

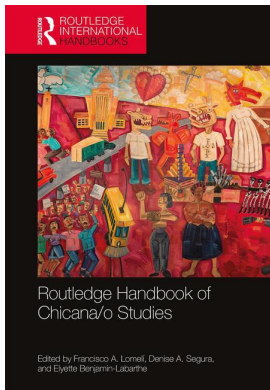
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Resisting the dominant Anglo American discourse

Political activism and the art of protest

Astrid M. Fellner and Claire M. Massey

Throughout Mexican American history, resistance has been a key concept in the formation of ‘Chicano’ identity. Encompassing practices of protest and tactics of social change, acts of resistance, in their most basic sense, according to Paul Routledge, are “assembled out of the materials and practice of everyday life, and imply some sort of contestation, some juxtaposition of forces” (Routledge 1997, p. 69). Posing challenges to unjust or oppressive systems of power within the context of nonviolent actions, campaigns, and movements, Chicanas/os have aimed at changing the dominant political, social, economic, and cultural discourses and structures. When Gloria Anzaldúa wrote that the U.S.–Mexican border was “*una herida abierta* [an open wound] where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds” (Anzaldúa 1987, p. 25), she referred to the borderlands that the Chicano movement in the 1960s declared a contested space. Chicanas/os were born of a land once Mexican territory, children of people disenfranchised, and born from the effects of oppressive socio-historical forces that sought to render generations of people voiceless. To become Chicana/o meant responding to the haunting of historical trauma such as that inflicted by the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which ceded over half of Mexico’s territory to the United States, with further loss in 1853 with the Gadsden Purchase, which established southern New Mexico as U.S. territory. Redolent with colonialism, the treaty established a border that currently maintained not only the geographical boundaries of the U.S. nation-state, but the maintenance of national discourse on what it meant to be part of the United States. Alongside the sealing of the acquisition of Mexican lands, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was to guarantee full U.S. citizenship to Mexican nationals and Indigenous peoples living north of the Río Grande. The river had been agreed as a so-called natural border, along with the assurance that property, ancestral land grants, language, and cultural and civic rights would be upheld for those who found themselves now strangers in their own land. In reality, very few of the promised provisions were abided by. When the treaty was ratified in the U.S. Congress on 10 March 1848, provisions put in place to guarantee civil rights and the protection of land grants were struck off, and it was only at this point that U.S. troops left Mexico City. In the mid- to late nineteenth century this removal of protections continued, with U.S. courts frequently siding with Anglo Americans in claims to land, water, and minerals, and within one generation of the annexation of Northern Mexico, the new ‘Mexican Americans’ were disenfranchised, poverty stricken, and landless (Haynes 2001, pp. 231–264 & 232–236 &

Luna 2005, pp. 105–122). Today, communities of Mexican and Indigenous origin living in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands still remain among the nation’s most desperately poor.

Against this history, and through the brief examination of four integral moments of resistance during the Chicano movement of the civil rights era, and a more recent movement born in 2012, this chapter will investigate Chicana/o activism in calls for the recognition and reinstatement of cultural, political, labor, land, and educational rights. In focusing on the interrelationship between activism, identity, and culture, it will examine the *Librotraficantes* (book smugglers), a group of activists who took a journey in 2012, reminiscent of Chicano oppositional movements of the 1970s, to return censored Chicana/o books such as Rodolfo Acuña’s *Occupied America*, for example, to the students of a dismantled Mexican American Studies program in Tucson, Arizona. On the route the *Librotraficantes* distributed books to community centers and founded small “underground” libraries, disseminating what the establishment, mainly in the U.S.–Mexico borderlands, views as disruptive ideas in order to inform students and readers about the potential smothering of one’s critical mind.

The *Librotraficante* movement draws on the strength and achievement of the multiple forms of resistance of earlier generations, for the Chicano movement, as Marc Simon Rodríguez claims, “had several important loci of activism” rather than one center (2015, p. 1). Although methods, aesthetics, mobilization, and militancy may vary, each of the movements fought to reject the boundaries of marginalization and to reclaim the rights of citizenship for peoples of Mexican and Indigenous ancestry throughout the borderlands and beyond.

Regaining land in New Mexico: Reies López Tijerina and the Tierra Amarilla lawsuits

Despite its many internal disputes, the Chicano movement was legitimized as a unifying phenomenon, creating an oppositional consciousness against the dominant Anglo social order. It took shape in the late 1960s and grew throughout the 1970s, encompassing a diverse set of goals. One goal, particularly in New Mexico, was to regain land lost to Anglos or the federal government. In 1963, local preacher Reies López Tijerina led the Hispano land grant movement, demanding repatriation of land confiscated by Anglo surveyors in violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe–Hidalgo. Tijerina and his followers formed the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants). Claiming descent from the pre-Anglo and Spanish settlers (*hispanos*) of the Southwest whose land had been taken away, Tijerina and his group undertook a series of attempts to press their claims in court. Primarily, they focused on two major grants in northern New Mexico: the Tierra Amarilla and the San Joaquín del Río de Chama. Known as “El Tigre”, the tiger, Tijerina had researched the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in the early 1960s and when, in 1965, the federal government intensified hostilities against land grantees, Tijerina thought the time was ripe for militant action. “His message was radical and militant, an uncompromising exposé of U.S. imperialism and racism, and a bold demand for action that was delivered with messianic zeal” (Alaniz & Cornish 2008, p. 188). In July 1966, the Alianza held a three-day march to the state capital in Santa Fe. As Alaniz and Cornish state: “In contrast to the guerilla nature of earlier land grant struggles, the Santa Fe march had the character of a civil rights movement” (2008, p. 200). After fruitless negotiations with the governor, the Alianza moved on to bolder actions.

In the fall of that year, 350 *Aliancistas* occupied the Echo Amphitheater campground of the Carson National Forest, which is the site of the land grant of San Joaquín del Río de Chama. The group reclaimed the land and even arrested two forest rangers for trespassing. Four days later, Tijerina was arrested but was soon freed on bond. Most famously, his fight culminated in

a bloody battle during the Tierra Amarilla Courthouse Raid, which left one dead and Tijerina on the run, sparking the largest manhunt in New Mexican history. As Alaniz and Cornish claim, this confrontation “was the cue for police and press hysteria. It was reported that Castro-led guerillas had invaded New Mexico – that a race war had broken out in Tierra Amarilla” (Alaniz and Cornish 2008, p. 201). The poster with the slogan *Tierra o Muerte*, meaning Land or Death, became internationally renowned, inspired by Emiliano Zapata’s similar slogan. Tijerina’s guerilla actions became famous, “offering a contemporary exemplar of the kind of resistance practiced by Zapata and Villa” (Reed 2005, p. 110). As Reed explains it:

Though hardly a revolution, the courthouse raid seemed to link the legendary bandits and revolutionaries of the past to the current moment and to reinforce a sense among many militant young Chicanos that perhaps only armed resistance could overthrow Anglo colonization of the U.S. peoples of Mexican descent.

(Reed 2005, p. 201)

Ultimately, the raid on the courthouse was unsuccessful and Tijerina served time in a federal prison, but news of the courthouse raid electrified the Chicano movement.

Aztlán and the Denver Crusade for Justice

In the mid-1960s, Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales took the road of cultural nationalism in the formation of the Crusade for Justice, an urban civil rights movement, in Colorado. In his quest to solidify Chicano identity, Gonzales drew from patriarchal ideologies and the myth of Aztlán, the Chicano spiritual homeland, mythical land of the Aztecs, now colonized by the United States, a place to return to for full political, social, and cultural autonomy. In 1967, he wrote the epic poem *I Am Joaquín/Yo Soy Joaquín*. Before its publication in book form by Bantam Books in 1972, the poem was published in early 1967 as a leaflet, which was distributed and recited as a form of agitprop at rallies during the height of the Chicano movement. *Soy Joaquín; an Epic Poem. With a Chronology of People and Events in Mexican and Mexican American History* is a consciousness-raising piece of literature, which served as the starting point of the Chicano Literary Renaissance in that it not only generated a collective sense of identity, triggering future Chicano literary expressions, but also created a historical consciousness, drawing the attention to the long history of Chicanas/os in the Americas. As Astrid Fellner points out, “Through this poem, Chicano literature literally began to awaken and the whole history of Chicanas/os from the 1600s to the 1960s retroactively came into being” (Fellner 2015, p. 430). The poem is straightforward, detailing the construction of identity in the form of a journey of the ‘Chicano Everyman’ Joaquín, from the present back into the history of the Aztecs, to the present of Mexican Americans. The poem constitutes a re-writing of history, voicing the heterogeneity of the community. In his introduction to the 1972 edition of the poem, Gonzales summarizes the theme and structure of *I Am Joaquín* in the following way:

Writing *I Am Joaquín* was a journey back through history, a painful self-evaluation, a wandering search for my peoples, and most of all, for my identity. The totality of all social inequities and injustices had to come to the surface. All the while, the truth about our own flaws – the villains and the heroes had to ride together – in order to draw an honest, clear conclusion of who we were, who we are, and where we are going. This expression of the search for identity within the framework of Mexican American history became the

defining text of the Chicano movement, which was embraced by the movement as a declaration of pride and defiance.

(Gonzales 1972, p. 1)

After founding the Crusade for Justice, Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales spearheaded the Youth Liberation Conference in Denver, Colorado, a gathering which produced another important document, the 1969 *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán). Propagating the idea of Aztlán as a national homeland, *El Plan* gave Chicanos a homeland, which was part of, yet separate, from both the United States and Mexico. Chicanos, as Rodríguez puts it, “with their varied histories as mestizos, colonizers, conquerors, immigrants, natives, and vanquished settlers” were treated here as “a unique and hybrid people with a long, proud history and claims to nationhood” (2015, p. 61). Singling out race as the primary unifying characteristic of Chicanas/os, *El Plan* relied on the concept of *la raza* (our people), which was adopted from José Vasconcelos’ concept of a ‘cosmic race’ to refer to the pluralistic heritage of the *mestizo* identity of Chicanas/os. Questions of gender were initially marginalized by the Chicano movement, and issues of racial discrimination and cultural nationalism took precedence over those of gender and sexuality. Still, Gonzales managed to give voice to the dreams of many Chicanas/os nationwide, as he defined “the foundational rhetoric of Chicano nationalism” (Rodríguez 2015, p. 62).

From *The Grapes of Wrath* to the wrath of grapes

In California in 1962, Dolores Huerta and César Chávez founded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), a workers’ union, which later came to be known as the United Farmworkers Union (UFW). Huerta was the pragmatic counterpart to the charismatic Chávez, and together they called for union representation, better pay, and the end to the brutal working conditions for men, women, and children harvesting for America’s tables. Since then Huerta has become a powerful female figure of protest. As a skilled organizer and negotiator, she was instrumental in the union’s many successes, including the strikes against California grape growers. Passionate for social justice, Huerta has also advanced new models of Chicana/o activism. In 1965 Huerta and Chávez began the largest boycott in U.S. history, the Delano grape strike, which not only became the foundation for labor organizers to build a national infrastructure for the Chicano movement but also called nationwide attention to the plight of Mexican American farm workers. “The historic grape boycott was carried out against Schenley Industries, the DiGiorgio products, the gigantic Guimarra vineyards, and finally against all California table grapes sold by the vast supermarkets, including Safeway, that sold scab products” (Alaniz & Cornish 2008, p. 155). This struggle brought instant fame to César Chávez, who became the first well-known Chicano American civil rights activist. His approach to unionism and his aggressive but nonviolent tactics made the struggle of Chicano and Filipino farm workers in California a moral cause with nationwide support. Relying on Martin Luther King as his role model, Chávez had studied King’s “masterful use of television as a political weapon” exploiting media for the sake of *la causa* (the Cause) (Ontiveros 2014, p. 53). In March 1966, Chávez organized a massive march of 300 miles from Delano to Sacramento, the state capital. This march turned into a pilgrimage when Catholics sang the song “Nosotros Venceremos” – the civil rights anthem “We Shall Overcome,” carrying portraits of the Virgin of Guadalupe together with large crosses and flags including the National Farm Workers Association’s black eagle. Chávez’s famous “Wrath of Grapes Boycott Speech,” which he delivered at various points since the mid-1980s, together with the Union’s video documentary *The Wrath of Grapes* brought national attention to the initiative of the UFWA against the use of pesticides. With its pun on Steinbeck’s novel, this film

focuses on the town of McFarland, California, in which a disproportionate number of children had been born with birth defects or had died of cancer because of the use of pesticides on the fields. Chávez continued to fight for the rights of farm workers with a steady commitment to nonviolence until his death in 1993. Nearly losing her life in 1988 when she was beaten by San Francisco police at a political rally, Huerta continues to lecture and speak out on a variety of social issues, involving immigration and the rights of women and Latinas/os.

Stand and Deliver, the film

In its quest for decolonization, the Chicano movement sought to impact multiple sites of oppression, among them, education. Schooling for Mexican American children was subpar, facilities were crude, youth were frequently beaten for speaking Spanish, and textbooks reflected the prevailing Anglo majority discourse rendering invisible the histories and achievements of generations of Chicano communities. Against this, the Chicano movement mobilized for equal access to quality education that took into account the particular needs of their youth, and as F. Arturo Rosales argues, “the key event that ushered in the *movimiento* in Los Angeles, and to a great degree elsewhere was the East Los Angeles high-school walkout” (Rosales 1996, p. 184). Over a one-week period in March 1968, up to 10,000 students from five majority Chicana/o schools took to the streets to protest the dire state of Eastside education, schools widely known as ‘Mexican Schools’. These 1968 walkouts became known as ‘Chicano Blowouts,’ a term that originated at Garfield High School (García & Castro 2011), a school that found further fame on the big-screen in 1988, in Ramón Menéndez’s *Stand and Deliver*.

Stand and Deliver is a composite of events and characters focusing on the class of 1982 and real-life educator Jaime Escalante, who from the late 1970s transformed Garfield High through his innovative approach to math and to his Latina/o students. Escalante, a Bolivian-born educator, took a teaching position at Garfield in the late 1970s. East Los Angeles has historically had the largest Chicana/o and Mexicana/o population in the country, a demographics of poverty and marginalization, a struggle that was reflected in its schools. Escalante was initially hired to teach information technology, but as the school did not have any computers, he was reassigned to teach math; he did not teach just any math, however, he decided to teach AP calculus.¹ Escalante’s non-traditional pedagogical style was one that utilized what Carl Gutiérrez-Jones terms “guerrilla tactics” in the classroom, a method of teaching “which approaches the question of neutral standards in order to demonstrate that, even with an educational system so biased toward the worldview of Anglo upper-class children, it is possible to create rhetorical alternatives” (Gutiérrez-Jones 1995, p. 21). Escalante’s “guerrilla tactics” included not only his unconventional approach to teaching, including the teaching of AP calculus to what were seen as ‘difficult’ ‘barrio’ students, but also how he drew from the students’ rich cultural heritage to remind them of who they were. In an early scene, Olmos reveals to the students that the concept of zero had come from their ancestors, the Mayans: “You *burros* have math in your blood” (Menéndez 1988, *Stand and Deliver*). Escalante’s “rhetorical alternatives” (Gutiérrez-Jones 1995, p. 21) also included the specificity of the language he used in the classroom: “The only thing I ask from you is *ganas*”. *Ganas* comes from the Spanish verb *tener ganas*, to desire, to wish, to want, with enthusiasm, and Escalante believed the students had this kind of motivation and the ability to rise to a challenge, be it in an AP Calculus class, or survival in a sociopolitical and pedagogical system that worked against them.

The issues portrayed in the film are as relevant today as they were in the 1980s, as they were during and after the 1960s Chicano Blowouts. Studies have shown that the Latina/o high school dropout rate remains higher than that of other groups in East Los Angeles, only half of the

population are high school graduates, and the poverty rate is at 30%.² Yet, in the face of socio-political and historical marginalization, Chicana/o students continue to fight for representative schooling and continue to have, against all odds, irrepressible *ganas*.

¿Librotraficante y Qué? (book trafficker, so what?)

The history of the Chicano movement is the history of dynamic civil, political, and cultural resistance to oppression, and the seeking of societal change through collective empowerment and community action. The writings and histories of those who were the youth of the movement in the 1960s and 1970s, who are the elders now, has provided frameworks and templates of resistance for new generations of Chicana/o activists. In school classrooms in Arizona, these revolutionary blueprints were utilized in a groundbreaking Mexican American Studies (MAS) program that saw graduation rates in Tucson soar from the program's implementation in the late 1990s to its dismantling in 2012 (Cabrera 2014, pp. 1084–1108). The program was brought to an end when it was ruled to have contravened state law, HB2281, and it was in response to this attack upon Mexican American studies that in Houston, Texas the '*Librotraficante* movement' was born, reminiscent of the histories of the Chicano movement.

In the spring of 2006, Dolores Huerta was asked to address the students of Tucson Magnet High School in Arizona. The students, a majority of whom were Latinas/os, had been participating in walkouts protesting the congressional implementation of the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act, a legislation viewed as vehemently anti-immigrant. Huerta had been invited to suggest alternative methods of protest, which she did by proposing to the students a postcard campaign to the Senate Republican National Committee, on the theme "Republicans Hate Latinos" (<http://quill.tusd.k12.az.us/doloreshuertaaddress>). Huerta's choice of wording was to become the catalyst for far-reaching changes in the face of Ethnic Studies in Tucson. Upon being made aware of Huerta's protest motif, Tom Horne, Tea Partier, and the then-Arizona superintendent of public instruction, began a "cultural silencing" (Massey 2016, p. 64). Horne then initiated a campaign of attrition against the Tucson Unified School District's (TUSD) Ethnic Studies program, warning that the MAS program in particular had been infiltrated by "a small group of radical teachers, anti-capitalists, anti-Western civilization, anti-free enterprise, teaching the kids that boundaries are artificial" (Herrares 2010, N.p.). Citing anti-Americanism and sedition, Horne and a group of Republican legislators designed a bill to bring an end to the program. In May 2010, HB 2281 was signed into state law.³

MAS had been initiated in the 1990s by local grassroots efforts to help reverse negative educational and socioeconomic trends within Latina/o communities. The curriculum had questioned prevailing national identity discourse, countering Anglo majoritarian myths of the founding and functioning of America, and of what it means to be an American. The program's bibliography included the writings of the canon of Chicana/o, African American, and Native American literature (see Appendix 28.1). In January 2012, despite two years of legal and community resistance, Tucson's local school board, faced with the prospect of losing state funding, ordered the program's books removed from all classrooms, with teachers in the affected schools advised, in the planning of future curricula, to stay away from any books where "race, ethnicity and oppression are central themes" (Biggers 2012, p. 182). In the words of Bryan Parras, one of the five founding members of the *Librotraficante* movement: "And so that says something about this program, right? It says something about what the power of these books really can do. And yes, [the authorities] are scared; they are scared of folks reading these books, because they empower you" (Carmona 2012, N.p.).

The *Librotraficante* movement grew from a literature and literacy group, “*Nuestra Palabra: Latino Writers Having Their Say*”, founded in 1998 in Houston by writer, educator, and activist Tony Díaz.⁴ Through workshops, showcases, and book festivals, *Nuestra Palabra* re-claimed space for the stories of a myriad Latina/o communities in the Houston area and beyond. Chicana cultural theorist Tara J. Yosso argues such counter-storytelling “strengthen(s) traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance, nullifying the majoritarian narrative of reality” (2006, p. 10). For Díaz, raised in Chicago, the son of migrant workers, the power of traditions comes as no surprise: “[W]e knew we were rich in cultural capital, in passion, creativity, and we work hard – crazy hard. These are all characteristics that have helped our community survive” (González 2014, N.p.).

The term ‘*Librotraficantes*’, translated into English as ‘book smugglers’, reflects the prevailing discourse of illegality in the United States, as Chicana/o and Latina/o communities continue to be intrinsically tied to rhetorical borders, negative narratives on immigration, and the movement of alleged ‘illegal aliens’ (Associated Press 2013 N.p.). Although the phrase, ‘illegal alien’ is slowly being removed from print, with the Associated Press stylebook no longer sanctioning its use after 2013, it remains tattooed to a national narrative – a narrative transmitted through media with distorted racialized assumptions of Latinas/os, reflecting and legitimizing what Foucault terms as a society’s “regime of truth” (1980, p. 131), ‘truth’ being understood here as the ‘common sense’ of Eurocentric majoritarian myths of American identity and belonging (Santa Ana 2013).

On 12 March 2012, the *Librotraficantes* headed west in a caravan, a traveling collective of many of the individuals who had worked with and supported *Nuestra Palabra* over its then 13-year history. Each of the book smugglers was given a name, created by Lupe Méndez and sanctioned by the other four movement founders. This naming played into the performativity of the caravan, into the subversion of the majoritarian discourse marking Latina/o il/legality, for “[i]n the face of decades of pejorative labeling, this naming, this re-coding, was a necessary emotional act” (Massey 2016, p. 65). The names were to be given to the authorities if these ‘traffickers’, these cultural coyotes, were caught: Tony Díaz *El Librotraficante*, Liana López *Librotraficante LiLo*, Bryan Parras *Librotraficante High Tech Aztec*, Laura Acosta *La Laura*, Lupe Méndez *Librotraficante Lips*.⁵ This naming ritual can also be interpreted as a symbolic recognition of all the school children whose Spanish names had been anglicized in the Americanization programs of the early twentieth century.

As the caravan traveled across Texas, New Mexico, and west to Arizona to return the books of the censored bibliography to the students of the MAS program, the *caravanistas* re-connected with Chicana/o heritage in the contested borderlands of the Southwest, seeking out and being sustained by communities on the frontline of neoliberal attempts at their social, political, educational, and cultural immobilization. The *Librotraficantes*, in alliance with local community activists, founded “underground libraries”, planting the banned bibliography in Houston, San Antonio, and El Paso, Texas (Massey 2016, pp. 64–76); in Phoenix and Albuquerque, Arizona; and post-caravan, the libraries spread further afield, opening in Louisville, Kentucky and in New York City.

The term ‘caravan’ is derived from the Persian, *karwān*, denoting a company of merchants or pilgrims traveling together for trade and safety. The *Librotraficante karwān* followed in a Chicana/o tradition of the free-will movements of the collective: Chávez and the farmworkers forming a human caravan from Delano to Sacramento; Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales leading a caravan from Colorado to the Poor People’s Campaign in Washington, D.C.; the National Chicano Moratorium march; and the student walkouts in 1968. These histories of resistance guided the journey

of the book smugglers movement, for as critic Chela Sandoval argues: “Those not destroyed [. . .] develop modes of perceiving, making sense of, and acting upon reality that are the basis for effective forms of oppositional consciousness in the postmodern world” (Sandoval 2000, pp. 34–35). For the *Librotraficantes* what was ‘not destroyed’ was the lingering of familial and community historical trauma and cultural memory, enabling then “a mapping of the borderlands through perceptive understandings of the mechanisms of state, social, and economic repression, a historical understanding contained in Tucson’s banned bibliography smuggled by the *caravanistas* back to Arizona” (Massey 2016, p. 66).

This ‘historical understanding’ validates the idea initiated by ‘Quantum Demographics’: “Understanding your own culture so profoundly that you are fulfilled enough, wise enough, and knowledgeable enough to seek out bridges to cultures that may seem far removed from your own”, acknowledging that, as sociologist Manuel Castells (1983, p. xviii) asserts, “a movement develops not only in relationship to its own society, but also in relationship to a world-wide social system” (Castells 1983, p. xviii). As César Chávez and Dolores Huerta in the past joined forces with the Delano Mexican and Filipino laborers to form the United Farmworkers Union, so the *Librotraficante* movement today seeks to create a dynamic ‘world-wide system’ that acknowledges the power of the cross-cultural collective through not only the recognition of commonalities and the celebration of difference, but also through an open dialogue with one’s own culture. It also seeks to acknowledge that it is time for alternative strategies for the disenfranchised: “One generation had Affirmative Action, another generation had Multiculturalism. We have Quantum Demographics” (Díaz n.d., p. 67). Within this framework,

the *Librotraficantes* seek to develop connections often neglected in the telling of the Civil Rights Movement; bridges built yet often rendered invisible in media representations of twenty-first century social protest against nativism, anti-immigration, and police brutality; bridges unpalatable to neoliberal right-wing politicking but which provide passage for a myriad of American voices.

(Massey 2016, p. 67)

In January 2013, the *Librotraficante* movement received the Robert B. Downs Intellectual Freedom Award from the iSchool at Illinois, “given annually to acknowledge individuals or groups who have furthered the cause of intellectual freedom, particularly as it affects libraries and information centers and the dissemination of ideas” (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, N.p.). The battle to bring back Mexican American Studies continues in a lawsuit brought by students fighting the constitutionality of the ban of these classes passed by the Arizona House, Bill 2281 in 2010. Yet, history and resistance do not linger on paper and are not held captive by print. The Chicano movement exists in the yearning for knowledge, in its dissemination from the mouths and pens of those who lived it to the youth who see reflection in their communities’ struggles. It continues in Chicana feminism, in Chicana/o Studies departments, and in Xicanisma/o, the recognition and inclusivity of intersectional identities. The movement also continues in grassroots community activism, transnational alliances, Postcolonial Studies, and calls for immigration reform and for the dismantling of the school-to-prison pipeline.

Continuance of struggle also exists in state and local directives seeking to dismantle the progress made by Chicana/o activism. In 2013, the *Librotraficantes* protested in Austin, Texas, against HB1938, an education bill that if implemented would disqualify Ethnic Studies programs at state universities from eligibility as core history requirements for graduation. In 2016, the *Librotraficantes*, as part of a coalition of Chicana/o and Latina/o academics and civil liberties organizations, began a nationwide campaign to prevent the implementation of a new social studies textbook,

Mexican American Heritage, in Texas schools. Regarded as containing multiple derogatory narratives about Mexican Americans, one section of the book reads, “Chicanos adopted a revolutionary narrative and wanted to destroy this society,” another section arguing that Chicana/o claims to land and heritage were based on “cultural and political solidarity, not legal or historical grounds” (Angle & Riddle 2016, p 415). Future Chicana/o activism will continue to challenge such majoritarian narratives of history, through the development of new critical practice, through the fostering of community engagement, and through drawing from lessons and voices of the past to empower the voices of the Chicano movement of the twenty-first century.

Notes

- 1 AP (Advanced Placement) classes offer college-level curricula to high school students as high scores on AP tests can be transferred as college credits.
- 2 See “Quick facts East Los Angeles CDP, California” *United States Census Board* <www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/HSG030210/0620802>
- 3 AZ HB2281 | 2010 | Forty-ninth Legislature 2nd Regular <www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/hb2281s.pdf 13 Mar.2013>****
- 4 See: <www.nuestrapalabra.org/> and <www.facebook.com/NuestraPalabra>.
- 5 The *Librotraficante* Caravanistas: La Vecina, El Guti Q, La Gloria, High-Tech Hybrid, Sound, DLO, Youngblood. La Hashbrown, Pancho López, La Mom, Indio, Smokey, Rebelené, Crusher, Buddha-zas, Blaze, Hasta la Victoria, Mustang, El Italiano, El Commandante, Pelo-Chin, and La Soldadera.

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Appendix 28.1

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