland, and went on to become a lawyer, author, and scholar. ([Source](#))

### **YSIDRO MACIAS:**

Ysidro Macias is a MASC and TWLF leader. Macias co-founded MASC alongside Manuel Delgado and was one of the most prominent strike leaders; as a result, he and Delgado were targeted by police violence and arrest. After the strike, Macias would go on to become a scholar and author specializing in Chicax philosophy and spirituality, including writing an autobiography connecting his own experience in the Chicax Movement with Indigenous Mexican belief systems. ([Source](#))

### **CLEMENTINA DURON:**

Clementina Duron is a MASC member. Raised in Salinas, California, she was recruited to join MASC by Ysidro Macias just prior to the strike and became a “foot soldier” for the TWLF. Duron also lived in one of the co-operative houses on the Northside of campus and provided updates to co-op residents on the strike. After graduating from Berkeley, she went on to receive a Master’s in Education from Stanford and Harvard University and became a teacher and principal in schools throughout the Bay Area. ([Source](#))

### **ESTELLA QUINTANILLA:**

Estella Quintanilla is a MASC member. Raised in Brentwood, California, she was introduced to political activism at a young age through her father, who organized for the United Farm Workers; once arriving at Berkeley, and especially after realizing how few Chicax students there were on campus, she sought to become involved with organizing on campus and joined MASC. During the strike, she supported office and administrative responsibilities for MASC and marched in pickets on campus. After graduating from Berkeley, she completed a Master's in Education and went on to become a teacher and administrator, focusing on educational equity. ([Source](#))

### **MARIA RAMIREZ:**

Maria Ramirez is a MASC member. She attended Chabot College and was involved with efforts by the Chicano Student Union there to offer relevant studies to students of color (similar to the TWLF) and farmworker organizing. Ramirez moved to Berkeley and was welcomed into MASC as a community member even before transferring as a student, and was involved with efforts such as the TWLF, anti-war organizing, prisoner support, and Chicax youth organizing. She became especially involved with feminist anti-war movements resisting war and American imperialism in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. After graduating from Berkeley, she continued to be involved with Black, brown, and Indigenous movements in the Bay Area, became a community college counselor, and traveled around the world as a performer and storyteller. ([Source](#))

### **LEA YBARRA:**

Lea Ybarra is a MASC member. Growing up in a farmworker family, she was raised in Fresno, California. She attended Fresno State College and transferred to Berkeley in 1968, where she studied sociology. During the strike, she planned and participated in meetings, demonstrations, and boycotts on campus; simultaneously, she organized to counsel Chicano youth about their rights to defer mandatory military service and split her time between Berkeley and Fresno to organize with United Farm Workers. After earning her Bachelor's degree, Ybarra remained at Berkeley to complete a Master's and PhD in Sociology (becoming one of the two first Chicana students to enter the Sociology PhD program at Berkeley). She returned to California State University Fresno as a faculty member in La Raza Studies and helped develop a Department of Chicano and Latin American Studies there. Today, she is an Associate Dean at Johns Hopkins University. ([Source](#))

### **MALAQUIAS MONTOYA:**

Malaquias Montoya is a MASC member. Montoya was raised in a farmworker family in the San Joaquin Valley, California. At Berkeley, Montoya's most notable contributions to MASC efforts were through his art, as he designed posters and leaflets for MASC. In 1968, he founded the Mexican American Liberation Art Front (MALAF), a collective of Mexican American artists engaging in protest art. Since graduating from Berkeley, Montoya has become internationally recognized for his art of protest, using art as a medium to depict and support those resisting injustice. He has taught at UC Berkeley and Stanford University, has directed a variety of community workshops and initiatives, and is currently a professor of Art and Chicax Studies at UC Davis. (Source [1](#), [2](#))

### **CHARLES BROWN:**

Charles (Charlie) Brown is an AASU and TWLF leader. Brown is the current President of the AASU during the strike and initiated coalition-building with AAPA and MASC to form a united front. After the strike, he went on to help oversee The Rainbow Sign, a performance venue, cafe, and center for Black organizing and culture in Berkeley, and was a political organizer and entrepreneur. (Source [1](#), [2](#))

### **CHARLES JACKSON:**

Charles Jackson is an AASU member and spokesperson for the TWLF. Jackson spoke out against the negotiating tactics and stalling of the university, as well as the TWLF's commitment to defend themselves and their picket line if necessary. He was one of several TWLF strikers arrested alongside Richard Aoki and Manuel Delgado on February 18, the same day that Jim Nabors was beaten by police (Source [1](#), [2](#)).

### **JOHN TURNER:**

John Turner is an AASU member and its Chairman of Communications. Turner called on students to move beyond rhetoric to “shut down this university bodily.” In the summer of 1969, Turner helped form the Committee on Liberation or Death (COLD) to continue organizing for Third World revolution after the TWLF strike's conclusion. (Source [1](#), [2](#), [3](#))

### **OLIVER JONES:**

Oliver Jones is an AASU leader. Jones was raised in Oakland and initially attended Merritt College before being recruited to transfer to Berkeley in 1967. He was one of the founders of the AASU and was also involved with draft evader/conscientious objector advocacy, as he personally navigated the process while being called for the draft during his time at Berkeley. After his undergraduate years at Berkeley, he remained there to complete his law degree and became a lawyer, engaging in successful litigation against police departments in the Bay Area and environmental lawsuits against large corporations such as Chevron. ([Source](#))

### **DON DAVIS:**

Don Davis is an AASU and TWLF leader and participated in the central negotiating committee with the administration during the strike. Davis called on students who felt as though the strike did not affect them to recognize their role in the historical moment and begin participating, saying that they were sitting on a “keg of dynamite.” (Source [1](#), [2](#))

### **CORDELL ABERCROMBIE:**

Cordell Abercrombie is an AASU member. Abercrombie was a strike captain and chant leader and played a very major and visible role in organizing the picket line. Early on in the strike, while the TWLF was still focused on informational pickets, he was arrested without being charged or read his rights, and allegedly beaten and held in Sproul Hall by police officers. ([Source](#))



### **JIM NABORS:**

Jim Nabors is an AASU leader. Nabors was older than most of the students participating in the strike, at about 28 years old; prior to coming to Berkeley in 1967 to study political science, he attended Pasadena City College and started a Pasadena Free Speech Movement there. Nabors was known to be on the more “militant” and “radical” end of the strikers. From the 1967-1968 year, he was the president of the AASU and later served as the Vice Chairman. Nabors was also a target of police violence and beating during the strike (Source [1](#), [2](#))

### **LANADA WAR JACK:**

LaNada War Jack is a NASU and TWLF leader. A member of the Shoshone Bannock Tribes, she grew up on the reservation in Fort Hall, Idaho. After moving to the Mission District of San Francisco in 1965 and becoming involved with local Native American organizations, in January 1968, she entered UC Berkeley through EOP, becoming the first Native American student to attend. She helped recruit other Native American students and formed the NASU, in addition to being a mother to two children. War Jack was recruited by MASC to join the strike. Her commitment to the strike was in large part driven by her desire to preserve Native American cultural identity and survival amidst the forces she observed at play in the mainstream American education system. After the strike and completing her degree in Native American Law & Politics, War Jack went on to become an independent scholar and participate in and lead other Indigenous movements, such as the student occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969 and opposing the Dakota Access oil pipeline at Standing Rock in North Dakota in 2016. ([Source](#))

### **LEHMAN BRIGHTMAN:**

Lehman Brightman is a NASU member. A Sioux and Creek Indian raised in Oklahoma and on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, his upbringing experiencing injustice and poverty deeply informed his perspective and work. After playing professional football in Canada and serving in the Marines, he earned his bachelor's degree at the University of Oklahoma and came to UC Berkeley for a master's degree. After the strike, Brightman directed and coordinated the Native American Studies Program while completing his PhD. He later became a professor and participated in other Indigenous activism such as the occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969, the takeover of Mount Rushmore in 1970, and investigations into abuses at Indian boarding schools and reservation hospitals. ([Source](#))

### **PATTY LAPLANT:**

Patty LaPlant is a NASU member. A member of the Blackfeet Nation in Montana, she came to UC Berkeley to study Social Welfare in 1967. After the strike, she went on to become an expert on intellectual property rights with regards to Indigenous people, the need to incorporate tribal perspectives into history, and trauma and wellness for Native American children (Source [1](#), [2](#)).

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