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From Vietnam to Palestine: Transcending Solidarity Building Within Social Movements

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Abstract

This paper will analyze the linkages between student-based decolonial and anti-war movements in solidarity with Palestine and Vietnam. I will be doing a close reading analysis of the student newspaper, *Third World News*, which was published by students of color at UC Davis from the 1970s to early 2000s. The newspaper was created because students of color felt they weren't being represented by their university and created a platform to voice their ideas, concerns, and cultures. The newspaper allowed students to recognize their shared struggles and to spread awareness of different forms of oppression from around the world. In particular, my study will focus on the work of the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), which was founded in the late 1960s when US-based non-white communities felt a strong connection between struggles of Third World peoples, and US communities of color. TWLF focused on collective action in pursuit of collective liberation and self-empowerment. This helped inspire solidarity movement building between Vietnam and Palestine, as well as other groups fighting for liberation. Many parallels were drawn between Vietnamese and Palestinian liberation, as well as anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggles across the world. My research project considers **how the similarities between Palestine and Vietnam elicited solidarity in social movements, particularly in student organizing.**

Solidarity building helps marginalized communities to recognize their shared struggle and oppression. Often, solidarity is obscured and erased, impeding the capacity for communities of color to come together and make change. This project unearths an important solidarity linkage that is purposefully obscured by dominant media and helps shed light on the importance of coalition building and student activism.

Introduction

Student protest at university is an integral part of campus culture, history, and life. Why has student protest been kept alive and how has it been sustained each year? I argue that student movements are elicited through not just sympathy for another community, but by an understanding of the importance of shared struggle and seeing how one's liberation is tied to everyone's liberation. Sympathy and empathy are crucial parts of activism, yet what inspires an individual to take action is a shared understanding that one's liberation and freedom can only happen if every marginalized group is also free.

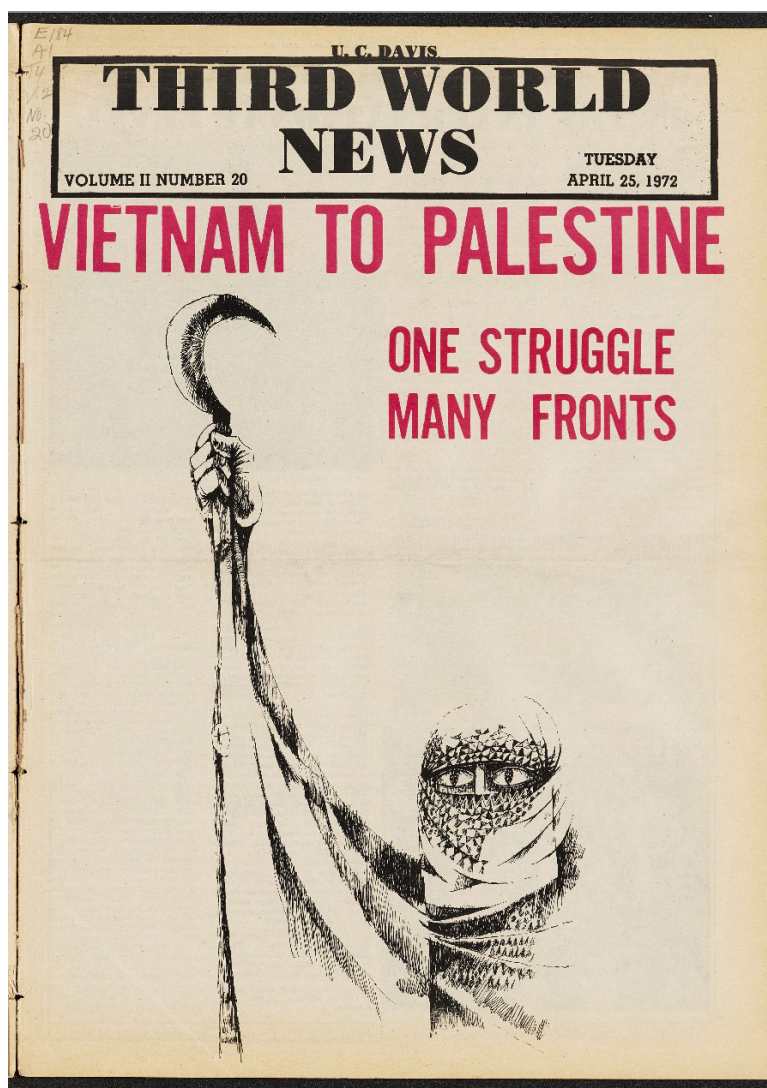
Last year in 2024, during the ongoing genocide in Palestine I was reading *The Committed* by Viet Than Nyguen. *The Committed* follows an anti-hero protagonist whose half-French, half-Vietnamese identity illuminates the lived realities of Vietnamese refugees following the Vietnam War. The book deals with themes surrounding imperialism, assimilation, identity and trauma. As I was reading I noticed the brutal parallels between the Vietnam War and the ongoing genocide occurring in Palestine. The international uproar against the brutality and destruction Palestinians were facing reminded me of the uproar against the Vietnam war. During both events, American citizens criticized and demanded their government to stop the war against these countries on an unprecedented scale. I started to think about the vicious bombings, defoliants, and mass civilian casualties in the Vietnam War and how they scarily paralleled Palestine. Being a college student, I saw before my own eyes, student protest and activism denouncing the genocide occurring in Palestine and a call to action against the American government. I remembered learning in history class about the Vietnam War and how students on college campuses were at the forefront of protest and activism to stop the war and their complicity in the United States military. This encouraged me to learn more about this topic and to research the

parallels between these two historical movements. This is incredibly important to me because it reflects the rich history of social movements and activism that has existed for decades.

The idea solidified when I came across the newspaper article from the Third World Forum titled, *Third World News: Vietnam to Palestine* which was published in April 1972. The cover of the newspaper has a drawing of a Palestinian resistance fighter holding a weapon. The freedom fighter is wearing a keffiyeh, a protective covering and symbol of Palestinian liberation and nationalism (Figure 1). Above the figure reads, “ONE STRUGGLE MANY FRONTS” emphasizing immediately the tandem connection between Vietnam and Palestine. At the time this newspaper was published it was the middle of the Vietnam War and during the ongoing occupation of Palestine against Israeli settlers. This decade was also a pivotal moment in transnational social movements and solidarity building between different marginalized identities. Both Vietnam and Palestine were undergoing displacement, war, and dispossession due to settler colonialism, leading to both countries fighting for self-determination (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p.22). Revolutionaries both in Vietnam and Palestine had a shared struggle against U.S. imperialism because of the Third World Liberation Front. Many parallels were drawn between Vietnamese and Palestinian liberation as well as other anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggles across the world. I wanted to use the newspaper to go more in depth about student activism during the Vietnam War and how it parallels student activism today for Palestine. I was interested in looking into how these social movements were created, sustained, and maintained. Thus, the question in my research is: how does the similarity between Palestine and Vietnam elicit solidarity in social movements, particularly in student organizing?

Figure 1

Third World News Cover



Methodology

For my research project I did a close-reading analysis on the student-run newspaper Third World Forum. I used the keywords 'Vietnam' and 'Palestine' in the digital archives of the University of California Riverside California Digital Newspaper Collection. In my analysis, I looked out for similarities and patterns, particularly patterns on solidarity. I looked through 159 articles that used the word 'Palestine' and 296 articles that used the word 'Vietnam'. I looked

through these articles during a 10 week period by going in person to the UC Davis Archives and Special Collections and online through the UC Riverside California Digital Newspaper Collection. I looked for patterns of solidarity by noticing themes about liberation, shared struggle, and coalition building.

Importance

This topic remains extremely important and relevant today, as solidarity movements have transcended to work together towards a common goal. Solidarity movements are crucial in organizing and creating lasting change socially, politically, and economically. Understanding how our own forms of oppression are intertwined with other historically oppressed groups bridges communities together in recognizing they are a part of a much larger goal. Solidarity recognizes linkages across struggles and sustains movements for the long term. Today, solidarity is purposefully obscured and erased to impede communities of color coming together and making change. By creating divisions between people of color, this further divides the movement and makes it easier for oppressive systems to conquer and exploit. By remaining ignorant and unempathetic, this facilitates continued systematic killings, dispossession, and invasion. Most forms of oppression are interconnected, meaning that violence against one group will eventually come to you. This project focuses on oppression and marginalization and how different forms of resistance have existed in the past. It focuses on social justice and critiques how the production of knowledge erases solidarity movements that are still crucial today.

In my project, I look at the historical parallels between Vietnam and Palestine and how the interconnectedness of these shared countries' struggle has helped inspire and sustain student activism. This research provides the context as to how student organizing has grown and why it

still continues to flourish in the present day. I look at how militarism, repression, and shared struggle created a basis for student organizing that can be still seen and reiterated today.

Literature Review

Direct Connections

There are many parallels between Vietnam and Palestine as well as direct connections during the late 1900s. During the period of 1967-1975, it was a critical period for both Vietnam and Palestine—with the Vietnam War and the Six Day War in Israel-Palestine. Both countries were shaped by US imperialism and Cold War suspicions of these countries' susceptibility to Cold War intervention (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p.22). Israel previously aligned itself with the North Vietnamese peoples, but when Israel's nationalist aspirations manifested as Zionist settler colonialism, Hồ Chí Minh, leader of the North Vietnamese, distanced his Vietnamese revolution from Israel. Hồ Chí Minh instead aligned himself with the emerging Third World Liberation movement which emphasized on decolonial, anti-racist, pro-Indigenous politics (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p. 28). In 1966, when popular Israeli military leader Moshe Dayan toured South Vietnam to study US counterinsurgency tactics, many interpreted the trip to align Israel with the United States. Dayan used these learned counterinsurgency tactics following the Six Day War against occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p.25). The United States' support for Israel grew, exemplified by the sale of Phantom jets to Israel which were used in the Vietnam War.

During the period of 1967-1975 Palestinian fedayeen, freedom fighters, identified themselves with Vietnamese revolutionaries and condemned US imperialism in Vietnam in their public speeches and political platforms. Palestinian and Vietnamese revolutionaries created a two-fold relationship which emphasized that their struggle was one in the same (Lê Espiritu

Gandhi, 2022, p.27). In 1966 Khalil al-Wazir of the Fatah party visited Vietnam and over the years, they sent several groups of Palestinian soldiers to train in Vietnam. This led to Vietnamese soldiers being invited to Palestinian military bases in southern Lebanon.

In March 1970, Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) accompanied a delegation of Palestinian liberation fighters to Ha Noi to visit Ho Chi Minh and General Vo Nguyen Giap. Giap remarked that the Vietnamese and Palestinian liberation struggles against Western imperialism were one in the same and crucially important (Lê Espiritu Gandhi 2022, pg. 31). In the International Conference for the support of Arab peoples, Ho Chi Minh declared that the Vietnamese people condemned the Israeli aggressors and “fully support the Palestinian people’s liberation movement and the struggle of the Arab people for the liberation of territories occupied by Israeli forces”(Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p.32). Vietnamese and Palestinian revolutionaries supported one another and their fight against Western imperialism and domination.

Parallels between Vietnam and Palestine

The Vietnam War and the genocide in Palestine has striking resemblances that can be seen today. The author Roderick A. Ferguson argues that Vietnam and Palestine parallel one another due to the use of modern warfare to kill innocent civilians and how that caused an outcry against the US military industrial complex (Ferguson 2025). Ferguson looks at how starting with WWII, the bombings of cities and killings of civilians began to be used as a strategy for war. First beginning with the bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, warfare began to target innocent civilians and not soldiers. Before, war was primarily fought on the ground with soldiers but has since taken a malicious turn (Ferguson 2025). Civilians began to shoulder the burden of war atrocities, with their lives being taken en masse. This strategy punished civilians for the actions

of their leaders and to disrupt life. This new military strategy took aim at the massacre of innocent civilians and was used during the Korean and Vietnam War. New technological advancements were created for the military to kill populations, primarily people of color. The Vietnam War was seen as “a war of genocide. A war which has at its disposal the technology of the military chamber of horrors from bomblets to napalm, gas, and defoliants” (Ferguson 2025).

The Vietnam War killed millions of people and left devastating consequences for generations to come. The United States dropped an estimated 7.5 million tons of bombs and harmful defoliants that created immense damage to cities and towns in Vietnam (Miguel and Rowland 2005). This is more than twice the amount of bombing the US Air Force used in all of WWII, making it one of the most heavily bombed countries in history. In South Vietnam the bombing campaign was used to weaken communist operations and to weaken civilian support for the communist cause (Thu and Pham 2024). The bombings destroyed infrastructure and incited large mass casualties. The creation of Agent Orange, an herbicide meant to defoliate the jungle was used so the U.S. troops could see and bomb Viet Cong supply lines, causing irreparable damage to the environment and to human lives (Davis 2024). From 1962 to 1971, the US Air Force sprayed nearly 11 million gallons of Agent Orange which contaminated the soil, water, and wildlife of Vietnam. Agent Orange also caused health impacts such as cancer, birth defects, and more (National Library of Medicine).

The author Keva X. Bui argues, entrenched violences of militarism, capitalism and policing are interconnected and the same. The military industrial complex has used trillions of dollars to produce military weapons, equipment, surveillance and security technology for violence (Man, Paik, and Pappademos, 2019, p.1). The creation of napalm, a destructive chemical weapon for bombing was created in the U.S. and used for mass destruction in Japan,

Korea, and Vietnam. Racialized violence was integral to US intervention in Southeast Asia and the expansion of the military industrial complex (Bui, 2024, p.100). The creation of these advanced technologies and tools for war normalized dislocation, dispossession and destruction, particularly against people of color (Man, Paik, and Pappademos, 2019, p. 1). US militarism dehumanizes, displaces, and murders primarily people of color and inherently functions as racialized and gendered state violence. Bui argues that war is inherently racism because it is a structural condition of state-sanctioned violence that results in the death of vulnerable populations created by a “liberal’s empire’s securitization of a capitalist world order” (Bui, 2024, p.100). Militarism and war are interlinked to racialized state violence, punishment, and death. The military industrial complex has links to this and this which were becoming apparent with the anti-war movement during the Vietnam War.

The Vietnam War was heavily televised and reported, which prompted young people to denounce the slaughter and complicity the United States played a role in (Ferguson 2025). The Vietnam War was the first war to be televised and gave Americans a first-hand view of airplanes, bombs, and combat. The television filled Americans with dismay and made them sympathize with not just American, but also Vietnamese soldiers (Mandelbaum, 1982, p.157). This helped fuel the antiwar movement in the 1960’s which used petitions, rallies, marches and civil disobedience to end the war. Antiwar activists believed that American involvement in Vietnam was an “unwarranted intrusion into a civil war and a violation of the nation’s values” (Mandelbaum, 1982, p. 166). Americans obstructed military recruitment centers and publicly burned draft cards to denounce the war in Vietnam. The antiwar movement emerged from existing peace and social justice organizations involved in civil rights movements or antinuclear activities (Hall, 2004, p. 2). Mass demonstrations were typically organized by broad coalitions of

national and local groups. The antiwar movement demanded immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and continued to escalate as the U.S. remained in the war. American peace activist, David Dellinger, reports that the Vietnam War was both a racial and colonial project that further legitimatizes genocide (Ferguson 2025). Young people became privy of the horrors of Vietnam and began the antiwar movement. Hundreds of thousands of people protested against the Vietnam War, with hundreds of campuses striking in protest (Kindig 2008).

On May 4, 1970, student activists at Kent State protested against the expansion of the Vietnam War when the United States invaded Cambodia (Lewis and Hensely 1998). In response, the Ohio National Guard was called upon and began to disperse protestors and began shooting at them. This resulted in four students passing away and nine being wounded. Many argue that the protests were solely against the expansion of the war, but it was much more. The student protestors made connections between American universities and the U.S. military industrial complex. Their demands included the university's end to the complicity of the U.S. war machine "by the immediate end of defense research, ROTC, and counter-insurgency research, and such all other programs" (Ferguson 2025). Activists began making connections of the university's connection to the U.S. military-industrial complex and protested the end to their complicity. When Kent State activists demanded an end to military research and recruitment, they were demanding for the university to divest from the military-industrial complex and recognize how they are interconnected and must end. Militarism is interconnected with the university, as it is a prominent site that both facilitates research and development in service of militarization and is a vital site of organizing for anti-war coalitions. Militarism is interconnected with universities and corporate capitalism to sustain processes of knowledge, profit accumulation and state violence within the United States and abroad (Bui, 2024, p. 92). The university is also a site where radical

protests and coalition building are created that critique and protest against the university's role in U.S. militarism.

Just ten days after the Kent State killings, the police opened fire on another university protesting the expansion of the Vietnam War. In Jackson State College in Mississippi, a predominately black college, two students were killed and twelve were injured. The university was in uproar about the war in Vietnam and the disproportionate amount of Black men being sent to Southeast Asia to fight in the war (Young 2010). The national media did not pay as much attention to the tragedy of the two black students at Jackson State then they did in Kent State.

Due to activists against the war in Southeast Asia and the university's complicity to the military-industrial complex, U.S. universities and the FBI would invest resources in criminalizing and targeting young activists. After the tragedy of Kent State and Jackson State by the National Guard, university presidents would petition their state legislatures for funding to build police on campuses. This has led to large police forces at U.S. colleges to impede direct action (Ferguson 2025). The expansion of police at colleges and universities has led to bigger budgets, more training and more access to weapons. At the University of California- Berkeley, estimates range that one patrolman costs \$11,500 a year, the same price as a one assistant professor or four teaching assistants.

Third World Liberation Front

The Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) emerged during the late 1960's when nonwhite communities' strong connection with oppression in the Third World saw ties with the domestic situation of ethnic communities in the United States (Chung & Chang, 1998, p.86). The Third World Liberation movement focused on collective action in pursuit of collective liberation and self-empowerment. Coalition building of multiple ethnic communities had a shared agenda

of anti-imperialism and a belief that all forms of human oppression are a basis for resistance (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p.29). TWLF rhetoric helped with the creation of solidarity between Vietnam and Palestine as well as other groups fighting for liberation struggles (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p. 29). From pinpointing Western imperialism, different communities drew explicit connections with Palestine and Vietnam to Asia, Latin America and African Americans. Third World consciousness is structured around a shared recognition of the multidimensional nature of oppression. Third World consciousness incorporates a more radical perspective of class oppression into its theoretical analysis and how it connects to other forms of oppression (Chung & Chang 1998, p.86). Third World Liberation Front challenged the law-enforced legitimacy of the social order and rearticulated the identities of ethnic minorities in the United States who demanded for equal opportunity, autonomy, and resistance.

The Third World Liberation Front was created in 1968 at San Francisco State College when due to a lack of administrative and departmental responsiveness, the Black Student Union formed a coalition with other multi-ethnic student groups. This was to expand student mobilization and to make their voices heard (Chung & Chang 1998, p.86). TWLF challenged fundamental premises of California's Master Plan for Higher Education as they demanded a specific set of reform programs to achieve the creation of ethnic studies, open admissions and the right of self-representation among Third World people. TWLF engaged in nonviolent strikes and protest demonstrations and were met with brutal police repression and arrest (Chung & Chang 1998, p.87). They demanded liberation from imperialist powers and the establishment of an ethnic studies program, and the hiring of faculty of color. As it was imperative that they had people of color teaching their own histories and stories. This became the catalyst for the creation of the establishment of the Ethnic Studies department following a five-month long strike, setting

a precedent for other schools nationwide. TWLF was dedicated to the underemphasized histories of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinx, Chicanx, and Native Americans (Martinez 2022). The TWLF converged at the crossroads of racial and class liberation. They believed that self empowerment through coalition building was a strategic step toward a larger goal for human liberation.

The Third World Liberation leaders around the world condemned the United States and Israel as imperialist forces. For example, the Ba'ath Party of Syria and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1968 declared “the Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab countries and the American imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam arise from an over-all imperialist plan” (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p.27). The two groups made connections between Vietnam and Palestine but also other anti-imperialist and anticolonial struggles in Cuba, Cambodia, Laos, South Africa, and elsewhere (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p. 27). Both the United States and Israel are settler colonial states predicated upon the death and displacement of an Indigenous people. The United States with Indigenous populations in America and Israel with Palestinian people.

Many began making connections with Vietnam and Palestine and standing in solidarity with the two countries. In the 1960s, prominent Black leaders aligned with the Vietnamese and Palestinian liberation struggles, making connections with domestic people of color and the United States intervention in Southeast Asia and the Middle East (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p.29). The Black Panther Party, for example, sided with Palestine and made parallels between their struggles of racial oppression and political imprisonment. They critiqued US and Israeli imperialism and how they worked together to condone war and death. Leftist student groups and activists in the United States also identified Third World solidarities between Vietnam, Palestine,

and domestic people of color (Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p. 29). They recognized linkages between struggles and declared solidarity between Palestine and the just cause of the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Black community in the U.S. They identified resistance to US imperialism as the common link between Third World Liberation struggles across Vietnam, Palestine, and the Americas. “We perceived our own struggle for emancipation in the Arab world in the same context of the anti-colonialist movement in Vietnam and the struggle for equality in the United States. We often considered our movement as part and parcel of the fighting for third world liberation”(Lê Espiritu Gandhi, 2022, p.30).

Palestine

Using this technique, the Israel government is punishing Palestinians and has created devastating consequences. Gaza has been under constant bombardment by the Israeli military and has suffered thousands of deaths, especially children. The Israeli military has sent missile attacks targeting schools, hospitals, mosques, churches, and refugee camps (AJ Labs 2025). Over 70,000 tonnes have been dropped in Gaza as of May 2024. Recent estimates reflect that 69% of all buildings have been either destroyed or damaged since October 7th, 2023. As of June 2024, there have been an estimated 64,260 deaths in the Gaza Strip with 59% being women, children, or elderly people (AJ Labs 2025). The Israeli military has also enforced a brutal blockade for food and water entering Gaza, leading to people being killed by starvation.

A direct parallel between the events happening now with Palestine and the Vietnam War is the unprecedented scale of broadcast. The Vietnam War was heavily broadcasted through television screens and the radio, for Palestine it is through social media. Millions of people are made aware of the genocide in Gaza through social media with Palestinians capturing airstrikes, displacements and brutal living conditions. People around the world are seeing in real time

Palestinians being killed through their screens and are quickly becoming educated on the Palestinian struggle.

An outcry against what is happening in Palestine has created nation-wide protests to end the war and the United States complicity in it. A mass movement of solidarity with the Palestinian people has emerged, with the creation of the largest campus rebellions since the Vietnam War (Beinin 2024). Students at universities have created over 174 encampments protesting the genocide and their universities investment in it (Ferguson 2025). Thousands of students have been met with repression, from arrests, suspensions and harassment. Last spring's brutalization of students is part of the legacy of the buildup of police forces during the Vietnam War-era anti-racist and anticolonial liberation movements (Ferguson 2025).

Similar to the Vietnam War, the Israeli genocide is also a site for racial and colonial discourses. Yoav Gallant, who previously served as the Israeli defense minister, announced a complete siege in Gaza with "We are fighting against human animals" (Ferguson 2025). This racist discourse is used to justify the killings of Palestinians and the brutalistic mechanisms used to carry it out. War here is being used to further racial imperial goals of settler colonialism and domination, similar to Vietnam.

Third World Forum and Interconnected Struggle

Third World Form was a UC Davis student-run newspaper focusing on social and economic justice issues from 1970-2013. The student-run newspaper was grounded in Third World Liberation rhetoric and wanted to create a space for students of color to voice their opinions and concerns of Third World people, which they felt were not being adequately represented in their school. The newspaper emphasized that it was created with the goal to end all oppression and the right to fight for one's liberation. It served to inform and educate students about the Third World Movement; which organized against exploitation and in support for self-determination. It was an outlet for students to express their discontent with dominant society and different socio-political events happening around the world.

In the mid-eighties TWF adopted four principles: anti-sexism, anti-racism, anti-imperialism, and anti-colonialism. These principles were reflective of the major forms of exploitation in both the United States and abroad. The forum's position against imperialism was rooted in the exploitation of the Third World people by the First World. The Third World Forum believed that true liberation would occur when all these struggles were realized to be interconnected. They emphasized that their principles were "inherently and indivisibly related". TWF believed that it was the responsibility of everyone to resist and destroy the forces of oppression. TWF centered community as an integral part of the paper and an integral part of the paper's contribution to the Movement. A common quote used throughout the paper was "No one is free until everyone is free" (Third World Forum 1978).

The forum was a platform to help students of color reclaim their own histories that had been lost by living in the United States and to record the presence of students of color on campus. The paper also provided a bridge between the communities who have been historically

oppressed in the Third World with students of color, and provided information on what is happening between these communities. TWF amplified students of color's voices and provided alternative publications that countered dominant media.

Place for Students to Tell Their Own Stories/Activism

A theme that came across for me was the importance of a place for students to voice their concerns and tell their own stories. Throughout the archive, students were able to report on news happening around the world ranging from Chile, Cuba, South Africa, Vietnam, Cambodia, Syria, and Palestine. The reporting educated students on news of other countries around the world's struggle for liberation against all forms of oppression. The news article offered an unbiased perspective that centered Third world countries and their fight against the struggle. The newspaper also was a place to highlight the beauty and history of historically marginalized countries. Countless articles were produced about the history, culture, and art of different Third world countries. It offered articles about important historical figures, events, and art that fought against the oppression of their country and personhood. The newspaper also served as a space to advertise different cultural events happening in the UC Davis campus such as Black Family Day, Filipino Culture Night, and the Gran Tardeda. The use of the newspaper was dually important in amplifying the goals of TWF but also connecting students of color with their communities abroad. It provided a space where students of color could share their grievances and critiques of the injustices in the world and a place to build community. TWF created a space where students of color felt represented, heard and seen. They were able to read about their communities and recognize the role they could play in their university as well. It radicalized students that they could also play a role in fighting against oppression and recognize their shared struggle. In volume 15 no.2 1989, Black Student Union and the Palestine Solidarity Committee both

denounced Zionism as racism and condemned the support Israel gives to South Africa. This is an example of how different organizations came together in the newspaper and amplified their shared goals and how interconnected they truly are. It created a platform where students of color could communicate, organize, and create together. Through the principles of the newspaper, it helped students of color organize together toward a shared goal and how they have more similarities than differences.

TWF created a community within students of color who felt largely not represented and preserved the memory of the activism and legacy the students created through the creation of the Third World Forum. It showcased the resiliency and strength of the students in creating TWF as well as their thoughts, opinions and lives during that time period. The newspaper serves as a testament to the activism and coalition building which helped create the university that UC Davis is now today, which students of marginalized communities can now enjoy. Their hard work reflects how far we have come, but also serves to show how these same issues against representation, imperialism, and exploitation are still alive today and must be fought by everyone. It creates a foundation for students to use upon and to remind themselves that the work must still be done for liberation. Seeing students from different races, genders, and identities writing together in the newspaper helped educate students and see the similarities between one another's struggles. By having a place where students are able to publish their stories that the dominant media is not writing about, it highlights a critical perspective that is not through the white-European lens. TWF was able to share their grievances and offer a chance for students to amplify their voices, concerns, and ideas.

Solidarity with Other Countries

An important theme that emerged from my research was solidarity with other countries. Throughout the newspaper it utilized Third World rhetoric which emphasized solidarity and camaraderie with other Third World peoples fighting for liberation. Multiple times in the newspaper it had a call to action, such as “From Vietnam, to Palestine, to the Philippines, El Salvador, West Africa, and all other oppressed countries” (Third World Forum 1986). By constantly putting into conversation multiple countries with this chant, it unites people that they are fighting the same fight together. Mentioning multiple countries makes students feel seen and represented and that their struggles are interconnected with each other and with oppressed nations around the world. It also emphasizes the message that none of us are free until all of us are free. These interlocking systems of oppression are all interconnected and will be dismantled by working together. In an article labeled “From Palestine to Aztlan” in volume 26 no.1, published in December 2004, it talks about the similarities between Chicanos and Palestinians and how their histories, experiences, and oppressors are the same. A quote from the article reads, “These analogies and parallels exist with many other historically oppressed communities... We must find ways to work with one another... When we realize how much we have in common with one another, our struggle is ultimately ONE” (Third World Forum 2004). This quote reflects how through the newspaper different marginalized communities are bridged together to recognize their shared struggle and the importance of coming together to dismantle their shared oppression. This helps bring together student activism and create coalition building to amplify their shared message and goal. Students are learning about these different struggles and creating solidarity with these people because they realize they have more in common with one another than not.

This newspaper helped student activists amplify this message and always center the Movement and other marginalized countries fighting for liberation.

Imperialism, Feminism, and Capitalism

Drawing back to the four principles of the TWF newspaper: anti-sexism, anti-racism, anti-imperialism, and anti-colonialism, they serve as important frameworks of how solidarity is elicited within student social movements. The Third World Front's anti-imperialism serves as a crux of the intention and execution of the newspaper. TWF basis of fighting against imperialism and how it is interconnected with our struggles provides a pathway for solidarity and student organizing. The newspaper denounces imperialism and how it has been used for centuries to exploit Third World countries and its peoples. TWF publishes articles on the history of imperialism, its impacts and how it is still alive today. Multiple times, TWF talks of how imperialism which focuses on the exploitation and oppression of marginalized peoples and countries connects everybody. In my research, in volume 1 no.28 it links Zionism to imperialism and how for example Israel supported the French during the Algerian War (Third World Forum 1972) . The newspaper highlights these different instances of how imperialism has oppressed nations and continues to in the present day. The article emphasizes how Israel supports other imperial and colonial nations' projects of oppression against other countries, including Vietnam. This article educates students that to denounce Zionism, also denounces imperialism—and how both are intertwined with one another. The newspaper reiterates that a fight against imperialism is interconnected with other forms of oppression such as sexism, racism and colonialism. This can be exhibited through its stance on anti-sexism and highlighting the role of women in the Movement. Third World nations have all been shifted by imperialism and can relate to the struggle against it. An anti-imperialist stance unites Third world countries, peoples, and

marginalized communities. It helps unite students towards a common goal that they are all affected by. Something reiterated throughout the newspaper is a 'shared oppressor' and how it is up to the students themselves to take a stand and fight together towards liberation for everyone. In volume 3 no.4, it reads "The Palestinian awakening signifies that a new battalion of the Wretched of the Earth is arising to forge arms in hand, in present, it constitutes the vanguard... The dynamic of the Palestinian revolution puts all the reactionary, bourgeois and pseudo progressive structures of the Middle East in question" (Third World Forum 1972). TWF was highly critical of the interconnectedness of imperialism with capitalism and how imperialism works to impose economic control and domination in countries around the world. The newspaper focuses on the role capitalism plays in the further exploitation of Third world peoples and how it can still be seen today. In the article, *Who are the Arab's Friends on the International Level* begins with an encompassing view of imperialism and the role it has played against oppressed peoples and how it has changed through WWI and WWII (Third World Forum 1972). The article researches the history of world imperialism and the different struggles that have fought against traditional colonist countries and how American capitalism has begun to play a role in these undeveloped countries, called neocolonialism. The article educates and brings together different countries' shared struggle and through the title educate who stands in solidarity with the Arab struggle and why you should as well. A quote that represents these themes is

"Our main friends are the oppressed peoples who suffer from colonization and its exploitation of their efforts and raw materials; or those people who live under the same danger represented by the US in its attempt to extend its influence on the developing nations. The people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are living under conditions of misery, poverty, ignorance, and under development which accompany imperialism and its

presence. The alliance of the Palestinian and Arab national progressive movements, the Vietnamese progressive movement, the Cuban and Korean revolutions, and the national progressive movements in Asia, African and Latin American countries, is alone capable of creating the camp which can resist and defeat the imperialist camp”(Third World Forum 1972).

This quote reflects how imperialism is interconnected with the interlocking systems of capitalism, racism, and exploitation. The article bridges together different marginalized communities who are all fighting for shared liberation and reflects how imperialism affects us all. The role imperialism has in these different countries in exploiting their land, labor and resources and how these countries are still fighting for liberation for all connects everyone reading. It grounds the reader to see the overall history and be able to make connections to their own shared struggles and why we must be allies to the Arab liberation movement because it is connected to the movement for all. Another quote demonstrates this in volume 2 no.22 on May 9th, 1972, *Quang Tri-Beginning of the End* which talked about the Vietnam War and the fall of Quang Tri, South Vietnam’s capital. The article celebrated Vietnam’s success in the war and their bloody fight for liberation against the United States. The article critiqued the United State’s use of excessive force and bombing against the Vietnamese people, and how liberation forces still continued to fight. A quote that stuck out was:

“The Vietnamese struggle is but one important phase of a worldwide movement by peoples of color to throw off the shackles of Euro-American domination...The success of one group is the success of all, and the vibrations eventually reach the belly of the Beast herself, causing her to become nauseous.” (Third World Forum 1972)

This quote further reflects how the newspaper connected different movements and saw their struggle as a shared struggle that was fought and celebrated together. The emphasis on Vietnam reflects the goals of anti-imperialism in TWF and the necessity of being in solidarity with other communities' struggles as they are interconnected with our own.

Another important aspect of TWF is its solidarity with the workers' struggle for liberation. Numerous times, the newspaper writes articles describing issues related to unions, workers rights, and its connection to the movement. One article reads, *Celebrate International Labor Day* and educates on May Day as a day for international workers demonstrations. The article wrote about the history of Chinese workers in the United States, their exploitation and history of labor union movements starting in 1936 (Third World Forum 1972). More articles such as , *The Unionization Among Pilipino(sic) Agricultural Workers*, *The Struggle of International Hotel Tenants*, *History of Salinas Strike*, etc. These articles pushed to educate and show solidarity with the workers struggle domestically and internationally. In these articles they educate on the history of worker's struggle and critically analyze how they are connected to race, gender, and imperialism.

Another show of solidarity apparent throughout the TWF was feminism. The newspaper always emphasized women of color's struggle against oppression and their importance in the Movement. In volume 14 number 8 titled, *Women Under Apartheid in South Africa and Palestine* it described the similarities between both these oppressed groups (Third World Forum 1989). The article uses excerpts from a speech given by Mamazani Xulu, chairperson of the African National Congress (ANC) Women's section who spoke to hundreds of Palestinian women delegates for the Second Convention of the Union of the Palestinian Women's Association in the United States. In her speech she emphasizes the shared struggle she shares

with Palestinians such as denial of human rights under these apartheid regimes. She evokes the parallels between the apartheid in South Africa with apartheid in Palestine due to the Israeli settler regime. The parallels of not being able to hold up their flags, vote, or right to determine their futures. She points out how under these two illegal regimes, they have stolen large masses of land from the Indigenous peoples. She writes, "In both South Africa and the occupied areas of Palestine, women and children bear the brunt of apartheid and Zionist repression"(Third World Forum 1989). She then goes on to describe the unique oppression South African and Palestinian women face living under an apartheid regime by being denied the right to participate in the political life in the two countries. Women are exploited as workers for their labor as well as being oppressed simply because they are women. She coins this triple oppression as having produced the "most militant and courageous women who have stood first in the determination to fight to liberate their countries"(Third World Forum 1989). She talks about the role women have in liberating their countries and being an important part of the struggle. In this reading it creates parallels between women from two different countries and emphasizes how similar they are to one another, and that they are fighting for the same thing. This article makes people realize they are fighting similar fights and stresses the importance of women in the movement for liberation. TWF strongly demands that women must be a part of the struggle for liberation and that their freedom is necessary for everyone to be free. In the TWF they constantly have articles, pictures, poems and think pieces highlighting women of color and the unique oppression that they face. TWF highlights women of color and the triple oppression they face, as well as the activism they do to try and fight against oppression. This reflects women are a necessary part of the movement and highlights their stories, activism, and oppression.

U.S. Imperialism, Domestic Racism, and War

A large aspect of TWF is its critique and denouncement of U.S. imperialism and wars waged against Third World countries. TWF's strong stance against imperialism applies strongly to the United States and its history of settler colonialism. In numerous articles TWF begins with the origins of the United States and how its history of genocide against Indigenous peoples and slavery against African Americans is embedded to the country and informs how it operates today. In volume 3 number 3 titled *Imperialism: Aggression Abroad and Oppression At Home* it links parallels between the oppression countries abroad face with the oppression faced domestically (Third World Forum 1972). The article writes that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, which results in the "domination, exploitation and coercion of one country by the business interests of another"(Third World Forum 1972). The article explores how U.S. imperialism operates to expand markets and generate profit off the exploitation of countries abroad. The article links this to the war in Vietnam and how the war is connected to expanding profits and sustaining a common enemy: capitalism. The article emphasizes how for capitalism to thrive, it must continue expanding with the control of raw materials, minimizing labor costs, and creating new markets in different countries which damages these countries. The article talks of how the United States uses military power to sustain this expansion and demands a forceful expansion into these countries through war or the setup of military dictatorships. The article uses examples of military interventions in countries such as Vietnam, Brazil, Guatemala, Cambodia, Panama, Laos, and Iran (Third World Forum 1972). The author draws a direct link to the oppression domestically and how Americans sell their labor power and are exploited by the same corporations that exploit countries abroad. They wrote, "The people of Vietnam and the people of the United States share a common exploiter: capitalism"(Third World Forum 1972). The

article also shares how the United States spends up to 75 billion dollars in foreign investments every year, money that could be used to create jobs in America. The article also makes connection to how force and the U.S. military is used to suppress people of color in the United States, the killings of Kent and Jackson State, and unions. The article points to how all these forms of oppression are intertwined with one another to protect corporate interests and sustain U.S. imperialism.

TWF has called out the United States government and demanded them to end their operations against other countries. Repeatedly re-emphasized is the fact that the United States has been sending billions of dollars to Israel in aid for decades. TWF denounces the settler state of Israel and has demanded for decades for the United States to cease sending money to them. Students in TWF have called out the United States for their involvement in Palestine and have demanded the United States government to condemn Israel's attack and to withhold military and economic aid. Students since the 1990's have held protests, marches, and teach-ins to mourn the deaths of innocent Palestinians and demand for a liberated Palestine.

Another large theme was how the Vietnam War made students highly critical of the United States and how war affects Vietnamese people abroad and Americans domestically. In volume 2 number 20 titled, *Racism and the War* it describes how the Vietnam War directly affects to racism against Asian people in America (Third World Forum 1971). The article goes on to describe how the Vietnam War is an extension of the American social system and manifests similar racial attitudes. The author argues that America's extensive history of racism against Asian people starting with Chinese railroad workers connects to racism against Black and Indigenous peoples. They argue how Asian Americans are viewed as inferior and Asians in Asian countries are thought to be even more inferior, as subhumans. This dehumanization is a

large component of the terrible destruction and atrocities that took place during the Vietnam War. These racist attitudes in civilian life are heightened with combat training and are also reinforced and encouraged. The results of racism lead to the terrible brutality of war that has killed hundreds of thousands of Asian people. They argue the Vietnam War also reinforces anti-Asian sentiments in the United States and have increased hostility and racism. The author argues how racism in the American social systems partially caused the Vietnam War which caused the extermination of Southeast Asian people as well as negatively affected Asian-Americans. The article points to how racism is deeply interwoven into the war and affects not only people abroad, but also domestically. The article calls to action Asian-Americans and their shared interest in ending the war and fighting for equality and self-determination. The author points out their common interest and the necessity to be socially united to end discrimination and create economic equality for all.

Another theme that arose was the hypocrisy of racism when the Vietnam War took place. A large critique was the fact that the United States government was investing billions of dollars into this war and sending people of color to fight when they were mistreated by the United States. The newspaper called out the United States government for spending millions of dollars on death and destruction rather than for education and health. A large criticism was that Black and Chicano people were being sent to Vietnam and killed at a higher rate than any other group. They realized the hypocrisy of Asian people and land being destroyed while problems in America remained unresolved and ignored. TWF called for an end of the Vietnam War and for an end to U.S. militarism and imperialism.

Conclusion

The Third World Liberation Front newspaper created an avenue for students to accurately represent themselves and bring awareness to issues that were impacting them and marginalized communities around the world. TWF educated students on the interconnectedness of struggle and how their liberation is intertwined with the liberation for everyone. Being able to use this framework of TWF it elicited mass coalition building and protest for multiple movements. Lessons from this newspaper reflect how solidarity is elicited in student social movements and reflects the deep history of student struggle in the United States. It reflects the power and strength that student organizing is able to create through coalition building and working together. Solidarity building between Vietnam and Palestine in student organizing has a rich history that can still be felt today. Student protest for Palestine reached an unprecedented scale, where people are fighting against the injustice in Gaza, but also seeing themselves in the Palestinian fight for liberation. Students are viewing the genocide that has been globalized and vilified, yet despite these assumptions, students are still taking a stand. Currently Palestinians are still being targeted by Israeli military forces and are being blocked from receiving food, water, and aid. Palestinians are consistently being systematically killed and not allowed to return to their homes. Thousands of Palestinians are being killed by Israel and the United States is still complicit in this genocide. Nationwide protest for Palestine is incredibly important in helping end this genocide and for fully liberating Palestine from Israeli settler regime.

Unearthing this history and linkage is important in creating visibility for the student activism that has taken place and how it is not something brand new. This foundation for solidarity and activism has already been created and must be used for students actively fighting for justice on their campuses. The activism of students in the past has created a wider pathway

for students now to continue the fight and push for a more liberated and just world. Learning this history is crucial in continuing the fight for liberation and understanding how struggle is inherently interconnected. Student protest for Palestine has been repressed, politicized and ostracized. Currently deportations for international students protesting for Palestine have been rampant under the Trump administration. Protest for Palestine is seen as a threat by the nation-state and reflects how these struggles of militarism, racism, and imperialism are interconnected. These parallels are especially important to recognize because history has laid an important foundation that we must learn and honor from. It also teaches us that just like in the past, this activism will be remembered as people fighting for the right side of history.

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