

Mexicans and World War II: Change and Continuity

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‘They served us beer but not food [at the drive-in movie theatre]. They told us, ‘No, we don’t serve Mexicans’, World War II veteran Natividad Campos recalled, ‘I felt pretty bad because I felt I was just as American as anybody else’.¹ Campos’ experience reflected that of thousands of Mexican Americans trying to belong in a world in which they were considered non-white and consequently plagued by discrimination.² This challenge of belonging encapsulated the Mexican American wartime experience. On the home front Mexicans stood out as patriotic supporters of the war effort. They took up various jobs in war industry, migrated to America to work in agriculture, and raised money to buy war bonds. In the military, Mexican Americans excelled in various capacities, served in combat roles out of proportion to their numbers, and received more decorations for bravery than any other ethnic group.³ During the war, Mexican Americans experienced changes in treatment and an increase in opportunity. Nevertheless, discrimination continued in education, the workplace, restaurants, in public facilities, and in housing. World War II was a turning point in which Mexican Americans were invigorated to fight against this injustice following the clash of an increased sense of self-worth, created by the contribution to the war effort, and the ongoing experience of racism.⁴ This article investigates this turning point by exploring the experiences of Mexican Americans before, during, and after World War II.

1 Erika Jaramillo, ‘Natividad Campos, Sr.’, Voces Oral History Project, University of Texas at Austin, accessed on 26 August 2014, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/voces/template-stories-indiv.html?work_urn=urn%3Autlol%3Awwlatin.600&work_title=Campos%2C+Natividad.

2 Vicki L. Ruiz, ‘Nuestra América: Latino History as United States History’, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 93, no. 3 (2006): 665.

3 Gregory Rodriguez, *Mongrels, Bastards, Orphans, and Vagabonds: Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007), 182.

4 Richard Griswold del Castillo, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008), 1.

Before the War

Mexicans were a minority the United States since even before Mexican–American War (1846–48). Their numbers greatly increased between 1900 and 1930 when about one million Mexicans moved north of the border due to a range of push and pull factors.⁵ Mexicans were pushed north by the situation in their home country, including grinding poverty, attributable to regressive wages and the lacklustre education system, and the tumultuous Mexican Revolution (1910–20).⁶ Mexicans were also pulled by shortages of inexpensive and unskilled labour required for the growth of agribusiness, mining, and the railroad construction.⁷ Life was difficult for these new immigrants who often had the lowest paid and most difficult manual labour jobs. Although Mexican Americans were largely spared the worst of official racism directed towards African Americans in the Jim Crow era, they were not fully accepted as white, and consequently experienced extensive discrimination. Mexican Americans faced segregation enforced by local ordinances in real estate and the practices of local businessmen, unionisation was restricted, and low quality and levels of education due to segregated schools and about forty-two per cent of children received no education at all.⁸

The Great Depression magnified and strengthened their sense of isolation and separation.⁹ ‘Times were hard’, Mexican American Joe Henry Lazarine said when describing the difficulty of family life during the Depression years.¹⁰ Mexicans were blamed for unemployment leading to favouritism towards white workers and fewer job opportunities. In one case, Kansas Governor Clyde Reed sent a letter to railways urging for all Mexican workers to be fired.¹¹ Mexicans were also targeted as ‘illegals’ in a new spate of anti-immigrant sentiment.¹² This led to the forced and voluntary repatriation of an estimated 400,000 Mexicans in the 1930s.¹³

These negative experiences motivated Mexican Americans to begin fighting for respect and civil rights.¹⁴ The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded in 1929 to fight against inequity, and the Congress of Spanish-Speaking Peoples was formed to campaign for labour rights.¹⁵ LULAC campaigns primarily attempted to prove that Mexican Americans were white, and hence deserving of civil rights. This activism did not end discrimination, but it had some success when the U.S. Census Bureau officially categorised Mexican Americans as white after 1936.¹⁶ Mario

5 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 159.

6 Manuel P. Servín, *An Awakened Minority: The Mexican-Americans* (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1974), 24; Henry J. Avila, ‘Immigration and Integration: The Mexican American Community in Garden City, Kansas, 1900-1950’, *Kansas History*, Vol. 20, no. 1 (1997): 24–26.

7 Robert Oppenheimer, ‘Acculturation or Assimilation: Mexican Immigrants in Kansas, 1900 to World War II’, *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 16, no. 4 (1985): 429.

8 Servín, *The Mexican-Americans*, 12–13, 55.

9 Oppenheimer, ‘Mexican Immigrants in Kansas, 1900 to World War II’, 436.

10 Cheryl Smith Kemp, ‘Joe Henry Lazarine’, Voces Oral History Project, accessed on 26 August 2014, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/voces/template-stories-indiv.html?work_urn=urn%3Autl%3Awlatin.661&work_title=Lazarine%2C+Joe.

11 Oppenheimer, ‘Mexican Immigrants in Kansas, 1900 to World War II’, 444.

12 David R. Roediger, *How Race Survived Us History: From Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon* (New York: Verso, 2008), 165.

13 Ronald T. Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2000), 92.

14 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 179; Ruiz, ‘Latino History as United States History’, 665.

15 Griswold del Castillo, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, 1.

16 Thomas A. Guglielmo, ‘Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Transnational Struggle for Civil

T. García argues that this campaigning represents the birth of the Mexican-American ‘political generation’, as the first second-generation Mexican Americans came to age in the early 1930s. He argues that this generation took up the mantle of fighting for civil rights before, during, and after the war.¹⁷ Despite this initial upsurge of activism, Mexican Americans were ranked in a 1942 poll at the bottom of all racial groups, even below the Japanese.¹⁸ It would take the tumultuous events of war to begin to the change in this perception and transform ideas of Mexican American self-worth.

The Wartime Experience

As proud loyalists, Mexican Americans enthusiastically supported the war effort. ‘We are children of the United States. We will defend her’, the Spanish-Speaking Congress declared in their official communication.¹⁹ This extensive support came both on the home front and in military action.

The Home Front

The war effort necessitated rapid mass mobilisation and production, creating substantial new job opportunities in industry and agriculture that dramatically reduced unemployment.²⁰ Initially jobs were exclusively offered to whites, however soon demand for labour outstripped supply and hundreds of thousands of Mexican Americans were hired.²¹ Mexican Americans had the opportunity, especially in the case of urban factory workers, to earn wages to those of white workers for the first time.²² In the shipyards alone, Mexican labour increased from zero in 1941 to over 17,000 by 1944. The demand for labour also provided the first opportunities for women to get higher paying jobs outside of limited domestic work.²³

The necessity for labour also led to the importation of additional temporary agricultural workers from Mexico under the Bracero program, totalling over 168,000 people between 1942 and 1945.²⁴ Mexican American groups including the Spanish-Speaking Congress opposed this program on the basis that it often exploited Mexican workers, pushed down wages for already existent Mexican American labour, and made the challenge of assimilation more difficult.²⁵ Mexican American groups supported the war effort in other ways, including by collecting gift packages for soldiers and holding rallies to encourage the purchase of War Bonds, effectively loaning money to the

Rights in World War II Texas’, *Journal of American History*, Vol. 92, no. 4 (2006): 1215.

17 Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology & Identity, 1930-1960*, Yale Western Americana Series: 36 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

18 Richard Steele, “Mexican Americans in 1940: Perceptions and Conditions,” in *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, ed. Richard Griswold del Castillo (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008), 8.

19 García, *Mexican Americans*, 166; Takaki, *A Multicultural History of America in World War II*, 83.

20 Griswold del Castillo, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, 70.

21 Steele, “The Federal Government Discovers Mexican Americans”, 20.

22 Griswold del Castillo, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, 1.

23 Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II*, 96–98 .

24 *Ibid.*, 92–93; Rodríguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 191; Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican Labor and World War II : Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1990).

25 García, *Mexican Americans*, 167; Rodríguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 194 –95.

government.²⁶ This led to positive publicity, including a front-page article in the *Los Angeles Times* under the headline ‘Racial Groups to Buy Bonds’.²⁷

The necessities of the war provided substantial opportunities for economic advancement and mobility, and for the many able to take advantage of them their lives improved.²⁸ Moreover, despite the negatives of the Bracero program it did provide the Mexican government leverage to petition for better treatment of Mexican Americans.²⁹ Mexican Americans were also able to use their contribution to the war to lobby for recognition of rights. American local, state and federal governments and public service agencies responded more positively than ever before, albeit partly from the necessity to improve morale and strengthen diplomatic relations with Mexico.³⁰ In a massive step, the Texas legislature unanimously passed a resolution that said Mexican Americans were ‘entitled to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of all public places of business or amusement’.³¹ However, there were significant limits to the provision of help: the above statement did not have the enforcement of law, and much of the reason for poverty was seen as self-imposed, not the fault of discrimination.³²

Moreover, on the home front extensive racism, mistreatment, and discrimination did continue. Substantial negative characterisation and stereotyping came from the racist assumption that Mexicans were biologically predisposed towards violence and delinquency.³³ This led to continued refusal of service for Mexican Americans, as well as limitations on job opportunities outside of farm labour and war industry.³⁴ Moreover, dramatic events in Los Angeles further alienated some Mexican Americans. The death of a young Mexican American in a gang confrontation in Sleepy Lagoon was seen to substantiate the assertion of extensive violence amongst young Mexican Americans. The killing galvanised media attention in a hostile, prejudicial and unfair manner. It was claimed that there was a growing problem of lawlessness and gang culture among Mexican Americans, and in response there were widespread arrests and likely unfair prosecutions.³⁵ The birth of zoot-suit culture, the wearing of broad-rimmed hat with a drape pants that ballooned at the ankles, among young Mexican Americans was seen to further substantiate claims of juvenile delinquency.³⁶ This negative perception culminated in the June 1943 zoot-suit riots, a series of targeted violent attacks by gangs of sailors on Mexican Americans. Despite the physical nature of

26 García, *Mexican Americans*, 36.

27 ‘Racial Groups to Buy Bonds: County Purchases Pass Two-Thirds Point toward Quota’, *Los Angeles Times*, 8 Feb 1944

28 Griswold del Castillo, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, 4.

29 Thomas A. Guglielmo, ‘Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Transnational Struggle for Civil Rights in World War II Texas’, *Journal of American History* 92, no. 4 (2006): 1215; Steele, ‘The Federal Government Discovers Mexican Americans’; ‘Messersmith Hails Mexican War Effort’, *New York Times* 21 December 1942

30 Steele, ‘The Federal Government Discovers Mexican Americans’, 30.

31 “Appendix D: The ‘Caucasian Race—Equal Privileges’ Texas House Concurrent Resolution, 1943” in *Ibid.*, 1212-3; Guglielmo, ‘Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Transnational Struggle for Civil Rights in World War II Texas.’

32 Steele, ‘The Federal Government Discovers Mexican Americans’, 31.

33 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 187.

34 Cheryl Smith Kemp, ‘Alejandro Paiz Garza’, Voces Oral History Project, accessed on 26 August 2014, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/voces/template-stories-indiv.html?work_urn=urn%3Autl%3Aawwlatin.660&work_title=Garza%2C+Alejandro.

35 Steele, ‘Los Angeles: Sleepy Lagoon, the Zoot-Suit Riots, and the Liberal Response’, 35–40.

36 Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance During World War II*, American Crossroads: 24 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

the assault, the press treated it as a joke, focusing on the zoot-suits, rather than a racially motivated aspect.³⁷

These events bought the Mexican American racial landscape to the forefront of debate.³⁸ The growth of Mexican American gangs and zoot-suit culture linked to the issues cultural alienation, breakdown of the family, home front instability, xenophobia and racism, and the feelings of being left out of the wartime economic boom. As Alfred Barela, a young Mexican American 'zoot-suiter' from Los Angeles explained:

Ever since I can remember I've been pushed around and called names because I'm Mexican. I was born in this country...I should have same rights and privileges of other Americans...want to be treated like everybody else...We're tired of being told we can't go to this show or that dance hall because we're Mexican or that we better not be seen on the beach front, or that we can't wear draped pants or have our hair cut the way we want to.³⁹

Despite their contribution during the wartime emergency and the increasing sense of self-worth, Mexican Americans were still not accepted as full citizens.⁴⁰

Military Experience

Mexican Americans were conscripted and volunteered to be part of the American military even before the declaration of war. As Richard Steele states, 'military service offered an honorable, even adventurous, alternative to a hardscrabble existence'.⁴¹ Over half a million Mexican Americans enlisted, almost a fifth of their population of 2,690,000.⁴² Proportionally, more Mexican Americans served in combat divisions than any other ethnic group.⁴³ Military service suited Mexican Americans well because of its emphasis on performance rather than race, and recognition for achievement not found in civilian life.⁴⁴ Moreover, unlike African Americans, they were not placed in segregated units, giving many the first opportunities for interaction on an equal footing with whites.⁴⁵ 'There was no discrimination in the service', veteran Angel Zavala recalled, 'because we were all the same and there was no difference'.⁴⁶

37 Steele, 'Los Angeles: Sleepy Lagoon, the Zoot-Suit Riots, and the Liberal Response', 41–43.

38 Natalia Molina, 'The Battle for Los Angeles: Racial Ideology and World War II,' *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 54, no. 1 (2008): 70; Eduardo Obregon Pagan, 'The Battle for Los Angeles: Racial Ideology and World War II,' *American Historical Review*, no. 3 (2008).

39 Alvarez, *Youth Culture and Resistance During World War II*, 1–2.

40 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 187; Takaki, *A Multicultural History of America in World War II*, 183.

41 Richard Steele, 'The Federal Government Discovers Mexican Americans', 19.

42 Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II*, 83.

43 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 182.

44 Steele, 'The Federal Government Discovers Mexican Americans', 20; Appendix F: 'Excerpts from among the Valiant: Mexican-Americans in WWII and Korea Raul Morin,' *ibid*.

45 Servín, *The Mexican-Americans*, 137–41.

46 Andie Salazar, 'Angel Zavala', Voces Oral History Project, accessed 26 August 2014, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/voces/template-stories-indiv.html?work_urn=urn%3Autlol%3Aawwlatin.681&work_title=Zavala%2C+Angel.

Proportionally, Mexican Americans achieved the distinction of gaining more decorations for bravery in the battlefield than any other group.⁴⁷ Marcario Garcia from Texas became the first Mexican American to receive a Congressional Medal of Honor for single-handedly disabling two enemy machine guns with complete disregard for his personal safety.⁴⁸ Company E of the 141st Regiment of the 36th Texas Infantry Division, a largely Mexican American company, were awarded three Medals of Honor, 31 Distinguished Service Crosses, 12 Legions of Merit, 492 Silver Stars, 11 Soldier's Medals, and 1,685 Bronze Stars.⁴⁹ Spanish American newspapers proudly celebrated Mexican Americans being honoured as Americans for the first time.⁵⁰ For survivors, the military experience provided the various skills and access to allow for better engagement with American society.⁵¹

Upon their return, Mexican American did soldiers have new opportunity, and yet experienced much of the same discrimination as before the war, helping to underline the need to fight for civil rights.⁵² In one case even while still in the service Rudy Acosta recalls being refused service at a restaurant in Lubbock, Texas. 'There's always going to be, like there is now, a minority that will always suffer indignation, discrimination and all that stuff', he said, 'but it's up to the individual to rise above'.⁵³

Post-War

Richard Griswold del Castillo argues that the wartime experience had the dual positive effects of changing Mexican American identity, by creating a sense of entitlement, and begun to change perception, because of increased recognition of their service on and off the battlefield.⁵⁴ After the war Mexican Americans became less willing to tolerate discriminatory practices as a virtue of having proved their loyalty and 'Americanness'.⁵⁵ After having fought under the public language of democracy and justice they simply no longer considered themselves outsiders or second-class citizens.⁵⁶ 'Most of us were more than glad to be given the opportunity to serve in the war', veteran Raul Morin said, 'it did not matter whether we were looked upon as Mexicans; the war soon made us all genuine Americans, eligible and available immediately to fight and defend our country, the United States of America'.⁵⁷ After the war new opportunities opened, especially for veterans. Returned soldiers had substantial opportunity for education and other opportunities through the

47 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 182.

48 'Medal of Honor Recipients—World War II (Recipients G-L)', United States Army Centre of Military History, accessed on 26 August 2014, <http://www.history.army.mil/html/moh/wwII-g-l.html>.

49 Rufus Rodriguez, 'April 17 2007—107 Cong. Rec. 3461', Congressional Record, http://www.heinonline.org.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/HOL/Page?handle=hein.congrec/cr0910003&collection=congrec&set_as_cursor=0&men_tab=srchresults907&id=907.

50 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 183; Takaki, *A Multicultural History of America in World War II* 86; 'Mexicans Here Honor War Hero', *Los Angeles Times*, 25 October 1945.

51 Steele, 'The Federal Government Discovers Mexican Americans', 20.

52 *Ibid.*

53 Frank Trejo, 'Rudy Acosta', Voces Oral History Project, accessed 26 August 2014, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/voces/template-stories-indiv.html?work_urn=urn%3Autlol%3Awwlatin.001&work_title=Acosta%2C+Rudy.

54 Griswold del Castillo, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, 1–5.

55 *Ibid.*, 1; Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 185; Henry Ramos, *The American G.I. Forum: In Pursuit of the Dream, 1948-1983*, (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1998), xvii.

56 Servín, *The Mexican-Americans*, 141; Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez and Emilio Zamora, *Beyond the Latino World War II Hero: The Social and Political Legacy of a Generation*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009), 2.

57 Takaki, *A Multicultural History of America in World War II*, 88.

GI Bill.⁵⁸ This enabled veterans to achieve higher incomes.⁵⁹ Moreover, when some soldiers returned they found that in their local area schools, movie theatres, and swimming pools were integrated.⁶⁰ One returned soldier recounted how 'prior to the war Bank Loans were hard to get. Nowadays we are just as eligible as any other citizen and bankers no longer consider racial background as a yardstick on ability to pay'.⁶¹

Much of this change in treatment linked back to a new perception of Mexican Americans and recognition of their extensive war service. 'As I read the casualty lists from my state, I find anywhere from one-fourth to one-third of those names are names such as Gonzales or Sanchez, names indicating that the very lifeblood of our citizens of Latin-American', California Congressman Jerry Voorhis said, 'we ought to resolve that in the future every single one of these citizens shall have the fullest and freest opportunity which this country is capable of giving him'.⁶² However, in many senses the transformation in perception and action was limited due to extensive resistance to change in the American social order.⁶³ Even Mexican American veterans, with increased job and educational opportunities, continued to earn less than white non-veterans.⁶⁴ Discrimination continued after the war in many places, especially in regional Texas where Mexican Americans were often barred from public facilities.⁶⁵ Mexican Americans, especially those in the Midwest, also experienced low levels of upward social mobility doing the same sorts of low paying manual work before and after the war.⁶⁶

Simultaneously, the wartime contribution also made Mexican Americans more willing to fight for their rights.⁶⁷ LULAC, the Spanish-Speaking Congress, the Mexican Civic Committee, various unions, and countless local clubs united to campaign for equal rights.⁶⁸ The American G.I. Forum was founded to support returning veterans, and soon afterwards thrust into the national spotlight in the Felix Longoria affair.⁶⁹ Longoria was a truck driver from a small Texas town called Three Rivers. He was killed in a fusillade of Japanese bullets during the war, though his body was not returned home until 1949. Longoria's widow, Beatrice Longoria, sought to have the funeral at the town's only funeral parlour, yet her request was refused on the basis that 'the whites won't like it'. If this had happened before the war it is likely this discrimination would have been accepted. Instead, G.I. Forum founder Dr. Hector P. Garcia wrote telegrams to various state and federal leaders. Texas Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, later President, responded instinctively by

58 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 189.

59 Steven Rosales, 'Fighting the Peace at Home: Mexican American Veterans and the 1944 GI Bill of Rights', *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 80, no. 4 (2011): 607.

60 Maria Eva Flores, 'What a Difference a War Makes!', in *Mexican Americans & World War II*, ed. Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005), 197.

61 Appendix F: 'Excerpts from among the Valiant: Mexican-Americans in WWII and Korea Raul Morin,' 186–87.

62 Jerry Voorhis, 'April 24 1945–91 Cong. Rec. 3701', *Congressional Record*, http://www.heinonline.org.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/HOL/Page?handle=hein.congrec/cr0910003&collection=congrec&set_as_cursor=0&men_tab=srchresults907&id=907.

63 Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, *Mexican Americans & World War II*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005), xix.

64 Rosales, 'Mexican American Veterans and the 1944 GI Bill of Rights', 608.

65 Servín, *The Mexican-Americans*, 141.

66 Rosales, 'Mexican American Veterans and the 1944 GI Bill of Rights', 609.

67 Ruiz, 'Latino History as United States History', 657.

68 Griswold del Castillo, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, 105.

69 Rivas-Rodriguez, *Mexican Americans & World War II*, 201.

saying ‘By God, we’ll bury him at Arlington!’⁷⁰ For the first time resistance to Mexican American discrimination became a national story, published on the front-page of the New York Times under the headline ‘GI of Mexican Origin, Denied Rites in Texas, to be Buried in Arlington’.⁷¹ However, the experience was not wholly positive. The Three Rivers authorities and conservative state legislators denied the existence of discrimination, and LBJ disassociated himself from the Arlington decision to avoid negative publicity.⁷²

Conclusion

The Longoria affair emblematises the duality of Mexican American’s post-war experience, and the true nature of the wartime turning point. It was not that war experience ended discrimination; in many respects blatant discrimination and a lack of opportunities continued. Rather, it changed Mexican American self-perception, and created a greater willingness to fight against inequality and discrimination. The war began the process of addressing discrimination and created an understanding that Mexican Americans are fully contributing members of society. Consequently it can perhaps be described as the *beginning of the end* of legal discrimination. The war allowed the G.I. Forum, and various other organisations, to use their authority to fight against segregation, educational inequality, and other discriminatory practices.⁷³ It would take until the 1950s and 1960s for Mexican Americans to receive equal treatment under the law. However the seeds of this movement to change perception were significantly strengthened, and in many ways defined, by the wartime experience.⁷⁴

70 Robert A. Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Master of the Senate*, (New York: Vintage, 2010), 740–45.

71 William S. Whites, ‘GI of Mexican Origin, Denied Rites in Texas, to Be Buried in Arlington’, *New York Times*, 13 January 1949, Rivas-Rodriguez, *Mexican Americans & World War II*, 204.

72 Caro, *Master of the Senate*, 704.

73 Rodriguez, *Mexican Immigration and the Future of Race in America*, 188.

74 Griswold del Castillo, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, 96.
