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Santa Barbara

Voices of the People: The Mexican American Alternative Press in San Diego, 1963-1978

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

Francisco Beltrán

Committee in charge:

Professor Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, Co-Chair

Professor Paul Spickard, Co-Chair

Professor Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval

Professor Mario T. García

June 2019

The dissertation of Francisco Beltrán is approved.

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Mario T. García

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Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval

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Paul Spickard, Committee Co-Chair

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Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, Committee Co-Chair

May 2019

Voices of the People: The Mexican American Alternative Press in San Diego, 1963-1978

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by

Francisco Beltrán

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is first and foremost dedicated to my late father and brother, Raúl and José Beltrán, respectively. They are not physically here anymore, but their memory and spirit have guided me since their untimely passing. Not a day goes by that I don't think of them. I know that on graduation they will be celebrating with me from up there. *Ahora si apa y Lalito, ¡me echare ese pajuelazo al macho!*

I want to thank my family and friends for supporting me every step of the way. This was uncharted territory for me, for us. It was difficult and stressful, but we did it. I say we because I could not have done it alone. This was a group effort, a community effort.

The initial planning for this project started long before I came to UCSB. My passion for Chicana/o history was fomented in my undergraduate classes with Professors Justin Akers Chacón, Elva Salinas, and Jorge Mariscal in San Diego. Your commitment to education and social justice left a lasting impression on me that I continue in my work and in my classes. After taking your classes, I knew I wanted to be a teacher. *¡Muchas gracias!*

I owe a special thanks to all the members of my dissertation committee. To Paul Spickard, you were the first person I spoke to after I was admitted to the History Ph.D. program. Ever since our first phone call, you have shown me time and time again the importance and value of good mentorship and friendship. You are unlike any Professor who I've met, and I mean it in a good way. You helped me believe and trust myself that I can be a good teacher. To Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, my co-advisor and someone who always kept it real with me. When I first arrived at UCSB, you were just a few years removed from getting your Ph.D. Seeing you grow as a scholar, teacher, and mentor has shown me a blueprint for success, and it is one I intend pass on to my future students. I could not have asked for two better mentors. UCSB got it right by hiring you both. *¡Muchas gracias!*

I also want to thank the remaining members of my committee, Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval and Mario T. García, great scholars and mentors from the Chicana/o Studies Department. You carved out a space for me to learn and grow as a person in Chicana/o Studies, which became my second academic home at UCSB. I will graduate with a History Ph.D. degree, but we all know it has Chicana/o Studies written all over it. Thank you as well to faculty and staff, primarily in History and Chicana/o Studies, for all your support over the last seven years. Thank you as well to the many graduate and undergraduate students that have helped and inspired me since 2012. A special thanks goes to my UCSB *familia*, a group of graduate students of color from across disciplines that came together to support each other's path to success. A special thanks also goes to Alberto López Pulido, who helped me figure out the direction of this dissertation in its initial phases.

This dissertation would not be what it is if it wasn't for Laura Hooton, my colleague and one of my closest friends. You read every single page of this monstrosity. You helped me make this dissertation my best writing ever. Last year in your acknowledgements you said we made a good team. No, we make a great team. Gracias *amiga*.

Lastly, thanks to my spouse, my best friend, and my partner in adventures y *travesuras*, Alex Ornelas. When I first came to UCSB, it never crossed my mind that I would find my other half. It took a while, but after I met you, my life became so much better. We found each other just at the right moment – not a second too early or late. We've been each other's rock and support *en las buenas y en las malas*. There is nothing we wouldn't do for each other. Thank you for your love, your patience. Thank you for being you all the time. *Ahora termino yo. Mañana sigues tú*. I will be there for you, just as you have been there for me. *¡Te amo!*

Francisco Beltrán

Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

University of California, Santa Barbara Expected June 2019
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"Voices of the People: The Mexican American Alternative Press in San Diego, 1963-1978"
Committee Members:
Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, Paul Spickard, Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval, and Mario T. García
Fields:
United States History, Mexican American, Chicana/o, and Borderlands History, Immigration, Comparative Race and Ethnicity, Latin America, and Chicana/o Studies

University of California, Santa Barbara
M.A. in History June 2014

University of California, San Diego June 2011
B.A. in History

San Diego City College May 2009
A.A. in Chicana/o Studies

EMPLOYMENT

San Francisco State University (SFSU) Begins Fall 2019
Visiting Assistant Professor in Race and Ethnicity in United States History
Position will include teaching United States History survey courses since Reconstruction, Race and Ethnicity in recent United States History courses, California History survey courses, and senior seminar courses for history majors. In addition, will serve as faculty advisor and mentor to undergraduate history majors.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Visiting Assistant Professor of History, Department of History, SFSU Planned 2019-2020
United States History Since Reconstruction, Race and Ethnicity in United States History Since 1890, California History, and Senior Seminar for History Majors
Will teach two sections of United States History since Reconstruction and two sections of Race and Ethnicity in United States History Since 1890 in the fall 2019 semester. Courses for spring 2020 are TBA.

Instructor of Record, Department of History, UCSB Summer 2019 (Scheduled)

Introduction to Latin American History

This course will be a survey of Latin American History from the Pre-Columbian period to the present. It will focus primarily on the regions colonized by Spain, but attention will also be given to developments outside the Spanish-speaking region of Latin America that have contributed to the region's social, political, economic, and cultural development. The first third of the course will cover the Mesoamerican and Andean civilizations, the conquest, the colonial period, the wars of independence, and the nineteenth century. The rest of the course will be composed of case studies that chart the development of several Latin American countries from the nineteenth century to the present.

Instructor of Record, Department of History, UCSB Summer 2018

American Immigration and Migration History, 1924-Present

Designed and taught an upper division course on U.S. immigration and migration history from 1924 to the present. Course emphasized the histories of different groups of people, the forces that brought them to the U.S., their navigational and generational experiences dealing with immigration attitudes, policies, race and ethnic structures in the U.S., and the impact of these histories on U.S. culture, politics, and society.

Instructor of Record, Department of History, UCSB Summer 2017

History of the Chicana/o Movement

Designed and taught an upper division course on the Chicana/o Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Course focused on the narratives of the peoples who participated in the movement, and the histories and connections between a wide range of sub-movements such as the farmworkers movement, the anti-war movement, and others. The goal was to examine the movement's progression and evolution as part of the Civil Rights Movement period in the United States.

Teaching Assistant – Department of History, UCSB

World History, 1700-present	3 quarters
Introduction to Latin American History	2 quarters
The American People, Sectional Crisis to Progressivism	1 quarter
The American People, WWI-present	3 quarters
Introduction to Mexican History	1 quarter

Teaching Assistant – Department of Chicana/o Studies, UCSB

Introduction to Chicana/o History	3 quarters
Introduction to Chicana/o Culture	2 quarter
Racism in American History	1 quarter

Teaching Assistant – Department of Asian American Studies, UCSB

Introduction to Asian American History, 1850-present	1 quarter

Reader – Department of History, UCSB

California History	1 quarter

Reader – Department of Environmental Studies, UCSB

Water Policy in the American West	1 quarter

GUEST LECTURES AND TALKS

"Writing Chicana/o History." History 164IB: American Immigration and Migration History, 1924-present. UCSB. September 5, 2017.

"Cold War Neocolonialism in Latin America." History 2C: World History, 1700-present. UCSB. June 5, 2017.

"Ideological Borderlands: A Brief History of Central American-U.S. Relations." History 102LH: History of the North American Borderlands. UCSB. March 9, 2017.

"The California Chicana/o Movement." History 160C: The History of the Civil Rights Movement, 1930-present. UCSB. August 26, 2016.

"The People's Democracy: The Chicana/o Movement and the Radical Civil Rights Period, 1965-1975." History 17C: The American People, WWI-present. UCSB. July 13, 2016

"Chicanos on Chicano Masculinity." Sociology 144: The Chicano Community. UCSB. October 15, 2015.

"The Strategies of the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1970." Sociology 1: Introduction to Sociology. UCSB. September 8, 2015.

"The Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965." History 17C: The American People, WWI-present. UCSB. August 20, 2015.

MENTORSHIP, DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND INCLUSION WORK

Graduate Student Mentor for UCSB's Graduate Scholars Program (GSP) 2019
Serving as an advanced graduate mentor to two first-year graduate students from the departments of History and Sociology. January-June.

Digital Delano: Preserving an International Community's History 2018-2019
A year-long internship with Bakersfield College through the UCSB Interdisciplinary Humanities Center (IHC). As UCSB's first IHC Public Fellow, I was part of a team that analyzed oral histories and other primary source materials that capture the histories of the diverse agricultural communities of California's Central Valley. Responsibilities included analyzing sources for historical interpretation, and writing an article that will assist educators on how to best utilize the collection in the classroom as teaching material.

Graduate Student Mentor for UCSB's Graduate Scholars Program (GSP) 2018
Served as an advanced graduate mentor to two first-year graduate students from the departments of History and Clinical Psychology. January-June.

Graduate Student Mentor for UCSB's Graduate Scholars Program (GSP) 2017
Served as an advanced graduate mentor to three first- and second-year graduate students from the departments of Global Studies, Sociology, and Anthropology. January-June.

EOP Chicanx/Latinx Graduate School Panel 2017
Participated in a panel of first-generation Chicanx/Latinx graduate students that spoke about the graduate school process with first-generation Chicanx/Latinx undergraduates. UCSB. March 2.

Graduate School Panel 2015
Participated in a Q&A panel between first-generation Latinx/Chicanx graduate and undergraduate students on how to apply for graduate school. UCSB. November 12.

UCSB Campus Tour for Perkins Elementary School Students from San Diego, California 2013-present
Since summer 2013, I have given yearly summer campus tours of UCSB to 7th and 8th grade students from Perkins Elementary School, which is located in Logan Heights, a predominantly Mexican community of San Diego. As a former Perkins alumnus, I talk to students and their parents about the college experience and offer them advice on how to best prepare for a college education.

Administrative Assistant to Professor Elva Salinas, Department of English and Director of the Title V Program, San Diego City College 2009
Served as an administrative assistant to the Director of the Title V Program at San Diego City College, a $3.5 million grant program for Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI) that assists first-generation students from disadvantaged backgrounds transition to four-year universities.

COURSES PREPARED TO TEACH

U.S. History to 1877 (survey course)

U.S. History, 1877-present (survey course)

Chicana/o History, 1821-present

History of the Chicana/o Movement

History of Latinas/os (general survey)

Comparative Race and Ethnicity in the U.S.

History of the Civil Rights Movement

American Immigration up to 1924

American Immigration, 1924-present

History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands

History of the American West

History of California

History of the U.S.-Mexico Border

Introduction to Latin American History (general survey, pre-colonial period to the present)

History of Mexico (general survey, pre-colonial to the present)

The U.S. in Latin America since the 19th Century

World History, 1500-present (general survey course)

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Paul Spickard, Laura Hooton, and Francisco Beltrán. *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (2nd edition, New York, NY: Routledge, under contract).

Encyclopedia Entries

"Black Civil Rights Movement Influences," in Adelaida R. Del Castillo and Norma Iglesias-Prieto, eds. *The Chicana and Chicano Movement: From Aztlán to Zapatistas* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO/Greenwood, under review).

"Segregation of Mexican Schools (Méndez v. Westminster)," in in Adelaida R. Del Castillo and Norma Iglesias-Prieto, eds. *The Chicana and Chicano Movement: From Aztlán to Zapatistas* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO/Greenwood, under review).

"Strategies of Protest," in Adelaida R. Del Castillo and Norma Iglesias-Prieto, eds. *The Chicana and Chicano Movement: From Aztlán to Zapatistas* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO/Greenwood, under review).

"Poor People's Campaign," in Adelaida R. Del Castillo and Norma Iglesias-Prieto, eds. *The Chicana and Chicano Movement: From Aztlán to Zapatistas* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO/Greenwood, under review).

Articles

"Digital Delano: A Bottom-Up Approach to Learn and Teach Community Histories of California's Central Valley"(Article under review for publication in the *Levan Humanities Review,* Fall 2019).

"Mexican-American Republicans in the Struggle for Civil Rights in San Diego" (Article in progress)

"Third World Chicana/o Student Activism in San Diego" (Article in progress)

CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION

""The Wheel That Squeaks Gets The Grease": Phil Saenz, the *Mexican-American/Amigo* Magazine, and Mexican American Republican Activism in San Diego." Presentation, 59th Annual Meeting of the Western History Association, Las Vegas, NV. October 16-19, 2019 (Scheduled).

"Mexican American Republicans in the San Diego Civil Rights Movement." Presentation. Jess Nieto Memorial Conference on Ethnic Studies, Bakersfield, CA. April 23 and 25, 2019.

"Strange Bedfellows? Mexican-American Republicans in the Mexican-American Civil Rights Movement in San Diego." Presentation, 57th Annual Meeting of the Western History Association, San Diego, CA. November 1-4, 2017.

"An Untold Revolution: The Chicana/o Movement in the San Diego Borderlands." Presentation, Chicana/o Studies Graduate Dissertation Award Colloquium, Santa Barbara, CA. June 6, 2017.

"*La Verdad*: Chicano Print Activism in San Diego, 1968-1972." Roundtable Discussion, 66th Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems Conference, Seattle, WA. August 19-21, 2016.

"A Movement off the Press: *La Verdad* and the San Diego Chicana/o Movement." Presentation, Third Biannual Sal Castro Memorial Conference on Emerging Historiography of the Chicana/o Movement, Santa Barbara, CA. February 26-27, 2016.

"Reacting to the Past" Conference on Active Learning Pedagogy." Participant, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, CA. January 8-10, 2015.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE AND ASSISTANTSHIPS

Research Assistant for Dr. Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, UCSB 2015
Created a bibliography of primary and secondary sources from the U.S. and Mexico for Professor Castillo-Muñoz's book, *The Other California: Land, Identity, and Politics on the Mexican Borderlands* (University of California Press, 2016).

Research Assistant for Dr. Paul Spickard, UCSB 2014
Part of a research team with Laura Hooton. Conducted analyses of newspaper, books, and journal articles published between 2006 and 2014 that discussed issues of race, ethnicity, and immigration in the U.S. for a revised and expanded edition of Professor Spickard's book, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in American History and Identity*. Mrs. Hooton and I will be co-authors for the book that is currently under contract with Routledge.

Statistical Consultant for Professor Virginia Escalante,
San Diego City College 2013-2014

Compiled statistical data for a comparative content analysis of four Latina/o newspapers entailing 1,500 articles produced in Spanish and English by community media owners and media corporations.

Writer, Editor, and Mentor for *El Coyote* 2008-2014
Published over 60 articles in English and Spanish for *El Coyote,* a Chicana/o student newsletter at San Diego City College. Articles covered issues related to education, politics, culture, and history from a Chicano perspective. Mentored first-generation Chicana/o students about community college, four-year institutions, and graduate school.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

UCSB History Associates Fellowship	2018
UCSB Humanities & Social Sciences Research Grant	2017-2018
UCSB Chicana/o Studies Institutes Dissertation Research Grant	2016-2017
UCSB History Department Dissertation Fellowship	2016
UCSB History Associates Fellowship	2016
UCSB History Department Graduate Fee Fellowship	2016
Ford Pre-Doctoral Fellowship – Honorable Mention	2015-2016
UCSB History Department Graduate Fee Fellowship	2015
UCSB History Associates Fellowship	2014
UCSB History Department Graduate Fellowship	2014
UCSB Van Gelderen Graduate Fellowship	2014

LANGUAGES

Fluently speak, read, and write in English and Spanish

ABSTRACT

Voices of the People: The Mexican American Alternative Press in San Diego, 1963-1978

by

Francisco Beltrán

"Voices of the People: The Mexican American Alternative Press in San Diego, 1963-1978," examines the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement in San Diego through the lens of community newspapers published in the 1960s and 1970s. This community study of civil rights era newspapers, the first of its kind in California, reveals the existence of a politically and ethnically distinct collection of Mexican American civil rights movements that cut across racial, ethnic, generational, national lines to advance the rights of all Mexican descent people in San Diego. Each strand of activism published a newspaper that recorded their efforts to improve the material and legal conditions of all Mexican people locally. These histories are generally absent in the larger histories of Mexican Americans in California, the larger Civil Rights Movement literature, and in academic and community histories of the Chicana/o Movement. Using History and Social Science methods such as newspaper content analyses and oral history interviews, this study reveals how Mexican Americans brought visibility to, and personally took action on, the issues that affected their communities such as educational inequality, lack of political representation, and economic justice along distinct ideological lines. "Voices of the People" situates San Diego within the literature of the Civil Rights Movement and Chicana/o Movement in Southern California and highlights how

conservative, progressive, and radical ideologies informed how Mexican Americans worked individually and together to bring about community advancement in the most understudied and conservative of California's major cities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....1

Chapter 1 24
"The Wheel that Squeaks Gets the Grease": The *Mexican-American/Amigo* and Mexican American Republican Activism in San Diego, 1963-1967

Chapter 2.....112
La Verdad: The Chicana/o Community Newspaper, 1968-1972

Chapter 3.....200
"THIRD WORLD MUST UNITE!" *Inside the Beast* and Multiracial Activism at San Diego State University, 1972-1974

Chapter 4.....291
Somos Un Pueblo Unido (We Are a United People): *Voz Fronteria* and Chicana/o Activism at the University of California, San Diego, 1976-1978

Conclusion.....404

Introduction

San Diego, California, is a culturally diverse city located on one of the busiest entry points on the U.S.-Mexico border. It is the second-largest city in California and the eighth largest in the United States.[1] It has a vibrant economy tied to binational trade and tourism. People throughout San Diego County speak more than 100 different languages.[2] Although large, diverse cities in California tend to be politically liberal, San Diego has been one of the most conservative cities in a largely blue state. During World War II, San Diego was turned into one of the largest military cities on the West Coast, and this shift profoundly altered the city's economic and cultural makeup. War industry jobs in shipbuilding, aviation, and other defense industry-related occupations attracted thousands of people to Southern California; many of these workers were White and held socially conservative views. Unlike some cities that transitioned to other industries after the war, San Diego continued its reliance on the defense industry and maintained a strong military and naval presence. The continuing presence of the military and defense industry in post-war San Diego, coupled with the demographic shifts, established a strong White conservative social and political culture that remains strong to this very day. However, through these demographic changes, the city's close proximity to the Mexican border also nurtured the socially liberal and multiracial community that existed before the war. Daily interactions between different groups in San Diego led to the formation of unique relationships and identities that cut across race, class, gender, generational, political, and national lines – especially within the Mexican descent

[1] Information obtained from The City of San Diego Official Page on Economic Development, Key Facts and Figures. Accessed February 19, 2019. Source: https://www.sandiego.gov/economic-development/sandiego/fact

[2] The City of San Diego Official Page on Economic Development, Key Facts and Figures. Accessed February 19, 2019. Source: https://www.sandiego.gov/economic-development/sandiego/fact

community. This unique dynamic in San Diego shaped the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which was led by a diverse group of ethnic Mexicans that included Democrats, Republicans, immigrants, multiracial Mexicans, Chicanas/os, second and third generation Mexican Americans, and Mexicans that lived in Mexico.[3] Each group, in its own distinct way, challenged the city's historically White, affluent, and conservative traditions to be more inclusive and responsive to Mexican American people's needs. This multi-ideological Mexican activist community fought for civil rights and equality in the most conservative of California's major cities during the 1960s and 1970s.

Mexican Americans contributed to the "Second Reconstruction"[4] of the United States in 1960s and 1970s. They, along with other historically oppressed communities of color, fought to end segregation and inequality in the United States. Mexican Americans with a wide spectrum of political beliefs demanded to be treated with dignity and respect by White society and sought solutions to longstanding systematic problems that affected their communities. This movement, known as the Chicana/o Movement, challenged national and local problems such as racism, labor and wage exploitation, unequal education and lack of opportunities for higher education, political underrepresentation, lack of voting rights, police

[3] I use the term "Mexican American" broadly to capture the diversity of ethnic Mexican groups that participated in the civil rights struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. This represents what historian Tom Mertes described as a "movement of movements," given the multi-political and multi-issue nature of activism in San Diego that worked together when necessary to advance a shared goal. For more on this concept, see Tom Mertes, ed., *A Movement of Movements: Is Another World Really Possible?* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2004)

[4] The term "Second Reconstruction" first appeared in the article "The Political Legacy of Reconstruction," written by C. Van Woodward and published in 1957 in *The Journal of Negro Education*. Woodward saw the civil rights victories by African Americans since the end of World War II as part of a second attempt to rebuild the country on egalitarian grounds following the judicial end of Jim Crow laws and legal segregation in the 1950s. While Woodward referred only to the African American Freedom Movement, I consider the efforts by other historically oppressed groups to democratize the country alongside them, such as Mexican Americans, also as part of this "Second Reconstruction."

violence, nativist immigration policies, and U.S. imperialism abroad. The Chicana/o Movement was guided by the ideology of Chicanismo, or Chicano cultural nationalism, which pushed Mexican descent people, primarily the youth, to embrace their history and culture as tools for their self and collective empowerment. But many of the stories and experiences of San Diego's participants remain absent from the general public's memory and in scholarly works. This is especially striking because Mexican Americans in San Diego voiced their concerns via visible strikes, marches, walkouts, protests, music, art, and most importantly, in newspapers and local media. It is within community newspapers that we can especially see the diverse ethnic and ideological voices that made up the San Diego Mexican American Civil Rights Movement. These newspapers are part of the Mexican American alternative press, one of the most important yet understudied legacies of the Chicana/o Movement and Civil Rights Movement eras.

"Voices of the People: The Mexican American Alternative Press in San Diego, 1963-1978" is the first in-depth study of the Mexican American alternative press in California, where the majority of Mexican American newspapers were produced between the Civil Rights Movement years 1960 and 1980.[5] While not a full study of the entire Mexican American alternative press in San Diego, it offers a snapshot of four distinct newspapers that captured and recorded the existence, work, and civil rights contributions of diverse ethnic Mexican individuals and local organizations. The authors used the publications for a variety of reasons, all with the goal to obtain civil rights and equality. The *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine advocated working with the Republican Party to advance the

[5] According to the University of Washington's "Mapping American Social Movements Through the 20th Century" online source, California was the state where the majority of Mexican American community newspapers were produced between 1966 and 1979. Accessed January 17, 2019. URL: http://depts.washington.edu/moves/Chicano_news_map.shtml

Mexican American community politically and economically. *La Verdad*, the first Chicana/o Movement newspaper in San Diego, identified strongly with Chicanismo while also reflecting the ethnic diversity of San Diego's Mexican population. The San Diego State University (SDSU) student newspaper *Inside the Beast* pushed for the creation of a progressive and multiracial Third World student front to combat racism, sexism, economic exploitation, and inequality locally and worldwide. Lastly, the University of California, San Diego (UCSD) student production *Voz Fronteriza* used San Diego's location along the U.S.-Mexico border to push for a multiracial, working-class, binational movement against racial capitalism and imperialism. Each newspaper is a window into the development and trajectory of one particular strand of Mexican American activism in San Diego, and collectively a window into the different strands of Mexican American Civil Rights Movement activism that were active in San Diego.

Because these newspapers were focused on capturing the stories and experiences of individuals who advocated for and created positive changes for Mexican Americans in San Diego, this allowed the newspapers to capture with keen detail the trajectories of each movement via its participants and advocates. This posits the newspapers as the most reliable and important pieces of historical record that proves the existence of a multi-political and multi-generational Mexican American Civil Rights Movement in San Diego. In addition, "Voices of the People" is the first to highlight how San Diego's proximity to the Mexican border, and interactions with external and internal migrants from the U.S., contributed to a Civil Rights Movement where conservative, progressive, and radical forces informed how Mexican Americans worked individually and together to bring about community change in Southern California. While there are many border cities along the U.S.-Mexico divide, San Diego's social and political culture sets it apart from other border cities in states like

Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Given the increased right-wing assaults on journalism as "fake news," "Voices of the People" builds on Juan González's and Joseph Torres' thesis in *News For All The People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* to dispute this reactionary claim by emphasizing the historical significance of journalism for communities of color as a tool for ethnic, social, and political organization and empowerment and against racism and discrimination in the United States.[6]

As part of the Mexican American Alternative Press, these San Diego-based newspapers captured the growth and development of the Chicana/o Movement at the national and local levels. Perhaps most importantly, they were the first attempts to record the history of the Chicana/o Movement locally. Print journalism, according to Chicana/o historian Mario T. García, is where Chicana/o Movement history (in this case the history of the San Diego Mexican American Civil Rights Movement) first began to be written.[7] Despite the historical significance of the Mexican American Alternative Press, no collective history of it has ever been produced. There have been specific case studies of major Chicana/o Movement newspapers such as the United Farm Workers' *El Malcriado* (The Mischievous One), the Crusade for Justice's *El Gallo* (The Rooster), the Alianza Federal de Mercedes's *El Grito del Norte* (The Cry of the North), and the Los Angeles-based *La Raza* (The People).[8] These

[6] Juan González and Joseph Torres, *News For All The People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2012).

[7] Mario T. García, Chicana/o Studies 256: Contemporary Readings in Chicana/o, Latina/o, and Indigenous Studies. Seminar, University of California, Santa Barbara, May 14, 2018. García mentioned this quote during seminar, but he does not recall the original source from where he obtained it.

[8] Some recent case studies of major Chicana/o Movement era newspapers include: Colin Gunckel, "Building a Movement and Constructing Community: Photography, the United Farm Workers, and *El Malcriado.*" *Social Justice*, Vol. 42, No. 3 and 4 (142), Special Issue: Mexican and Chicanx Social Movements (2015), pp. 29-45; Victor Fuentes, "*El Malcriado (1964-1975): La voz impresa del campesino y su impronta,"* in Jesus Rosales, ed., and Vanessa Fonseca, ed., *Spanish Perspectives on Chicano Literature: Literary & Cultural Essays* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2017),

studies, however, focused on newspapers that captured some of the most known manifestations of the Chicana/o Movement – the farmworkers' movement, the Chicana/o youth empowerment movement, and the land rights movement in areas where there have been exhaustive works on them. Moreover, they all agreed on a similar guiding ideology that had extensive national appeal. Recently, Marc Simon Rodriguez dedicated a chapter of his book *Rethinking the Chicano Movement*, a survey of the Chicana/o Movement, to the Chicana/o Alternative Press.[9] He discussed the general role that Chicana/o newspapers played in defining "what it meant to be a Chicano" in the 1960s and 1970s, such as identification with myth of Aztlán, the ancestral homeland of the Aztecs, and connection with Third World anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movements abroad.[10] In addition, Rodriguez discussed how newspapers were a vehicle through which Chicanas challenged the politics of masculinity, sexism, and misogyny within and outside the Chicana/o Movement. While Rodriguez acknowledged the role of the press in advancing the cultural, social, and political parameters of the Chicana/o Movement, including how they acted as sites where gender equality and sexual liberation was discussed and advanced, he also (indirectly) reinforced the notion that all Chicano newspapers subscribed to the same definition of Chicanismo.

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pp. 90-107; Enriqueta Vasquez, ed., Lorena Oropeza, and Dionne Espinoza, ed., *Enriqueta Vasquez and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2006); Carribean Fragoza, "La Raza: The Community Newspaper That Became a Political Platform." KCET, April 4, 2018. Accessed February 19, 2019. URL: https://www.kcet.org/shows/artbound/la-raza-the-community-newspaper-that-became-a-political-platform

[9] Marc Simon Rodriguez, "News and the Movement: Newspapers and Ideas in the Chicano Movement," in Rodriguez, *Rethinking the Chicano Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 117-137.

[10] Marc Simon Rodriguez, "News and the Movement: Newspapers and Ideas in the Chicano Movement," p. 117.

What about newspapers produced in places that articulated variances to Chicanismo and also offered alternative approaches to civil rights and self-definition? In 1975, the late Chicano Studies Professor Guillermo Rojas published a list in the journal *Hispania* of the most important newspapers that came out of the Chicana/o Movement. He listed three San Diego newspapers, one of which was *La Verdad*, the only Chicana/o newspaper from San Diego that was a member of the Chicano Press Association (CPA).[11] The CPA was "a confederation of community newspapers dedicated to promoting the movement of La Raza for self-determination and unity among [the] people" through the sharing and exchange of news information vital to the success of the Chicana/o Movement nationwide.[12] Rojas's inclusion of *La Verdad* as early as 1975 revealed he understood *La Verdad* as a record of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego worth preserving. Librarian and Archivist Daniel C. Tsang's 1991 article on the state of preservation of the U.S. Alternative Press of the Civil Rights Movement called on institutions with newspaper collections to be open to all countercultural newspapers, regardless of their politics or content, but especially to those created by racial and ethnic minority communities. "Our role as library workers," Tsang wrote, "is to preserve research materials for posterity and to provide service – in public libraries as in academic libraries – to all patrons, whether serious researchers or not. Our role is definitely not to act as guardians of morality or of establishment views."[13] Tsang included

[11] Guillermo Rojas, "Chicano/Raza Newspaper and Periodical Serial Listing," in *Hispania*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Dec., 1975), pp. 851-863. The other San Diego-based newspapers Rojas included on his list were *El Leño* (out of SDSU) and *El Barrio* (the official newspaper of the San Diego Brown Berets).

[12] *La Raza,* July 1969, clipping from the files of Edward Escobar, in F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Revised ed.: Houston: Arte Público Press, 1997), p. 210.

[13] Daniel C. Tsang, "Preserving the U.S. Underground and Alternative Press of the 1960s and '70s: History, Prospects, and Microform Sources," 1991.

the names of 34 San Diego newspapers produced from the 1960s to the early 1980s that were preserved in microform. Among them were *La Verdad*, *Inside the Beast*, and *Voz Fronteriza*, which were housed at UC Berkeley's Ethnic Studies library (and where in 2016 I discovered copies of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine as well). Tsang, as Rojas did before, reinforced the idea that San Diego had important stories to tell about the Chicana/o Movement, and they were worth preserving for future generations to learn about.

Studies of Chicana/o newspapers have been conducted on places like Los Angeles, one of the most visible sites of Chicana/o Movement activity. For example, in her study of the Los Angeles based Chicana feminist organization Las Hijas de Cuauhtémoc, historian Maylei Blackwell analyzed newspapers produced by Las Hijas de Cuauhtémoc as a source where they "built an alternative print community in which they articulated a new Chicana feminist political imaginary and social subjectivity."[14] The Los Angeles Chicana/o Movement was not a uniform movement. Ernesto Chávez's *¡Mi Raza Primero! (My People First!): Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978* dispelled that idea years before Blackwell's study was published. Chávez's work, the first case study of the Chicana/o Movement in a single location, revealed the existence and interactions of multiple strands of political thinking within the local Chicana/o Movement.[15] Because of its size and historical connection to the Mexican American community, Los Angeles has been a common site for studies of Mexican America. It has rendered San Diego, its southern neighbor with a history as rich and diverse as Los Angeles,

[14] Maylei Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), p. 13.

[15] Ernesto Chávez, *"¡Mi Raza Primero!"* (*My People First!*) *Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978* (Berkeley: University of California Press, (2002).

into the shadows of public and academic memory. In "Voices of the People," I demonstrate the existence of much more politically variant strands of Mexican American activism in San Diego. "Voices of the People" also challenges the fields of Chicana/o and Mexican American Studies that have focused on civil rights movements in large metropolitan cities with liberal tendencies and highly visible forms of activism (like Los Angeles) to reveal how a diverse Mexican American population adapted to be successful in a conservative military and border city.

The Mexican American Alternative Press's absence in the literature of the Civil Rights Movement is even more striking. There are scant mentions of Mexican-produced newspapers despite the extensive amount produced during the 1960s and 1970s. The first-ever survey of the Alternative Press was Laurence Leamer's *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press* in 1972, but it focused primarily on the White radical productions.[16] Other notable works on the Alternative Press like Abe Peck's *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* and John McMillian's *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* defined the Underground Press as primarily White and progressive.[17] While journalist Rodger Streitmatter discussed newspapers that belonged to the Black Alternative Press as part of the larger Alternative Press,[18] others like Lauren Kessler made passing observations about the Spanish-language press in her book *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism*

[16] Laurence Leamer, *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972).

[17] Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), and John McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[18] Rodger Streitmatter, *Voices of Revolution: The Dissident Press in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

in American History.[19] Jean-François Bizot's *Free Press: Underground and Alternative Publications, 1965-1975* focused on the Underground Press Syndicate, a news sharing organization made up of several countercultural newspapers – none of which were produced by Mexican Americans.[20] Not only does "Voices of the People" argue for the inclusion of the Mexican American Alternative Press as part of the larger Civil Rights Alternative Press, it demonstrates the role of newspapers in advancing the civil rights struggles of Mexican Americans in San Diego.

Why San Diego? The Literature on San Diego in the Civil Rights Movement

In San Diego, interactions among people of different backgrounds are a common feature. These stories, however, have yet to be fully discussed by scholars. Even though there has been a shift in recent years towards more local studies of the Chicana/o Movement era (1965-1975), the literature about San Diego remains small. Only Richard Griswold Del Castillo's survey text has documented the long and diverse history of Mexican people in San Diego from indigenous times to the early twenty-first century.[21] His interpretation of Mexican American activism during the 1960s and 1970s, however, primarily focused on left-leaning ideologies with little attention to other forms of political thought and action. "Voices of the People" adds more voices to the literature of the Civil Rights Movement period in San Diego. For example, it shows the influence that Mexican American

[19] Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1984).

[20] Jean-François Bizot, *Free Press: Underground and Alternative Publications, 1965-1975* (Universe, 2006).

[21] Richard Griswold Del Castillo, ed., *Chicano San Diego: Cultural Space and the Struggle for Justice* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008).

Republicans had on Chicana/o activists. Despite being on opposite sides of the political spectrum, both groups had the same goal in mind – community advancement and security. They worked together to secure voting rights, political representation, and supported each other on issues related to immigration and the defense of the community's overall image in San Diego. "Voices of the People" also centers working-class narratives to highlight the histories of Mexican Americans in San Diego. It follows a series of working-class histories of San Diego such as Mike Davis' *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See*, an examination of labor and social histories erased by conservative, White-centric official narratives of San Diego.[22] Davis explains how San Diego's tourist-based image was built on a long and violent history of White political and economic repression of multiple racial, labor, and immigrant groups. "Voices of the People" adds to the working-class focus of Griswold Del Castillo and Davis and explores the creation of distinct ethnic identities within the Mexican American working-class between 1963 and 1978.

Despite the local Mexican American Alternative Press' extensive coverage of cross-border relations, the anti-war movement, and the struggle for equal education, these narratives remain relatively unknown outside of San Diego. Despite attracting national attention for their militancy, they are seldom considered vital in our understanding of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego. These stories are found in the pages of *La Verdad*, the Chicana/o newspaper that captured the development of the local Chicana/o Movement from 1968 to 1972. Despite its significance as a historical source, it is surprisingly absent from Richard Griswold Del Castillo's *Chicano San Diego.* Only the revived version by Unión del Barrio, a community empowerment organization that emerged in the early 1980s, is

[22] Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller, *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See* (New York: The New Press, 2003).

mentioned in the book.[23] The examination of the Chicana/o Movement-era's *La Verdad* by "Voices of the People" inserts an extremely important history missing from the only full-length history book on Mexican descent people's history in San Diego.

Furthermore, the absence of these narratives in the literature of the Chicana/o Movement and larger Civil Rights Movement has led to the assumption that the community founding of Chicano Park in 1970 was San Diego's lone contribution to the Chicana/o Movement and larger struggles for self-determination. This is, however, only a part of a larger and more complex history of Mexican American civil rights activism. For example, while young Chicano men and Chicana women primarily led and supported the takeover of Chicano Park, including staff members of *La Verdad*, the takeover received the support of Mike Amador, a prominent Mexican American businessmen that identified as a Republican. Amador owned a grocery store in Barrio Logan, home to Chicano Park. How could a Mexican American that did not agree with the social and political aggressiveness of the Chicana/o Movement support a radical tactic like a land takeover? Simple. When it came down to preserving the community, and the people who lived in it, political differences were cast aside and alliances were formed – sometimes odd ones as in Amador's support of the Chicano Park land takeover. This is a narrative that "Voices of the People" demonstrates is key to understanding the political landscape of civil rights San Diego.

Recent revisionist studies of the Chicana/o Movement have added new dimensions to the existing narrative on San Diego, such as the founding of the Centro Cultural de la Raza and

[23] The 1990s incarnation of *La Verdad* is cited as part of Isidro Ortiz's discussion of the 1990s culture wars in California. See Isidro D. Ortiz, "¡Sí Se Puede!": Chicana/o Activism in San Diego at Century's End," in Griswold Del Castillo, *Chicano San Diego*, pp. 156-157.

Chicana theater activism.[24] There has also been a recent wave of local San Diego authors that have expanded the history of women in community uplift struggles in San Diego.[25] In the last few years, scholars have demonstrated the importance of examining the full spectrum of political ideologies and their effect on local civil rights activism. For example, George Mariscal's chapter "to demand that the university work for our people" in *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* explored the Black and Brown student movement at UCSD for control of Third College.[26] Mariscal's work demonstrated how Chicana/os created a cross-racial coalition in the absence of a Chicana/o student critical mass at the La Jolla campus. Furthermore, he revealed how Chicana/o youth placed their struggle for recognition within the context of Third World liberation movements. This connected the Chicana/o student movement at UCSD to an internationalist front against imperialism. Similarly, "Voices of the People" explains how students at SDSU organized a multiracial, Third World student front that defined membership not by skin color or connection to Third World nations, but by a commitment to social justice. This broad and inclusive definition allowed for progressive White students to

[24] Juan Gómez – Quiñones and Irene Vásquez, *Making Aztlán: Ideology and Culture of the Chicano and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014); Laura E. Garcia, ed., Sandra M. Gutierrez, ed., and Felicitas Núñez, ed., *Teatro Chicana: A Collective Memoir and Selected Plays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008). Although a breakthrough for San Diego's place in the history of the Chicana/o Movement, these works only reinforced the notion that cultural activism was the only note-worthy contribution by San Diego's Mexican American communities to the larger Civil Rights Movement period.

[25] María E. García, *La Neighbor: A Settlement House in Logan Heights* (Maria E. García, 2016); Rita Sanchez, and Sonia López, *Chicana Tributes: Activist Women of the Civil Rights Movement* (San Diego: Montezuma Publishing, 2017).

[26] "to demand that the university work for our people" in George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), pp. 201-246.

join the coalition. The campus newspaper *Inside the Beast* captured this coalition's ideas at work on and off campus.

Another work that highlighted the importance of distinct ideologies in the Chicana/o Movement is Jimmy Patiño's *Raza Sí, Migra No: Chicano Movement Struggles for Immigrant Rights in San Diego.* Patiño revealed how the Committee for Chicano Rights helped forge a transnational immigrant rights movement that united ethnically distinct Mexicans against state and extralegal repression of all Mexican people in San Diego.[27] Patiño demonstrated how nationally and generationally distinct Mexicans worked together to end the repression of all Mexican people. Some of the members of this coalition attended UCSD and were among the founding members of the student newspaper *Voz Fronteriza*. "Voices of the People" shows how the members of this newspaper, some generationally older than others, came together and made the interests of San Diego's Mexican community (inside and outside UCSD) the guiding goal of their activism. These specific histories remain relatively unknown outside of San Diego. While there are previous works that briefly mention or discuss *Voz Fronteriza*, none were done with the intent to center the newspaper as a medium of civil rights activism as "Voices of the People" does.[28]

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[27] Jimmy Patiño's *Raza Sí, Migra No: Chicano Movement Struggles for Immigrant Rights in San Diego* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

[28] Several books, such as David R. Maciel, ed., and María Herrera-Sobek, ed., *Culture across Borders: Mexican Immigration and Popular Culture* (2nd ed., Tucson: University of California Press, 1998), Richard Griswold Del Castillo's *Chicano San Diego,* Scott L. Baugh, ed., and Victor A. Sorell, ed., *Born of Resistance: Cara a Cara Encounters with Chicana/o Visual Culture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015); Jimmy Patiño's *Raza Sí, Migra No*, and Roberto H. Hernández, *Coloniality of the US/Mexico Border: Power, Violence, and the Decolonial Imperative* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018) have cited specific articles published over the years in *Voz Fronteriza* as part of their supporting evidence. These citations, while significant as an acknowledgment of the importance of *Voz Fronteriza* in the struggle for civil rights locally, do not provide a full picture of *Voz Fronteriza's* historical significance as a civil rights newspaper.

In the article "Significant to Whom?: Mexican Americans and the History of the American West," David G. Gutiérrez argued that Chicana/o history is part of the process through which Mexican Americans claim full political and social citizenship.[29] By writing and telling their own stories of struggle and resistance in San Diego, for example, Mexican Americans demonstrated they were Americans and their stories were part of U.S. history. The Alternative Press newspapers examined in "Voices of the People" prove that Mexican Americans in San Diego, through print media, fought oppression and at the same time demonstrated their humanity, dignity, and legitimacy as San Diegans and for some, as American citizens of Mexican descent. These newspapers are part of a longer history of communities of color using the media to dispel and correct negative and false assumptions about their culture and communities disseminated by the White mainstream media. This history of resistance, chronicled by Juan González and Joseph Torres in *News For All the People*, argued that alternative media like newspapers owned and run by Mexican Americans validated their experiences and celebrated their contributions to society. Community newspapers, especially the alternative press of the 1960s and 1970s, provided a more democratic and egalitarian media space for communities of color to be historical and political actors. "Voices of the People" centers these arguments to demonstrate how Mexican Americans in San Diego, through print media, wrote their own histories to control their own destinies.

[29] David G. Gutiérrez, "Significant to Whom?: Mexican Americans and the History of the American West." *Western Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 24, No. 4 (Nov. 1993), pp. 519-539.

Source Material

"Voices of the People" is composed of newspaper analyses and oral history interviews. Ethnic periodicals are the heart of this study because they were key to producing and disseminating knowledge about different Mexican American movements in San Diego ignored by mainstream media outlets. Collectively they represent a San Diego version of what Maylei Blackwell termed the "alternative archive," which are print spaces created by Mexican descent people to advance the complete liberation of all Mexican people in addition to promoting multiple political strands of activism.[30] Where appropriate, I incorporated additional newspaper sources such as *The San Diego Union, The San Diego Union-Tribune, The Los Angeles Times*, and additional Mexican American community newspapers to bring another perspective to the story and to enhance my analysis. I examined four ethnic productions published between 1963 and 1978: *Mexican-American,* initially called *El Grito* (The Cry) and later renamed *Amigo* (Friend); *La Verdad* (The Truth); *Inside the Beast*, and *Voz Fronteriza* (The Voice of the Border). Copies of these newspapers were obtained from different archival collections in California that included the Chicano Movement Newspaper Collection in the California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives at UC Santa Barbara and the "Other Voices: Alternative Periodicals at SDSU" and the Chicana and Chicano Studies Special Collections at SDSU. Additionally, copies of SDSU's *The Daily Aztec* quoted and cited in this dissertation were obtained from the SDSU Student Newspapers Digital Collection. Copies of newspapers such as *Prensa Popular* (Popular

[30] Maylei Blackwell used the term "alternative archive" in her book *¡Chicana Power!* to refer to Chicana produced newspapers in Los Angeles in the early 1970s. These newspapers did two important things: they advanced the larger goals of the Chicano Movement, and they brought issues of women, gender, and sexuality to the forefront of the Chicano Movement as well. These spaces, Blackwell argued, demonstrated how Los Angeles-based Chicanas advanced multiple but intertwined strands of the Chicana/o Movement simultaneously.

Press), *The Chicano Federation Newsletter,* and the *Triton Times* were obtained from the Herman Baca Collection and Digital Collections at UCSD. Other primary sources, such as voter census records, were obtained from the John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Archives. A special thanks goes to Phil and Ronald Saenz, who shared with me with numerous copies of the *Mexican-American* and *Amigo* magazines. Without your help, the story presented in chapter one would never have seen the light of day. I also want to thank Roger and Norma Cazares, whose collection of *Voz Fronteriza* issues made it possible for me to write chapter four of this dissertation, and a big thank you to Susana and Julia Martínez, who provided me with photographs of people involved with *Voz Fronteriza*.

The second major component of this study is oral history interviews of individuals involved in the production of community newspapers. Oral histories provide us with "living memories" of different struggles and successes that are difficult to find in traditional archives.[31] My interviews provide insight into how Mexican descent people used the newspapers they worked in as a vehicle to bring attention and generate solutions to the issues their communities faced. They center voices that have been omitted not just from U.S. history but also from Mexican American and Chicana/o history. In his study of gay and lesbian immigrants from Latin America, Horacio Roque Ramírez challenged the notion that heterosexuality is the norm in immigrant narratives. He argued that we shouldn't assume heterosexism simply because there is no indication of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender identification in established immigrant narratives. He wrote, "We should at least entertain the possibility that not all histories of immigration and "racial-ethnic" adaptation must begin

[31] In her study of Chicana activism 1970s Los Angeles, Maylei Blackwell used Diana Taylor's concept of the repertoire to define her interviews of Chicanas as a form of "living archive," a "form of knowing as well as a system of storing and transmitting knowledge" that is exclusive to those who experienced the past. Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!*, p. 9.

or end in heterosexuality."[32] Oral histories can open up new avenues for research and for understanding the complexities of a world that may not be fully available through written sources. Oral histories, for example, led me to discover the story of Mexican American Republicans, which is a little-known aspect of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement in San Diego. As Roque Ramírez suggested, narratives that push against the grain can emerge, and in this study the story of Mexican American Republicans emerged from the shadows of a dominant Chicana/o narrative that assumed a liberal focus across the Mexican descent community of San Diego.

The oral histories with alternative press activists highlight the fact that an assortment of political ideas within the Mexican American community of San Diego co-existed and functioned locally. These stories allow us to think of the past through the lens of historically marginalized groups, whose struggles to bring dignity and equality to their communities resonates with people in similar conditions today. In the words of Chicana historian Vicki Ruiz, "speaking history connects generations."[33] Ordinary people are the keepers of memories, some of which have yet to be told. "Memory," Mario T. García wrote, "is powerful and memories through testimonios (or political narratives) hopefully inspire us to record other memories in order to document the riches of the Chicano/Latino contributions to the United States and to encourage us to continue the still needed struggles against oppression and marginalization against racialized groups such as Latinos."[34] Without oral

[32] Horacio N. Roque Ramírez, "Introduction: Homoerotic, Lesbian, and Gay Ethnic and Immigrant Histories." *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Summer 2010), p. 6.

[33] Vicki L. Ruiz, "Situating Stories: The Surprising Consequences of Oral History." *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 and 2, Practice and Pedagogy: Oral History in the Classroom (Summer-Autumn, 1998), pp. 72.

[34] Mario T. García, "Pathways in Oral History: Mario T. García." *US Latina & Latino Oral History Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2018), pp. 131-136.

histories, this dissertation would not have been possible. Thank you for sharing your stories, and for allowing my readers and I to learn about your struggles to make this country a better place for everyone, regardless of their skin color, gender, nationality, legal status, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or political or religious affiliation.

To Phil and Ronald Saenz, Conie Zuñiga, Jess Haro, Herman Baca, Richard Saiz, Carlos and Linda LeGerrette, Irma Castro, Olivia Puentes-Reynolds, María. E. García, Salvador "Queso" Torres, Roger and Norma Cazares, Sonia López, Rita Sánchez, David Avalos, Julia and Susana Martínez, Salvador Reza, Olga Flores-Villanueva, Yolanda Orozco, Adolfo Gúzman López, and Harry Simón Salazar, ¡muchas gracias!

Outline of Chapters

This dissertation consists of six chapters: an introduction, four substantive chapters, and a conclusion. Each substantive chapter, organized sequentially, examines a newspaper that captured a specific strand of political thinking and organization carried out by members of the Mexican community of San Diego. Some chapters extend beyond the print run of its respective newspaper in order to show the long-term effects of the type of political thinking that the newspaper or its participants engaged with before and after its existence. "Voices of the People" is divided into two parts. Chapters one and two focus on newspapers produced in the community, while chapters three and four discuss newspapers created on university campuses.

Chapter one titled, "The Wheel that Squeaks Gets the Grease": The *Mexican-American/Amigo* and Mexican American Republican Activism in San Diego, 1963-1967," looks at the *Mexican-American/Amigo*, a 1960s magazine that showed how Mexican Americans used the Republican Party to extend civil rights in San Diego. This story is told

through the life of its editor and publisher Phil Saenz, a Marine who was stationed in San Diego in 1954. Unlike the contributors of the other newspapers analyzed in this dissertation, those involved with the *Mexican-American/Amigo* were older, many had families, and their coming-of-age moment came in the immediate post-World War II period. Their goal was to assert their rights as Americans of Mexican descent. They believed that working with the Republican Party was necessary to complement the Mexican American presence in the Democratic Party. By having a presence and voice in the nation's two major political parties, Mexican Americans like Phil believed was central to securing their rights, no matter which party was in power. Phil and others like him did not necessarily "sell-out" simply because they joined the Republicans. At the time, there was a politically liberal wing in the party that people like Phil believed he could tap into in order to expand social and political opportunities for Mexican Americans. Despite being Republicans, they remained socially liberal on many issues that allowed them to work together with community members and activists across ethnic, generational, and political lines. They all shared a similar goal, which was the improvement and security of all Mexican descent people in San Diego.

Chapter two, "¡*La Verdad*! The Chicana/o Community Newspaper, 1968-1972" examines the early years of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego captured by *La Verdad*, which was in print from 1968 to 1972. *La Verdad* is perhaps one of the most important productions of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement. It was the only San Diego-based Chicana/o newspaper part of the CPA, an umbrella organization created by Chicana/o Movement activists to organize and share information throughout the Southwest. Its contributors were young men and women of college age, of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, that identified with the ideology of Chicanismo, or Chicano cultural nationalism. They were part of local movements that used this ideology to guide struggles

for educational justice, political representation, economic opportunities, against the Catholic Church's apathy and against police violence, and in support of the anti-war movement. *La Verdad* showed that San Diego was connected to the larger Chicana/o Movement in ways not previously acknowledged by previous scholars. The movement was diverse and was in all corners of San Diego. This newspaper revealed, among other things, that one did not necessarily have to be fully of Mexican descent (racially or ethnically) to call oneself a Chicano or Chicana in San Diego because of the racial and ethnic diversity of the movement's (and newspaper's) participants locally.

Chapters three and four moves from the community scene and focus on university campuses, where civil rights activism led by young men and women expanded the social and political boundaries of local Mexican American activism. Students at SDSU and UCSD made it a priority to maintain connection to their communities and secure a voice for them inside of the academy. The newspapers they produced became an important vehicle to secure these goals, and in addition, they captured how Chicana/o students formed coalitions with students belonging to different racial and ethnic communities. These coalitions were attempts to create a more inclusive society and revolutionary form of consciousness not only on campus, but across San Diego.

Chapter three, ""THIRD WOLRD MUST UNITE!" *Inside the Beast* and Multiracial Activism at San Diego State University, 1972-1974," discusses *Inside the Beast*, a multiracial Third World student newspaper produced at SDSU. In response to the racially biased reporting style and content of the campus' primary newspaper, *The Daily Aztec,* Chicana/o students along with other racially discriminated students of color and progressive White liberal students created the coalition newspaper, *Inside the Beast*. Its contributors defined themselves as part of a Third World community that did not necessarily imply being

of a darker skin color or belonging to a Third World country. Anyone who viewed themselves as agents of social justice was welcome to be part of this multiracial community. The contributors focused on global, national, and local issues, especially those capable of generating a coalition of people from different backgrounds such as workers' rights, the end of student economic exploitation, gender equality, the creation of Ethnic Studies programs, and fair immigration policies. Although it was only in print for two years, *Inside the Beast* reveals the role that Chicana/o students played in the creation of a gender inclusive and multiracial activist community in San Diego. This chapter, unlike the rest, relies primarily on published accounts of contributors in *Inside the Beast* and *The Daily Aztec*, given the absence of oral history interviews with former newspaper contributors.

The last chapter, "Somos Un Pueblo Unido (We Are a United People): *Voz Fronteriza* and Chicana/o Activism at the University of California, San Diego, 1976-1978," focuses on the first three years of *Voz Fronteriza*, a community-focused newspaper at UCSD that remained in print for nearly 30 years. This newspaper had two specific goals: to keep the university focused on community issues, and to transmit student issues relevant to the community beyond the academy. This was done to put into practice El Plan de Santa Barbara, the 1969 document that founded Chicano Studies as an academic discipline and called on university officials, faculty, and students to remain committed to the communities they served. Its origin is similar to that of *Inside the Beast*; it was born in struggle to provide a voice for the Chicana/o student body on campus. Its contributors stressed working-class consciousness and solidarity on issues such as educational equality, access to decent housing and the right to livable wages, and immigration reform. Campus events that supported these and other similar struggles appeared on the pages of *Voz Fronteriza*. The newspaper became a launchpad for contributors to hone and expand their skills as agents of social justice after

leaving UCSD. Of all the newspaper analyzed in this dissertation, *Voz Fronteriza* lasted the longest, evidence of a continued commitment to the fulfillment of a civil rights revolution in San Diego.

The conclusion examines the legacy of these newspapers on the local community and on the lives of the people who worked in them. San Diego remains a hot spot for social and political activism today. People continue to mobilize in support of better education, the end to police brutality of Black and Brown communities, but most importantly against rising anti-immigrant sentiment and escalating racism. History continues to be produced in the twenty-first century, in one of the country's most political active cities.

Chapter 1: "The Wheel that Squeaks Gets the Grease": The *Mexican-American/Amigo* and Mexican American Republican Activism in San Diego, 1963-1967

Phil Saenz and President Ronald Reagan at the White House, circa 1980s. Source: The Saenz Family.

Introduction

In 1965 Fidelio "Phil" Saenz,[35] a Mexican American resident of San Diego, wrote to Ronald Reagan, "I am confident that Mexican American voters can be encouraged to support you, although 95% of them are Democrats." Phil was a native of Corpus Christi, Texas, but had lived in San Diego since 1954. His experiences in San Diego and Texas led him to claim that his "ethnic group is susceptible to influence if the approach is right."[36] In 1967 another Mexican American by the name of Larry Montoya, who was the Executive

[35] Throughout this chapter, I will refer to Fidelio as "Phil," since that is the name he went by. Interviews and conversations with his son, Phil, will also be included in this chapter, but I will do my best to distinguish each in order to avoid confusion to readers.

[36] Gerard DeGroot, *Selling Ronald Reagan: The Emergence of a President* (New York City and London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), pp. 92-93.

Director of the Mexican American Advisory Committee of Neighborhood Service Centers in San Diego, told the *Amigo: An Inter-American Review* magazine that Governor Reagan would pay attention to Mexican Americans if they, as a group, kept pressure on him, for "the wheel that squeaks gets the grease."[37] Phil Saenz and Larry Montoya are not outliers, as the current historiography would lead us to believe. At the time, there was a strong Republican base in San Diego that included Mexican American veterans and businessmen like Phil, a fact largely ignored by scholars.[38] Although the image that historians have painted of the Chicana/o Movement and larger Mexican American ideologies of the time makes Mexican American support for Ronald Reagan difficult to believe, Phil's letter to Reagan implied that Mexican Americans were willing to support the Republican Party in order bring about community change.[39] While Phil shared many of the goals held by Mexican American

[37] "Poverty, Politics, Power," *Amigo: An Inter-American Magazine,* September 1967, p.10.

[38] Some recent books that discuss the history of Mexican American politics, particularly the relation with the Democratic Party, include: Michelle Hall Kells, *Vicente Ximenes, LBJ's Great Society, and Mexican American Civil Rights Rhetoric* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2018); José Angel Gutiérrez, *Albert A. Peña Jr.: Dean of Chicano Politics* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2017); Max Krochmal, *Blue Texas: The Making of a Multiracial Democratic Coalition in the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Benjamin Márquez, *Democratizing Texas Politics: Race, Identity, and Mexican American Empowerment, 1945-2002* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014); Michelle Hall Kells, *Hector P. García: Everyday Rhetoric and Mexican American Civil Rights* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006); and Ignacio M. García, *Hector P. García: In Relentless Pursuit of Justice* (Houston: Arte Publico, 2003).

[39] In the article "Ya Basta?!" Ronald Reagan's 1966 Success with Mexican American Voters," Gene Kopelson suggested that Phil Saenz's 1965 letter to Ronald Reagan convinced Republicans that they had a chance to win over Mexican American voters in California. He explained that the Mexican American population's anger over the Democrats' lack of support of their communities, and Reagan's presentation as a "man of the people," helped win over many Mexican American voters. While the article focused primarily on Dr. Francisco Bravo, a Los Angeles-based surgeon and banker whose political work convinced and taught Reagan how to reach out to the Mexican American population for support, it was Phil Saenz's letter that created this opportunity for Republicans in the first place. Although Kopelson did not outright state this, I argue that in citing Phil's letter, he indirectly credited Phil with creating the Mexican American base of support for Reagan in California. Full article citation: Gene Kopelson, "Ya Basta?!" Ronald Reagan's 1966 Success with Mexican American Voters." *California History,* Vol. 91, No. 4 (Winter 2014), pp. 31-42.

progressives who identified as Democrats, he chose to use a mainstream approach that included employing professionalism and appealing to the Republican Party for assistance to secure a bipartisan presence in the U.S. political system. This was possible because there was a liberal wing within the Republican Party in the 1960s, and Phil thought he could tap into that political space. Doing so complemented the established Mexican American presence in the Democratic Party. For Phil, bi-partisan Mexican American political involvement was the only way for his community to gain equality and have a permanent voice in the social and political arenas. In order to achieve this goal, Phil Saenz created the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, a monthly magazine that was in print from 1963 to 1967.[40]

This chapter will focus on the life of Phil Saenz and the history of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine. A discussion of this magazine is crucial to understanding the history of Mexican American Republican activism in San Diego because its content addressed questions that Mexican American Republicans had about empowerment and political activism; but most importantly, because it showed how Mexican American Republicans directly challenged San Diego's White-centric social and political spaces in ways not previously acknowledged by historians. As a politically mainstream publication that combined liberal and conservative ideas, the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine served as a vehicle to organize, educate, and empower Mexican American activism in San Diego during the early Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Further analysis of the

[40] The magazine changed names several times during the years it was in print. It began as *El Grito* in September of 1963. The name was changed to *Mexican-American* in February of 1964. In December of 1964, the word "Review" was added to the publication's name. In March of 1966, the name was changed to *Amigo: An Inter-American Review*. In order to avoid the reader confusion and to be consistent, any and all future references to the magazine will be done with the term "*Mexican-American/Amigo*." This is done also to reflect the fact that the magazine's intentions remained the same even when its name changed.

Mexican-American/Amigo magazine reveals that the Mexican American struggle for civil rights in San Diego did not begin with the emergence of the Chicana/o Movement in the late 1960s but with a mainstream movement whose efforts were captured and disseminated by the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine. Some of this movement's more significant goals, like the meaning and right to self-definition, the pursuit of political power and legitimacy, and the use of the U.S.-Mexico border as an asset to improve their social standing and cultural identity, were later integrated and built upon with a more radical lens by Chicana/o activists.

The *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine is a micro-example of a strand of activism that previous scholars would dismiss as an outlier, and not central to the development of a wider movement in advancing the rights of Mexican Americans in San Diego in the 1960s. In fact, the story of Phil Saenz and the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine represents a continuation into the 1960s of what historian Mario T. García calls the "Mexican American Generation."[41] It provides a backdrop to the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement of the 1930s and 1940s, a period when Mexican Americans employed distinct social and political tactics to obtain better education, jobs, and political representation. Activism during this time period ranged from the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), which stressed integration through acculturation, to the more militant labor organization the Spanish-Speaking Congress. As an educational, political, social, and bi-national production, the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine dealt with issues like education, political

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[41] Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). García used the term "Mexican American Generation" to describe the politically diverse Mexican American activist community of the period between 1930 and 1960. As a whole, they are considered the forbearers of the Chicana/o Movement. García's analysis helps reframe the Chicana/o Movement as a continuation, rather than a break, from earlier activist efforts,

participation, economic advancement, cross-border trade, immigration, and local social and cultural events. Its message was simple: civil rights and equality for all Mexican Americans. Its origins can be traced to the influence that the American G.I. Forum had on Phil's formative years in South Texas, and his service to the country as a U.S. Marine.[42] As a community production that captured the sentiment, struggles, and aspirations of a disempowered community, the magazine serves as a gateway to understand how Mexican American Republican civil rights activism in San Diego served as a tool for community advancement.

The *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine provided a positive image and perspective of the Mexican American community of San Diego through mainstream media. It dispelled negative stereotypes by using mainstream Republican values that casted Mexican Americans as honest hard-working people, socially involved righteous citizens, politically engaged, and economically productive. During these years, many ethnic groups, including Mexican Americans, viewed assimilation and integration as key to have a voice in society. The magazine brought visibility to the political, social, and economic conditions of Mexican Americans in San Diego by presenting their concerns as local, state, and national issues.[43]

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which mirrors historian Jacqueline Dowd Hall's concept of a "long civil rights movement" that traces the origins of the African American Civil Rights Movement to decades before the 1960s.

[42] For more information about the history of the American G.I. Forum, see Henry A. J. Ramos, *The American GI Forum: In Pursuit of the Dream*, 1948-1983 (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1998); for information on the life of American G.I. founder, Hector P. García, see Hall Kells, *Hector P. García: Everyday Rhetoric and Mexican American Civil Rights* and García, *Hector P. García: In Relentless Pursuit of Justice.*

[43] In *News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* (New York City: Verso, 2012), journalists Juan González and Joseph Torres argued that American mainstream media outlets like newspapers, radio, and television have historically influenced race relations by disseminating and reinforcing racist stereotypes of non-White groups in the U.S. To combat these false portrayals, minority groups like African Americans and Latinas/os created their own alternative media outlets that validated their experiences and celebrated their contributions to the nation. Their publications dispelled racist notions that the majority White society had of them, and it provided an opportunity for these groups to participate in a democratic and egalitarian media space. This chapter

Although the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine was not part of the Chicana/o Movement nor shared its cultural nationalist approach to social justice, it conveyed many ideas that were later articulated by the local Chicana/o movement – which is assumed to be the starting point of organized civil rights activism by Mexican Americans in San Diego. Both articulated progressive views, but what set them apart were the methods used to address the issues they confronted.

This magazine's connection to the Mexican American Generation's goals for civil rights is a clear example of how Phil Saenz and the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine represented a continuation of this era's political work in San Diego. This suggests that the origins of 1960s Mexican American activism in San Diego aren't entirely left-leaning and that the local Chicana/o Movement can trace some of its roots to the Republican activism reported by the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine. Given San Diego's socially conservative climate and politics, early 1960s civil rights activism by Mexican American Republicans was about asserting their legitimacy as San Diegans and illuminating both the "Mexican" and "American" component in "Mexican-American."

Chapter Organization

To assess the historical significance of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine and civil rights activism by Mexican American Republicans in San Diego, the chapter is organized in the following way. It begins with a brief discussion of why this story matters. While most

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contends that the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine is an example of the thesis put forth by González and Torres. The purpose of *Mexican-American/Amigo* was to challenge and correct the negative depictions that the White-ruling class had of Mexican descent people in San Diego, and to provide a platform for Mexican Americans to express their views as Americans of Mexican descent. Their actions were not only limited to words, but direct challenges to White-controlled spaces like the electoral arena and the business world.

studies that focus on Mexican American political activism between the post-WWII period and the early 1960s emphasize collaboration with the Democratic Party, conservative political and social transformations in San Diego forced Mexican Americans to adopt a multi-political strategy that appealed to both the Democratic and Republican Parties. This environment made it possible for Mexican American Republicans to exist in San Diego. Next is a section that describes the formative years of Phil Saenz in South Texas. Racist Democrats, the military, and World War II Mexican American veterans played a significant role in shaping Phil Saenz's political and social outlook. These experiences brought Phil to San Diego in 1954 and served as catalysts for his activism and decision to start a magazine in support of Mexican American civil rights.

A section that discusses the social and cultural meaning of being Mexican American and Republican in San Diego follows. Mexican American women are central figures in this section. They became the face of Mexican American Republican efforts to highlight the social, political, and cultural capital of the community in San Diego. The next section examines Mexican American political and business efforts to increase and cement their presence in everyday life in San Diego. Of importance here are the involvement of Mexican Americans in local campaigns for city council, and their connection to the 1964 Republican Presidential Campaigns of Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater. The presence of Mexican Americans across the Republican political spectrum demonstrates their commitment to aligning strategically, and not blindly, with a candidate they felt would most likely support their cause. The last substantive section examines how Phil Saenz and other Mexican American Republicans used the U.S.-Mexico border to correct not just negative portrayals of their community, but also to paint Mexico as an ally of their cause. Mexican American Republicans built on a history of binational relations between San Diego and

Tijuana in order to expand political, economic, and cultural cooperation and exchange between the neighboring cities. The next section looks at the role Mexican American Republicans played in furthering the goals of Chicana/o Movement in San Diego, while the historical legacy of this story is discussed in the conclusion. The goal of this chapter is to insert and legitimize the story of Mexican American Republicans into the larger script of the Civil Rights Movement era in San Diego.

A Story Worth Telling and Knowing

Since the days of the New Deal, the majority of Mexican Americans nationally supported the Democratic Party.[44] Starting in the 1950s and 1960s the American G.I. Forum, a Texas-based civil rights organization, protested the lack of services provided to World War II Mexican American veterans and organized Mexican Americans nationwide to register and vote for Democrats. Led by its founder, Dr. Hector P. García, Mexican Americans voters organized into "¡Viva!" clubs and helped elect many Democratic candidates to local and state offices. For example, ¡Viva Kennedy! clubs around the country contributed to high voter turnouts and they helped deliver the presidency to John F. Kennedy in 1960. Even though a majority of Mexican Americans in the early 1960s supported the

[44] Mexican American support for the Democratic Party increased during and after Franklin Delano Roosevelt served as President of the United States (1933-1945). Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives, created to combat the Great Depression and which were aimed at getting Americans back to work, protect their savings, and provide relief for the sick and elderly, set a precedent that the federal government would be involved in upholding the social and economic welfare of the people – which included Mexican Americans. As a result, Mexican Americans were able to obtain better jobs and wages from which they were previously barred because of racism and segregation. Overtime, this helped increase their political participation. Mexican Americans, as a result, developed a deep connection to FDR, whom many revered and respected as a father figure. FDR's New Deal shifted the focus of the Democratic Party towards social wellbeing, and created what scholars called a "New Deal Coalition," made up of numerous racial and ethnic groups – which included Mexican Americans – that served as a reliable voting block for Democrats until the 1960s.

Democratic Party, the Democrats had done little to reverse and eliminate the educational, legal, economic, and racial injustices Mexican Americans faced. Tired of empty promises made by Democrats, some Mexican Americans started employing a multi-party strategy as early as the 1950s. The existence of a liberal wing within the Republican Party at the time made it easy for Mexican Americans to appeal to the Republicans for assistance. For example, in his book *The Search for a Civic Voice: California Latino Politics*, historian Kenneth C. Burt showed that Dwight D. Eisenhower, a socially moderate Republican, amassed considerable support from Mexican American voters in the 1950s.[45] Despite being a Republican, Eisenhower did not do away with FDR's New Deal or President Harry Truman's Fair Deal, both of which supported the advancement of the Mexican American community. Instead, he led a moderate expansion of programs such as Social Security, increased the minimum wage, created the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and pushed for low-income housing, actions that did not hinder "Individual freedom and the market economy [and] insured that government would provide necessary assistance to workers who had lost their jobs or to the ill or aged, who through no fault of their own, could not provide for themselves."[46] Eisenhower's middle of the road approach appealed to Mexican American political and business leaders who rallied behind him and California Senator Thomas Kuchel, a moderate Republican that supported civil rights legislation in the 1960s. They helped organize "Latin American Committees" to get Mexican Americans to

[45] Kenneth C. Burt, *The Search for a Civic Voice: California Latino Politics* (Claremont: Regina Books, 2007), pp. 153-154, 158.

[46] Charles J. Pach, Jr., "Dwight D. Eisenhower: Domestic Affairs." Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia. Accessed February 9, 2019. URL: https://millercenter.org/president/eisenhower/domestic-affairs

vote for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket in 1956 and to support of state Republicans in the 1958 midterm elections.[47]

In San Diego, the general Mexican American population struggled with educational disparities, lack of political power and representation, limited economic mobility, and increasing gentrification of their neighborhoods.[48] Similar to other cities in the Southwest, their votes for the Democratic Party did not translate to better lives. Gene Kopelson in "Ya Basta?!" Ronald Reagan's 1966 Success with Mexican American Voters" argued that the Democratic Party in California primarily used Mexican Americans to get into office and then forgot about returning the favor. For example, Governor Pat Brown appointed very few Mexican Americans to important political offices or the California Supreme Court bench.[49] This pushed many Mexican Americans towards the Republican Party. Phil Saenz believed this shift was beneficial in both the short and long term. Collaborating with and using the Republican Party to meet their needs where the Democrats had failed was key to securing full civil rights and citizenship for all Mexican Americans. There was a precedent for this California that would help guide Phil's work in San Diego.

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[47] Burt, *The Search for a Civic Voice*, pp. 153-154, 158.

[48] According to the 1960 U.S. Census, the total population of San Diego County in 1960 was 1,033,011. A person was limited to just seven different choices when stating their race: White, Negro, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Other Races. Since Mexican Americans were legally considered "White," it is possible that many of them who participated in the census picked "White" to identify their race. Others may have opted to identify as "Other Race." Out of a total population of 1,033, 011, 976,071 people, or 94.48% of the population of San Diego, identified as "White." 2,772 people, or .0026%, identified as part of another race. Because of this, it is impossible to tell with certainty the exact number of Mexican Americans who lived in San Diego in 1960. Source: Table 21 – Characteristics of the Population for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Urbanized Areas, and urban Places of 10,000 or More: 1960; p. 6-127. General Population Characteristics of California, 1960. URL: https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/12533879v1p6ch03.pdf

[49] Kopelson, "Ya Basta?!", p. 35.

San Diego was a perfect setting for this type of activism to unfold. Many people came to San Diego during and after World War II and took jobs in the defense and industrial sectors. In addition, many Mexican Americans arrived to serve in the Marines as Phil did, or in the Navy. A majority of these migrant peoples hailed from traditionally conservative states, and as they established themselves locally they helped turn Southern California, particularly Orange County and San Diego, red. This region between cosmopolitan Los Angeles and the Mexican border boasted a growing Republican population that was almost twice the size of northern Southern California.[50] Ironically, but fortunately for Phil, San Diego's move further to the right started at the same time that Mexican Americans as a whole started to question the Democratic Party's increasing apathy towards them. The stage was set for Phil and other like-minded Mexican American Republicans to fight for civil rights in Southern California.

The Coming-of-Age of Phil Saenz and Birth of an Activist Magazine

In the very first issue of *Mexican-American/Amigo*, Phil Saenz stated that the purpose of the magazine was to encourage and stimulate studies on Mexican Americans to eliminate stereotypes that affected their ability to obtain full citizenship rights. This mission statement

[50] According to a January 5, 1960 Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters document, 304,817 registered Republicans lived in the Southern California counties of Orange, Riverside, San Diego, and Imperial Valley. This was almost twice the amount (156,757) that lived in the counties north of Los Angeles (San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Kern, Ventura, and San Bernardino). Of the 10 Southern California Counties (San Luis Obispo, Kern, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Diego and Imperial Valley), San Diego County in 1960 had the fourth highest percentage of registered Republican voters (45.16%), below Riverside, Orange County, and Santa Barbara; and the second-highest number of registered Republicans in all Southern California (150,911), below Los Angeles (926,623) and above Orange County (101,432). Among the eight counties with a Democratic majority of registered voters, San Diego ranked second-to-last in percentage of difference between Democrats and Republicans (6.41%), just above Riverside. With these numbers as evidence, the argument can be made that San Diego in 1960 was already a magnet for Republican and conservative thinking. Information acquired from: Papers of John F. Kennedy. Pre-Presidential Papers. Presidential Campaign Files, 1960. Campaigns by State: Pre-Convention Political Files, 1960. California: Voting registration statistics. Accessed July 22, 2017. URL: https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKCAMP1960-0927-022.aspx

stemmed from Phil's formative years in Texas and in the Marines. Phil was born in Falfurrias, Texas, in 1935. He grew up during the Great Depression era in South Texas, which is notorious for its hot summers, freezing winters, and racist hostility towards Mexican people. Paula Mata, Phil's mother, raised Phil and his siblings as a single mother on a fieldworker's wage. Phil's family not only endured the constraints of poverty, but also the racism of many White cotton farmers and local residents. At the age of eight, Phil began helping his mother support the family by working as a shoeshine boy in the streets of Corpus Christi. Many of his customers were White residents of Corpus Christi that often berated him with racist comments like calling him a "filthy Mexican."[51] Despite the hostility he faced, Phil excelled in school. His mother pushed him to do well in his studies so he wouldn't have to do the backbreaking work she did. Ronald Saenz, Phil's youngest son, described his grandmother as his father's most important source of inspiration. "Despite Paula's modest education and the discrimination she endured," he said, "she was civic-minded and very patriotic. She understood and passed on to her son Phil the importance to exercise the right to vote.[52] Even the poll tax, imposed in Southern states post-Reconstruction by White politicians with the intent of restricting African Americans, poor Whites, and Mexicans from freely exercising the right to vote, was not enough to keep Phil's mother from voting.[53] Both Phil and his mother Paula understood education as a type of equalizer, "a way to even the proverbial playing field" with Whites.[54] These were important

[51] Phil Saenz and Ronald Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.

[52] Ronald Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.

[53] Ronald Saenz, email to author, December 24, 2016.

[54] Phil Saenz and Ronald Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016. The poll tax was officially abolished in 1964 with the passing of the 24th amendment.

politically formative times for the young Phil as well, as most of the politicians who made his life and that of others difficult were racist southern Democrats. According to Ronald, "It wasn't intuitive for… a Latino to want to become a part of a party where there was a bunch of 'rednecks'[55] [sic] and the Republican Party was a little bit more accommodating back then because it wasn't a party of that history" [history of slavery].[56] For many Mexicans in South Texas it was "almost a natural instinct to want to be Republican," which was viewed as more progressive than being a Democrat.[57] Phil grew up around African Americans in South Texas as well, with whom he interacted with on a daily basis. Many of them were also loyal Republicans, which was common given the party's history against slavery and its early pursuits for civil rights in the region.[58] Phil's experiences working with African Americans in Texas later helped him establish connections with Black civil rights activists in San Diego

[55] The word "redneck" is a racial slur towards White Americans, used heavily in South Texas at the time to refer to racist Whites in the region.

[56] Ronald Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016. In fact, the majority of African Americans in the South up until the Great Depression voted overwhelmingly for the Republican Party (given that the Republican Party fought for their rights post-Civil War and due to the hostility and racism they faced from Democratic lawmakers). It wasn't until FDR's New Deal initiative, which allowed for many African Americans to obtain better jobs and a voice in policy-making on a scale never-before seen that African Americans, as a voting block, shifted their allegiance to the Democratic Party.

[57] Ronald Saenz, email to author, December 24, 2016. During the early part of the twentieth century, several members of the Texas Rangers, the state's law enforcement agency, actively engaged in anti-Mexican violence. Many Mexican men and women, immigrant and U.S.-born, were assaulted and many were lynched by Rangers. In many cases, the perpetrators were not prosecuted for their crimes. Many of these crimes took place in Southern Texas, where Democrats controlled the region and may have purposely allowed or perpetuated the waves of violence in order to keep Mexicans "in their place." For more on this history of violence against Mexicans in Texas, see Monica Muñoz Martínez, *The Injustice Never Leaves You: Anti-Mexican Violence in Texas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018); Nicholas Villanueva Jr., *The Lynching of Mexicans in the Texas Borderlands* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2018); William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, *Forgotten Dead: Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848-1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[58] For more on African American Republicans, see Corey D. Fields, *Black Elephants in the Room: The Unexpected Politics of African American Republicans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).

like City Councilmen George Stevens and Leon Williams, and activist George Walker Smith.[59]

Phil graduated from Roy Miller High School in 1953 and immediately enrolled in the U.S. Marine Corps. His decision to join the armed forces was described by his son Phil Saenz as "probably the best thing that ever happened to [his] dad, as far as escaping poverty in Texas."[60] The military, according to his sons, saved many Mexicans in South Texas from living a life in poverty. More importantly, Phil's decision to join the Marines was inspired by the activist work of returning Mexican American veterans in the community, especially that of the American G.I. Forum founded in his adopted hometown of Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1948. These local heroes made a lasting impression on Phil. He saw these Mexican Americans as decent, righteous and patriotic citizens who cared about their appearance, image, communities, and country as much or even more than White Americans. Phil knew that the bar was higher for Mexican Americans than Whites. By joining the Marines, he felt he contributed to his country as a patriot and to change the negative perceptions of his community and culture like the American G.I. Forum did. The military would provide him with the right discipline and training to properly present himself in a way that commanded respect from society regardless of your race or ethnicity. He understood early on that it was one of the keys to success because people were sized up on how they dressed, groomed and

[59] George Stevens (1932-2006) was a civil rights activist in San Diego during the 1960s and 1970s, and served as councilmember of San Diego's Fourth District from 1991 to 2002. Leon Williams served as San Diego's first African American City Councilman (for District Eight) from 1969 to 1994, and was the first African American County Supervisor. For more about Williams' life, see Lynne Carrier, *Together We Can Do More: The Leon Williams Story* (San Diego: Montezuma Publishing, 2015); Rev. George Walker Smith was the first African American member of the San Diego Board of Education, and served on numerous local and national boards related to education and juvenile justice.

[60] Phil Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.

conducted themselves. Joining the Marines started Phil's journey of extracting himself from a hostile environment that limited his potential and seek a way to further his education. He was assigned to the Marine Corps Recruit Depot in San Diego in 1954, where he learned basic office work skills. It was in the Marines that Phil "honed his discipline, patriotism, civic duty, and pride." According to Ronald, "the Marines' ability to provide an equalizer effect in terms of race relations was transformative. This was an indoctrination of integration and assimilation which he embraced throughout his life."[61] Phil was always conscious of being an American, but also an American of Mexican background. After being honorably discharged from the Marines in 1957 with the rank of Sergeant, he worked numerous jobs in San Diego as a dishwasher and bus boy. He fell so in love with the city that he saved money to help pay for his family to move to California.

After serving in the military for three years, Phil enrolled at San Diego City College in 1959. He became part of the student union and was politically active in the community as a Republican. His experiences in South Texas fostered in Phil the notion that the Republican Party was more accepting and welcoming of Mexican Americans, and he put this notion to the test in San Diego. As he settled in Southern California, Phil noticed that the California Democratic Party was not doing as much for Mexican Americans as it claimed, despite California being more politically and racially liberal than Texas. Although Governor Pat Brown's administration made California a more progressive state, it budded heads consistently with a strong Republican and conservative base in the state. Phil might have caught onto this. For Phil, the only way Mexican Americans could ever be taken seriously was to have a voice in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Since a majority of Mexican Americans were already Democrats, the task of influencing the Republican Party in

[61] Ronald Saenz email to author, December 24, 2016.

San Diego fell on Phil. With San Diego already a strong conservative town because of its Navy and corporate ties, the opportunity to increase the political capital of San Diego's Mexican American people via the Republican Party was at hand.

Phil's decision to align with the Republicans was strategic.[62] He hoped to replicate for Mexican Americans the successful relation that Cuban Americans had with the Republican Party.[63] In the early 1960s, Mexican Americans asked for basic rights and opportunities such as education, more jobs, and political representation. These were concessions that either the Democrats or the Republicans could meet. Since the social boundaries of each party at the time were relatively lax, Phil tried to sway the Republican Party towards Mexican Americans' needs to get the best deal possible in exchange for their vote. This mirrored the efforts of Dr. Francisco Bravo in Los Angeles with regards to the getting Mexican

[62] Over the years, several communities of color have strategically aligned themselves with either of the major political parties or controversial government policies in order to preserve or obtain recognition of their communities, resources, and rights. Sometimes these alliances created rifts within these communities, such as the case of the Japanese American community during World War II. During the war, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), headed by Nisei, or U.S.-born Americans of Japanese descent, cooperated with the federal government's detention and internment of Japanese people, many of which were first-generation immigrants (Issei). The JACL's primary concern was to protect the safety and rights of the Nisei community. They felt the need to separate themselves from the Issei community, which was cast as "too Japanese" and thus seen as potentially dangerous in the eyes of wartime American society. The JACL was criticized for its silence and complicity in one of the most tragic chapters of U.S. history.

[63] After the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, Cuban exiles (mostly upper and middle-class elites) established themselves in Miami and in other parts of South Florida. They were fundamentally opposed to the socialist leanings of Fidel Castro's government. Because of their anti-communist views, they were able to establish links to many Cold War-era politicians, many of them in the Republican Party. This connection to the Republican Party allowed Cubans to grow politically overtime. They accumulated political capital on top of the sources they brought with them. Because of their political views aligned well with those of the U.S. at the time, Cubans were treated differently from other Latina/o groups. They were considered refugees, not immigrants. This treatment, plus their close connection to the Republican Party, amplified their voice and organizational tools in the political arena. An example of this is Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, the son of a Cuban exile. This close association led to a popular saying in Spanish, "los Cubanos son tan poquitos, pero como hacen ruido," which translates to, "The Cubans are so small in number, but they make a lot of noise."

Americans to vote for Ronald Reagan in 1966.[64] "My dad realized that the two-party system was going to be the people you had to play the game with ultimately," Phil Saenz stated. "One of these two parties [Democrats and Republicans] is going to be in power" and Mexican Americans needed to be pragmatic and be politically involved in both spheres.[65] Mexican Americans in Los Angeles, San Diego, and all of California couldn't just put all of their eggs in one basket. Given his background and position in the community as a businessman, military veteran, and community activist, Phil had the power and means of to deliver Mexican Americans votes to the Republicans. This in turn assured that both Democrats and Republicans never took Mexican Americans for granted ever again.

During his early years of activism in San Diego, Phil met and befriended Jesse Ruiz, a World War II Air Force veteran who flew on B-29 bombing missions over Germany and went on to serve as an educator in the South Bay city of Chula Vista. He and Phil became close friends, and Jesse baptized Phil's son Ronald. As compadres,[66] they worked together to improve the quality of life of Mexican Americans and decided to put together the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine. It started as *El Grito* in September of 1963, but was abandoned after one issue due to lack of funds. When it reemerged in February of 1964, it did so as the *Mexican-American*, and this time the magazine stuck thanks in part to its new name that represented pride in their ethnic identity. Phil's opening editorial in the February 1964 issue revealed that the magazine's new name was purposely selected to reflect Mexican Americans' historical experiences. To Phil, markers such as "Latin American,"

[64] For more about Francisco Bravo and his role in helping Ronald Reagan win the Mexican American vote for Governor of California in 1966, see Gene Kopelson, "Ya Basta?!"Ronald Reagan's 1966 Success with Mexican American Voters."

[65] Phil Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.

[66] Translation: co-father, but it also refers to a godparent.

"Spanish American," "Hispanic American," and "[I]bero American" did not adequately reflect who his community were. In his opinion, these labels signified shame and difference for being of a Spanish-speaking background.[67] They were not "Mexican" either because one, the word "Mexican" itself was racialized to signify second-class status and "alien" by mainstream White society; and two, they were not from Mexico and thus the Mexican government was not responsible for them. As Mexican Americans, they asserted nativeness to the U.S., and thus placed responsibility for their well being on the U.S. As such, they were entitled to the same rights and protections under the Constitution. This is what Phil wanted his readers to understand. Mexican Americans' focus on their U.S.-based political identity is an example of the "new politics," or U.S.-based politics that Mexican Americans created in the early twentieth century and that continued to serve their interests separate from those of Mexican immigrants.[68] Their aspirations and struggles became those of the U.S. government and society at large. Through *Mexican-American/Amigo*, Phil pushed Mexican descended people to embrace a cultural duality, one that celebrated plurality not as a marker of difference, but as a claim to being fully American.

Ten issues of *Mexican-American* were produced between February 1964 and December 1965, and copies sold for 25 cents each.[69] In comparison *The San Diego Union,* the mainstream newspaper of San Diego whose coverage of Mexican American issues tended to be negative, sold copies at ten cents each. While the price per issue might have been higher than the daily city newspaper, the type of coverage could have been well worth the extra

[67] Editorial by Phil Saenz, *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 5.

[68] Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans*, p. 26.

[69] In my investigations, I found the ten issues of *Mexican-American* produced between February 1964 and December 1965. No issues were found that cover the dates April 1965 to November 1965, and January 1966 to February 1966.

charge. Most of the magazine's content was printed in English, but some community service announcements and federal programs and laws were written in Spanish for non-English readers. This suggests that the primary readership of the magazine were English speakers, but since the magazine also circulated in many working-class neighborhoods of San Diego where Mexican immigrant families lived, important information was translated into Spanish for the convenience of this population. The magazine was printed in National City, located 10 minutes south of downtown San Diego, and home to a large concentration of Mexican people in San Diego. Despite National City's large Mexican and Filipino communities, its leadership was predominantly White back then.[70] With this in mind, the appearance of the magazine assumed an important purpose. Its goal was to show and convince the White ruling class of the capital that Mexican Americans had and contributed to the local setting. Thus, the layout of the magazine was deliberately made to resemble that of mainstream publications so that White Americans picked up a copy of the magazine to read it. *Mexican-American/Amigo* was about changing perceptions and striking down stereotypes as much as celebrating Mexican American bi-culturalism.

The magazine's primary readership was in San Diego, but by late 1964 it also catered to Santa Ana, a city in Orange County, situated 90 miles north of San Diego. Orange County is extremely important at this time. It became the cradle of the modern-day conservative movement that Phil believed he could tap into with his magazine.[71] In March of 1966, the

[70] The 2018 midterm elections resulted in a wave of Democrats elected to local and national offices. Republicans in California, the majority of them White, were voted out and replaced with Democrats, whose candidates were more racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse.

[71] For more on the birth of the modern-day conservative movement, see Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). For a longer history of the conservative movement in the first half of the twentieth century, which culminates in the birth of the modern-day conservative movement of the 1960s, see, Kim Phillips-

magazine changed its name to *Amigo: An Inter-American Review*, assumed a greater bi-national lens, and remained in print at least thru September of 1967.[72] Even though the magazine was put together on a "shoe string and low budget, on the side, not even as a full-time thing," it became an effective tool to educate readers and sway political views to a good amount of success.[73] Despite this, there was skepticism about the magazine's message from the start. "When he [Phil Saenz] started the magazine we were all Democrats [in San Diego]," recalled Conie Zuñiga, a close friend of the Saenz family and longtime resident of San Diego. "A Republican [magazine]? Only rich White gringos are Republicans," was Conie's belief then. "It was so strange."[74] At first, Conie thought the magazine was a mistake. She referred to it as "silly" and "ridiculous," but her opinion of it, and of her friend Phil's views changed once she started reading the magazine. Readers responded positively to it. One letter sent by a reader in National City thanked the staff for reminding Mexican Americans of "our wonderful heritage" and for making them proud "to be called Mexican Americans."[75] The magazine subscribed to the idea of the self-made person, central to notions of American character and identity within Republican circles, but it also advocated for many progressive ideas. Despite the positive feedback, Mexican American Republicans like Phil Saenz were not liked in San Diego "because everyone [mostly left-leaning

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Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Businessmen's Crusade Against the New Deal* (Reprint ed., New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010).

[72] Only two issues of *Amigo* were analyzed for this chapter (March 1966 and September 1967). These were the only two issues I came across in my investigations.

[73] Phil Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.

[74] Conie Zuñiga, interview with author, September 12, 2017.

[75] Letter to Editor by Mrs. Lucy Flores, *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 4.

activists] w[ere] upset they were Republicans," Conie recalled.[76] "These were guys [Mexican American Republicans] that on their own did stuff that wasn't in the norm," Connie added. "It was pretty risk-taking because there was a lot of criticism – who's gonna be a Republican, a Mexican Republican, in the barrio (neighborhood)?"[77]

Because the magazine's purpose was the advancement of Mexican Americans in general, its readers were informed of the achievements of Mexican Americans in Republican and Democratic spaces. Its contributors were not young high school or college students shaped by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, but older adults in their late twenties and early thirties. Many of them were married, had families, and owned businesses. Phil was 29, married, and had a family when the magazine first came out. His views, and those of other Mexican American contributors to the magazine, were shaped by the political ideas of the post-WWII generation of Mexican Americans that clothed by their defense of democracy abroad, fought to extend the meaning of American citizenship at home through a combination of acculturation and progressive tactics. The items discussed in the magazine reflected these views, as opposed to the radical impulses of nationalist and separatist strands that informed Chicana/o activism simultaneously in the 1960s. Jesse Ruiz wrote extensively on many concerns related to education and welfare, such as drug rehabilitation and bilingual education, as well as immigration and farmworker rights. Alicia Saenz, Phil Saenz's sister, provided a woman's perspective on key social issues that included the expanding role of women in the workforce and in the political arena. As the only credited woman contributor on the magazine, Alicia Saenz's words brought up questions of gender and class, and its intersections with social and political power. The articles written by Ruben Dominguez, a political columnist, contained some of the most politically charged ideas in the magazine.

[76] Conie Zuñiga, interview with author, September 12, 2017.

Along with the articles penned by Larry Montoya of the San Diego Chapter of the American G.I. Forum, these pieces represented the most direct and critical assessment of Mexican Americans' relations with the Democratic Party. This was all part of a deliberate effort on the part of Phil and the contributors of the magazine to obtain recognition and full integration by "playing the game"; especially in a federal city like San Diego that had strong military and corporate connections to the Navy and defense companies like Lockheed and Convair. The conservatism that arose in Southern California, mostly a result of the connections between the political and economic sectors of the city during the early 1960s, provided an excellent backdrop to the fulfillment of Phil Saenz's civil rights project.

Mexican-American Magazine, Vol. 1, Issue 1, February 1964 cover. Source: The Saenz Family.

[77] Conie Zuñiga, interview with author, September 12, 2017.

Being Mexican American in San Diego

The right to self-definition was an important aspect that the staff of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine stressed. In particular, their definition of the label "Mexican American" outlined the specific history and position that this group of Mexican Americans in San Diego looked to attain. To Phil Saenz and the staff of the magazine, the U.S. was their homeland. They were U.S. citizens by birth. There was no future in Mexico for them, other than the social and economic connections they hoped to establish across the border in support of their cause. They were conscious of their rights and privileges as U.S.-born citizens, and they were intent on making a space for themselves in the land they were born.

One example was the article "The Melting Pot." Its author asked why Mexican Americans hadn't been yet "absorbed" by a country that prided itself as a "melting pot" of cultures. Furthermore, the author questioned why Mexican Americans, despite never being foreigners or immigrants, were treated as second-class citizens. By making this statement, the author reinforced the roots of Mexican people in the region. "[The] Mexican American is one of the original prime elements in the melting pot," the author wrote. "Our presence in the U.S., particularly in the Southwest, antedates that of the historical puritan pilgrim, and other sea coast settlers," the author stated.[78] On top of that, they were also "descendants of glorious explorers and brave colonizers."[79] While the author claimed connection to the indigenous component of Mexican identity, his statement also appealed to the Spanish side of Mexican identity. Both elements of Mexican identity were important to this author, and he used this to claim Americanness for Mexican Americans. This article thus reinforced the significance of biculturalism to Mexican Americans. Claiming indigeneity and making

[78] "The Melting Pot," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 15.

[79] "The Melting Pot," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 15.

connections to the White part of their identity further cemented their claim to inclusion. This deployment of race and ethnicity was a tactic – in a liberal city, difference is generally more accepted – but in a conservative city like San Diego, difference as a positive thing was generally viewed with skepticism, thus perhaps the need for Mexican Americans to remind White Americans that they are like them and appeal to a shared European past (but without fully ignoring their indigenous roots). It is uncertain if this idea stressed in this article represented the opinion of the entire Mexican American community, the magazine, or was the single opinion of the author.

As much as Mexican Americans wanted to be seen as "American," the close proximity of Mexico, a mere 15-minute drive from National City, did not allow them to completely forget their roots, even when they catered to a White audience. A two-page article by Jesse Ruiz on the Padua Hills Theater group "The Mexican Players'" December 1964 play "Las Posadas" served as evidence of Mexican Americans whose work historian Matt Garcia stated consisted of "[informing] and [educating] the general public about the cultural attributes of Mexican, Spanish, and early Californian life."[80] Although the Mexican Players' worked aligned well with Phil Saenz's intent to show Mexican Americans as a cultured people that made significant contributions to the U.S., historical interpretations of Padua Hills Theater's efforts to create intercultural understanding between White Americans and Americans of Mexican descent is understood to have been very problematic. In its effort to convince a White audience that Mexican people were not detriments to society, Matt Garcia argued, the theater ended up distorting California and Mexican history by substituting old

[80] For more about the Padua Hills Theater, see Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 121-156; and Matt Garcia, ""Just put on That Padua Hills Smile": The Mexican Players and the Padua Hills Theatre, 1921-1974." *California History*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (Fall 1995); pp. 244-261.

stereotypes of Mexicans as threatening and lazy with new images of Mexicans as docile and apolitical.[81] But when placed in the context of 1964, the work of "The Mexican Players" mirrored that of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine. Perhaps at the time long-term consequences for actions played second fiddle to desired immediate results. "Las Posadas" were among the first plays that offered a more positive image of Mexican people's past and contributions to the U.S. In that regard, the magazine's support for them is understandable and consistent with the staff's intent to change negative perceptions of Mexicans in general. This effort to build a positive image of Mexican American people was also extensively done through the magazine's depictions of Mexican American women.

One of the most significant ways through which the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine changed perceptions of Mexican American people was through its recognition and celebration of Mexican American women. Introduced to the people of San Diego via the images of the magazine's official photographer, Victor Avila, these women displayed beauty, elegance, and respectability. Mexican American women graced the cover of five issues printed in 1964 and on the cover of the 1967 September edition of *Amigo*. Some of the women on the cover of *Mexican-American* – Yolanda Carrillo, Vera Manríquez, and Thelma Camacho – all shared something in common: they were local, beautiful, and educated beauty pageants contestants. Carrillo, who appeared on the cover of the very first issue of *Mexican-American,* resembled a Mexican American version of Jacqueline Kennedy and placed second at the 1964 National Convention Queen contest in Chicago.[82] Manríquez

[81] Matt Garcia, "Adjusting the Focus: Padua Hills Theatre and Latino History." *OAH Magazine of History*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Winter 1996); pp. 19-22.

[82] Yolanda Carrillo Biography, *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 8.

was declared Queen of the San Diego Naval Center for 1964[83] at the prestigious Stardust Hotel and Country Club in Mission Valley.[84] She made such an impression at the coronation ceremony that *Mexican-American* stated: "This is the first time she has entered a contest of this type…we certainly hope it will not be the last!!"[85] Camacho was named Miss National City in 1964, Miss San Diego Teenager, and was a runner-up to Miss National Teenager in 1963.[86] Although at first glance these women seemed to represent mainstream White middle class gender expectations, the *Mexican-American* magazine casted Carrillo, Manríquez, and Camacho as bicultural and educated young women. Their beauty alone was not the only way brought attention to the Mexican American community of San Diego.

[83] "Vera Manríquez," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 6.

[84] The Stardust Hotel and Country Club became the Handlery Hotel San Diego in 1990.

[85] Vera Manríquez Biography, *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 6.

[86] "Our Cover- Thelma Camacho," *Mexican-American,* June-July 1964, p. 3.

San Diego Mayor Frank Curran (far-left) with Thelma Camacho (second from left) and her parents. *Mexican-American* Vol. 1, Issue 4, June-July 1964, p. 6. Source: The Saenz Family.

Bicultural competence was important for Mexican Americans. The magazine stated that Yolanda Carrillo enjoyed rhythm-and-blues and boleros and rancheras of Amalia Mendoza, an internationally recognized singer from Mexico. Besides being an expert baker, Carrillo studied to become an interior decorator. Camacho was described as a "symbol of what we mean when we say that with some initiative, parental counseling, and a little opportunity, today's youth can get ahead. You [Yolanda Carrillo] are an example of that beautiful combination of cultures – the Mexican American. Good Luck!"[87] Manríquez was depicted as a well-read young woman interested in social and political issues. The magazine stated that her favorite books were *The Ugly American,* which analyzed U.S.'s foreign relations with Southeast Asia in the 1950s, and *A Nation of Sheep*, which discussed how the media

[87] Yolanda Carrillo Biography, *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 8.

shaped government policies. Manríquez's political interests extended beyond what on paper seemed to be matters that weren't directly tied to her ethnic community. This demonstrated that she was well educated and eager to engage with her social and political surroundings as a bicultural U.S. citizen. This is a clear example of Mexican American resistance through intellectual prose. Thelma Camacho was also an accomplished soloist television singer and seasonal actress at Star Light Opera productions at the amphitheater in Balboa Park.[88] These Mexican American women embodied characteristics of two distinct yet intertwined cultures. While they did conform to some gendered notions of womanhood, they used these beliefs as catapults to advance themselves to redefine mainstream views of Mexican Americans in general. Not only were Mexican American men socially and politically active, women were also actively changing mainstream perceptions of their community. Perhaps these women were seen as cultural brokers between the White and Mexican American community, which might explain the attention given to their interests and personas. Regardless, the fact that women graced the magazine's cover overwhelmingly in 1964 is recognition of their hard work to be more than just housewives, and it shows their importance to the aspirations of the Mexican American Republican community of San Diego.

Alicia Saenz was the only credited female contributor to the magazine, and she had a large impact on the material in the magazine. Conie Zuñiga remembered Alicia as one of the most politically vocal persons she'd ever met. She and her were the only two women part of a group called "Mexicans United," a social group that Phil put together. Conie credited Alicia's passion for politics at these meetings as the reason why she started to pay closer attention to politics.[89] Alicia had her own column in the magazine called "Women Today"

[88] "Our Cover- Thelma Camacho," *Mexican-American,* June-July 1964, p. 3.

[89] Conie Zuñiga, interview with author, September 12, 2017.

where she addressed questions and anxieties over the expanding role of women in the public sphere. She also wrote opinion pieces on the meaning of women going topless as a fashion trend,[90] and on the ways that White American dialogue with Mexican Americans often relied on what today is known as microaggressions.[91] Alicia Saenz's social and political outlook as a Mexican American woman was best captured in her column. For example, in the March 1964 issue, she said that a woman working outside the home did not mean the end of her role as a mother or wife. Instead, she explained it as a natural extension of women's responsibilities in the home. She wrote that women working outside the home "[did] not lessen the value of men; it [did] not mean she [was] trying to assume his role, or that she is deliberately trying to compete with him."[92] She seemed to accept that home was part of a woman's responsibilities but that going into the workforce allowed her to make it better and much more well-rounded by complimenting the male breadwinner. This made women better in their roles as mothers and wives, Alicia seemed to suggest. But most importantly, it also contributed to their overall growth as individuals and citizens. These words echoed what the rising Women's Movement of the time advocated. While ideas like these might have been a novelty to middle class White families at the time, historically, many Mexican and Mexican American households relied on the income of both men and women to survive.[93] Mexican women were still expected to tend to the house and honor

[90] "Women Today," *Mexican-American,* August 1964, p. 7.

[91] "The Price of Beans," *Mexican-American,* May 1964, p. 11.

[92] "Women Today," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 6.

[93] This history is discussed in the following works: Vicki Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (10th ed.: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); Maylei Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin:

their gendered expectations as women. This article represented a Mexican American woman's point of view of mainstream society slowly moving away from the culture of conformity and complacency that characterized the immediate post-WWII period in the U.S.

In the June-July 1964 issue, Alicia Saenz made a bolder push for women's rights as individuals. She wrote about the prospect of a female president in 1964, indicating that a woman president signaled a true revolutionary change for society and political culture. The question was the following – was the country, but particularly its male leadership, ready for such a drastic change?[94] Alicia wrote this article through the context of Margaret Chase Smith, a Republican Senator from Maine that sought the nomination of her party in 1964. While women had made many advances in society up to that point, the political glass ceiling remained intact. Alicia wrote of the sexist double-standard that a woman president would likely face, from questions of her ability to handle Communist dictators, be an effective commander-in-chief, be single or married, or consult with her husband before making any decision, despite her individual achievements and ability to carry out her job. She went further and stated: "Will the male leaders of the world, such as Haughty DeGaulists and other proud Latins accept and respect a woman's position as President?"[95] This jab was surely intended for Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Charles de Gaulle, ardent revolutionary

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University of Texas Press, 2011); Cynthia Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009); Monica Perales, *Smeltertown: Making and Remembering a Southwest Border Community* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[94] The relevance of this comment is much more apparent now after the 2016 U.S. presidential election, where in addition to racism, sexism played a role in the defeat of Hillary Clinton, the first woman to head a major party's presidential ticket. About 30% of the Latina/o vote went to Clinton's opponent, Republican Donald J. Trump. In many parts of the country, Latino men were unwilling to vote for Clinton because she was a woman and represented a more dangerous threat to their notions of masculinity than someone like Trump, who was a much more dangerous threat to their interests as a minority group in whole.

[95] "Women Today," *Mexican-American,* June-July 1964, p. 12.

and nationalist leaders of strong patriarchal states. In addition, Alicia wrestled with tensions within women's circles. While the majority of the pushback a prospective woman president could expect would come from men, she also pointed to some women that felt that stepping into the political world amounted to "'wearing the pants."[96] These were likely women she believed were not open to the idea of reforming gendered spheres.

Alicia Saenz's article in the June-July 1964 edition of *Mexican-American* was indicative of rising dissatisfaction among women nationally who wanted a more fulfilling life beyond that of the household, of women who spoke out against "the problem that ha[d] no name."[97] She made an argument for women to be treated and seen equally as men. To her, women, including Margaret Chase Smith, were not to be defined by their relationship to men, but by their individual achievements as women. That is why she supported Margaret Chase Smith for president. Here was an example of how a woman rose above social and gender limitations to stand on her own two feet. With 25 years of experience in Congress, Margaret Chase Smith exemplified the notion of a self-made person, which is at the core of American ideas of freedom and liberty. This is the type of personal uplift story, dedication, and honest hard work that the contributors of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine emphasized. As strong as the Margaret Chase Smith example was to empower women of all backgrounds, it would have been more profound and influential for Mexican American women readers to have a Mexican American woman presented instead. Given the circumstances at the time, it is understandable why Alicia used Margaret Chase Smith as her example for women's rights

[96] "Women Today," *Mexican-American,* June-July 1964, p. 12.

[97] "The problem that has no name" is what Betty Friedan called women's dissatisfaction with their lives as housewives in the 1950s and 1960s. This was the central argument of her 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique,* which is credited with launching the second wave White Feminist Movement in the U.S.

to equality. The story of Margaret Chase Smith did not end as Alicia envisioned. Even though her name was placed in nomination at the Republican Convention floor in Daly City, California, the nomination ultimately went to Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater. Although Alicia Saenz's articles engaged with important social and political questions, her writing tended to focus on one issue – gender – and not multiple issues at once. While the male contributors of the magazine tended to focus more on race and ethnicity, Alicia Saenz was the only voice on women and gender, thus her importance to the magazine was vital.

Public perception of Mexican Americans was the driving feature of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine. According to Phil Saenz the magazine's goal was to create "good relations; [to project] a better image of the Mexican American citizens, and [to work] towards promoting a sincere sense of patriotism and allegiance to our country, the United States of America."[98] Perhaps the most convincing way that staff displayed the political and cultural significance of self-definition was by showing the extent of social and political activity Mexican Americans were involved in across San Diego. Several civic organizations contributed to the magazine, including the San Diego Chapter of the G.I. Forum, Club Social Latino, Club America, the Council of Latin American Clubs, the Mexican American Political Council, and United Mexican Americans. The magazine promoted special engagements such as banquets, awards ceremonies, social gatherings, and community work as evidence of their deep and expansive networks throughout San Diego. Conie Zuñiga referred to these clubs as "very uppity." During those years, Conie said, "we went to dances at the San Diego Hotel, or the Grand Hotel, or El Cortez, and you had to buy a ticket. And we actually wore gloves up to here [pointed to her elbows], formal, dripping with brimstone

[98] Editorial, *Mexican-American Review,* December 1964, p. 5.

earrings, high heels, and cocktail dresses. And it was all the Mexican cremita[99]...every Saturday there was a dance from these clubs. It was quite a thing."[100] Some of these organizations, like Club Social Latino, had been active in San Diego since 1949. Many contributors to the magazine were also key members of these organizations, like Larry Montoya, who at one point served as head of the San Diego Chapter of the American G.I. Forum. Other members of the magazine socialized through various contexts and events with people from San Diego and Mexico, including members of the Tijuana Shriner Association, Fernando Fernández, a popular movie star of Mexico's Golden Age of Cinema, and San Diego Mayor Frank Curran. These examples show that Mexican American social and political engagement was deep and widespread across San Diego and into Mexico. They had a strong network system in place.

Although the magazine showed Mayor Frank Curran in many functions in support of Mexican Americans, he also exhibited stereotypical racial perceptions of them. In one particular occasion, Ronald Saenz recalled, Mayor Curran was invited to a cocktail party at his aunt's house. Among those present were Phil Saenz and Leon Williams, the city's first Black councilman. Curran showed up wearing a guayabera, or a wedding shirt, because he thought he was attending a "Mexican American" party. Even though Phil maintained a good working relationship with Mayor Curran, and the magazine showed Curran maintained good connections with this particular sector of the Mexican American community of San Diego, Curran still harbored racist stereotypes. The hope among the staff of the magazine was that *Mexican-American/Amigo* would educate people like Curran and other White Americans on

[99] Translation: loosely referring to "the cream of the crop."

[100] Conie Zuñiga, interview with author, September 12, 2017.

what being Mexican American was all about – which started with not wearing guayaberas to parties where Mexican Americans were present.

Another important component of being a model Mexican American in San Diego included maintaining and fostering good relations with the police. The articles printed in the magazine painted a picture of close cooperation, mutual understanding, and of friendship between Mexican Americans in National City and the police. In one such article, it was stated that Thomas W. Baker, Club Social Latino's elected president for 1964, also served as a police officer for the National City Police Department. Baker was no stranger to the Mexican American community. He and his wife Felicitas helped establish the Council of Latin Clubs of San Diego County in 1958, and Baker served as its first president in 1958 and again in 1960. Regarding his relationship with Mexican Americans, the article stated that Baker was "always endeavoring to promote a greater spirit of cooperation and understanding" with them.[101] He had been active in the community since 1949. Felicitas Baker was appointed by National City Mayor Richard Gautreaux to be the city's official hostesses, for she represented the city and Mexican Americans with "charm and graciousness."[102]

Another example of community-police relations is the March 1964 article titled "The Police and the People." Written by Lieutenant Homer Johnson, and exclusively for the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, the article talked about the importance of maintaining a healthy and honest relationship between police officers and the community based on

[101] "Club Social Latino Installs New Officers for 1964," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 6.

[102] "Club Social Latino Installs New Officers for 1964," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 6.

cooperation, trust, and transparency.[103] Johnson wrote as a liaison officer for a program set up by the San Diego Police Department (SDPD) to foster close cooperation between the police department and its communities. His article set out to dispel rumors that police officers met quotas for traffic citations, sought undocumented immigrants for monetary rewards, and that they created records for life for juveniles who committed small misdemeanors. To Johnson, the relationship between the police and the community was an example of "democracy in action," and for confidence in the police to remain, "wide open channels of communication between the police and the people" had to be kept.[104] He urged people not to be swayed by rumors of police abuses of authority, for this could lead to a less effective police-citizen relation. He also appealed to communities to keep an open mind and trust the police to be the keeper of peace and justice in the neighborhoods. He stated that Chief of Police Wesley S. Sharp was instrumental in keeping dialogue open between the police and citizens. As a middleman, Lieutenant Johnson acted as a supplement to existing means of communication already available to people in San Diego. This article further placed a stamp of approval that relations between the police and Mexican Americans were good.

Perhaps the most telling part of Lieutenant Johnson's article was his assertion that it was false that SDPD targeted undocumented peoples to claim rewards on them. As a border and industrial city, immigration, especially from Mexico, was a natural component of San

[103] The magazine depicted police relations with Mexican people as good during the 1960s. On the other hand, the other publications examined in this dissertation (*La Verdad*, *Inside the Beast*, and *Voz Fronteriza*) tended to highlight the abuses committed by officers on the barrios, especially on the youth. Their interpretation of the police was much more critical given the crackdown on mass protests that accelerated in the barrios beginning in the late 1960s. For more on the critical views of the police by Chicanas/os, see chapters two through four.

[104] "The Police and the People," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 7.

Diego. It not only brought labor capital to San Diego, but intellectual and cultural capital as well.[105] The city experienced large flows of documented and undocumented migration from Mexico and several U.S. states during and after World War II. Reasons for this include the expansion of manufacturing and military jobs, the Bracero Program, the rise of the maquiladora (or sweatshop) industry along the border, and the expansion of agribusiness in California. Competition for the best-paying jobs in San Diego was intense and often contested along class and racial lines. By the 1960s, the second-largest concentration of Mexican people in California resided in San Diego.[106] Constant immigration from Mexico built and strengthened San Diego's Mexican descent communities, but it also heightened racial tensions with less welcoming and tolerant White Americans. Maybe Mexican Americans were genuinely concerned and fearful that the police was aiding the border patrol similarly to the way the Ku Klux Klan had done during the 1930s and 1940s in an effort to keep San Diego a White city.[107] Though Johnson admits that the SDPD at times cooperated with the U.S. Department of Immigration and Naturalization Services[108] to seek and capture undocumented immigrants "when the occasion [was] appropriate,"[109] he stressed that regulation of immigration was not a principal function of the SDPD.[110] He ended his article

[105] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

[106] Kevin Delgado, "A Turning Point." *The Journal of San Diego History* Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter 1998), accessed online: http://sandiegohistory.org/journal/1998/january/chicano-3/

[107] Carlos M. Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, "San Diego's Ku Klux Klan 1920-1980." *The Journal of San Diego History* Vol. 46 No. 1 and 2 (Spring/Summer 2000), accessed online: http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/2000/april/klan/

[108] Between 1933 and 2003, the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) was called the Department of Immigration and Nationalization Services (INS).

[109] "The Police and the People," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 12.

[110] In its early years of operation, the Border Patrol functioned as a tool for regional businesses and politicians along the border to selectively enforce immigration laws. They persecuted some

by saying that while all the examples of police abuse he wrote about might be happening in other places, they did not occur in San Diego because:

> These are a few of the erroneous impressions which have been projected into the community by citizens from other areas of the country, which may have been true in the area from which the new citizen migrated, but which are not true in the City of San Diego. They are not true in this City because Police Departments everywhere are governed by local autonomy, and the citizens of the City of San Diego and the State of California have indicated that they wanted the law enforced in another manner.[111]

The magazine also kept an unofficial running list of locally active and "up and coming" Mexican Americans. It included men and women like Audrey Rojas Kaslow, a former resident of San Diego that returned home as a special representative of the Fair Employment Practice Commission (FEPC) of California;[112] Alicia López, president of the social group "Club Alegre" whose work included creating scholarships to deserving Mexican American

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immigrant groups over others at different points in time. Partnerships with local law enforcement agencies and nativist groups were also common. For more information, see Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). In San Diego, Mexican American community relations with the police grew worse as civil rights period activism, especially that led by the Chicana/o Movement, openly criticized police abuse of the youth. During the 1970s, the police was at the center of massive Chicana/o protests for aiding immigration officials to deport undocumented migrant workers. For more on this, Jimmy Patiño, *Raza Sí, Migra No!: Chicano Movement Struggles for Immigrant Rights in San Diego* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

[111] "The Police and the People," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 12.

[112] "Audrey Rojas Kaslow: Mexican American Appointed to FEPC," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 13.

High School students;[113] and Bert Rivas, a Psychology major at San Diego State College who believed that as a psychologist, he could "contribute more towards changing the image [of Mexican Americans] than political opportunists" could.[114] Rivas was touted as a future writer for the magazine, though his articles never seemed to have been published. In addition to revealing rising local community activists, the magazine also publicized the achievements of other up and coming and more established individuals from other parts of the American Southwest who were primed to or were already doing big things for the advancement of Mexican Americans.

One of those individuals was Luis Valdez, who went on to found the theater group "El Teatro Campesino" that served as the cultural arm of César Chávez and the United Farm Workers (UFW) union. The February 1964 article described Valdez as physically similar to Emiliano Zapata, the celebrated Mexican revolutionary general because "one instantly senses a maverick – not a run-of-the-mill Mexican, but one who has something to say, whose fiery torch that keeps relentlessly driving him to articulate – to put his inner feelings into words."[115] In the December 1964 issue, the magazine celebrated the election of Joseph M. Montoya as Senator from New Mexico, then the second person with a Spanish surname ever elected to the Senate. "It should serve as an example to the world," the magazine said of Montoya's victory, "of the opportunities that all people have in this country."[116] The *Mexican-American* also commended the congressional victories of Henry González of San

[113] "Club Alegre," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 14.

[114] "Campus Representative Bert Rivas," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 14.

[115] "Luis Valdez: Promising Playwright from San Jose State," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 9.

[116] "Election of Joseph Montoya," *Mexican-American Review,* December 1964, p. 7.

Antonio, Texas, and Edward Roybal of Los Angeles, California. It is important to note that Montoya, González, and Roybal were all Democrats, but this did not stop the magazine from congratulating these Mexican Americans despite being on a different political party than the *Mexican-American/Amigo*. A celebration of all Mexican American accomplishments, Democratic and Republican alike, strengthened the level of political engagement of the Mexican American people as a whole and represented a step closer towards their full empowerment as equal citizens of the United States, which is exactly what Phil Saenz wanted.[117] The magazine did not dismiss such accomplishments for political differences. They were all Mexican American after all.

Despite the fact that Mexican Americans from San Diego did not achieve any of these major political victories, locals could interpret them as a way to make them aware of the work already going on around them, and how, through information gained in the magazine, they could contribute and build on these efforts locally. By doing this, the contributors of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* gave their readers a sense that progress and mobility for Mexican Americans was not just possible, but it was happening already. This was a powerful way to instill hope in people and push individuals to do their part as well to help improve the social, political, and material conditions of their communities.

The magazine also served as a business catalogue for Mexican Americans in San Diego. It promoted local businesses owned by Mexican Americans, including Victor Avila's

[117] According to Ronald and Phil Saenz, their father allowed Mary Salas, a Latina Democratic politician, to announce her bid for the Chula Vista City Council in the 1990s at one of his properties. In doing so, Phil continued to show his support for all Latina/o politicians, regardless of their political party. Salas' uncle, Joe Casillas, a World War II veteran, was a good friend of Phil and was one of the first Latinos elected in National City to the School Board in the 1970s. Mary Salas went on to be elected to the Chula Vista City Council in 1996, a seat she held until 2004. In 2006, she was elected to the California State Assembly, representing the 79th district (an area that includes National City, Coronado, Imperial Beach, and parts of Chula Vista and San Diego). In 2014, she was elected Mayor of Chula Vista, becoming the first Latina mayor in Chula Vista history.

photography studio, car repair and service shops, credit and loan offices, launderers and cleaners, food spots, and wedding and social event boutiques from San Diego and Orange County. On this Phil Saenz said, "My dad [made an effort to not only] patronize [support mainstream advertisers but also] all those Mexican [Americans] that advertised in the magazine." The magazine also printed job advertisements for English and Spanish bilingual speakers in an effort to increase the amount of Mexican Americans employed by U.S. businesses in Latin America. Some of these jobs included sales executives and accountants for aircraft corporations and drug manufacturing firms.[118] Phil Saenz's support and advertisement of standout Mexican Americans, Mexican American-owned businesses, and opportunities for high-paying jobs for Mexican Americans reflected his belief that education and businesses were key to uplift and identify what it meant to be a Mexican American in business-centric San Diego. The August 1964 issue reported that Phil, along with other local Mexican American businessmen, organized a group to promote better business practices among Mexican Americans.[119] Their goal was to direct as much of the estimated $40 million dollars of Mexican American purchasing power[120] back towards their communities.[121] Community insulation and growth was an approach used by many other similar movements

[118] Community Service Announcements, *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 12.

[119] Names of some Mexican American businessmen at this meeting: Manuel Camacho, an insurance underwriter; Victor Avila, of Victor's Photography; Henry Martinez of Henry's Upholstery Shop; Willie Montez of Club 38; Sam O'dell, real estate agent; Don Quintero, manager of Public Finance in Chula Vista; Mario Quiñones of Mario's Auto Supply and Repairs; Phil Saenz, publisher of *Mexican-American* magazine; and Marty Zatarain, of Marty's Shell Service Station.

[120] According to the article, this amount of purchasing power among Mexican Americans in San Diego was calculated as follows: Approximately 40,000 Mexican Americans resided in San Diego in 1964, and each of those individuals was assumed to have an average income of at least $3,000 annually. This would add up to $40,000,000. However, it seems that the magazine did not take into account how certain factors, such as race, class, gender, or occupation, could affect these numerical averages.

[121] "Business Group Formed," *Mexican-American,* August 1964, p. 6.

at the time and before. In the Black community, this goes as far back as Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, a contemporary of the magazine, who expressed similar ideas early in his life. Another priority of this group was to get as many bilingual speakers into city and county offices, mortgage companies, finance companies, doctor's offices, and telephone companies as possible – where speaking Spanish could prove socially and financially advantageous. This process was crucial to build what Jess Haro, the first Mexican American to hold a seat in the City Council, referred to as a "bench" for future Mexican American social, political, and economic critical mass in San Diego.[122]

Phil's interest in promoting business opportunities for Mexican Americans continued even after the magazine stopped publishing. In 1971, Phil was part of a group of 60 businessmen and community leaders that came together to form the San Diego County Businessmen's Forum, whose purpose was to "[give] Mexican American businessmen identity, prestige, and voice in the business world." Carlos Montalvo, head of the local office of the Small Business Administration and the person behind the group's creation, stated that, "the need for such an organization is now, in order that we can show we are capable of doing what any other businessmen can do." The group, according to Montalvo, would initially include Mexican and Spanish decent people, but at a later date would "include other minority businessmen in the county."[123] This example demonstrates the strategic approach taken by Mexican Americans to succeed in the business world of San

[122] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

[123] "U.S. Mexican Business Unit Formed," *The San Diego Union,* February 3, 1971, p. B-3. Other individuals invited to be part of the San Diego County Businessmen's Forum included Albert Q. Cano, president of a research firm; George Alvarez, vice-president of a shipbuilding company; Al Duran of the Small Business Administration; Alex Torres, a community leader; Pete Rios, an accountant; Ernie Azhocar, owner of a battery shop; Edward A. Briceno of the San Diego Federal Savings and Loan Association; and Daniel Gallardo, a lawyer.

Diego: they first organized amongst themselves, and then once their "bench" was sturdy, they looked to expand across racial lines.

Phil Saenz made it a priority to reach out to an audience beyond the geographical limits of San Diego and Southern California. As a way to build a network of readers, contributors, and supporters, he sent out copies of the magazine to Mexican American and White political figures in California. Among those were National City Mayor Richard Gautreaux; National City City Manager Charles J. Hass; Bill Gutierrez, Consultant of the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations; Richard J. Donovan, member of the California State Assembly, 77th District; Jack Schrade, member of the California State Assembly, 40th Senatorial District; Tom Hom, Councilman of the 5th District of San Diego; Cristine Gonzalez, from the Mexican American Service Project in San Jose, California; and San Diego Mayor Frank Curran, who wrote to "congratulate [Phil] for filling a real community need in the most interesting and professional manner" with the publication of the magazine.[124] The *Mexican-American* magazine received numerous thank you letters from these individuals and more, congratulating Phil for putting together the magazine and for his services to the Mexican American residents of Southern California. Many readers asked for back copies of the magazine, and others sent in money for full subscriptions. Phil also got a letter from his hometown of Corpus Christi, Texas. "Here in Texas, there has long been a need for representation of the Mexican U.S. citizen,"[125] wrote a Mrs. Juan M. Ramos of Corpus Christi, and the *Mexican-American* magazine was the publication that, in her opinion, achieved this. In addition to congratulating Phil and sending the magazine money for a year's subscription, Mrs. Ramos also sent a list of names and addresses of friends and

[124] Letter to Editor by Mayor Frank Curran, *Mexican-American,* May 1964, p. 3.

[125] Letter to Editor by Mrs. Juan M. Ramos, *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p.4.

neighbors who also wanted to subscribe to the magazine. This demonstrates that the magazine was being read beyond the geographic boundaries of Southern California. Because the magazine's messages stemmed from Phil's life experience in South Texas, it was natural for it to be popular there. This type of promotion and outreach of the magazine built an image and legitimacy of existence, participation, and belonging of Mexican Americans to Southern California and to the United States as Americans of Mexican descent.

The Pursuit of Political Power, Voice, and Representation

Phil Saenz played a significant role in Jess Haro becoming the first Mexican American to serve as a San Diego City Council member. Phil and Jess met during the years that the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine was in print. During that time, Jess stated, "Latinos in the Republican Party were [seen] as a joke."[126] Phil's work for and commitment to the Mexican American community in San Diego pushed back against that idea. "He was not a conformist," Jess recalled, "He went against the idea that as a Mexican American he had to be a Democrat."[127] He was bold enough to establish relations and create networks with the few Mexican American Republicans in San Diego, confident there were others ways to demand and obtain equality for Mexican descent people. According to Phil's son Ronald, Jess Haro's journey to the City Council began in 1975 as a backroom conversation between Phil, San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, and Art Madrid,[128] a friend of Phil from the Marines and a staff assistant to Mayor Wilson at the time. Jess Haro stated that in 1975 the City

[126] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

[127] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

[128] Art Madrid served on the La Mesa City Council from 1981 to 1990, and was elected Mayor of La Mesa in 1990, and he remained in office until 2014. He was the first Latino elected Mayor of La Mesa.

Council expanded from six to eight seats. For the first time, there was an opportunity for the Latina/o population of San Diego (which up to that point had been always represented by White men) to have a Latina/o inside City Hall. Phil and Art encouraged Mayor Wilson to consider naming Jess Haro, a Republican, to fill one of the open seats on the City Council. Phil and Art saw Jess as a respected leader in the Marines and a good businessman. Wilson eventually met with Jess, and satisfied with his character and background, appointed Jess to the City Council.[129] According to Ronald, the appointment was possible given the backgrounds in the Marines that Phil, Art, Jess, and Mayor Wilson all shared. Calling Phil's bond with Wilson "the great equalizer," Ronald stated that in the Marines "there is no Latino Marine, [or] White Marine, there are just Marines, no distinctions."[130] In his view, it was this bond that knew of no distinctions that allowed Phil and Art to successfully lobby for and place a Mexican American on the City Council for the first time. Thus San Diego's first Mexican American councilperson was a Republican, and was put in office through the efforts of Mexican American Republicans. Getting a seat on the City Council was a vital step towards the creation and sustainment of a Mexican American political culture within San Diego's majority White system. Reflecting on his years in City Council, Jess said, "There's nothing like being at the table. When they split the pie, hey, I [get] a vote! I [[get] an opinion! If you're not there, they split the pie without you. You gotta be there."[131] These examples, at face value, seem to suggest that in order for Mexican Americans to be part of

[129] For more information about Jess Haro, see María E. García, "Jess Haro: From Stockton to San Diego," in *The San Diego Free Press*, September 24, 2016, accessed October 1, 2016. URL: http://sandiegofreepress.org/2016/09/jess-haro-from-stockton-to-san-diego/

[130] Ronald Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.

[131] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

the political game in San Diego, it was more advantageous to be a Republican than being a Democrat.

Phil himself ran for a City Council seat in 1965, when elections were at-large contests instead of by district. Phil lost the election, but in a crowded field of candidates, he stood out as the only Mexican American candidate.[132] During the campaign, Phil spoke of using San Diego's border with Mexico as an entry point for San Diego-made products. He stated that he opposed "civil disobedience" and said minority groups could gain a lot from the kind of leadership he could provide.[133] He ran on a platform that pushed for district elections, which gave Mexican Americans and other disempowered groups in San Diego a greater voice in electing their representatives. In doing this, Phil worked to open the system for Mexican Americans in San Diego. Reflecting on the absence and need for Mexican Americans in political office in San Diego, Jess Haro said, "Nos tenemos que meter como la neblina (we need to get in there like fog) – even if they don't want us there, we have to be there."[134] Phil's District Eight campaign, and his successful effort that helped Jess Haro into City Council, helped create the foundation of a much-needed critical mass of Mexican Americans in political spaces in San Diego. Both Phil Saenz and Jess Haro were part of a Republican-based movement that helped establish a Mexican American political presence in San Diego.

Republican political activism was widespread throughout San Diego, particularly in the South County where the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine was published. The articles by Ruben Dominguez and Larry Montoya transmitted powerful political messages. They both

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[132] Phil Saenz came in seventh with 705 votes in the primary for the District Eight seat in the 1965 city elections. Source: 09-21-1965 – Municipal Primary Election Results, https://www.sandiego.gov/sites/default/files/legacy/city-clerk/elections/city/pdf/results650921.pdf

[133] "Candidates Hit Renewal Program," *The San Diego Union,* September 1, 1965, p. B-4.

[134] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

urged Mexican Americans to "think outside the box" and to challenge and interrogate the Democratic Party, whom they believed was not living up to its promises of helping Mexican Americans. In the February 1964 issue, Montoya pointed to President Lyndon Johnson (LBJ) contradicting position on federal aid for education as a prime example of the Democrats' insincerity. As a Senator from Texas, the article argued, LBJ upheld state rights to determine allocation of funding for schools, but as president he stood firmly behind federal support for education.[135] To Montoya, this was a red flag. Did LBJ really care about education, or was his shift merely a political move to win over votes? Perhaps Montoya was onto something. In the PBS documentary *The Longoria Affair,* LBJ's relation to the Mexican-American community was depicted as crucial in the development of his progressive social consciousness, which eventually coalesced into his Great Society initiative.[136] His commitment to the Mexican American community, however, was brought into question at times such as when he did not come out publically in support of Mexican Americans out of fear he would lose key votes from his White racist constituency in South Texas. He was sympathetic to Mexican Americans, but he was also fearful of losing his White [racist] support. This, and also the fact he did not seek input from key Mexican American leaders like Dr. Hector P. García of the American G.I. Forum in drafting the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965, gives credence to questions raised by Mexican Americans Republicans like Ruben Dominguez and Democrats like Hector P. García on LBJ and the Democratic Party's real commitment to Mexican Americans.

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[135] "A Republican in Our Midst: Larry Montoya Speaks Out!," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 11.

[136] *The Longoria Affair.* Directed by John Valadez. 2010. PBS: Independent Lens Series, 2011. DVD.

In his March 1965 article "Blind Voting By Mexican Americans," Larry Montoya furthered his case by calling out LBJ and California's Democratic Administrators for falsely claiming to have improved the president's standing with the Mexican Americans of Los Angeles after he met with his Mexican counterpart in that city. He claimed this "gross assumption" stemmed from the "few Santa Anas in their hip pockets"[137] that did not represent the true voice of the majority of Mexican Americans. To him, the false sense of security that Democrats felt towards Mexican Americans was being undone because, "awareness of bi-partisan politics is replacing archaic and myopic political thought" throughout the Southwest.[138]

Larry Montoya was a WWII veteran and a San Diego resident since 1950. He shared similar attributes with *Mexican-American/Amigo* founder Phil Saenz. They both championed the idea of the self-made man that worked hard in order to fully unpack the positive qualities that Mexican Americans, through civic engagement and bi-partisan political participation, had to contribute. Before becoming the head organizer and liaison for all chapters of the American G.I. Forum in Southern California, Montoya served as president of the Council of Latin American Clubs in 1962 and of the Mexican American Political Council, a predominantly Democrat-leaning organization in San Diego, in 1963. Described as a "staunch Republican amongst Mexican American Democrats," his views raised questions and discussion amongst Mexican Americans. He also tried history and psychological tactics to sway readers. He knew his audience was primarily made-up of working-class folk, so he

[137] "Blind Voting By Mexican American," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 11. Here the term "Santa Ana" is used to describe a Mexican American who has "sold out" to the U.S. It is derived from Antonio López de Santa Anna, former president of Mexico, whom responsibility for Mexico losing over half of its territory to the U.S. is generally attributed to. Term is comparable to a Black person being called an "Uncle Tom."

[138] "Blind Voting by Mexican American," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 11.

reminded them that the Republican Party was the original "working man's party in Lincoln's time." This was part of his tactic to get Mexican Americans "enlightened" and accept that they had much in common with Republicans than they let on. "There are many Mexican Americans who actually think like a Republican," he wrote, "but they are afraid to admit it."[139]

Montoya, like Phil Saenz, believed that true political power came from participation across the entire spectrum. Because the U.S. is ruled by a two-party system, bi-partisan involvement assured Mexican Americans would have a say in both the Democratic and Republican Parties. As a growing minority population in Southern California, Montoya knew, as well as the rest of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* staff, that the Mexican American vote would be crucial for either party's future aspirations in the region. But in order to get the top to look down, Montoya needed to get the bottom to move up first. "To vote and participate in just one party," Montoya declared, "is just as harmful as not to vote at all. Bi-partisan action is Democracy at work."[140] He urged Mexican Americans to step up to the challenge, do their research on candidates, and to vote intelligently and not just along a single party line. Until that happened, cities like San Diego would face continuing problems like "the influx of green cards [that] deprive[d] 6,000 San Diegans and many more people in other border cities of their livelihood; the Bracero Program (Public Law 78) which displace[d] over a quarter of a million Americans every year; and social inconsistencies throughout the U.S."[141] Consistent and informed political participation was key component

[139] "A Republican in Our Midst: Larry Montoya Speaks Out!," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 11.

[140] "Blind Voting By Mexican American," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 11.

[141] "Blind Voting By Mexican American," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 11.

to being a model citizen in the U.S., and through Montoya's articles, the *Mexican-American/Amigo* sought to inculcate this component into its readers.

Like Larry Montoya, Ruben Dominguez, the *Mexican-American's* official political writer, also criticized the Democratic Party and LBJ. In an article titled "Politics in Review," Dominguez questioned the sincerity of LBJ's Great Society program given that Johnson's family owned land in Alabama, which was rented out to sharecroppers, existed some of "the worst poverty and squalor to be found in the United States."[142] Tenants that lived "in three and 4 room shacks with cracks in the flooring, leaking roofs, broken wood-burning cook stoves, some at least 50 years old, and no toilet facilities" invited questions about LBJ's character and his administration's concern for the poor and disadvantaged, of which Mexican Americans made a good percentage of. Dominguez pointed out that only one family living on these lands made enough money to file an income tax report in 1963, but paid no taxes because of the high number of dependents. Their entire income was $600, far below the $3,000 line that LBJ said was where poverty "began."[143] No doubt these types of descriptions resonated with the readership of the magazine. These articles by Larry Montoya and Ruben Dominguez gave Mexican Americans in San Diego a local and national picture of the inefficiencies and contradictions of the Democrats. This example is perhaps more damning of the Democrats than those by Montoya because of the extent to which Dominguez went to demonstrate LBJ's hypocritical position on poverty. He used photographs to give his readers the exact image his words described, to not leave any doubt unanswered. The food for thought was backed by written and visual evidence, which the

[142] "Politics in Review," *Mexican-American,* June-July 1964, p. 9.

[143] "Politics in Review," *Mexican-American,* June-July 1964, p. 9.

magazine hoped would sway the minds of Mexican Americans towards the Republican alternative.

Most Mexican American Republican activism in San Diego was situated in the South Bay communities of San Diego, which include National City, Chula Vista, and San Ysidro. Their outlook, however, was always directed at the city of San Diego. In August of 1964, the magazine provided a glimpse of the extent of Mexican American Republican political thinking with a news advertisement about the Republicans of Latin Extraction (ROLE). ROLE was interested in establishing a chapter in San Diego given rising local interest for the Republican Party in San Ysidro, Otay, Palm City, Chula Vista, and National City.[144] It is not surprising then that the "Mexican Americans for Rockefeller" group headquarters in support of the New York governor's 1964 presidential campaign came out of National City as well. Larry Montoya was the head of it. Mexican Americans cited Rockefeller's "humanitarian track record" and work with Latin America as reason to support him. Moreover, it was suggested that his willingness to appoint "anyone regardless of race, creed, or religion" made him a natural choice for Mexican Americans who sought equality and opportunity in society.[145] As one of the most visible elements of the liberal wing of the Republican Party, Rockefeller's campaign attracted a number of Mexican American supporters.

The April-May 1964 issue was the most political of all editions of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine. It was devoted to political advertisements for Republican candidates for President. The candidacies of Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater were

[144] "ROLE Coming to San Diego," *Mexican-American,* August 1964, p. 6

[145] Nelson Rockefeller for President Advertisement, *Mexican-American,* May 1964, p. 2.

the anchors of this issue. Rockefeller visited San Diego in March of 1964,[146] but the magazine did not indicate if he met with Mexican American supporters while in town. Phil and Ronald Saenz, however, stated that their father actually did meet with Governor Rockefeller when he visited San Diego. What is further striking about Rockefeller's Mexican American supporters was that they were made-up of both Democrats and Republicans. According to Larry Montoya, many Democrats pledged to support Rockefeller and were "contributing a great deal at the headquarters" as volunteers.[147] They cited disapproval with the local Democratic political machine, especially the lack of political appointments in San Diego, for their turn towards Rockefeller, whose track record with Spanish-speaking people stretched as far back to his days as Coordinator of the Inter-American Affairs office under FDR. The article also stated that people that visited the Rockefeller headquarters were surprised to see friends there, and that they admitted to being life-long Republicans. Many cited never admitting to being Republicans out of fear they would be criticized and ignored by their friends. The Mexican American Democrats participating at the Rockefeller camp was evidence of Mexican American "political sophistication…undoubtedly making a start."[148]

[146] Rockefeller spoke to students at San Diego State College.

[147] "Rockefeller for President," *Mexican-American,* May 1964, p. 14.

[148] "Rockefeller for President," *Mexican-American,* May 1964, P. 14.

Larry Montoya (fourth from left) at the Rockefeller for President Headquarters in National City, 1964. *Mexican-American,* Vol. 1, Issue 3, May 1964, p. 8. Source: The Saenz Family.

Barry Goldwater, who became the Republican presidential candidate in 1964, also visited San Diego that year. He met with local supporters, including Phil Saenz, as part of his motorcade trip from Oceanside in North San Diego County to the Mexican border. Many Mexican Americans including Phil Saenz, Larry Montoya, and Dom Quintero were invited to travel along with Goldwater's "freedom train."[149] His stop in Chula Vista coincided with the opening of the Goldwater for President headquarters in that city, where the Golden Girls, a pro-Goldwater youth group, served as hostesses for a reception for the Senator. The welcoming Goldwater received in San Diego and the political organization by Mexican Americans in support of his candidacy was acknowledged and praised by Goldwater himself in a letter he wrote to Phil Saenz. Phil stated that his father supported Goldwater because he

[149] "Mexican-Americans and Latin-Americans Support Senator Goldwater," *Mexican-American*, November 1964, pp. 5-7.

believed he could win and that would translate to "a seat at the table."[150] The magazine printed a facsimile of the Goldwater letter on the April-May 1964 issue. Goldwater congratulated Phil for the success of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, which he read and enjoyed during his visit to San Diego.[151]

Barry Goldwater wearing a sombrero given to him by the group "Latin Americans for Goldwater" in San Diego. *Mexican-American,* Vol. 1, Issue 7, November 1964, p. 7. Source: The Saenz family.

The participation of Mexican Americans in San Diego in both Nelson Rockefeller's and Barry Goldwater's presidential campaigns demonstrate that Republican thinking in Mexican American circles varied considerably. In the early 1960s, there was a liberal wing in the Republican Party headed by Nelson Rockefeller. They were known as the "Rockefeller Republicans," and they held progressive views on issues such as education and labor rights.

[150] Phil Saenz, email to author, October 6, 2018.

Many of them worked with Democrats to pass civil rights legislation in 1964, and this showed that "[at least some members] of the GOP still took its legacy as the party of Abraham Lincoln" seriously.[152] This might have appealed to some Mexican Americans on the fence, especially since Barry Goldwater was more socially conservative. The "Rockefeller Republicans" included people like Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, whom Alicia Saenz endorsed for president. This is evidence of San Diego's Mexican American population being politically involved not just in the "other party" as Phil wanted, but of them engaging in profound ideological debates as to where on the Republican spectrum Mexican Americans could get the best deal. Beyond evidence of bi-partisan consciousness at work in San Diego, this is proof that community uplift was the end goal of the Republican approach, and that many debates were done to achieve the end goal.

The quest for political power in San Diego began at the local level, and the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine was heavily involved in promoting and informing the local population of the political activity going on. Lack of political voice was one of the main issues that Mexican Americans in San Diego faced. In order to build up a local base, they attended outside events to inform the way they could challenge the city to accept and integrate Mexican Americans more. The magazine had representatives at the 1964 Southwest Intergroup Conference held in Phoenix, Arizona, where they engaged with other Mexican American political activists from different parts of the Southwest.[153] Back home, the San Diego Committee of Mexican Americans on Anti-Poverty, for example, was

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[151] Barry Goldwater Letter to Phil Saenz, *Mexican-American,* May 1964, p. 3.

[152] Todd S. Purdum, "When the Senate Was Civil and Bipartisan," *The Atlantic*, October 10, 2018.

[153] "Southwest Intergroup Conference," *Mexican-American,* June-July 1964, p. 8.

indicative of grassroots efforts by Mexican Americans to have a voice in city planning.[154] In January of 1965, the group sent a telegram that protested the city of San Diego's omission of non-White residents in city planning efforts. The message was sent to Sargent Shriver, the head of the Economic Opportunities Office; Governor Pat Brown of California; Paul O'Rourke, of the Economic Opportunities Division in Sacramento; Mayor Frank Curran; and Congressman Lionel Van Deerlin.[155] The San Diego Chapter of the American G.I. Forum promoted local political education and participation. They set up a political education seminar in April of 1964, the first of its kind in San Diego. It included non-partisan and partisan workshops whose goals were "for the benefit and convenience of all citizens interested in the welfare and civic future of the community at large."[156] The seminar was so successful that the August 1964 issue reported that the national G.I. Forum discussed the possibility of a State Political Seminar for November 1964 modeled after the San Diego one. The work done in San Diego was recognized as pioneering, and it was further distinguished by the election of Larry Montoya to state secretary of the G.I. Forum.[157]

The political work of Mexican American Republicans also appeared in *The San Diego Union*. During his campaign for governor in 1966, Ronald Reagan made a stop in San Diego in November of 1966. As part of the festivities, the newspaper reported that a mariachi band representing the Mexican American Committee for Reagan was slated to welcome the

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[154] "Daniel "Danny" Castro, Chairman of the San Diego Committee of Mexican American on the Anti-Poverty Act," *Mexican-American Review,* March 1965, pp. 7-8, 10.

[155] Western Union Telegram, *Mexican-American Review,* March 1965, p. 7.

[156] American G.I. Forum Political Education Seminar Advertisement, *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 2.

[157] American G.I. Forum, *Mexican-American,* August 1964, p. 10.

Republican candidate on November 1st.[158] More than likely, Ronald Saenz suggested, his father was part of this group. If an issue of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine was published around that time, this is a story Ronald said his father would have printed.[159] In 1967, the magazine continued to inform readers of local political races when it ran advertisements for Frank Curran and George Stahlman, both of whom sought the office of Mayor of San Diego in 1967. Curran appeared regularly on the pages of the magazine at several social functions with Mexican Americans, and judging from those instances he seemed to have a good relation with this specific sector of the Mexican American community. Both Curran and Stahlman were interviewed and transcripts of those conversations were printed in the September 1967 issue.[160] Mike Amador, a business owner from Barrio Logan, a predominantly working-class Mexican-American community south of downtown, appeared numerous times during the *Amigo* phase of the magazine: in a campaign ad for City Council District Four; along with Larry Montoya as part of the group of San Diego Mexican American businessmen that met with Raymond Telles, Chairman of the U.S. section of the U.S.-Mexico Commission on the Economic and Social Development on the Border Area; and as part of a distinguished group of Mexican American leaders that responded to frequently asked questions by Mexican American community members about the progress of civil rights locally.[161]

Political voice and representation was key for Mexican Americans in San Diego to ground themselves as political actors. However, their use of the border located minutes

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[158] "Reagan Due For Rally Here Today," *The San Diego Union*, November 1, 1966, P. A-4.

[159] Ronald Saenz, conversation with author, August 9, 2017.

[160] "The Mayor's Race," *Amigo: An Inter-American Review,* September 1967, p. 3.

[161] "Poverty, Politics, and Power," *Amigo: An Inter-American Review,* September 1967, p. 10.

south of National City, provided them with yet another influential and generally unused tool at the time to turn negatives into positives.

A *Mexican-American* Bi-National Strategy to Civil Rights

In 1959, *The San Diego Union* reported that the cities of San Diego and Tijuana discussed a cross-border project to reflect and promote the historical and cultural ties between the U.S. and Mexico. The plan consisted of erecting two statues, one of Abraham Lincoln in San Diego, and one of Benito Juárez, President of Mexico during the French Intervention of the 1860s, in Tijuana. The goal was to make the statues face each other as a gesture and reflection of mutual the respect and admiration each man held for the other.[162] Talks stalled for several years until March of 1963, when the San Diego Chamber of Commerce announced construction would begin within three months. Responsibility for the project was shifted to an independent contractor in June. Work on the statues did not advance though. A local businessman proposed raising $50,000 dollars to build the monuments, and others called for school children in both cities to raise and donate money to make the project possible. As the most transited border-crossing zone in the world, with approximately 10 million crossers in the mid-1960s,[163] the statues were also meant to show the interconnectedness of the San Diego-Tijuana region. As a proponent of binational

[162] In *Abraham Lincoln and Mexico: A History of Courage, Intrigue and Unlikely Friendships* (Egretbooks.com, 2016) Michael Hogan examined the reasons why Abraham Lincoln is a revered and respected figure in Mexico, despite being a foreigner. Among the reasons Hogan cited included Lincoln's opposition to the U.S.-Mexico War (seen in Mexico as a war of aggression) that culminated in the defeat of Mexico and the loss of one-third of its land; his opposition to slavery (which had been outlawed in Mexico in 1829), and his support for Benito Juárez, the Mexican President that led the nation to victory against the French occupation of the 1860s. All of these reasons, and others, created a positive opinion of the 16th U.S. President in the Mexican collective opinion.

[163] Editorial, *Amigo: An Inter-American Review*, March 1966, p. 3.

friendship, the members of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine supported the construction of these statues. The magazine's name was even changed to *Amigo: An Inter-American Review* to further express its support for the project. According to the magazine, the statues would "serve as perpetual reminder of the philosophy and friendship that Lincoln and Juárez shared" during their simultaneous struggles to keep their countries from falling apart.[164] This example of cross-border support and consciousness was emphasized throughout the magazine's run as another strategic move to secure rights and equality for Mexican Americans living in San Diego.

The staff of *Amigo* saw the U.S.-Mexican border as a tool of unity and opportunity. Their support of the statues reflected their intent to show the links that existed between both countries. Lincoln and Juárez shared many traits including a strong belief in democratic institutions and in constitutional rights and guarantees. Thus, this implied that Mexicans and White Americans shared a political culture grounded in democracy, freedom, and liberty. They had more in common than apart; they were essentially mirror images of each other. These statues, unfortunately, were never built in the 1960s.[165] Despite this, the magazine continued to illuminate the connections that existed between Mexico and the U.S. in order to foster equality and friendship among people from both sides of the border.

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[164] Editorial, *Amigo: An Inter-American Review,* March 1966, p. 3.

[165] In 1969, the Mexican government presented the city of San Diego with a statue of sitting president Gustavo Díaz Ordaz as a gift to commemorate the city's 200th anniversary celebrations. In 1981, however, the statues of Abraham Lincoln and Benito Juárez first discussed in the late 1950s and early 1960s finally materialized. That year, U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Mexican President José López Portillo exchanged statues of their respective historical leaders in an effort to solidify the relations between the neighbor countries. The Lincoln statue was placed in Tijuana's Avenida de los Heroes (Avenue of Heroes), one of the most important streets in the city, and the Juárez statue was placed at Pantoja Park, in downtown San Diego. For more about the significance of the statues, see Sarah Pfledderer, "Inside the Icon: Monumento Abraham Lincoln – Honest Abe has stood tall along Tijuana's Avenue of Heroes for 37 years, but why?" *San Diego Magazine,* August 2, 2018; and Jamie Katz, "Why Abraham Lincoln Was Revered in Mexico."

The efforts by Mexican American Republican activists to use the border to help their push for equality and civil rights in San Diego was captured by the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine as early as 1964. The magazine printed information about Mexico relevant to the Mexican American community in San Diego; information that helped dispel many stereotypes of Mexican people in the U.S. Part of the reason why there was a need to show sameness and equality to White Americans was because there was an immigrant stigma that Mexican Americans pushed against – hence why Mexican Americans quoted in the magazine referred to themselves not as "Mexican," but "Mexican American." The first step towards securing equality was by dispelling negative stereotypes of Mexico. Some of this information, however, was about reimagining Mexico, particularly the city of Tijuana, as a prime tourist destination for U.S.-born Americans. A full page on the December 1964 issue was devoted to advertising Tijuana, particularly its racetrack, bullfighting, and Avenida Revolución (Revolution Avenue), the city's most important street and a magnet for tourists that crossed daily from San Diego.[166] The page focused on structures and businesses, but curiously left out the people of Tijuana. Tourism, and not the culture of the city or way of life, is what this page focused on – the Tijuana that U.S. Americans looked to enjoy. This type of reporting is reminiscent of the days when casinos and racetrack businesses ran the social scene in Tijuana in the early twentieth century. The city was a popular destination for Americans that wanted to escape the restrictions of Prohibition.[167]

Smithsonian.com, February 23, 2017. URL: https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/why-mexico-loved-lincoln-180962258/

[166] "Emerging Tijuana," *Mexican-American Review*, December 1964, p. 15.

[167] For more information about American economic development in Tijuana, see Lawrence D. Taylor, "The Wild Frontier Moves South," in *The Journal of San Diego History* Vol. 48, No. 3 (Summer 2002). http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/2002/july/frontier-2/

An idealistic Mexico for Americans also appeared in the August 1964 issue, which devoted two pages to promote the town of Santo Tomás, located to the south of Ensenada as a "nature" untouched by modern society's "materialistic" values.[168] In his 1965 campaign for the City Council District Eight seat, Phil stated that industry and tourism were a central part of his platform.[169] Here is an example of Mexican Americans stressing industry and tourism to paint a better image of both of their ethnic markers.

Besides painting a touristic picture of Mexico that was safe to visit, the magazine also disseminated important information needed when traveling to Mexico, including health notices and political updates. In one instance, the magazine informed drivers that they needed to purchase Mexican car insurance for their cars when going to Mexico because U.S. insurance coverage did not apply south of the border. If a U.S. driver were to have an accident while in Mexico, the magazine stated, the person would be sent to jail and their car would be impounded if a Mexican company did not insure their car.[170] *Mexican-American/Amigo* also ran a public health message that asked people who traveled to Tijuana to not bring back fruit that the U.S. Food and Drug Administration did not allow given a recent outbreak of the Mexican Fruit Fly in the region's citrus industry.[171] Political news such as the 1964 presidential transfer of power from Adolfo López Mateos to Gustavo Díaz Ordaz was covered, as well as a report that López Mateos sought to become United Nations Secretary General at the conclusion of his term as President of Mexico in 1964.[172] These last

[168] "Puerto de Santo Tomás," *Mexican-American,* August 1964, pp. 12-13.

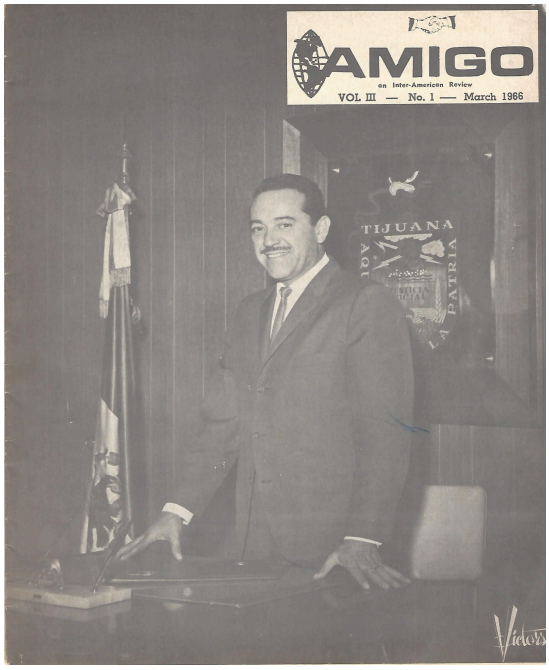
[169] "Saenz Emphasizes Industry, Tourism," *The San Diego Union*, September 4, 1965, p. A-18.

[170] Mexican Car Insurance, *Mexican-American,* March 1964, P. 10.

[171] "Mexican Fruit Fly," *Mexican-American Review,* December 1964, P. 16-17.

[172] Díaz Ordaz and López Mateos, *Mexican-American Review*, March 1965, P. 7.

reports about Mexico are important because they seem to fulfill two important functions. One, they kept Mexican Americans updated on the developments that affect their identity as Mexican Americans in the U.S., and two, they showed that political activity south of the border could shape U.S. perceptions of them.



Tijuana Mayor Francisco López Gutiérrez. *Amigo: An Inter-American Review* Vol. 1 Issue 1, March 1966. Source: The Saenz family.

The lens used to describe Mexico, particularly the city of Tijuana, changed in the March 1966 issue of *Amigo*.[173] Incoming Tijuana Mayor Francisco López Gutiérrez graced the

[173] One of the names that stand out from the new list of contributors to the magazine is that of Herman Baca. According to Conie Zuñiga, Baca printed issues of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine from his print house, Aztec Print Shop, in National City. In my October 13, 2017 conversation with Herman Baca, he said people from across the political spectrum came to him to print their newsletters, magazines, or newspapers. One of those was Phil Saenz. Herman's journey in politics began as a Republican, giving out leaflets in support of Richard Nixon for President in 1968. Over the years, as he learned more about Republican and Democratic politics, and their relation with the Mexican community, his views changed and beginning in the 1970s, he became critical of both parties as a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, later the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR). Despite his critical views, he maintained a working relationship with members of the

cover of the inaugural issue, which sent a clear message that any talks of Mexico started with its people, culture, and way of life. Two pages covered the incoming mayor, who was described as an "unusual man" whose was "dynamic and vigorous," and whose "eccentricity challenge[d] the entire political and social system of Mexico" by bringing "government to the people."[174] The descriptions of Mayor Gutiérrez presented him as a populist, a down-to-earth politician that cared about his constituents by holding public audiences twice a week and engaged in social projects to make Tijuana more friendly and family oriented. These efforts were important as it mirrored those of Mexican Americans in the U.S., whose political and social engagement aimed to erase negative stereotypes about their culture and communities. Mayor Gutiérrez's efforts looked to erase the image people had of Tijuana as a city of vice and immorality, given the history of brothels, casinos, and other forms of adult-oriented entertainment the city was notoriously associated with.[175] These efforts would not only make Tijuana a city people would want to visit, but it would also help breakdown White stereotypes of Mexican Americans. Mayor Gutiérrez was the first Tijuana-born mayor the city had had in a long time, and at 39 years of age, his youth and that of his administration (an average of 33 years each), signaled a new chapter in Tijuana's political history and in its cross-border relations with San Diego. The mayor was interviewed numerous times by major U.S. news networks, and he regularly attended meetings of the

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Mexican American community in San Diego, including Phil Saenz, who held different views than his. It is safe to suggest then that Herman, like Phil and the staff of the magazine, knew that having a voice in all political spaces was beneficial to the immediate and long-term goals for Mexican American community improvement in San Diego. For specific information about Herman Baca, the Ad Hoc Committee, and the CCR, see Jimmy Patiño, *Raza Sí, Migra No: Chicano Movement Struggles for Immigrant Rights in San Diego.*

[174] "Tijuana's New Mayor," *Amigo: An Inter-American Review,* March 1966, p. 8.

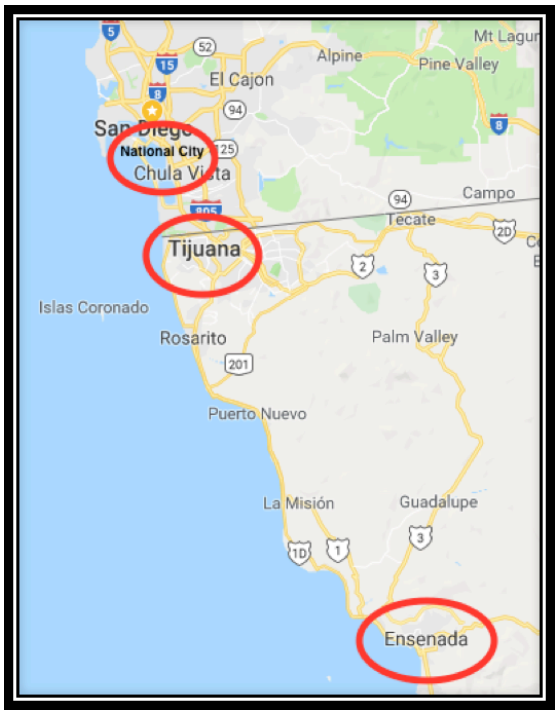
[175] Lawrence D. Taylor, "The Wild Frontier Moves South."

San Diego Chamber of Commerce. His role as mayor included an un-written cross-border component that he, like Mexican Americans, used considerably to shape perceptions of his city, culture, and nation.

Binational understanding was incredibly important in San Diego; especially for Mexican Americans that struggled to assert themselves and their ethnic identity in a town whose social and political forces favored whiteness. Reminding the city of its historical and contemporary connections to Mexico became a central feature of many of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine's articles, and of many of its contributors. In March of 1964, the magazine reported on the tri-city conference between National City and the Baja Californian cities of Tecate and Ensenada. It was set-up as a way to improve and promote understanding and friendship between the U.S. and Latin America. Ruben Rubio, a Mexican American leader from National City, pitched the idea for the tri-city conference, held in National City and hosted by Mayor Richard Gautreaux. Some of the ideas discussed at the conference and meant to promote bi-national relations included student-teacher exchanges, athletic competition, tourism and trade, and business and industrial competition.[176] In fact, California and Mexico had been engaged in a teacher-exchange program at least since the summer of 1963, and thus the Tri-City conference looked to expand on an existing cultural engagement.[177] Given its location, San Diego was a great starting point to better understand and get to know Latin America, but particularly Mexico. As a strategic move, it made sense for Mexican Americans to be part of this process to paint a better picture of themselves and of their ethnic culture. As a door to where Mexico begins, San Diego was the perfect site to sell a good first image of Mexico and Latin America to the U.S.

[176] "National City, Tecate, Ensenada Tri-City Conference," *Mexican-American,* March 1964, p. 9.

[177] "Mexican Teachers Arrive," *Mexican-American,* February 1964, p. 17.



Map of the California-Baja California border region with the cities of National City, Tijuana, and Ensenada circled. Source: Google Maps.

Another way that the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine showed the connections between San Diego and Baja California was through its coverage of the Flying Samaritans, a group of volunteers that included doctors, nurses, dentists, pilots, laboratory technicians, interpreters and others that traveled to Mexico to help the poor and most needy. Many San Diegans, including Councilman Allen Hitch, supported the group. Their work was captured and presented by the photographs taken by Victor Avila, the magazine's official photographer, who accompanied the group to Baja California and also served as an interpreter for many residents of El Rosario, Colonet, and Santa Catarina, in Baja California.[178] Victor's work in the community was well-received that Captain William C.

[178] "The Flying Samaritans – Operation Baja," *Mexican-American,* August 1964, pp. 8-9.

Ball, County Chairman of the San Diego Republican Assemblymen and former head of the Chula Vista headquarters for Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign, announced that Victor had been elected the official photographer of the California Republican Assembly Convention that was held in San Diego in March of 1965.[179] The activism on the part of Victor, like that of Phil Saenz and Larry Montoya, demonstrated that Mexican Americans in San Diego actively crossed borders, physical and political, to help bring about a positive image to Mexican Americans in San Diego. Rather than looking at the U.S.-Mexico border as a divider between cultures, the Tri-City conference, as well as the Flying Samaritans, are examples of Mexican Americans engaging in what historian Robin D.G. Kelly called a "freedom dream,"[180] proof of them acting on the opportunities, real or imagined, that the border facilitated them.

The magazine also captured the voice and support of Mexican nationals towards Mexican Americans. In doing so, the magazine gave Mexican nationals an opportunity to strengthen the cultural ties they had with U.S.-born Americans of Mexican descent. The most significant example was a facsimile copy of a letter written by Ignacio A. Pesqueira, the Mexican Counsel in San Diego, to Phil Saenz and the staff of the magazine that was printed in the August 1964 issue. Pesqueira not only reiterated his support for the Mexican American community of San Diego, but he commended their efforts to make life better by organizing to have greater representation in civic life. To him, Mexican Americans were not disconnected from Mexico. They were the de-facto representatives of Mexico in the U.S. Even though their identity and culture was neither wholly Mexican nor entirely American,

[179] "CRA Elects Victor," *Mexican-American Review,* March 1965, p. 3.

[180] Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003).

they nonetheless, because of their racial make-up, were Mexico's most important cultural diplomats in the U.S. – what historian Douglas Monroy would refer to as agents of "Mexico de afuera."[181] Everything they did to better themselves indirectly made the U.S. a better country for all Mexicans regardless of legal status.[182] This type of populist rhetoric was synonymous with many of the revolutionary governments of twentieth century Mexico. It re-emerged during the presidency of Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964), a charismatic populist leader that revitalized revolutionary nationalism sentiment absent in Mexico since the days of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940). This type of commemoration by the Mexican Counsel demonstrated that the efforts of people like Phil and the magazine had explicit positive bi-national effects, even when their work was meant to primarily uplift U.S.-born Americans of Mexican descent. By receiving this type of endorsement, the magazine, viewed as a social and political project on the U.S.-Mexico border, positioned itself as an agent of social justice for all Mexican-origin peoples in the United States, domestic and foreign (even if that wasn't its primary objective).

Attention to immigration issues was widespread in San Diego County. The magazine printed several articles that discussed the living conditions, struggles, and efforts of migrant farmworker families, including debates over the economic aspects and humanitarian effects of the Bracero Program and the farmworker movement out of Delano, California.[183] Jesse

[181] For more on the concept of "México de afuera," see Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

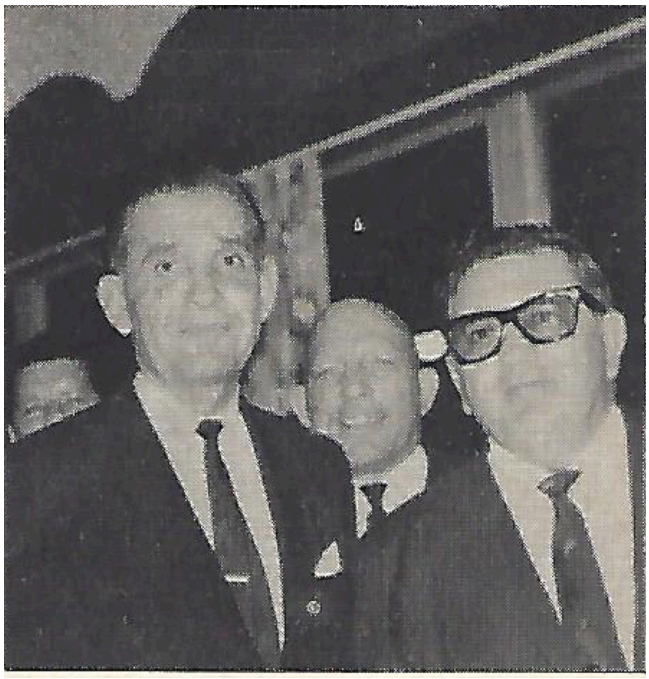
[182] Letter by Ignacio A. Pesqueira, *Mexican-American Review,* December 1964, p. 3.

[183] See "El Crucero de las 32 Cruces," *Mexican-American*, August 1964, p. 5; "Bracero Program," *Mexican-American Review,* December 1964, p. 6; "The Grape Strike," *Amigo: An Inter-American Review*, March 1966, p. 11; "When VISTA Came to Parlier," *Amigo: An Inter-American Review*, March 1966, pp. 12-14.

Ruiz's article, "Migratory Education," discussed a U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare study on what was being done to cope with the influx of migratory workers' children in schools. The purpose of the article, besides informing the public of the conversations that went on in education circles, county, state, and federal agencies about the education of these children appealed to certain Mexican Americans whom Ruiz claimed "continually expressed disgust at bringing out problems that exist[ed] within the Mexican American ethnic group," particularly if these individuals saw themselves as middle-class Americans who had "made it." Ruiz called out individuals whom he felt did not give back to their communities. If they had made it, they had not thrown down the rope for others to climb. He emphasized that migrant farmworker struggles were Mexican American struggles too because "thousands of Mexican American adults, who are now "respectable" members of a community are products of migrant agricultural workers – yet when an effort is being made by some Mexican American organizations, these same people refuse to acknowledge that its any of their responsibility at all."[184] Support for undocumented workers at this time was not outright defined by political affiliation. Despite their Republican identification, these Mexican American cared about the lives of migrant farmworkers, a complete 180-degree turn from today's Republican Party. Another way that immigration as a Mexican American issue was presented was by the magazine's advertisement of attorney Gabino López Molina, who worked in both San Diego and Tijuana. Given that the majority of migrant farmworker families in the U.S. were of Mexican descent, some U.S-born and others not, the attention to their well-being can be also read as an extension of Mexican American duties to look out for their Mexican brethren, native-born and immigrant alike, a

[184] "Migratory Education," *Mexican-American,* May 1964, p. 10.

firm example of what Counsel Pesqueira commended of San Diego's Mexican American people.



(Left-to-right) Ambassador Telles, Larry Montoya, and Mike Amador, *Amigo: An Inter-American Review*, September 1967, p. 5. Source: The Saenz family.

The September 1967 issue added stories from Baja California, signifying the magazine's clear commitment to highlighting the positive aspects cross-border unity. Among the stories reported included a visit to San Diego by Raymond L. Telles, Chairman of the U.S. section of the U.S.-Mexico Commission on the Economic and Social Development on the Border Area.[185] Telles had previously served as U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica under President John F. Kennedy and Mayor of El Paso, Texas, in 1957, becoming the first Mexican

[185] "Raymond L. Telles in San Diego," *Amigo: An Inter-American Review,* September 1967, p. 5.

American elected mayor of a major U.S. city.[186] He met with groups interested in border area activities in San Diego and Calexico, a city in Imperial County, east of San Diego. Among the people who he met were businessmen from Tijuana and members of the American G.I. Forum, including Larry Montoya and Mike Amador. Building on the topic of economic and business development as key to political and social advancement, an article by Saul Medrano stressed the advantages of establishing businesses in the border region, and the key role San Diego played in the process.[187] Among the contributions San Diego could make included providing staff personnel that could easily cross the border from San Diego or Calexico, thus saving companies lots of money. This would provide many educated Mexican Americans with opportunities to work in Mexico, for the U.S., thus serving as bridges between their cultures and countries. In addition, the article pointed out that setting up shop in Baja California made for easy back-and-forth trips to Los Angeles for purchases of machinery or fixing of equipment. This example cast Mexican Americans as hard-working, entrepreneurial citizens that showcased their individualism, the "pick yourself up by the bootstrap" idea central in Republican political circles. The border clearly served the purposes of those whom the magazine covered for its audience to learn and act upon.

Legacies of Republican Activism and the Rise of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego

The approach to civil rights taken by the individuals and organizations that the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine reported and covered did in fact "squeak" enough as Larry

[186] For more on the life of Raymond L. Telles, see Mario T. García, *The Making of a Mexican American Mayor: Raymond L. Telles of El Paso and the Origins of Latino Political Power* (Revised ed., Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).
[187] Opportunities in Baja California for American Manufacturers, *Amigo: An Inter-American Review,* September 1967, p. 8.

Montoya said to get noticed in San Diego. In a politically conservative city like San Diego, making the "right" [sic] noise was a practical move to advance the rights and standing of Mexican Americans. This is particularly important in a city and county that by 1970, according to *The San Diego Union,* was home to at least 250,000 registered Republicans that made the Republican Central Committee of San Diego County one of the most efficient and winningest in all the U.S.[188] That same year, Phil ran unsuccessfully as a Republican candidate for the 79th Assembly District that covered part of San Diego, National City, and Chula Vista. Working with the system remained a strategy used widely by many Mexican Americans of different social and economic backgrounds during the 1960s and 1970s – even during the Chicana/o Movement period. Phil Saenz continued to work for the Mexican American people of San Diego after the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine went out of print. He maintained friendships and created networks with many prominent members of the Black community in San Diego that included Leon Williams, Councilman George Stevens, and George Walker Smith, the latter a minister and the first Black person to be on the County Board of Education. Phil's approach to civil rights was, in fact, important, since it helped him connect to other groups. Alicia Saenz also entered the electoral scene – but as a Democrat. In 1986, Alicia (who went by the name Alice Keyser) ran for the 76th Assembly District.[189] Like her brother Phil, Alicia did not just write about change – she actively worked to achieve it.

In 1970, Governor Ronald Reagan appointed Phil to the Real Estate Commission. He was the first Mexican American appointed to that post. Phil was one of many Mexican Americans that received a spot on the table during Ronald Reagan's first term as Governor.

[188] "Republican Central Committee of San Diego County," *The San Diego Union,* June 1, 1970, p. A-10.

Gene Kopelson laid out Reagan's work with respect to Mexican Americans and other racial and ethnic minorities in the following lines:

> In the first two years of his governorship (1967-1968), Reagan awarded nineteen of the top one hundred state appointments to minority applicants, launched a new education and housing programs to help Mexican Americans, initiated a program to hire bilingual teachers, voiced support to help Mexican Americans beyond California at a Republican governors conference, held a series of extraordinary private community meetings to learn in-person the problems Mexican Americans were facing, proposed a partnership between banks and government to help minority neighborhoods, and proposed vocational training for farm workers.[190]

The connection with the Republican Party paid off for Mexican Americans, who used their new positions to continue their work in support of their communities. Phil later became the first Mexican American to work in the San Diego Employment Office, where he helped create jobs for Mexican Americans in non-traditional areas like the fire department. In the late 1970s, he finally completed his schooling and became an attorney and was appointed as a legal counsel to the Mexican consulate in San Diego, Santa Ana, and Riverside.[191] He helped undocumented immigrants with issues they faced in the workplace such as discrimination and low wages. He opened an office in Tijuana, where he extended his services to Mexican nationals. At a Four-State Border Conference in 1977, Phil suggested a

[189] "S.D. Legislators Face Easy Ballot Opposition." *The Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 1986.
[190] Kopelson, "Ya Basta?!", pp. 39-40.

heavy tax be placed on employers who hired undocumented workers as a means to reduce undocumented migration to the region.[192]

Phil Saenz Law School Graduation Photograph, circa late 1970s. Source: The Saenz Family.

Phil also helped start the first binational law enforcement liaison office in San Diego with Tijuana in the 1970s, where he worked on issues of extradition, fugitive cases, and collaborated with Mexican officials to strengthen and improve community and law enforcement relations. In 1971, he was named Special Assistant to San Diego District Attorney Ed Miller, a Democrat, serving as a liaison to the Mexican American community.[193] Herman Baca, a longtime Chicano activist that printed copies of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine and other publications at his print shop in National

[191] Ronald and Phil Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.
[192] "Illegal Alien Tax Urged For Hirers," *The San Diego Union,* April 23, 1977, p. B-1

[193] Ronald and Phil Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.

City, helped Phil get his appointment with the DA's office.[194] Herman and Phil met in the late 1960s, and kept in touch over the years to discuss issues relevant to the community. Phil was a regular visitor at Aztec Print Shop, Herman's print shop. In fact, Herman said people from both sides of the political spectrum often went to him to have their ideas put on paper.[195] This, according to Herman, showed that Mexican descent people like Phil fully understood the power of the printed word to inform and educate people on the issues they needed to act upon.

Herman said that Phil's political thinking was not uncommon in San Diego at the time. He recalled that in the 1960s and 1970s San Diego was home to a "Mexican American establishment" and mentioned Phil Saenz, Larry Montoya, Ben Rivera, and Mike Amador as part of this group.[196] These Mexican Americans wanted to "educate the White political structure, the people in power, whomever they [were], that [Mexican Americans were not] the way [they] were defined [by White society]."[197] They were at the forefront of advocating for the rights of Mexican descent people in San Diego long before the Chicana/o Movement emerged locally. They were forbearers but also contemporaries of the later Chicana/o Movement. Even though Phil's strategy for equality and civil rights differed from that of youth and radical activists, Herman said Phil understood things weren't right for Mexican people then and actively worked to improve their conditions.

Herman Baca was among the group of Mexican descent people that helped Phil Saenz become liaison to District Attorney Ed Miller in 1970. That same year, as chairperson of the

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[194] Herman Baca, email to author, September 12, 2017.

[195] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017.

[196] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017.

National City chapter of the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), Herman called for an endorsement convention ahead of the midterm elections of that year. About 600 people showed up at St. Anthony's Catholic Church for the occasion, which Herman said was "unheard of, for a political gathering, an endorsement convention" locally.[198] Herman described the convention as a "very Mexican American thing to do…[which included] register[ing] people to vote, getting people to vote, and endorsing candidates."[199] Several local and state figures that sought MAPA's endorsement were present such as State Senator James Mills, the Reverend George Walker Smith, Pete Chacón (whose campaign for state assembly Herman ran), Ed Miller, and Sheriff John Duffy. Miller and Duffy ran countywide races for District Attorney and the Sheriff's office, respectively. The convention was seemingly a success. Herman remembered that both Miller and Duffy won their respective races by thousands of votes, and they attributed this to the high turnout of Mexican American voters.[200] Soon after the election, Herman said that Miller and Duffy approached him and asked, "What can we do for the Mexican American community?" Herman then consulted with various members of the Mexican American community, including "old timers," and they decided on having liaisons to both offices. They were asked to provide Duffy and Miller with three choices for liaisons. They provided the names of "a conservative, a middle of the roader, and a Chicano activist," as requested.[201] After some

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[197] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017.
[198] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017.

[199] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017. Herman's quote highlights the centrality that political participation retained in Mexican American efforts for integration and reform, even into the Chicana/o Movement period (which at its most radical phase called for political self-support in the form of La Raza Unida Party, the all-Chicano political party that challenged both the Democratic and Republican Parties for their lack of support of Mexican people).

[200] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017.
[201] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017.

time, Joe Martínez was chosen to be liaison to Sheriff Duffy's office, and D.A. Miller picked Phil Saenz, whom Herman said were "the two most conservative guys" of the three names submitted for consideration.[202] The difference in political orientation did not mean Phil wouldn't work with people like Herman moving forward, or vice versa. For example, Herman recalled reaching out to Phil whenever he needed advice or support in the community. One time, he asked Phil to investigate a shooting of his house, and on another occasion asked for help when a lady called him asking what to do after the police had come into her home without permission.[203] *The San Diego Union* reported that Phil's role in the DA's office was to investigate "matters unique to the Mexican American community" while serving as the District Attorney's spokesman in the Mexican American community on "matters affecting law enforcement [that] will give that community the opportunity to be heard in both Spanish and English in areas which may require attention."[204] Perhaps the power brokers of San Diego chose Joe Martínez and Phil Saenz because their views and track record could have made them seem less-risky choices for liaisons given that in 1971, civil rights activism in San Diego had become more radical due to the escalating war in Vietnam and increasing racial tensions in the city. Whatever the reason might have been, Phil made sure to use his position as a Republican to continue helping out those in need, and to provide his community with the resources it needed to survive and thrive.

In 1983, Republican Governor George Deukmejian named Phil Director of the California-Mexico Affairs Office – a post similar to an ambassadorship.[205] In 1985, a racist

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[202] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017.

[203] Herman Baca, conversation with author, October 13, 2017.

[204] "Miller Appoints Special DA Aide," *The San Diego Union,* March 31, 1971, p. A-11.
[205] "Saenz Appointed to State Office," *The San Diego Union,* June 17, 1983, p. B-2.

cartoon came out in *The San Diego Union Tribune* that depicted Uvaldo Martínez, a Mexican American city councilman accused of using his city credit card to pay for personal expenses, as the Frito Bandito. To combat the racist cartoon, Phil was recruited by the Chicano Federation to be their spokesperson against the newspaper's racist depiction of a successful Mexican American politician. As a businessman, lawyer, and Republican, Phil was the perfect person to put in front of a camera to speak to the city's politically conservative leaders.

Phil also had personal relations to many Chicano Federation members whose children he took to baptize. "I'm as conservative as you can be;" Phil was quoted in *The San Diego Union*. "I'm a former U.S. Marine and a Republican. This type of (incident) has reached people like me…people who have made it… conservatives…people who make six figures and…are businessmen."[206] The fact that the Chicano Federation, a Chicana/o Movement creation, recruited Phil Saenz, a Republican, proves that those who identified as Chicanas/os in the 1980s considered him to be important, valuable, and still useful to the community. As the left grew in the late 1960s and became the primary driving force behind Mexican American/Chicana/o activism, people like Phil Saenz were pushed to the sidelines. But when regressive media depictions of Mexican Americans resurfaced in the 1980s, Phil Saenz and others like him returned to the forefront of a movement he helped start in the 1960s.

As the above example suggests, the emergence of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego did not mean the end of the type of political activism Phil and other likeminded Mexican Americans utilized locally. According to Herman Baca, a key feature that distinguished the Chicana/o Movement from earlier Mexican American civil rights struggles

was the former's direct critique of the Democratic Party, the military, and the Catholic Church. Up until the 1960s, Mexican Americans found in these three institutions the political, social, and spiritual support, respectively, which they used to advance their community's interests. No one dared confront the party of FDR that opened up the political arena to Mexican Americans, much less the military, which offered young men and women the opportunity to escape the constraints of poverty and to prove their "Americanness." To challenge the Catholic Church, the cultural and spiritual cradle of Mexican America, was akin to a sin. Participants of the Chicana/o Movement came of age at a time when questions of race, class, and gender were addressed with a different script. The end goal, equality and civil rights, remained the same. What changed was the means to the end, and that included questioning everything that perpetuated the second-class status Mexican descent people were subjected to in the U.S. This, however, did not mean that ideas such as those held by Phil Saenz outright disappeared. While evidence supports the claim that Chicana/o youth changed the way Mexican descent people demanded and obtained equality and civil rights, it does not mean that a total paradigm shift occurred and changed how Mexican descent people mobilized in San Diego as a whole. While there is no evidence to suggest that Phil Saenz or other like-minded Mexican Americans protested the military or the Catholic Church, the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine proved that the so-called "Mexican American establishment" in San Diego was ahead of the curve and protested the Democratic Party's apathy towards its Mexican American constituents long before the Chicana/o Movement took on the Democratic Party. In fact, organizations like the G.I. Forum (to which many members of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine had ties to), took on the Democratic Party in the 1950s and early 1960s (and the majority of them were registered

[206] "Martinez Lampoon Draws Latino Protest," *The Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1985.

Democrats!). They put pressure on the Democrats to be more inclusive and responsive to Mexican American needs. The criticism by Mexican Americans in the magazine of the Democratic Party is a continuation of this dialogue initiated by the G.I. Forum. The articles that challenged the Democratic Party, especially LBJ, can be read as "liberal" attacks on the establishment. Despite being Republicans, Phil said, the ideas of his father and other Mexican American Republicans "were as progressive as [D]emocrats and maybe even more so at the time."[207] If Chicanas/os that confronted the Democratic Party in the 1960s were considered "radical," then what should the published words of Ruben Dominguez and Larry Montoya be labeled as?

Besides their criticism of the Democratic Party, there is evidence that shows that the voices of these Mexican American Republicans did not radically diminish following the emergence of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego. In fact, many Mexican Americans contributed to the creation of several interracial and cross-political organizations in San Diego during and after the height of the Chicana/o Movement. These types of organizations are typically seen by scholars of the Civil Rights Movement as examples of radical grassroots activism by youth activists, but in San Diego, youth was not the defining marker of what counted as "radical" and "progressive" given San Diego's conservative politics. For example, Phil Saenz was a member of the Citizens Interracial Committee, a community organization that from 1963 to 1969 raised awareness and promoted dialogues on local racial issues. In 1969, Larry Montoya and Mike Amador were part of the group known as BOMB, Black Oriental Mexican Brothers, which was a coalition of Black, Chicana/o, and Asian groups that sought to fill and alternate among themselves the City Council seats of the Third, Fourth, and Sixth districts of San Diego. In the early 1980s, Larry Montoya was part

[207] Phil Saenz, email with author, October 6, 2018.

of the Legal Defense Committee for Rachael Ortiz, the head of the Barrio Station, a community program in Barrio Logan that was an extension of the Chicano Studies program at San Diego State University. In the 1980s, many Mexican Americans charged that Daniel Muñoz's bilingual newspaper, *La Prensa San Diego*, created conflict within the Mexican American community due to its controversial editorials and commentaries about specific individuals. One of the people Muñoz's editorials targeted was Rachael Ortiz. After a physical confrontation between Ortiz and Muñoz in 1983 over the newspaper's comments of the former, Muñoz filed a lawsuit against her. Many Mexican Americans, including Larry Montoya, Mario Torero and Tommie Camarrillo – central figures of the struggle for Chicano Park in the 1970s; Agustin "Gus" Chávez of the Chicano Federation; and Carlos LeGerrette and Irma Castro, former contributors to *La Verdad*, the Chicana/o newspaper from Barrio Logan (which will be discussed in the following chapter), came together to form the Legal Defense Committee for Rachael Ortiz.[208] Gus Chávez organized the Chicano Coalition for Responsible Journalism to address the content presented in *La Prensa San Diego*, which he argued, "lack[ed] of fair and objective reporting and [misrepresented] community organizations involving Hispanics, blacks, Jews, women, and coalitions of these groups."[209] This multiracial, multi-political movement by communities of color against a minority newspaper was classified as "rare" by *The San Diego Union* given that, "minority organizations have rarely made public attacks against minority news media in the past."[210] Given the conservative environment in San Diego, Mexican Americans could not allow any type of negative depiction of themselves in the media – more so when it came from within

[208] Legal Defense Fund Raiser for Rachael Ortiz – Herman Baca Digital Collection, UCSD.

[209] "La Prensa policy criticized," *The San Diego Union*, July 19, 1983.

[210] "La Prensa policy criticized," *The San Diego Union*, July 19, 1983.

their own ranks. This shows that in San Diego, Mexican Americans from across the political spectrum could and did work together, and with other communities of color, to uphold a positive image of themselves.

Towards the twilight of his life, Phil left the Republican Party and joined the Democratic Party. Phil made the change when Governor Pete Wilson, whom Phil worked and became friends with during the former's time as Mayor of San Diego, turned sharply to the right and led a vicious anti-Mexican campaign in the 1990s. Ronald and Phil attributed their father's decision to leave the Republican Party to a feeling of betrayal by the party he worked hard to diversify and make more attentive to Mexican Americans. Phil refused to work with right-wing extremists that hijacked the Republican Party and betrayed everything he stood for. To Jess Haro, Wilson's governorship was a result of his socialization having occurred in San Diego's deep-seated White conservatism and racism. San Diego, he said, helped produce "the most right-leaning Governor California has ever had…He did more harm to us than anyone ever had."[211] In his final years, already suffering health problems, Conie Zuñiga remembered Phil still went to court to fight for people he cared about most. He was physically fragile, but he still showed up to court even in the final days of his life with the help of his sons. They helped him dress and drove him to court. When he finished delivering his remarks, they drove him back home and put him to rest. When asked why he did this in his condition, Conie said Phil's answer was, "These people are depending on me... Poor people, I'm representing them."[212] His work for the community did not stop despite his health issues.

[211] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

[212] Conie Zuñiga, interview with author, September 12, 2017.

When Phil Saenz passed away in 2005, he had already done a lot of work for his community and his family: he worked for the war industry, owned two furniture stores, did taxes, became a lawyer and a real estate broker – all the while he worked on the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, was out doing activist work for Mexican American people, went to night school, got married and raised a family. His lifetime work helped improve the visibility and life of Mexican Americans and other groups in San Diego. "He always helped people out," Conie remembered. "He couldn't turn away people in need."[213] One time, Conie recalled, while working in the city employment office, Phil helped an African American woman get a job. She, however, had no means of transportation. Phil, she recalled, went to her house everyday, picked her up, and took her to work. When her shift ended, he picked her up at work and took her back home. When asked why he did this, Conie remembered Phil said, "how is she gonna get there [to work]? What good is it to get a job if she can't get there?"[214] Going the extra mile for people, Conie stated, is what defined Phil Saenz as a caring, down-to-earth individual.

Although his approach for civil rights was viewed with suspicion by some of his more radical activist contemporaries in San Diego, Phil Saenz and the contributors to *Mexican-American/Amigo* nevertheless shared their desire to improve the legal, political, and material conditions of Mexican Americans the best way they could. "In his heart and in his soul and in his political philosophy" recalled his son Phil, "he was always a liberal. He had a strong sense of morality."[215] Even though Phil did not identify as a "Chicano" during the Chicana/o Movement given its politically charged connotation and association with deviance drawn by mainstream society, he identified with the same ideals and goals that Chicanas/os pursued –

[213] Conie Zuñiga, interview with author, September 12, 2017.

[214] Conie Zuñiga, interview with author, September 12, 2017.

though not their strategies. That is why he used the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine as a vehicle to cast his community as American citizens of Mexican descent, not nationalists or separatists, who sought the extension of American democracy and equality through existing democratic institutions that guaranteed and protected their claims to legal and social equality. The work of Phil and other Mexican American Republicans demonstrates that there was more than one way to successfully demonstrate one's "Americanness" in San Diego.

[215] Phil Saenz, interview with author, December 19, 2016.

The Saenz Family, circa 1983 (Top: Robert Anthony Saenz, Fidelio 'Phil' Saenz, and Phil Saenz (son); Bottom: Ronald Aaron Saenz, Maria Consuelo 'Connie' Saenz, and Alicia Marie Saenz. Source: The Saenz Family.

Though at times ostracized by political activists on the left because he was a Republican, Phil Saenz is remembered by his wife Connie, daughter Alicia, sons Phil, Robert, Ronald, and friends Jess Haro, Conie Zuñiga, and Herman Baca as always cultivating good relations with many Chicana/o activists who did not necessarily hold the same political views he did. While Phil was out doing work for his community, his wife Connie looked after the family. Her work at home allowed Phil to be a public figure; labor that sometimes goes unrecognized by people. Phil was a good friend of Rachael Ortiz. In order to secure funds for her program, Rachael has learned to work over the years with both Democrats and Republicans. She, like Phil, had to be strategic and play the right note to maintain her program going. Ramón "Chunky" Sánchez, the late iconic Chicano musician of San Diego, was a friend of the Saenz's and played numerous times at their home.[216] Another friend of Phil was Roger Cazares, co-founder the Metropolitan Area Advisory Committee on Anti-Poverty (MAAC) project that works to provide affordable housing for low-income families. Phil and Larry Montoya were co-founders of the MAAC project too. Phil was also involved with the Service, Employment, and Redevelopment (SER) program in San Diego, and for that Roger considered him a "pathfinder of the Chicano Movement."[217] Phil's political connections resulted in close relations with many establishment figures like Governor Ronald Reagan and Mayor Pete Wilson. He understood that San Diego was a Republican town, and when one looks at his work through this lens, it is clear that Phil's work wasn't

[216] Ronald Saenz, conversation with author, August 9, 2017.

[217] Roger Cazares, email to author, May 11, 2017.

really outside the norm. “If this [San Diego] had been the Bay Area, or even Los Angeles [because of their liberal tendencies], then he’d be on the outside,” stated his son Phil.[218] As a conservative city, run by conservative power brokers, Phil Saenz understood that he needed to work with them, otherwise his community would be left on the outside looking in. On the importance of having a space inside the political system, Jess Haro said, “I can stand outside and yell all I want, but if I come inside and I am able to talk to a [face], I may be able to convince [him or her] of something.”[219] The goal was clear: according to Jess Haro, it was about “convincing White people to vote for Brown faces.”[220]

Phil was the first Mexican American appointed to the Republican Party Central Committee in San Diego. Working with Republicans, however, did not spare Phil from disparaging remarks. For example, he was once called a “token” Mexican by a prominent Republican that later became a San Diego County Supervisor. He felt he had an obligation to be part of change and more so given his standing as a leader, and educated leader to that, in the Mexican American community. He saw the writing on the wall – Southern California’s growing Republican base. Conservatives were gaining power in San Diego, the city voted overwhelmingly Republican, and in order to keep Mexican Americans in the loop, Phil made sure their voice did not disappear from the discussion table. But as his sons put it, he also made it a priority to stay in touch with his community and make friends with everyday workers and people like him.

Phil Saenz was of a different generation than that of his younger contemporaries from the 1960s. To him, Mexican Americans were already citizens and by seeking protection of

[218] Phil and Ronald Saenz, conversation with author, September 8, 2017.

[219] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

[220] Jess Haro, interview with author, September 11, 2017.

their rights and privileges through existing means, it reinforced their claim to Americanness via their support and loyalty to the country's institutions. Doing this as a Republican in the early 1960s, before the party's sharp turn to the right, did not necessarily imply having a strict adherence to a conservative ideology or that Phil "sold out." His way simply required the articulation of a sense of belonging and loyalty to the country's promises of freedom and liberty for all, and he found an echo to those pursuits in the Republican Party.

Conclusion

The work of Phil Saenz and all of the Mexican Americans covered in the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine demonstrates that Mexican American Republicans were politically active, organized along various different causes, and contributed to improving the life of racial and ethnic minorities in San Diego. The *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine is evidence of how Phil Saenz, who without a college degree, presented himself and his ideas in a professional manner to challenge and change the status quo. He was a role model to many people in California and back home in Texas.[221] The ideas he and others expressed in the magazine went against the grain at the time, but they helped cultivate a sense of political activism in the community. The efforts of Mexican American Republicans helped open up the political system to Mexican Americans, and they helped establish the MAAC Project, which remains an important community organization in San Diego. Mike Amador was a key

[221] According to Ronald, his father at one point dated one of the aunts of Selena Quintanilla, the famous Mexican American Tex-Mex singer of the 1980s and 1990s. Selena's father, Abraham Quintanilla, called Phil in the late 1980s to invite him and his family to attend a concert in California by Selena and her group "Los Dinos." Ronald said Quintanilla wanted his children to meet Phil, a fellow Tejano (Spanish for "Texan"), one of the few Mexicanos that made it out of the barrio of South Texas and went on to a successful life and career as a result of his hard work and dedication. This story, Ronald said, goes to show how one person's life and work can inspire anyone. Ronald Saenz, conversation with author, August 9, 2017.

supporter of the land takeover that gave birth to Chicano Park – a form of direct action one wouldn't necessarily associate with Republican individual.[222] Their continued involvement contributed to the Chicana/o Movement's goal to create a positive change for Mexican Americans in San Diego. The MAAC Project, and Mexican American political figures like Jess Haro, Uvaldo Martínez, Mary Salas, Juan Vargas, Ben Hueso, and David Alvarez, who have worked inside San Diego's political institutions, are part of a living legacy of a Republican-branded civil rights movement.[223] This legacy is raised from obscurity in Augie Bareño's 2009 article on the trailblazers of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement in San Diego, which included a brief nod to the Mexican American Republicans of the 1970s and 1980s. He wrote, "I would joke about the Mexican American Republicans, how in the 1970s that they would have their annual convention in a phone booth and still have extra room. While their numbers were few and their party's perspective difficult to reconcile, their commitment to advancing political opportunities in the community, was unquestioned."[224] Among the names Bareño associated with the above quote were that of Oscar Padilla, Art Madrid, Joe Casillas, Bill Dominguez, John Bareno, Pete Rios, and Larry Montoya – which further shows the significance that this small but influential group of Mexican American Republicans had in the Mexican American struggle for equality in San Diego.

Although scholars have yet to recognize Phil Saenz and other Mexican American Republicans as influential figures who helped advance the Mexican American community in

[222] "The History of Chicano Park: Commemorating 35 Years of Struggle, 1970-2005," *La Prensa San Diego,* April 15, 2005.

[223] Ronald and Phil Saenz, conversation with author, September 8, 2017.

[224] "¡Cuando tu vas, yo ya vengo: Or, This Ain't Our 1st Rodeo!", *La Prensa San Diego,* September 18, 2009.

San Diego, their stories challenges their omission. They established a base of thinking and action from which the activism of the late 1960s and 1970s built upon. Their progressive efforts, channeled through the Republican Party, helped "break the glass ceiling of politics [for Mexican Americans] in San Diego."[225] As Republicans, they did for the local Mexican American community what the Democratic Party had failed to do – they put Mexican Americans in positions of power. Being Republicans did not prevent them from working with Mexicans that held different political views or other racial and ethnic groups, especially if it was to improve and/or safeguard their community. Local work across political, generational, and racial lines was common in the 1970s and 1980s.

The *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine is evidence of a time when the Republican Party was welcoming of people of color, and it showed how Mexican Americans seized that opportunity to extend their political and social capital in order to be treated as fully American. The socially liberal Republican bases that Phil and other Mexican Americans worked with changed or diminished overtime. For example, White Republicans' overwhelming support for Proposition 187, a racist attack on the state's growing minority populations, basically marked the end of the Republican Party as a legitimate political entity in California.[226] Donald Trump's election as President in 2016 was the Republican Party's most overt manifestation of a racist and anti-democratic agenda that took off with the national party's adoption of the Southern Strategy in the late 1960s.[227] Trump's divisive

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[225] Ronald Saenz, email to author, November 20, 2018.

[226] Manuel Pastor, *State of Resistance: What California's Dizzying Descent and Remarkable Resurgence Mean for America's Future* (New York: The New Press, 2018).

[227] In *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide* (Reprint ed., New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), Carol Anderson argued that every time Blacks obtained any form of political power, White backlash followed in an attempt to re-assert White control over the Black population.

rhetoric has publically announced the Republican Party as the party of choice for White nationalists, xenophobes, and misogynists. Despite the Republicans' shift in social [and racial] outlook, it did not mean that Mexican American Republicans changed theirs. The history of San Diego's Mexican American Republicans should be understood within the context of the time and place, but also according to the individuals that remained committed to inclusion and equality. Phil and others put forth an image that encouraged all Mexican Americans, whether Democrats or Republicans, to follow in order to make positive changes and contributions inside and outside their communities. They believed in what they did, and their efforts produced results. Not everyone agreed with their approach, but it represents one of many ways that Mexican descent people fought for equality, dignity, and respect in San Diego. Advancements were achieved locally, but a lot of work remained undone. The responsibility to see it resolved fell on a younger generation that wanted more immediate and drastic social, political, and economic change in what became "America's Finest City."

She identified many instances in history where White rage followed Black empowerment: Jim Crow segregation followed Reconstruction, and laws that led to the criminalization and mass incarceration of Blacks followed the advances of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In her updated edition of *White Rage,* Anderson identified Donald Trump's presidential campaign and presidency as another instance of "White rage." Trump, an openly racist White man, succeeded Barack Obama, the country's first Black President. Trump's entire campaign and presidency have focused on undermining the legitimacy of Obama's presidency; from spearheading the infamous birther movement that claimed Obama was not a U.S-born citizen and thus ineligible for the presidency, to his campaign to undo Obama's key piece of legislation, the Affordable Care Act, also known as "Obamacare." Thus Trump (a manifestation of White rage) followed Obama (a symbol of political and, to an extent, tepid progress on racial equality).

Chapter 2: *La Verdad*: The Chicana/o[228] Community Newspaper, 1968-1972[229]

Introduction

For social movements like the Black Power Movement, the Asian American Movement, and the Chicana/o Movement, community newspapers were a powerful vehicle to spread ideas, educate people, mobilize communities, and establish connections across racial, class, and gender lines. The Alternative Press, as scholars have labeled these Civil Rights Movement papers, served as an informational and organizational tool that captured the cultural politics of a generation that challenged institutional barriers with different forms of protest. Chicana/o productions, for example, took on the added role of fostering a sense of community identity. This was specifically important and evident in places like San Diego, where Mexican American history was interpreted as a handful of episodic and disjointed events because of the city's historically White and conservative politics, and because it lay in the shadow of Los Angeles. *La Verdad,* a Chicano nationalist newspaper from Barrio Logan,[230] contested these trends. In addition, it sought to challenge and correct, in its own

[228] Because of the political, social, historical, and gendered undertones that the term "Chicano" carries, I will use different variations of the word when referring to men, women, or both in this chapter. When referring to Chicanas and Chicanos together, I will use "Chicanas/os" or "Chicana/o." When referring exclusively to men, I will use "Chicanos" or "Chicano, "and "Chicanas" or "Chicana" when I refer to women. These differentiations allow for a critical analysis of how identity and gender is constructed and intertwined within a social movement by a community of color, and it also allows for a deep analysis of how power is skewed along gender lines.

[229] This chapter will only discuss the issues of *La Verdad* printed between 1968 and 1972, during the height of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego. The newspaper ceased publication after 1972. In 1989 Unión del Barrio, a San Diego-based Chicana/o civil rights organization, revived *La Verdad* to be its official publication. Although it shares its name with the Chicana/o Movement period iteration, I consider Unión del Barrio's version of *La Verdad* a different entity altogether. For more information about Unión del Barrio and *La Verdad* since 1989, see the following webpage: http://uniondelbarrio.org/main/

[230] Local residents commonly refer to Logan Heights as "Barrio Logan," which is also the name commonly used by non-local residents when referring to Logan Heights. To avoid any confusion and to be consistent with how this neighborhood is commonly known, any and all future references to "Logan Heights" will be done with the name "Barrio Logan."

individual way, the negative portrayals that mainstream media outlets like *The San Diego Union* made of the city's Mexican descent population.[231] Although published at a different juncture of the Civil Rights Movement than the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, and guided by a different political ideology, the central goal of *La Verdad* was the same – to educate and empower a historically marginalized people with the knowledge to determine the nature, structure, and purpose of their lives and communities. Because of the changing social and political environment of the late 1960s and early 1970s, it was natural that the Civil Rights Movement engendered a different approach towards justice and equality. Despite its distinct political ideology*, La Verdad*, like the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, addressed national concerns with local lenses in an effort to promote Chicanas/os as San Diegans and as part of the national Chicana/o Movement.

Despite La Verdad's short run (1968-1972), which was a result of lack of funds, the staff's involvement in multiple activities at once, and a degree of community ambivalence towards the paper's content and direction, *La Verdad* is an important historical source because as the first Chicana/o Movement-period production in San Diego, it recorded the early years of the Chicana/o Movement locally. Its relatively consistent coverage of the years 1968 to 1970 offers historians a window into the peak years of Chicana/o Movement activism, a period that remains relatively understudied by scholars. A careful examination of

[231] James S. Copley was the publisher of *The San Diego Union* and *The San Diego Evening Tribune* from 1947 until his death in 1973. Copley's newspapers presented a conservative position on several issues. In *The Secret History of the CIA*, author Joseph J. Trento implied that Copley's *The San Diego Union* had close ties to secret intelligence organizations, and that the newspaper may have been used as a tool by the government to spy and diffuse many social movements in Southern California, particularly the anti-war movement. This cooperation, the authors argued, was facilitated by Copley's disapproval of radical social movements in general. This claim helps explains the type of coverage *The San Diego Union* did of activist communities in the 1960s and 1970s, including of the local Chicana/o Movement. For more information on the Copley Press and its alleged connections to the FBI and CIA, see Joseph J. Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA* (New York: Basic Books Publishing, 2005), p. 272.

La Verdad illuminates how its writers wanted readers to understand the development and diversity of movements within the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego from a working-class perspective. A study of some of the major themes covered by *La Verdad* – cultural competence, community empowerment, and transnational awareness – reveals the orientation of this civil rights newspaper and its understanding of race, class, and gender present in the formation of local Chicana/o consciousness on these critical issues.

Map of San Diego with some areas where *La Verdad* was distributed circled in red. Source: Google Maps.

Despite economic and political struggles that affected Barrio Logan, 30 issues of *La Verdad* were printed and sold across 26 different locations in San Diego County between 1968 and 1972. According to "Mapping American Social Movements Through the 20th

Century," a digital catalogue of social movements in the United States created by Professor James N. Gregory at the University of Washington, between 3,500 and 5,000 copies of *La Verdad* circulated in San Diego County each month it was in print. Among the San Diego alternative newspapers on the website with reported circulation figures, *La Verdad* ranked as the fifth-most widely circulated alternative newspaper in San Diego, behind the *Adult Reporter* (60,000); *The San Diego Free Door* (10,000); *Duck Power* (6,000); and *Up From the Bottom* (6,000). This study suggests that *La Verdad* was the most widely read Spanish-language alternative newspaper in San Diego in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This further shows its relevance as a historical production. It was read and distributed in places like Barrio Logan, downtown San Diego, National City, and Pacific Beach. Even though the majority of the newspaper's readers were from the Barrio Logan area, the paper's expansive geographic reach suggests a wider and more diverse readership.[232] As a bilingual newspaper that reported local, national, and international news stories and made public service announcements, *La Verdad* served as an informational and educational outlet for a radically more militant and oppositional approach to civil rights by Mexican Americans in San Diego. It couched its message of empowerment and community building primarily on a long history of resistance and struggle against city, military, and corporate meddling with Barrio Logan and other similar communities. In part because of its large scope, its focus was to inform, educate, and persuade people to participate in one of several community defining movements happening simultaneously in the San Diego-Tijuana region.

[232] For more information about the extent of social movements in the U.S. in the twentieth century, visit "Mapping American Social Movements Through the 20th Century," at the following link: http://depts.washington.edu/moves/altnews_database.shtml

Chapter Organization

La Verdad provides an extensive view of how and where the Chicana/o Movement manifested in San Diego between the years 1968 and 1972. The newspaper will be analyzed and discussed in the following way: the first part will examine the origins of *La Verdad* and will provide background information on some of its key contributors. Despite being a production informed by the politics of the national Chicana/o Movement, *La Verdad* began in the production room of a White countercultural newspaper, the *Good Morning Teaspoon*. This, combined with the diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds of *La Verdad*'s most active contributors, demonstrates how the politics of Chicanismo were adjusted to meet the reality of San Diego.

Following the introduction of the newspaper is a discussion of what it meant to be a Chicana or Chicano in San Diego in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The new form of social and political activism carried out by Chicana/o youth did not resonate well with everyone in the community, especially with older Mexican Americans. Despite these differences, *La Verdad* received support from older Mexican Americans because its ultimate goal was the same as theirs: the uplift and security of all Mexican people in San Diego. Next is the largest section of the chapter, "The People Speak Up." This part of the chapter provides an overview of *La Verdad*'s coverage of the different ways the Chicana/o Movement manifested in San Diego. Examples include the Brown Berets, the UFW, community struggles against the Catholic Church, the anti-war movement, police brutality, and women's rights. This section shows how widespread the Chicana/o Movement was in San Diego, and it reveals how local Chicanas/os connected their activist efforts to larger issues nationwide. The second to last section assesses Chicana/o transnational awareness and activism in San Diego. Local Chicanas/os took advantage of San Diego's location on the

border to expand the national and local movement's appeal to south of the border. This led to numerous instances of collaboration with Mexican activists, and also brought government attention to Chicana/o activism locally. The last section examines the final year of *La Verdad*, the contributors' efforts to keep the newspaper alive, and the interviewees' reflections on the overall legacy of *La Verdad* in their lives and in the collective memory of San Diego's Mexican American communities.

A Call to Action: The Origins and Purpose of *La Verdad*

By 1968, the majority of Civil Rights Movements led by communities of color turned more radical and militant. While peaceful demonstrations and non-violent acts of civil disobedience resulted in government legislations that ended segregation and guaranteed legal equality, racism and economic injustice continued. Frustrations with White-controlled institutions grew. Tensions worsened as the Vietnam War escalated. As efforts for integration and reform failed to peacefully eliminate inequality, activist communities sought democracy on the streets. As one of the many Civil Rights Movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Chicana/o Movement also turned increasingly more oppositional and militant. It was guided by a shared sense of ethnic identification known as Chicanismo, or Chicano cultural nationalism. Chicanismo tied Chicanas/os to Aztlán, a historical homeland in the Southwest that informed their revolutionary spirit as Mexican and American.[233] The

[233] For information about the politics of Chicanismo, see Mario T. García, "Introduction: The Chicano Movement and Chicano Historiography," in García, ed., *The Chicano Movement: Perspectives from the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 9-10. Other works that examine Chicanismo include: Ignacio M. García, *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos among Mexican Americans* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); Ernesto Chávez, "*¡Mi Raza Primero!" (My People First!): Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Carlos Muñoz, *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (Verso: Revised and Expanded Edition, 2007); Maylei Blackwell, ¡*Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin:

politics of Chicanismo stressed cultural and ethnic unity as a tactic for success. This was evident in San Diego. However, given the unique social and political environment of San Diego, the politics of Chicanismo were adjusted by individuals to better suit the needs of the local Chicana/o Movement. After all, Chicanismo "was over time not as essentialist or monolithic as first thought. It accommodated or was challenged by other ideologies such as Marxism, a Third World consciousness or internationalism. In the end, Chicanismo was not dogmatically cultural nationalist."[234] Within this context the cultural nationalist newspaper *La Verdad* emerged in the predominantly working-class Mexican American neighborhood of Barrio Logan, located south of downtown San Diego.[235] Born out of protest over the absence of a Chicano print space, *La Verdad* became the official community newspaper of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement between 1968 and 1972.[236]

The primary goal of the people who worked in *La Verdad* was to create a space where Mexican people could freely express and build on their ideas. This was particularly important given the absence of a community-controlled media source at the time. "Cada uno

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University of Texas Press, 2011); Juan Gómez-Quiñones and Irene Vásquez, *Making Aztlán: Ideology and Culture of the Chicana and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014).

[234] García, "Introduction: The Chicano Movement and Chicano Historiography," p. 10.

[235] Logan Heights (Barrio Logan) was originally founded by European American families in the 1880s, and named after Congressman John A. Logan. Over time, the community went through noticeable demographic changes. Many Black migrants began to settle in the region following Emancipation and during the early migrations west in the early twentieth century. The Mexican Revolution led to a third wave of demographic changes that resulted in White families leaving Barrio Logan to settle in the suburbs, and the neighborhood slowly turned into a majority Mexican and Mexican American community starting in the 1930s and 1940s. For more information on the history of Barrio Logan, see Frank Norris, "Logan Heights." *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Winter 1983). URL: https://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/1983/january/logan/

[236] Many Chicana/o alternative newspapers emerged in San Diego during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some of the names include *El Leño*, *El Grito de Aztlán, Prensa Popular, El Mexicanista, Raza de Bronce, Raza Habla, and Voz Fronteriza.* This chapter will focus solely on *La Verdad*, which was the most widespread and read Chicana/o newspaper of the time.

de nosotros, los Chicanos," an article in the February 1969 issue of *La Verdad* stated, "tenemos la responsabilidad de velar por nuestra comunidad, y este periódico es una manera por la cual podemos cumplir con ese deber. ¿Cuantas veces no han sucedido acontecimientos importantes y no habíamos podido publicarlos en un periódico de nosotros porque no lo teníamos?"[237] The author argued that a newspaper by Chicanas/os for Chicanas/os was critical for a community that faced daily struggles. A community-owned newspaper gave poor and working-class Chicanas/os in San Diego control over their lives and was a powerful tool that validated their life experiences. The article further stated that: "…queremos que este periódico sea la voz de la comunidad Chicana que quiere expresar sus ideas, cualesquiera que sean, y que quiere expresar sus penas para que todos se den cuenta de lo que sufre."[238] In short, *La Verdad* was meant to be the forum that Mexican American people deserved in San Diego.

According to Richard Saiz and Carlos and Linda LeGerrette, primary contributors to *La Verdad*, the main function of the newspaper was to provide a different perspective of what was going on in the Chicana/o community than what appeared in *The San Diego Union*. Its role was to educate and empower a community that had no political power whatsoever, and to push an agenda that would change that. Even though at times *La Verdad* came off as an

[237] Translation: "Each of us Chicanos has the responsibility to keep watch on our community, and this newspaper is one way that allows us to do just that. [This newspaper] also emerges because this community has realized how important and valuable it was to have a newspaper at its service last year. How many times have important events occurred and we had no way to inform the public about them because we did not have our own newspaper?" "¿Que es la Verdad?" *La Verdad,* February 1969, p. 5.

[238] Translation: "We want this newspaper to be the voice of the Chicano community that wants to express its ideas, whichever they may be, and that want to express its pain so everyone can see its suffering." "¿Que es la Verdad?" *La Verdad,* February 1969, p. 5.

advocate for cultural separatism, such as hailing itself from "San Diego, Aztlán,"[239] or claiming to be "la voz del movimiento" (the voice of the movement),[240] it never insinuated or condoned the use of violence as a tool to reverse social injustice and to achieve Chicana/o liberation. Although some of its messages could be interpreted as such, the newspaper simply articulated a more direct form of social and political protest. For example, student walkouts in protest of unequal education and physical takeovers of land to bring attention to the ills of the Chicana/o community may have come off as violent to San Diego's White ruling elite and some members of the Mexican American community because it represented a detachment from earlier reform tactics such as those disseminated by the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, which the city might have been more accustomed to. Even though *La Verdad* advocated for radical changes, it was still a democratic project, albeit one that did not shy away from pushing the system to the limit.

The newspaper went through several starts and stoppages between 1968 and 1972.[241] Lack of funding was a leading reason, but also the fact that the majority of its contributors were college students stretched in many different directions. Like the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, *La Verdad* was a side project that people worked on when time was in supply. Even though its contributors actively sought and received donations from the community and sold advertisement spaces to allied organizations and services, they almost

[239] Beginning with the May 1969 issue, *La Verdad* was consistently labeled as emanating from "San Diego, Aztlán," which situated the San Diego Chicana/o Movement as subscribers to the idea of Chicanismo, or ethnic nationalism. This ideology, although ideologically limiting and gender biased, was used as the unifying trope among the different sub-movements of the larger Chicana/o Movement.

[240] Starting with the February 1970 issue, *La Verdad* was branded as "the voice of the movement," which further aligned it with the political direction of the national Chicana/o Movement.

[241] *La Verdad* went through four separate starts and stoppages during its four-year run: April-June 1968; February 1969-December 1970; April-August 1971; and January 1972.

never secured steady funding. Third, there also seemed to be tepid community support of the newspaper given its confrontational politics that pitted it against institutions traditionally respected and supported by Mexican Americans, such as the Catholic Church and the military. This perhaps turned a lot of people, mainly reform-minded Mexican Americans, away from fully supporting *La Verdad.* While this may have been the case, there is also evidence that *La Verdad* received support from reform-minded individuals like Mike Amador and Larry Montoya; members of what Herman Baca termed "the Mexican American establishment" of San Diego. The combination of these factors made it difficult for *La Verdad* to remain consistently in print. Its longest uninterrupted run was from February 1969 to December 1970. During this period, the newspaper provided one of the clearest windows into the development and evolution of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego, and it shows us how the newspaper's contributors helped forge community identity through its dissemination of cultural tropes associated with Chicanismo.

LA VERDAD

San Diego

Improve Schools For "La Raza"!

Chicano Cannon Fodder

Student Demands

Minority Casualties

SPEAKING OF RACISM

La Verdad, Vol. 1 Issue 1, April 1968 cover. Source: Howard Hollman Newspaper Collection 1965-2000, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University.

From its beginnings, *La Verdad* displayed broad multicultural and multiracial connections. One of its objectives was to "educate and inform La Raza and the Anglo population on action being taken throughout the country in alleviating inferior education, discrimination and all other injustices that the Chicano has had to endure," and, "To maintain the pride and dignity [of] our people have by relating our true history and culture and to do away with the Anglo definitions."[242] This process started with the newspaper's contributors. A number of *La Verdad'*s founding members were progressive White liberals that worked on the *Good Morning Teaspoon,* a New-Left inspired newspaper that was

[242] "Policy and Aims of *La Verdad*," *La Verdad*, April 1969, p. 9.

connected to student activism out of SDSU.[243] The *Good Morning Teaspoon* published progressive articles on issues related to race, politics, and gender, and the newspaper was a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) – an organization where countercultural activists shared news and information with each other across the country.[244] According to Carlos LeGerrette, the staff of the *Good Morning Teaspoon* helped get *La Verdad* off the ground. In the April 17, 1968, issue, the staff of the *Good Morning Teaspoon* announced the arrival of *La Verdad* with the following statement: "With the aid of the guys at the *GOOD MORNING TEASPOON*, San Diego's Mexican American community will soon have its own newspaper. Named *LA VERDAD* (The Truth), it will carry articles of special interest to the Chicano community from the news of La Huelga in Delano to the latest gossip in the barrios."[245] Furthermore, the article announced Rick Sánchez as the newspaper's editor-in-chief, and Frank Cervantes and members of the *Good Morning Teaspoon* as assisting contributors. The *Good Morning Teaspoon's* support for *La Verdad* is not surprising. In fact, many members of UPS, according to Marc Simon Rodriguez, "often nurtured the development of new papers, and some supported minority papers to the extent of sharing printing facilities."[246] The same *Good Morning Teaspoon* announcement said that all profits from *La Verdad*, after all expenses were covered, would go into a special scholarship fund

[243] San Diego State College is now called San Diego State University. The school changed its name in 1971. For consistency, I will refer to the school by its current acronym (SDSU) throughout this study.

[244] For more about the history of the Underground Press Syndicate, see Michael Kidman, *My Odyssey Through the Underground Press* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2011).

[245] "Viva la Causa, Carnal," *The Good Morning Teaspoon,* Vol. IV, No. 10, April 17, 1968, p. 3.

[246] Marc Simon Rodriguez, "Rethinking the Chicano Movement," p. 121.

for Mexican American youth. This scholarship, however, was never mentioned in *La Verdad* (at least not in the issues examined for this chapter).

Because *La Verdad* had many on and off contributors, this chapter will focus primarily on the members who were consistently working on the newspaper. Carlos and Linda LeGerrette were born in San Diego and are of mixed racial background. As college students at SDSU in the 1960s, they were heavily involved with César Chávez and the United Farm Workers (UFW) union while working on the newspaper. Carlos has Filipino, Chinese, and Mexican roots, and Linda is a sixth-generation Mexican American and half Russian. Rick Sánchez, Linda's late brother, was a founding member of *La Verdad* who as stated earlier, served as the newspaper's first editor. Richard Saiz served as editor afterwards. He was born in San Jose, California, and lived in Mexico the first three years of his life before returning to California and settling in San Diego. He attended San Diego Mesa College and SDSU alongside the LeGerrettes when he became the newspaper's editor in 1969. He oversaw the newspaper's professionalization and membership into the Chicano Press Association (CPA), becoming the only San Diego-based paper to join this umbrella organization of the Chicano alternative press.[247]

La Verdad also had contributors who later played important roles in the community and in local politics. One of them was Irma Castro, who served as one of the first female directors of the Chicano Federation, a Chicana/o umbrella advocacy organization, during the 1980s and early 1990s. Under her leadership, the Federation fought for Chicanas/os to have access to public services that included affordable housing for low-income families. Castro and the Federation also fought against city planners that sought to transform Barrio Logan

[247] For more information on the Chicano Press Association, see chapter four, "News and the Movement: Newspapers and Ideas in the Chicano Movement" in Marc Simon Rodriguez, *Rethinking the Chicano Movement,* pp. 117-137.

into an industrial center.[248] She credited *La Verdad* with having helped coordinate the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego, as well as helping people develop an understanding of a broad range of issues and individuals relevant to their empowerment.[249] Student-activists like Olivia Puentes-Reynolds made-up the backbone of the newspaper. Before joining *La Verdad*, Olivia was a copy kid, or junior writer, for *The San Diego Union,* where she was often relegated to low-level stories despite expressing interest in writing news articles.[250] She regularly experienced incidents of racism and sexism while at *The San Diego Union*, which played in her decision to leave that newspaper. When she joined *La Verdad*, she found a more welcoming and supportive community of like-minded people that nurtured her desire to work for social justice. The artwork of local muralist Salvador "Queso" Torres regularly graced the pages of the newspaper. His work reinforced the cultural and historical roots of the Chicana/o Movement's guiding philosophy of Chicanismo. The newspaper also featured the writings of Gracia Molina de Pick, a feminist from Mexico that taught at several schools in San Diego and was a mentor to many student-activists like Richard Saiz. Gracia's activism extended beyond San Diego. She was heavily involved in the national Chicana/o Movement fighting for educational, political, and economic rights, particularly in Los Angeles where she was a founding member of the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional, the first Chicana rights organization in the U.S. Alberto Baltazar Urista Heredia, better known as Alurista, was also a frequent contributor to *La Verdad*. Alurista is considered by many to be the preeminent poet and a leading advocate of cultural empowerment for the Chicana/o Movement. He is credited with having authored "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán,"

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[248] Irma Castro, interview with author, September 15, 2016.

[249] Irma Castro, interview with author, September 15, 2016.

the Chicana/o Movement's nationalist manifesto first presented at the 1969 Denver Youth Conference hosted by the Crusade for Justice. His articles in *La Verdad* expressed many of the local movement's feelings and struggles against gentrification and militarization. He also advocated cultural identification with Mexico's indigenous roots. His writing celebrated the Chicana/o community's racial and ethnic pride, which sometimes placed him at odds with the city's conservative brass and with some less radical elements of the movement itself.[251]

As evidenced by this list, not everyone involved with *La Verdad* was entirely of Mexican-origin or a native San Diegan. Rather, San Diego's first Chicana/o community newspaper, born at a time when the assumed ideology of the Chicana/o Movement was cultural nationalism, actually boasted an ethnically diverse coalition at the helm. This diversity set the tone for the type of stories the newspaper carried from 1968 to 1972, and some of these stories challenge our notions of the types of conversations that existed within the Chicana/o Movement in California and outside of Los Angeles, which is often seen as the primary site for analyses of the California Chicana/o Movement. *La Verdad*'s contributors were young and idealistic, and the newspaper reflected those traits. Everyone was trained to write, take pictures, create layouts, print, and make deliveries. The newspaper allowed them to be socially and politically engaged on several fronts at once and this, one can argue, might also explain why the newspaper was printed less frequently. As a Chicana/o Movement cultural production that incorporated elements of growing up Mexican American in a conservative but multiethnic border town, *La Verdad* captured the process through which its contributors – and the Mexican-origin community of San Diego at large – became Chicanas and Chicanos. *La Verdad* represented a rebellion against mainstream

[250] Olivia Puentes-Reynolds, interview with author, December 7, 2016.
[251] Alurista's personal perspective and interpretation of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement can be found in Alurista, *as our barrio turns, who the yoke b on?* (San Diego: Calaca Press, 2000).

notions of integration and acculturation, which represent a sharp break from the tactics that people like Phil Saenz and the staff of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine advocated. Instead, *La Verdad* urged its readers to immerse themselves in the struggle towards the advancement of la raza according to the guiding principles of Chicanismo.

Becoming Chicana/o in San Diego

The staff of *La Verdad* used the protest atmosphere of the 1960s to urge individuals to subscribe to the newspaper. By asking the question "¿Qué vale la verdad?" (What is the truth worth?), the newspaper challenged Chicanas/os to think about their political assumptions and trust the newspaper to be their voice, especially when *The San Diego Union* ran blatantly offensive editorials that outrageously claimed that "The Chicanos were originally the offspring of Chinese immigrants into Mexico," and that this could be verified in "the many artifacts which are open for examination in Mexican Museums."[252] Copies of *La Verdad* sold for ten cents an issue, the same price as a daily copy of *The San Diego Union*.[253] The rack on Fourth Avenue and Broadway in downtown San Diego "always had more money than in other places," recalled Carlos LeGerrette. "The fact that it had money in it showed *La Verdad* had support."[254] From a commercial standpoint, it seemed logical that the newspaper was advertised as the voice of truth about the Chicano/a people and the Chicana/o Movement. The tagline used to recruit subscribers spoke to the mindset of several

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[252] "Word "Chicano" Linked with China," *The San Diego Union*, January 3, 1971, p. C-2.

[253] Issues one, two, and four were sold for ten cents a copy. Issue three did not indicate how much the copy sold for, but it is safe to assume its cost was ten cents (since there was no change in value in issues 1-2, and 4). The price per issue over *La Verdad's* four-year run fluctuated between 10 and 15 cents.

[254] Carlos LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

major Chicana/o Movement leaders like Reies López Tijerina, who led the land rights restoration movement in New Mexico and preached a "by any means necessary" mentality to attain Chicano justice and liberation by showing the connection between the loss of land to poverty and powerlessness. Tijerina also, according to historian Lorena Oropeza, created a historical narrative for the Chicana/o Movement by reminding them of their ties to the Mexican American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the roots of Chicana/o disempowerment.[255] Similarly, *La Verdad* pushed Chicanas/os in San Diego to obtain social justice by educating and immersing themselves in the political discussions happening locally. For example, the April 1969 issue promoted a special local television program on López Tijerina with the tagline "The glorious days of Zapata are gone – and the heroic Che Guevara is dead – but, Reies López Tijerina lives today as a living revolutionary symbol of what CHICANOS as an oppressed people can do to LIBERATE themselves…"[256] This type of language encouraged Chicanas/os to learn their history by becoming involved in the educational process that López Tijerina, who through his movement for land rights, imparted to all peoples of Mexican-origin in the U.S.

As a member of the CPA, *La Verdad* was part of a media outlet by Chicanas/os for Chicanas/os. Everything going on with the Chicana/o Movement, locally and nationally,

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[255] For more information about Tijerina's role as a teacher of the Chicana/o Movement, see Lorena Oropeza, "The heart of Chicano history: Reies López Tijerina as a memory entrepreneur." *The Sixties*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2008), pp. 49-67.

[256] "Reies López Tijerina TV Advertisement," *La Verdad,* April 1969, p. 9. Emiliano Zapata and Ernesto "Che" Guevara were two of the most influential revolutionary figures of the twentieth century in Latin America. Zapata was a general who fought for agrarian reform during the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920. Under the banner of "tierra y libertad" (land and liberty), Zapata led the fight for indigenous and peasant land rights. Guevara was an Argentine-born doctor turned revolutionary that participated in the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Throughout the 1960s, Guevara's image became synonymous with revolution, especially in the context of Third World anti-imperialist and anti-colonial movements in Latin America. The legacies and images of Zapata and Guevara were used by Chicanas/os to extend the cultural and political boundaries of the Chicana/o Movement.

appeared on the pages of the newspaper. Imparting the Chicana/o Movement's culture became a staple of *La Verdad*. This provided its youth readership with a historical grounding that aided their political growth and evolution as Chicanas/os. To demonstrate their role in cultivating Chicanos, the July 1969 issue printed a picture of several young Chicano boys holding up copies of *La Verdad*. Some of them had their fists raised – a sign of unity, strength, and solidarity used by the UFW and other civil rights era-movements and organizations. Under the picture a caption in all capital letters labeled them "HIJOS DE LA VERDAD" (Children of The Truth). By nurturing the minds and hearts of children like those in the picture (which looked to be somewhere between the ages of nine and 12), *La Verdad* helped sow the seeds for the future of the Chicana/o community.

La Verdad, Vol. 1 No. 10, July 1970, p. 16. Source: María García Papers 1968-1997, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University.

La Verdad understood youth activism as the present and future of the Chicana/o people. That is why the newspaper made the effort to provide a cultural education throughout its pages that validated the political and cultural conversations that youth were engaged in. The

newspaper ran biographies of Emiliano Zapata,[257] Tiburcio Vásquez,[258] Joaquin Murrieta,[259] and Juan "Cheno" Cortina[260] to educate Chicanas/os about their history of protest. All these historical figures, except Zapata, were nineteenth century folk heroes that fought against White oppression of Mexicans in the U.S. Zapata, a Mexican revolutionary figure, represented the struggle for land and social rights led by Chicanas/os in the present. To White Americans, people like Vásquez, Murrieta, and Cortina represented bloodthirsty criminals. To Mexican descent people, they personified heroes of la raza, men who fought against oppression of their communities and for justice and equality in a hostile environment. The historical recovery of these individuals by the Chicana/o Movement nurtured the militant actions of young Chicanas/os, who saw themselves following their footsteps.

It is important to note that early on women were not included *in La Verdad's* historical pantheon. If the staff of *La Verdad* intended to provide the basic building blocks of a revolutionary education, it fell short. There were no similar vignettes printed about Josefina Fierro or Luisa Moreno, labor activists and organizers of *El Congreso de Pueblos de Habla Española*, the first-ever Spanish-speaking congress in the U.S.[261] Luisa Moreno, in fact, had spent several years of her life working for the rights of cannery workers in San Diego in the

[257] "¡Viva Emiliano Zapata!" *La Verdad,* May 1968, p. 3.

[258] "The California Warrior: Tiburcio Vasquez," *La Verdad,* June 1969, p. 13.

[259] "The California Warrior: Joaquin Murrieta," *La Verdad,* July 1969, p. 13.

[260] "The Texas Warrior: Cheno Cortina," *La Verdad*, August 1969, p. 5.

[261] For more on the history of the Spanish-Speaking Congress, see to Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930-1960*; Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950*; and Vicki Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century-America*.

late 1940s.[262] There was no reference to Emma Tenayuca, who unionized Mexican workers in Texas with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America in the late 1930s and early 1940s. There was nothing on Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez, the mother of Mexican independence.[263] The labor activism of Fierro, Moreno, and Tenayuca happened to be much more relatable to the labor and economic struggles many Chicanas/os faced at the time than nationalist sentiments derived from the images of Zapata, Vásquez, Murrieta, or Cortina. The attention given to male heroes represented the cultural nationalism of the movement, which tended to valorize male leaders. The silence on these women's lives can also be explained by the fact that many of these histories may not have been widely known by Chicana/o Movement activists in San Diego during the years 1968 and 1972. It was not until the 1970s and 1980s that several of these histories were thoroughly researched and incorporated into the canon of Chicana/o history by scholars such as Rudy Acuña, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Mario T. García. However, as *La Verdad* evolved it began to extensively focus on the work being done by local Chicanas, including contributors Linda LeGerrette, Olivia Puentes-Reynolds, Gracia Molina de Pick, and others.

San Diego's manufactured White image has led many historians and academics to assume that nothing significant happened locally during the Civil Rights Movement

[262] For more on Luisa Moreno and El Congreso in San Diego, see Carlos M. Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Luisa Moreno," *The Journal of San Diego History,* Vol. 41, No. 4 (Fall 1995): pp. 284-311; Carlos M. Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Luisa Moreno and the Beginnings of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement in San Diego," in *The Journal of San Diego History,* Vol. 43, No. 3 (Summer 1997), pp. 158-175; Carlos M. Larralde, "El Congreso in San Diego: An Endeavor for Civil Rights," *The Journal of San Diego History.*

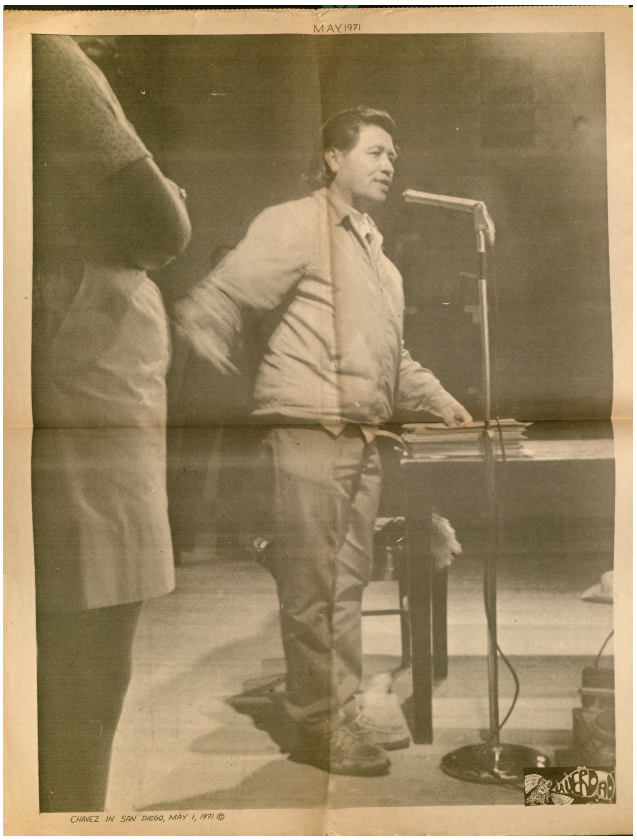
[263] All of these women – except Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez – were alive during the period that *La Verdad* was in print. In fact, Luisa Moreno lived across the border in Tijuana during the late 1960s. There is no indication whatsoever of members of *La Verdad* ever attempted to reach out to her for an interview or an article.

period.[264] This imaginary veil crafted by White racial imaginations aimed to keep San Diego socially and politically White. This was challenged head-on by *La Verdad*, which interrogated the notion that nothing ever happened locally by reporting the visits of major Chicana/o Movement leaders to San Diego. The list included César Chávez, Reies López Tijerina, Sal Castro, who led the 1968 East Los Angeles High School walkouts, and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the leader of the Crusade for Justice. Local response to these visits was high. *La Verdad* not only demonstrated that there was a response to the Chicana/o Movement locally, but that these leaders came specifically because there was a Chicana/o Movement going on in San Diego. These leaders forged close ties with many local activists that assured San Diego would be in the loop of all things related to the movement. For example, Carlos LeGerrette became one of César Chávez's official photographers, and Linda LeGerrette served as the National Director of the Farmers Resource Center, a non-profit services provider for farmworkers in the UFW's headquarters in Keene, California, in the early 1970s.[265] The late San Diego musical icon Ramón "Chunky" Sánchez became the voice of the Farmworkers Movement and was the favorite musician of César Chávez. Corky Gonzales attended many Chicano Park Day celebrations and collaborated with the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR) alongside Herman Baca and Bert Corona to protest

[264] For more on the social and cultural transformation of the Southwest under Anglo supervision, see Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Lawrence Culver, *The Frontier of Leisure: Southern California and the Shaping of Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); for specifically about San Diego, see Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); and Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller, *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See* (New York: The New Press, 2005).

[265] María E. García, "Carlos and Linda LeGerrette: Abiding Commitment to Community Service, Part II" online article in *The San Diego Free Press*. July 16, 2016, accessed September 25, 2016. http://sandiegofreepress.org/2016/07/carlos-linda-legerrette-cesar-chavez/

unjust immigration policies in the late 1970s. After Corky passed away in 2005, his family continued to visit the city and Chicano Park regularly. The connections that San Diego Chicana/o activists established with major movement leaders and causes shows that San Diego was not isolated from the rest of the country – culturally, socially, or politically. San Diego was very much engaged with the course of events going on. *La Verdad* shows that San Diego was in fact plugged into the movement.



César Chávez in San Diego, 1971. *La Verdad,* Vol. 1 Issue 28, May 1971, Unknown Page. Source: María García Papers 1968-1997, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University.

When Richard Saiz became editor of *La Verdad* in 1969, some contributors traveled to Los Angeles to learn how to put out a good, quality newspaper. Appearance was key to generate identification and support from the community. Carlos, Linda, and Richard recalled

going to the offices of *La Raza* (The People) magazine, one of the most important Chicana/o newspapers out of the Los Angeles area, to seek professional advice. They also looked at other newspapers papers such as *La Hormiga* (The Ant), *El Gallo* (The Rooster), *Compas* (Friends), and *Raices* (Roots) as models, perhaps because they had widespread circulation and support.[266] This began a process of professionalization as more people joined and introduced new and radical ideas to the group. Oftentimes these ideas would not resonate as much as the contributors hoped. "There were a variety of agendas," Richard recalled, "from Cuba to the UFW…there was a lot of energy."[267] This energy sometimes led to disagreements over the focus of the newspaper. While some advocated for a full-fledged leftist orientation, others wanted to keep the focus of the newspaper grounded in the everyday language of the community. These exchanges suggest that the orientation of the newspaper was an important factor to assure community support. As a result, the relationship between the newspaper and the community was sometimes mixed. According to Richard:

> We were seen as radicals. Even the word 'Chicano' was controversial. A lot of the old generation [Mexican Americans] felt that was a derogatory term, and we were trying to take it back as a word of pride in terms of identity. Not as so-called hyphenated Mexican-Americans, or God-forbid Hispanics, but as Chicanos, which is a way of saying, 'we are not only giving ourselves a

[266] Salvador Torres, conversation with author, September 17, 2015.

[267] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

> different identity,' but it reflects a different attitude of how we view the political structure and our place in society.[268]

The absence of bylines in several articles can be attributed to the influence of left-leaning contributors. It was the influence of those on the left who Richard asserted, "wanted no hierarchies, no titles…[and] we simply didn't care."[269] At the end of the day, Richard said, "[we tried] to bring communal sensibility to the [group]."[270] This meant that the people needed to see themselves directly in the pages of *La Verdad*; so individual grievances could be seen as a collective voice of the people's protests.

Community support for the newspaper was at times shaky. As mentioned before, not everyone in the Barrio Logan community, where the newspaper was primarily read, fully agreed with the politics of the younger Chicana/o generation printed on the pages of *La Verdad*. One exception was longtime resident Mike Amador, who despite his reservations on the political connotation of the word "Chicano," still supported the newspaper. Copies of *La Verdad* were sold at his store, "Mike Amador Market," located on the corner of National Avenue and Beardsley Avenue. Recalling the relationship that *La Verdad* had with Amador, Richard Saiz said:

> I would go to Amador's market and he'd be standing there and say, "Oh, okay, we got another issue of this, okay," and then immediately we would start into a political discussion. And his attitude was, "You know, some of the

[268] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[269] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[270] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015

> things you guys put in that paper, I don't know if our people are going to buy it. I mean, you criticize the Catholic Church,[271] you gotta be careful." And we would have a friendly sort of debate whenever I would bring the paper over.[272]

The types of discussions between Mike Amador and Richard Saiz were to be expected given the political differences between the generations (the Mexican American Generation and Chicana/o Generation, respectively) they each represented. But the fact that Amador allowed copies of *La Verdad* to be sold at his establishment showed his willingness to contribute in the fight for his community's wellbeing, despite having his reservations about the politics that drove it. This further shows the commitment in San Diego, at the height of the Chicana/o Movement locally, for distinct political trends within the Mexican descent population to work together to achieve a shared goal.

Amador's opinion of *La Verdad* represents just one of many possibly entertained by San Diego's Mexican descent population during the period. Even though *La Verdad* enjoyed widespread support throughout San Diego County (given the 3,500-5,000 copies that circulated each time an issue was printed), not everything its contributors did or wrote about

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[271] Carlos LeGerrette was part of large protests against the Catholic Church in San Diego. These protests pushed the Church to be more involved in helping the poor and disempowered against the repression of the police and nation-state. In one instance, Carlos picketed the home of Bishop Leo T. Maher. Coverage of local protest against the Catholic Church will be addressed later in this chapter. For more on the general Chicano-Catholic Church relationship during the Chicana/o Movement, see Mario T. García, *Chicano Liberation Theology: The Writings of Richard Cruz and Católicos Por la Raza* (Dubuque: Kendall Hunt Publishing, 2009). For more on the San Diego chapter of Católicos Por la Raza, see Alberto López Pulido, "Are You An Emissary of Jesus Christ?: Justice, The Catholic Church, and the Chicano Movement," *The Journal of the National Association for Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan. 1991), pp. 17-34.

[272] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

received unconditional support. While some in the community applauded the newspaper's commitment to social justice through its identification with Chicanismo, others found this nationalist rhetoric could be counterproductive to the cause, as well as divisive and exclusionary. A person like Amador was of a different generation than his Chicana/o contemporaries. He believed in political reform and working to change the system from the inside, as evidenced by his campaign for the District Eight City Council seat and his work promoting Mexican American business growth.[273] The fact that Amador, less politically radical than young Chicanas/os, still supported the newspaper shows that *La Verdad* was more than just about the issues and the politics of the movement itself, but of community growth, engagement, and help – which is ultimately what the Chicana/o Movement and even the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine were all about.

Mike Amador was not the only pre-Chicana/o Movement Mexican American businessman and civil rights activist who supported *La Verdad.* Larry Montoya, the Republican civil rights activist featured prominently in the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine, wrote to *La Verdad* in June of 1968 in defense of Clara B. Lefler, a Mexican American woman who called *La Verdad'*s reprinting a grammatically incorrect Spanish-written article an 'insulto…[una] caricatura ridícula de nuestro español ("An insult…[a] a ridiculous caricature of our Spanish language)," and the newspaper's use of the word "Chicano" – which she said did not exist – a "degeneración de la palabra mexicano, usado así por los gentes de poca educación y muy propia del hampa y los barrios viejos de la

[273] For more information on Mike Amador, see "Mike Amador, Seeks Council Seat," *Amigo: An Inter-American Review,* September 1967, p. 3.

ciudad de México (A degeneration of the word "Mexican," used by people with little education and representative of the old neighborhoods of Mexico City)."[274]

Perhaps as a sign of the political moment that Chicanas/os were involved with, the editor of the newspaper responded to Lefler in a direct and confrontational manner. He called her a "comfortable Mexican American," a "tia tortilla" – a sell-out – and told her that the word Chicano was not in the dictionary because it was a political expression of a new way to think and be Mexican American. To hit the point home, the editor pointed out 16 grammar mistakes Lefler made in her letter, and he said that he mailed her a corrected Xerox copy of her own letter.[275] This type of response by *La Verdad* did not sit well with Larry Montoya. Citing Mrs. Lefler's work as a returning middle-aged Mexican American college student, a Spanish-language instructor in Linda Vista, and community mentor for the MAAC project, Montoya looked to show that community activism could be done in numerous ways, and that it did not necessarily have to follow the strict parameters of Chicanismo to be successful or to fully benefit Mexican Americans. He stated: " I feel that the *La Verdad* publication has great potential and I will always support it. It is our only newspaper. But look before shooting. The cat you shoot could be your own. I feel an apology is in order [for Mrs. Lefler]."[276] It is unknown if an apology was ever given to Mrs. Lefler. Despite the difference in views between Larry Montoya and *La Verdad*, his commitment to support the newspaper as a means to an end to help change and correct perceptions of Mexican Americans in San Diego is noteworthy and consistent with later efforts to help his community (see chapter one).

[274] "Letter to Editor by Clara B. Lefler," *La Verdad*, May 4, 1968, p. 4.

[275] "Editor Response to Clara B. Lefler," *La Verdad*, May 4, 1968, p. 4.

[276] "Letter to Editor by Larry Montoya," *La Verdad*, June 1968, p. 4.

In another expression of ambivalence towards the newspaper, Pedro Varela, an English language teacher in Oceanside, wrote that while he supported *La Verdad* as an outlet for Chicanas/os to express their voice, he said he was "revolted by the paper['s]" nationalist rhetoric. Varela felt that *La Verdad's* nationalist tone only accomplished swapping mainstream stereotypes of Mexicans and Mexican Americans with "Pancho Villa stereotypes [of] the Chicano wearing the sombrero, bigote (mustache), a gun and the cross-chest bullet belts," which he believed would "smear [the] whole newspaper."[277] Varela identified as a proud member of la raza, but he was skeptical with the militant tone of Chicanismo. "I stand with a commitment to nothing less than a revolution," he wrote, "but with a difference – through non-violent means."[278] This quote suggests that Varela believed that Chicanismo, or adhering to it, was all about promoting violence in the name of justice. This was never the perspective advanced by the staff of *La Verdad*. Another resident wrote to *La Verdad* and expressed his negative perception of a group of Chicanas/os who opposed a school bond measure to fund the construction of additional schools in San Diego with the following: "[La] Raza will gain unity thru reason, not extremism. It must be a Unity of purpose, and not a Unity of thought, or of approaches toward that greater purpose."[279] What is not said in this letter, and what a June 1969 letter to the newspaper clarified, is that the reason this group of Chicanas/os (revealed to be the Chicano Federation) opposed the school bond was because it did not address making changes to the educational curriculum to incorporate more aspects of Mexican American history and culture. While it was important to have more schools built, it was more important to revise the education curriculums in

[277] "Letter to Editor by Pedro Varela," *La Verdad*, May 1969, p. 6.

[278] "Letter to Editor by Pedro Varela," *La Verdad,* May 1969, p. 6.

[279] "Letter to Editor by John Tovar Bareño," *La Verdad*, May 1969, p. 6.

terms of providing better quality education to Chicanas/os.[280] What good would new schools be to Chicanas/os, and why would they pay for them, if they continued to disseminate the same negative stereotypes about their culture and history?

Sometimes the newspaper struggled with presenting itself in a way that its primary audience could easily relate to. It did not want to come off as radical propaganda. "If we are going to communicate [the content of *La Verdad*] to our parents and abuelitos (grandparents)," Richard Saiz pointed out, "they [were not] going to understand this shit, this BS [referring to complex political debates]. We [the contributors] got into very animated discussions and that was good because it was part of the process" that made *La Verdad* come closer to the people it advocated for.[281] This is more evidence that shows there existed a type of disconnect with the community, but which the staff of the newspaper worked consistently to address. Clear communication between the newspaper and the community was important. That is why Carlos LeGerrette said he positioned himself as a moderate for the sake of who he wanted to read his writing: his community and his family.[282] Looking back on his experiences with Mike Amador, Richard Saiz said:

> I think I understood, even though he didn't necessarily agree with everything we were doing, he would appreciate the fact that we were trying to provide a voice to the community that was virtually ignored by *The San Diego Union*. I mean, [the] Mexican American community was basically invisible, unless

[280] "Letter to Editor by Francisco Cervantes: A Response to J. Bareño," *La Verdad*, June 1969, p. 4.

[281] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[282] Carlos LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

there was trouble. Amador would not only help distribute the paper at his store, but he did support the paper with certain amount of ambivalence.[283]

Even though Mike Amador belonged to a generation and to a political philosophy that aligned him with more pragmatic and mainstream tactics to help advance the rights of Mexican Americans, he still supported and appreciated the work of his younger contemporaries from *La Verdad* because like the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine before, they too sought to dispel negative stereotypes that affected the Mexican community of San Diego. What is undoubtedly true about *La Verdad* is that it received community blessings and support on some things and not on others. Many concerned views of the community had to do with the local movement's adoption of Chicanismo, which at its most oppositional phase challenged the most fundamental and sacred values of Mexican culture like the Catholic Church, its views on the military, traditional family values, and gender roles. As the political horizons of *La Verdad* expanded, it created an opportunity for the newspaper to illuminate some of these most obscure issues that affected the Chicana/o people of San Diego in an effort to empower its community to speak up and create change.

The People Speak Up

As a community newspaper, *La Verdad* provided a bottom-up perspective of issues going on locally in San Diego. Mainly because of its contributors' widespread involvement, the newspaper reported on a number of interrelated cases like the farmworkers' movement, the anti-war effort, and efforts for educational equality. The paper's focus was always on Barrio Logan, and the efforts to empower its residents. The local chapter of the Brown

[283] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

Berets, founded in October of 1968, was featured as the arm of support and protection of San Diego's Chicana/o neighborhoods. Their nine-point plan towards community empowerment was made-up of several demands that included the complete and direct control of the barrios through control of schools, home ownership, and the right to money to pay for higher education. Among the more radical demands made by the San Diego Brown Berets were that all Chicanos must be guaranteed an annual income of $7,500 (no mention of who or what would guarantee this was stated); that Spanish be learned and used by everyone who lived and made business with the barrio; that all incarcerated Chicanos receive a review of their cases;[284] and that Chicanos not be stripped of their right to bear arms – because Chicanos to effectively protect their families, their heritage, and their barrio, any law aimed at regulating gun control could not apply to them because their rights were first and foremost affirmed in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the U.S.-Mexico War in 1848 and forced Mexico to cede the Southwest to the U.S.[285]

The struggle for Chicano Park, the creation of El Centro Cultural de la Raza in Balboa Park, and the takeover of Neighborhood House and its transformation into the Chicano Free Clinic were among the major defining events of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement that were covered extensively by *La Verdad.*[286] These were incidents that Alurista in June of

[284] The Brown Berets' demand that all incarcerated Chicanos receive a fair and unbiased review of their cases can be read as part of the local pinto movement, which fought for the rights of Chicanos in prison and pushed for prison reform. Several articles on the pinto movement appeared in *La Verdad*, including calls for drug rehabilitation programs, which shows that Chicana/os in San Diego were aware of this movement and that it was one of the most important struggles occurring in San Diego.

[285] "Los Barrios se Juntan Por la Raza," *La Verdad*, March 1969, p. 7.

[286] For more about the history of Neighborhood House, from its origins as a settlement house in the early 1900s to its transformation into the Chicano Free Clinic in 1970, and its service to the community throughout, see María. E. García, *La Neighbor: A Settlement House in Logan Heights* (San Diego: San Diego Printers, 2016).

1970 declared were among the five core struggles that made up the San Diego Movement (in addition to the fight against police brutality and the construction of Interstate 805 in San Ysidro). The debate over Interstate 805, a north-to-south highway from La Jolla to the Mexican border, was centered on the plan to construct the highway through the mostly Mexican part of San Ysidro, the southernmost border city in San Diego County. This story was huge given Barrio Logan's previous experiences with urban renewal, or what Carlos LeGerrette referred to as "human removal" that began with the expansion of Interstate Five and the construction of the Coronado Bay Bridge through Barrio Logan. When referring to the physical divisions these highways created in Barrio Logan, Carlos pointed out their intentions to disrupt the local community. "Make no mistake…that thing [freeway] is very surgical, what they've done, what they did," he said. "They took it through Old Town (Chicanos), took it through Little Italy (Italians), took it through Barrio Logan (Mexicans) and so you can see, there was definitely a pattern to break up our communities."[287] *La Verdad* interviewed Richard Juárez, of the San Diego City Planner's Group, who told the newspaper that they [the city planners] were unofficially told by persons in the Highway Department that the freeway route [Interstate 805] was planned as it was in order to tear down "bad housing" in the area; "bad housing" was a code word that meant the removal of working-class Chicana/o families in order for the city to make room for new businesses and tax revenue that would stem from the Model Cities Program, a Great Society initiative to help improve local infrastructure and services. The input of Chicana/o residents of San Ysidro was never sought by the city, according to *La Verdad*. All decisions about the freeway were made by outside businessmen that had economic ties to San Ysidro. Opposition to the freeway also came from Tijuana, which *La Verdad* reported raised

[287] Carlos LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23 2015.

concerns about the excess of traffic the freeway would bring into the city. "This is not freeway planning," an article in the September 1970 issue stated, "but pure racism" that attacked and sought to destroy the social and cultural relations of border area residents.[288] *La Verdad* wanted to inform readers of this injustice in order to preserve border relations as they were and to prevent another Barrio Logan in San Ysidro. In their reporting of Interstate 805, *La Verdad* used the past to inform, educate, and empower the present to take action.

There was widespread discontent with *The San Diego Union's* depictions of the Chicana/o people. *La Verdad* reported that in October of 1970, 60 Chicanas/os picketed the offices of *The San Diego Union*. Among the demands expressed were that *The San Diego Union* include more bilingual articles, that any articles about Chicanas/os be approved first by a Chicano editor, and that there be more outreach, hiring, and training of Chicana/o journalists.[289] In December of 1970, Richard Saiz, in representation of *La Verdad*, was one of many media representatives invited to an open forum to discuss the purpose and problems of the San Diego media.[290] A December 7 article provided an update on a panel on journalistic objectivity that took place at the open forum on December 6. Eduardo Rivera, representing *La Verdad*, said to an audience of more than 250 people that the reason why *La*

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[288] "Planners Denounce Freeway as Destructive," *La Verdad*, September 1970, p. 6.

[289] "Chicanos contra Union Tribune, "Union Tribune Attacked by Chicanos" *La Verdad*, October 1970, pp. 8 and 19. NOTE: The article was published in both Spanish and English. However, the English-language title, "Union Tribune Attacked by Chicanos," does not reflect the same message of the Spanish-language article. When the English-language article is translated to retain the same meaning in English, the title comes out to, "Chicanos Against the Union Tribune." The English-titled "Union Tribune Attacked by Chicanos" gives off the impression that Chicanos were violently attacking the newspaper offices, when in reality; they just picketed outside of their headquarters. Perhaps this was just an error on the part of the contributors at the time of translating the article.

[290] "Forum Slated on News Media," *The San Diego Union*, December 3, 1970, p. B-9. The invitee list included Leo F. Bowler, managing director of *The San Diego Evening Tribune*; Harold Keen, KFMB-TV and *Los Angeles Times* newsman; Earl Davis, publisher of *The Voice* and *Viewpoint*; Betty McKaig, editor of *The Independent*; William F. Comer, advertising director of *The San Diego Magazine*; and Juliette Wittman of *The Street Journal*.

Verdad did not accept advertisements was because "we don't want to pass this suppressive tool on to the people." He insinuated that advertisements usually came accompanied by a sense of authority over publication from whoever paid money to have an ad published. This is something that *La Verdad* strictly went against since its inception – manipulation from special interests. Rivera further stressed this when he said, "Our paper is a cultural instrument…we espouse the rebirth of the Aztec culture. The majority of Chicanos have a beautiful and deep culture, reverting back to before the European conquest. We are trying to get this to the community."[291] This is why the only advertisements that the newspaper did run were of Chicana/o businesses or community organizations whose priority were the Chicana/o people.

Student activism at SDSU by contributors Olivia Puentes-Reynolds and Irma Hernández helped bridge the gap between the community and higher education.[292] Housing concerns and police abuses were heavily discussed as forms of social and political violence aimed at demobilizing Chicanas/os. Racist depictions that portrayed Mexicans as lazy by the San Diego Gas and Electric Company were addressed head-on. [293] The racism exhibited by San Diego Mayor Frank Curran, who was often presented as a friend and ally of the Mexican American community in Phil Saenz's magazine, was called out directly for his racist remarks in *La Verdad*. Even though Curran was sympathetic to the Mexican American community, as Phil Saenz's sons stated, he still made insensitive remarks about them from time to time. Acting on its claim of always telling "the truth," *La Verdad* called out Mayor

[291] "San Diego's Open Forum Discusses News Media," *The San Diego Union*, December 7, 1970. Page number difficult to tell.

[292] Student activism at SDSU will be covered more in-depth in chapter three.

[293] SDG&E, *La Verdad*, February 1969, p. 2; "SDG&E Apologizes to Chicanos," *La Verdad*, March 1969, p. 8.

Curran in the July-August 1971 issue for allegedly describing Chicana/o activists in San Diego as "a disturbing faction of young militants of Mexican heritage" to a group of visiting students from Spain.[294] He furthered degraded Chicanas/os by claiming that the city of San Diego gave them a building in Balboa Park (that became El Centro Cultural de la Raza) in order to help them "deal with their need for identification."[295] *La Verdad* stated that Mayor Curran's words were "a clear act of ignorance, distortion and an outright insult to the integrity of the Chicano people in San Diego and specifically to the Toltecas en Aztl[á]n," an artist collective involved in the creation of El Centro Cultural de la Raza.[296] Mayor Curran's views of the Chicana/o Movement are perhaps best understood as those that a conservative establishment figure would have as a result of being directly challenged by a community long believed to be politically passive and unimportant. The city of San Diego could tolerate Mexican Americans that worked with the system and didn't upset the status quo too much; but the militancy unleashed by the Chicana/o Movement locally was entirely different for a city long accustomed to Mexican American complacency and submissiveness. Perhaps this is why *La Verdad* claimed Mayor Curran's words and attitude are the reason why San Diego was dishonorably known as the "Mississippi of the West."[297] *La Verdad* and its contributors illuminated and explicitly condemned racism in San Diego, wherever it reared its ugly head. These articles show that *La Verdad* was a key way of organizing against racism locally.

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[294] "Fat Mayor Insults La Raza," *La Verdad*, July-August 1971, p. 6.

[295] "Fat Mayor Insults La Raza," *La Verdad*, July-August 1971, p. 6.

[296] "Fat Mayor Insults La Raza," *La Verdad*, July-August 1971, p. 6.

[297] "Fat Mayor Insults La Raza," *La Verdad*, July-August 1971, p. 6.

Two of the topics that clearly explain the newspaper's importance and the shape of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego are educational justice and interracial activism. The most recurrent issue that *La Verdad* reported on was education. By publishing updates on the 1968 East Los Angeles High School walkouts, as well local concerns over school curriculums, low Chicana/o enrollment in English as a Second Language programs, and Chicana/o student activism at SDSU and UCSD, the newspaper pointed out that education struggles were a local and a statewide issue. In a May 1968 article, it was reported that at Lowell Elementary,[298] located in the heart of Barrio Logan, only 19 students out of a total ninety percent Mexican student body were enrolled in English as a Second Language programs.[299] Given that bilingual Chicanas/os increased their odds of obtaining better educational opportunities and achieving economic mobility, these numbers tell that these students from Barrio Logan were not extended the same opportunities as others. As a newspaper concerned about improving the poor educational conditions of Chicanas/os, *La Verdad* ran stories that informed the public where they could best invest their time and effort. The newspaper followed closely the 1969 student walkouts from San Diego High and Memorial Junior High the most, likely because the schools are located near Barrio Logan. Among the demands made by these students were the hiring of a Chicano principal at San Diego High, the end of the tracking system, more college prep courses, bilingual education in English, Math, Social Studies, and Science, and the creation of a Chicano committee to evaluate the placement of students in special education classes.[300] *La Verdad*'s coverage of

[298] Lowell Elementary is now called Grace W. Perkins Elementary.

[299] "La cucaracha," *La Verdad*, June 1968, p. 2.

[300] For a complete listing of all of the demands presented to the Superintendent, see "Chicanos Walkout, Chicanos Huelgan!" *La Verdad,* May 1969, pp. 1-2.

the 1969 walkouts made them San Diego's own version of the East Los Angeles blowouts.[301]

Besides being involved with the UFW's efforts to organize farmworkers in San Diego, Carlos LeGerrette wrote regularly for *La Verdad*. In 1968, he wrote an article about the first-ever interracial student educational conference in San Diego. Taking place at Lincoln High School, located in a predominantly African American working-class neighborhood in Southeast San Diego, members of San Diego Mesa College's Black Student Union and Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA)[302] represented "the first community education conference geared specifically to the interests of minority students" in San Diego.[303] In the 1970s, *La Verdad* followed the Lumumba-Zapata movement at UCSD, where Black and Chicana/o students pushed to rename Third College after the fallen Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba and Mexican revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata.[304] In 1969, the newspaper's gaze returned to Lincoln High. In April, over 1000 Black and Chicana/o students walked out of Lincoln High in demand of better education. This walkout precipitated others at Gompers Junior High, Memorial Junior High, and San Diego High that year. Lincoln High students succeeded in shutting down the school. Although the police was called to the scene, no major altercations took place.

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[301] For more on the East Los Angeles High School walkouts, see Dolores Delgado Bernal, "Grassroots Leadership Reconceptualized: Chicana Oral Histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles School Blowouts." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, Varieties of Women's Oral History (1998), pp. 113-142; and Mario T. García, *Blowout! Sal Castro and the Chicano Struggle for Educational Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[302] Carlos LeGerrette was one of the founding members of MAYA at San Diego Mesa College.

[303] "Student Education Conference," *La Verdad*, May 3, 1968, pp. 2 and 4.

[304] For more on the Lumumba-Zapata movement at UCSD, see chapter 6, "to demand that the university work for our people" in Jorge Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), pp. 210-246.

Negotiations between school officials and the students began immediately. The Lincoln walkouts were a success thanks to the good relations that Black and Chicana/o students had at Lincoln. Norma Cazares, a Chicana student at Lincoln who was involved in the walkouts, served as a bridge to get Mexican immigrant students involved in the walkout. Most of them had recently immigrated, and Norma claimed they did not really see the point to walking out of class. For many of them, coming from places with little educational opportunities, U.S. schools were more than they had ever had back home. They didn't understand why people protested what to them might as well been a luxury. "They would look at you [and ask], why are you walking out? What are you complaining about? We [Mexican immigrant students] have it made here."[305] There was a point of contention between Chicana/o and Mexican immigrant students, but individuals like Norma Cazares worked to build bridges that strengthened the community's push for a better San Diego between Mexicans and Chicanas/os. Shortly after the Lincoln walkouts, Black and Chicana/o parents joined forces to eliminate Educable Mentally Retarded classes throughout San Diego, which placed mainly poor and working class people of color into classes made specifically for students with special needs. All of these events indicate that educational reform was a key issue for the San Diego Chicana/o Movement and for the staff of *La Verdad.*

[305] Norma Cazares, interview by Jimmy Patiño, 2006. Source: Herman Baca Digital Collection, UCSD.

Black and Chicana/o students during the Lincoln High School walkouts. *La Verdad,* Vol. 1 No. 8, May 1968, p. 3. Source: Howard Hollman Newspaper Collection 1965-2000, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University.[306]

Capitalizing on the success of interracial activism on the educational front, the staff of *La Verdad* pushed for a similar approach in the campaign against police violence. It made a plea to all "residentes Negros Anglos o Mexicanos que luchan para hacer de San Diego una comunidad deben juntarse y definitivamente parar esta brutalidad, esta injusticia (Black, white, or Mexican all residents that fight to make a community in San Diego must come together and definitely stop this brutality, this injustice),"[307] after a march in protest of police repression of Chicanos took place in front of police headquarters in downtown in

[306] Translation of caption inside picture: "Chicano and Black students from Lincoln High were the first that walked out of their school. Here they are together at Ocean View Park to listen to the demands they presented to school administrators."

[307] "Chotas Golpean A Nuestros Hijos," *La Verdad,* May 1970, p. 2.

May of 1970. The newspaper saw that police violence was not just a Chicano or Black issue, but a White issue too. Regardless of the politics of Chicanismo, Black Nationalism, or of radical White liberals, if they all called themselves agents of social justice, *La Verdad* urged them to work together to end police abuse in San Diego. Coalitional work could succeed locally. This was already evident in a struggle against housing evictions in the city of Escondido, in North San Diego County, where Chicanas/os formed a committee and fought against "selective eviction" against them and poor Whites. If one considers the newspaper's call for a multiracial front against police violence, then the appearance of this story does not come as a surprise. As the newspaper matured and gained traction in the community, its contributors realized that as a community, Chicanas/os could not turn a blind eye to the issues that other groups faced. Although of a different skin color, Blacks, as well as poor Whites, were also victims of a system created to benefit the rich and powerful. Cultural nationalism was not the only glue of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement. These articles indicate that a class-based, multiracial movement was working locally to a high degree of success.[308]

Tensions did flare up between Black and Chicana/o students in the fall of 1969 at Memorial Junior High after a presentation by the University of California, Santa Barbara's Black Student Council. No coalitions are ever perfect – but previous actions of interracial coalition largely outweighed any local infighting. As Richard Saiz put it, "our connection to the Black community was not only political but sociological as well." Both Blacks and Chicanas/os people lived in the same neighborhoods, attended the same schools and as a

[308] Class-based sensibilities were apparent locally in the movements for immigrant rights, immigration reform, and Third World identification. SDSU's *Inside the Beast,* but especially UCSD's *Voz Fronteriza,* were among the major advocates and proponents of class-based coalitions against economic inequality, racial injustice, and political exploitation. This will be discussed in-depth in chapters three and four.

result of shared experiences dealing with racial discrimination and lack of economic opportunities, it was natural for them, at least in California, to come together in times of need.[309] For example, Roger Cazares of the MAAC project recalled that in an effort to diversify San Diego's political leadership, Black, Brown, and Asian people got together in 1969 and formed a group called "BOMB" – Black Oriental Mexican Brothers. BOMB was a coalition of 25 Black, Chicano, and Asian organizations that came together to nominate candidates to fill the vacant City Council seats of the third, fourth, and sixth districts.[310] Among the people who attended the meeting at the South Crest Recreation Center were Roger Cazares, Leon Williams, Mike Amador, and Larry Montoya. Leon Williams and Mike Amador were nominated for the District Four seat, while Larry Montoya was one of three names put up for the District Six seat. Williams won the nomination for the District Four seat by acclamation, while Frank Saiz, a member of the Urban Coalition Communications Task Force, consultant with San Diego City Schools, and affiliated with the MAAC Project, did the same for the District Six seat. Leon Williams, then the Director of San Diego's Neighborhood Youth Corps and Acting Director of the San Diego Urban League, stated that an organization like BOMB "Three or four years ago…would have been impossible. We're really beginning to see that only in unity lies power, and that if the

[309] According to Roger and Norma Cazares, Blacks and Chicanas/os relied on each other considerably for support in San Diego. In Barrio Logan, many Chicanas/os did not have money to see a doctor, and if they did, they faced outright racism and discrimination if they went to see one. That is why many of them got their medical care from Black doctors that worked in the community. They were the only ones that would treat Chicanas/os. Roger remembered that his first doctors were Black. One in particular, Dr. Singleton, cared for his family without charging them a single cent. Roger stated, "If it wasn't for the Black doctors, we wouldn't have had any doctors." He believed Dr. Singleton worked locally in the barrio because he could not find work in the city as a result of discrimination and segregation in the medical profession, which very well could have been the case. Roger and Norma Cazares, interview with author, November 29, 2016.

[310] "Black, Oriental, and Mexican Brothers Nominate Minority Candidates for City Council," *The San Diego Free Press,* Vol. 1, No. 3, November 30-December 12, 1968, p. 3.

minorities are to have the power of self-determination, they must achieve unity."[311] Frank Saiz commented that BOMB was an example that "The minorities are getting a kind of political sophistication that is unheard of. As this convention showed, the only way to achieve the kind of unity we're talking about is to go directly to the people"[312] Roger remembered that BOMB was a sort of compromise between communities of color in San Diego. They would alternate support for each group's candidates, thus assuring a permanent seat on the City Council for communities of color in San Diego.[313] While not all Chicanas/os signed on to this deal, it is important to note that Roger recalled that Jess Haro, Mike Amador, and Larry Montoya all attended the founding meeting of BOMB– evidence that community empowerment in San Diego was an important enough issue that was capable of bringing together Mexican Americans from different political views to work on a single issue with Chicanas/os and other communities of color.[314]

The close work between Blacks and Chicanas/os in San Diego is furthered established in an instance where the local chapter of the Black Panthers offered protection to Carlos and Linda LeGerrette when union work became dangerous; so dangerous, in fact, that the Panthers lay on the roof of Carlos and Linda's house for three days. As communities-in-struggle, the Panthers extended their hand in support when the lives of their Brown brothers

[311] "Black, Oriental, and Mexican Brothers Nominate Minority Candidates for City Council," *The San Diego Free Press,* Vol. 1, No. 3, November 30-December 12, 1968, p. 3.

[312] "Black, Oriental, and Mexican Brothers Nominate Minority Candidates for City Council," *The San Diego Free Press,* Vol. 1, No. 3, November 30-December 12, 1968, p. 3.

[313] Roger Cazares, interview with author, November 29, 2016.

[314] Roger Cazares, interview with author, November 29, 2016.

and sisters were at risk.[315] According to Linda LeGerrette, "this friendship was indicative of mutual respect between the Panthers and Chicanas/os. They did not shun each other away, even though it could have been easy to do so."[316] This alliance between the LeGerrettes and the Panthers further demonstrates the importance and recurrence of multiracial work in San Diego. Salvador "Queso" Torres recalled that Kenny Damon, the leader of the San Diego Black Panthers, always understood that Blacks and Chicanos would never fight one another and could cooperate on similar and shared causes.[317] *La Verdad's* coverage of cross-racial work, a reflection of the work of its contributors, suggests that interracial coalition was not a rarity as some scholars claim, but rather a norm for San Diego during this period.

La Verdad's far-reaching scope brought local Chicanas/os in contact with aspects of the movement not overtly visible in San Diego. For example, because of Carlos and Linda LeGerrette's involvement with the UFW, *La Verdad* kept its readership informed of intimate details of the farmworkers' movement. There wasn't a single issue of *La Verdad* that did not devote at least a small article to reporting national and local news regarding the UFW. Locally, the farmworker struggle was visible in all corners of San Diego – from Coronado to Imperial Beach and at SDSU – picket lines and striking farmworkers were a natural part of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement. Widespread UFW activity was something that even

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[315] For more about the coalitional work of the UFW and the Black Civil Rights Movement, see Lauren Araiza, *To March for Others: The Black Freedom Struggle and the United Farm Workers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); "Complicating the Beloved Community: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the National Farm Workers Association," in Brian Behnken, ed., *The Struggle in Black and Brown: African-American and Mexican American Relations During the Civil Rights Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), pp. 78-103; "In Common Struggle against a Common Oppression": The United Farm Workers and the Black Panther Party, 1968-1973." *The Journal of African American History,* Vol. 94, No. 2 (Spring, 2009), pp. 200-223.

[316] Linda LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[317] Salvador Torres, conversation with author, September 17, 2016.

The San Diego Union could not outright ignore. A picket of the local Safeway store in National City was front-page news of the San Diego section of the newspaper in December of 1970. Present at this picket line, which was described as "noisy but peaceful" by one of the security guards at the store, was Father Victor Saladini, widely referred too as the "tortilla priest" because he gave communion with corn tortillas rather than with the traditional communion wafer.[318] Carlos and Linda LeGerrette were also part of a local group called "San Diegans for La Huelga," or San Diegans for the strike, that led caravans to Delano, California, to assist striking farmworkers by bringing them non-perishable foods. Their work appeared regularly on *La Verdad,* and they became the go-to people for anything related to the farmworkers' movement.

Another significant issue that *La Verdad* tackled head-on was the war in Vietnam. On this issue, Richard Saiz stated, "Traditionally the Mexican American community was very patriotic, and it was like my country right or wrong. That was their attitude. And then we came along and said, "Chale!" that's not always the right way to go. Our country makes mistakes."[319] One of the biggest differences between *Mexican-American/Amigo* and *La Verdad* was their position on the military, especially the community's opinion of war. Whereas Phil Saenz and other members of his magazine were veterans and credited their strength of character and sense of American identity to service to their country, Chicanas/os were of a generation that broke this tradition by questioning the country's hypocrisy towards its veterans of color. Several marches took place in San Diego in protest of the war. The

[318] "Lettuce Dispute: Store Picketing Called Effective," *The San Diego Union,* December 12, 1970, p. B-1.

[319] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

newspaper's anti-war position was clearly stated and sustained since the first issue.[320] Both Richard Saiz and Linda LeGerrette come from military families. Richard's stepfather was an ex-Marine and one of the many local residents that worked for the military since their arrival to San Diego during World War II. In fact, it was thanks to the military that many Mexican Americans in San Diego got their first decent wage job.[321] Richard often argued with his stepfather about the war in Vietnam. Linda's father was also an ex-Marine, but he protested the war in Vietnam. According to historian Lorena Oropeza, "Chicana/os protested the war on humanitarian grounds, but also shared a worldview that was both critical of U.S. foreign policy and sympathetic to "third world" struggles for liberation across the globe."[322] Oropeza's point clearly shows the break between *Mexican-American* and *La Verdad*. Linda's father best represented Oropeza's analysis. This type of contextualization is what the newspaper hoped to bring to Chicanas/os in San Diego.

Because of the large military presence in the city, the local anti-war movement was powerful. As home to Camp Pendleton, the largest U.S. Marine Corp base on the West Coast, San Diego experienced one of the most vocal anti-war movements in all of the country. Protests took place on the streets and on college and university campuses. While the city's mainstream newspaper *The San Diego Union* covered the White liberal anti-war movement, *La Verdad* covered the Chicana/o protest of the war. This provided a voice and

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[320] The first articles to tackle the Vietnam war were "Chicano Cannon Fodder" written by Frank Cervantes, the newspaper's first editor, and "¡Por Mi Madre, Yo No Voy" by Carlos LeGerrette, which appeared in the April 1968 issue. Both writers argued that Chicanos had no bigger fight than the one against social inequality and injustice at home. They pushed readers to think critically – how could Chicanos fight against a people whose suffering paralleled theirs in the U.S?

[321] Richard Saiz, Skype conversation with author, August 29, 2015.

[322] Lorena Oropeza, *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 95.

source of legitimacy to the community, which placed itself squarely in the national anti-war movement. Anti-war marches picked up locally in 1969 and 1970, including one on May 10, 1969, on Mexican Mother's Day. The 1969 march out of Barrio Logan drew over 400 Chicanas/os and according to *La Verdad*, it was the first time that Chicanas/os or anyone from Barrio Logan ever marched in such manner. It signified, according to the newspaper, that Chicanas/os were taking the initiative to find solutions to their own problems.[323] Reverend Gerald Fader, of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Barrio Logan, congratulated the success of the march and the newspaper's coverage of it. He expressed that while not everyone who participated in the march or in the community shared the same approach to social justice, he celebrated their coming together for a sole purpose when he said, "Unity of purpose yes; unity with every personal view, impossible."[324] In a rare feat, *The San Diego Union* also covered this march, but it was not front-page news. The article, tucked away on page B-6 in-between advertisements for a furniture store and accessory outlet, mostly quoted portions of a speech given by Carlos LeGerrette and offered a short interview with Frank Saiz, a member of the Chicano organizing committee that helped set-up the march.[325] Here is a clear example of where on the relevant scale this anti-war march organized and led by Chicanas/os was to the editors of *The San Diego Union*.[326]

[323] "May Day Mother's Day March," *La Verdad,* June 1969, p. 1.

[324] "Priest Comments on La Marcha," *La Verdad*, June 1969, p. 4.

[325] "March, Rally Stress Gains by Chicanos," *The San Diego Union*, May 11, 1969, p. B-6.

[326] *The San Diego Union* (and even today's *The San Diego Union Tribune,* its successor) contained multiple sections that covered national news, local news, business, and sports, among others. Section B tends to focus on local news. The fact that this story did not make it to the front pages, at a time when the anti-war movement was at an all-time high, is indicative of the level of disinterest in the Chicana/o anti-war movement on the part of *The San Diego Union* editorship.

May 10, 1969 Anti-War March out of Barrio Logan. *La Verdad,* Vol. 1 No. 9, June 1969 p. 2. Source: María García Papers 1968-1997, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University.

On November 15, 1969, the biggest anti-war march up to that point took place in San Diego. It drew 6,500 people that marched from Broadway in downtown to Balboa Park. Many Chicanas/os were part of the demonstration. In June of 1970, 800 Chicanas/os marched from Horton Plaza, a mall in downtown San Diego, to Chicano Park in Barrio Logan. Among the marchers were Carlos LeGerrette, Gracia Molina de Pick, and Alurista. At his speech in Chicano Park, Alurista spoke about the main concerns of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego. The participation of the newspaper's contributors in anti-war protests further underscore their commitment to social justice beyond the reporting of efforts to achieve said goal. It demonstrates their participation as historical actors within the script of the local Civil Rights Movement. There were other ways also that members of *La Verdad* were engaged in the anti-war movement. Richard Saiz, for example, hosted one-on-one draft

dodging counseling sessions for Chicanos at the main office of *La Verdad*[327] located in Barrio Logan.[328] One time, he recalled, a young man came in to ask how to join the service! (The person thought that *La Verdad* was a military recruiting center). The war in Vietnam was an important issue for the community of Barrio Logan because many Chicanos went into the service not for patriotic reasons but because they did not have a lot of choices to succeed at home. The armed forces offered them an opportunity to improve their economic conditions and a chance to obtain a quality education. It was important thus for the newspaper to inform its readers about the grim reality of war. In addition to this type of direct involvement in the community, the members of *La Verdad* also coordinated food drives for the poor and neediest, and promoted educational opportunities, events, and groups that helped Chicana/o students at SDSU.

Securing political participation was a key objective sought by the staff of the newspaper. In order to combat the war as both Chicanas/os and U.S. citizens, *La Verdad* urged Chicanas/os to become involved in the political process. Generally, the newspaper advertised voting for local and state-level third party candidates – some of which belonged to the Peace and Freedom Party.[329] One such ad claimed that "Brown Power" could become a reality via the Peace and Freedom Party.[330] Ricardo Romo, the party's first candidate for California Governor in 1970, received the support of the statewide Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), the first time in its ten-year history that MAPA did not back

[327] Richard Saiz, Skype conversation with author, August 29, 2015.

[328] "Draft Counseling for Chicanos," *La Verdad,* May 1971, p. 13.

[329] The Peace and Freedom Party formed in 1968 and included former members of the Democratic Party that opposed the Vietnam War and called for greater civil rights and economic justice policies at home.

[330] "Vote Peace and Freedom Party," *La Verdad*, May 3, 1968, p. 2.

a Democratic candidate. *La Verdad* advertised an appearance by Romo at Memorial Junior High in September of 1970, and in the October 1970 issue published a page-long interview with Romo that discussed his platform for Governor and its connection to Chicanas/os. According to the Peace and Freedom Party's October 1970 newsletter, Romo's candidacy was meant to "effect a political consciousness within the Chicano community; to build and sustain an ongoing third alternative to the existing, established parties."[331] In no way did this make the Peace and Freedom party the party of choice of *La Verdad* – it merely demonstrated the newspaper's commitment to exposing Chicanas/os to political alternatives besides the Democratic and Republican Parties. In doing so, the newspaper showed that political citizenship and democratic participation was not strictly defined by voting Democrat or Republican, but by being informed and aware of other political ideas. This tactic follows what the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine did with respects to introducing Mexican Americans to the Republican Party in San Diego – while still acknowledging the breakthroughs achieved through the Democratic Party. This approach likely challenged the thought process of those Chicanas/os that blindly voted for a major party's candidate of choice. In this context, *La Verdad* was very much like the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine – a challenge and interrogation of the community's basic political culture and practices.

The 1968 presidential election provided *La Verdad* with the best scenario possible to convince Chicanas/os to become politically involved. In June, the newspaper ran a paid advertisement in support of Eugene McCarthy, the first Democratic anti-war candidate. According to Carlos LeGerrette, while working as a school bus driver, he was approached

[331] "Peace and Freedom Party – Ricardo Romo." Accessed May 5, 2017. http://www.peaceandfreedom.org/home/about-us/historical-information/biographies/535-ricardo-romo

by a couple of co-workers part of the McCarthy campaign in San Diego. They knew about Carlos' involvement in *La Verdad*, and asked him if they could place an ad for McCarthy on the newspaper. He charged them 25 dollars for the ad. Gracia Molina de Pick, who ran the "McCarthy for President Headquarters" in Barrio Logan, took out a full-page ad in support of the Minnesota Senator. The tagline for the ad read, "Sen. Eugene McCarthy – A Man, Not a Myth."[332] According to Carlos, the pro-McCarthy ad did not place *La Verdad* squarely in the Senator's bandwagon. "That was more the paper being pragmatic," he recalled. "We [needed the money] to get the paper out."[333]

Carlos felt there wasn't a strong movement in San Diego in favor of Eugene McCarthy in 1968. As home to the second highest concentration of Chicanas/os on the West Coast, many of them, like others elsewhere in the Southwest, stood firmly behind Robert F. Kennedy (RFK). Mexican Americans had a close connection with the Kennedy family. President John F. Kennedy was considered the first real president of the Mexican American people and RFK, his younger brother, won over the affection and support of the Chicana/o community given his genuine concern for the country's poor and disenfranchised. His support of the UFW and close friendship with César Chávez, with who he took communion to end Chávez's 25-day fast in support of the farmworker's movement in 1968, further cemented him as the candidate of choice of the Chicana/o Movement ahead of the 1968 presidential election. Although many progressive Democrats (including some Chicanas/os) embraced McCarthy because of his strict anti-war stance and lifelong commitment to civil rights, many did not know who McCarthy was. He was from Minnesota, and Chicanas/os

[332] "Eugene McCarthy Campaign Ad," *La Verdad,* June 1968, p. 3.

[333] Carlos LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

were unsure if he had ever come in contact with Chicanas/os in that corner of the country. Others were torn because RFK was more culturally relatable to the Chicana/o community than McCarthy. RFK's Catholic and Irish immigrant background, and his connection to the UFW and Chicana/o student movements made him a more recognizable and trustworthy figure in the Chicana/o community.[334]

However, Carlos' story and the dominant grassroots connection to RFK are contradicted by a passionate editorial printed in tandem with the McCarthy ad. The bilingual editorial spoke to McCarthy's unwavering support and track record for civil rights, working-class communities, and social justice. It stated:

> El Senador McCarthy no ha alterado su plataforma inicial para acomodar o dar gusto a sus críticos conservadores. No la ha cambiado tampoco para agradar a los elementos descontentos dentro del partido demócrata. Hoy es el día que hay que votar por el candidato cuyo record no esta hecho a base de personalidad o promesas sino hechos" (Senator McCarthy has not changed his platform to accommodate or please his right-wing critics. He has not changed to please even disgruntled elements within the Democratic Party…Today is the day that we have to vote for the candidate whose record is made up by personality and not shallow promises).[335]

[334] Richard Saiz recalled that his mother wanted to meet RFK in person, so he took her to see him at a rally he held in downtown San Diego the day he was shot and killed, June 5, 1968. Richard Saiz, Skype conversation with author, August 29, 2015.

[335] Editorial on Senator Eugene McCarthy, *La Verdad,* June 1968, p. 2.

Though UFW leaders figures like César Chávez and Dolores Huerta threw all of their political clout behind RFK, *La Verdad* went another way by not running a similar editorial piece on the New York Senator. If *La Verdad* simply ran the ad for money, we might be inclined to think just as Carlos suggested, which is that the ad was just an ad. Although just an ad, at least one contributor thought McCarthy was important enough to write an editorial about, which officially took a stance beyond just selling the ad space. Given the large Chicana/o community in San Diego, and how the paper acted as an information center for said people, the editorial might have influenced Chicana/o voting in the election. The relationship that existed between Chicanas/os and RFK may have been some sort of national idea, but to imply that everyone blindly supported RFK isn't so, considering that one of the largest populations who got a lot of information from this paper were hearing, and possibly believing, something different.

Ad for Eugene McCarthy. *La Verdad,* Vol. 1 Issue 4, June 3-17, 1968, p. 3. Source: Howard Hollman Newspaper Collection 1965-2000, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University.

The content of this editorial placed *La Verdad* firmly in the McCarthy bandwagon. Before the McCarthy ad and editorial, the paper did not officially endorse any one political party or candidate for office. *La Verdad* was very idealist, but it did ground itself in some degree of practicality, like the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine. It chose to support a candidate whose attention for the people emanated from a lifetime of commitment to social justice and not from a name associated with promises of hope and change. There is also the fact that RFK did not oppose the Vietnam War from the beginning as Eugene McCarthy had done. As Attorney General, and even during his first couple of years as Senator, RFK did

not come out against the war. His position on Vietnam changed after the anti-war movement and social unrest escalated throughout the country. *La Verdad's* subsurface criticism of RFK through the McCarthy editorial and ad demonstrate the newspaper's attempt at promoting political discussions within the Chicana/o community. This explains the newspaper's attention to the 1970 National City mayoral campaign of Jesse Ramírez, the head of the Chicano Federation, and Gilbert Robledo's 1971 campaign for San Diego mayor. *La Verdad* published interviews with these candidates. Indirectly, *La Verdad* was informing its readers that voting outside the traditional and expected routes could generate political gains. This tactic, one can argue, mirrored that of the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine.

Although this political sample represents just one of many possible political directions entertained by Chicanas/os in San Diego at the time, it shows the direction that *La Verdad* took in representation of the Chicana/o community. The fact that the McCarthy campaign reached out to the community through the paper, and the McCarthy center was run by someone affiliated to *La Verdad*, shows that McCarthy was trying to connect to an important community on the border. As the protest candidate announcing himself in a protest newspaper, this shows that *La Verdad* placed itself in a position of pragmatic solutions to social concerns as growing conservative sentiment across the nation pushed civil rights groups further to the left. Given the reform-minded currents that permeated in Barrio Logan, this makes perfect sense. Like the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine's attention to debates within Republican circles*, La Verdad* attempted to increase political discussion within Chicana/o San Diego of the Democratic Party.

The staff of *La Verdad* also showed tremendous concern over repeated incidents of police harassment and brutality against Chicanas/os. As an arm of the status quo, the San Diego Police Department's incursions into Chicana/o communities were numerous. *La*

Verdad painted a much grimmer picture of the police than the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine ever did. This is striking considering that both publications were produced almost sequentially. The police perhaps saw the increased politicization and confrontational tactics of Chicanas/os as a larger threat to the status quo. The articles in *La Verdad* not only decried physical violence against Chicanas/os, but also the police's insensitivity towards their activist efforts. For example, an October 1969 article discussed how the police tauntingly ate non-union grapes in front of picketers, which showed their disinterest towards the farmworkers' movement.[336] In a December 1969 article, the newspaper reported that two young Chicanos, Alfredo Rangel and Tereso Tereto, were illegally stopped, searched, beaten, and arrested by police on suspicion of car burglary and drug use – even though the car belonged to one of them and no evidence of drug possession existed. To the arresting officers, their behavior towards these Chicanos was warranted because they were nothing more than "Mexicano[s] cochino[s] (Dirty Mexicans).[337]

On May 22, 1970, a fight broke out outside the Neighborhood House, a war on poverty institution in Barrio Logan where a party by Memorial Junior High's Club Azteca was being held. When the police arrived at the scene they called the party an unlawful assembly and ordered all attendees – mostly 14, 15, and 16 year old Chicanas and Chicanos – to disperse immediately. Many of the attendees, however, had to wait for their parents to pick them up, and this infuriated the police. Believing these Chicanas/os were openly challenging their authority, the police attacked the Chicanas/os teenagers. A 15-year-old Chicano by the name of Jesús Rodríguez suffered a severe beatdown as he tried to help his brother. He was taken to the hospital where one of the police officers allegedly told him, "I don't give a fuck what

[336] "Why I Call them Pigs," *La Verdad*, October 1969, p. 13.

[337] "La Policia Sigue Abusando," *La Verdad*, February 1970, p. 3.

happens to your people."[338] When parents and other adults arrived at the scene, the police told them to go home and keep quiet about what they saw. The police also arrested Don Brandy, who at the time served as the only Chicano on the Grand Jury of San Diego. *La Verdad* reported that when Brandy tried to prove his position on the Grand Jury to the officer who arrested him, he was told, "Ustedes Mexicanos son una bola de mentirosos (All you Mexicans are a bunch of liars)."[339] According to the officer, Brandy lied because no Mexican could ever be on the Grand Jury.

The newspaper itself came under attack from the police too. In February 1969, a 17-year-old who sold copies of *La Verdad* at a rally in honor of Huey Newton's (the co-founder of the Black Panthers) birthday was detained and the police confiscated his newspapers. *La Verda*d provided no details about the rally. It is safe to assume from the published text that people at Balboa Park met there to protest police harassment of Chicanos. The article said:

> LA PLACA [Chicano slang for "the police] has always been on the Chicano's back—overpolicing our barrios, harassing us, beating us, taking us for 'rides', and arresting us because we are Chicanos. And now that La Raza is organizing and saying – "Ya basta. No mas," – the San Diego Police Department is really getting up tight.[340]

La Verdad reported that no other people at the rally that sold newspapers were arrested. "Now the SD Free Press people (white, by the way) were selling their paper but (dig this)

[338] "Cops Beat Youth in Logan Heights," *La Verdad*, June 1970, p. 10.

[339] "Un Chicano Arrestado Falsamente," *La Verdad,* June 1970, p. 3.

[340] "La placa – malinche of the month," *La Verdad,* March 1969, p. 7.

they weren't arrested just warned. But a Chicano tries to sell LA VERDAD and he gets arrested immediately – no warning, no nothing,"[341] the newspaper reported. *The San Diego Free Press*, an underground newspaper founded by students of philosopher Herbert Marcuse at UCSD, also reported this incident. The paper was made up mostly of White students that identified as part of the New Left and held progressive views on race and civil rights. They took radical stands on subjects like police brutality that placed them in similar confrontational spaces alongside Chicanas/os. They identified the 17-year-old vendor of *La Verdad* as Charlie, whom they referred to as a "Chicano brother."[342] When they asked the arresting officer why they didn't just give Charlie a warning, he allegedly responded, "You Free Press guys are friendly with the Mexicans, he should of known."[343] During the Civil Rights Movement, activist communities of color bore the brunt of police brutality. Although both progressive Whites and Chicanas/os were part of a larger countercultural movement in San Diego, the Balboa Park incident suggests that the police was more likely to target activist people of color than White students. In light of this fact, progressive White activists pushed the community to stand up to police brutality. *The San Diego Free Press*, like *La Verdad*, was also an outspoken critic of police violence. It did not hold back calling the police "pigs" and their police radio codes "oinks." They encouraged witnesses to police crimes to "take it upon themselves to do what some of us are doing now; when you see someone being hassled by the police, go to the person, offer yourself as a witness to the

[341] "La placa – malinche of the month," *La Verdad,* March 1969, p. 7.

[342] "Balboa Park Arrest," *The San Diego Free Press*, Vol. 1, No. 9, February 28-March 14, 1969, p. 5.

[343] "Balboa Park Arrest," *The San Diego Free Press*, Vol. 1, No. 9, February 28-March 14, 1969, p. 5.

proceedings, and give the person your name, address, and phone number."[344] Olivia Puentes-Reynolds, who worked in *La Verdad,* was also a reporter for *The San Diego Free Press*, which is further evidence that Chicanas/os and Whites worked together to create an unorthodox progressive movement in an unorthodox border city.

The cops at Balboa Park interrogated Charlie about *La Verdad* and told him to "not read that junk [*La Verdad*], it's no good" and that the "Boycott Grapes" pin he wore (in support of the UFW) was "a bunch of shit."[345] The police took him home, but his papers remained in their custody. Members of *La Verdad* contacted the authorities and after some back-and-forth discussions the papers were returned. The staff concluded that their work was getting the community somewhere if the police had the need to confiscate it. The article concluded with a message to the police: "Listen PLACA. We will not give one inch. We will not let you destroy our paper. We will not break and run. We are RIGHT. We have human dignity and respect. We have a Causa—our people. And we are la Revolución."[346]

In the above articles, *La Verdad* pushed to end police brutality in San Diego altogether. Although *La Verdad* tended to focus more on police brutality committed against Chicanas/os, they advocated for a multiracial front against police violence. Chicanas/os, like other groups, saw the police as an occupation force in their communities.[347] Charlie's arrest for distributing *La Verdad*, the harassment and unlawful detentions of Alfredo Rangel and

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[344] "Editorial – Off the Pig," *The San Diego Free Press,* Vol. 1 No. 6, January 10-January 16, 1969, p. 4.

[345] "La placa – malinche of the month," *La Verdad,* March 1969, p. 7.

[346] "La placa – malinche of the month," *La Verdad,* March 1969, p. 7.

[347] For a discussion of how the police functioned as a form of colonial control of minority communities in the U.S., see Robert Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

Tereso Tereto, the assault on Club Azteca students, and Don Brandy's arrest demonstrate how the police in San Diego repressed and intimidated political dissent in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Using all capital letters, *La Verdad* sent a message to racist police officers and the oppressive system they worked for, warning them: "PONGANSE ABUSADOS PERROS MORDELONES YA SABEMOS COMO SON. PERO TAMBIEN SABEMOS COMO PARARLOS (Be on the lookout you hungry dogs, we know how you all are. But we also know how to stop you)."[348] The battle for the community was a war worth fighting for.

The San Diego Police Department was not the only major institution that Chicanas/os protested against locally. The indifference of the Catholic Church toward the struggles of Chicanas/os, which made up the overwhelming majority of its constituency, was addressed head-on by Chicana/o youth.[349] They wanted the institutional Church to be more involved in the community, to use its vast resources and influences to create opportunities to help and protect the poor and vulnerable. They based their demands on the concept of liberation theology, which developed within the Catholic Church in Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s in an effort to make the Church more involved in the struggle to end poverty and promote social justice. A chapter of the Chicana/o Catholic group Católicos Por la Raza, originally founded in Los Angeles by Ricardo Cruz, was established in San Diego in the late

[348] "Chotas Golpean a Nuestros Hijos," *La Verdad*, June 1970, p. 2.

[349] For more on the history of Mexican American/Chicana/o relations with the Catholic Church in San Diego, see Alberto López Pulido, "Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe: The Mexican Catholic Experience in San Diego." *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. 37, No. # (Fall 1991), pp. 236-254; "Are You An Emissary of Jesus Christ?: Justice, The Catholic Church, and the Chicano Movement," *The Journal of the National Association for Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan. 1991), pp. 17-34.

1960s.[350] In November of 1969, a group of Chicanas/os took over Camp Oliver, a Catholic group camp in Descanso, east of San Diego. They made a list of eleven demands to the Church, which included free education, textbooks, and uniforms for Chicana/o children in Catholic schools; free medical services to Chicanas/os in Catholic hospitals; the transfer of Church funds to establish Chicana/o-controlled entities such as cooperatives, credit unions and housing projects; free burial services for Chicanas/os; community input on hierarchical appointments; that the Church fund drug abuse rehabilitation programs; and that the Church come out in support of the UFW and to set-up a campaign to support the farmworkers.[351] In an interview with *La Verdad*, Vince de Vaca, a Chicano student from UCSD who was part of the Camp Oliver takeover, told the newspaper that the reason why Chicanas/os took on the Church was because they felt it was unjust they had to pay high tuition for Catholic school when the Church, the emissary of Jesus Christ on earth, was obligated to do this. Why pay for what the Church should be giving to the people for free, especially "those who have been paying their 10% every Sunday for the past 400 years" de Vaca argued. [352]

The face of the Catholic Church in San Diego was Bishop Leo T. Maher, who was appointed Bishop of San Diego in 1969. A lot of the local protests against the Church were directed at Maher, whose office was located at the University of San Diego. He refused to meet with the Católicos, whom he called "militant" and branded their demands as "illogical." Students confronted him, especially at SDSU. After much back-and-forth dialogue, Bishop Maher agreed to meet with the Católicos. But in a show of barrio unity and

[350] For more about Católicos Por la Raza, see Mario T. García, *Chicano Liberation Theology: The Writings and Documents of Richard Cruz and Católicos Por La Raza* (Dubuque: Kendall Hunt Publishing, 2009).

[351] "Católicos Demands," *La Verdad,* December 1969, p. 3.

[352] "Interview with Vince de Vaca," *La Verdad,* December 1969, p. 3

strength, and as a way to send a message to the Church leadership of who must serve who, the Católicos forced Bishop Maher to come meet them in the barrio. A meeting was held on December 10, 1969 at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Barrio Logan.[353] Carlos LeGerrette attended the December 10 meeting and told the SDSU student newspaper *The Daily Aztec* that many Chicanas/os were disappointed with Bishop Maher because "he spoke in such a universal perspective" that was dismissive of the community's legitimate concerns towards the Church.[354] While there were some activist priests already involved in the community and local Chicana/o Movement, it was important push to get the entire Catholic hierarchy to support Chicana/o empowerment and liberation. Their influence, as well as their near limitless resources, could go a long way to uplift the Chicana/o people of San Diego.

Chicanas seldom appeared in the pages of *La Verdad* early on, but this changed over the years. In 1971, the newspaper published an article that praised the behind-the-scenes work of Trio Moreno, an all-Chicana family activist and music group that contributed to *La Verdad.* The group was headed by Delia Moreno, and supported by her daughters Maria and Delia. The article stated, "*La Verdad* is thankful to the Trio [Moreno] for the hard work they have always done. As staff members, they write articles, draw graphics, type copy and help lay out each issue."[355] This was the first time that the *La Verdad* publically acknowledged the role that Chicanas had in the production of the newspaper. The article further stated that, "Very few individuals or groups contribute more to the unifying of our Raza than las tres

[353] "Confrontation with the Church," *La Verdad,* December 1969, pp. 6-7.

[354] "Chicanos feel Bishop avoided relevant issues," *The Daily Aztec*, Vol. 49, No. 46, December 12, 1969, p. 1 and 7.

[355] "el trio moreno," *La Verdad*, July 1971, p. 21.

Moreno."[356] This article demonstrates that Chicanas in San Diego played a key role in the creation and dissemination of San Diego's only Chicana/o community newspaper. This is consistent with the involvement nationally of Chicanas like Elizabeth "Betita" Martínez, Gloria Arellanes, and others in the production of many prominent alternative press newspapers.

Trio Moreno. *La Verdad,* Vol. 1 Issue 29, July-August 1971, Page 21. Source: Enriqueta Chávez Papers 1955-2000, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University.

La Verdad's acknowledgement of the behind-the-scenes work of Trio Moreno is the result of Chicanas protesting the lack of voices in the newspaper. According to Richard Saiz, they demanded equal representation in the city's only Chicana/o newspaper. Many of them, he recalled, argued that men always called the shots, and they always found themselves one or two steps behind them.[357] Even though there had been a shift in political values among Chicanos, in terms of gender, "it was still old time" for many of them, according to Richard

[356] "el trio moreno," *La Verdad*, July 1971, p. 21.

[357] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015

Saiz.[358] A correction was needed in terms of how the community understood gender relations in the home, in the workplace, and in public – especially in a shared activist space like *La Verdad*. Linda LeGerrette witnessed this change in culture firsthand. While many male contributors acknowledged their oversight of women, others still held onto the nationalist beliefs that privileged male leadership. Reflecting on gender dynamics in public, Linda said "Whenever there was anything that was public, whenever there was the press, the newspaper reporters or photographers, they'd always go to a man. They would never go to a woman to ask what this rally was about, why are you picketing. They would always go to a man."[359] This happened despite the work of female contributors like Linda LeGerrette and Olivia Puentes-Reynolds, who besides working for the newspaper in different capacities were also active in multiple political spaces locally and nationally.

During the 1969-1970 run, *La Verdad* began to cover more women's work in the Chicana/o Movement. This was a slow process, but by the end of 1970, *La Verdad*'s focus on local Chicana activism had reached its highest point. According to Carlos LeGerrette, "I think that was a maturation issue of some of the men, understanding, realizing, being educated" about the role of Chicanas in the movement not as "other" activists, but as part of the community push for equal rights.[360] Even though the reporting ratio of women's-to-men's participation remained low, the newspaper made the effort to announce how involved and proactive Chicanas were in San Diego. The newspaper even made a plea for Chicana activism with the call "ORGANIZENZE CHICANAS!"[361] and followed-up with a story on

[358] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[359] Linda LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[360] Carlos LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[361] "Call for Chicanas to Organize," *La Verdad,* June 1969, p. 14.

Grupo Central de Chicanas, a local Chicana activist group, in their May 1971 issue. This group used *La Verdad*'s ability to reach a wide audience to call on the local community to help them with whatever they could to attend the second annual Chicana conference that was to be held in Houston, Texas, later that year.[362] This demonstrates that the newspaper was not just devoting space for Chicanas to announce their work in support of the Chicana/o Movement, but it had also become an ally in support of Chicana issues. With an increased attention to local Chicana activist work, especially that of contributors Gracia Molina de Pick, Olivia Puentes-Reynolds, Irma Hernández and others, *La Verdad* showed how Chicanas mattered and were making a difference in San Diego.[363]

Gracia Molina de Pick. *La Verdad,* Vol. 1 Issue 6, March 1969, p. 5. Source: Radical Ephemera and Underground Publications Collection 1966-2013, Special Collection and University Archives, San Diego State University.

[362] "Conferencia de Chicanas," *La Verdad,* May 1971, p. 2.

[363] For more information about the history of Chicanas and Mexican American women in the fight for civil rights in San Diego, see, Rita Sánchez, ed., and Sonia López, ed., *Chicana Tributes: Activist Women of the Civil Rights Movement – Stories for the New Generation* (San Diego: Montezuma Publishing, 2017).

Gracia Molina de Pick joined *La Verdad* in May of 1968 and became one of the most featured women in the newspaper. Gracia regularly wrote about the necessity of a good education to succeed, and the role of women in helping the Chicana/o Movement reach its goals. Alongside Irma Hernández, Gracia participated in the first and second Chicano Student Conferences held at SDSU in March and October of 1969.[364] Irma, who organized the conferences, spoke about the college experience for Chicanas/os while Gracia talked about improving the conditions of education in San Diego. Olivia Puentes-Reynolds was among the group of local Chicanas that traveled to the Denver Youth Conference in 1969, where she read her poem, "I heard black is beautiful," a celebration of Chicana/o culture and identity inspired by the Black Power Movement's celebration of "Black is Beautiful." She was also involved in the cultural scene as well, often performing music inspired by Chicana/o Movement struggles in many places around San Diego including SDSU and Chicano Park.

La Verdad twice featured women at the center of its content. The first time was in June of 1970, a special edition dedicated to Chicanas in the Chicana/o Movement. Of the 30 issues published between 1968 and 1972, this issue was one of the few that dedicated more than a full page to Chicanas. The front page carried a pencil-drawn image of a Chicana and a tagline that read, "La Chicana…en el Movimiento" (The Chicana in the Movement). The articles on Chicanas did not appear until page eight, and they accounted for five of the 16 total pages. Men wrote three of them. Two were reprinted articles from other countercultural papers. The only article that appeared to be written by a local Chicana appeared to be by

[364] For more on the Chicano Student Conferences of 1969, see: "Chicano Student Conference in San Diego," *La Verdad,* March 1969, pp. 4-5; and "500 Turn out for Chicano student conference," *The San Diego Union*, March 6, 1969, for March conference. For more information on the October conference, see "La Juventud Se Junta," *La Verdad*, November 1969, pp. 4-5.

Gracia Molina de Pick, who wrote that women should be more than just supporters of la causa. Gracia's article revealed a contributor's personal opinions about the role of local Chicanas in San Diego.

"La Chicana…en el Movimiento" cover. *La Verdad,* Vol. 1 No. 20, June 1970. Source: María García Papers 1968-1997, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University.

Gracia drew from indigenous traditions of spiritual duality and balance and argued that for la causa to succeed, Chicanos and Chicanas needed to work as partners and acknowledge each other's contributions. She wrote, "Tenemos que acentarnos el uno al otro. Tenemos que estar juntos. Los verdaderos machos son los que reconocen que para poder crear más machos necesitan mujeres con inteligencia (We have to accept one another. We have to be

together. The real machos are those who recognize that to create more machos you need intelligent women)."[365] Gracia interrogated notions of masculinity by stating that a true revolutionary male listened to and worked with women as equals, and that they had to acknowledge that fact that without women, no males could exist. Chicanos, according to Gracia, had to look at themselves in the mirror and see the error of their ways. One possible correction involved a reconsideration of Chicano infatuation with Che Guevara, who believed men could only lead revolutions. The mainstream Chicano Movement looked to Guevara for inspiration and revolutionary guidance, yet Guevara was no real advocate of women's rights.

In addition, Gracia made a call for women to be more involved in the Chicana/o Movement. She implored mothers and sisters, daughters and wives, to take on more responsibilities to prove to society and all men that women were effective leaders. "Las mujeres más femeninas son las mujeres que pueden con todo," wrote Gracia. "Las mujeres de nuestra Raza son muy fuertes. Tan fuertes como nuestros hombres, y nuestros hombres lo saben (The most feminist women are the women that can handle everything. The women of la raza are very strong. They are as strong like our men, and our men know it)."[366] Gracia advocated for women to have a greater say in the Chicana/o Movement. In other places where the Chicana/o Movement was taking place, women emerged as leaders and effective organizers such as Dolores Huerta in the UFW, Paula Crisostomo and Vickie Castro in the East Los Angeles walkouts, and Alicia Escalante in the Welfare Rights Movement, to name a few. San Diego already had strong Chicana leaders in Linda LeGerrette in the UFW and Olivia Puentes-Reynolds, Irma Hernández, Sonia López, and Enriqueta Chávez at SDSU,

[365] "La Mujer en Aztlán," *La Verdad*, June 1970, p. 10.

[366] "La Mujer en Aztlán," *La Verdad*, June 1970, p. 10

among others. Gracia, it appeared, tried to show that Chicanas in San Diego were more than capable and had proven they could do the work men tended to reserve for themselves. The final sentence of Gracia's article stated: "Acuerdense, por cada hombre que hay de lider deber haber una mujer, y viceversa, por cada mujer de lider que hay en cualquier lugar debe haber un hombre de lider. Juntos! Juntos siempre! (Remember, for each male leader that there is there must be a female leader, and vice versa, for each female leader anywhere there must be a male leader. Together! Together forever!")."[367] Equal representation, and a united voice to carry the concerns of both Chicanos and Chicanas, was Gracia's hope and dream. As the newspaper immersed itself in the community in the years that followed, the voices of women appeared more frequently. This probably was a result of Chicana activism in San Diego being more visible, and of *La Verdad* taking an initiative as the self-proclaimed "voice of the movement" to push for gender equality in the San Diego Chicana/o Movement. As the most widely read local Chicana/o newspaper, this shift in gender relations needed to start in print.

Even though the Chicana/o Movement and its nationalist politics consistently reminded people that la causa was male-centric, *La Verdad* sometimes did the opposite. One of the first instances of a shift in gender coverage in the newspaper came through Richard Saiz's song "Chicanita." It appeared in the June 1970 issue. Richard wrote the song after he took a poetry class taught by Alurista at SDSU. Richard dedicated "Chicanita" to all Chicanas, but particularly to the strong women figures in his life – his mother, his mentor Gracia Molina de Pick, and his activist family in *La Verdad*. The song began with the lyrics, "Ay Chicanita, Cara Eterna, Azteca y Soldadera Juntos Luchamos, Juntos Vivemos, Como Revolucionarios (Oh Chicanita, Eternal face, An Aztec and Soldier, Together we fight, Together we live, like

[367] "La Mujer en Aztlán," *La Verdad*, June 1970, p. 10.

revolutionaries)."[368] From the start, Richard acknowledged the fact that men and women fought together, and pushed back against the view that men were the only revolutionaries in the Chicana/o Movement. In another part of the song, Richard said, "En esta lucha tengo una ruca (an affectionate way of saying "my old lady")[369] que me ama y que me apoya, Y si yo caigo, Yo se que ella, Continuara la batalla (In this struggle, I have an old lady that loves me and that supports me. And if I were to fall, I know that she will continue the fight)."[370] According to Richard, his goal was for "Chicanita" to be a love song with political overtones that highlighted the role of women in the local and national Chicana/o Movement.[371]

Richard used the traditional Mexican love song trope that relies on using the diminutive as a form of affection, and not meant to be dismissive, in his song. He decided to name his song "Chicanita" a-la "Amorcito Corazón," a ranchera song popularized by singer Pedro Infante in the 1940s and 1950s.[372] "It is like throwing a woman a kiss," Richard said, and his intention was to follow on this tradition that celebrated the importance of women in the

[368] "Chicanita," *La Verdad*, June 1970, p. 10.

[369] According to Richard Saiz, the word "ruca" in his song is taken from Caló, or Pachuco, a form of slang that developed within Mexican American zoot-suiters of the 1940s in the Southwest and that refers to a partner or girlfriend.

[370] "Chicanita," *La Verdad*, June 1970, p. 10.

[371] Although this song was written with the intent to acknowledge and celebrate the role of Chicanas in the Movement, scholars and historians may interpret its lyrics, especially its reference to Chicanas as "Chicanitas," as displays of the movement's sexist norms, which exhibited the movement's one-dimensional views on gender. Even though "Chicanita" was meant to be non-sexist, its characterization of women as "soldaderas" and "adelitas" echo Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales' epic poem "I am Joaquín," whose cultural nationalist views on history, culture, and revolution revolved around the celebration of the male warrior and passive, but fiery, female companion. The influence of "I am Joaquín" can also be seen in *La Verdad*'s cultural pantheon of heroes. The historical education it offered its readers revolved around male leaders like Villa, Zapata, and Murrieta.

[372] Translation: loosely means "my little love."

community and in Chicana/o culture.[373] He alluded to "las adelitas," the Mexican female revolutionary soldiers as inspiration, and "Chicanita," in that context, celebrated the Chicanas that fought in the movement. Richard wrote, "Chicanita, hermosita. La heredera de Adelita. Ojos tan lindos, tan expresivos, Dicen "Soy la Raza Nueva." La vida dura. No vale nada. Si no estoy cercas de mi amada Mis inspiraciones y mis pasiones. Toditas son parte de ella (Beautiful Chicanita, the heir of Adelita, Such beautiful eyes, so telling, they say, 'I am the new race." The difficult life. It's not worth anything. If I am not close to my loved one. My inspirations and my passions are all a part of her)."[374] To Richard, Chicanas were the new adelitas. They were contemporary revolutionaries that fought for justice through their feminism and political activism. Through "Chicanita," Richard Saiz and *La Verdad* attempted to get this message across to their readership.

Transnational Awareness

La Verdad disseminated information about everything including Mexico, the border, and transnational news. These ideas further encouraged Chicanas/os from San Diego to immerse in la causa in order to redraw the boundaries of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego. This process started with *La Verdad* directing its readers' gaze to Latin America. In bringing stories of events and developments in the Third World, the newspaper aided the local activist population in constructing an internationalist consciousness that had begun to guide the national Chicana/o Movement since the escalation of the Vietnam War in 1968. Reports about Mexican student activism appeared throughout 1969, and references to Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and the Cuban Revolution made the press as well. The newspaper's

[373] Richard Saiz, Skype conversation with author, August 29, 2015.

[374] "Chicanita," *La Verdad*, June 1970, p. 10.

transnational gaze reached as far away as Chile, Ecuador, and Brazil, as issues in these places regarding political self-determination, indigenous rights, economic freedom, and racial equality were synonymous with Chicana/o calls for justice in the U.S. As the national Chicana/o Movement's focus turned to Latin America, so did *La Verdad* and by extension, Chicana/o activism in San Diego.

The U.S.-Mexico border became the most persuasive way through which *La Verdad* stressed the importance of coalitional awareness and collective empowerment. The proximity of the U.S.-Mexico border offered the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego the opportunity to observe and learn organizational strategies implemented by activist students in Tijuana.[375] For a community that *La Verdad* claimed had little organizational experience, Mexico's revolutionary tradition offered San Diegans the best free and quality education Chicana/o activism could have wanted. The staff of *La Verdad* seemed to understand this to be true and printed an article called "Baja Students Take Action" in the April 1968 issue. Students from the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California (UABC) mobilized to obtain better housing and transportation and the article's author, Steve Wenger, suggested the San Diego Chicana/o Movement had much to learn to be an effective movement. He stated:

> The [Tijuana] students then moved into the streets. The engineers built barricades, the chemistry students made explosives, and the law students got ready for the legal battle. The rest of the students manned the barricades with

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[375] The student movement in Tijuana was followed by almost all the newspapers in the region, including *La Verdad*, *Inside the Beast*, and *Voz Fronteriza*. Each offered their own perspective on the matter, but when looked at together, it is evident that Chicanas/os understood that a movement for self-empowerment and justice on the border could not succeed or last without collaboration and solidarity with budding struggles across the U.S.-Mexico border.

> arms. The passionate Mexicanos were so well organized that they reacted as one united front. It seems to this writer that the oppressed Mexican Americans in the U.S.
> could take a lessons from their brothers south of the border."[376]

Wenger criticized the movement in San Diego for supposed ineffectiveness and passivity. However, it is more likely that this article was published as way to inform and educate the community on effective organizational strategies. In this way, the argument can be made that San Diego Chicana/o activism might have been more "Mexican" than "Chicana/o" because of the heavy pull exercised by Mexico through the heavily populated Mexican region near the border, where many Chicana/o activists, primarily students from the Imperial Valley, grew up and became politicized. Many of them became central figures in the Chicana/o Movement all across San Diego.[377] From its beginnings, *La Verdad* demonstrated that it was not just talking about change, but it was explicitly showing Chicanas/os how they could challenge and change their conditions in San Diego.

A second article by Wenger titled "Borderline Imperialism" brought attention to how U.S. corporations used the U.S.-Mexico border to exploit workers, particularly Mexican women. Whereas the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine tended to highlight the positive aspects of using the border to promote binational businesses and economic cooperation, Wenger and *La Verdad* highlighted the human rights violations that Mexican women as sweatshop workers suffered at the hands U.S. binational corporations. According to Wenger,

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[376] "Baja Students Take Action," *La Verdad*, May 1969, p. 1.

[377] Some of the students who came from the Imperial Valley and attended SDSU were Sonia and César López, who were involved with the campus publication *Inside the Beast,* and also published occasionally in *La Verdad*. For more on the López siblings and *Inside the Beast*, see chapter three.

many women manufactured electronics that were used in U.S. aircrafts and missiles and were paid the Baja California low wage of 40 pesos a day (about $3.20 in U.S. dollars in 1968).[378] He also argued that educated Mexican men were employed by similar corporations as supervisors primarily to serve as a control mechanism to keep women in low-paying positions. This attention to early forms of sweatshop labor along the border is perhaps among the first recorded instances of Chicana/o attention to immigration as a Chicana/o Movement issue locally.

In the June and July 1969 issues, full pages in English and Spanish were devoted to the struggles that immigrants faced trying to obtain a visa in Tijuana and afterwards as green-card holders in the U.S. The author used the San Diego-Tijuana region to argue that immigration issues were the responsibility of all peoples. It was especially important because at the time, the article claimed, nearly a third of Tijuana's 350,000 residents were transient migrants from different parts of Mexico and Latin America, who worked to get one of the 12,000 visas awarded by the federal government each year. The article also highlighted that those who were unable to obtain a visa were at the mercy of unscrupulous corporations that "[wanted] to make a profit from their desperate situation."[379] It was important also, the article continued, to educate migrants about the struggles that awaited them in the U.S., from exploitative and racially discriminatory environments, to the need of having full documentation to access vital resources. The author also discussed one of the most common realities of being a border area resident: living in one country and commuting to work in another. Family separation could lead to infidelity by male migrants, the author pointed out, but for male heads of family whose dependents lived in Tijuana the realities of

[378] "Borderline Imperialism," *La Verdad*, May 1968, p. 3.

[379] "U.S. Immigration – CHECK IT OUT!," *La Verdad,* June 1969, p. 12.

paying taxes in both countries yet not being able to access public resources like hospitals in the U.S. because they weren't California residents represented the harshest reality of living in the border area.

The newspaper also reported on human rights abuses towards immigrants. In December 1969, it re-printed a story of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles that called for the removal of George Rosenberg, the Los Angeles Immigration District Director, after a story broke out that that 40 undocumented women arrested in a raid were physically and sexually abused by immigration officials. Some of them, the original article from *Ideal* reported, became pregnant. The article also pointed to how freeway checkpoints targeted mostly dark-skinned people. Besides calling out racial profiling, the article suggested that because of this bias the U.S. was making itself vulnerable to Soviet espionage: "The immigration officers believe that Mexicans are dangerous, but by the same token, a Russian spy, can go through those blockades simply by having white skin!"[380] This was the Cold War period after all, and pointing this out showed that racial bias in the U.S. immigration system actually put the country more at risk of communist infiltration. As a border town, San Diego represented the first line of defense against Soviet influence. It seemed though that these responsibilities often came in second to keeping San Diego White. Immigration and immigrant rights became an important and defining component of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement later on through the efforts of Herman Baca, Bert Corona, and the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR) in the 1970s and the 1980s.[381]

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[380] "Forty Ladies Abused Physically By Immigration Dept. Officers," *La Verdad,* December 1969, p. 9.

[381] For more on gendered violence on the San Diego-Tijuana border region, and Chicana/o immigration activism in San Diego, see Jimmy Patiño, *Raza Sí, Migra No: Chicano Movement Struggles for Immigrant Rights in San Diego*.

The connection to Mexico's student movement via the Tijuana border allowed Chicanas/os in San Diego to establish a direct line of communication with budding struggles across the border. As a political and educational platform, *La Verdad* covered extensively the binational component of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement. It followed student activism for more and adequate instructional buildings at UABC.[382] The newspaper also printed a short piece, most likely written by a Tijuana activist student, which stated that the U.S. and Mexican governments worked to prevent el Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA)[383] from San Diego from aiding the Mexican students. The author claimed that "…considerando la fuerza y el ague que el movimiento estudiantil estaba adquiriendo – las autoridades mexicanas confabuladas con las estadunidenses – determina[ron] desvirtuar el apoyo ofrecido mediante la clasica acusación de Agitadores profesionales ("…considering the strength and momentum that the [Mexican] student movement was gaining, Mexican authorities, in tandem with U.S. authorities, determined to undermine the support [by MEChA students] claiming it was a classic case of outside agitators)."[384] Claiming that MEChA had a right under the Mexican constitution to fully participate in the student movement in Baja California, the Tijuana student further emphasized:

> Los estudiantes Tijuanenses puesto aun en pie de lucha NO reconocemos los cargos impunados a nuestros hermanos de raza en el Estado de California y nos adherimos, como Universitarios, a su causa para la pacificación del

[382] "Estudiantes Luchen Por Su Tierra," *La Verdad,* April 1970, p. 6.

[383] Translation: Chicana/o Student Movement of Aztlán. MEChA is a student group that emerged from El Plan de Santa Barbara in 1969, the founding document of Chicana/o Studies.

[384] "M.E.C.H.A. Apoya el Mov. Estudiantil," *La Verdad,* April 1970, p. 6.

> mundo y respeto a los derechos Universales del hombre. Hermanos Chicanos. LAS IDEAS UNIVERSALES COMO UNIVERSAL ES LA UNIVERSIDAD. APOYO (Tijuana activist students do no recognize the charges brought up against our blood brothers in the state of California, and we adhere, as university students, to their goal of bringing peace to the world and respect for universal human rights. Universal ideas are like university ideas. Support us!).[385]

News of this incident was also reported on the Mexican newspaper *La Voz Fronteriza*. An article by local journalist Ricardo Acevedo stated that "agentes confidenciales de la Secretaria de Gobernación…lograron evitar la entrada a territorio nacional de aproximadamente dos mil elementos de esa organización, [MEChA] que pretendía tomar parte en la manifestación de estudiantes que se efectuó en la población (Secret agents from the Secretary of Government's office successfully prevented the entrance into Mexican territory of approximately two thousand elements from the organization called MEChA, whose goal was to take part in the student movement currently happening in the region)."[386] The number of MEChA members that tried to cross the border might be an exaggeration, given that no report about this appeared in *The San Diego Union.* Such a high number of MEChA members, in a city that looked with suspicion on any form of Chicana/o activism, would have been covered by the city's main newspaper. Acevedo reported that FBI agents and federal government officials, and high Mexican government personnel worked together to prevent a MEChA caravan of several California state MEChA chapters from entering

[385] M.E.C.H.A Apoya el Mov. Estudiantil, *La Verdad*, April 1970, p. 6.

[386] "Descubren un Complot Estudiantil," *La Voz Fronteriza,* unknown date.

Tijuana with the intent of "agitar y crear disturbios durante el mitin estudiantil local (agitate and create disturbances during the student movement)."[387] One truck that carried 25 MEChA members was stopped at the border and immediately sent back. Acevedo stated that authorities were notified that MEChA's plan was to support the student movement in Tijuana and to give the students ten thousand dollars to keep their struggle going. Joseph E. Dupuis, a U.S. immigration official in the San Diego-Tijuana region, said that MEChA students had no role to play in Tijuana because, "A esos individuos del Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano Americano, nada les importa, con tal de crear disturbios (Those members of MEChA don't really care about the student movement in Mexico, they are only interested in creating disturbances."[388] The FBI, Acevedo stated, identified an "Alberto Urista" (*La Verdad*'s own Alurista) as one of the main agitators involved with the MEChA caravan, and an "Antonio Peraza N" as its main organizer. Given Alurista's radical views on the Chicana/o Movement, especially his position as an instructor at SDSU with a direct line to MEChA, him being part of this operation is not at all surprising.

The participation of SDSU's MEChA group in the Tijuana student movement became an urgent matter for the federal government to address. In March of 1971, Elliot Richardson, President Richard Nixon's Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary, was sent to San Diego to meet with SDSU President Malcolm Love and representatives of MEChA to talk about the issue. Richardson told *The San Diego Union* that this issue would be "looked into further" and would be "handled with tact and firmness."[389] No further information on this meeting appeared on *The San Diego Union* or in *La Verdad*, since by 1971 *La Verdad* was

[387] "Descubren un Complot Estudiantil," *La Voz Fronteriza,* unknown date.

[388] ""Descruben un Complot Estudiantil," *La Voz Fronteriza,* unknown date.

[389] "Richardson To Scan Chicano Involvement In Tijuana Issue," *The San Diego Union*, March 29, 1971, p. B-1.

being published less frequently than the prior two years. The fact that Chicana/o cross-border activism was able to bring a high profile political figure like Elliot Richardson (who later became the U.S. Attorney General) to San Diego to meet with MEChA and other student groups on campus implies that the government viewed with certain fear the possibility of an organized, binational civil rights movement in an important military city.

This type of creative activist work in San Diego coincided well with leftward drift toward direct confrontational politics best captured by the creation of La Raza Unida Party in 1970,[390] a Chicano nationalist political party that attempted to restructure Mexican American involvement with the U.S. political party system. This report of San Diego Chicanas/os looking to take the Chicana/o Movement south of the border is perhaps indicative of the political and cultural connections that Chicanas/os were making with activists across national borders.[391] This growing connection was even acknowledged by *The San Diego Union* in a December 1972 article that stated the reason why the Chicana/o Movement moved across the border into Mexico was to reach back to its, "ancestral culture with both militancy and gentle persuasion," in an effort to "seek identity with a heritage lost…through immigration and circumstance of birth."[392] The article placed San Diego squarely in this on-going transnational process by reporting that young Chicanas/os from the San Diego area had recently joined forces with Baja California college students to protest

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[390] For more on the history of La Raza Unida Party, see Ignacio M. García, *United We Win: The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); and Armando Navarro, *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge to the U.S. Two-Party Dictatorship* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000).

[391] For more on Chicana/o transnational activism, see Alan Eladio Gómez, *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico: Chicana/o Radicalism, Solidarity Politics, and Latin American Social Movements* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016).

[392] "U.S. Chicano Influence Permeates Mexican Life," *The San Diego Union,* December 1, 1972.

against ongoing political repression. This may or may not be referring to the events of 1971 discussed earlier. In addition, the article stated that Chicanas/os went to many border cities, including Tijuana, to participate in weekly cultural meetings where they "discuss[ed] philosophy and exchange[ed] art objects and handicraft technology."[393] Moreover, the article also mentioned that a group of Chicanas/os from all parts of the Southwest had recently returned from Mexico after participating in various activities with students in Mexico City and Puebla, including meeting with "rebel student groups and political radicals" from places such as the Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City where, "periodic demonstrations are tinged with violence and gatherings are watched closely by Mexican officials."[394] The reason for these meetings and collaborative work, *The San Diego Union* stated, was the fact that there was a growing interest in Mexico by Mexicans to learn more about the Chicana/o Movement. Mario Cantu, a Chicano student from San Antonio, Texas, told *The San Diego Union* that, "The Mexican public knows of the Chicano Movement in the United States. Many feel it is part of their own revolutionary movement."[395] Luis Natividad, head of the Chicano Federation in San Diego, said the growing interest in Mexico for the Chicana/o Movement was a result of the Mexican press' increasing coverage of the movement via radio, television, and newspaper. "The Chicano Movement and influence is spread as much, if not more, by the Mexican press as by the Chicanos themselves," Cantu affirmed. Juan Bustamante, a Mexican American cultural orientation instructor who worked in public schools in San Diego, told *The San Diego Union* that the search for legitimacy by Chicanas/os in the U.S. and young Mexicans in Mexico was the reason why these two

[393] "U.S. Chicano Influence Permeates Mexican Life," *The San Diego Union,* December 1, 1972.

[394] "U.S. Chicano Influence Permeates Mexican Life," *The San Diego Union,* December 1, 1972.

[395] "U.S. Chicano Influence Permeates Mexican Life," *The San Diego Union,* December 1, 1972.

movements came together. "There is no way we can separate ourselves from the Mexicans and Mexico," he told *The San Diego Union.* "We see the same struggle for identity going on down here [in Mexico] that we are involved with up here in the United States. The forces are already gathering in Mexico. The big wave is coming from the south to the north and the Chicanos are going to meet it and join it," for they are "people of the same heritage, same culture and blood."[396]

An example of how Chicanas/os in San Diego were ready to join this movement emanating from the south that Juan Bustamante spoke off had actually occurred almost a year before *The San Diego Union* article was published – and it appeared on the pages of *La Verdad*. The January 1972 issue informed its readers that MEChA students from SDSU accepted an invitation by students from the Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa[397] to attend a conference that would "discuss and coordinate solidarity in the student movement in order to form a base to struggle against capitalism, imperialism, and all types of social injustices."[398] Citing their "latinamerican origins" as reason why they accepted a "historic invitation made by the blood brothers" of Mexico, the announcement claimed that only through this type of work "we will reach victory, socialism. Hasta la Victoria Siempre!"[399] The anti-war movement reflected the growing internationalist view of the Chicana/o Movement and the radicalization of the Mexican student movement following the government's repression of democratic calls for change. Many Chicanas/os turned to Latin America for guidance,

[396] "U.S. Chicano Influence Permeates Mexican Life," *The San Diego Union,* December 1, 1972.

[397] Translation: Autonomous University of Sinaloa.

[398] "Solidarity Between Aztlán and Latin America," *La Verdad,* July 1971, p. 5.

[399] "Solidarity Between Aztlán and Latin America," *La Verdad,* July 1971, p. 5.

particularly to Mexico and Cuba.[400] "Hasta la victoria siempre!" was the cry of Che Guevara, who became the symbol of many liberation movements around the world. Even though Che never personally interacted with the Chicana/o Movement, many Chicano men rallied around the image of Che as a way to demonstrate their anger and disappointment with the failures of American democracy. He became a symbol of resistance against subordination to mainstream White society. Chicanos, however, did not associate themselves with the violent aspects of Che's revolutionary project, which was grounded in guerilla warfare and the complete overthrow of capitalism altogether. The invitation extended by Mexican students to Chicana/o students is an example of Chicanas/os accepting themselves to be a part of what Benedict Anderson referred to as an "imagined community" that was held together by a shared history and struggle against colonialism and imperialism.[401] This also might have been the basis for MEChA's involvement in the Tijuana student movement. In accepting the invite, San Diego's MEChA students placed themselves as major political actors within the larger script of the Cold War.[402]

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[400] The artistic connections and influence of Mexican muralists with Chicana/o artists were also included in the newspaper. *La Verdad* conducted an on-site interview of David Alfaro Siqueiros at the Polyforum in Mexico City, during the time that Siqueiros worked on his most famous mural, "The March of Humanity," in early 1970. Cultural replenishing of Mexican values and traditions is a common occurrence in San Diego. Spanish-speaking people interact daily with Mexico through television, radio, or personal interactions at home or in public. This was done purposely at SDSU. Given its location in Mission Valley, it became the primary school of higher education for many Chicana/o and Mexican working-class and farmworker families that resided near the campus. Historical and cultural competence was one of the primary components of Chicanismo, and one way that Chicana/o groups at SDSU went about fulfilling these requirements was by having Mexican movie nights, which were advertised by *La Verdad*. Films of renowned Mexican actors like Germán Váldez "Tin-Tan" and Pedro Armendaríz were screened on campus, and tickets were sold for 50 cents.

[401] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* Second edition (New York City: Verso, 2006).

[402] Chicana/o scholar Jorge Mariscal referred to this form of Chicana/o political consciousness as "Chicano internationalism," wherein Chicana/o liberation was associated with and contingent on the

The pull of Latin America and the Third World was transmitted through the pages of *La Verdad* to the Chicana/o population of San Diego. The newspaper realized that being Chicana/o in San Diego meant being aware of national and international events, but also of never severing local ties to Mexico, which were best kept by constant dialogue, cultural immersion, and coalitional work across the border. This allowed Chicanas/os to immerse themselves in both ethnic components of their identity. *La Verdad* helped local people see their surroundings in a different light. It helped politicize many social and cultural elements that before the Chicana/o Movement were seen as everyday components of a borderlands region, such as immigration. The lessons learned during the Chicana/o Movement remain alive in the on-going struggles for human dignity.

Conclusion

La Verdad was published less frequently beginning in 1971. The struggle to keep the newspaper alive became evident as early as April 1969 though. A call for funds appeared on the April 25, 1969, issue of *The Daily Aztec*, the primary student newspaper at SDSU. To generate funds, the staff of *La Verdad* put together a dinner and dance event. Tickets were sold at three dollars a person, and five dollars per couple.[403] Funds were needed to power a newspaper that "serve[d] San Diego's 85,000 Mexican Americans, the largest minority group in the city."[404] Richard Saiz further underscored the importance of financially supporting *La Verdad* with the following words: "Why is it we hear so little about our

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liberation of other working-class communities nationally and internationally. For more information, see *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975.*

[403] *La Verdad* Needs Funds to Continue, *The Daily Aztec,* Vol. 48, No. 92, April 25, 1969, p. 3.

[404] *La Verdad* Needs Funds to Continue, *The Daily Aztec,* Vol. 48, No. 92, April 25, 1969, p. 3.

contributors – our race, our language, our culture? ...The whites have several newspapers. The blacks have a paper called "The Voice," but who is our voice?"[405] Thus the importance of supporting *La Verdad* was emphasized.

SDSU became one of the primary sites (if not the primary site) where members of *La Verdad* sought funds to keep the newspaper going. Perhaps the best reason why this occurred was because the political message of *La Verdad* resonated more with the activist Chicana/o youth at the campus. It was more likely to obtain funds from Chicana/o youth because, at an ideological level, they could more easily connect to the political direction of the newspaper than say, Barrio Logan, which while a supporter of *La Verdad*, still contained some elements that weren't all-in with the newspaper's nationalist position. Thus several ads in support of *La Verdad* appeared in *The Daily Aztec* between 1969 and 1972. Many of them announced dances where proceedings went directly to fund *La Verdad.* Others showed members of *La Verdad* involved in food drives for striking farmworkers.[406] Members of the newspaper were also involved in on campus events set-up by MEChA, such as MEChA's Cultural Week in 1971 where members of *La Verdad* sold lunch for the "Día de la huelga" (day of the strike) event.[407] In addition, members of *La Verdad* joined forces with SDSU's MEChA and set-up an organic food place on campus called "El Frijol en la Frente (The Bean on the Forehead)." Individuals associated with MEChA and *La Verdad* helped cook, serve, and clean the place. Richard Saiz's mother was the main cook and ran the kitchen.[408]

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[405] *La Verdad* Needs Funds to Continue, *The Daily Aztec,* Vol. 48, No. 92, April 25, 1969, p. 3.

[406] "Food drive begun to support strike," *The Daily Aztec,* Vol. 50, No. 5, September 24, 1970, p. 3.

[407] "Education Day to begin Mecha cultural week," *The Daily Aztec,* Vol. 50, No. 104, May 4, 1971, p. 1.

[408] The March 9, 1973, issue of *The Daily Aztec*, the main student newspaper at SDSU, reported that arsonists set fire to MEChA's kitchen the week before. Gus Chávez, director of the Centro de

The Daily Aztec also shows that there were attempts to re-start the newspaper as late as February 1972.[409] The final issue of *La Verdad* was printed in January 1972.

As the last issue of *La Verdad* came out in January, 1972, it coincided with the year many of its contributors started to wrap-up their college years and prepared to move on to other places. The newspaper's contributors, however, continued to be locally active in the months leading up to the newspaper's end. The main office in Barrio Logan was turned into a food drive that assisted striking lettuce and tomato workers from Imperial Beach that had gone on strike after 12 workers were unjustly fired for wearing UFW huelga (strike) buttons.[410] The office also continued hosting community-counseling sessions for Chicanos about the draft and the on-going war in Vietnam.[411] After *La Verdad* ceased publication, other Chicana/o newspapers filled the vacuum left by the Chicana/o community's first real newspaper. Names like *El Grito de Aztlán, El Mexicanista, Raza de Bronze, Inside the Beast, Vocero Informativo, Prensa Popular, La Prensa San Diego,* and *Voz Fronteriza* emerged all over San Diego County in the 1970s. They came from a wide range of spaces and perspectives, and represented the ideas, aspirations, and struggles of the diverse Mexican descent community.

Like most productions born in protest, there are always thoughts on what could have been done differently, and that is no different in the case of *La Verdad*. Richard Saiz felt that

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Estudios Chicanos on campus, stated that the fire "indicates, once again, that Anglos on this campus and in the surrounding area do not want Chicanos here." While the name of the establishment in question was referred to as the "MEChA kitchen" by *The Daily Aztec*, it may in fact be the same kitchen initially set-up by *La Verdad* and MEChA in early 1972. Source: "Kitchen fire called arson," *The Daily Aztec*, Vol. 52, No. 77, March 9, 1973, p. 4.

[409] "Mecha to feature bands, theater, poetry Saturday," *The Daily Aztec,* Vol. 51, No. 60, February 10, 1972.

[410] "Campesinos Huelgan en San Diego!!!" *La Verdad,* May 1971, p. 2.

La Verdad could have done more to document the rich history of the people of Barrio Logan. In his opinion, *La Verdad* failed to provide a true portrait of the everyday life of Chicanas/os outside of the political moments they experienced. The staff was so politically involved in the moment they failed to show how ordinary people made the barrio their home. For example, Richard said they could have included a picture and a story of "an abuelita (grandmother) with her grandchildren at the playground."[412] Similarly, he pointed out that a feature story of Carlos LeGerrette's grandparents, founders of the Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church in Barrio Logan, would have strengthened the newspaper's connection to the community. Those stories would have shown that Chicanas/os had deep roots in San Diego. Perhaps this is why some members of the Barrio Logan community tended to have reservations of the newspaper, because they didn't see themselves in it. "For *La Verdad*," Richard said, "Everything was political. That's just who we were. If *La Verdad* was a reflection as well as the power of agency, we didn't do perhaps enough to show people who they [ordinary Chicanas/os] were."[413] In hindsight, Richard seemed to have recognized this. *La Verdad* made visible the political, social, and economic conditions of Chicanas/os in San Diego, but it merely reflected a transformative moment, a coming-of-age experience rather than showing their historical roots in the region.

Following his time as editor of *La Verdad*, Richard Saiz completed his studies at SDSU and Columbia University. He worked for NBC news and was a reporter in San Francisco, and is now a producer and director of documentaries centered on progressive social issues. He recently completed work on a documentary on the life his *La Verdad* contributor and

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[411] "Draft Counseling for Chicanos," *La Verdad,* May 1971, p. 13.
[412] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[413] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

mentor, Gracia Molina de Pick. As one lens into the different movements going on simultaneously in San Diego during the 1960s and 1970s, *La Verdad* partially documented the roots of Chicana/o activism and brought them to the public's attention. It represented a disruption of the status quo, and a way of life for Linda LeGerrette. "We had a lot of fun," she remembered, "a lot of stress, a lot of headaches doing that and that's just the way life has been really."[414] Her husband, Carlos LeGerrette, believed that the most important lesson from *La Verdad* was the fact that anybody could make a difference in his or her community. "Anybody could do this," he stated, "as long as there was the commitment to make something exist that didn't exist before." [415]After their involvement with *La Verdad*, the LeGerrettes continued to participate in many other social justice campaigns. They moved to central California and worked directly with César Chávez and the UFW. Carlos became one of the UFW's photographers and Linda was named the National Director of the Farmers Resource Center, a non-profit support organization within the UFW.[416] They returned to San Diego in the late 1970s and continued their activism in the Chicana/o community. In 2001 they established the César Chávez Service Clubs, which honor Chávez's legacy by helping students become more involved in their communities. The LeGerrettes and Richard Saiz were college students with hopes of changing the world through their involvement with *La Verdad*. Years after the newspaper ceased production, they continued to dedicate their lives to creating a better world.

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[414] Linda LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[415] Carlos LeGerrette, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[416] María E. García, "Carlos and Linda LeGerrette: Abiding Commitment to Community Service," in *The San Diego Free Press*, Published: July 16, 2016, Accessed: September 5, 2016. URL:https://sandiegofreepress.org/2016/07/carlos-linda-legerrette-cesar-chavez/

La Verdad captured a defining moment in the growth and evolution of San Diego's Mexican descent people during the Civil Rights Movement. That is where its importance and significance lies, in terms of public and historical memory. In Richard Saiz's words:

> *La Verdad* was the newspaper of record for the community and the [Chicana/o] Movement in San Diego…If there was no *La Verdad*, the record would reside where? Mainstream media? Forget about it. In academia? That has a rule. That's a whole different plate. This was very grassroots. It was full of passionate intensity. We were like, "¡La Verdad! The truth! Here it is!" unvarnished. It had a very particular point of view, and now I look at it, this is a record of those times and our perspective, the community's perspective, [of] so many different perspectives.[417]

María E. García, a local Chicana activist, educator, and historian, echoed Richard's point of view in describing *La Verdad* as "a historical record of any important event that happened to or with Chicanos in that period."[418] *La Verdad* helped identify and bring together a number of different activist struggles into what Linda LeGerrette called "a type of goggle on paper"; an information center for a community on the rise and go. It stands as a significant part of the early San Diego Chicana/o Movement, for its contribution and what it stood for – the quest for truth.

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[417] Richard Saiz, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

[418] María E. García, "Carlos and Linda LeGerrette: Lives Forever Changed by Farm Worker Organizing," in *The San Diego Free Press*, Published: June 25, 2016, Accessed: September 5, 2016. URL: http://sandiegofreepress.org/2016/06/carlos-linda-legerrette-part-one/

Chapter 3: "'THIRD WORLD MUST UNITE!' *Inside the Beast* and Multiracial Activism at San Diego State University, 1972-1974"

Introduction

The Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s grew in college campuses. Following the passing of El Plan de Santa Barbara in 1969,[419] which created Chicano Studies programs at the college and university level across the Southwest, more Mexican American students entered college than at any previous moment in history. While grassroots activism opened the doors of the academy to Mexican Americans in mass for the first time, the majority faced institutional backlash and cooption. At San Diego State University (SDSU) and the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), the two major campuses of higher education in San Diego, Mexican American students brought community struggles into the heart of the academy. Their goal was to make the universities cater to the needs of working-class people. At SDSU, where many Mexican American youth identified as Chicana or Chicano, they worked together and with other racially and ethnically distinct students to combat the hostility they faced on campus. They associated their movements for equality and self-determination as part of the larger Third World liberation movement happening abroad since their struggles were against common sources of oppression: capitalism and imperialism. From 1972 to 1974 SDSU's *Inside the Beast*, an alternative Third World student newspaper, captured and disseminated this type of collaborative work.[420]

[419] In April of 1969, Chicana/o students, faculty, and community members from across the Southwest met at the University of California, Santa Barbara and created El Plan de Santa Barbara. This document emphasized Chicana/o history and culture, as well as community outreach, as essential elements that colleges and universities needed to emphasize in order to offer a more diverse, inclusive, and fulfilling education to Chicana/o youth. This vision gave birth to the field of Chicana/o Studies, which became the keeper of this educational promise in higher education.

[420] In doing research for this chapter, I found that at least 18 issues of *Inside the Beast* were published between October 3, 1972, and April 15, 1974, the dates the first and latest issues I found.

Inside the Beast is part of a larger family of progressive student productions at SDSU that date back to the early 1960s.[421] One of its predecessors was *The Good Morning Teaspoon,* a White student progressive newspaper whose members were among the founders of *La Verdad* (see chapter two). The members of *Inside the Beast* had one goal in mind – to present a Third World, community-centered perspective of the Civil Rights Movements happening on and off campus, nationally and around the world. Given its broad scope, the primary goal of the contributors was to create a progressive, multiracial coalition to combat and address any and all forms of social, political, and economic oppression, in addition to racial and gender inequality. Sonia López, a Chicana activist and occasional contributor to *Inside the Beast*, described the newspaper as a coalitional production where all student movements at SDSU came together to learn from each other and support one another.[422] At different times, she recalled, some groups took center stage, depending on the biggest issue of the day. This allowed individual movements, such as the Chicana/o student movement, the Black Power Movement, and the Asian American student movement to establish links with one another and build foundations conducive towards a multiracial empowerment

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Of those 18 issues, I only found 12, which is the number of issues analyzed for this chapter. It is possible though that more issues of *Inside the Beast* were published between and beyond the dates stated above.

[421] *Inside the Beast* followed the footsteps of many progressive student productions published at SDSU beginning in the 1960s. Names include *The Second Revolution*, a newsletter from the Women's Studies Department and *NOW*, a periodical published by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The 1960s also saw the rise of several conservative student groups and newspapers at SDSU. Conservative students rallied around the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), the San Diego College Young Republicans, and the Aztec Young Republicans. They produced newspapers such as *Evolve, The Fortnightly Republican, Input,* and *Reflections*. Judging by the amount of student newspapers on campus at the time, the argument can be made that SDSU had strong progressive and conservative student bodies during the 1960s and the 1970s, which explain how and why a Third World student newspaper like *Inside the Beast* emerged.

[422] Sonia López, conversation with author, October 15, 2017.

movement; a movement that historian Gary Y. Okihiro might refer to as a form of "Third World Studies" in the flesh.

In *Third World Studies*,[423] historian Gary Y. Okihiro argued that the Third World Liberation Front's (TWLF) call for Third World Studies, a revolutionary field of study that focused on defeating the interlocking systems of race, class, and gender oppression in the U.S. and around the world, has yet to be fulfilled by Ethnic Studies programs today. The TWLF emerged from San Francisco State University (SFSU), a campus that witnessed intense radical student activism in 1968. It was composed of Black, Chicana/o, Asian American, and Native American students that demanded that the university establish a new curriculum that decentralized Western and Anglo-centric forms of thinking and knowledge production and instead draw on the lived experience of oppressed peoples around the world as its primary frameworks for learning, action, and the creation of a new global society. These methodologies from below, intersectional and all-inclusive, were meant to become guiding tools for the Civil Rights Movement generation and for future generations to achieve the complete overthrow of colonialism and imperialism and attain self-determination at the individual and collective level. Okihiro argued that this objective never fully materialized because Ethnic Studies, the field created by SFSU in response to the TWLF's demands and the general field in existence today, failed to fully meet the revolutionary goals of the TWLF given its grounding in Western-centric frameworks and close relation to Anglo-centric academic standards. While Ethnic Studies as a discipline has created revisionist and inclusive curriculums that celebrate cultural plurality in the U.S. and around the world, Okihiro argued that Ethnic Studies, in its current form and place in

[423] Gary Y. Okihiro, *Third World Studies: Theorizing Liberation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

academia, has a glass ceiling that prevents people and ideas from engaging in the revolutionary pedagogy the TWLF intended to fulfill. Although Okihiro never mentioned what a true Third World Studies program or pedagogy ought to look like (since this revolutionary form of thinking and education could vary person-to-person and place-to-place), I argue that a revolutionary pedagogy that met the original aspirations of the TWLF materialized at SDSU in the form of *Inside the Beast*. The goal of *Inside the Beast* was to create a coalition of men and women from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds to combat all forms of oppression locally, in the U.S., and around the world through an intersectional, anti-imperialist lens. Even though the Associated Students (AS) body at SDSU funded the newspaper, *Inside the Beast* was not controlled by the university but by students who worked on it (the majority of which were from historically underrepresented and underserved communities). This autonomy allowed the students at SDSU to express their views and act on their ideas for collective empowerment and liberation freely, thus producing a form of Third World revolutionary pedagogy in the flesh. Thus I argue that *Inside the Beast* represents a form of Third World Studies on campus – student-led, intersectional, and rooted in the struggle for liberation and visions of Third World students for a just and democratic world.

Chicana/o students on campus had much to gain from participation in *Inside the Beast*. There was no other Chicana/o student publication on campus at the time aside from MEChA's newsletter, ¡*La Raza Habla!* (The People Speak!). *Inside the Beast* not only provided Chicanas/os with a forum to express their views beyond Chicanismo and Chicano Studies, it offered them a space that highlighted the local Chicana/o Movement's links to other civil rights struggles on and off campus. This gave Chicana/o students the opportunity to expand the social and political boundaries of the Chicana/o Movement, particularly its

driving ideology of Chicanismo within the student movement. *Inside the Beast* allowed Chicana/o students at SDSU to see themselves as members of a larger struggle against capitalism and imperialism where racial, cultural, or gender differences became sites where bridges were built. The efforts by *Inside the Beast's* contributors to build a stronger civil rights coalition were also happening across the U.S. in the 1970s. In his study of the Chicana/o Movement's connections to Third World freedom movements in Latin America, Alan Elaido Gómez stated, "By the 1970s, the language of civil rights no longer sufficiently represented the political desires and demands of political movements [particularly of radical Chicanas/os], which were now composed of constituencies that had new goals and targets and employed a range of different tactics."[424] While progress had been achieved on several fronts, including the elimination of segregation and better access to higher education, racism and economic inequality persisted. The next logical step was to employ more radical measures, like cross-border and multiracial coalition building within and outside the U.S. However, this led to changes within the Chicana/o Movement's ideology. In all, these tactics allowed Chicanas/os to challenge the "limitations, contradictions, and oppressive characteristics of movement culture [Chicanismo]."[425] *Inside the Beast* is an example of solidarity work within the U.S. that Gómez spoke of.

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[424] Alan Elaido Gómez, *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico: Chicana/o Radicalism, Solidarity Politics, and Latin American Social Movements* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), p. 4. For more about the Chicana/o Movement's links with international struggles, see George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005). Mariscal, like Gómez, argued that the Chicana/o Movement was not just guided by cultural nationalism, but that it entertained and built upon internationalist impulses with the Third World and other oppressed communities of color in the United States. Gómez goes a bit further by showing that in some instances cultural nationalism facilitated the Chicana/o Movement's links with Mexico and other parts of Latin America.

[425] Gómez, *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico*, p. 4.

The content of *Inside the Beast* articulated a community-first mentality, or what Chicana/o Studies scholar Michael Soldatenko called a "perspectivist" approach to student journalism, in order to strengthen Chicana/o and other Civil Rights Movements connections with each other on and off campus.[426] Through its reporting of issues that cut across racial, class, and gender lines, *Inside the Beast* encouraged the formation of a multiracial, progressive student and community empowerment movement that also embodied the framework of a "Third World Studies" program. In addition, *Inside the Beast* became a site where the Chicana/o Movement on and off campus could grow intellectually and improve internally. This demonstrated the contributors' commitment to expanding the ideological boundaries not only of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego, but also of the entire progressive activist population at SDSU and San Diego at the time.

Chapter Organization

This chapter is organized as follows: After the introduction, the origins of *Inside the Beast* are discussed and analyzed in the sections "The Origins of *Inside the Beast*: *The Daily Aztec* and Print Racism at SDSU" and "May 3, 1972: The Birth of *Inside the Beast*." This coalitional newspaper cannot be understood without first examining the production that made possible its birth – *The Daily Aztec*. This student newspaper tended to cast students of

[426] In *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of a Discipline* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), Michael Soldatenko analyzed the trajectory and evolution of Chicano Studies from its founding in El Plan de Santa Barbara in 1969 as a revolutionary form of pedagogy based on grassroots activism, to its de-radicalization and transformation in the early 1980s into an academic discipline that found validation through its adoption of Western modes of thought. Soldatenko used the term "perspectivist" to refer to individuals that wanted to maintain the community-focus of Chicano Studies inside the academy, which included pushing for the integration of the community and changing the fabric of the university's culture. I use this concept to further demonstrate why *Inside the Beast* was a manifestation of "Third World Studies" at SDSU. I also apply this concept to *Voz Fronteriza* (the subject of chapter four), which was published during the decade (1970s) when the pedagogical shift in Chicano Studies and institutional backlash intensified. I argue that these newspapers became the most important form of continued resistance by Chicanas/os to attacks from institutional power brokers, and served as a powerful tool for community-oriented students and

color at SDSU in a negative light. It contributed to the hostile environment that Chicana/o and other racialized students of color confronted at SDSU every day. *The Daily Aztec's* one-sided perspective, ironically, contributed to students of color coming together to protest and demand the creation of a social justice newspaper that became *Inside the Beast*. Articles from *The Daily Aztec* that contain interviews with former staff and contributors of *Inside the Beast* will be cited regularly in this chapter, given the absence of oral histories of *Inside the Beast* members. These articles will be used in place of oral histories to provide deeper analysis of the newspaper, its members, and its impact on and off campus.

Next is an in-depth analysis of *Inside the Beast*. This section unpacks the goals of its diverse staff, particularly their responsibilities within the newspaper. The next sub-section examines some of the published news stories that point to issues that the staff of *Inside the Beast* hoped to build multiracial alliances around. The stories that stand out are of the boycott of a local 7-11 store that charged students outrageous prices for everyday goods, and the pursuit of decent wages and labor rights for workers across the border. A section focused exclusively on the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego follows. The local Chicana/o Movement was transplanted to SDSU with the creation of Chicano Studies as an academic program. The transition from the streets to the classroom, however, was not without problems. This section discusses some of the issues that Chicanas/os confronted at SDSU – from lack of institutional funding, to racism in the classroom, to the elimination of sexism as a step towards eradicating inequality on and off campus. Emphasis is placed on Chicana/o student efforts to expand the boundaries of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego. A second section on the Chicana/o Movement's connection to the Asian American student movement compliments the discussion on the Chicana/o Movement. The last substantive section

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faculty to keep their communities' interests as the guiding principles of their education and activism

examines how the staff of *Inside the Beast* presented immigration issues using an intersectional approach to generate a multiracial pro-immigrant rights community in San Diego. The last two sections examine the public's reaction and response to the content of *Inside the Beast*, and the conclusion recaps the historical significance of *Inside the Beast* as a window into the trajectory of the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego in the early 1970s.

The Origins of *Inside the Beast*: *The Daily Aztec* and Print Racism at SDSU

Inside the Beast was born in one of the oldest and largest institutions of higher education in California. SDSU was founded in 1897 as the San Diego Normal School to train elementary school teachers.[427] The school went through several changes in the early twentieth century. In 1921, it was renamed San Diego State Teachers College, and in 1931 the college moved from its downtown location on Park Boulevard to its present-day site in Mission Valley, some 20 minutes east of downtown. In 1935, the State Legislature authorized San Diego State Teachers College to offer additional degrees beyond teacher certificates, and the school changed its name again to San Diego State College. In 1960, it became part of the California State University system.[428] Student enrollment steadily increased from the 1940s to the 1960s, making San Diego State College one of the highest enrolled campuses in all of California. In the early 1970s, the campus changed its name permanently to San Diego State University. Although San Diego County's Mexican American population of 65,627 in 1970 made it one of the largest Mexican American cities

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inside and outside of the academy.

[427] The majority of the campus' history discussed in this paragraph was cited from the following website: "University History." San Diego State University, Office of the President. Accessed November 30, 2017. https://newscenter.sdsu.edu/ootp/history.aspx

[428] Upon its founding in 1960, the California State University system was known as the California State College system.

in California,[429] the number of students of Mexican descent in higher education were low.[430] Mexican Americans only started attending SDSU in mass in the late 1960s, thanks in part to two important civil rights initiatives: the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP), which recruited low-income, first-generation students to attend college, and El Plan de Santa Barbara. While the opening of the largest public university in San Diego to Mexican Americans was a great victory in it of itself, not everyone at SDSU welcomed Mexican American students.

During the early 1970s, Mexican American students faced resistance from White people on campus. Resentment towards students of color stemmed from racism, from the institution's resistance to Ethnic Studies programs, and opposition to diversity initiatives that made possible the creation of a Mexican American critical mass at SDSU. University officials and heads of White-dominated disciplines viewed these programs as illegitimate

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[429] According to the 1970 Census, the Mexican population of San Diego was 65,627, which placed it third in California behind Los Angeles (509,342) and San Francisco (70,219) and above San Jose (54, 462). Sources: For San Diego, see: United States Census 1970: Census Tracts – San Diego, California, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, p. 46. Accessed May 13, 2019. URL: https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1970/phc-1/39204513p19ch05.pdf ; For Los Angeles, see: United States Census 1970: Census Tracts – Los Angeles – Long Beach, California, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, p. 151. Accessed May 13, 2019. URL: http://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1970/phc-1/39204513p11ch06.pdf ; For San Francisco, see: United States Census 1970: Census Tracts – San Francisco – Oakland, California, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, p. 51. Accessed: May 13, 2019. URL: https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1970/phc-1/39204513p19ch08.pdf ; For San Jose, see: United States Census 1970: Census Tracts – San Jose, California, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, p. 43. Accessed: May 13, 2019. URL: https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1970/phc-1/39204513p20ch01.pdf

[430] I contacted several people at SDSU and asked them where I could find their student demographic numbers from the 1960s and 1970s, but nobody knew where this information was kept or if it was available to consult (or worse, if it even existed). Although I was not able to obtain this information, given that Mexican Americans nationally did not attend colleges or universities in mass until the late 1960s, it is likely this was also the case in San Diego (until the Civil Rights Movement, when the Extended Opportunities Program (EOP) and El Plan de Santa Barbara (which created the field of Chicana/o Studies), eliminated barriers and made it easier for Mexican Americans to seek higher education).

given their activist roots. Their curriculums were seen as fronts for politically radical and extremist agendas that sought to overturn the foundation of the American college system (which was primarily Anglo-centric). These opinions were captured and expressed by *The Daily Aztec*, the main student newspaper on campus. For example, on April 24, 1970, *The Daily Aztec* published a racist cartoon that depicted student members of MEChA as stereotypical Mexican "bandits" and representatives from the Black Student Union (BSU) as primitive "savages" that violently and selfishly "coerced" the Associated Students (A.S.) Council to allocate over one-fifth of its 1970-1971 budget to these groups' activities. The cartoon presented a Mexican man standing on top of a table firing shots into the air. Around him were other Mexican people armed and clothed in revolutionary-type garments. In the foreground, there were four Black men depicted with menacing looking faces. One of them was armed with a spear and shield, and looked directly at two scared White men (presumably members of the A.S. Council) sitting at the center table. Above the chaos and commotion of the scene the words "We want! We want!," appeared several times and dominated the top half of the cartoon. The statement, "You were there!" all in caps, affirmed to readers this was exactly how MEChA and the BSU "cheated" other students on campus from their rightful share of A.S. funding. By casting Black and Chicana/o students as violent and with a sense of entitlement of campus resources, *The Daily Aztec* created a false image of Ethnic Studies in general as dangerous and subversive to the [White] common good. In the age of Richard Nixon's "law and order," this cartoon clearly presented White people's fear of social unrest that Nixon exploited to capture the presidency in 1968 and took as mandate to smash civil rights organizations.

"We Want Cartoon." *The Daily Aztec,* April 24, 1970, p. 2. Source: SDSU Other Voices Digital Archive.

An accompanying editorial to the cartoon stated: "the presence of several hundred Blacks and Chicanos, screaming, yelling, and threatening Council members and generally causing havoc created an unbelievable mob scene, the like of which has never before been a part of AS government at San Diego State."[431] This comment further pushed the belief that programs such as MEChA, BSU, and its students by extension, only created problems for a [White] school culture and [White] social stability and had no space at a respectable university like SDSU. The editorial further stereotyped the actions of MEChA and BSU stating "the audacity of a large group of Chicano students – be they white, brown, black, red, or green – to *demand* one-seventh of the entire activities section of the AS budget, most of which would go to entertain them and their friends, is almost beyond belief."[432] The cartoon,

[431] Editorial – Justice for All?, *The Daily Aztec*, April 24, 1970, p. 2.

[432] Editorial – Justice for All?, *The Daily Aztec*, April 24, 1970, p. 2.

unsurprisingly, drew a wave of criticism from Chicana/o students on campus. In the newsletter, *¡La Raza Habla!,* MEChA contested *The Daily Aztec's* viewpoint of the events at the council meeting as nothing more than yellow journalism and the school's racism pushing back against efforts for social, educational, and economic equality. Several Chicano campus and community members responded to *The Daily Aztec's* comments too: Gaspar Oliviera, chairman of MEChA, casted MEChA as an extension of the Chicano community of San Diego on campus, and defended his group's budget requests as "directly community and college oriented. We cannot separate our ties to the community."[433] Leonard Fierro, President of the Association of Mexican American Educators added: "To belittle and ignore MEChA's need for funds to continue their worthy enterprises is to deny our people an opportunity to make our own way in this society."[434] Don Brandy, Chairman of the Parents Crisis Committee, called the perpetuation of racist stereotypes by the school's primary newspaper evidence that "[SDSU] is racist and discriminatory," and that it was "very disappointing fact to discover that institutions that we depend upon to educate are, in fact, de-educating our children."[435] Eventually *The Daily Aztec's* editor-in-chief Ralph Seewald printed an apology on the April 28 issue and retracted the cartoon, but he stood behind the newspaper's opinion that Chicano and Black students used unethical tactics to extract allocations from the A.S. Council.[436]

The Daily Aztec again articulated the idea that students of color were wasting the university's funding in a November 18, 1971, review piece on a performance on campus by

[433] "Students," *¡La Raza Habla!*, April 27, 1970, p. 1.

[434] "Educators," *¡La Raza Habla!*, April 27, 1970, p. 1.

[435] "Parents," *¡La Raza Habla!*, April 27, 1970, p. 1.

[436] "Pressure used; clam is needed," *The Daily Aztec*, April 28, 1970, p. 2.

Roberta Flack, a Black folk singer. The article, written by Bob Melton, emphasized the lack of attendance at the Flacks concert, and how A.S., and not the BSU or Cultural Arts Board, the co-sponsors of the event, had to absorb almost $2,500 in losses from unsold concert tickets. More than a third of the article focused on the financial aspects of the concert, which showed readers where Melton's real interest in this story was. Melton's review of the concert revealed more insensitive views towards the Black empowerment movement:

> The other thing which marred the concert [beyond the financial loss incurred by AS] is possible only in my own perception, but it seems to me the near hero worship of overtly "black pride" performers like Roberta Flack, very much in evidence Sunday night as well over half the audience consisted of earnestly militant and coincidentally (?) spiffy blacks, indicates an alarming shallowness and lack of historical perspective in the "black pride" movement, at least as practiced on this campus.[437]

For a person like Melton [most likely a White student] to call Black people "spiffy" or over the top in their form of dressing and presentation is an example of how mainstream White society felt the need to continue policing the appearance of Black bodies in the 1970s. Worse yet, Melton scolded Black students for not attending an earlier concert on campus by Jimmy Witherspoon, who he called "one of the greatest blues singers and somebody who should be 10 times the source of black pride that Roberta Flack is, simply in terms of amount of dues paid over numbers of years, keeping alive and vital a great Afro-American tradition."[438] A White man telling Black students who they should honor and pay their hard-

[437] "Roberta Flack – Turnout mars concert," *The Daily Aztec*, November 18, 1971, p. 4.

[438] "Roberta Flack – Turnout mars concert," *The Daily Aztec*, November 18, 1971, p. 4.

earned money to see, and regard as part of their cultural history, smacks of racism. This article, like the April 24, 1970, cartoon, also generated backlash from students on campus, primarily by BSU President David Blevins. An investigation of *The Daily Aztec* was ordered, but not much changed in the way of addressing and eliminating the newspaper's racism and cultural insensitivities.

Students on campus pressured *The Daily Aztec* to confront and eliminate its racist reporting. As a way to mend its broken relationship with students of color, *The Daily Aztec* created a "minority editor position" in March of 1972. The goal of the minority editor was to report more about the issues and contributions of students of color on campus. While at first glance the position seems a step in the right direction, a close reading of the position's duties reveals how *The Daily Aztec* seemed to interpret the activities of students of color on campus as mere "add ons." The role of the minority editor would be to "advice the editor on matters pertaining to ethnic minorities on campus, [have] responsibility for complete coverage of activities of ethnic minorities, and recruitment of minority staff members."[439] When these responsibilities are read through the context of student and race relations at SDSU, it becomes apparent that the minority editor position's job was simply to be involved with the minority community. This position saw students of color solely in their identity as a minority, rather than thinking of them as equal members of a newspaper staff. The first minority editor was Curtis Brown, a Black student that majored in science. Henry Acevedo (likely a Chicano) succeeded Brown as minority editor in 1973. Despite Brown's hiring, *The Daily Aztec* remained in a tenuous relation with students of color as the events of May 1972, which gave rise to the creation of *Inside the Beast,* confirm it.

May 3, 1972: The Birth of *Inside the Beast*

On May 3, 1972, Chicana/o, Black, and progressive White students led a protest on campus to demand that the SDSU administration take more direct action against *The Daily Aztec's* insensitive publishing habits. The subsequent protest on campus set-off a chain of events off campus that further showed why an alternative, Third World-focused newspaper was necessary to bring attention and justice to underserved students and communities on and off campus. The story of how *Inside the Beast* was born begins at SDSU. On Wednesday, May 3, 1972, Chicanas/os organized and led a protest that demanded that the university not cut funding to the EOP program, which was one of the main arteries that sustained the Chicana/o student population at SDSU. Demonstrators also labeled *The Daily Aztec* as "destructive to Third World people [Blacks, Chicanos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans] as well as to [oppressed] White people" for its racist reporting.[440] Anger and frustration with the newspaper boiled over and resulted in the burning of several copies of *The Daily Aztec* in front of the campus administration building. These burnings "dramatize[d] the legitimate anger of not only Third World peoples but also [of] White people who have understood the inherent contradictions of this racist, capitalist, sexist, nation."[441] Many Chicana/o students who participated in the protest were high school students who worked with EOP in hopes of transferring into SDSU. The university's decision to end EOP was part of Governor Ronald Reagan's massive campaign to cut social services in the 1970s. Rico Bueno, a Chicano student who participated at the protest, called the move against EOP evidence that SDSU considered the Chicana/o student body "a

[439] "Minority editor position is open," *The Daily Aztec*, March 8, 1972, p. 1.

[440] "The Third World Paper," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

[441] "The Third World Paper," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

threat."[442] *Inside the Beast* contributors sought to explore all of the above issues and the way they affected all people on and off campus. *Inside the Beast* would create a space that would allow progressive people to "communicate their true identity, feelings, and goals to themselves, and to the rest of the world."[443] Third World students pushed for the university to allocate funds for the newspaper, because they saw an alternative, grassroots-inspired communication tool was key to achieving self-determination. The protestors, including representatives from MEChA, confronted *The Daily Aztec* and saw *Inside the Beast* as a way to "have real access, real input" to represent "the needs and aspirations of all Third World peoples and all progressive peoples."[444] After intense meetings and negotiations with the A.S. Council, money was allocated to cover printing costs. These newfound resources and this increased activism set the stage for *Inside the Beast*.

The protest at SDSU was only the beginning. After the events on campus, Chicana/o students who participated in the protests met at Chicano Park in Barrio Logan later that day to continue discussing the events of the day. The students moved the meeting to the nearby Chicano Federation building when police presence at the park increased. That same night, police shot and killed 21-year-old Nick Esparza, a young Chicano man, within the vicinity of the Chicano Federation building. According to police reports, a young woman called the police to report a break-in at her home. When the police arrived, they claimed Esparza was inside the house, holding a knife in his hand. He was allegedly told to drop the knife but refused to do so. He approached one of the officers, after which he was shot in the chest and died shortly after. Esparza's death became a point of heated discussion within the SDSU

[442] "May 3rd Demonstration," *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. 2, No. 6, June 1972, p. 2.

[443] "The Third World Paper," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

[444] "The Third World Paper," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2

community in the days that followed. Chicanas/os and other students of color called his killing another example of the violence carried out by police on Brown bodies, especially those involved in activism. Later reports revealed that Esparza was a member of the Brown Berets, a group he had recently joined after spending time in a correctional facility. Some Chicanas/os hinted at the possibility that the police targeted Esparza because of his alleged involvement in the May 3 protests at SDSU. Police and others disputed the claim. Conflicting reports suggested Esparza wanted to attend the demonstration (he was not an SDSU student), but missed his ride to the university. When demonstrators convened at Chicano Park later that day, he was among the people present at the meeting. The conflicting reports of the events of May 3, on and off campus, further illustrate the reasons why students of color demanded a news outlet of their own.

In the days that followed the May 3 protests, *The Daily Aztec* ran a series of articles that played down the reasons for the protests and instead emphasized the "chaos" at the campus. The article titled "2,000 watch destruction and burning" reported that "there was a continuous sound of glass being broken" and that "rocks and bricks were being thrown into the office of Acting SDSU President Donald Walker."[445] Another article focused on the "breaking of lamps" and objects being thrown near the information booth of the Aztec Center, the main student hub on campus.[446] Almost all of the May 4, 1972, issue was devoted to this type of reporting of the events of the previous day. A May 5 article labeled the May 3 events as a "disruption" that did not reflect "the Chicano sentiment on this campus."[447] Acting President Walker said that the majority of Chicana/o students involved

[445] "2,000 watch destruction and burning," *The Daily Aztec*, May 4, 1972, p. 2.

[446] "$560 damage estimated at Aztec Center," *The Daily Aztec*, May 4, 1972, p. 3.

[447] "Campus quiet again; student help sought in identifications," *The Daily Aztec*, May 5, 1972, p. 1.

in the protests were not from SDSU, and asked the public to help identify these people so they could be brought to justice. An editorial, presumably written by the newspaper's editor, called on the administration and Chicana/o students to trust each other during the difficult times. It said:

> Finding solutions will be difficult. But no solutions will be found if the campus is in a state of disruption with tensions and bitterness between various factions. The administration building must do everything necessary to prevent a repetition of Wednesday [May 3]. Those who decide that disruption is necessary should understand clearly that such a tactic is counter-productive and that they will accomplish nothing.[448]

William M. Selman, a senior majoring in Accounting, told *The Daily Aztec* "Blacks, Indians, Pilipinos [sic], Women, and other minority groups have as many justifications to protest about inequities as the Chicanos do, yet I haven't seen them breaking any windows on our campus, or destroying school files and books."[449] Two other undergraduate students, Henry W. Burgess from electrical Engineering and Andrew S. Myers from Political Science, wrote a piece that called for an outright "conservative backlash" at SDSU to rectify "the minority situation."[450] They argued that a school that that gave Third World students their own newspaper (presumably *Inside the Beast*), a minority editor in *The Daily Aztec* before that, and made sure students of color were represented "in sufficient number" in the A.S.

[448] Editorial, *The Daily Aztec*, May 5, 1972, p. 2.

[449] Letter from William M. Selman, *The Daily Aztec*, May 5, 1972, p. 2

[450] Letter from Henry W. Burgess and Andrew S. Myers, *The Daily Azt*ec, May 5, 1972, pp. 2-3.

Council, showed that White people weren't racist. The fact that Burgess and Myers referred to Chicana/o students as "minorities" instead of the latter term shows that SDSU's White students and staff did not accept students of color or see them as equal. Burgess and Myers further escalated tensions by calling on White people at SDSU to "stop showing guilt feelings by rubber stamping every proposal and action put forward by minority groups."[451] In the May 9 issue of *The Daily Aztec,* a student who wished to remain anonymous wrote to the newspaper, "The May 3 attack on the Administration Building by Chicano fascists is nothing short of an attack on academic freedom, and I urge the administration to take all necessary action to punish these gangsters. Nazis off campus now! P.S. If they want EOP funds why don't they get them from the A.S. Council; they have $500,000 at their disposal."[452]

Chicanos like Alurista wrote to *The Daily Aztec* and said that the events of May 3, 1972, represented "SDSU's negligence to consider the needs and aspirations of Chicano people in addition to the racist criteria and procedures which have kept us out of SDSU ever since it was founded."[453] He defined real violence as the systematic way that people of color were subjected to oppression, exploitation, and theft of their language and culture – which he implied, occurred at SDSU. Rico Bueno, who participated in the protests and who later was charged with inciting some of the destructiveness on campus, told *The Chicano Federation Newsletter* that the May 3 events were "to protest some racist and administrative injustices done to Chicanos" which included unequal funding for EOP and one-sided promotion of

[451] Letter from Henry W. Burgess and Andrew S. Myers, *The Daily Aztec*, May 5, 1972, p. 3.

[452] Anonymous letter, *The Daily Aztec*, May 9, 1972, p. 3.

[453] "Frustration's Result," *The Daily Aztec,* May 5, 1972, p. 2.

A.S. candidates who were "mostly conservative [and] anti-Chicano" by *The Daily Aztec.*[454] Even White students spoke up against *The Daily Aztec* for allowing the publication of hate-fueled student views. Jill Korengold, a sophomore in Social Sciences wrote, "I am sickened to find how quickly the racism within people at this school and its "newspaper" surfaces after events such as occurred on May 3. To print a letter calling for a conservative backlash, to call the demands of minority students a hoax, to call the meager, token concessions granted them "rubber-stamped" products of white guilt is a clear call to Ku Klux Klan vigilante tactics. Is this where people in this school are at?"[455] It wouldn't be surprising if Korengold perhaps later participated with *Inside the Beast* given the perspective and views she expressed to *The Daily Aztec*.

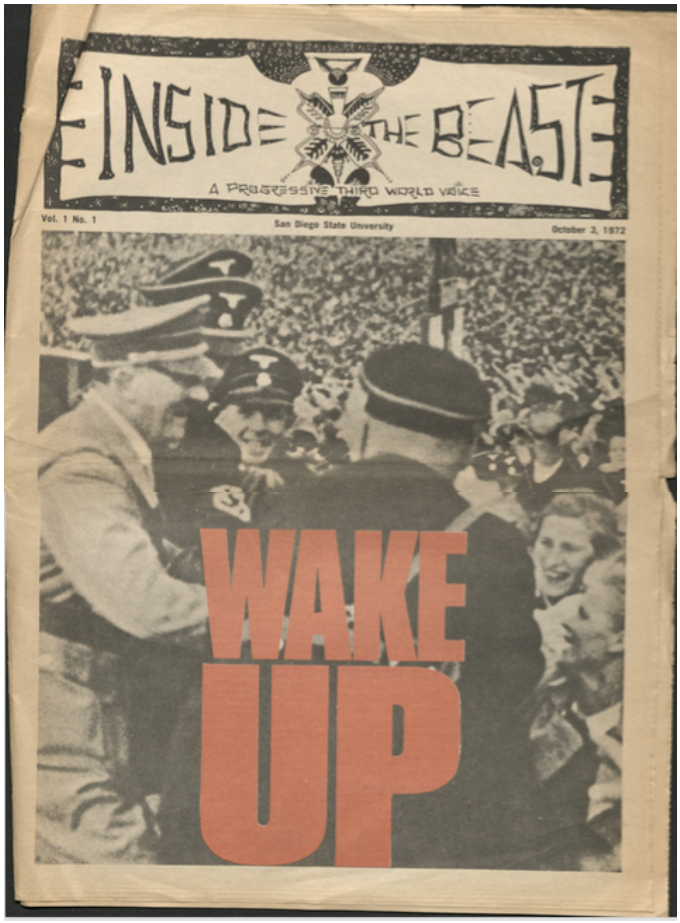
Students of color did not allow the university's hierarchy and the backlash from conservative students to deter their effort to make the university work for them. In the days after the May 3 events, a group called "Coalition to End Racism and Sexism" was created to support Affirmative Action initiatives on campus to reflect the demographic picture of San Diego.[456] The coalition, with Alurista as the spokesperson, consisted of the Deans of Arts and Letters, Business, and Professional Studies; the Vice President of Academic Affairs; a representative of the faculty senate; and five students, each representing a specific population on campus: Asian, Black, Chicano, Indian Pilipino,[457] and a woman. These students were to be elected by their respective communities and could be from inside or outside of campus. This committee further demonstrates how disadvantaged student

[454] "May 3 Demonstration," *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. 2, Issue 6, June 1972, p. 2.

[455] "Racism Surfacing," *The Daily Aztec*, May 11, 1972, p. 2.

[456] "Committee to assist in parity effort," *The Daily Aztec*, May 9, 1972, p. 1.

communities easily bonded together to fight a shared battle. A shared history of exclusion, marginalization from education, and aspirations of liberation encouraged this type of thinking and work, which by October 1972 finally materialized in the first issue of *Inside the Beast*.



Cover of First Issue of *Inside the Beast*, October 3, 1972. Source: Enriqueta Chávez Papers, 1955-2000, SDSU Special Collections & University Archives.

[457] Refers to Filipinas/os of Indian decent. It is interesting to note that Filipinos were not considered Asian by this group's definition.

The first issue of *Inside the Beast* was published on October 3, 1972.[458] Its staff and contributors were a coalition of progressive students (Black, Chicana/o, Asian American, Native American, and White men and women) that identified as part of a Third World community at SDSU. Unlike more traditional interpretations of the Third World composed of mainly anti-imperialist, anti-racist people of color, the contributors of *Inside the Beast* defined Third World membership as "progressive people of color [and] White people committed to transforming the world in its entirety."[459] The editorial "The Third World Paper" further added:

> Originally the term Third World, was a term which included only those people of color i.e. Yellow, Black, Brown, Red etc. Nations of the Third World are non-white nations. The term Third World has also been synonymous with the struggle to build a world free of exploitation and oppression. In the struggle to build such a world one finds many people – peoples of all colors.

The contributors' definition of the Third World is similar to that of *La Verdad*, the Chicana/o newspaper discussed in the previous chapter, which called for a united, multiracial front against police brutality, housing discrimination, and other issues confronted

[458] Based on the dates of the issues analyzed for this chapter, *Inside the Beast* was printed every two weeks (at least in 1972). In addition to bi-weekly issues, special thematic issues were also printed. These tended to be longer than the regular editions, which were on average 12 to 16 pages long. The two special issues examined for this chapter (on Chicano Studies and Women's Studies) were over 40 pages each. The main readership and target audience of the newspaper seemed to be students at SDSU.

[459] "The Third World Paper," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

by people of color, including poor and working-class Whites. Given that many contributors of *La Verdad* such as Olivia Puentes-Reynolds and Carlos LeGerrette were students at SDSU in the late 1960s, the similarity in ideas is not surprising. The goal of *Inside the Beast*'s contributors was to make a better world, and for that to happen, all people needed to come together under a shared banner of struggle and purpose against imperialism and racial capitalism, which affected everyone regardless of skin color. This multiracial form of activism was inculcated on Chicanas/os on campus, and they applied it to their work on and off the university.

An editorial published in the April 2, 1973, issue stated that Chicanas/os and other oppressed groups had to "[develop] an ideology that all oppressed people [could] identify with," and when that happened, "then we can form an army of oppressed people that will throw off the enemy oppressor."[460] This ideology needed to cut across racial, ethnic, cultural, and gender divides, which is exactly what the newspaper did with its reporting of local, national, and international news that revealed the commonalities between racial empowerment movements and struggles at SDSU and across San Diego. An analysis of *Inside the Beast* reveals that San Diego Civil Rights Movements, particularly some strands of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement represented through students at SDSU, were actively working with other progressive communities, including Whites, to push for a true democratic and egalitarian society.[461] This is evidence that *Inside the Beast* was a form

[460] "Third World Unity," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 4.

[461] This type of multiracial effort to combat racism and inequality is not uncommon in San Diego. A previous example of this type of this activism was the Citizens Interracial Committee (CIC), a community organization that brought awareness of racial issues in the city. The CIC operated from 1963 until 1969, when it partnered with the city of San Diego to create a Human Relations Commission. 27 people made up the CIC Board of Trustees. Among them were Carlos LeGerrette of *La Verdad*; Phil Saenz of *Mexican-American/Amigo*; George Walker Stevens, a leading local African American civil rights activist; and William Kolender, a White police captain who spearheaded

of Third World Studies on campus, given the intent of its contributors to find new and self-directed ways to make social justice a reality.

The Daily Aztec did not ignore the existence of *Inside the Beast*. It published two articles, the first on September 19, 1972, which announced the coming of *Inside the Beast.* The piece entitled "Alternative Newspaper Begins Publication Soon" provided important information about how *Inside the Beast* was formed. The newspaper started out with a fourteen-person board of directors housed at the lower level of the Aztec Center. The board of directors included "Two representatives each from the Indians, Chicanos, Blacks, Whites, Pilipino's [sic] and females."[462] According to César López, brother of Sonia López, former contributor to *La Verdad*[463] and a member of *Inside the Beast*,[464] the purpose of *Inside the Beast* was to, "create an alternative way of education" that brought students "international,

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reforms in the San Diego Police Department in the 1970s. At UCSD in the early 1970s, Chicana/o and Black students founded the Lumumba-Zapata College (now Thurgood Marshall College) and created a curriculum centered on collective educational empowerment. Thus *Inside the Beast* can be read as a continuation of this type of multiracial and progressive activism in San Diego.

[462] "Alternative Newspaper Begins Publication Soon," *The Daily Aztec*, September 19, 1972, p. 5.

[463] In my interview of with Sonia López, she mentioned that her brother, César, was a very politically active student at SDSU. She said he even wrote at times for *La Verdad*. Since I was not able to interview Mr. López, I could not corroborate this information until I came across the November 9, 1971, issue of *The Daily Aztec*. In that issue, the newspaper ran a section on student candidates for A.S. office, and one of the candidates that appeared was César López. His qualifications included, "Experience in MEChA; Junta Directiva; Centro de Estudios Chicanos; Member of "La Verdad": Huelga Committee. This newspaper issue corroborated Sonia López's statement of her brother and *La Verdad*. It further casts César López as a real believer and practitioner of multiracial and coalitional politics, given his involvement with two newspapers that advocated for this type of work. In addition, his work can also be seen as a type of Third World Studies in action.

[464] I reached out to César López several times to conduct an interview, but unfortunately it never occurred. Initially, Mr. López agreed to an interview in 2017, but at the time he was dealing with health issues. I contacted him several times after to check on him and to see if he was still interested in doing an interview, but his phone mailbox was always full and I never got a return call. I reached out to his sister Sonia, as well, but she also never got back to me.

national, local (community) and campus news."[465] The multiracial and multinational democratic project that the contributors of *Inside the Beast* put together was not without some issues though. The two women on the board of directors were expected to, "present the feminine perspective, since there is a possibility at some time, there will be no female input from the board members in the other six areas. One female will be White and the other will be from the Third World."[466] This idea that women were expected to speak for their gender is almost contradictory to the entire purpose of *Inside the Beast* – which, if read broadly, meant that everyone would participate in the battle against all forms of oppression, regardless of background or sex. Clearly some aspects of the newspaper were not entirely fleshed out and resembled the ongoing discussions that men and women had in the 1970s, particularly in the Chicana/o Movement, regarding gender equality in freedom movements.

Each racial and ethnic pair in the board of directors was divided into one technical co-editor and one active co-editor. Technical co-editors were in charge of readings stories that were turned in, and active co-editors were tasked with seeking out news and making sure it was reported in the newspaper. Students interested in submitting to *Inside the Beast* were asked to "contact the office of the particular group they identify with or stop by the organization's office." César López told *The Daily Aztec* that when stories related to one's own community or culture were written and printed they became "a much stronger story."[467] López seemed to suggest that a person who was well versed in his or her own history and involved in their community was better suited to write their stories, and these were stories the staff of *Inside the Beast* was interested in. Willie Wong, a staff member of *Inside the*

[465] "Alternative Newspaper Begins Publication Soon," *The Daily Aztec*, September 19, 1972, p. 5.

[466] "Alternative Newspaper Begins Publication Soon," *The Daily Aztec*, September 19, 1972, p. 5.

[467] "Alternative Newspaper Begins Publication Soon," *The Daily Aztec*, September 19, 1972, p. 5.

Beast, added that the newspaper was interested in "stories that [would] educate" readers.[468] Another important takeaway from this article is who the contributors of *Inside the Beast* were interested in recruiting. César López said that the newspaper wanted people who were "active in what they report," for the general theme of the newspaper was "activation"[469] (perhaps meaning activist-journalism). The staff's focus on activist journalism proves the perspectivist approach taken by the newspaper to solidify its community connections. Furthermore, it demonstrated its commitment to creating bridges between the academy and the community, and most importantly, among activists of different backgrounds.

The second article on *Inside the Beast* appeared on the October 27, 1972, issue of *The Daily Aztec*. It included a short interview with Carl Stuart, a member of the fourteen-person editorial board of *Inside the Beast* who spoke about the newspaper's mission and its financial struggles. According to Stuart, the goal of *Inside the Beast* was "to print all information and opinions of newsworthy interest concerning minorities."[470] The article also discussed the newspaper's organizational structure, which consisted of various "minority representatives" whose work for *Inside the Beast* was done strictly on a voluntary basis. According to Stuart, no one received salaries for their work, and the group lacked several important pieces of equipment like cameras and typewriters. In fact, Stuart said the newspaper was using typewriters that belonged to A.S. The $14,000 dollars for start-up expenses the newspaper got from A.S. went towards printing costs, which made it difficult to purchase other necessities, like cameras and typewriters. When this article came out, Stuart said that *Inside the Beast* was looking at the possibility of hiring an ad manager, for

[468] "Alternative Newspaper Begins Publication Soon," *The Daily Aztec*, September 9, 1972, p. 5.

[469] "Alternative Newspaper Begins Publication Soon," *The Daily Aztec*, September 9, 1972, p. 5.

[470] "Inside Story about Third World Paper," *The Daily Aztec*, October 27, 1972, p. 5.

advertisements that could "defray some of the costs of production."[471] Although the newspaper was distributed for free, it charged for advertisements. "SDS-students," meaning SDSU students, were charged 35 cents a line a day, while "non-SDS students" were charged 50 cent a line a day.[472] This suggests that the newspaper had an off-campus readership; and if it did, then perhaps the staff saw it as an opportunity to supplement the financial support they received from the university.

In the course of my research, I was not able to locate and interview former members or contributors of *Inside the Beast.* I asked interviewees for my other chapters, especially those who had connections to SDSU, if they knew anyone who had worked on the newspaper, but unfortunately none of them did. Thus, given the absence of oral history interviews of former members and contributors of *Inside the Beast*, *The Daily Aztec's* articles about *Inside the Beast* become more important because they provide glimpses into the early history of *Inside the Beast* and they revealed some of the struggles the founders experienced early on in their attempt to get the newspaper off the ground. Furthermore, they provide names of people involved with *Inside the Beast* – names that the latter did not print regularly. The absence of staff boxes with names of contributors makes it difficult to see who was there from the beginning, the people who joined later, and so on. It is also important to note that not all published material had by-lines. The only way to find out the names of people involved with *Inside the Beast* was by going through every article. From this, names like Sonia and César López, Karen Bass, Shu Lahn, Steve Weissman, Isang Kawal, Fay Chang, and Marge Piercy announced *Inside the Beast* as a truly multiracial, multiethnic, and gender-inclusive production, given the linguistically distinct first and last names.

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[471] "Inside Story about Third World Paper," *The Daily Aztec*, October 27, 1972, p. 5.

[472] Advertisement Info, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 2.

Another significant point of the October 27, 1972, article on *Inside the Beast* is the way that *The Daily Aztec* put Carl Stuart in a position of not just having to defend *Inside the Beast,* but to justify its existence at SDSU with the following statement: "There have been assertions made by students that the paper is sloppy and that they will not read 12 pages of opinion." To this Stuart responded:

> I believe all news is opinionated. The paper has been extremely opinionated. We offer a historical perspective of oppressive experiences involving the various minorities…The lack of reporting has been a problem, but before anyone passes final judgment one should take into consideration that the paper is in its developmental stage…We have dedicated students who are trying to develop the necessary tools to overcome problems in newspaper production.[473]

Rather than expressing support or solidarity for a budding campus newspaper, *The Daily Aztec* took the road that mainstream productions always do: to question the existence, purpose, and significance of an alternative media source, especially one created by activist communities in response to biased, establishment journalism. Instead of discussing what insights a Third World newspaper could bring to campus, *The Daily Aztec* forced Stuart to justify *Inside the Beast's* existence. *Inside the Beast,* however, had "justified" its existence and commitment to presenting news about social justice early on with a powerful and emphatic statement: "Power to Black, Yellow, and Oppressed White; Power to Chicano, Pilipino, and Women; Power to all of the Peoples; THIRD WORLD MUST UNITE!"[474]

[473] "Inside Story about Third World Paper," *The Daily Aztec*, October 27, 1972, p. 5.

[474] Power to the People Announcement, *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

Third World students needed to unite especially when racism and sexism continued to appear in the pages of *The Daily Aztec*.

Inside the Beast, Vol. 2, No. 1, April 15, 1974, p. 2. Source: Enriqueta Chávez Papers, 1955-2000, SDSU Special Collections & University Archives.

An important task carried out by the staff of *Inside the Beast* was to monitor the content published in *The Daily Aztec* for any racist and/or sexist material. The staff didn't have to wait long after it's founding to catch *The Daily Aztec,* particularly SDSU's President, red-handed. On the November 22, 1972, issue SDSU President Brage Golding was interviewed about the state of enrollment at the campus. President Golding said the university needed to cap student enrollment at 28,000 due to limited resources. Admissions would be based upon the turn over factor, meaning that newly admitted students would simply replace those that graduated. This process, President Golding stated, allowed the university's student body

equal access to resources. Because of limited resources Golding said that SDSU could not fully implement Affirmation Action initiatives to increase student diversity on campus. The President's comments reflected a much more personal opposition to Affirmative Action though. He told *The Daily Aztec,* "I would lean toward them [women and minority students] if they were equally qualified with other candidates for employment, but if there were a substantial difference in ability I would opt for the best qualified candidate…I owe it to the university to get the best."[475] President Golding's comment implied that Affirmative Action forced the university to take students whom he believed were not qualified enough to attend SDSU. This, in turn, hurt the prestige of the university and by extension the prestige of his position. His personal bias against Affirmative Action and by extension equal access to education was fully exposed in his follow-up comment: "If we [SDSU] hired only women and Blacks, you know the quality of education would go down…we are trying to change custom here, you can't wipe out prejudice in one day. We have to make hay slowly."[476]

President Golding's comment exposed his apathy towards attaining racial and gender equality on his campus. His words can also be read as one example of how White men in power resisted the legal victories of the Civil Rights Movement, and it sent a direct reminder to women and students of color that higher education had to remain exclusively a White man's domain. The President's comments further showed the degree to which SDSU was hostile to Ethnic Studies programs and its students, which contrary to Golding's statement, had actually improved the level of education on campus by forcing the university to address longstanding issues of racism, sexism, and inequality. *Inside the Beast*, for example, was a product of their work to make SDSU a better place for all.

[475] "Enrollment Ceiling Needed," *The Daily Aztec*, November 22, 1972, p. 4.

[476] "Enrollment Ceiling Needed," *The Daily Aztec*, November 22, 1972, p. 4.

Inside the Beast's response to President Golding's comments did not come out until early January 1973. The reason might have been that Golding's interview appeared in an issue right before the Thanksgiving break, and shortly after that the students went on winter break. In the first issue of 1973 Third World students, through the Coalition to End Racism and Sexism, published a memorandum sent to President Golding on January 6, 1973, where they demanded the President clarify his words about women and students of color. The coalition was made up of Blacks, Chicanos, Pilipinos, Asians, Indians, and women whose goal was "the elimination of institutional racism and sexism" at SDSU.[477] The coalition had not received a response by January 15, when the first *Inside the Beast* issue of 1973 was published, so its members decided to call out President Golding inside the pages of the social justice newspaper.

The memorandum also called on Golding to explain why he supported higher tuition, the elimination of EOP, and his support of the university's hiring practices. The memorandum, signed by representatives each of the Black Student Union (BSU), MEChA, the Asian American Student Alliance (AASA), the Women Studies Department, the Native American Student Alliance (NASA), and Andres Bonifacio Samahan, a Filipino American student organization, collectively stated that, "Education and employment belong to all the people and if all people do not have access to them then no one will, be it necessary to negotiate through channels already in existence or to exercise civil disobedience and the channels it opens: public opinion."[478] The Coalition to End Racism and Sexism threatened a protest on campus on March 6, 1973, if President Golding did not respond to their memorandum. President Golding, however, met with MEChA representatives in mid-January to address

[477] "Combat Barge Combat Racism," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 6, January 15, 1973, p. 3.

[478] "Combat Barge Combat Racism," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 6, January 15, 1973, p. 3.

these and other issues. It is unclear if Golding met with representatives of the other ethnic-based organizations that signed the memorandum though. But considering that the proposed March 6 protest did not take place, it is likely he did and the matters were addressed.[479] This story represents but one example of the battles ethnic organizations and the staff of *Inside the Beast* waged over the next year at SDSU to attain and defend their legitimacy as students and dignity as human beings.

Creating a Movement of the People

Inside the Beast served as a forum for all movements whose aim was to bring about social justice. The newspaper reported on the progress of the Black and Chicana/o empowerment movements; the American Indian Movement; the Asian American Movement; the student and working-class movements against political repression and economic inequality in Mexico; the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle East; and the Cold War in Latin America and Africa. These stories strengthened the contributors' goal of building a multiracial front to combat injustice. Each story, in its own unique way, whether it was Native American struggles for land rights, the Black Panthers' campaign to end police repression, the war in Southeast Asia, or political unrest south of the border, revealed the connections that united all oppressed people – the pursuit of self-determination and dignity. Through its column "What, When, Where," *Inside the Beast* gave readers important information that facilitated their participation in social justice efforts on and off campus. Names and contact information of clubs and activist organizations on campus, film screenings, and advertisements for guest lectures and speakers filled the entire page, which

appeared in every issue. This section shows how *Inside the Beast's* contributors actively worked to get people involved in spaces where they could make a difference. These spaces were likely advertised because members of *Inside the Beast* were involved with them. Through reporting and informing, *Inside the Beast* brought peoples, movements, and ideas together in an effort to turn differences into shared struggles.

One of the movements that *Inside the Beast* reported on was the Women's Movement on and off campus. The newspaper's strong sensibility to women's issues was perhaps due to the fact the Women's Studies Department on campus was founded in 1970[480] as the "first autonomous program in the country to offer a complement of courses on the status of women."[481] There was even an issue of *Inside the Beast*, published in May of 1973, devoted exclusively to the Women's Studies Department. This special issue celebrated the department's first three years of existence with a series of articles written only by women that addressed issues related to the future of the Women's Studies Department, education, welfare, sexuality, rape, class, and racism in the mainstream White Women's Movement.[482] *Inside the Beast* discussed that the department was heavily active in the community, including helping female prisoners prepare for life outside of prison and supporting labor strikes for higher wages.[483] The newspaper also showed how Third World women in San

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[479] In my research, I did not find any evidence that suggested President Golding did not sit-down to talk with women and students of color to discuss his November 22, 1972, comments and the struggles women and minority students faced on campus.

[480] For a brief history of the Women's Studies Department at SDSU, see, "History," Department of Women's Studies, accessed January 9, 2018, http://womensstudies.sdsu.edu/history.htm

[481] "To the Women of San Diego," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 7.

[482] *Inside the Beast*, May 1973.

[483] "Women in Prisons," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 4; "What Can Students Do," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 8; "More on the Strike at General Dynamics, " *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 5.

Diego protested the Vietnam War. It advertised meetings for the Women's Indochina Solidarity Committee (WISC), an all-women's anti-imperialist, anti-war group that formed to learn the culture of the Vietnamese people. The group, which met Thursdays at the Peace House at 2143 Market Street near downtown San Diego, offered women the chance to work against the war, a movement primarily dominated by male activists, in "an all women's group."[484] It is entirely conceivable that Chicanas attended group meetings too. After all, the group met in Shelltown, a community that borders Barrio Logan, a predominantly Mexican working-class neighborhood, to the north.

The newspaper also focused on the different ways that society oppressed women, especially female college students with respects to tuition. An article entitled "Sexist Law" pointed out that an SDSU female student, despite being a California resident, was forced to pay out-of-state tuition when she married her husband, who was in the military and did not reside in California. This law enforced traditional notions of marriage that when a woman weds, she loses her identity and independence and assumed that of her husband. For this law to exist in the 1970s, despite the activism by the part of women in the preceding years against sexism, reveals the continuing battles waged against sexism in the 1970s. "If this [law] reeks of legislative sexism it is because the law is sexist," the article said. "If it sounds like a woman loses all identity as far as the state is concerned when she marries, it is because she does."[485] *Inside the Beast* stated that students at SDSU were pushing Dorothy Simpson, the Dean of Activities, to compile a list of female students who were California residents

[484] "Women's Indochina Solidarity Committee," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 12.

[485] "Sexist Law," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 8.

that married out-of-state persons and had to pay out-of-state tuition. This is a movement that women from all backgrounds could rally around.

Inside the Beast also informed the public about the different programs and services in support of female students at SDSU. These announcements supported the efforts by women to empower themselves and take ownership of their minds and bodies. For example, although *Inside the Beast* advertised several courses that supported Third World liberation, an advertised course designed for women to better understand their bodies stands out. The course would discuss, among other subjects, "sensuality, birth control, pregnancy, non-motherhood, women's health, menopause," in order for women to "understand their bodies better and be able to take change of what is happening to their bodies."[486] The newspaper's support for women's rights was furthered shown through its support of the Rape Crisis Center to combat sexual violence on campus. The newspaper also reported how the Women's Union on campus pushed administrators to establish childcare and better health services for female students. It also ran an article about the Women's Health Project, which was created with the support of the Women's and Chicana Studies programs, to get health services to provide better assistance to women that sought medical care.[487] The staff of *Inside the Beast* even published a tear-out survey for women to fill out and return to Student Health Services. This effort to directly help change student health services shows the staff's commitment to helping all women on campus. The newspaper's support for women stretched outside of campus as well with its announcement that a self-defense class would be

[486] "Our Bodies, Ourselves," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 5.

[487] "Inadequate Health Services for Women," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 10.

taught at the downtown YMCA.[488] These examples show that *Inside the Beast* supported complete liberation and empowerment of women on all levels.

In addition to supporting the liberation of all women, regardless of their race, class or sexuality, *Inside the Beast* attempted to bring people together by running stories on local issues that had the capability to garner support across racial, class, and gender lines. Most notably, the stories about the boycott of a local 7-11 store near SDSU, the Del Mar 7 trial, labor strikes at General Dynamics and at Industries Beta in Baja California, and the immigration case of Huynh Van Hong, best represent the newspaper's attempt at building a cross-racial movement.

One of the most important local stories that *Inside the Beast* covered was a 1972 student-led campaign against a 7-11 store near campus that charged high prices for basic need items. The struggle against 7-11 started in the spring of 1972, when MEChA first presented a list of demands to the SDSU A.S. Council that argued that 7-11 "was exploiting the students who lived in nearby dormitories, fraternities, sororities, and apartments who did not have adequate means of transportation to other stores."[489] During the school year, the newspaper reported that the college-area 7-11 store "[was] the number [one] store in the county [in terms of sales] during those months that school are in session and then drop[ped] down to being the number nine store during the summer."[490] One interesting thing the newspaper did was that it showed both sides of the story. The article "Boycott 7-11" explained the situation from the point of view of the 7-11 store, which was independently owned and whose owner purchased its goods from Southland, its parent company. According to the article, the 7-11

[488] "Take That!" *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 10.

[489] "Boycott of 7-11 Starts Today," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 1.

[490] "Boycott 7-11," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 2, 1972, p. 5.

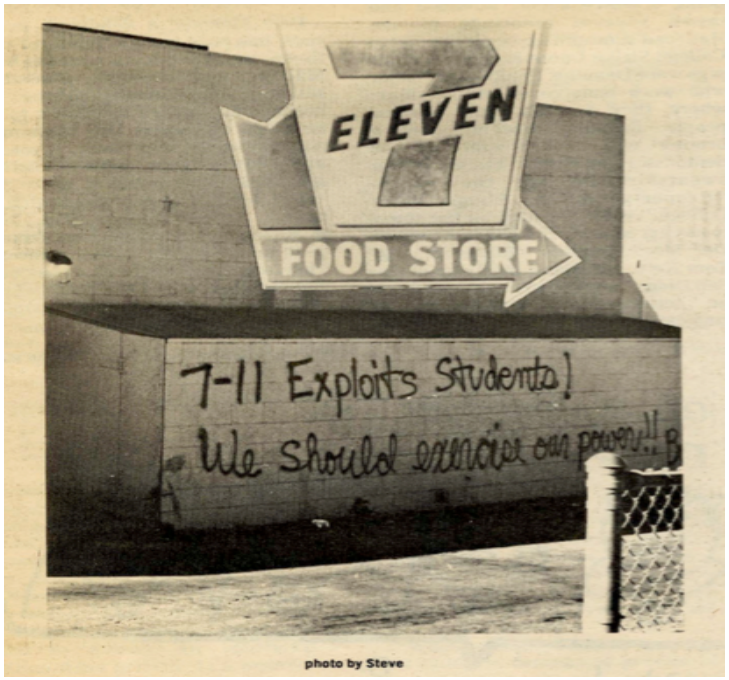
purchased goods for a standard price but couldn't sell below a specific price. The storeowner's only way to make a profit was to raise prices, which in turn affected the student population dependent on the store. Students tried to talk to the storeowner and to Southland, but they both showed little interest in cooperating with them. When the storeowner allegedly stated that he would, "close [his] doors before [he] lower[ed] prices,"[491] the students prepared a boycott. On paper, this story had the appeal and the necessary ingredients to bring together students from all types of backgrounds to push back against a shared source of economic exploitation.

The boycott was slated to start on November 20, 1972. Coincidentally (or not), November 20 is the anniversary of the start of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Perhaps the organizing committee (which could have included Chicana/o students) purposely chose November 20 to begin the boycott to capitalize on the pride it instills in Mexican and Mexican descent people.[492] The Mexican Revolution was fought to overthrow the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz that benefitted the rich at the expense of the poor. The struggle then was against exploitative forces, similar to how 7-11 took advantage of cash-strapped students in 1972. The 7-11 Boycott Committee demanded the following: that the 7-11 store

[491] "Boycott of 7-11 Starts Today," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 1.

[492] If true, the 7-11-boycott committee's action echoes the way that Mexican American farmworkers joined striking Filipino workers in 1965 to create the United Farm Workers' Association (UFW). César Chávez, who represented the Mexican American farmworkers, called for a vote to see if his union, the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), should join striking Filipinos. Voting took place on September 16, on Mexican Independence Day. Many scholars, including Lee Bebout, have argued that Chávez chose to have farmworkers vote on that particular day in order to capitalize on their enthusiasm for the day's significance – a break from exploitative conditions – in order to place their struggle as farmworkers as similar to that of the independence struggle. For more on the use of culture and history as tools for political organizing, see Lee Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and Its Legacies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

reduce prices storewide and that it sell UFW approved union lettuce.[493] The committee also demanded that 7-11 stock more economy sized items; that it offer better quality service; and finally, it called for an investigation into the store's hiring policies and practices.[494] For three days, virtually no one went into the store, and approximately 50-100 people picketed on the sidewalk.[495]



7-11 Boycott. *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 2, No. 5, December 5, 1972, p. 3. Source: Other Voices: Alternative Periodicals at San Diego State University.

[493] In 1970, the UFW called on a massive boycott of lettuce growers who refused to give better wages and working conditions to their workers in California. The boycott and subsequent protests and strikes lasted for almost eight years, surpassing the five years (1965-1970) of boycotts and strikes it took to bring the Delano grape growers to the negotiating table. The lettuce strike, and all efforts to support the striking farmworkers, was covered extensively by *Inside the Beast.* References to select articles will appear throughout the rest of the chapter.

[494] "Boycott of 7-11 Starts Today," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 1.

[495] "7-11 Boycott Continues Although Two Busted, " *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 2, No. 5, December 5, 1972, p. 3.

The boycott moved along smoothly until the second day when San Diego Police arrested 2 picketers, Dave Casper and Joe Bangert. The article, "7-11 Boycott Continues Although Two Busted" reported that Casper[496] was arrested for making noise in a public sidewalk and Bangert for disturbing the peace and soliciting spare change. *Inside the Beast* interviewed Casper, who was taken to jail and stated that he was treated badly while in detention. Casper told *Inside the Beast* that he had approached a woman who came out of the store and asked her if she knew about the boycott. The woman, he claimed, immediately went to the police, who had been standing near the picket line observing. They immediately restrained him. Casper believed it was all a set-up by the police to arrest someone and to ask questions. While in detention, Casper said that the police questioned him about his political ideas and of his participation in other movements happening in San Diego. He felt intimidated, but he said nothing to them. He told *Inside the Beast*, "We must be effective in the boycott for them to go to this length to intimidate me."[497] Intimidation of progressive students by law enforcement and government agencies during the 1960s and 1970s was common. The FBI, whose goal was to weaken and destroy groups from within, infiltrated many civil rights organizations nationwide. The newspaper claimed that the FBI had been trying to single-out activists in San Diego, including some members of *Inside the Beast*. In response to this, *Inside the Beast* reprinted a set of guidelines for its readers that delineated their rights under the law.[498]

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[496] Casper was a Vietnam War veteran.

[497] "7-11 Boycott Continues Although Two Busted, " *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 2, No. 5, December 5, 1972, p. 3.

[498] "FBI Harasses Students," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 2.

The Daily Aztec also reported on the 7-11 boycott. In the article, "A.S. 7-11 Boycott Would Have Support," *The Daily Aztec* provided readers with a gauge to assess the undergraduate student body's opinion on the 7-11 boycott. Among the people interviewed in the article was *Inside the Beast's* own César López, who expressed his support for the boycott with the following statement: "the theory of students as consumers must be developed" in order to "watch out for themselves in the San Diego State University community."[499] By thinking of themselves as consumers whose boycott went beyond 7-11, López argued that students would also aid striking farmworkers. Given that 7-11 had a history of purchasing non-union lettuce, the boycott of 7-11 at SDSU, while meant primarily to address a local issue of high prices for students, would also indirectly aid the national boycott against non-union lettuce. In bringing together these two separate issues, López demonstrated how the 7-11 boycott was an opportunity for multi-issue activism and a form of Third World Studies "theory" in practice. The overwhelming majority of students interviewed by *The Daily Aztec* expressed support for the boycott, but there were a few who questioned if a boycott would really force 7-11 to drop its prices. Even though this article was printed by *The Daily Aztec*, it showed that the issue of 7-11's high prices appealed to a wide variety of backgrounds – men, women, Chicanos, Whites; from the fields of Chicano Studies to Political Science, Health Education to a member of the faculty senate. This shows the reason why *Inside the Beast* published this story because the fight for an affordable life as a college student had the strength to bring together people from all walks of life.

While *The Daily Aztec's* article discussed in the previous paragraph seemed to follow and build on *Inside the Beast's* support for a coalitional movement against 7-11's high prices, a subsequent article published one week later in *The Daily Aztec* seemed to pull back

[499] "A.S. 7-11 Boycott Would Have Support," *The Daily Aztec*, October 3, 1972, p. 8.

support for the student coalition against the store. The article, "Prices Same, Lower Among Local 7-11's" cut into the grievances that gave momentum and legitimacy to the boycott of the College Avenue 7-11. It stated that a study of several 7-11 stores in San Diego County, including the one on College Avenue, indicated that the store near SDSU had "the same or lower [prices] than the other stores"[500] in similar items like toothpaste, eggs, wine and beer. It is interesting to note that the items chosen to compare prices across the different 7-11 stores included alcohol and wine, as if implying these are "primary needs" of the student body. This study assumed that it was appropriate to use alcohol products in a comparative study of prices of everyday basic needs of college students. It indirectly assumed that all college students drank alcohol, and that made it ok to label it a "basic need" of SDSU students. Other items, such as milk and bread, could have been used to make more appropriate comparisons given that these, in addition to toothpaste and eggs, are basic everyday needs and products for students, especially for those on the go.

The boycott seemed to be working locally, but no evidence was given if the boycott expanded beyond the primary target. In late November, Timm Tripp of the boycott committee told the A.S. Council that sales at 7-11 were down 90 percent during the days students picketed the store.[501] This was perhaps due to the fact that the boycott committee received the endorsement of the A.S. Council in late October.[502] With this endorsement, plus the commitment of the student picketers, the 7-11 boycott became more legitimate because its rank-and-file had the support of a powerful entity on campus that could flex its muscle

[500] "Prices Same, Lower Among Local 7-11's," *The Daily Aztec*, October 13, 1972, p. 1.

[501] "Agreement Between A.S. Council And 7-Eleven May Be Reached," *The Daily Aztec*, November 30, 1972, p. 1.

[502] "Boycott Committee Organizing Action," *The Daily Aztec*, October 18, 1972, p. 1.

and put pressure on 7-11 to negotiate. By early December, the boycott brought the 7-11 store to the negotiating table. *The Daily Aztec* reported on December 1 that the store agreed to comply with the demands of the boycott committee "wherever possible."[503] This included reducing prices of products students demanded be lowered and to buy and sell only UFW picked lettuce. By December 6, the boycott officially ended when Southland agreed to lower prices that met the original demands of the boycott committee. The only item that Southland stated would take time to address was hiring practices, but it promised to begin work on them immediately.[504] Although *Inside the Beast* did not cover the end of the boycott, *The Daily Aztec's* coverage shows that at times this newspaper did provide good reporting of news and issues relevant to the student body at large, including Chicanos and Chicanas. Both newspapers presented a successful model for multiracial, Third World activism.

Another story that *Inside the Beast* used to rally people together was opposition to the Vietnam War. San Diego was home to one of the most visible anti-war movements in all the country. Because of the large military presence in the city, San Diego served as a staging ground for the deployment of soldiers and weaponry to Southeast Asia. On May 12, 1972, at Seagrove Park in Del Mar, some 25 minutes north of downtown, an anti-war protest turned violent when protestors set fire to the railroad tracks to prevent trains delivering munitions to San Diego to be deployed to Vietnam and Cambodia. This was done, according to *Inside the Beast,* as a way to protest the continued "mining of the harbors, the intensified bombings, and San Diego's complicity in the prosecution of the Vietnam War."[505] To anti-

[503] "Council, Maret Reach Truce," *The Daily Aztec*, December 1, 1972, p. 1.

[504] "7-Eleven Boycott Comes To End, Compromise Settlement Reached," *The Daily Aztec*, December 6, 1972, p. 1.

[505] "Trial Today for Del Mar 7," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 2, 1972, p. 7.

war demonstrators, the military activity in San Diego contradicted the news that came out of Washington D.C., which claimed that the war was coming to an end. These anti-war activists, *Inside the Beast* added, "protested in San Diego because [President] Nixon claims the war [was] winding down; yet [they saw] tanks and jeeps on the trains, [they saw] the aircraft carriers and destroyers leave San Diego harbor for Indochina, and [they saw] airbases empty of fighter planes."[506] In taking these direct action initiatives, local protestors and the contributors of *Inside the Beast* believed they could alter the course of the war.

Several people were arrested as a result of the incident in Del Mar. Among the arrested were students from SDSU, UCSD, San Diego City College, and local community organizers. One of those charged with obstructing the train was Peter Bohmer, an SDSU professor whom a 2012 *The San Diego Union Tribune* article called a "firebrand" that "kept the anti-war fervor burning on campus" in the 1970s.[507] Bohmer was considered a radical professor at SDSU who at one point had his job terminated when he was charged with using grades to threaten conservative students who did not agree with his political views. *Inside the Beast* stated that Bohmer's real crime was, "being outspoken about the corruptions of [the] system or rather up front, with his radical analysis of capitalism."[508] The newspaper followed closely the developments of the trial against the anti-war protestors in late 1972, which came to be known as the "Del Mar 7." *Inside the Beast* made its anti-war position very clear because its contributors supported the defendants throughout the case, and they even advertised a demonstration and rally against the war for November 4, 1972, at Morley

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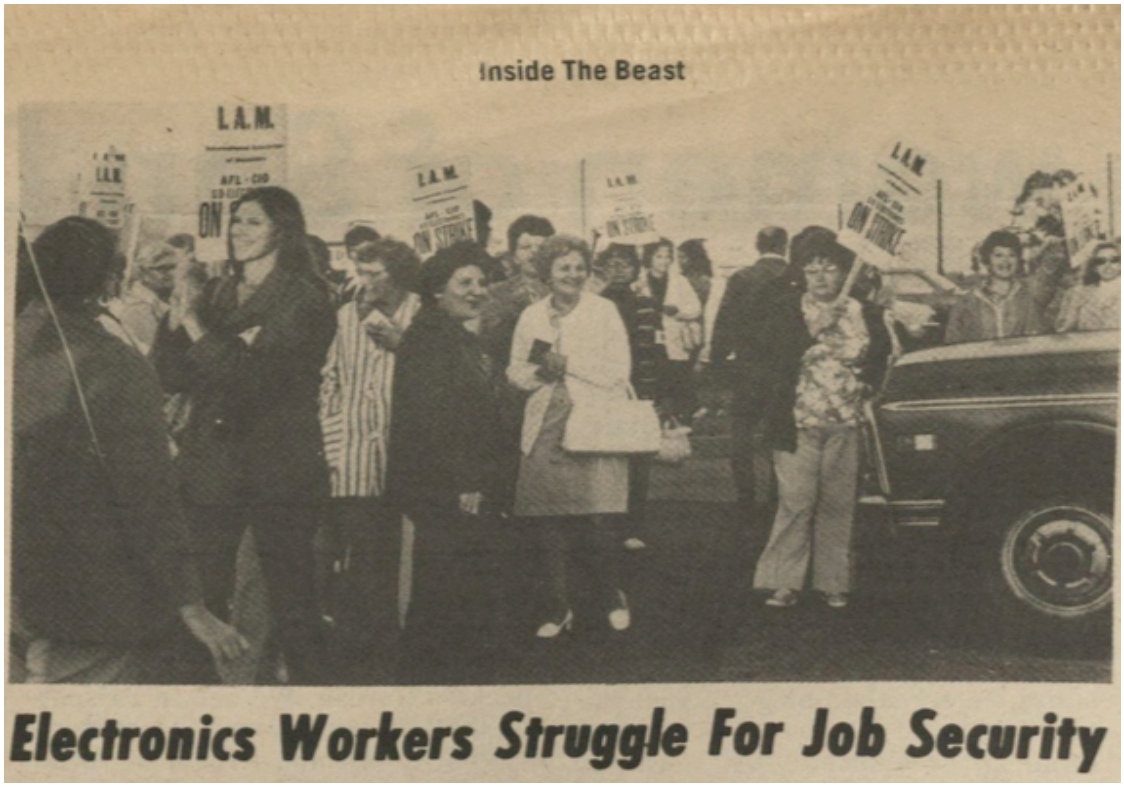
[506] "Trial Today for Del Mar 7," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 2, 1972, p. 7.

[507] "Del Mar, 1972: Something happened here," *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 12, 2012, accessed January 17, 2018, http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-del-mar-1972-theres-something-happened-here-2012may12-story.html

[508] "Bohmer Awaits Appeal," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 5.

Field in downtown San Diego.[509] A war that affected local working-class Whites and people of color brought those groups together to protest San Diego's complicity in the U.S. government's imperialist venture in Southeast Asia, and *Inside the Beast* spread the word to keep the movement alive and strong.



General Dynamics Strike. *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 2, 1972, p. 8. Source: Enriqueta Chávez Papers, 1955-2000, SDSU Special Collections & University Archives.

In addition to its coverage of the anti-war movement in San Diego, *Inside the Beast* also acted as an organizing and recruiting tool to support labor strikes for better wages and working conditions locally and across the border in Mexico. In October of 1972, the newspaper reported that workers at General Dynamics, an important defense industry

[509] Advertisement for November 4, 1972 anti-war demonstration and rally, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 6.

employer in San Diego, went on strike to demand higher wages and pensions. 750 workers went on strike – 75 percent of them were women, and many of them identified as "Third World" people.[510] Female workers demanded pay increases and more opportunities to ascend within their jobs. All female employees who went on strike worked as assemblers, whose pay started at $2.08 an hour and topped at $3.85 an hour.[511] While some men worked as assemblers, the majority of them were technicians whose pay reached $5.12 an hour.[512] Many of the women who went on strike were single parents between the ages of 35 and 55 and had been working at General Dynamics for over 30 years. Not only were they paid less than their male counterparts, but they were also denied seniority within the company, which hurt their chance for a pension upon retirement. *Inside the Beast* called on students to organize and support these workers because only through the combined strength of students and workers would "social change come about."[513] This call for student involvement in a labor issue indicates how the contributors of *Inside the Beast* pushed students to put their education to practice and in service of their communities. This is evidence of the newspaper's "perspectivist" mentality at work. Doing so showed how students could serve the most vulnerable by working for a movement for better wages, better human treatment of workers, and for women's rights and equality.

In the October 16, 1972, issue, *Inside the Beast* reported that women from SDSU's Women's Studies Department heeded its call for action and went to support the striking General Dynamics workers. While they weren't allowed to join the picket lines, they

[510] "What Can Students Do," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 2, 1972, p. 8.

[511] "What Can Students Do," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 2, 1972, p. 8.

[512] "What Can Students Do," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 2, 1972, p. 8.

[513] "What Can Students Do," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 2, 1972, p. 8

cheered the workers on. The strikers distrusted the students at first, whom they thought were simply there to observe them for a class project.[514] But as the day progressed and the students continued showing their support, *Inside the Beast* said the workers began to warm up to the students. The strike eventually ended with a victory for the workers. The workers reported to students that they had won some of their demands – including coverage of almost 80 percent of their medical and dental coverage, and that a savings plan for them was established where the company put in 50 cents for every dollar workers put in.[515] On October 7, the workers agreed to a new contract that included seniority rights.[516] *Inside the Beast* did not mention if the workers' wages and demands for women to have promotions were addressed in the new contract, but given that the new contract was approved by the striking workers, one can assume that they were. There is also no indication of how influential the student presence at the strike was in the negotiations, or if it had any effect on the strike itself. Perhaps the biggest takeaway is the fact that the staff of *Inside the Beast* was successful in getting students out to participate in a community struggle.

Following the end of the Bracero Program in 1964, a labor agreement between the U.S. and Mexico that allowed a set amount of Mexican guest workers to work in U.S. agricultural and industrial jobs each year, the Mexican government looked for another safety valve to keep its domestic workforce within its borders. The economy was in limbo in the 1960s, and many people migrated, legally and without documentation, to the U.S. in search of better

[514] "More on the Strike at General Dynamics, " *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 5.

[515] "More on the Strike at General Dynamics, " *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 5.

[516] "More on the Strike at General Dynamics, " *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 5.

jobs and economic security. To prevent further loss of its domestic workforce, the Mexican government in 1965 initiated the Border Industrialization Program.[517] This initiative encouraged U.S. businesses to set-up manufacturing and assembly shops on Mexican border towns, duty-free, as long as they employed Mexican laborers. Hundreds of U.S. corporations heeded the call. They stood to gain a lot from this deal – they could export assembled products back to the U.S. without paying tariffs. This program overtime gave rise to what is today known as the maquiladora industry, or sweatshop labor. U.S. corporations have taken advantage of the economic desperation of Mexican male and female laborers and exploited them – long hours of work and very little wages in return. These exploitative trends became visible as early as the 1970s, especially along the San Diego-Tijuana border in the Industries Beta factory in Tijuana, Baja California.

In March of 1973, workers from an Industries Beta factory, a U.S. transnational electronics company in Tijuana, went on strike after 20 female workers were fired for demanding payment for overtime work. The workers also demanded an end to speed up production, the hiring of more workers, and an end to sexual molestation and harassment of female workers.[518] In the article "Estudiantes y Trabajadores,"[519] *Inside the Beast* urged its readers to support a workers' strike that was primarily led by a workforce made up of approximately 93 percent women.[520] Female workers, *Inside the Beast* reported, worked 54

[517] For more information about the Border Industrialization Program, see Charles E. Rumbaugh, "American Utilization of the Mexican Border Industrialization Program." *California Western International Law Journal,* Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 128-140.

[518] "Exploitation of Tijuana Workers," *North Star*, Vol. 3, No. 25, April 9-23, 1973, p. 4.

[519] The original title of this article had a misspelling. The printed article incorrectly spelled the word "trabajadores" as "travajadores." I corrected the misspelling for citation purposes.

[520] "Exploitation of Tijuana Workers," *North Star*, Vol. 3, No. 25, April 9-23, 1973, p. 4.

hours a week and were paid only $30.16.[521] In addition, *Inside the Beast* reported that strikers called for the release of Javier Mange, a Beta worker who was illegally arrested by Mexican authorities for calling on students to support the strike. The *North Star*, a progressive UCSD-affiliated community newspaper, reported that Mange was held on charges that included "vagrancy, kidnapping, and insulting the government."[522] After his arrest, hundreds of workers and students marched to Tijuana City Hall to demand the release of Mange and support for the strike. Furthermore, on April 7 a protest in support of the strike took place at the U.S.-Mexico border in which "students and workers from both sides of the border participated."[523] Solidarity work between Chicana/o and Mexican workers and students in support of better working conditions and for the release of political prisoners was not all uncommon in the 1970s. In his book *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico*, Alan Elaido Gómez showed that Chicanas/os viewed state repression in Latin America as an attack on the larger Third World anti-imperialist community that they belonged to, and they immersed themselves in struggles against it in places like Mexico.[524] *Inside the Beast's* printing of this story, and its writers' call for allies of the workers to organize and support their strike in San Ysidro on May, 4, 1973, shows how people in San Diego were being drawn to participate in a larger hemispheric movement against state repression of workers and political dissidents. The *North Star* also made similar remarks with the following statement:

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[521] "Estudiantes y Travajadores," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 8, April 30, 1973, p. 7.

[522] "Exploitation of Tijuana Workers," *North Star*, Vol. 3, No. 25, April 9-23, 1973, p. 4.

[523] "Exploitation of Tijuana Workers," *North Star*, Vol. 3, No. 25, April 9-23, 1973, p. 4.

[524] See Chapter 5, ""Por la Reunificación de los Pueblos Libres en su Lucha por el Socialismo": Mexican Maoists, Chicana/o Revolutionaries, and the Dirty War in Mexico," in Alan Elaido Gómez, *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico*, pp. 138-172.

> Students and workers on both sides of the border have recognized the need to unite in solidarity. Many U.S. companies, especially those in California subcontract work to Mexican industries. This affords a great advantage to the moneymakers on both sides; in exchange for a market for their product, Mexican factory bosses offer U.S. companies cheap labor. For the increased profit of a few, many workers suffer. The deep roots of racism and sexism are inherent in this exchange. This kind of exploitation of women and third world peoples not only perpetuates the inferior status of these people, but encourages and serves to justify further exploitation for economic purposes.[525]

These examples demonstrate that transnational organizing to end economic, racial, and gender exploitation was an important element of the San Diego-based Third World liberation movement. After all, workers in the U.S. and in Mexico were part of a working-class community that experienced the same exploitative features of U.S. capitalism.

Inside the Beast **and the Chicana/o Movement**

The Chicana/o Movement was heavily active at SDSU in the early 1970s. Chicana/o students organized on campus to address their needs as students, such as funding for additional programs and support services and the expansion of student recruitment efforts. They also promoted awareness and solidarity with the UFW's boycotts of non-union lettuce. Such was the level of support for the lettuce boycott on campus that it was even covered by

The Daily Aztec. Chicana/o activism on campus manifested itself in the form of Católicos Por la Raza, a Chicana/o youth movement that pushed the Catholic Church to be more responsive to the needs of the Chicana/o people (for more on the Católicos in San Diego, see chapter two). The Chicana/o student movement at SDSU was active off campus too. Its participants, mostly first-generation students, came from all parts of San Diego. A number of them came from the Imperial Valley, a predominantly agricultural region east of San Diego County that was home to a large Mexican and Mexican American farmworker community. Growing up in this environment politicized students from an early age like Sonia López, an occasional contributor to *Inside the Beast*. Urban Chicana/o students also attended SDSU. They came from different areas of San Diego where they lived and grew up around Blacks and Filipinos (in places like Barrio Logan or National City). Living in such close geographical proximity, it can be argued, made it more likely that students would come together and engage in multiracial work.[526] Chicana/o students also helped make Chicano Studies at SDSU become one of the most promising programs in all of California in the early 1970s.

According to historian Rodolfo F. Acuña, many people expected SDSU's Chicano Studies to be a strong program since San Diego was home to a large Chicana/o population,

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[525] "Exploitation of Tijuana Workers," *North Star*, Vol. 3, No. 25, April 9-23, 1973, p. 4.

[526] For more about how multiracial activism originated in California, and the factors that contributed to it, see: Allison Varzally, *Making a Non-White America: Californians Coloring outside Ethnic Lines, 1925-1955* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Shana Bernstein, *Bridges of Reform: Interracial Civil Rights Activism in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); for information about how distinct racial groups worked in solidarity with one another, but remained more heavily involved within their own racial empowerment movements, see Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

including many of the Chicana/o Movement's "heavies" or big-name activists.[527] People like Gustavo Segade, Rene Núñez, Sonia López, Jose Villarino, Enriqueta Chávez, and Alurista all taught classes for the program. These included courses on Chicano history, including the first-ever courses on Chicana history taught by Rita Sánchez. In 1971, the program obtained department status, but retained its autonomy, as it was not affiliated with the College of Liberal Arts. This meant that students had a strong say in how the department functioned, including decision-making powers in faculty hiring, student recruitment, and funding allocation. The department, in addition to MEChA, became the primary support system for Mexican American students on campus. For a moment, the perspectivist pedagogy carried out by MEChA allowed Mexican American students to pursue, with a high degree of success, the goal of self-determination and community decision-making in San Diego as articulated in El Plan de Santa Barbara. This is due perhaps to the fact that many professors in the Chicano Studies program at SDSU, most notably Rene Núñez, were among the individuals that drafted the Plan of Santa Barbara in 1969.[528]

Rene Núñez became the chair Chicano Studies in the early 1970s, and according to Rodolfo Acuña, "represented the enthusiasm of El Plan de Santa Barbara – its sense of revolution."[529] For many, Núñez, who was part of the San Diego contingent of Chicanas/os

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[527] Rodolfo F. Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 2011), p. 61. For more information specifically about Chicana/o Studies at SDSU, see, "San Diego State College: In the Shadow of Logan Heights," pp. 82-84.

[528] San Diego residents present at the founding of El Plan de Santa Barbara in 1969 included: Gracia Molina de Pick from San Diego Mesa College, Rene Núñez from SDSU, Jorge González of the Mexican American Youth Association (MAYA), Gus Chávez from SDSU, Richard Saiz from *La Verdad*, Bert Rivas from SDSU, Christina Rodríguez of MAYA at UCSD, Gustavo Segade of SDSU, Jim Estrada of MAYA at SDSU, and Vince de Baca from La Jolla, a city located in northern San Diego County. Names obtained from the following source: *El Plan de Santa Barbara: A Chicano Plan for Higher Education* (Oakland: La Causa Publications, 1969).

[529] Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies,* p. 83.

that attended the April 1969 meeting at the University of California, Santa Barbara that drafted the Plan of Santa Barbara, he became the heart of the San Diego program. He secured funding for students on campus and for community outreach programs, relieving the SDSU administration from "the responsibility of providing hard money for [the Chicano Studies program's] operation."[530] At its height in the early 1970s, the program opened a library, a research center, an outreach program in Barrio Logan (Barrio Station) and its students were involved in activist struggles all across San Diego. But like in many other Chicano Studies departments across California and in the Southwest, internal tensions and ideological debates between faculty and students, in addition to lack of institutional support, severely undercut its potential and stunted its growth. By the late 1970s, the department became part of the College of Arts and Letters, where its revolutionary framework was watered down as it came under direct control of the university. The loss of the department's freedom to continue the goals of the grassroots Civil Rights Movement demands on campus did not mean the end of student-led activism at SDSU though. Students of color, including Chicanas/os, had found alternative ways to continue their perspectivist approach for a revolutionary education with newspapers like *Inside the Beast*.

In the very first issue of *Inside the Beast*, Rene Núñez published an article directed specifically at the Chicana/o student population of SDSU. He posed two important questions: why did Chicanas/os attend SDSU, and what type of an education would they pursue? To Núñez, the answers to these questions mattered because going to a university was about obtaining an education, and not being "schooled" or being told what to do and be – something that many first-generation Chicana/o college attendees experienced growing up. The biggest challenge Chicana/o students faced at the university level, according to Núñez,

[530] Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies,* p. 83.

was having the freedom to pursue a real education. They would constantly be subjected to continued schooling, which Núñez defined as, "a protective device by which the social order assures a degree of compliance by its citizens to prescribed functions necessary to its continuation."[531] Núñez was likely comparing Chicana/o educational experiences with the idea of idea of the banking model of education, coined by Brazilian philosopher Paulo Freire in 1968.[532] Freire defined the banking system as the traditional way of educating people where knowledge was to never be questioned by students. This type of education, Freire contended, robbed students of the opportunity of critical thinking, which in turn allowed for oppression to remain unchallenged. At SDSU, Núñez believed that Chicana/o students would encounter this type of education in traditional, White-controlled fields like Sociology, Political Science, Economics, and the Hard Sciences. These students in particular, Núñez stated, shouldn't be passive and blindly accept what they were told. Chicanas/os had to, "demand that classes be relevant to the present time and must question the logic of the teachers and the logic of the very structure in which he has involved himself" – in this case, the university.[533] Students, he continued, had to, "overcome the authoritarianism that prevails in the student-teacher relationship and replace it with cooperative student-teacher ventures that will be educational to both parties."[534] In this statement, Núñez seemed to encourage Chicano students to apply El Plan de Santa Barbara to other fields to make them relevant to their lived experiences and aspirations. Núñez and *Inside the Beast* pushed

[531] "What Now Chicano?", *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

[532] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (30th anniversary ed. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000).

[533] "What Now Chicano?", *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

[534] "What Now Chicano?", *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

readers to never forget that education is a two-way street; an open mind, Núñez proposed, could be the key that unlocked new doors to better futures for students and educators.

As the chair of Chicano Studies at SDSU, Núñez was part of the wing of the department that was more committed to fulfilling the goals of El Plan de Santa Barbara, and this article proves how this is also something the contributors of *Inside the Beast* were committed to. His view of Chicano Studies as the correction to the banking system, and the source of Chicana/o empowerment, attempts to do what real education he argued should do: "include critical analysis of the logic of modern socialist structures, identification of possible alternatives to dehumanizing conditions and participation in development of forms radically different and independent of those present in existence."[535] At SDSU, the banking system style of education would be corrected with education like the type imparted in Chicano Studies, but also via the coalitional fronts created from said education; i.e., *Inside the Beast*. Working-class students, through programs such as Chicano Studies and productions like *Inside the* Beast, fought back against the university's expectations that working-class students of color should work in working-class jobs – which led them to a life of work with their hands and not with their minds.[536] These two agents of change prioritized community growth, student empowerment, and social justice. They regarded student activism as a natural extension of their university education, which progressed the work first done on the streets.

Inside the Beast pushed students to pay attention to their surroundings, particularly to their education, to avoid becoming another product of the system. The newspaper gave

[535] "What Now Chicano?", *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

[536] For more about how universities channel working-class students into working-class jobs, see Paul Willis, *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (New York City: Columbia University Press - Morningside Edition, 1981).

students the knowledge they needed to be agents of change within the university. *The Daily Aztec,* given its track record with communities of color, could not be trusted because it was seen by Chicanas/os and other Third World students as a product of the system students of color actively opposed. *Inside the Beast*, on the other hand, was born in struggle. Its name represented a statement of defiance and a site of continued struggle. Its content can be read as a source of education that encouraged further education by informing where students could actively make a difference in support of social justice efforts. And while this form of education and social involvement was viewed with distrust and was constantly scrutinized and even labeled threatening to the "common good," Núñez reminded readers that all good things are always never accepted by the forces that be: "Involvement in such an education [like reading *Inside the Beast*] and liberating process shall be called subversion by the social order, and indeed it may be subversion; however, history has shown that what is subversion to the present is revolutionary and progress to the future."[537]

Inside the Beast also kept the Chicana/o Movement alive at SDSU by announcing how and where the movement made changes in the university. For example, it promoted the Colectiva Chicana, a bookstore established, "to fulfill the needs of La Raza and all Third World People."[538] The newspaper also reported on the unfinished work of the Chicana/o Movement at SDSU. The article "Games? Racism at San Diego State" discussed the low numbers of Chicanos and general lack of diversity in the School of Education and School of Social Work. The issue is even more significant because these programs, the article stated, trained educators that went into the communities and neighborhoods of San Diego, including the Chicana/o community, "the largest and most viable minority in the San Diego…[and]

[537] "What Now Chicano?", *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 2.

[538] Colectiva Chicana, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 9.

the host consumer group for CSUSD [California State University, San Diego]."[539] The article called on the School of Education to train more Chicanas/os, to give them the tools they need to make a positive change in their communities. If the program failed to do so, then it would be failing the people who through their taxes made the university possible in the first place. While there were other places where the movement had yet to make an impact on campus, these articles demonstrate how *Inside the Beast* kept the Chicana/o Movement fresh and in the minds of its readers on campus.

Besides keeping the Chicana/o Movement alive on campus, *Inside the Beast* also seemed to extend the appeal of the Chicana/o Movement to other people on campus. César Chávez, the leader of the UFW, was advertised on campus during the week of October 7-11, 1972. Chávez was expected to speak about Proposition 22, which sought to cut the power of farmworkers' unions.[540] *Inside the Beast* cast the UFW's leader's visit to SDSU as a labor issue, something that anyone and everyone could relate to, not just the farmworker community. The 1970s was a period of intense backlash against the labor gains the UFW had made in the 1960s.[541] Ronald Reagan was Governor of California, and he led a vicious anti-union campaign that severely undercut the fragile victories of the farmworkers movement. One of the ways that Chávez sought to increase support of the UFW was by

[539] "Games? Racism at San Diego State," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 1.

[540] "César Chávez to Speak," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 3, 1972, p. 11.

[541] For more about how California's turn to the political right in the 1970s affected the union gains of farmworkers, see: Todd Holmes, "The Economic Roots of Reaganism: Corporate Conservatives, Political Economy, and the United Farm Workers Movement, 1965-1970." *Western Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 41, No. 1 (Spring 2010), pp. 55-80; José Angel Gutiérrez, *The Eagle Has Eyes: The FBI Surveillance of César Estrada Chávez of the United Farm Workers of America, 1965-1975* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2019). In addition to conservative political attacks that weakened it, the UFW also experienced internal tensions that led to fragmentation and conflict in the 1970s. For more on this, see Matt Garcia, *From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of César Chávez and the Farm Worker Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

casting the movement as one for human rights and dignity, similar to how Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. presented the early phase of the Black Civil Rights Movement. It seems that *Inside the Beast* tried to replicate Chávez's strategy in hopes of getting more people interested in supporting the farmworkers movement. It did so by warning readers to not fall for a fake union label that some companies used to "certify" that their products were approved by the UFW. *Inside the Beast* printed copies of the fake and authentic UFW labels so readers could tell the difference between them, and know to support the UFW and the farmworkers' pursuit of human dignity through better wages and labor conditions.[542] These examples show the lengths to which the newspaper went to enhance the support of the farmworkers' movement on and off campus.

The Chicana/o Movement's ongoing battles across San Diego were also found in the pages of *Inside the Beast*. For example, the newspaper reported that on September 17, 1972, Chicana/o students at San Diego City College entered President Gorton's office and demanded that the school be more involved in the farmworkers' movement by purchasing union lettuce and ban military recruiters from campus.[543] For this action, 11 students were suspended. A rally to demand the return of the students was held, which was mostly attended by Chicano and Third World students, including White students. Following the rally, roughly 250 students marched to the office of the Supervisor of Junior Colleges to discuss their demands. Following a meeting with a Professor Patrick, it was decided that two students would check the prices of union lettuce, and if it was, "cheaper," the school would consider buying it.[544] *Inside the Beast* stated that students were upset with this decision

[542] Farmworker Label, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 9.

[543] "City College Demonstration," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 9.

[544] "City College Demonstration," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 9.

because, " it [made] no difference if the lettuce was cheaper or not. City College [was] primarily made up of Third World people,"[545] and in their minds, not purchasing union lettuce was equivalent to not supporting Third World students on campus.

Of all the different issues addressed by the Chicana/o Movement outside of campus, *Inside the Beast* paid particularly close attention to the UFW. The stories discussed above show how important and central the farmworkers' movement was to Chicanas/os and other ethnic Mexicans in San Diego. *Inside the Beast* published information about ongoing UFW strikes and boycotts, including the boycott of Safeway stores in California. At least five Safeway stores in San Diego County were picketed,[546] resulting in 5,000 potential customers being turned away.[547] It was not reported who did the picketing, but one can assume it included Chicanas/os. These picket lines were part of a coordinated campaign across California to get Safeway to stop selling non-union lettuce. While the article printed in the newspaper focused mostly on the campaign statewide, it situated San Diego among the areas where the boycott had been extremely effective, showing how San Diego helped the farmworkers movement. The entire June 1, 1973, issue of *Inside the Beast* was dedicated to the UFW. This edition contained reprinted and new articles about the ongoing lettuce strike occurring throughout California. *Inside the Beast* also addressed other Chicana/o Movement issues. The May 22, 1973, issue contained several articles, in English and in Spanish that discussed the Brown Berets' takeover of the Catalina Islands off of Santa Barbara in 1972 and it also advertised Tijuana-based businesses like tire shops, boutiques, and bookstores in

[545] "City College Demonstration," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 9.

[546] These stores were located in La Jolla, Pacific Beach, Ocean Beach, National City, and East San Diego.

[547] "¡Si Se Puede!," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 8, April 30, 1973, p. 3.

Spanish. These advertisements, in addition to reprinting Spanish language articles from the Mexican newspaper *El Polvorín*, can be read as a reminder to the Chicana/o Movement in San Diego of its links to progressive and radical movements south of the border. There was also an advertisement for an Afro-Latino Jazz festival on campus, which served as a way for *Inside the Beast* to promote solidarity between Black and Brown people by showcasing their shared cultural roots.[548] Lastly, the newspaper printed a letter addressed to Chicanas/os by the Basque people of Spain who expressed support for their "Chicano brothers," for they both, "suffer daily the curse of super exploitation of a fascist system."[549] The letter urged Chicanas/os to share the struggle of the Basque people with others in similar conditions, because in order for fascism to be eradicated, it must be overthrown everywhere it manifests itself; or like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once said, "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

By 1974, the national Chicana/o Movement became more regional and localized. In recent years, there have been a number of studies published about the Chicana/o Movement in places like San Diego, San Antonio, the Texas-Mexico borderlands, and the Pacific Northwest – places generally omitted or glossed over by national narratives of the Chicana/o Movement.[550] These works have extended the time frame of the Chicana/o Movement beyond 1975, a year previously seen as marking the "end" of the national Chicana/o

[548] Ad for Afro-Latino Jazz Festival, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 2, No. 1, April 15, 1974, p. 16.

[549] Letter from Spain, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 2, No. 5, December 5, 1972, p. 2.

[550] Titles include Jimmy Patiño, *Raza Sí, Migra No*; Alan Elaido Gómez, *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico*; Jerry Garcia, ed., *We Are Aztlán! : Chicanx Histories in the Northern Borderlands* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2017); Glen Anthony May, *Sonny Montes and Mexican American Activism in Oregon* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2011); and David Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).

Movement. That assertion, however, has been contested by recent scholarship that has provided insights into how the Chicana/o Movement manifested and adapted to the social, political, and cultural realities and struggles of individual sites and regions. In San Diego, for example, the Chicana/o Movement continued and intensified via the immigrant rights movement led by Herman Baca and the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), but also within the university as Chicano Studies at SDSU began to face major external as well as internal struggles.

In the mid-1970s, Chicano Studies at SDSU experienced internal strife, mainly between cultural nationalists and Marxists over the ideological trajectory of the program. This conflict between political and social discourses might have affected the relation between the program and the Chicana/o community outside of campus. The movement was imploding over ideas and concepts that did not connect or resonate with the people that gave birth to the discipline of Chicano Studies in the first place. Perhaps sensing that this conflict was spilling over to the streets of San Diego, the staff of *Inside the Beast* published an article in the April 15, 1974, issue aimed at keeping the local movement together. It claimed that intra-movement fighting was leading Chicanas/os to forgetting who their real enemy was – racial capitalism – and that it prevented them from strengthening their ties to "other revolutionary struggles in other towns, other countries, and the world."[551] The movement was consuming itself, and the author wanted the bleeding to stop. Personal politics and a general sense of complacency was destroying the gains of the Chicana/o Movement, which the article claimed was, "something which could happen to any organization in the community or elsewhere at a time when they feel we have been pacified or divided to the

[551] "Gente," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 2, No. 1, April 15, 1974, p. 3.

point where we're too weak to fight back."[552] The author implored Chicanas/os to not let their guard down and to stay strong and vigilant because the system would inevitably strike back, and they needed to be ready to fight off reactionary forces as a united front. They couldn't allow themselves to, "be separated by chingaderas (loosely translates to shit) words like Dialectics, Historical materialism, Amor, Corazón, cultura," which the author contended had been used by some to the point where people were, "saturated, using them loosely to where they loose their true meaning."[553] The article called for an examination of the Chicana/o Movement, for wounds to be treated and healed. Otherwise, the movement could not form successful and fruitful ties to other empowerment movements. The last part of the article summed up the entire issue in one sentence: "The whole world is erupting and we're fighting ourselves. Fuck! Let's get it on Gente! We're not alone."[554]

Chicanas took on the task of performing a close internal examination of the Chicana/o Movement. There were several articles penned by Chicanas that informed readers of the issues that kept the movement from achieving its full potential in terms of gender equity. These articles, unfortunately, seem to follow the expectation that *Inside the Beast* board members had that said women were expected to bring in "the feminist perspective" when no input from other board members was received on issues primarily dealing with gender. It is important to note that the following articles about Chicanas did have, for the most part, by-lines, while the article in the previous paragraph that discussed the friction within the Chicana/o Movement as a whole did not provide one. This demonstrates a type of clear leadership that Chicanas in San Diego used to fix issues within the Chicana/o Movement.

[552] "Gente," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 2, No. 1, April 15, 1974, p. 3.

[553] "Gente," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 2, No. 1, April 15, 1974, p. 3.

[554] "Gente," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 2, No. 1, April 15, 1974, p. 3.

The following articles in *Inside the Beast* reveal the points of contention between men and women within the Chicana/o Movement, and they illuminate the work done by Chicanas on and off campus to address them.

The newspaper became a strong vehicle through which Chicanas such as Sonia López argued for Chicanas to be seen as equal members of the Chicana/o Movement and of the community. López does this in the article, "Chicanas Deny Myth of Passivity," where she pushed back against the notion that Chicanas have been historically passive actors by offering a historical lesson of how women have shaped and transformed the lives of all Mexican descent people in the U.S. The article's biggest contribution is her addition of lesser-known Mexican women into Chicana history. Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez might be the most well-known and celebrated female participant of Mexico's war of independence, but she wasn't the only one in the struggle. López mentioned others like Antonia Nava de Catalan, Dolores Gutiérrez, Manuela Medina, and Rita Pérez as examples of "those who [also] made possible the revolution of 1810 in Mexico."[555] She cast las adelitas from the Mexican Revolution as "las soldaderas who were fighters in the front lines, secret messengers suppliers of food, nurses and cooks,"[556] and introduced readers to other women like Juana Belen Gutiérrez de Mendoza, who founded a newspaper in the state of Guanajuato that brought attention to the exploitation of silver miners in the bajío region. López then shifted her lens to the Southwest and described women like Concepción Arguello, Luisa Garrias, Francisca Esparza, and Estefana Cavazos – this last one the mother of the well-known nineteenth century "social bandit" Juan Cortinas – who fought against the exploitation of Mexican people in Texas in the second half of the nineteenth century. By

[555] "Chicanas Deny Myth of Passivity," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 5.

[556] "Chicanas Deny Myth of Passivity," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 5.

introducing and inserting these lesser-known female historical figures into the revolutionary canon of the Chicana/o Movement, López showed that women had been heavily involved in the past and pushed for equality in current struggles, particularly the shaping of cultural and activist memory. The Chicana/o Movement, for all its progressive discourse, was affected by sexism. This article takes away history and historical memory out of the hands of men, who used it to reinforce their power and the notion that only they could and ought to lead revolutions, to demonstrate that women were and are history makers too. To deny a people a history, in this case Chicanas, is to strip them of all of their power and sense of identity.

This education clothed Chicanas with a collective identity that confronted any and all sexist discourses. Sonia López called this education key to "confront the reality of our lives in the barrios throughout the United States."[557] A shared history of struggle alongside men placed women in the same sites of struggle. Sonia argued that Chicanas faced the same problems that Chicanos faced – from drug addiction, to health concerns, lack of education, but given the role women have historically been pressured to fill (getting married, having children, taking a back seat to men), there had not been a solution for both men and women. "The Chicano Movement has been just that, the Chicano Movement," she wrote, implying that the changes brought about by the Chicano Movement, while beneficial to the community as a whole, have mostly been for the benefit of men. "There are new programs here and there but where are the programs to start helping young Chicanas to confront the realities of today's "technological America"?," López asked.[558] Chicanas like Sonia López had already begun creating these programs. The article concluded with a recap of a Chicana Conference that was held at the Neighborhood House in Barrio Logan on January 6, 1973.

[557] "Chicanas Deny Myth of Passivity," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 5.

[558] "Chicanas Deny Myth of Passivity," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 5.

The goal of the conference was to help young women get more involved in issues related to their health, education, and the political arena. Chicano men volunteered at the conference, providing childcare to participants. The result of the conference was the formation of a new Chicana group, Chicanas Voluntarias (Chicana Volunteers), which worked out of the Barrio Station at 2196 Logan Ave in Barrio Logan.[559] In this article alone, Sonia López did what *La Verdad* fell short of: provide revolutionary knowledge about the roots of Chicana activism in memory and in San Diego.

Another article titled "A Chicana Looks at Women's Liberation" argued that the oppression of Chicanas could be traced back to the time of the Aztecs and the Spanish, which conditioned both men and women to fulfill specific gendered roles. Any resistance or hesitation by women to fulfill their expected roles as wives and mothers was interpreted as a break from social normativity. Women, according to the article, were systematically taught to be the opposite of men. For example, the author argued that the root of Chicana oppression stemmed from the ideas of Romantic Spanish Philosophers who created sharp dichotomies between male and female attributes: men convinced through logic, while women did so with tears; the man is the head, while the woman is the heart; and men have intelligence, while women have souls.[560] These ideas evolved and became the foundation of family roles in Mexico and within Chicana/o households in the U.S. They reinforced the notion that women could not participate in specific social or political realms because it would impede them from fulfilling a much more important role that men, because of their own priorities, could never do – being the moral compass of the family. "One of the trickiest

[559] "Chicanas Deny Myth of Passivity," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 5.

[560] "A Chicana Looks At Women's Liberation," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 3.

justifications for not allowing a woman an education was that it would be a catastrophe for her!," the article explained. "For to compete against men would be to lose her "greatest power!"[561] – that of being society's moral guides. This statement can also be read as a criticism of the conservative White Women's Movement led by Phyllis Schlafly in the 1970s against the Equal Rights Amendment, which would have guaranteed equal rights for men and women and ended legal distinctions between them as well. Fear of being labeled a "bad woman," the author argued, has been shaken by the growth of the Civil Rights Movement. "Through the growing awareness of freedom, this fear need no longer exist," the article explained. "For freedom does not mean man! It means the ability of self-determination for every human being whether male or female and that no one has the right to determine the abilities of another."[562]

While the author of "A Chicana Looks at Women's Liberation" saw men as part of the reason why women were treated as less than equal, the article also pointed to the idea that envisioned men and women as inherently different as the real threat. Men are also victims of this gendered socialization, and they too must be liberated. "You have to fight the idea," the article stated, "you can't do it alone."[563] The root of the problem, the author claimed, was capitalism, which reinforced the idea of hierarchies, thus making men as much victims of social control as women. To not work with men to defeat these ideas would, "strike another blow for a system of life which is built around the idea that in order to exist, someone must

[561] "A Chicana Looks At Women's Liberation," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 3.

[562] "A Chicana Looks At Women's Liberation," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 3.

[563] "A Chicana Looks At Women's Liberation," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 3.

always be on top."[564] A united front of men and women against capitalism, which reproduced ideas of difference in order to crush any form of resistance to it, would be a natural first step towards an egalitarian society. This article nicely captured *Inside the Beast*'s message from the first issue: when everyone works together, all oppressed people – including men who are socialized into buying into the idea they are superior to women – have the ability to transform the world into a better place for all. Given the Chicana/o Movement's issues with sexism, this article spoke to those circumstances directly.

A later article titled, "Mujeres," published in June 1973, built and expanded on the ideas of "A Chicana Looks At Women's Liberation." It called on Chicanas and Chicanos to, "educate themselves together to resolve [their] oppressive role and attitudes." The article called for an end to Chicana dependency on Chicanos, and advocated for women to be given opportunities to develop their own image as they pleased, and not as they are told. The article also put the field of Chicano Studies under a microscope and stated that "liberated" Chicanas working in Chicano Studies shouldn't be relegated to teaching only about women; otherwise, the program was also replicating the exact ways of thinking about division of labor it was created to oppose and defeat. Perhaps this article was speaking directly to what was happening within Chicano Studies at SDSU. By 1974, when Rita Sánchez was hired to teach Chicana history at SDSU, she was the only Chicana in a "department of men" – even though the program had started with two full time female faculty in 1970.[565] In order for the Chicana/o Movement to be successful and bring about revolutionary change, it needed to transform its foundation, which started and ended with achieving gender equality between

[564] "A Chicana Looks At Women's Liberation," *Inside the Beast,* Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 3.

[565] Rita Sánchez, interview with author, October 25, 2016.

Chicanos and Chicanas. The next logical step was to expand the Chicana/o Movement's connections to other empowerment movements to cement itself as a full member of the Third World.

Connecting the Chicano and Asian American Student Movements

Like many U.S.-based Third World newspapers of the time, which defined themselves as part of a multiracial coalition whose members' historical background was rooted in a shared experience dealing with capitalism, racism, and/or imperialism, *Inside the Beast* kept a close watch on events occurring outside of San Diego and the United States. These newspapers helped connect local struggles to those happening abroad in order to create a solidarity movement against political and economic imperialism worldwide. A good number of *Inside the Beast's* Third World coverage included the political situation in the Philippines, which had been placed under martial law by its dictator Ferdinand Marcos in the early 1970s. *Inside the Beast*'s coverage of the Philippines is not surprising, given that San Diego is home to a large Filipino and Filipino American population. Filipinos began settling in San Diego in the early twentieth century, and steadily grew ever since.[566] When World War II broke out, many Filipinos who enlisted in the U.S. Navy were stationed in San Diego (the biggest U.S. Navy base on the west coast was set-up in San Diego).[567] After the war, many

[566] For more about the history of Filipinas/os in California, including San Diego, see Yen Espiritu, *Filipino American Lives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).

[567] After the Spanish-American War ended in 1898, the Philippines came under the control of the U.S. Filipinos were granted the status of colonial nationals, meaning they could move freely between the Philippines and the U.S. mainland, but could not become U.S. citizens. Starting in 1901, Filipinos were allowed to enlist in the U.S. Navy, but were primarily relegated to steward duties. When WWII broke out in the Pacific in 1941 and the Philippines came under Japanese occupation, thousands of Filipino men and Filipina women enrolled in the U.S. Navy in combat and medical roles, respectively. Many were stationed in U.S. bases along the U.S. West Coast, which included San Diego.

Filipino servicemen decided to stay in San Diego and brought their families over from the Philippines. Overtime, Filipina/o communities began to form in places like National City. Like Mexican Americans, Filipinas/os experienced racism and discrimination in San Diego. Restrictive housing covenants and racialized labor sectors often placed Mexicans and Filipinas/os in the same living and workspaces. They attended the same schools as well. Interracial marriages were common especially after California struck down its anti-miscegenation law in 1948. Marriages further strengthened the relations that were made possible from their shared cultural roots, primarily Catholicism.[568]

Mexican Americans and Filipinos farmworkers also worked together in the UFW. Based on its coverage of the Filipino student community at SDSU, and of the larger Asian American student movement, the contributors of *Inside the Beast* seemed to want to further expand and strengthen the links of the Chicana/o student movement with those of Asian American students at SDSU. For example, Marcos' rise to power in the Philippines generated strong protests at SDSU. There was meeting to discuss resistance to Marcos' rule, which was attended by Filipinos, Chicanas/os, and White students,[569] showing that not only did Filipinas/os and Chicanas/os worked together at SDSU, they openly worked with their White allies to demand the end of a brutal dictatorship abroad. In addition, the staff of *Inside the Beast* expressed its support for the creation of an Asian American Studies program at SDSU. It asked readers, "Are not Asian American students entitled to such a course of study

[568] For specific information on the history of Filipinas/os in San Diego, see Judy Patacsil, Rudy Guevarra Jr., Felix Tuyay, and Filipino American National Historical Society, San Diego Chapter, *Filipinos in San Diego* (Mount Pleasant: Arcadia Publishing, 2010); For more on the history of Filipino and Mexican American relations in San Diego, see Rudy Guevarra Jr., *Becoming Mexipino: Multiethnic Identities and Communities in San Diego* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012).

[569] "Fascists Disrupt a Teach In," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 2, 1972, p. 3.

which would give them a better understanding of their own culture, existence, and heritage?"[570] Other departments that were born from struggle, mainly Chicano Studies, shared these goals as well. This made for a natural alliance between Chicana/o and Asian American students at SDSU. Asian Americans demanded that SDSU support them like they supported other racial and ethnic groups. There was, however, the issue of bringing together different Asian ethnic groups under a single front. In order to unify and strengthen Asian American students on campus, the Asian American Student Alliance (AASA) was created.[571] Its goal was to unify all Asian American students under a shared identity as oppressed Third World peoples. With organizations like these in place, the proposed Asian American Studies program would further strengthen collective identities by examining, "Asian Americans and their interaction with their community, the dilemmas brought about by cultural differences and the question of Asian identity," which, "would not only benefit students but also the whole university environment."[572] The goal of Ethnic Studies was to transform universities to serve the needs of specific communities, and to establish connections among different groups of people. As a manifestation of community goals within the university, *Inside the Beast* advocated for one of its primary constituents, the Asian American student community, and issues that brought different groups together – particularly immigration in the 1970s.

Inside the Beast's **take on Immigration**

[570] "Asian American Studies," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 3.

[571] "Asian American Students," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 3.

[572] "Asian American Studies," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 3.

While labor and educational struggles brought students from different backgrounds easily together, support of immigrants also served as a foundation for coalitional work in the 1970s. As a border town, San Diego's involvement in immigration debates stretches as far back as the early twentieth century.[573] In *Raza Sí, Migra No: Chicano Movement Struggles for Immigrant Rights in San Diego*, Jimmy Patiño showed that San Diego, despite once being referred to by an IWW union leader in the early twentieth century as a "jerkwater town" that was "not worth a whoop in hell from [a] rebel's point of view,"[574] built upon a long history of labor and cross-border relations to engender a strong and effective working-class, transnational movement for immigrant rights in the 1970s.[575] In the early part of the decade, *Inside the Beast* ran two stories related to immigration that showed the growing discussion about immigration and its ties to the anti-war movement and U.S. economic interests in San Diego. The first was the story of Huynh Van Hong, a Vietnamese graduate student at SDSU.

In 1967, Hong was one of 100 Vietnamese scholars who came to the U.S. via the Agency for International Development (AID) program to pursue a doctorate at an American University of his choosing. Hong chose SDSU, and AID promised him $240 a month to cover his living and tuition expenses. According to *Inside the Beast*, these scholars from

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[573] See Carlos M. Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, "San Diego's Ku Klux Klan 1920-1980," in *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. 46, No. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer 2000); For a larger history of the intersection of labor and immigration in Southern California, see Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border* (Chicago: Haymarket Book, 2006).

[574] Del Mar, 1972: Something happened here," *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, May 12, 2012, accessed January 17, 2018, http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-del-mar-1972-theres-something-happened-here-2012may12-story.html

[575] For more about how Mexican migrant workers worked with U.S.-based Mexican border communities to build a coalitional and transnational worker's movement, see Justin Akers Chacón, *Radicals in the Barrio: Magonistas, Socialists, Wobblies, and Communists in the Mexican-American Working Class* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2018).

Vietnam were illegally asked by the U.S. State Department through AID to do propaganda in support of the Vietnam War. All but Hong refused to do so, so they were sent back to Vietnam.[576] Hong remained at SDSU under a student visa. He sold his home in Saigon and moved his wife and children to the United States. All seemed to be going well until 1971, when all of a sudden after completing his bachelor's degree, AID stopped supporting him. His financial support was cut, and AID officials told Hong that he had to go back to Vietnam.[577] AID claimed it only promised Hong education up to a bachelor's degree, and that Hong had agreed to this. Hong, however, contested AID's version and said he was promised he could stay until he completed his doctoral degree. Unfortunately for Hong, this was a verbal agreement, which he took to be the same as a written one. As a result, Hong was arrested and held for nearly two weeks at an immigration detention center in El Centro while his wife and children were "left alone in a foreign country with no support or help."[578] After he was released, Hong sued AID. He contended he had a right to stay in the U.S. until he completed his Ph.D. work, and demanded the courts force AID to continue paying for his education and for the "humiliation suffered in being detained."[579]

The story of Huynh Van Hong was followed closely by *The San Diego Union* before *Inside the Beast* picked it up in 1972. In early October 1971, Hong won a temporary stay from deportation,[580] but the following month a judge ordered him and his family to be

[576] "SDSU Student Faces Deportation; Possible Execution," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 1.

[577] "Vietnamese Sues To Halt Deportation," *The San Diego Union*, September 29, 1971, p. B-3.

[578] "SDSU Student Faces Deportation; Possible Execution," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 1.

[579] "Vietnamese Sues To Halt Deportation," *The San Diego Union*, September 29, 1971, p. B-3.

[580] "Deportation Stay Granted Saigon Student," *The San Diego Union*, October 1, 1971, p. B-1.

deported back to Vietnam.[581] Hong told *The San Diego Union*, "I know I didn't misunderstand," referring to the verbal agreement he made with AID. "I think they changed the program in mid-course and I was trapped. But I was trapped after I sold my house [in South Vietnam], after I had done my work to a master's degree and after my family moved here."[582] Hong's attorneys worked to get a judge to delay the proceedings, especially because they were working to get Hong's youngest child, who was born in San Diego and was an American citizen, a passport.[583] Hong's efforts to stall deportation seem to have failed when he was told to report on November 19 to the Immigration and Naturalization Service office and be "ready to leave."[584] Everything changed for Hong on November 18 when he got a last-minute stay of his deportation. He pressed on with his version about AID. *The San Diego Union* wrote that Hong made more money working with an American oil firm in Saigon before coming to the U.S. via AID. Hong, the newspaper reported, wouldn't have left that job if it didn't promise him an opportunity to have a better living – which he wouldn't have with a bachelor's degree from the U.S., since he already had the equivalent of a Master's degree in Vietnam.[585] Hong's lawsuit against the AID and the U.S. government continued into 1972.

When *Inside the Beast* picked up Hong's story in late 1972, it peeled off the surface and revealed a more complicated narrative than what *The San Diego Union* had reported. Nine

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[581] "Court Orders Deportation of Vietnam Family," *The San Diego Union*, November 16, 1971, p. B-1.

[582] "Court Order Deportation of Vietnam Family," *The San Diego Union*, November 16, 1971, p. B-4.

[583] "Deportation Delay Sought For Family," *The San Diego Union*, November 17, 1971, p. B-1.

[584] "Time Runs Out for Vietnamese," *The San Diego Union*, November 18, 1971, p. B-4.

[585] "Vietnam Student Wins A Stay," *The San Diego Union*, November 19, 1971, p. B-4.

months after Hong's initial lawsuit against AID and the U.S. government, he participated in anti-war protests throughout San Diego. While at first he stayed away from any political activities, his views about the war changed after he began receiving letters from relatives in Vietnam telling him of the repression of the population carried out by South Vietnam's leader Nguyen Van Thieu, and the increasing hardships that people, including his family, faced as a result of the U.S.'s escalating bombing of the region.[586] This might have led Hong to turn against the war, and if so, his value to AID would have vanished. The trial against the U.S. government started on October 11, and was expected to end on November 30, 1972. During the length of the trial, *Inside the Beast* reported that immigration officers constantly followed Hong and threatened him with deportation. Inside the courtroom, the government used Hoang's anti-war work to paint him as a political radical. Hong's attorney Michael Allensworth told *Inside the Beast* that his client's lawsuit against the government stemmed from AID's reneging on its promise to support Hoang's pursuit of "unlimited degrees" in the U.S. by attempting to send him back to Vietnam.[587] When Hong refused to leave, AID sent immigration officials after him. Hong feared that if he were deported to South Vietnam, he would likely be tried as a traitor and executed for his anti-war work.[588] *Inside the Beast*, unlike *The San Diego Union*, cast Hong as a political actor, rather than just a victim, who took on the system that perpetuated the death of his people in South Vietnam.

By late October 1972, after a year of appeals and statements of denial by the U.S. Attorney General that any wrongdoing had been done to Hong by the U.S. government, the

[586] "SDSU Student Faces Deportation; Possible Execution," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 1.

[587] Interview with Hoang's Attorney, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 4.

[588] "SDSU Student Faces Deportation; Possible Execution," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 1.

U.S. State Department, *Inside the Beast* pointed, made an offer to Hong: The agency would pay him the $240 a month AID had promised, plus his tuition and book expenses at SDSU for the remainder of his studies, if he dropped the case.[589] Hong refused. This begs the question, why would the government try to cut a deal with Hong if technically the U.S. government was winning its case against him in the courts? Perhaps Hong's activities, when understood through the escalating anti-war movement in San Diego, made Hong into a dangerous social and political symbol that could make protesting the war more appealing to the public (especially after the May 12, 1972, incident at Del Mar). In addition, the use of immigration to target a politically active person of color is not new – the U.S. has a long history of using immigration status of political activists to smash movements for labor and political rights that extends as far back as the IWW protests of the early twentieth century. In Hong's story, *Inside the Beast* revealed how race, legality, and anti-war protests intersected and made Hong's struggles an important one for all people to rally around.

Hong was also interviewed by *The Daily Aztec* in 1972, who stated on record that, "my political beliefs are the main reason AID wants to deport me."[590] He felt that by accepting the AID scholarship to study in the U.S., the U.S. expected him in return to, "sell out our country to the U.S. as Thieu has been doing by betraying the Vietnamese people by taking the side of the foreign invaders."[591] Hong's anti-war activities continued throughout the 1970s. In 1978, he and seven other people lost a federal court suit against law enforcement

[589] "SDSU Student Faces Deportation; Possible Execution," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 3, October 30, 1972, p. 1.

[590] "Vietnamese Student Involved In Legal Dispute With U.S.," *The Daily Aztec*, December 15, 1972, p. 1.

[591] "Vietnamese Student Involved In Legal Dispute With U.S.," *The Daily Aztec*, December 15, 1972, p. 1.

officials who barred them from attending a rally held by President Richard Nixon in San Diego in 1972. The plaintiffs alleged their civil rights were violated when the defendants, acting on order from their superiors, "subjected them to acts of violence, surveillance, false arrest, harassment, humiliation, and intimidation."[592] What stands out from this case is U.S. District Court Judge Leland C. Nielsen, who ruled that the actions taken against Hong in particular were warranted given, "Hong's prior activities."[593] No reference was given as to what those prior activities were, but an editorial published in *The Daily Aztec* in 1975 offered a glimpse into Hong's political and social mind that perhaps "warranted" law enforcement's attitude and actions towards him.

In March 1975, Hong published an editorial in *The Daily Aztec* where he called for a statue of Ho Chi Minh to be built on the SDSU campus from the scraps of all the war debris left behind by the U.S. in Vietnam. In his view, the school's official symbol, the infamous "Monty" Montezuma, did not really represent the campus because Montezuma, the Aztec Emperor, had no real connection to the United States. It is important to point out that Hong referred to Montezuma as a "loser" for being conquered by Hernan Cortés, raising the question, why would SDSU want to be associated with a weak historical figure that, "did absolutely nothing" for the United States? Ho Chi Minh, moreover, had a long history with the United States that easily resonated with society at the time – particularly his lifelong fight against colonialism and imperialism. Given that SDSU was a hotbed of anti-war protests in the 1970s, a statue of Ho Chi Minh, in Hong's view, would best represent the position and values of the student body at large. Hong wrote, "Ho personifies intelligence, endurance, industry, determination, perseverance, courage, leadership, goodness, and

[592] "8 Plaintiffs Lose 1972 Protest Case," *The San Diego Union*, October 21, 1977, p. B-6.

[593] "8 Plaintiffs Lose 1972 Protest Case," *The San Diego Union*, October 21, 1977, p. B-6.

especially charity, I.E., the love of man for his fellow men. Aren't those the qualities students need to succeed not only now in school but later in the real world?""[594] A Ho Chi Minh statue on U.S. soil would be the Vietnamese peoples best way to humiliate the U.S. even further. Hong wrote, "By allowing a statue of Ho Chi Minh on our SDSU campus, we, the SDSU students, will solemnly grant the Vietnamese people a unique historical opportunity to happily "return to Cesar what belongs to Cesar.""[595]

The story of Huynh Van Hong demonstrates how U.S. political imperialism shaped the life of a Third World person in the U.S. and the connections established with local activism. *Inside the Beast's* second immigration story on taxi cab drivers forced to report "suspected illegal aliens" reveals how immigration, race, and class intersect. In September of 1971, San Diego County Sheriff John C. Duffy announced that taxi cab drivers were expected to assist law enforcement with identifying undocumented people they picked up. In a memorandum written that same month, he explained that, "when a taxicab driver picks up a person or groups of person whom he feels may be in this country illegally he should notify his dispatcher via the radio."[596] If taxicab drivers did not cooperate as instructed, Sheriff Duffy warned that they would have their taxi-operating permits suspended and face an indictment as a felony "with a $2,000 fine and a five-year prison stint for each alien transported."[597] *Inside the Beast* called the sheriff's orders "deplorable" and warned that it represented,

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[594] "Why not erect a statue of Ho Chi Minh?", *The Daily Aztec*, March 13, 1975, p. 4.

[595] "Why not erect a statue of Ho Chi Minh?", *The Daily Aztec*, March 13, 1975, p. 4.

[596] Jimmy Patiño, *Raza Sí, Migra No*, p. 151.

[597] Jimmy Patiño, *Raza Sí, Migra No*, p. 151.

"another manifestation of the growing police-state within the institutions of this country."[598] The Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, led by Herman Baca, called the measure an example of racial profiling and it mobilized Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants against Sheriff Duffy, calling for his resignation and the end of law enforcement's violent raids across San Diego. *Inside the Beast* seemed to have identified the long-term implications of this racist law with the following statement: "This apologia to fascists tactics, at present directed at non-Whites, will soon apply to all people who think and become critical of those government policies."[599] With these words, *Inside the Beast* painted this issue, which on paper seemed only relevant to people of Mexican descent, important to everyone whose views about society ran countercurrent to those of the status quo. People with similar struggles, and most importantly, with profound respect for human rights and dignity, needed to step up and end this racist attack on Mexican immigrants and their families. Indirectly, this incident also affected taxicab drivers, who tended to be low-wage workers. Through no fault of their own, they were placed in a position where they had to choose between aiding law enforcement through racial profiling, or risk losing their jobs and source of income. For those who fought against Sheriff Duffy, there needed to be accountability and responsibility between people for their safety. Ideas like Duffy's that went unchecked could easily snowball into irreversible tragedies. This train of thought is best captured in Martin Niemöller's famous poem, "First they came…":

First they came for the Socialists, and I did not speak out –

[598] "Systematic Surveillance Used to Bust Immigrants," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 2.

[599] "Systematic Surveillance Used to Bust Immigrants," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 20, 1972, p. 2.

Because I was not a Socialist.

Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I did not speak out –
Because I was not a Trade Unionist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out –
Because I was not a Jew.
Then they came for me – and there was no one left to speak for me.[600]

This poem emphasized the importance of mutual accountability and respect between all groups of people, regardless of who they are. The sheriff's move against undocumented peoples, which also hurt a vulnerable population – cab drivers – showed how a movement against Duffy's orders wasn't just calling out racism, but also was trying to bring together a class movement – for the orders affected undocumented people, the Mexican and Mexican American community, and working-class folk in general.

These two stories on immigration show how *Inside the Beast* revealed the intersections of immigration with the anti-war movement, race, and class in order to generate support for the people under attack. Through its reporting of Huynh Van Hong's story, *Inside the Beast* showed how the issue of immigration applied to people outside of the Mexican community, who in the late twentieth century were nationally constructed as the definitive "illegal alien threat" – an idea that continues to be perpetuated to this day. It also demonstrates how the contributors of *Inside the Beast* defined themselves as global citizens and members of a global community that fought against the effects of imperialism. Hong's position on the war

in Vietnam revealed how deportation could be used to squash anti-war dissent at home. In the case of the taxi cab drivers forced to report suspected undocumented people, *Inside the Beast* indirectly showed how working-class people were targeted and forced to comply with cruel and unjust police actions. Not only were people racially profiled, law enforcement preyed on the economic vulnerability of cab drivers to get them to do their dirty work. Through these stories, *Inside the Beast* showed how immigration issues could be best addressed by a multiracial front, given their layered and intersectional composition.

The Public's Response to *Inside the Beast*

Inside the Beast was branded as an alternative to mainstream journalist approaches that placed high value on practices such as attaching by-lines to printed articles and naming its editorial staff. The newspaper's staff did not see the importance of claiming ownership to words and ideas when they believed represented the collective views and sentiments of a Third World community. Doing so represented walking a fine line between what Rene Núñez referred to as being "educated" and "schooled." According to the article "The Third World Paper," the staff of *Inside the Beast*, "[was] not the traditional pyramid with the editor on top. But rather, it is a circle where the decisions and work of the paper are collectively shared."[601] Everyone who worked in the newspaper was important – titles, such as that of an "editor," did not mean that "[an] editor [is] more important than one who proof-reads or types the articles."[602] Not everyone readily accepted *Inside the Beast's* position though. One person who found issues with *Inside the Beast's* presentation was Bob Melton, the former

[600] Martin Niemöller, "First they came…"

[601] "The Third World Paper," *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 1., October 2, 1972, p. 2.

[602] Response to Bob Melton Letter, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

writer and editor of *The Daily Aztec.* His letter to the newspaper, which was published in the October 16, 1972, issue, revealed the author's inconformity with how *Inside the Beast* subverted Anglo-centric journalist etiquette.

Inside the Beast always asked its readers to send their thoughts and opinions about the newspaper, whatever they were. Bob Melton was one of those who sent his opinion of the paper to *Inside the Beast's* staff. Melton, then a senior journalism major, argued that *Inside the Beast's* lack of by-lines and anonymity by its editor(s), the one(s) who made "the crucial gate-keeping, as well as technical decisions" bothered him.[603] Melton's letter responded to the article "The Third World Paper," which described the newspaper's position and purpose, much of it influenced by the actions of *The Daily Aztec* where Melton used to work. Melton argued that putting names in the newspaper enhanced its standing and credibility, especially with the Third World: "The Third World, I presume, still consists of individuals. It hardly seems a violation of purpose of those individuals to take published responsibility for their journalistic work in furthering their goals."[604] Visibly hurt by the editorial's casting of *The Daily Aztec* as an amplifier of racism on campus*,* Melton called out *Inside the Beast*: "It is NOT revolutionary for a strong opinion piece, particularly one as finger-pointing as your self-praising and *Daily Aztec*-blasting first editorial, to be anonymous, implying authorship by, presumably, The People. It is, rather, irresponsible and cowardly – irregardless of the content of the piece."[605]

As a former editor-in-chief of *The Daily Aztec,* Melton's words showed his disgust with how *Inside the Beast's* words were not backed by the main editor. Melton's political

[603] Bob Melton – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

[604] Bob Melton – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

[605] Bob Melton – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

leanings are unknown, but given his piece on Roberta Flack, the Black folk singer who performed on campus in 1971, and this letter, he implied that liberals and radicals were weak for not taking up ownership of their words. Even if *The Daily Aztec* was problematic, Melton suggested that at least the school's paper was responsible when publishing its material. There was always a source that could be attached to its printed material. Essentially, Melton asked *Inside the Beast* the following: Why can't you be like us? The editor of *Inside the Beast* answered this question: "The workers at "*Inside the Beast*" feel that our "anonymity" is both justified and necessary. We want to avoid the ego-gratification and elitism that grows out of a "I wrote more copy than you" or "I'm the editor of this and that" [sic] type situation."[606] The staff of *Inside the Beast* was clearly against traditional frameworks it viewed as limiting, oppressive, and selective, and White-controlled journalism was clearly one of those. Melton closed out his letter with the following words: "Best wishes for further publications, and success both financially and in terms of readership acceptance. I have long since learned that the very act of getting a paper out and keeping it on its feet, whatever its purpose or rhetoric, is to be encouraged and applauded."[607] While Melton expressed his "support" for the paper, he was bothered by an apparent lack of professionalism; except that this professionalism is nothing but an example of the "schooling" that progressive students fought against. *Inside the Beast's* response to Melton's letter further stated:

> We are individuals, with different cultures, values, life-styles, and politics, but we work collectively to avoid the oppression that finds its roots in the

[606] Response to Bob Melton Letter, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

[607] Bob Melton – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

> typical hierarchical arrangement of most papers in the western world. We are trying to combat, both within and outside the paper, the kind of "individualism" that says, "for one to be on the top – someone must be on the bottom, for one to rise to the top, he or she must leave fellow humans wasted by the way-side.[608]

The staff of *Inside the Beast* expressed a particular point of view that would be hindered if it played by the rules, especially the rules of the establishment. Hierarchy, in its most basic definition, implies that difference ought to be ranked from least to greatest. As a Third World paper that prided itself in bringing together different groups of people, in pursuit of creating something "new," a hierarchy based on different roles would have been counterproductive. The newspaper claimed that everyone who worked on it shared responsibilities. It was a democratic process, and that included the writing of editorials that were "written collectively by members of the paper and are criticized by everyone and rewritten before publication."[609] To push the point home on Melton, the editorial response said, "The person typing this reply also does work as a reporter, a distributor, and a proof-reader."[610] Everyone wore different hats at *Inside the Beast.* This collaborative process also extended to publishing submitted work. The newspaper claimed that student organization pieces, usually written as a collective, were published without being edited by anyone not from those groups, as to preserve the purity of voices people read in *Inside the Beast.* Doing so allowed the newspaper to do what the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN)

[608] Response to Bob Melton Letter, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

[609] Bob Melton – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

[610] Bob Melton – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 2, October 16, 1972, p. 2.

in Mexico tried to do in the 1990s: create a world where cults of personality and hierarchy gave way to a democratic and egalitarian space for collective leadership.

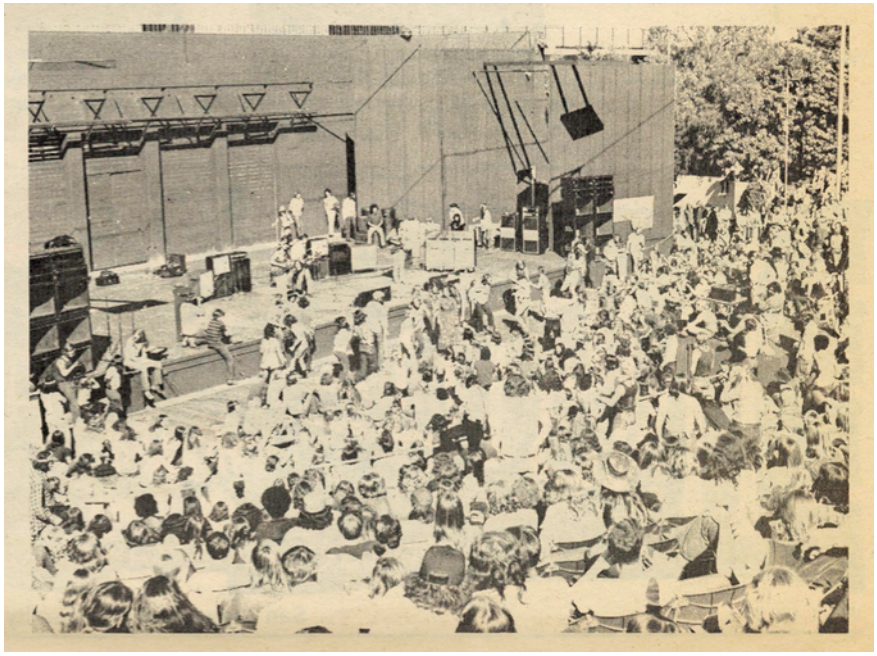
Like all movements born in struggle, *Inside the Beast* was not perfect. Humans ran it and they made occasional mistakes. This, however, did not deter them from their mission to create coalitional fronts against all forms of injustice. It is how people learn from their errors that reveal their true character, principles, and commitment to social justice. On February 25, 1973, the staff of *Inside the Beast* put on a concert to promote the newspaper. Invited to play at the concert were two bands, Busder Hy-men and Leroy Zeke; the latter a local band from Lemon Grove.[611] Whether or not *Inside the Beast* was aware of these bands' reputations, the bands became problematic when their performances turned sexist. These actions did not go unnoticed by those in attendance, who expressed their dissatisfaction with the event in the April 2, 1973, issue of *Inside the Beast*. One letter stated that the band Leroy Zeke had three women dressed as go-go dancers performing with them, and that there was widespread bra-burning going on between the band and audience.[612] It stated that the name of the first band, Busder Hy-men, should have been a red flag for the people at *Inside the Beast* who hired them because the name, "itself is an example of extreme sexism," and their songs were heavily charged with sexist lyrics.[613] Another attendee to the concert stated that she came away "very angry" at what she saw, and stated that, "It seems to me that for a

[611] For more information about Leroy Zeke, see, "Leroy Zeke: The Coolest Band in High School," *San Diego Reader*, March 20, 2012, accessed January 15, 2018. https://www.sandiegoreader.com/weblogs/jam-session/2012/mar/20/leroy-zeke-the-coolest-band-in-high-school/#

[612] Renee Crowley and Kat Rabel – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 2.

[613] Renee Crowley and Kat Rabel – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 2.

Third World paper that is supposed to be sensitive to all people and concerned with equality for all people, the concert was extremely sexist and insensitive to women."[614] The staff of the newspaper admitted fault, and blamed no one but themselves for what happened. They promised that in the future they would screen bands more carefully before putting on a concert and, "when unpredictable sexism or racism occur[ed] at one of [their] concerts or other events [they would] try to confront it immediately."[615] This answer implied that no one from *Inside the Beast* present at the concert did or said anything to stop the bands from engaging in sexist behavior. It seems that they allowed it to continue, even though they, as organizers, could have technically stopped the concert.



Inside the Beast February 25, 1973, concert. *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 2. Source: Other Voices: Alternative Periodicals at San Diego State University.

[614] Candance Holocomb – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 2.

[615] Staff response to Letters to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 2.

While the staff of *Inside the Beast* apologized for the incident, one of the spectators who attended the concert, Candance Holocomb, raised an important question: How could *Inside the Beast* not know in advance who it had arranged to play at the concert? "To raise money for a supposedly non-sexist paper is unbelievably hypocritical," Holocomb wrote.[616] It is not a stretch to believe that somebody at the newspaper had to have been familiar with the bands' music to suggest they be hired. Yet the newspaper claimed they had few choices to pick from since most bands are inherently sexist, but "some are not as blatant as others."[617] For a newspaper of *Inside the Beast's* stature, this is as poor an excuse as any. The idea of picking the best from what clearly was the pile of the worse doesn't mesh well with the newspaper's goal of creating something new from the best of everyone in the struggle. The staff of *Inside the Beast* could have easily hired a progressive band whose music was anti-racist and anti-sexist, and that would have gone over well with the audience. It may be the case that the newspaper needed money, and name recognition attracts an audience. Perhaps this might have been why the bands were hired, - to change their culture. "Part of our struggle," the staff wrote, "in changing sexist attitudes is changing the sexist nature of these bands – bit it will be a long struggle."[618] No social movement is perfect. All of them, whether they be anti-racist, anti-sexist or both, in one way or another replicate, unintentionally or not, the oppressions they are fighting against. It's a natural process through which activists go through when they confront their own views and actions. There may have been other instances where *Inside the Beast* committed questionable actions, but

[616] Candance Holocomb – Letter to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 2.

[617] Staff response to Letters to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 2.

[618] Staff response to Letters to Editor, *Inside the Beast*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 2, 1973, p. 2.

this example stands as the only time the newspaper's staff admitted their mistake and vowed to continue the newspaper's goal in building a non-racist, non-sexist, egalitarian society.

Surprisingly, *The Daily Aztec* provided a much more positive and informative account of the February 25, 1973, concert than *Inside the Beast*. Henry Acevedo, *The Daily Aztec* reporter who covered the event, made no mention of the sexism that the letters published by *Inside the Beast* addressed. The article stated that in addition to Buster Hymen[619] and Leroy Zeke, Glory, Rudy Kazooti, and Savor preformed at the Greek Bowl Theater on campus. Acevedo wrote that the Greek Bowl Theater was, "filled to capacity Sunday afternoon as thousands attended a free concert held to launch a farm workers assistance campaign and to publicize *Inside the Beast*, which sponsored the event."[620] *The Daily Aztec* described *Inside the Beast* as an "alternative to [*The Daily Aztec's*] news and opinion content," a much less passive-aggressive form of acknowledgement than in previous articles.[621] César López was interviewed and gave the following information about the event: "There were two reasons for the concert…The main emphasis was to plant the seed, to let people know the problem is here," referring to the battles waged in support of the farmworkers' movement on campus.[622] Attendees were asked to donate food, clothes, and blankets to help farmworkers on strike in Calexico, California. The articles did not mention how many supplies were collected at the event. The second goal of the concert was to bring, "some student recognition and education

[619] *Inside the Beast* refers to this group as "Buster Hy-men," while *The Daily Aztec* referred to it as "Buster Hymen."

[620] "Thousands attend concert for farmworkers assistance," *The Daily Aztec*, February 27, 1973, p. 4.

[621] "Thousands attend concert for farmworkers assistance," *The Daily Aztec*, February 27, 1973, p. 4.

[622] "Thousands attend concert for farmworkers assistance," *The Daily Aztec*, February 27, 1973, p. 4.

as to what *Inside the Beast* [was]."[623] The concert, coming on the heels of the events that shook SDSU in 1972, represented in the words of López, "the only thing that's happened here this year that has brought unity and that's what we've been trying to do."[624]

The Daily Aztec continued its run of relatively objective reporting of *Inside the Beast* in early 1973 in a three-part story on Curtis Brown, *The Daily Aztec's* first minority editor. Brown reflected on his time working with *The Daily Aztec*, and discussed how the newspaper worked to improve its standing with students of color on campus. Brown was a science major when he was hired in 1972 following the events of May 3, 1972, which gave rise *to Inside the Beast.* At the time of his hiring, Brown had no real experience in journalism. In the first two articles, he explained some of the challenges he faced when trying to get *The Daily Aztec* to be more attentive to underrepresented students. These included racially insensitive editors, the lack of a staff to help him find and write stories, and being excluded from groups or meetings on campus simply because he represented *The Daily Aztec*.[625] Brown said he created the section "Third World News" for *The Daily Aztec*, and he was responsible for its removal once he saw that the newspaper was becoming more conscious of minority student issues on campus. This was a result of new editors-in-chief whom Brown stated were more interested in presenting real news that validated the issues, struggles, and voices of students of color on campus.

In the third and final article of the series, Brown commented on the reporting styles of *The Daily Aztec* and *Inside the Beast*. He stated that, "news coverage of ethnic minorities by

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[623] "Thousands attend concert for farmworkers assistance," *The Daily Aztec*, February 27, 1973, p. 4.

[624] "Thousands attend concert for farmworkers assistance," *The Daily Aztec*, February 27, 1973, p. 4.

[625] The first two articles are: "Former Aztec minority editor tells history, need for position," *The Daily Aztec*, March 6, 1973, p. 4, and "Ex-minority editor talks about past and present Aztec editors," *The Daily Aztec*, March 7, 1973, p. 3.

[*Inside the Beast*] and [*The Daily Aztec*] [was] satisfactory," but improvements could still be made.[626] He referred to *Inside the Beast* as an "asset to the community," even if it did not follow traditional journalism rules. He added, "[*Inside the Beast*] is kind of like a creative thing, and maybe having the type of creative thing is good…Who's to say everybody has to follow the same plan or structure as far as production is concerned?"[627] The Civil Rights Movements demonstrated that there were more than one way to achieve social justice – from reform to ethnic separatism and coalitional work, and the student movement that gave birth to *Inside the Beast* is an example of the latter. Brown also praised *Inside the Beast's* attention to news and events outside of campus. He said, "sometimes there are pertinent issues that go beyond campus which are of interest to students…If we're truly going to have a united atmosphere, the academic community cannot be separate from the community in which we live."[628] In order for the university to work for the people whose money supports it, its faculty and students must remain connected to communities outside of campus. *Inside the Beast* was the link that kept this relationship going at SDSU. Brown emphasized the necessity of this connection further in the following statement: "you cannot separate the two [the university and the community]. They're inter-related. You have to bridge the gap between the minority community and the academic community. I think *Inside the Beast* is heading in that direction."[629]

Despite his support for *Inside the Beast,* Brown also discussed the issues he believed limited its full potential. According to Brown, the biggest issue for *Inside the Beast* was that

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[626] "Minority news coverage satisfactory says Brown," *The Daily Aztec*, March 8, 1973, p. 2.

[627] "Minority news coverage satisfactory says Brown," *The Daily Aztec*, March 8, 1973, p. 2.

[628] "Minority news coverage satisfactory says Brown," *The Daily Aztec*, March 8, 1973, p. 2.

[629] "Minority news coverage satisfactory says Brown," *The Daily Aztec*, March 8, 1973, p. 2.

it was not published often enough. "*Inside the Beast* is not as effective as it could be," Brown told *The Daily Aztec. "*It would be more beneficial it if came out more often."[630] The issues examined for this chapter, at least the ones from 1972, were published in two-week intervals. In 1973, issues were published less frequently and the time between publications varied from a few days to a month. Perhaps the reason why the newspaper came out less often was due to the fact that its contributors were busy. Besides writing for the newspaper, they were also students and were activists on and off campus. This was likely the reason why *Inside the Beast* was published less often in 1973. After all, as César López previously stated, members of *Inside the Beast* weren't just reporters, but active in social justice issues too. *La Verdad,* the Chicana/o newspaper examined in the previous chapter, also went through a similar situation. Its contributors were primarily students stretched all over San Diego.

When asked about his overall assessment of *Inside the Beast*, particularly its organizational structure and presentation, Brown said that little had been done in terms of adopting more journalistic decorum. "The paper [*Inside the Beast*] is just like I was when I first started [in *The Daily Aztec*]. The staff has to get accustomed to journalism. It has to establish communications with news sources. It has to solve the problem of getting the paper out on time."[631] As a science major who admitted in one of the earlier articles that it took him a while to get used to journalism, and as a former member of the BSU that worked to get the SDSU administration to investigate *The Daily Aztec*, it seems rather strange for Brown to now claim that *Inside the Beast* must follow a journalistic etiquette to be heard and noticed. He further suggested that production at *Inside the Beast* could improve if students

[630] "Minority news coverage satisfactory says Brown," *The Daily Aztec*, March 8, 1973, p. 2.
[631] "Minority news coverage satisfactory says Brown," *The Daily Aztec*, March 8, 1973, p. 2.

involved with the newspaper received credit from the journalism department on campus for their work. Although its seems that Brown's views were not meant to limit but rather to help *Inside the Beast* improve its output and overall journalistic image, incorporating elements of a Journalism Department would seem contradictory to a politically and purposely biased publication like *Inside the Beast.*

The Legacy of *Inside the Beast*

Inside the Beast remained in print at least through April 1974. It is impossible to say with certainty why the newspaper stopped being printed in 1974. Future oral history interviews might shed light on this. It seems the presence of *Inside the Beast* as an alternative student newspaper on campus pushed *The Daily Aztec* to improve its relation and coverage of students of color. A new section titled "Third World Forum," which focused on news and information from Latin American and other parts of the Third World, appeared in 1973, but it was dropped by late 1974. There were at least two different minority editors who worked with *The Daily Aztec* as late as 1974.[632] By early 1975, the position of "minority editor" no longer appeared on the newspaper's staff box. A new position appeared – "ethnic editor," occupied by a Phyllis Threadgill. It almost seems that the changes *The Daily Aztec* made might have ended when *Inside the Beast* was perhaps no longer being published.

For two years, the staff of *Inside the Beast* helped inform and organize various civil rights struggles on and off the SDSU campus through publication of a perspectivist, Third World student newspaper. The newspaper served as a platform for Third World students to

[632] The names of the two people who held the position of minority editor in *The Daily Aztec* were Henry Acevedo and Carmen Rodríguez.

voice their opinions on issues related to their success as university students and the well being of their communities on and off campus. Its most important objectives were its commitment to building a multiracial, progressive front to end injustice and inequality in all areas of life. The newspaper successfully showed where and how people from different backgrounds came together to make a difference in areas related to economic justice, human dignity, and civil rights. Moreover, as it relates to the Chicana/o student movement, and the general Chicana/o Movement in San Diego, *Inside the Beast* expanded its ideological and social boundaries. It became a site where internal disputes were addressed and made public. This dialogue allows historians and other scholars an opportunity to see and learn how an activist movement examined and prescribed itself remedies to alleviate the ills that made it less likely to succeed. Although *Inside the Beast* provides only a brief two-year window into the Civil Rights Movement at SDSU, its content revealed how activist currents came together, interacted, and created a more integrated and far-reaching social justice movement in San Diego in the early 1970s.

Chapter 4: Somos Un Pueblo Unido (We Are a United People): *Voz Fronteriza* and Chicana/o Activism at the University of California, San Diego, 1976-1978

Introduction

La Jolla is a coastal city located about 30 minutes north of downtown San Diego. It is, and historically has been, one of the whitest, wealthiest, and most educated cities in all of San Diego County. According to the 2010 Census, 76 percent of La Jolla's residents identified as White, 98 percent had at least a High School degree, and the median household income was $102,297, which was one and half times higher than the median household income average of all San Diego County ($66,529).[633] La Jolla is a popular beach destination for local and visiting beach goers. The city also boasts a variety of popular museums, art galleries, and restaurants. It is home to several world-renowned places like Torrey Pines golf course, which hosts annual Professional Golfers Association (PGA) Tour events, and to the Scripps Institution of Oceanography. The United States Marine Corps was a staple of the La Jolla community for much of the twentieth century. It owned a military base in La Jolla called Camp Matthews, which operated from 1917 until 1964, when the property was transferred to the University of California, San Diego (UCSD). Despite being geographically, culturally, and racially distant from the primary sites of Mexican American activism examined in earlier chapters, the faculty and student bodies at UCSD were among the most vocal and participatory activists groups in the region. During the 1970s, students of Mexican descent at UCSD participated in numerous activist causes relevant to their communities such as such as the anti-war movement, in pro-immigrant organizations on and off campus, and in securing the survival of diversity programs and curriculums. These and other issues shaped the educational experiences and purpose of many Mexican descent

[633] Source: United States Census Bureau American Fact Finder: https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml?src=bkmk

students at UCSD, who put their education at the service of their communities. This university-community link established by the work of these students was presented in the pages of *Voz Fronteriza*, a Chicana/o student and community activist newspaper that first appeared in January 1976.

Like *Inside the Beast,* the alternative Third World student newspaper at SDSU, *Voz Fronteriza* served as the Chicana/o community's sole organ of communication in La Jolla beginning in the mid-1970s. It allowed Chicanas/os to connect and organize with one another on campus and helped them transmit community issues into the university and to the communities it served. Created in part to fulfill the call of El Plan de Santa Barbara to make the university work for the communities that supported it, the goal of *Voz Fronteriza* was to "[bridge] community news on campus…to bridge a gap that [had] traditionally separated many students from local areas…[and to report] campus news to the communities at large, [in hopes of making] UCSD an important part in local surroundings."[634] A study of *Voz Fronteriza's* first three years of existence (1976-1978) reveals how this activist student newspaper, published at a socially conservative university, bridged the social and political gap that existed between UCSD and the Mexican/Chicana/o working-class people of San Diego.[635] The newspaper's working-class perspective on issues such as immigration, affirmative action, and other student and community struggles demonstrated the ways in

[634] "Raising Our Voz," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1976, p. 2.

[635] *Voz Fronteriza* remained in print from 1976 to the early 2000s. This chapter will only examine the first three volumes of the newspaper (1976; 1976-1977; and 1977-1978) because they were the only complete sets of the newspaper I found, and they fall within the scope of time covered in this dissertation. While I found many issues of *Voz Fronteriza* published after 1978, they are spread too far apart in terms of publishing date from each other. This makes it difficult to chart with a degree of certainty the evolution of the newspaper in terms of ideas after 1978. Despite this, and as a way to recognize and honor the efforts of later contributors, the chapter will incorporate elements of *Voz Fronteriza* post-1978 when appropriate.

which the members of *Voz Fronteriza* connected UCSD to everyday aspects of Chicana/o life.

Chapter Organization

This chapter is organized as follows: the first section provides a brief history of UCSD, and how the social and political climate of the 1960s and 1970s shaped campus culture and activism. The school's conservative origins and connection to the military-industrial complex became points of criticism by early students of color and the anti-war movement. These early efforts created an activist environment on campus for future members of *Voz Fronteriza*. The next section unpacks the origins of *Voz Fronteriza* and introduces the members who were part of the newspaper in its early years. They came from different places and from distinct circumstances, but they all went to UCSD with the intent to use their education, and position as students, to continue serving the communities that opened the doors to higher education to them.

The bulk of the chapter is the five core sections that follow the introduction of the newspaper and its contributors. They discuss how the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* used the newspaper to bring the university and their communities closer together. The sections discuss immigration reform and immigrant rights, the community movements for better housing and education, the movements to preserve the cultural spaces created off campus by the local Chicana/o Movement, the role women played in the local Chicana/o Movement on and off campus, and the fight to preserve Affirmative Action. These sections focus not just on the written words of the contributors on the topics, but emphasize how they used their education to be part of the local struggles to make San Diego a better place for all. The next three sections discuss the inner-workings of the newspaper – where it was published, the process of layout, and distribution; the responses on and off campus to the content published

in *Voz Fronteriza*, and lastly, a brief overview of the newspaper's history from 1978 until the mid-2000s, when it stopped being published. The conclusion focuses on the legacy of the newspaper according to the contributors, whose careers post-UCSD continued the type of work and engagement with the community they first experienced as members of *Voz Fronteriza*.

UCSD: An Unlikely Place for Activism?

UCSD opened in 1960 as the seventh University of California (UC) campus. The person behind its creation was Roger Revelle, a renowned oceanographer with ties to the military and defense industries. Revelle envisioned the campus as a graduate-only institution that focused on science and technology. The decision to open a new UC campus in the San Diego area first circulated in the 1950s as a way to "fill the need for expansion of the University to meet current and predicted population growth," and its focus on science and technology was a result of "special needs expressed by San Diego civic, industry, and service groups and the greatly increased demands for scientific education and research because of their importance to national security."[636] As Cold War tensions with the Soviet Union escalated in the 1950s, the battle for world supremacy was increasingly waged in the fields of science and technology. Given San Diego's connections to the military and defense industries, and following the launch of Sputnik, the first artificial human-made satellite into space by the Soviets in 1957, the new UC campus planned to be part of the U.S.'s struggles with Russia.

[636] University of California History – Digital Archives. Source: http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/uchistory/general_history/campuses/ucsd/overview.html

UCSD's placement in La Jolla was as strategic of a decision as the initial graduate-only and STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) focus. The location put UCSD beyond the reach of the majority of San Diego's college-age student population that were not upper middle class, since public transportation routes were still relatively confined to the downtown San Diego area.[637] Moreover, Revelle's desire that the university be a graduate-only institution indirectly excluded students of color, because during that time graduate school was a luxury that primarily White families could afford for their children. It wasn't until the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s and 1970s that colleges and universities, forced by protests on the streets, opened their doors to students of color. Revelle also wanted his school to be called "UC La Jolla." Local taxpayers were expected to support the institution, but the school neither catered to the entire county's youth, nor carried the name of San Diego, where a majority of the funding would come from. After some negotiation, the UC Regents changed the school's name to UC San Diego, but maintained the campus' location in La Jolla. During its first four years of operation, UCSD worked as a graduate institution while the foundations for undergraduate study were gradually established. The first cohort of undergraduates was admitted in 1964 and by the early 1970s there was a small but politically active population of students of color at UCSD, many of them from the San Diego area.

From its beginning, UCSD was clearly connected to local, national, and international discussions about civil rights and self-determination, led by its small body of students of color and reported in the student paper the *Sandscript.* On May 6, 1965, the first major action, and "one of UCSD's historic moments, " was a protest against the United States' invasion of the Dominican Republic. Over the next few years, undergraduates, graduates,

[637] For more information about the history of San Diego public transit (known today as San Diego

and faculty participated in several campus protests, many of which called out the university's complicity in furthering the war in Vietnam because of UCSD's ties to the military and defense industries. Almost exactly five years after the first protest, on May 4, 1970, close to 200 students occupied Urey Hall to protest the Vietnam War. A student who participated in the occupation wrote an anonymous piece, published by the *Ocean Beach Rag* on the 39th anniversary of the protest, where he recalled the takeover:

> I was part of a contingent of about 200 students who, at the prescribed moment, rushed to the fifth floor of the ugly edifice named after a top nuclear scientist on the spreading La Jolla campus. We took over the elevators, jammed them with chairs, and somehow locked the doors to the stairwells. Some of us went around the floor, pounding on the doors to labs and offices, shouting "End the war, shut it down!" or words to that effect…It has been 39 years. I can still feel those emotions.[638]

Urey Hall was named after Harold Urey, a chemist involved in the development of the atomic bomb and who helped found UCSD's Chemistry Department. Urey Hall housed the Aerospace and Mechanical Engineering Sciences Departments, so the student protestors chose the location intentionally. In response to the takeover, and to diffuse the situation, then UCSD Chancellor William McGill declared: "I place these people and others on notice that any further efforts to occupy a building area or to disrupt the peaceful functioning of this

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Metropolitan Transit System), visit: https://www.sdmts.com/about-mts/history

[638] ""I was in a sit-in at UCSD when we heard about the killings at Kent State"," *OB Rag*, Published May 2, 2011, accessed October 15, 2018. URL: https://obrag.org/2011/05/i-was-in-a-sit-in-at-ucsd-when-we-heard-about-the-killings-at-kent-state/

campus during the rest of the week will force me to declare a state of emergency as soon as any attempt begins."[639] Furthermore, he added, "This is the last day-long sit-in we can tolerate. I cannot prevent it; I can only act in response of it, and I will."[640] The students eventually left the building, but tensions remained high in the 1970s. Perhaps no other incident captured the gravity of the time than the self-immolation of George Winne Jr., a senior who set himself on fire on May 10, 1970, to protest the war in Vietnam.[641] Winner Jr. died the next day as a result of his fourth degree burns. His sacrifice for peace is among the most painful moments in the collective memory of UCSD. The anti-war movement continued into the 1970s, energized by visits of prominent national anti-war activists like Tom Hayden, founder for the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and actress Jane Fonda. The social and political moment that drove the anti-war movement at UCSD also addressed other issues on campus such as educational equality and representation.

Even though science and technology were the primary lines of education supported by the UCSD administration, the humanities and social sciences made a mark on campus thanks to the work of socially active faculty and students. In the 1960s, UCSD hired many left-leaning professors such as Herbert Marcuse, credited as an intellectual founder of the New Left, and Herbert Schiller, a communications professor and heavy critic of U.S. media

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[639] "UCSD Campus Again Target Of Protestors," *The San Diego Union*, May 5, 1970, p. B-1.

[640] "UCSD Campus Again Target Of Protestors," *The San Diego Union*, May 5, 1970, p. B-1.

[641] Many people in the 1960s and 1970s took extreme measures to protest and bring an end to the U.S. war in Vietnam. Many of them, like George Winner Jr., resorted to the act of self-immolation, or self-sacrifice through setting oneself on fire. Some notable cases include that of Thích Quáng Đúc, a Buddhist monk who set himself on fire in the middle of a Saigon street in South Vietnam in 1963 to protest the repression carried out by the government of Ngo Dinh Diem, an ally of the U.S. Quáng Đúc's sacrifice ignited a wave of subsequent self-sacrifices by Buddhist monks throughout Vietnam in the 1960s. Another case was that of Norman Morrison, a Quaker who in 1965 set himself on fire in front of the Pentagon building in Washington, D.C. – the headquarters of the U.S. military.

and foreign policy. Professors like these attracted politically active graduate students such as Angela Davis, who was involved with the Communist Party and Black Panthers.[642] After the Civil Rights Movements forced colleges and universities to open up and increase enrollment of students of color, Black and Brown students at UCSD led a movement to transform Third College, slated to open in 1970, into the Lumumba-Zapata College.[643] The name honored fallen revolutionary heroes Patrice Lumumba, who fought for Congolese independence and served as Congo's Prime Minister in the early 1960s, and Emiliano Zapata, the Mexican general who fought for agrarian reform during the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920. The Lumumba-Zapata proposal called for the creation of a college and curriculum run directly by Black and Chicana/o students that catered to their educational needs, emphasized racial and cultural diversity and equity, and used a decolonial framework to learn and discuss issues of race, class, gender, and Third World struggles for self-determination. When this proposal was submitted to Third College Provost Armin Rappaport and Chancellor McGill in 1969, it scared the UCSD establishment. Chancellor McGill wrote in his journal that the Lumumba-Zapata proposal "was an outrageous document written in the cliché ridden style favored by the Marxian ideologists of the New Left."[644] Carlos Blanco, a Professor of Literature who served as advisor to UCSD's chapter of MEChA during this time, said the proposal represented a "third world agenda for education" that made UCSD the first campus

[642] For more information about Angela Davis' life and political activism, see Angela Y. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (Reprint, New York: International Publishers Company, 2013).

[643] For more on the Lumumba-Zapata movement at UCSD, see chapter 6, "to demand that the university work for our people" in Jorge Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), pp. 210-246.

[644] "What's In a Name? The Long Saga of Third College," UCSD Alumni Magazine, Vol. 7, No. 2 (May 2010), accessed October 15, 2018. URL: http://ucsdmag.ucsd.edu/magazine/vol7no2/features/feat4.htm

in all the U.S. to demand such a radical shift in how education was imparted.[645] The struggle to rename Third College continued throughout 1968 and into the early 1970s. Even though the college was never officially named "Lumumba-Zapata," the UC Regents Board approved some of the demands made by students. But during the course of the 1970s, the promise of a student-run college eroded away. Third College became another arm of the academy, and the revolutionary promise that Lumumba-Zapata carried never fully materialized. The college was officially renamed Marshall College in the 1990s in honor of Thurgood Marshall, the attorney that successfully argued for the end of segregation in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case of 1954 and later on served as a justice in the Supreme Court.

This was the social and political environment at UCSD that first-year and transfer students stepped into in the mid-1970s. It was the backdrop on which the students that founded and contributed to *Voz Fronteriza* worked. Nurtured by the climate of the campus, and guided by their own personal experiences, they helped bridge the university with outside communities concerns. This is where their story begins.

The Birth of a Voice – The Beginning of *Voz Fronteriza*

In 1976 the United States celebrated the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Bicentennial celebrations were held all across the nation; however, not everybody in San Diego celebrated "freedom" and "liberty." The very first issue of *Voz Fronteriza*, published in January 1976, asked readers the following question: What "liberty" and "freedom" did Chicanas/os have to celebrate? They, like other groups of color, were still on the outside looking-in in terms of social, political, economic, gender, racial, and

educational equality. To them, 1976 represented "the most hypocritical year to be celebrated yet" given that democracy had yet to be extended to everyone in the nation.[646] To Chicanas/os and other ethnic Mexicans that lived in San Diego, justice and equality were not everyday rights they enjoyed. They were victims of recurring police violence, of racism by teachers and school administrators, and most importantly, they were targets of anti-immigrant sentiment that escalated in the 1970s. By calling out the bicentennial celebrations as a "cruel hoax" to working-class populations that continued to be exploited and oppressed, the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* announced that the fight for freedom, liberty, and equality was far from complete. Chicanas/os at UCSD did not celebrate the bicentennial with fireworks or patriotic speeches; they instead created a newspaper that continued an ongoing rebellion against the forces that oppressed them on and off campus.

Many students worked on *Voz Fronteriza* during its early years in print. Several of them worked on one or two issues, while others spent their entire tenure at UCSD working with *Voz Fronteriza*. This chapter includes interviews of six former members of *Voz Fronteriza* that spent most or all of their time at UCSD involved with the newspaper in some capacity. Their insights allowed for a closer look at the history of the newspaper, the social and political climate at UCSD and in San Diego in the 1970s, and the issues that prompted their activism at the time. All of the interviewees were founding members or joined *Voz Fronteriza* shortly after it started. While the roads that led them to UCSD were different, they all came of age in the same place and at the same time.

Julia and Susana Martínez were two early members of *Voz Fronteriza*. Julia was a founding member of the newspaper, and Susana joined half a year later. Both were raised by

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[645] "What's In a Name? The Long Saga of Third College."
[646] "To the Bicentennial," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 2.

their mother on a single farmworker's wage in Brawley, California. To supplement the family income, Julia and Susana often worked alongside their mother on the fields. At 13 and 12 years of age, Julia and Susana, respectively, worked in the agricultural fields of Central California during the summers to supplement their mother's income. Their experiences working and living in harsh conditions at labor camps helped them to understand the plight of the farmworker. As student activists and through their work with *Voz Fronteriza*, Julia and Susana continued supporting and covering the struggles and accomplishments of the UFW, the leading farmworker union in California.

Susana Martínez (left) and Julia Martínez (right), circa 1977. Source: Susana Martínez.

In the 1970s, as a result of the Civil Rights Movement's push for educational opportunities for communities of color, Julia and Susana were able to attend college. Julia applied to and was admitted to UC Berkeley, but chose to attend UCSD instead. The

enormous distance between the Imperial Valley and the Bay Area, the different cultural environment of Northern California, plus her general familiarity with Southern California, convinced Julia to attend UCSD instead.[647] After she enrolled at UCSD in 1974, Julia started to work with EOP, which recruited working-class students of color to attend college. One of the students Julia recruited was her own sister, Susana. The younger Martínez sister had enrolled at Pitzer College in 1975, but she never felt connected to the campus. One of the reasons she decided to go to Pitzer was because the person that recruited her promised she would encounter many Chicanas/os on campus, which turned out to be not true. The student body was primarily made up of White students. Because of this, Susana experienced culture shock for the first time. Although she made friends at Pitzer and did well academically, she never felt comfortable there.[648] For this reason Susana left Pitzer and enrolled at UCSD in fall of 1976.

Susana described the environment at UCSD in the mid-1970s as "exciting times."[649] Yolanda Orozco also felt the same way about UCSD when she came to San Diego in the early 1970s. Her background is similar to that of Julia and Susana Martínez. Yolanda was born in El Paso, Texas. Her parents emigrated from Mexico, and her maternal grandfather had been a bracero, or guest worker in the U.S. When she was a teenager she moved to Ventura, California, where she experienced culture shock given the lack of cultural diversity in her school. Her Junior High and High School were overwhelmingly White, and Yolanda struggled to find her place. After she graduated High School in the late 1960s, she enrolled at Ventura College in 1971. She worked during the day to pay for her classes. After two

[647] Julia Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

[648] Susana Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

[649] Susana Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

years, she transferred to UCSD. She took Sociology as her major, but took Chicano Studies classes also. Initially, Yolanda planned to attend UC Santa Barbara (UCSB) because her sister was enrolled there, but she chose not to go when her sister dropped out.

According to Yolanda, the first time she saw a significant number of Chicana/o students in one school was at UCSD. Because of this, she made friends more easily. She befriended people like Anna Caballero and Roberto Robledo, two of the founders of *Voz Fronteriza*. When she wasn't working for *Voz Fronteriza* or taking classes, Yolanda, like many of her friends from the newspaper, was socially and politically active on and off campus. She joined MEChA and participated in several UFW picket lines against Safeway stores in San Diego. During the summers, she traveled to Oxnard and helped workers organize for better wages.

Olga Flores-Villanueva,[650] like the Martínez sisters and Yolanda, also felt that UCSD was a more welcoming and inclusive environment for her. Olga grew up in an all-White neighborhood in Chula Vista, California, but spent parts of her childhood in Barrio Logan as well. Growing up she attended mostly White schools. In 1973, she enrolled at Muir College at UCSD. She started out as a Math major, but switched to Linguistics because it was much easier to manage. Olga lived on campus her first year. She shared a double-room apartment with four Black women and one Chicana. At this time, Olga did not identify as a Chicana. Instead, she identified as a Mexican American. Friends recruited her to join *Voz Fronteriza*. It was there where she learned about MEChA, Mujer, Teatro Chicano and SATCH, a medical club on campus. She became involved in all of these groups, and it was this involvement, she said, that influenced her to identify as a Chicana.

[650] During her years with *Voz Fronteriza*, Olga Flores-Villanueva went by the name "Olga Flores." For consistency, all future references to Olga will be using her present-day name, Olga Flores-Villanueva.

Another key member of *Voz Fronteriza* was David Avalos, who served as the newspaper's graphic designer from 1976 to 1977. David was born in San Diego in 1947. He grew up in Old Town National City, and attended Catholic schools as a kid. He attended St. Augustine High School, a mostly White school that had few Mexican and Black students. While David was not a victim of racism, he witnessed a lot of racist incidents at the school. St. Augustine, he recalled, "wasn't oppressively racist, but it was [an] openly racist environment."[651] He graduated in 1965 and transferred to SDSU, but left college after a year because he struggled to balance school and work, and because he "wasn't really motivated."[652] He worked for a brief time in the fields of North County picking tomatoes, and later joined the military. Unlike others in the mid-1960s that opposed going to fight in Vietnam, David wanted to go abroad. He learned about books written by people that served in the military through *Newsweek* and *Time* magazine, and he was inspired by their experiences. David felt the military could give him structure and purpose in life. "I had this vague notion," he said, "if you're [going to] be of note, culturally, it really makes a difference if you had…war experience."[653] He visited a Marines recruitment office, and left when they didn't guarantee him immediate deployment to Southeast Asia. He then went to an Army recruitment station, and was told he would go to Vietnam. It turned out to be a lie because he was sent to Fort Bliss in El Paso, Texas, for basic training instead. From there, he went to Fort Sill in Lawton, Oklahoma, and then he was sent to Germany where he stayed until the early 1970s.

[651] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

[652] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

[653] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

David never engaged in combat, but he learned about race and class relations while stationed in Germany with people from different parts of the country. This opened his eyes to larger issues and questions about himself and the society around him. Eventually David asked to be discharged from the military. He credited Rene Núñez, a Chicano Studies professor at SDSU and a former army enlistee, as the reason for his decision to leave the army. Núñez was married to David's sister Esther, and after being honorably discharged, traveled around Europe for a year. The pictures of his travels in France and the Mediterranean had an impact on David. He wanted that freedom to enjoy life and learn about new places and different people. "I like to think that Rene Núñez saved my life," he said. "Who knows what would have happened if I had gone to Vietnam. Every…Chicano Vet[eran] that went to Vietnam came back injured in some way."[654]

When he returned to San Diego in the early 1970s, David got a job in the San Diego Marine Construction shipyards, and shortly after went back to SDSU on the G.I. Bill. At SDSU, he took several art courses where he met other Chicano veterans like Guillermo Aranda, who David later worked with at Chicano Park and El Centro Cultural de la Raza. David returned to SDSU looking to become a physical therapist. He volunteered at hospitals and clinics, which he believed increased his chances of getting into medical school at UCSD. When SDSU opened its new health center in the early 1970s, David did illustrations for the student health guide. This gave him an opportunity to work on his artistic skills and was a precursor of his eventual involvement with a news-disseminating project. He spent a lot of time working on the manual that he neglected his courses and missed the deadline to apply to UCSD, but he was able to transfer via the EOP program in time for the fall 1974 quarter.

[654] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

Salvador Reza also came from a military background. He was born in Chihuahua, Mexico, in 1951. He and his parents migrated without papers to Texas when Salvador was only nine years old. They came to the U.S. because Salvador's grandmother, who lived in the U.S., convinced his parents that the United States "was paved with gold."[655] Salvador's early years in the U.S. were difficult. He attended schools where teachers punished those who spoke Spanish and made them feel less intelligent than they were. According to Salvador, teachers in the U.S. did more to destroy Mexican students than to help them. "Instead of destroying me," Salvador said, "they just pissed me off...They couldn't make me believe that I was dumb because I had pretty good grades in Mexico. I was number one in my class. So I decided that back then I was going to learn English [to demonstrate he was an intelligent student]."[656] Salvador moved schools on several occasions, and his family was also deported a couple of times. When they returned from Mexico after the last time they were deported, they applied for and received residency. He moved to Fort Stockton, Texas, where his father worked as a farmworker. He then went to Bel Air High School in El Paso and joined the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) all four years he attended. He graduated High School in 1971 and decided to join the Air Force.

In the Air Force, Salvador went into electronics. He was sent to Mississippi and did eight months of training in aircraft warning radar. It was a challenging environment for him. He had a hard time learning all the material, and he believed this had to do with the fact he came from a school that was less funded than those from where other enlistees came from. "Bel Air High School is [a] barrio school…when you have to compete with the rest of the world, the rest of the United States, I was just beginning to learn about electrons when those

[655] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[656] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

guys [other enlistees] they [already] knew it…The formulas that I was learning, they already knew them."[657] Salvador felt pressure to do well. "If you flunked, they sent you to be a security police, cook, or [a] tractor driver. Not only that, [if I had flunked], it would have been a shame for my family."[658] Salvador worked hard and became the number one student in his class. After completing his training he went to Boron, California, and then to Germany from 1973 to 1975. Afterwards, he got out of the Air Force and moved to Chino, California. He attended Chaffey College for about a year but he did not like it because "the junior college atmosphere…was mostly [for] people that wanted to meet each other and [have] fun and all that. I wanted to learn."[659] He transferred to UCSD in the fall of 1976 to find an answer to a question he pondered about since his time in Germany: why were people mistreated?

When Salvador was stationed in Germany, he noticed that people there were also subjected to racism and discrimination like the kind he saw growing up in Texas. "When I came into UCSD in 1976," Salvador recalled, "I basically came for one thing and one thing only: When I was in Europe, I realized that they [the Germans] mistreated the Spaniards, the Turks, and the Italians the same way they mistreat us [Mexicans] in the United States. And I [said], why the hell is this the same? Why do they do the same thing to the Turks, to the Italians [?]"[660] He read signs in German that forbade Turks from certain bars. They were similar to those he saw growing up in Texas that read "No Mexicans or Dogs Allowed." He hoped to find the answers to these and other questions at UCSD.

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[657] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[658] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[659] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[660] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

Before the first issue of *Voz Fronteriza* came out in 1976, the Chicana/o students at UCSD spoke thru the pages of *Raza de Bronce* (The Bronze People) and later *Prensa Popular* (The Popular Press). *Raza de Bronce* was first published in 1973, and remained in print for at least four issues that year.[661] From 1973 to 1975, *Prensa Popular* served as the official newspaper of the Chicana/o student community at UCSD. It was focused primarily on class-based struggles such as unionization, immigration, and the creation of a Third World working-class coalition. Its contributors heavily criticized capitalist and imperialist exploitation domestically and abroad. Because of its social and political positions and content, it can be read as the ideological forbearer of *Voz Fronteriza*, given that the latter continued these trains of thought. Because *Prensa Popular* was published right after the U.S.-backed coup that deposed Chilean President Salvador Allende in 1973, a majority of the newspaper's initial commentaries responded to the violent overthrow of the Western Hemisphere's first democratically elected socialist government.[662] The newspaper also followed Chicana/o involvement in issues related to education, access to social services, and recurring police brutality. Articles that focused on the student movement in Tijuana highlighted its connections to San Diego – a trend that is common among all of the newspapers examined in this study. Based on the issues it reported on, the newspaper's main focus seemed to be the pursuit of human dignity via a working-class, transnational alliance.

[661] In my research, I only found the second and fourth issues of *Raza de Bronce*. Both were published in 1973. It is likely that subsequent issues of *Raza de Bronce* were printed after the fourth issue, or maybe only four issues were ever printed. It is unknown at this time.

[662] For more about the roles the U.S. government and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) played in the 1973 coup in Chile, see Lubna Z. Qureshi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and Allende: U.S. Involvement in the 1973 Coup in Chile* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009); Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (Second Edition: New York: The New Press, 2013); and Stephen G. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: The United States Wages Cold War in Latin America* (Second Edition: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

When *Prensa Popular* went out of print in 1975, the Chicana/o student population at UCSD only had to wait a year to reestablish its link to its communities outside La Jolla.

The link was reestablished in January 1976. In 1978 Julia Martínez, then the copy editor of *Voz Fronteriza*, told the *Chicano Federation Newsletter* that *Voz Fronteriza* was important because "Students want to rebuild new relations with the community. We want to take ourselves out there…we don't want the community to look down on us just because we're at UCSD and to have them think we're up on some ivory tower."[663] The person that helped reestablish this community link was Arnulfo Casillas (1948-1992). The Martínez sisters and David Avalos credited Arnulfo, a Santa Barbara native and Vietnam veteran, with the idea that became *Voz Fronteriza*. Arnulfo supported El Plan de Santa Barbara, which was drafted at UCSB in 1969 and called for the creation of Chicana/o Studies at the college level and encouraged Chicana/o student self-determination on campus. Arnulfo had prior experience with student newspapers. At UCSB, he helped launch *Sí Se Puede* (Yes We Can), a Chicana/o student newspaper that translated El Plan de Santa Barbara's call for Chicana/o student empowerment into practice. Newspapers allowed Chicana/o youth to engage in social and political activism that molded their social skills, political consciousness, and helped maintain dialogues between the campus and the communities it served. As a professor and counselor, Arnulfo facilitated these processes among students his entire life. In the mid-1970s, Arnulfo worked at UCSD. While there, he recruited different people with distinct sets of talent to work together in support of their education and for the social and political advancement of their communities. This group became the foundation of *Voz Fronteriza.* According to the Martínez sisters, Arnulfo left after one year, presumably to

[663] "Voz Fronteriza," *Chicano Federation of San Diego County Newsletter*, Vol. 8, No. 1, January 1978, p. 7.

help other schools set-up their own Chicana/o student papers. A 1992 article published in the *LA Weekly* shortly after Arnulfo's passing referred to the late Chicano activist as a "maverick editor and adviser of alternative Chicano publications throughout the state" of California.[664] This was Arnulfo's way to put El Plan de Santa Barbara into action.

How exactly did *Voz Fronteriza* start? According to Yolanda Orozco, it started in 1975 when a group of Chicana/o students that included Anna Caballero, Roberto Robledo, Olga Flores-Villanueva, and Julia Martínez approached the UCSD administration to request funding for the creation of a Chicana/o newspaper. According to Julia, Professor Barrera was asked to be the group's sponsor. While Arnulfo Casillas planted the idea of a newspaper in the minds of Chicana/o students, it was Mario Barrera who helped turn the idea into a reality.[665] Anna, Yolanda recalled, wrote the proposal for the newspaper. After the university approved it, the group met to decide on a title for their paper. According to Olga Flores-Villanueva, the purpose of *Voz Fronteriza* was to inform Chicanas/os of what was going on in the community, and to show them where they could get involved locally to make a difference. They wanted the newspaper to be unique. It had to represent the daily experiences and struggles of those who lived near the U.S.-Mexico border. Their goal was to center these stories and use them to bring awareness and inspire action on the issues. These goals attracted the Martínez sisters. Given their backgrounds in labor and union organizing, coupled with *Voz Fronteriza's* goal to improve the conditions of working-class people inside and outside UCSD, the Martínez sisters were a perfect fit for the up-and-coming newspaper.

David Avalos was drawn to *Voz Fronteriza* for similar reasons. Another factor that motivated David to join the newspaper was his familiarity putting together newsletters. His

[664] "Arnulfo Casillas, 1948-1992," *LA Weekly,* July 1992.

[665] Julia Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

partner at the time, Yolanda López, worked on the *Chicano Federation Newsletter*. But the most important reason was his previous work on the SDSU student health manual. He believed that working in *Voz Fronteriza* allowed him to "create graphics and [to] see them disseminated…[not] for the love of art…[it was] with a purpose that it was going to be seen by a lot of people."[666] The presence of Arnulfo Casillas also influenced David's decision to join the newspaper. David remembered Arnulfo the most. He said Arnulfo called a meeting to set-up a Chicana/o newspaper at UCSD, and that's when he first heard about *Voz Fronteriza*. At the meeting, David said he suggested doing a newsletter instead, which he remembered saying would be more manageable than a newspaper. Arnulfo, he recalled, insisted that it had to be a newspaper. He wouldn't have it any other way. After everyone agreed on a newspaper format, discussion shifted to the title. David said there was a consensus on the name *Viento*, or wind, which he said Arnulfo thought was "hokey as hell."[667] Arnulfo then pushed for a new title that reflected what the goal of the newspaper ultimately was – to bring coverage to the realities of living in a border region, and of establishing links with people off campus. Ultimately, the group agreed on the name *Voz Fronteriza*. The section "Arte y Consciencia" (Art and Consciousness) in *Voz Fronteriza* was all Arnulfo's idea, the Martínez sisters said. This section, like *Inside the Beast's* "Who, What, When," announced events on and off campus that emphasized student social awareness and participation. From film screenings to guest speakers, this section showed how the participants of *Voz Fronteriza* facilitated dialogues between academics, activists, and community members on and off campus.

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[666] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

[667] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

David said Arnulfo "wanted a paper that spoke to the issues of the region…[*Voz Fronteriza*] was the only Chicano newspaper located on the border, or near the border,"[668] at that time, so the responsibility to fulfill the task was enormous. In the editorial, "Raising Our Voz," the newspaper's staff reaffirmed the group's commitment to the Chicana/o community. It stated, "By bringing community news on campus, we will try to bridge the gap that has traditionally separated many students from the local areas. By reporting campus news to the communities at large, we hope to make UCSD become an important part in local surroundings."[669] It looked like a tall task to meet, but the contributors of *Voz Fronteriza* met and exceeded expectations with their work.

Making Immigration a Community Concern

Many of the issues addressed by the Chicana/o community in the 1970s represented a continuation of efforts that started in the 1960s. For example, the fight for access to higher education and equal representation, the struggle for increased political power and participation, economic justice, the end to police abuses in the communities, better housing, among others. One of the issues that came to the forefront of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement, and of the national Chicana/o Movement in the 1970s was immigration. By the late 1960s, Chicanas/os began to use a transnational framework to analyze, critique, and generate discussions about immigration – from how neoliberalism, or free market ideology, forced people to emigrate in search of better jobs and higher wages, to how domestic employers preyed on the vulnerability of undocumented immigrants workers to abuse and exploit them for profit. As Chicanas/os began to see their struggle for human dignity part of

[668] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

[669] "Raising Our Voz," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1976, p. 2.

a larger movement against the unequal conditions created by capitalism at home and economic imperialism abroad, immigration reform and immigrant rights became central components of the Chicana/o Movement in the U.S. in the 1970s.[670]

The UCSD Chicana/o community addressed national and local immigration issues long before *Voz Fronteriza* emerged. *Prensa Popular* published articles that discussed immigrant workers and their relation to the UFW;[671] the role of San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson in the rise of deportations of local undocumented immigrants;[672] the growing conversation over a proposed second Bracero program;[673] and interviews with Herman Baca on why Chicanas/os fought against deportations of undocumented immigrants.[674] When *Prensa Popular* went out of print in 1975, the critical Chicana/o lens on immigration at UCSD was left without a home. *Voz Fronteriza* took on the task to generate conversations about immigration on campus in order to correct false and negative views some people on campus believed about Mexican immigrants. These negative views were often times published in the *Triton Times*, the main student newspaper at UCSD.[675] For example, in the October 13, 1976, issue Jeff

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[670] For more about immigration as part of the Chicana/o Movement, see Jimmy Patiño, *Raza Sí, Guerra No: Chicano Movement Struggles for Immigrant Rights in San Diego* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Alan Elaido Gómez, *The Revolutionary Imaginations of Greater Mexico: Chicana/o Radicalism, Solidarity Politics, and Latin American Social Movements* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016).

[671] Immigration and UFW, *Prensa Popular*, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 16, 1973, p. 3.

[672] Pete Wilson and Deportations in San Diego, *Prensa Popular*, Vol. 1, No. 2, November 26, 1973, p. 1 and 3.

[673] Braceros Sought amidst deportations, *Prensa Popular*, Vol. 1, No. 3, January 24, 1974, p. 1.

[674] Herman Baca on Chicanos fighting deportations, *Prensa Popular*, Vol. 1, No. 4, March 5, 1974, p. 1.

[675] The *Triton Times* is now called *The UCSD Guardian*. It went by the name *Triton Times* from 1967 to 1978; *Guardian* from 1978 to 1979; *Daily Guardian* from 1979 to 1980; *The Guardian* in 1981; and *The UCSD Guardian* since 1981.

Fenton, an undergraduate in Economics, published an article where he associated undocumented immigrants with a "serious cancer" that stole jobs that "rightfully belong[ed] to U.S. citizens."[676] Without citing any sources, Fenton argued that undocumented immigrants, two-thirds of which he claimed were from Mexico, took advantage of social services while they "[paid] little or nothing in taxes." He exonerated employers that hired undocumented workers from having any fault in creating this "cancer." In Fenton's mind, they were not responsible for their actions because they were tempted by people willing to work for low wages and open to undercut working Americans.[677] He called remittances a "disease" that sent 13 billion dollars "down the drain."[678] He called U.S. citizens to take back the jobs "stolen" by undocumented workers and supported the Rodino Bill, a piece of legislation presented by Congressman Peter Rodino of New Jersey that called for fines against employers that hired undocumented workers and increased border security. The proposed law, unfortunately, had a side effect that impacted U.S.-born people of Mexican descent. Many of them were not hired because employers believed they were undocumented. Despite showing evidence to prove their citizenship, many were racially profiled by White employers who generally assumed that all people of Mexican descent were "illegal aliens." Fenton believed the Rodino Bill solved the immigration issue and was justified because "Enforcement [would] be both firm and fair, [because it would] stem the alien tide while respecting and zealously defending the rights and economic security of all U.S. citizens."[679] A cartoon that put into images Fenton's words accompanied the article as

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[676] "Illegal Aliens Pose Threat to the U.S.," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 9, October 13, 1976, p. 2.

[677] "Illegal Aliens Pose Threat to the U.S.," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 9, October 13, 1976, p. 2.

[678] "Illegal Aliens Pose Threat to the U.S.," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 9, October 13, 1976, p. 2.

[679] "Illegal Aliens Pose Threat to the U.S.," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 9, October 13, 1976, p. 2.

well. Anti-immigrant sentiments like those expressed by Jeff Fenton, grounded in racist depictions of undocumented immigrants as social and economic drains on the U.S., continue to this very day.[680] For Fenton, the economic wellbeing of the U.S. was more important than the country's commitment to helping the tired, poor, huddled masses that looked to the U.S. as the land to start a new life.

"Illegal Aliens Pose Threat to the U.S." Cartoon. *Triton Times,* Vol. 29, No. 11. October 13, 1976, p. 2. Source: UCSD Library Digital Collections.

Fenton's words ignited a wave of responses from the UCSD student and faculty bodies. The majority condemned the article. One person called Fenton's idea to deny undocumented people rights and protections guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution as exceptionalist: "Why

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[680] Fenton's claim that undocumented people in the U.S. posed a social and economic threat to the wellbeing of White America was repeated, though in a more overt and implicitly racist tone, by now President Donald Trump during his presidential campaign announcement on June 15, 2015: "When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people who have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I

are US citizen so special? If US citizens deserve rights and privileges that others do not, then we might just as well say Blacks are inferior to Whites, Jews do not deserve to live, and kings have a divine right. How can we say that illegal aliens, because of their place of birth, do not deserve the rights that US citizens enjoy?"[681] Another student took offense to Fenton's definition of "American" meaning "White" and stated the following: "[Ever since] thundering hordes of Irish, Italian, Chinese, and other immigrants had the audacity to take her [Statue of Liberty's Lazarus poem] seriously, [White] Americans have tried to turn them back, all in the name of keeping American for Americans."[682] Another person focused their criticism directly at the editors of the *Triton Times*, who, "Somehow always "[got] the scoop" on the latest archaic thinking (Maybe the management is looking forward to working for *The San Diego Union*)…[and the article represented] the [newspaper's] continued policy of narrow-mindedness for which the TT [was] well known."[683] The Fenton piece was also denounced by MEChA; the Black Student Union; UJIMA (a Black support network of students, faculty, and alumni); Mujer (a Chicana student organization); *The New Indicator* (a left-leaning community newspaper affiliated with the campus); the Union of Democratic Philipinos, and *Voz Fronteriza*. They collectively stated, "We…strongly condemn the *Triton Times* for cooperating to foment such a racist ideology by printing an article and a cartoon which are extremely offensive to the UCSD community and to all the democratic minded

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assume, are good people." Quoted cited from "Donald Trump's false comments connecting Mexican immigrants and crime," *The Washington Post*, July 8, 2015.

[681] "Illegal Aliens Deserve to Stay – Matt Hinton," *Triton Times,* Vol. 29, No. 11, October 18, 1976, p. 3.

[682] "Illegal Aliens Deserve to Stay – Daniel Lee Shawler," *Triton Times,* Vol. 29, No. 11, October 18, 1976, p. 3.

[683] "Illegal Alien Threat Attacked," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 12, October 20, 1976, p. 2.

people of this country."[684] The student organizations were backed by a joint statement signed by the faculty of the UCSD History Department, which pointed out that "Over the past three years the automakers have laid off thousands of workers but now that production is back to its earlier level most of those laid off are still off the job."[685] They attributed the domestic working-class' continued unemployment a result of businesses "shor[ing] up its declining profit rates by more ruthlessly exploiting smaller [and vulnerable] numbers of workers."[686] Furthermore, they claimed that Fenton's tactic of race baiting to pit undocumented workers against U.S. workers was a nefarious way to "prevent them from acting together to fight the real cause of their problems – Capitalism."[687]

In light of the amount of negative publicity the *Triton Times* received, its editor published a note on the October 20 issue where he sought to create distance between the newspaper and Fenton's opinions. He wrote, "In the interests of free speech, pages two and three [where Fenton's article appeared] are provided as an open forum for the UCSD community. The policy now, as in the past, is that unsigned editorials represent the majority opinion of the TT editorial board, while stories which appear under bylines – i.e. by Jeff Fenton – are merely the opinion of the writer."[688] By invoking the right to free speech as the basis that allowed the publication of Fenton's article, the *Triton Times* presented Fenton with a gift – the right to be as racist as he wanted to be, and no one could deny him that right to express his views because as the newspaper editor wrote, "We hope that you [referring to

[684] "Fenton's Ideas Threaten Democracy," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 12, October 20, 1976, p. 3.

[685] "More Backlash on "Illegal Alien Threat"," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 13, October 22, 1976, p. 2.

[686] "More Backlash on "Illegal Alien Threat"," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 13, October 22, 1976, p. 2.

[687] "More Backlash on "Illegal Alien Threat"," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 13, October 22, 1976, p. 2.

[688] Editor note, *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 12, October 20, 1976, p. 3.

people who criticized the publication of Fenton's article] don't expect us to weed out stories from the community that we, or you, don't necessarily agree with."[689] Had the *Triton Times* not published the article, the editor suggested the newspaper would have been charged with suppressing a legitimate view and concern of a member of the UCSD student body. Using this pretext, the *Triton Times* allowed Fenton to respond to comments he received for his article, some of which doubled-down on his racist ideas. The *Triton Times'* toleration of legitimate hate speech was masked by a defense of free speech, which created a space for a person like Fenton to freely disseminate his racist views without consequence.

Jeff Fenton's article demonstrates why a Chicana/o student newspaper like *Voz Fronteriza*, which presented a more substantive and humane assessment of immigration issues, was necessary at a place like UCSD where a racist commentary and cartoon on the topic was published in the school's primary newspaper. During the period 1976 to 1978 immigration was the most discussed topic in *Voz Fronteriza*. To counter and correct the types of views that people like Fenton had on campus, *Voz Fronteriza* took on the task of educating its readers on the internal and external forces that created immigration to the U.S. and the concept of "illegal aliens." This total coverage of immigration started with analyses of U.S. economic and political interventions in places like Mexico, the destabilizing effects of neoliberalism abroad, the experiences of immigrants crossing the border into the U.S., and of their lives in the country. Many reasons explain this form of educational dissemination; from the fact that *Voz Fronteriza* was published in a border city where immigration was part of the social, cultural, and political fabric of the region, to the involvement of many members of *Voz Fronteriza*, such as the Martínez sisters and David Avalos, in immigrant rights organizations like the Centro de Acción Social Autónomo

[689] Editor note, *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 12, October 20, 1976, p. 3.

(Center for Autonomous Social Action, CASA) and the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), which reinforced the critical historical and analytical lens used by authors who published on the topic.[690] Organizations such as CASA challenged the position of several Chicana/o Movement organizations on the topic of immigration. For example, CASA pushed to organize undocumented workers into unions, while the UFW, the leading farmworker's union of the time, opposed it. The UFW believed that undocumented workers hurt their efforts for better wages and working conditions because of their undocumented status. As a result, the UFW at times collaborated with the Border Patrol to locate and deport undocumented people. This led to a rift between CASA's leader, Bert Corona, and César Chávez, the face of the UFW. The work of the Martínez sisters and David Avalos with these organizations helped safeguard and support immigrant peoples' rights in the U.S., which demonstrated their involvement to promote social justice on and off campus. The staff's approach to immigration and immigrant rights also positioned *Voz Fronteriza* as a key advocate and ally of the immigrant rights movement happening nationally and locally in San Diego.

The goal of the staff was to show how immigration and undocumented immigrants were a result of the overreaches of capitalism. They pushed readers to think about the processes that created immigration by moving beyond the lens that presented immigrants as "the problem" to capitalism and U.S. foreign involvement as the culprits. For this reason, several articles were published that examined how U.S. foreign investment in Mexico in the 1970s, at a time when Latin America as a whole experienced political and economic crises, destabilized the already economically vulnerable working and rural classes. The article "Del Monte: A Leech on the Bajío" discussed how Del Monte, a U.S. food distributor, exploited

[690] For more about CASA, see Mario T. García, *Memories of Chicano History: The Life and*

workers and land in Mexico's Bajío region, one of the most important agricultural areas in the country.[691] By casting Del Monte as "leeches" that went into Mexico to take advantage of lower environmental, labor, and wage regulations, the article argued that Del Monte preyed on desperate workers that sought better wages. Mexico was in the words of Latin American journalist Eduardo Galeano an "open vein"[692] from where capitalist "vampires" (given how Marx saw capitalism as having vampire-like traits) sucked the life (resources) from Third World countries. The excessive work for minimal pay in turned affected the already poor standard of living of rural and poor workers in the region. *Voz Fronteriza* showed readers how it was the greediness of capitalists to generate profits at all costs that created the first and most important condition that led to immigration – the search for better paying jobs. In addition, the newspaper also explained how the Mexican government allowed U.S. transnational corporations to enter the country. In the article "Mexican Peasants Betrayed," Juan Mora Torres traced how the Mexican government betrayed its constitutional responsibility to protect land rights for Mexicans.[693] Juan discussed how the ruling party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI) which established its legitimacy with the people through association with the Mexican Revolution, created the conditions through which corporate farming threatened land rights of poor peasants in the states of Sonora and Sinaloa. The government's retreat from political and social democracy accelerated in the 1970s under the presidencies of Luis Echeverría (1970-1976) and José López Portillo (1976-1982). Their policies, which appeared

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Narrative of Bert Corona (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

[691] "Del Monte: A Leech on the Bajío," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1977, p. 4.

[692] Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (Anniversary Edition: New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997).

[693] "Mexican Peasants Betrayed," *Voz Fronteriza,* Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1977, p. 8.

nationalistic at first glance, and were meant to get Mexico out of the economic crisis it was engulfed in, created an opening where free market policies entered and found a welcoming space within some circles of the Mexican governing body. This association shifted the government's focus towards deregulation, foreign investment, and free trade starting in the 1980s. The origins and trajectory of this shift in the late 1970s was discussed in Juan Gutiérrez's article, "Revolutionary Institutionalized Party."[694] These articles educated readers about the roles of both the U.S. and Mexico, primarily that of capitalists and government elite, in creating the conditions that ultimately led to immigration to the U.S. This binational focus humanized immigrants and brought attention to the political and economic forces that destroyed lives abroad.

Next, the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* debunked the myth of the "illegal alien." The article "Border Warfare" was perhaps the most critical of all analysis published that debunked negative views of immigrants. The main argument was that the idea that a person was "illegal" stemmed from the fear and hatred of immigrants the government encouraged its citizens to have. The media carried out this job in order to shield capitalism from direct protest by citizens and undocumented citizens alike. "In a society were illusion is often taken more seriously than the truth," the article stated, "whatever exists in the mass media eventually finds a home in the minds of the American public."[695] The media then, as it does today, fed the public a specific narrative of immigrants as dangerous criminals and threat to American society.[696] This narrative was often a set of recycled tropes previously projected

[694] "Revolutionary Institutionalized Party," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 5, June/July 1976, p. 4.

[695] "Border Warfare," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Nov. 1976, p. 7.

[696] In the era of Trump, Fox News, a right-wing broadcast station, has led the way in supporting and encouraging President Trump's racist, anti-immigrant positions. As the most watched "news" outlet in the nation, its portrayal of immigrants as criminals, rapists, welfare "leeches," and other

by White Americans against earlier immigrants groups from places like Asia and Eastern and Southern Europe.[697] These depictions tended to dominate the news landscape in times of economic crisis, like in the late 1970s. Entire groups of people, through the passage of hardline anti-immigrant policies such as the Rodino Bill and Dixon-Arnett Bill (to be discussed later in this chapter), we're "denied due process of law and convicted by public opinion."[698] Those who stood to lose more from these policies were not just undocumented immigrants, but also Mexican Americans and other working-class folks because their own aspirations for a better life depended on ending the racial and economic exploitation that undocumented workers faced. By publishing this article, and other similar pieces, the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* demonstrated why it was necessary to have an alternative media source that centered and projected the voices of those whom the majority of mainstream U.S. society demonized without knowing full well the reasons that brought them to the country. This further demonstrated the newspaper's role as an educational source for people on campus and in the community.

The two main pieces of anti-immigrant legislation that *Voz Fronteriza* tackled were the Rodino and Dixon-Arnett Bills. U.S. Congressman Peter W. Rodino, a Democrat from New Jersey, introduced a piece of legislation in 1976 that aimed to cut the amount of undocumented workers in the country. It called for punishment of employers that knowingly

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dehumanizing depictions have directly impacted the psychological and physical wellbeing of immigrants (undocumented and naturalized). The word "leeches" in particular is a free-floating signifier, used by the far-right to justify racist attach on other people of color and Jews too.

[697] To learn more about how anti-Asian sentiments became the backbone of later anti-immigrant discourses in the U.S. beginning in the 20th century, see, Natalia Molina, *How Race is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); and Mae N. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[698] "Border Warfare," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Nov. 1976, p. 7.

hired undocumented workers. However, some people, including members of *Voz Fronteriza*, saw the law in a different light. The Rodino Bill, the article "Anti-Latino Bill" stated, basically allowed employers to deny work to those that looked or sounded foreign and couldn't prove their citizenship.[699] Given that at the time the image of the suspected "illegal alien" was that of a Mexican person, this meant that employers, under the Rodino Bill, had carte blanche to openly discriminate and deny jobs even to U.S.-born Americans of Mexican descent simply because they resembled the "illegal alien" profile the media and government disseminated. The article stated that this was a violation of a person's rights, and it further uncovered the degree of racial profiling going on at the time. Worse yet was the "solution" to this problem proposed by Frances Knight, who served as the head of the Passport Office in the Department of Justice. In its obituary of Frances Knight in 1999, *The New York Times* described her 22 years with the Passport Office as "efficient" and "conservative," where she "[denied] passports and entrance visas to those she regarded as enemies of the nation."[700] *The New York Times'* description of Knight helps understand her views in the 1970s with respect to the Rodino Bill. According to the *Triton Times,* Knight proposed an internal passport system to prevent U.S.-born Americans of Mexican decent from being confused with undocumented Mexican immigrants; a measure reminiscent of Nazi Germany. If implemented, the article argued, it could lead to the government being empowered to call a witch-hunt against anyone they deemed an "enemy." Furthermore, this type of program reinforced the notion that Mexican people were inherently "foreign" and "alien" to the U.S. To emphasize the danger of such a bill left unchecked, the article "Anti-Latino Bill" quoted

[699] "Anti-Latino Bill," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 5.

[700] "Frances Knight, 94, Director of Passport Office for Decades," *The New York Times*, September 18, 1999.

Representative Edward Livingston, who in opposition to the 1798 Alien and Sedition Bills famously stated, "The country will swarm with informers…and all the odious reptile tribe that breed in the sunshine of despotic power."[701]

Mexicanos and the Building of the Southwest

MEXICANO IMMIGRANTS

Railroad workers, Arizona

RAILROAD NEEDS MEXICANS

Chicano/Mexicano children in a segregated school

Texas farmworkers

10¢/HOUR WAGES

Chile cannery workers, Old Town San Diego

"Mexicanos in the Building of the Southwest." *Voz Fronteriza,* Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 8-9. Source: Roger Cazares Personal Collection.

One of the articles that directly contested claims that Mexicans were "aliens" to the U.S., especially in the Southwest was the article "Mexicanos in the Building of the Southwest," published in the November 1976 issue of *Voz Fronteriza*. It first appeared in the summer 1975 issue of *Aztlán*, a Chicana/o Studies journal out of the University of California, Los Angeles. The article discussed the history of Mexicans in the Southwest, and their contributions to the regional economy before and after U.S. annexation of the region. What

[701] "Anti-Latino Bill," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 5.

made the article special and significant was that the contributors placed family pictures around the article to prove to readers the historical and cultural connections of Chicanas/os to the land. This message, the Martínez sisters and David Avalos said, made the article one of the most important pieces ever published in the newspaper. "[We] had fun with that issue," David recalled. "Bringing in those pictures [was like] we put ourselves into the frame of history."[702] David did the layout for that article. He included two images of his family taken after they crossed the border during the period of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) and from the book *450 Years of Chicano History*, an illustrative narrative of the history of indigenous and Mexican descent people on both sides of the border. This article served to remind Mexican people of their historical roots, and armed them with a strong narrative to contest anti-immigrant sentiment and policies locally. In all likelihood, it also could have also helped Chicana/o students at UCSD push back administrative and student resistance to their presence on campus too. Chicanas/os were not "aliens" to the Southwest. Their history went back further than that of Anglo Americans, and *Voz Fronteriza* made sure everyone on and off campus knew that.

"Mexicanos in the Building of the Southwest" had its work cut out though. The 1970s witnessed a number of anti-immigrant policies that directly and indirectly targeted Mexico. For example, the article "A Call for Resistance" from the February 1977 issue brought attention to the Western Hemisphere Act introduced by Congressman Joshua Eilberg, a Democrat of Pennsylvania, in 1976. According to Armando Navarro, author of *The Immigration Crisis: Nativism, Armed Vigilantism, and the Rise of a Countervailing Movement*, the Western Hemisphere Act "lowered the number of legal immigrants who entered the U.S. from any one Latin American country from 40,000 to 20,000. This was

[702] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

particularly a slap at Mexico, the only Latin American country to send 40,000 annually."[703] These two laws, one that targeted Mexicans from Mexico (the Western Hemisphere Act), and the other that could affect U.S.-born Americans of Mexican decent (The Rodino Bill), demonstrated "the country's growing nativist political climate directed at Mexicanos."[704] By reporting these stories, *Voz Fronteriza* contributed to making immigration not just a local issue, but also a relevant and crucial part of the ongoing Chicana/o Movement locally.

What did this nativist climate that Navarro mentioned look like exactly? Salvador Reza captured it clearly in his article "Anti-Mexican Hysteria Mounts." Salvador discussed the lengths to which the U.S. government at the time was willing to go in order to stop undocumented immigration. He wrote that the administration of President Jimmy Carter considered implementing a counterfeit identification card, similar to the ones used in apartheid South Africa, to keep track of "illegal aliens." The use of a registry to monitor groups of people deemed dangerous is something the U.S. has done repeatedly in the past.[705] In the 1970s, the U.S. again targeted a group. Salvador said that the Carter administration wanted to use the counterfeit identification program, but waited "for the newspapers to cause an uproar against undocumented workers before they start[ed] issuing the card to all working people."[706] According to Salvador, U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell at first called

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[703] Armando Navarro, *The Immigration Crisis: Nativism, Armed Vigilantism, and the Rise of a Countervailing Movement* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2008), p. 101.

[704] Navarro, *The Immigration Crisis,* p. 101.

[705] During the period of Chinese exclusion in 1884, the government passed an amendment to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 that required all Chinese immigrants living in the U.S. to carry a certificate for re-entry if they traveled abroad. When President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 that initiated Japanese internment, the government collected information of all Japanese, immigrant and U.S.-born, out of suspicion that they were spies and needed to be quarantined in order for the U.S. to win the war. In the 1950s, Hollywood celebrities, union and civil rights organizers (many of whom were immigrant or undocumented), were blacklisted as possible communist spies. All of these moments led to creation of lists of people that the U.S. government monitored closely.

[706] "Anti-Mexican Hysteria Mounts," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 7, 14.

the program a bad idea, but his opinion changed after he visited South Africa and saw the program in action. When he returned and was asked about the program, he said he saw the U.S. taking "a step in that direction."[707] Meanwhile, the attack on local undocumented folks was already underway in San Diego, and the members of *Voz Fronteriza* made sure that no news on immigration went uncovered.

In the March 1976 issue, *Voz Fronteriza* reported that several raids occurred in February across San Diego County. About 1,000 people were detained. The majority of them were Mexican, but among the arrested were also undocumented people from Greece, Italy, Poland, and Canada, according to *Voz Fronteriza*. The most significant raid occurred at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO), the military shipbuilding company headquartered in San Diego. According to the article, "Ataques contra trabajadores sin documentos," (Attacks on Workers without Documents) NASSCO helped INS conduct their raids by making it easy for them to identify undocumented workers. NASSCO ordered that non-citizen workers wear a green stripe on their helmets, and they were not allowed to work on the ships.[708] Susana Martínez recalled distributing copies of *Voz Fronteriza* outside the shipyards in support of NAASCO workers. This, she said, was an example of the group's connection to the community and how they fulfilled their mission of "prensa comprometida con el pueblo" (a press committed to the people).[709] This story was not reported by *The San Diego Union* or by the *Triton Times.* In response to a door-to-door survey conducted locally by INS to obtain the number of undocumented people in San Diego, the newspaper reprinted a memorandum obtained from the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights that advised

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[707] "Anti-Mexican Hysteria Mounts," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 7, 14.

[708] "Ataques contra trabajadores sin documentos," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1976, p. 6.

undocumented people what to do if they opposed the survey and did not want to be a part of it. It informed community readers, many of which likely were undocumented, that they had a right to not cooperate with INS. That INS could not force them to talk if they wanted to stay silent.[710] The efforts by local Chicanas/os to spread information about immigration to their community on and off campus reveal how immigration became a central issue of the San Diego Chicana/o Movement. *Voz Fronteriza* was an important part of this process. The newspaper also informed its readers of other incidents related to immigration that occurred in other parts of the country. [711] In doing so, *Voz Fronteriza* showed that immigration had become the primary activist issue of the Chicana/o community in the 1970s. *Voz Fronteriza*, like *La Verdad* before it, showed that San Diego was a part of a larger, national movement in support of humane immigration policy and immigrant rights.

In the article, "El Movimiento Chicano: Reconstruyendo su Dirección," (The Chicana/o Movement: Reconstructing its Direction) *Voz Fronteriza* discussed the status of the Chicana/o Movement in the area. This assessment resulted from interviews of community organizers in San Jose, Los Angeles, Ontario, Riverside, and Imperial Valley with members of *Voz Fronteriza*. The article concluded that the movement in the 1970s underwent a period of "reflección y reorganización" (reflection and reorganization). The spontaneous activism of the 1960s and early 1970s was no longer the driving force of the movement in the mid-70s.[712] Instead, the article proposed that in order for issues like immigration to be solved, the

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[709] Susana Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.
[710] "A Knock at Your Door," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1977, p. 4.

[711] "La Migra: La Persecución del Pueblo," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1976, p. 16; "Migra Murders Pregnant Woman," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 8, June 1978, p. 4.

[712] "El Movimiento Chicano: Reconstruyendo su Dirección," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1977, p. 8.

movement had to follow more "scientific tactics" to bring about the total liberation of immigrants and exploited minorities within the U.S.[713] It seemed that the article emphasized that the use of a class-based analysis to breakdown the barriers erected by capitalism in the U.S. was the best way to address immigration issues. What occurred on the ground in San Diego resembled a class-based movement against draconian immigration policies, but true to San Diego, it was composed of a multiracial and multiethnic coalition of immigrant rights supporters.

Voz Fronteriza highlighted the actions taken by local residents to combat unjust immigration policies, especially anti-immigrant sentiment that groups such as the Ku Klux Klan disseminated in the San Diego-Tijuana border region. The Klan has a long history of local involvement in immigration matters in San Diego that stretch as far back as the 1920s.[714] During the 1960s and 1970s, the Klan regained strength not just in the South where it resisted civil rights legislation with violence, but in the West too, where it engaged in vicious anti-immigrant campaigns along the border. Because of all the questions on immigration in San Diego, the city became a magnet for Klan members in the 1970s. For example, in October of 1977 David Duke, the national leader of the Klan, staged a dramatic helicopter landing on the border in San Ysidro. He came to San Diego to announce the Klan's plan to patrol the border in marked cars from Brownsville, Texas to San Diego.[715] Duke said that patrolling Klansmen would be armed and make arrests if given permission by property owners whose lands they watched. In response to Duke's militia operation, the

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[713] "El Movimiento Chicano: Reconstruyendo su Dirección," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1977, p. 8.

[714] For more about the history of the KKK in Southern California, particularly San Diego, see Richard Griswold del Castillo, "San Diego's KKK, 1920-1980."

[715] "La Comunidad se Organiza," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 2, November 1977, p. 3.

community of San Diego organized against the Klan. A "multiracial and multireligious" coalition made up of the Chicano Federation, the Black Federation, the Union of Democratic Philipinos, MEChA Central, and the Jewish Federation was formed in response to the Klan's local operation. Acting spokespersons Herman Baca and Jesse Ramírez stated that the Mexicano/Chicano community had "a right to defend itself" and would do so if forced by the Klan.[716] The coalition urged people to not get goaded into a fight with the Klan, which they said was exactly what the latter hoped to instigate in order to paint people of color as dangerous and violent to White mainstream society. They asked people to think about this before doing anything they would regret. The coalition, *Voz Fronteriza* showed, viewed the Klan's presence in San Diego as a tactic to make the immigration issue strictly about race in order to elicit a nativist response to the plight of the immigrants. This, the article "La Comunidad se Organiza" (The Community Organizes Itself) implied, stripped the immigration issue of its vital political and economic context. Racial divisions worked to prevent a cross-racial, class-based movement against a common source of oppression. The coalition saw the Klan as a defense mechanism employed by capitalist forces to avoid any association with immigration. "The KKK is not the issue," the article stated. "The real source of the problem is clear. If the United States would take its hand off the throat of the choking Mexican economy, there would be no need for large numbers of people to seek refuge in the United States."[717]

The newspaper published a follow-up article to the "La Comunidad se Organiza" piece in the same issue that reported that a coalition of 1500 Black, White, Chicano, and Filipino

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[716] "La Comunidad se Organiza," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 2, November 1977, p. 3.

[717] "La Comunidad se Organiza," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 2, November 1977, p. 3.

residents marched in San Ysidro against the rising activity of the Klan locally.[718] Although the actual date when the march occurred was not stated in the article, it is safe to assume that the march was carried out by the multiracial and multireligious coalition reported in "La Comunidad se Organiza" given the make-up of the marchers. The marchers demanded the end of violence by hate groups on immigrants and the termination of an INS director and local agent, whom they claimed worked with the Klan to harass undocumented people. To the marchers, any attack on undocumented immigrants was an attack on all peoples' basic human rights. The article that reported the march, "INS-KKK Collusion, 2000 Protest," further stated that the actions of the Klan and INS represented "how the government [wanted] to act but [could] not openly do so" in order to eliminate the consequences of unregulated capitalism and neoliberalism – undocumented immigration.[719]

One of the stories that emerged from the Klan's presence in San Diego and that *Voz Fronteriza* followed was that of Sal Mercado, a local resident who was put on trial for attacking a Klansman. This was another story not covered by the *Triton Times* directly. In its coverage of the Mercado case, the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* exposed the double standard of the justice system in the U.S. when it came to issues of race and racism. On October 16, 1977, Sal Mercado was arrested during a demonstration against the Klan. He was accused of having thrown a rock at a Klansman's car. Since this incident took place on October 16, around the time that David Duke came to San Diego and the multiracial and multireligious coalition organized against the Klan, it is safe to assume that Mercado was involved in some way in the protests that took place in October. Mercado was part of a group of 60 people that protested a tour of immigration facilities given by INS to the Klan. At this tour, *Voz*

[718] "INS-KKK Collusion, 2000 Protest," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 2, November 1977, p. 1.

[719] "INS-KKK Collusion, 2000 Protest," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 2, November 1977, p. 1.

Fronteriza stated that the Klan offered its services to the INS to help stop "the flow of illegal aliens."[720] During the protest, a Klansman tried to run over four demonstrators with his car, one of which was Sal Mercado. The police then arrested Mercado, and not the Klansman who tried to injure him. He was charged with "malicious intent" by D.A. Ed Miller and stood trial in Chula Vista in April of 1978. Outside the courtroom, Klansmen berated people who showed up to support Mercado with racial slurs. Mercado's supporters did not respond to the taunts and insults of the Klan due to fear of being arrested. *The San Diego Union* updated its readers of the trial as well. From the start, the newspaper took the side of the Klansman. For example, the article "Protestors Throw Rocks At Klansmen" projected a different lens onto readers, one that made the Klan a victim of mob violence. Rather than question or condemn the presence of the Klan in San Diego, *The San Diego Union* opted to focus on the "violence" directed at the Klan – the "violence" being chants such as "Smash the Klan," "Death to the Klan," and egg and rock throwing.[721] In the article "Attacker of Klan Backed," *The San Diego Union* further positioned the Klansman as a victim of "unwarranted" violence, and subtly painted Mercado's supporters as rowdy for demanding that D.A. Miller drop his case against Mercado. Furthermore, it also suggested that Mercado's supporters were intolerant of other views, and were less likely to respect constitutional protections of people that disagreed with them.[722] Just like the *Triton Times* hid behind the idea of freedom of speech to allow Jeff Fenton's racist cartoon and editorial to see the light of day, *The San Diego Union* used the Constitution to create empathy for a

[720] "Activist on Trial for Anti-KKK Protest," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 6, April 1978, p. 6.

[721] 'Protestors Throw Rocks at Klansmen," *The San Diego Union*, October 17, 1977, p. B-1.
[722] "Attacker of the Klan Protested," *The San Diego Union*, March 28, 1978, p. B-4.

Klansman that had tried to physically injure four people, and not the victims of his racist actions.

The Klansman who accused Mercado never stepped foot inside the courtroom. Over the course of the trial, *Voz Fronteriza* reported that the Klan and its San Diego leader, Tom Metzger, "were found by the defense attorney to be regular guests of psychiatric wards, suffering from delusions of "Mexicans and Blacks trying to cut their throats"."[723] This example of White terrorists using mental illnesses to justify their racist beliefs and actions (and to avoid harsh punishment) is indicative of the country's unwillingness to address head-on White domestic terrorism, or to even call it by its name.[724] The argument presented by the Klansman's defense team convinced the trial's all-White jury, which found Mercado guilty of malicious mischief. Before the trial, Mercado's supporters demanded D.A. Miller explain why his office did not bring charges against the Klansman for his part in the incident. No response was ever given. The writers at *Voz Fronteriza* seemed to have figured out the reason though. The trial was not about obtaining justice for Mercado, or any of the victims of the Klan. Instead it was, according to *Voz Fronteriza*, a direct message by D.A.

[723] "Activist on Trial for Anti-KKK Protest," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 6, April 1978, p. 6.

[724] White domestic terrorism has increased significantly since Barack Obama was elected President; most of it in response to the fact a Black man occupied the White House, which is seen by many White nationalists as belonging to them. This sense of entitlement and outbursts of violence to maintain it, which sociologist Michael Kimmel calls "aggrieved entitlement," is expressed whenever racial, gender, or political hierarchies (which were built to sustain White male privilege) are challenged by communities of color or women. For more about White male entitlement, see Michael Kimmel, *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era* (New York: Nation Books, 2017). Since Donald Trump was elected, the amount of White domestic terrorist incidents have skyrocket, and the President's failure to call out and condemn White racial violence in Charlottesville, Virginia, for example, demonstrates his role in protecting and encouraging racist rhetoric. For more about the rise of White nationalism in the past two decades, see Janet Reitman, "U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It." *The New York Times*, November 3, 2018. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/magazine/FBI-charlottesville-white-nationalism-far-right.html

Miller, the Klan, and "la Migra" to all people of color that "it [was] wrong to stand up for our rights."[725]

Another way by which *Voz Fronteriza* highlighted the importance of immigration issues in the 1970s was its coverage of these issues in other parts of the country. The article "La Migra: La Persecución del Pueblo" (The Border Patrol: The Persecution of the People) reported about the story of José Jacques Medina, a Mexican lawyer who fled his country in 1973 for fear of losing his life due to his involvement in the student movement of 1968 and subsequent work and support for political prisoners. In the U.S., Medina worked closely with CASA and trained students and workers on immigration law and rights. He was arrested by the FBI and turned over to the INS, who accused him of illegally entering the country and moved forward to deport him. Medina feared that he would be tortured and killed if he returned to Mexico. Using Medina's story as evidence, the article argued that the U.S. engaged in a double standard when it came to allowing refugees into the country. If they escaped a government that the U.S. did not openly support, they were received with open arms. If they arrived from a country that had close political, social, and economic ties with the U.S, they were rarely accepted. This dichotomy demonstrates how the refugee situation was shaped, in part, by the politics of the Cold War.[726] This was the case of

[725] "Activist on Trial for Anti-KKK Protest," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 6, April 1978, p. 6.

[726] Politics and economics have driven the U.S. asylum process for many years. This has affected which groups of people are able to secure political refuge in the U.S. In her book *We Built the Wall: How the U.S. Keeps Out Asylum Seekers from Mexico, Central America, and Beyond* (New York: Verso, 2018), journalist Eileen Truax demonstrates how the U.S. gives preference to refugees that flee countries considered enemies of the U.S. (like Iran or China), but makes it almost impossible for refugees from Latin America (particularly countries destabilized by the U.S. and that support U.S. political or economic interests) from gaining residence in the U.S. This double standard has made it difficult for ordinary citizens and journalists, particularly those who flee repercussions for exposing the relation between politicians and drug lords in Mexico and the U.S., to find safe refugee across the border.

Medina, who escaped an increasingly right-wing government in Mexico that was becoming more repressive against socialist and democratic ideas, and more friendly and open to U.S. influence. This, the article argued, showed that the U.S. tended to favor "fascistas y Nazis, en lugar de aquellos que apoyan movimientos democráticos" (Fascists and Nazis over those that supported democratic movements).[727] The article concluded with a call to readers to support a defense committee for Medina in Los Angeles, where his trial was to take place.

Another article that shed light on immigration was "Migra Murders Pregnant Woman," published in the June 1978 issue. The short article reported that a pregnant woman died while held in detention by the INS. No details of the incident were given, but the article reported that people in Texas organized to demand justice and make those responsible accountable for their actions. Violence against women at the border was something that happened often in San Diego. For example, in 1972 Border Patrol officer Kenneth Cocke raped Martha Elena Parra López, a young woman from Tijuana. The incident pushed the Chicana/o community to mobilize to demand justice for Martha Elena, and to bring an end to all forms of violence against Mexican people by Border Patrol officers.[728] The argument can be made that these stories helped the writers of *Voz Fronteriza* place San Diego right in the middle of the immigrant rights struggles of the 1970s. They demonstrated to readers that the work done in San Diego was part of a larger movement happening nationwide in support of immigrant rights. Local people were historical actors, and this was something worth knowing at UCSD.

[727] "La Migra: La Persecución del Pueblo," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1976, p. 16.

[728] For more about this, see Jimmy Patiño, "Border Patrol Violence, Women's Voices, and Chicano Activism in Early 1970s San Diego," in Mario T. García, *The Chicano Movement: Perspectives from the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 21-46.

The newspaper's focus on immigration, from the forces that created undocumented immigration, to the characterization of people looking for a better life, and the actions of U.S-born citizens and residents that helped breakdown barriers in the name of human rights and dignity, demonstrated *Voz Fronteriza*'s unmovable support for working-class communities. Given its wide circulation across San Diego County, its perspective on immigration was extremely important given the leniency that media sources like the *Triton Times* and *The San Diego Union* gave to racists like Jeff Fenton and the Klan. The writers positioned the newspaper as an ally of the immigrant community, and its contributors were active in the movement through written and physical activism. While immigration issues were *Voz Fronteriza's* most significant form of transmission of community concerns into the university, the struggle for adequate housing and quality education were a close second and third.

The Unfinished Movements for Housing and Educational Justice

Voz Fronteriza's coverage of community issues such as the right to affordable and decent housing for working-class folks can be read as the contributors reminding their readers of the civil rights work still going on outside of campus – and possibly to let them know where they could help make a difference. In the March 1976 issue, Arnulfo Casillas published an article that stated that 100 families that lived at the Del Sol Townhouse Apartments in South San Diego were at-risk of becoming homeless. The majority of residents at this complex, the article said, received some form of federal support from Section Eight of the Housing Act of 1974 to help pay their rent thru a leased-housing program the owner agreed to with the government. After the complex was sold, however, the new owners seemed uninterested in continuing with the program. The new owners started to remodel the complex without informing their tenants in advance. The tenants, who

were overwhelmingly people of color, were told they had to leave by the end of June 1976. Furthermore, they were not guaranteed a temporary place to stay while they searched for new homes.[729] At the time, Arnulfo said, there were very few places that these families (many of whom had children or senior family members living with them) could realistically afford to live in. Through *Voz Fronteriza,* Arnulfo highlighted the importance and urgency of this story with a follow-up article in the April 1976 issue where he reported that city officials and representatives of the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) department showed little interest in helping these families find new homes. The evicted families, Arnulfo said, were to receive temporary Section Eight certificates valid for 60 days, but many of the families were unable to find housing due to the specific stipulations set by HUD. For example, families of seven or eight had to find homes that had four bedrooms and whose rent did not exceed $214 and families of nine or 10 needed homes with five bedrooms at no more than $244 monthly for rent.[730] Landlords also put barriers in place that prevented large low-income families from finding suitable homes. Some, Arnulfo wrote, did not permit families with children, dogs, or children above a specific age.[731]

While *The San Diego Union* did not explicitly cover the Del Sol story, it reported that as early as March 1976 the City Council started to address housing concerns that spoke to the issues the families at Del Sol faced. In early March, it had voted to negotiate a contract with Real Estate Associates of San Diego for "management of over 1,300 housing units leased to low-income citizens and families."[732] In April, additional funds were approved for the city

[729] "Del Sol Tenants Face Eviction," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1976, p. 12.

[730] "Tenant families "out on the streets"," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 1976, p. 2.

[731] "Tenant families "out on the streets"," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 1976, p. 2.
[732] "Private Role For Leased Housing OKd," *The San Diego Union*, March 9, 1976, p. B-3.

of Escondido, in north San Diego County, to kick-start a $1.5 million housing complex for low-income senior citizens and those with disabilities.[733] The struggle for adequate housing, which many people believed was addressed by the Fair Housing Act of 1968, was still going in San Diego in 1976. By reporting the struggles of these families to find adequate and affordable homes, *Voz Fronteriza* highlighted one of the unfinished works and voices of the Civil Rights Movement locally.

In addition to housing concerns, the pursuit of adequate education remained an important issue in the Chicana/o community. Racism and discrimination continued in schools across San Diego. For example, *Voz Fronteriza* published a letter written by a Juan Del Rio, a bilingual instructor who was fired from Marian High School (today Marian Catholic High School) in Chula Vista, a predominantly Chicana/o attended school. Del Rio, who was the school's only bilingual instructor, claimed he was fired simply for leaving campus once without permission and for failing two or three minimal tasks. He argued that every other instructor on campus did the same things, yet he was the one who was fired. He claimed his firing was evidence of a continued assault against Chicana/o students, especially against those who were at-risk of failing their classes. The absence of an instructor who related to them on a cultural and linguistic level, he seemed to imply was vital to help them achieve their fullest potential. A majority White environment, he seemed to point out, wouldn't be as effective as one that was more racially and culturally diverse. Del Rio wrote, "When Chicanos are making an effort to improve the quality of education – and are met by

[733] "City Grants New Loan For Low-Cost Housing," *The San Diego Union,* April 9, 1976, p. B-3.

"backdoor racism" – how can the general population see and evaluate what we stand for when we are not given a fair chance?"[734]

Equal education was a big issue for Susana Martínez, who wrote two important articles about how parents helped improve the education of their children. The involvement of parents in these issues during the Civil Rights Movement is not new in San Diego (see chapters two and three). In fact, there is precedence for the type of work parents carried out in support of their children's education. Susana's first story was about the Concerned Parents of San Ysidro Association (CPSYA), a group that formed in 1977 to protest the San Ysidro Unified School District's (SYUSD) Title VII Bilingual Education Plan, which the CPSYA charged was ineffective at promoting quality bilingual and bicultural education at Smythe Elementary School. The CPSYA organized against the plan after test scores revealed that third grade students tested at a first grade level.[735] The committee sent a list of demands to the SYUSD that urged them to improve bilingual and bicultural instruction. They asked for SYUSD to hire more Spanish-speaking teachers and administrators, and to improve recruitment and retention of Spanish-speaking teachers.[736] The CPSYA never heard back from the SYUSD. In response, the CPSYA decided to picket the district offices in June 1977. The picket line lasted two months and received support from community activists, students, and local workers. During the two months that the picket line was in effect, the district refused to meet with the parents and mediators that volunteered to broker a dialogue between the CPSYA and the SYUSD. When negotiations went nowhere, the parents "had no

[734] "Backdoor Racism and Marian High School," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 2, February 2, 1976, p. 4.

[735] "Padres organizan escuela alternativa," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977, p. 4.

[736] "Padres organizan escuela alternativa," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977, p. 4.

choice but to start their own school."[737] Thus parents and members of the CPSYA got together and set-up a temporary alternative school for the 1977-1978 school year at the Villanueva Housing Complex in San Ysidro, a mostly Chicana/o housing complex. They named it "Escuela Santa Monica" (Santa Monica School) and instruction began on September 11, 1977. At the time of publication, Susana stated that the school had been in operations for two weeks with support of the Chicano Federation and with the help of volunteer teachers, students, community members, and parents that donated time and supplies.[738] It is unknown if members of *Voz Fronteriza* were among the volunteers at the school though. Susana made a plea for all interested and qualified people to help out at the school and provided readers with the contact information of the CPSYA.

Images from article "Padres organizan escuela alternativa." *Voz Fronteriza,* Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977. Source: Roger Cazares Personal Collection.

[737] "Viva La Causa – Escuela Santa Monica: The Battle Isn't Lost," *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VII, No. 8, October 1977, p. 8.

[738] "Padres organizan escuela alternativa," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977, p. 11.

The Escuela Santa Monica was intended to serve children from Pre-Kindergarten to Junior High. Over 200 students attended Santa Monica during the two weeks it operated.[739] According to the October 1977 issue of *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, the Escuela Santa Monica "[stood] as a strong example to all those who are dissatisfied with their school situation but believe little or nothing can be done about it."[740] Despite its short run, Santa Monica succeeded where Smythe Elementary failed. *The Chicano Federation Newsletter* said, "One of the biggest obstacles facing the parents was the lack of discipline in their children. The children quickly learned that a raised hand and speaking in turn facilitate[d] a smoother operation. Then the teaching began. After one week's effort, progress was evident. Children at the third grade level had learned to write their names and were mastering their multiplication tables."[741] The school faced several challenges, as Susana pointed out in her article. Besides the lack of space, supplies, and money, the school lacked the ability to provide students with hot lunches every day. On this last point, *The Chicano Federation Newsletter* wrote that many students were forced to return to Smythe Elementary because parents "did not have enough money to send them to school with a lunch in hand."[742] These struggles reveal how socio-economic barriers in a predominately poor and working-class region of San Diego limited the ability of parents to maintain the school in operation. Its historical significance lies not in the success or failure of the school, but in the fact that

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[739] "Viva La Causa – Escuela Santa Monica: The Battle Isn't Lost," *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VII, No. 8, October 1977, p. 8.

[740] Viva La Causa – Escuela Santa Monica: The Battle Isn't Lost," *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VII, No. 8, October 1977, p. 8.

[741] "Why the Need for an Alternative School?" *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, March 1978, p. 3.

[742] "Why the Need for an Alternative School?" *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, March 1978, p. 3.

parents and community members came together and created a school in the first place. They inserted themselves as historical actors in the ongoing struggle for educational equality in San Diego. Thus the Escuela Santa Monica represented "a cry to society to recognize the desire for equal education" of San Diego's Chicana/o community.[743] Quality education from a young age was vital for a better future, especially for people of color in the U.S. On this point, *The Chicano Federation Newsletter* said:

> Inadequate educational opportunities for minorities in elementary and secondary schools result in our being unable to meet the admission standards and pass the necessary tests required for us to learn how to become doctors, lawyers, and the like. While the Anglo learns algebra and geometry, our "downselors" direct us towards some of the most exploited, lowest-paying jobs-training courses and away from higher education. They say in effect that people of color cannot compete intellectually with their white counterparts. It is obvious that white students will have a much better chance of passing the tests that open the doors to the future; they have been learning and practicing for those tests; they have been given more opportunity, more positive support, more encouragement, and higher expectations.[744]

While Susana's article and those of the October 1977, February 1978, and March 1978 issues of *The Chicano Federation Newsletter* on the Escuela Santa Monica highlighted the

[743] "Why the Need for an Alternative School?" *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, March 1978, p. 3.

[744] "Why the Need for an Alternative School?" *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, March 1978, p. 3.

organizational prowess of the parents that challenged the SYUSD, *The San Diego Union* presented a much different portrait of the story. To begin with, there was no mention of any of the events that led up to the establishment of the Escuela Santa Monica.[745] Only three articles about the situation in San Ysidro appeared in *The San Diego Union* – on October 7, 11, and 12, when the school was about to close and when students returned to Smythe Elementary. There was no mention of this story either in the *Triton Times,* which further showed their distance from the communities beyond UCSD. Susana wrote in her article that the Escuela Santa Monica received little attention from the media, and *The San Diego Union*'s scant articles supported her claim. What's worse, *The San Diego Union*'s portrayal of the SYUSD and the parents demonstrated the newspaper's siding with the former. For example, nowhere in the three articles was the CPSYA mentioned. While the articles recognized the parents' involvement in the protest against the SYUSD, by not mentioning the CPSYA is akin to *The San Diego Union* erasing the CYPSA from the public and historical record. The October 7 article was perhaps the most pro-SYUSD of the three published by *The San Diego Union*. The article included quotes from SYUSD Superintendent Robert Colegrove, whose words at close inspection reflected an attempt to devalue the parents' reasons for protests. For example, on the low-test scores that parents challenged, Colegrove stated that, "Compared with other districts in San Diego County, San

[745] While *Voz Fronteriza* and *The Chicano Federation Newsletter* covered the events of the Escuela Santa Monica, *El Tiempo Chicano*, the official newsletter of the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), covered a similar story that unfolded in National City. In 1977, students, parents, and community activists charged the Sweetwater Unified School District, which served National City's predominantly majority-minority student population, with racism and educational bias towards Chicana/o students. *The Chicano Federation Newsletter* and *The San Diego Union* also covered this story, perhaps given that the issue had gone all the way to the courts. However, the absence of articles by *The San Diego Union* about the events unfolding in San Ysidro, at the same time, also reveals the newspaper's continuing inadequate and shaky coverage of Mexican descent people locally.

Ysidro is the doormat. But when weight factors used by the state Department of Education are applied, considering social economic-factors, language spoken in the home, length of time in the district, the same students are scoring in the anticipated range."[746] Colgrove suggested that the homes, parents, and culture from which the majority of students in San Ysidro belonged were to blame for their low-test scores, and not the schools. And his "doormat" comment? That was his racism on display. Doormat to what? Immigrants? Undocumented immigrants because of San Ysidro's location on the border? His views reflected a larger trend of White society historically putting the blame on non-White groups, and not structural and systematic inequality, for their inability to become "fully American." These comments, while subtlety racist, were not as overt as one allegedly made by an administrator at Smythe who said that the reason for the low-test scores was because "these students come from people who have no education, come from broken homes which are overpopulated, and they're Mexican."[747] Colgrove reiterated these sentiments in a less racist way with the following words: "Parents seem to want to concentrate on the low scores compare[d] with other area districts not faced with the same magnitude of a problem."[748] The problem being what, too many Mexicans in San Ysidro to serve?

In his effort to protect the image of the SYUSD, Colgrove detailed how the district was not ill prepared to teach bilingual and bicultural programs because of the number of Mexican Americans the district employed. He said Mexican Americans constituted 30 percent of the teaching core, and two out of the five schools covered by the SYUSD had

[746] "San Ysidro Protests Noted," *The San Diego Union*, October 7, 1977, p. B-3.

[747] "Why the Need for an Alternative School?" *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, March 1978, p. 3.

[748] "San Ysidro Protests Noted," *The San Diego Union*, October 7, 1977, p. B-3.

Mexican American principals. Moreover, the school board had three Mexican American members, two of which were women.[749] This defensive strategy perhaps was a way for Colgrove to paint the SYUSD as not racist by showing off the number of Brown people on the staff and board. Social justice does not come simply with numerical racial diversity. A lot hinges on type of policies the members believe in. In all, the article focused exclusively on Superintendent Colgrove and was an attempt to help the SYUSD save face. The names of some parents involved in the protests were given, but no quotes or comments from any of them were included in the article. As a way to further antagonize the parents and students, the article reiterated how the students, referred to as "boycotting students," and their parents financially ruined the school. It's labeling of Escuela Santa Monica as "St. Monica Alternate School" also implied that Chicanas/os wanted "special privilege." At a time when the right-wing attack on affirmative action was fully underway, it seemed that *The San Diego Union* with this article contributed to the backlash.

The October 11 and 12 *San Diego Union* articles informed the public of the return of Escuela Santa Monica students to Smythe Elementary. The parents, the October 11 article stated, agreed to allow their students to return to SYUSD following the latter's promise to set-up workshops aimed at helping parents understand the district's bilingual and bicultural programs.[750] Furthermore, *The San Diego Union* continued its questionable depiction of the parents. It referred to them as "disgruntled parents" that failed to understand the larger factors that were responsible for their children's low-test scores – the high percentage of Spanish-speaking parents, socio-economic factors, and a turnover of 3,000 students in San

[749] "San Ysidro Protests Noted," *The San Diego Union*, October 7, 1977, p. B-3.

[750] "Pupils Slated to Return to Class Today," *The San Diego Union*, October 11, 1977, p. B-3.

Ysidro.[751] The October 12 article reported that with the return of the Santa Monica students, enrollment at Smythe increased from 383 to 485.[752] It also stated that Jesse Ramírez, the Director of the Chicano Federation, helped negotiate the deal between the parents and the SYUSD and accompanied the returning students to Smythe. To add further insult to the parents, *The San Diego Union* referred to Jesse Ramirez as "Jesse Rameriz" several times in the article. No one seemed to have caught, or was interested to correct, the obvious misspelling. Superintendent Colgrove said that the workshops would continue as long as "[there was] interest on the part of the parents."[753]

The Chicano Federation Newsletter continued to cover this story when *The San Diego Union* did not. The February 1978 issue offered an update on the events in San Ysidro. Little had been achieved up to that point. The bilingual and bicultural curriculum remained a source of debate. However, teachers started to speak out against the curriculum. They felt that the curriculum "did not "[meet] the individual needs of the students and [did] not promote a [true] bilingual-bicultural program."[754] They agreed to work with both administrators and the community to create a more inclusive curriculum after 75 percent of K-8 teachers told the district they were "not convinced that the Curriculum Plan [met] the needs of the children in San Ysidro."[755] The community focus of these teachers was further cemented after the San Ysidro Federation of Teachers collectively told the SYUSD that they

[751] "Pupils Slated to Return to Class Today," *The San Diego Union*, October 11, 1977, p. B-3.

[752] "Grade Pupils Return to School," *The San Diego Union*, October 12, 1977, p. B-3.

[753] "Grade Pupils Return to School," *The San Diego Union*, October 12, 1977, p. B-3.

[754] "San Ysidro Update – Teachers, Parents Unite to Reject 'Curriculum Plan'," *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, February 1978, p. 4.

[755] "San Ysidro Update – Teachers, Parents Unite to Reject 'Curriculum Plan'," *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, February 1978, p. 4.

couldn't continue to support a program that had "been forced upon them and the community."[756]

There were no other articles published on the Escuela Santa Monica in *Voz Fronteriza* after Susana Martínez's piece came out in the October 1977 issue.[757] The only other local Chicana/o media source that covered the subsequent developments was *The Chicano Federation Newsletter.* As a story that emphasized the continuing efforts by Chicanas/os in San Diego to improve their children's education, it makes sense why the story was reported in *Voz Fronteriza*. This story connected with on campus efforts by students to fend off right-wing attacks on affirmative action. This was an issue that was fought on two fronts – in the community and from inside higher education. Its appearance on the newspaper displayed the contributors' desires to perhaps unite these two movements as one.

The other story written by Susana Martínez on education was about the Asociación de Padres Unidos del Este de San Diego (The United Association of Parents of East San Diego), which celebrated its first anniversary in 1978.[758] The Asociación was a multi-issue group that promoted bilingual and bicultural education, access to health services, and addressed immigration concerns as well. At the time of publication, Susana reported that the Asociación was involved in a dispute with Wilson Junior High School's Vice Principal, who had suspended four students (three Mexicans and one Black) over a fight with a White student in November of 1977. The Vice Principal, Tift, charged the students with assault

[756] "San Ysidro Update – Teachers, Parents Unite to Reject 'Curriculum Plan'," *The Chicano Federation Newsletter*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, February 1978, p. 4.

[757] The issue prior to the October 1977 edition was the June 1977 edition. It was the last issue of Volume two (Vol. 2, No. 5). The October 1977 issue was the first of Volume three. This explains why there was no coverage of the initial events that led up to the creation of the Escuela Santa Monica in September 1977.

[758] From here on out, when referring to this organization, I will use the Spanish word "Asociación.

with a deadly weapon, which Susana said actually referred to the students' "feet."[759] The students were suspended in January of 1978 and were ordered to attend a different school across San Diego. This posed a problem to the students and their parents, which Susana stated were members of the Asociación. These students, Susana wrote, had to get up at five in the morning and had to take an average of two to four buses each morning just to get to class.[760] While the Asociación did not approve of the conduct of the suspended students, they opposed the severity of the punishment given by Vice Principal Tift, which they described as "perpetuating a pattern of unequal justice against Mexican, Black, and other minority students."[761] The Asociación also stated that Tift's punishment was evidence of his racism towards students of color, and Susana added that his actions towards the suspended students "created more tensions and mistrust on the part of non-White members of the community instead of solving existing interracial tensions."[762] At the end of her article, Susana stated that the Asociación made a list of demands and sent them to San Diego City Schools. These demands included the immediate reinstatement of the suspended students, the firing of Vice Principal Tift, and a report of the number of suspensions, transfers, and referrals within the school district by ethnic breakdown.[763] This last demand suggested that similar incidents like the one Susana discussed happened all across San Diego. Like the CPSYA story, *The San Diego Union* or the *Triton Times* did not cover the actions of the Asociación.

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[759] "Padres unidos investigan polizas escolares," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 4.

[760] "Padres unidos investigan polizas escolares," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 4.

[761] "Padres unidos investigan polizas escolares," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 4.

[762] "Padres unidos investigan polizas escolares," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 4.

[763] "Padres unidos investigan polizas escolares," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 4.

These two stories centered on parental activism are a norm in San Diego. They are part of a long history of parents involving themselves in the struggle to improve schools and education quality for their children in Southern California. The actions of the CPSYA and the Asociación follow the work of local Mexican families from Lemon Grove, who in the 1930s organized themselves to protest the unlawful segregation of their children into "Mexican schools."[764] It builds on the work of the Méndez family of Orange County whose 1947 lawsuit against the Westminster School Board led to the end of legal segregation in California, and expanded on the activism of Black and Brown parents who aided striking High School students in Los Angeles and San Diego in 1968 and 1969, respectively. Moreover, Black and Brown parents in San Diego also fought to end the systematic placement of their children in classes designed for students with learning disabilities (see chapter two). While activism around educational rights during the 1960s and 1970s has traditionally been characterized as student-led, with parents playing a supporting role,[765] evidence suggests that parents played a much bigger role in advancing the fight for educational equality in San Diego. All of the above stories, including those reported in *Voz Fronteriza*, are part of a long history of parental activism centered on improving the education and securing equality in K-12 classrooms in San Diego and Southern California before and during the Civil Rights Movement. These mobilizations engendered outside of the academy also remind us that not all social justice issues are solved from inside the ivory

[764] From more information about the Lemon Grove Incident, see Robert R. Alvarez, Jr., "The Lemon Grove Incident," *The Journal of San Diego History,* Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring 1986). Accessed online. URL: http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/1986/april/lemongrove/

[765] For books that examine the Chicana/o student movement as a leading force of the Chicana/o Movement, see Carlos Muñoz Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement,* revised and expanded ed. (Brooklyn: Verso, 2007); and Mario T. García, *Blowout! Sal Castro and the Chicano Struggle for Educational Justice* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

tower. Chicanas/os in general faced multiple barriers and challenges from the school after they transferred their demands into the classroom. Many saw their ideas and hopes diluted and coopted by institutional forces. Practice became theory, and theory over time created ideological barriers between colleges and communities. Being on the outside of the academy freed parents from the constraints and limitations universities such as UCSD could place on community-oriented students. The movements led by CPSYA and the Asociación represent what Latin American historian Peter Winn referred to as a "revolution from below," a struggle that projects the organic feelings and aspirations of the people engaged in struggle than a top-down rhetoric, or a "revolution from above," that emanated from places such as UCSD.[766] By presenting these two stories, the contributors of *Voz Fronteriza* moved to show that Chicanas/os at UCSD, just as Julia Martínez told *The Chicano Federation Newsletter* in 1978, weren't just up in some ivory tower isolated from their roots. They were actively listening and learning from their elders and their communities, and we projecting their stories into the academy.

Culture and the Third World

[766] The terms "revolution from above" and "revolution from below" are drawn from Peter Winn's study of the Chilean Revolution of the 1970s. His book, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), discussed how the socialist discourse of President Salvador Allende was interpreted and carried out by the workers of the Yarur cotton mill, and how their actions affected the socialist agenda of President Allende. Winn argued that the workers' desire to implemented socialism on the spot clashed with Allende's gradual, top-down approach. The actions of the Yarur workers caused Allende to accelerate his plans, and this, Winn asserted, angered the elite classes he hoped to build alliances with and precipitated his downfall and death in 1973. It is in these opposing approaches to socialism, one from below, from the workers, that the phrase "revolution from below" is coined, and Allende's blueprint as a "revolution from above." These frameworks, when applied to ordinary people such as the parents that mobilized for educational change in San Diego, allows scholars to see how grassroots movements (some of which were made up of people with little education) made history without the leadership of people in positions of power.

Since their creation in the early 1970s, Chicano Park and El Centro Cultural de la Raza's legitimacy and right to exist has come under attack by several groups of people – from politicians to the KKK, the Minutemen and recently by White nationalists emboldened by President Donald Trump's racist and divisive rhetoric.[767] In the 1970s, the murals at both Chicano Park and El Centro came under attack by individuals who were either ignorant of their meaning or whose judgments were informed by racist ideas. As a newspaper concerned with informing about issues relevant to the Chicana/o community, the appearance of an article in support of the murals at Chicano Park and El Centro are not surprising. It connected with student struggles on campus against policies that threatened the Chicana/o educational pipeline. Erasing the murals was akin to erasure of the Chicana/o historical presence in San Diego. The elimination of programs such as EOP, for example, was also a direct form of eliminating Chicanas/os from the campus.

What was the controversy over the murals? In 1976 a conservative group of city residents collected 75 signatures to request the removal of murals at El Centro that did not "represent the heritage of our [White] people." In response, over 3,000 signatures were collected in support of the building's artwork.[768] Jorge Huerta, a Professor of Theater and supporter of *Voz Fronteriza*, called out the racism in the conservative group's definition of heritage in the article "Centro Murals Challenged: "Does the Mexicano/Chicano have

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[767] In September 2017 and February 2018, White nationalists belonging to the group "Bodertown Patriots" staged a "patriot picnic" at Chicano Park that called for the removal of the murals and the raising of the U.S. flag on park grounds. In both instances, supporters of Chicano Park far outnumbered the Bordertown Patriot protestors. Human chains were made around the murals and other parts of the park in an effort to protect them from vandalism on the part of White nationalists.

[768] "Centro Murals Challenged," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 1976, p. 14.

anything to do with the heritage of San Diego and Aztlán?"[769] One of the main struggles that people of Mexican descent in San Diego faced was the lack of visibility in the city's physical landscape. This was a result of a legacy of exclusion and historical whitening by local White politicians. The murals at Chicano Park and El Centro were part of a long process by Mexican Americans to reclaim space and to engrave their history into the physical and social landscape of San Diego.[770] Both sites represented the building block on which present and future struggles for Mexican American and immigrant rights would be built upon, and the 3,000 signatures collected by supporters of El Centro in 1976 proved this. As an advocate for the working-class community that gave rise to Chicano Park and El Centro, *Voz Fronteriza* came to the defense of these important spaces. In doing so, it also sent a message of solidarity to its Chicana/o readers on campus. While there were no murals on campus then that showed the Chicana/o presence there, there were programs and organizations that did such as EOP and MEChA. Keeping those alive was similar to the community's efforts to keep San Diego's historical memory from erasure. The newspaper further stressed the significance of Chicano Park by advertising the annual "Chicano Park Day" celebration each April. By doing so, it generated support inside and outside of UCSD to help preserve one of the most visible accomplishments of the local Chicana/o Movement.

Like its siblings *Inside the Beast* and *La Verdad*, *Voz Fronteriza* informed readers of Third World news and events happening on campus and across San Diego. In its attempt to build a transnational working-class community consciousness inside and outside of UCSD,

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[769] "Centro Murals Challenged," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 1976, p. 14.

[770] For more information about the transformation of physical spaces into sites of racial, ethnic, and cultural empowerment for working-class minority communities, see Eric Avila, *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race, and Revolt in the Modernist City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). For specific information on Chicano Park, see Chapter 3, "Taking Back the Freeway: Strategies of Adaptation and Improvisation," pp. 149-179.

the newspaper presented stories from places like Puerto Rico, Argentina, and Chile. For example, in 1976 *Voz Fronteriza* advertised the arrival of David Viñas, an Argentinian literary critic and political activist who agreed to teach at the school for one quarter. The members of *Voz Fronteriza* took advantage of Viñas' presence on campus and interviewed him. He told the newspaper that one of the reasons why he came to the U.S. was the Chicana/o Movement. This conversation was published in the February 1976 issue, where Viñas also shared his thoughts on the influence of Che Guevara on the revolutionary movements in Latin America and the U.S.[771] The resistance of Chileans to the repression carried out by the right-wing military regime of General Augusto Pinochet was not just confined to the Southern Cone. The October 1976 issue of *Voz Fronteriza* reported that Chilean students, professors, and professionals who lived as refugees in San Diego held a ceremony on September 11, 1976 to commemorate the lives lost since the 1973 coup.[772] This story continued the coverage of Chile first reported by *Prensa Popular* in the early 1970s. After the fall of the Allende government in 1973, supporters and other left-wing intellectuals left the country as the military regime embarked on a campaign of torture and killing of suspected subversives. Many of them came to the United States. Others went to Europe, and many moved to countries such as Cuba and Mexico, for example. It is unknown how large the Chilean refugee community was in San Diego in the 1970s though. *The San Diego Union* did not hint at the existence of a large community, nor did it mention the vigil that *Voz Fronteriza* covered. *Voz Fronteriza,* however, remained committed to reporting

[771] "Trece Preguntas a David Viñas," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1976, pp. 3, 19. The February 1976 issue used in this chapter had several pages missing. I did not find a complete issue while doing research. The bulk of *Voz Fronteriza's* interview with David Viñas is located in the missing pages.

[772] "Golpe Militar Chileno," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1976, p. 8.

news related to the struggle for democracy in Chile. In the June 1977 issue, an article discussed Enrique Kirkberg, who served as the Director of the State Technical University of Chile during President Allende's administration. Kirkberg visited UCSD that year and met with students, faculty, and community members and talked about the state of working-class under the military junta headed by General Pinochet.[773] Thru this article *Voz Fronteriza* demonstrated its working-class solidarity, and it brought attention to the commitment by some people at UCSD to nurture the minds of youth by bringing Kirkberg to campus.

In the June/July 1976 issue, an anonymous letter sent by someone in Spain to the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* was published. It contained the explicit instruction that it be shared with the newspaper's readership.[774] The letter primarily summarized the state of affairs in Spain following the death of longtime dictator Francisco Franco. The writer stated that despite Franco's death, his fascist ideology and institutions remained alive and posed a challenge to the working-class' pursuit of total democracy. The letter also accused the U.S. of meddling in Spanish internal affairs. The U.S was concerned that without Franco Spain would veer to the left. Franco, despite being an autocrat, was staunchly anti-communist. His regime served as a bulwark against the expansion of communist and socialist ideas in the Iberian Peninsula. It is unknown who the author of the letter was, or why he or she chose to send the letter to *Voz Fronteriza*. Earlier that year, in January, an article by the "Committee for a Democratic Spain" from San Diego was published in *Voz Fronteriza.* It discussed the U.S. military presence in Spain, the U.S. government's attempt to renegotiate its military force in the region with Franco's successor, Juan Carlos, the King of Spain, and issued a call to the U.S.

[773] "Kirkberg Denounces Junta in Chile, visits UCSD," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 5, June 1977, pp. 4, 7.

[774] "El franquismo permanece," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 5, June-July 1976, p. 3.

Congress, and not President Gerald Ford, to decide the outcome of the issue.[775] In calling for Congress to act, the article implored that a democratic process decide the continuity of U.S. forces in Spain, and not an executive order by President Ford. For a nation that wanted to move on from the fascist regime of General Franco, there was no better way for the U.S. to show the people of Spain respect than by allowing the U.S. Congress, the most visible example of democracy at work, to rule on the military question. Given both the letter and the article's call to end U.S. imperialism abroad and the Spanish people's pursuit of self-determination, two important goals stressed by the writers of *Voz Fronteriza*, it is no wonder why they were published. By running stories about the connections between San Diego, Latin America, and Europe, *Voz Fronteriza* acted as a conduit through which ideas from these regions moved easily and interacted with one another, further strengthening the bonds of solidarity between Third World people at UCSD.

Voz Fronteriza also provided news analysis of the tensions in the Middle East between Egypt and Palestine, the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, the anti-colonial wars going on in Central Africa, and of massive protests in Nicaragua that culminated in the Sandinista Revolution in 1979. A Third World country that got extensive coverage from *Voz Fronteriza* was Puerto Rico. There was an article that condemned U.S. control of the island,[776] but nothing was more revealing than the cover page of the March 1978 issue dedicated to Lolita Lebrón, a hero of the Puerto Rican struggle for independence. The cover was part of a special issue dedicated in full to International Women's Day, but in particular

[775] "Put an end to Executive Agreements," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1976, p. 10.

[776] "US Imperialism in Puerto Rico, " *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 3.

to Third World women like Lolita Lebrón "who [sic] actively participated and played a fundamental role in the movements for social change."[777]

Voz Fronteriza, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978 Cover. Source: UCSB California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives (CEMA), 80, Box 8.

Voz Fronteriza ran a detailed story, in English and in Spanish, about Lolita Lebrón's life and political struggles, which doubled as an educational read for people to learn more about the Puerto Rican Nationalist Movement for independence.[778] Set against the backdrop of U.S. imperialism on the island, the articled placed the actions of Lebrón and of the Nationalist Party squarely within the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist atmosphere that swept across Latin America during the twentieth century. This article painted Lolita

[777] "In Commemoration of Women," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 2.

[778] Lolita Lebrón Cover and Article, *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, pp. 3, 9.

Lebrón's actions as that of a freedom fighter. In addition, she was cast as a strong female leader in a male-dominated scene in Latin America. In a way, this story also interrupted the tendency by scholars and even revolutionaries themselves to historicize revolutionary change through the prism of male-centric narratives. Here was another way through which *Voz Fronteriza* attempted to change how women were seen inside of the academy and outside in the community.

Women in the Struggle

One of the most important ways that the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* helped create a revolutionary change in terms of gender relations on and off campus was by reporting women's involvement and leadership in activist spaces. This egalitarian focus began in the production room, where male and female members of *Voz Fronteriza* worked side-by-side to do layout, print, and distribute copies of the newspaper. Yolanda Orozco recalled that the group sometimes engaged in "spirited discussions" where they called out the machismo of Chicano students (in the context of the Women's Movement of the time). Yolanda likened these conversations to what we today call a "#MeToo" moment.[779] In the newspaper, women like Yolanda wrote about the intersection between the White and the Chicana Women's Movements. She acknowledged their differences, particularly the lack of attention by the White Women's Movement to how race and class contributed to the oppression of women of color. She wrote, "The oppression of Chicanas cannot be divorced from the exploitation

[779] #MeToo emerged in the late 2010s as a movement to expose the sexual harassment women face in society, particularly in the entertainment, political, academic, and business spheres. By sharing their stories with the public, women (of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, and of different gender identities) have exposed the misogynistic practices they have encountered within these and other social settings. This has generated national discussions and increased political action to secure women's rights and equality regardless of gender or sexual orientation.

of La Raza for to do so would be to fall prey to the system's divide and conquer tactics."[780] In the article "La Mexicana in the Struggle for Social Equality" Pauline Boutris seconded Yolanda's argument and pointed out that "Raza women" (Chicanas) faced a very different form of oppression; a "triple oppression" because "Mexicanas are part of an oppressed nationality, they suffer[ed] from racism practiced against La Raza, as workers they suffer[ed] from the exploitation of the working class; as women, they suffer[ed] from sexual discrimination."[781] According to Pauline, it was important to stress these differences because:

> While many of the White middle class women [that sought] "women's liberation" tend[ed] to see their oppression as being solely the case of a male-dominant society, Raza women see their oppression as lying much deeper than that. The White middle class mentality behind the anti-male sentiment of much of the women's liberation movement in this country has turned off many Mexicanas to the feminist movement.[782]

The absence of an intersectional analysis that included how race and class worked in tandem with sexism to oppress women of color was the key difference that both Yolanda and Pauline called attention to. Despite this, Yolanda said that it would be folly to ignore the influence of the White Women's Movement on the Chicana Women's Movement. She

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[780] "La Chicana and "Women's Liberation"," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1976, p. 6.

[781] "La Mexicana in the Movement for Social Equality," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 6.

[782] "La Mexicana in the Movement for Social Equality," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 6.

stated that a survey taken at UCSD concluded that Chicanas had in fact been influenced by White feminism, and that this resulted in them having more self-confidence and being more assertive when fighting for their rights.[783] The survey further stated that Chicanas identified with the larger Feminist Movement's goal to legalize abortion and make birth control accessible to everyone. The national movement by women to obtain more control over their bodies, Yolanda stated, also helped Chicanas in their own movement against racism and sexism. Whether it was the push for intersectional analysis or the struggle to end sexism within the Chicana/o Movement, Chicanas pushed for gender, racial, and class justice on all fronts in the 1960s and 1970s. The writing published by the women that worked in *Voz Fronteriza* proved this.

The main editorial of the March 1978 issue recounted the extensive involvement of Third World women in freedom struggles around the world. In recognition of their work, which paved the way for both men and women to succeed in terms of labor, political, and social rights, the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* collectively stated, "In our experience as *Voz Fronteriza* and in the general Mexican student movement, we have seen many women providing direction and leadership. Mexicanas have often become the backbone of student and community organizations. Yet it is undeniable that without the collective efforts of both men and women, our movement cannot advance."[784] Like Sonia López did in *Inside the Beast*, this editorial urged men and women to work together to overcome a shared adversity. The female writers of *Voz Fronteriza* emphasized this idea. For example, Iris Blanco wrote that men and women needed to work together to overcome the challenges of a university like UCSD that pushed them to constantly "sink or swim" in order to survive. They needed

[783] "La Chicana and "Women's Liberation"," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1976, p. 6.

[784] "In Commemoration of Women," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 2.

to be on the same page when it came to gender issues in order to take on the system - the true enemy of the people. Otherwise the system exploited gender tensions within the Chicana/o Movement in order to destroy any organized opposition to its power. On this Iris wrote, "Knowing that the grievances of women are very real, the establishment can easily capitalize on them and create a wide gap that will make it more difficult for all of us to build a bridge of communication, and to arrive at certain agreements on the sex question."[785] To Mexicanas, Pauline Boutris wrote, "the enemy [was] not the Mexicano because both face[d] racism and exploitation and together they [had to] struggle against [the] forces that [denied] them basic human right to self-determination."[786] The idea of a united gender front to eradicate all forms of oppression informed several pieces of writing published by women in *Voz Fronteriza*. To convince men and women of this, several articles that discussed the role of women in ending racial and economic exploitation were published. For example, the article "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation" stated that women who were at the forefront of marches and protests in the 1960s and 1970s and demanded "their rights [as] both women as a people" was nothing out of the ordinary.[787] Since the 1840s, women "carried forth a strong tradition of resistance" that placed them on the front lines of strikes and picket lines from California to Texas, as organizers and rank-and-file members of unions and community improvement groups.[788] Their dedication, the article stated, won over the

[785] "La Chicana and the University," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1976, p. 6.

[786] "La Mexicana in the Movement for Social Equality," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 6.

[787] "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 8-9.

[788] "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 8-9.

support and acceptance of men who realized that a united front was likelier to achieve results.

The article further stressed the importance of Chicana political involvement in the 1970s, at a time when "we are being dealt blows from all sides."[789] The author argued that women's involvement in labor disputes and strikes, from Emma Tenayuca organizing pecan shellers in the 1930s in Texas, to the zinc strike of 1951 in New Mexico, and the 1975 Tolteca strike in the Bay Area, women had the background necessary to be key players in labor issues going forward. They became better political activists, the article argued, because of their collective knowledge and experience in the labor force. There was a link between labor and political activism, and the article emphasized it because members of the labor movement "develop[ed] progressive ideas and attitudes to combat their oppressive working conditions," and this strengthened the chances of change.[790] This was the reason mainstream society feared a unified gender front against the excesses of capitalism. An educated woman challenged the idea that "women belong[ed] at home" and that they aren't strong or intelligent as men."[791] It reinforced conservative gender stereotypes within the Mexican community, and by extension the Chicana/o Movement. Pauline Boutris wrote that men within the movement that "attempt[ed] to force Mexicanas into a weaker role [were] denying one-half of La Raza the right to liberation. They [opposed] the struggle of all those women in this country who [were] fighting to change a society for the benefit of all

[789] "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 8-9.

[790] "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 8-9.

[791] "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 8-9.

people."[792] Worse yet, this notion also "kept women out of high paying skilled jobs and insure[d] employers of two workers for the price of one. How? The unpaid labor that women [did] at home ke[pt] their husbands' fed and cared for so they could endure the employers' day to day exploitation."[793]

The articles "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation" and "La Mexicana in the Movement for Social Equality" implored readers to not allow the system to divide Chicanas and Chicanos. "We are learning how the ruling class is attempting to weaken and confuse us," the author of "Women: Vital in Our Liberation" wrote. "We see how it is in their interest to pit men against women. But nevertheless our history shows us that our most dignified and victorious moments have been when both men and women have joined forces to fight against our common exploiter."[794] A Chicana's complete liberation started with liberating their entire community from all the forces that subjugated it, and the women who worked in *Voz Fronteriza* were part of this project.

Articles written by female members of *Voz Fronteriza* demonstrate that they didn't just write about gender issues, such as the end of forced sterilizations of poor women and women of color, or for better health services to be provided for working-class and poor communities.[795] Their involvement with organizations such as CASA and MEChA, for example, demonstrated their desire to bring about social justice in addition to gender equality. For example, Susana Martínez's article on the Escuela Santa Monica and against

[792] "La Mexicana in the Movement for Social Equality," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 6.

[793] "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 8-9.

[794] "Women: Vital Force in Our Liberation," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 1977, pp. 8-9.

[795] "Stop Forced Sterilizations," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, pp. 12, 10; "Better Health Care for Women," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, pp. 12, 10.

Proposition 13, which lowered property taxes in California and meant a cut to state funds for public education, demonstrated her commitment to educational equality and support for social services. Julia Martínez's pieces on the contributions of MEChA at UCSD, where she was an active member, demonstrated her part in making higher education accessible for Chicanos and Chicanas. Articles that discussed women's liberation linked their freedom to the continuation of affirmative action in terms of college and university enrollment. They argued that the Bakke decision (to be discussed in the next section) set women back in their attempt to end gender, racial, and social inequality because if Chicanas were not part of higher education, theirs and men's exploitation would continue. Education, all women who published in the newspaper agreed, was key to throwing off the yoke of oppression that enslaved Chicanos and Chicanas. Other contributors like Iris Blanco wrote about how activist students helped transform UCSD from an "I" culture to an "us" culture. In the article "La Chicana and the University," Iris wrote a brief summary of a talk on campus by Laura Allende, the sister of Chilean President Salvador Allende. Her talk, attended mostly by students, reminded them of "the commitment we owe as students and professionals to the exploited majority – the working class"; especially when no faculty member attended the talk, further showing that they were "apolitical as usual."[796] In this piece, Iris argued that any change in how the university connected and or related to outside communities wouldn't come from the faculty. It was up to the students like her to educate one another, including educating their professors, about how to be more conscious of social issues. This was a role for both men and women, and working together would be more effective than alone. Iris Blanco actively pushed for working-class unity.

[796] "La Chicana and the University," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 6, January 1976, p. 6.

There was also evidence that male members of *Voz Fronteriza* celebrated, recognized, and honored women's involvement in, and support of, social justice causes all over San Diego. For example, Salvador Reza published an article about Delia Moreno and the Trio Moreno in March 1978. The Trio Moreno was one of the most visible women's groups in San Diego. They were active in the farmworkers' movement, the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR), CASA, Barrio Station, an extension of the SDSU Chicano Studies program in Barrio Logan, and their music reached across the border into Mexico. In the past they also worked with *La Verdad* (see chapter two). Salvador's article celebrated Delia's life, her activism, and her music, which Salvador called a "powerful tool of the arts [that] extend[s] beyond themselves and reach the masses of the people.[797]

The articles discussed above portrayed women as total activists, and the writers were active members of their community and struggles for social justice. They prove that Chicanas were critical in the long local and national struggle against gender, racial, and class oppression on and off campus.

Exporting the Fight to the Community: The CIA on Campus and the Bakke Decision

While *Voz Fronteriza's* coverage of stories outside of campus were meant to generate campus awareness of ongoing community struggles, there were also important issues that happened on campus that were transmitted to the outside and that are worthy of discussion. For example, the presence of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) on campus and the fight to preserve affirmative action were two strong examples of stories *Voz Fronteriza* transmitted to readers outside of campus.

[797] "Women in Musical Tradition," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 5, March 1978, p. 11.

In November 1975, UC President David S. Saxon visited UCSD. Several students protested the President's visit because his office allowed the CIA to actively recruit students of color and women at several UC campuses. Over a dozen students were charged with violating the university's code of conduct because they disobeyed orders from university officials, and their actions, UCSD argued, threatened the health and safety of President Saxon.[798] According to the article "Unjustly Accused Students," the charges against the students were inaccurate. *Voz Fronteriza* reported that Vice Chancellor George Murphy told Chancellor William McElroy that the students charged with disorderly conduct did not touch President Saxon, nor did they tear up his coat. *Voz Fronteriza* argued that the students charged with disorderly conduct were arbitrarily singled out not simply for their actions in the rally but because "of their consistent efforts in criticizing and exposing the administration."[799] The article also stated that the university did not apply the same criteria to the writers of the *Triton Times,* whose published material also encouraged reactionary thought. The *Triton Times*, according to *Voz Fronteriza*, was "the establishment's publication" and it "[received] the wholehearted support of the administration."[800] There are several reasons that help explain the interest of *Voz Fronteriza's* staff in this story. By supporting the student protestors, *Voz Fronteriza* reaffirmed its commitment to oppose organizations that promoted imperialism abroad, such as the CIA. Another reason that may explain *Voz Fronteriza*'s interest in the story was because it was a way to preserve education for communities of color. The CIA was actively recruiting students of color and women, and

[798] "Unjustly Accused Students," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 2.

[799] "Unjustly Accused Students," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 2.

[800] "Unjustly Accused Students," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 2.

in doing so, they were removing them from places where they were likely to gain an education that empowered them.

The San Diego Union, which also reported the CIA story, took the position of the university on the issue. It published several articles consistently starting on November 26 that continued into early 1976 that called on UCSD to severely punish the protesting students. It also published the opinions of readers who likened the actions of the students to those of rowdy, intolerant, and even fascist behaviors. Given *The San Diego Union* inconsistent (at best) reporting style, their coverage of the incident at UCSD is not totally surprising. By publishing a letter written by the Anti-CIA coalition, whose members were among those threatened with disciplinary action as a result of the November 25, 1975, protest, *Voz Fronteriza* offered a correction to the narrative of the November 25 protest presented on and off campus. The letter stated that Saxon's arrogant responses to student concerns about the CIA on campus and other issues led to the spontaneous protest against the President that culminated in the cancelation of an Academic Senate meeting on campus. Furthermore, it stated that students never mobbed Saxon, as *The San Diego Union* so vehemently argued. It was university officials that "shoved, pushed, and struck" students, and this was backed even by police officers present that day.[801] While the Anti-CIA coalition admitted that one student did physically touch Saxon, his action "in no way reflected the general behavior of the group" that simply confronted the President through direct dialogue.[802] The letter further gave readers the reasons why the Anti-CIA group formed. It rejected the university's relationship with an agency that actively worked to

[801] "Anti-CIA Coalition: Saxon Rally Clarification," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 4.

[802] "Anti-CIA Coalition: Saxon Rally Clarification," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 5, 1976, p. 4.

undermine and destroy, through violent means if necessary, democratic movements that threatened U.S. political and economic hegemony.

Voz Fronteriza showed readers off campus that students actively pushed back against their institution's relation with an agency that destroyed democratic movements and governments abroad. Their activism was a natural extension of ongoing community movements that called for the end of CIA involvement abroad. After all, the CIA was responsible for aiding in the installation of right-wing dictatorships in places like Guatemala, Haiti, Brazil, and Bolivia from the 1950s to the early 1970s.[803] Furthermore, it painted these protests in a much more positive light than the mainstream *San Diego Union*. The students weren't crazy or entitled or fascist-like in behavior, as *The San Diego Union* painted them. They were politically engaged participants. They did not abandon an important issue because they established solidarity with other anti-imperialist activists on campus.

Even though the interviewees' words suggested that their collective experience in *Voz Fronteriza* was a positive one, not everything went smoothly. After all, they were students of color at a university that maintained connections with the military industrial complex. *Voz Fronteriza* was a continuation of a series of progressive and radical student movements that challenged the campus' socially conservative culture. Running a counter-narrative to the mainstream city newspaper on the on-campus events of November 25, 1975, is one example of that. Doing this type of reporting, however, seemed to have put targets on the back of

[803] For more about the history of U.S. interventions in Latin America, see Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq* (New York: Times Books, 2007); Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 2007); and Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America* (2nd ed., New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993). For a list of places in Latin American where the CIA has helped overthrow legitimate governments, see "10 of the Most Lethal CIA Interventions in Latin America," Telesur, September 18, 2016. Accessed April 16, 2019. URL: https://www.telesurenglish.net/analysis/10-of-the-Most-Lethal-CIA-Interventions-in-Latin-America-20160608-0031.html

students who spoke out against the status quo. For example, Julia Martínez said that members of *Voz Fronteriza* at one point decided to use aliases in article by-lines to avoid being followed or spied on by the police. According to Julia, this was a result of the politics of the time. The members of *Voz Fronteriza* were right to be concerned. During the 1970s the FBI, through the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) worked with local law enforcement officials and infiltrated several civil rights organizations with the explicit intent to weaken and destroy them from within. COINTELPRO monitored the anti-war movement in San Diego closely, and many students from UCSD and SDSU over the years claimed to have been targeted by the FBI for alleged subversive activities. To maintain their real identities anonymous from local and federal officials, the members of *Voz Fronteriza* shortened their names for several issues. For example, Julia Martínez became "Julia M." Susana Martínez went by "Susana M," and David Avalos identified as "David A." These actions reveal how politically charged the environment at the time was, and how students from UCSD navigated their terrains to stay one step ahead of law enforcement. They were not inactive on campus. Their actions informed readers' off campus that they continued the fight for a just society.

Salvador Reza said that working in *Voz Fronteriza* allowed students to "project to the community whatever you thought you were learning in the university."[804] This turned the newspaper into a transmitter of student concerns to the broader Chicana/o communities outside of UCSD. During the period 1976 to 1978, there was no bigger issue Chicana/o and other students of color faced than the attack on affirmative action, and the newspaper covered this considerably. The greatest challenge was the Bakke decision of 1978. In the early 1970s, Allan P. Bakke, a White male student, twice applied and was denied admission

to UC Davis Medical School. He believed he was a victim of reverse racism due to UC Davis use of racial quotas in student admission decisions. Bakke filed a lawsuit against the University of California and the case was taken all the way to the Supreme Court, which ruled in 1978 that the use of racial quotas in admissions decisions was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, however, stated that race could still be considered as a factor in admission decision. UC Davis was ordered by the Supreme Court to admit Bakke. This case brought students and community members together in San Diego to protest the right-wing attack on a key gain of the Civil Rights Movement.

The defense of affirmative action was a key topic of discussion in the early issues of *Voz Fronteriza*. It became particularly important after reactionary views on the topic appeared in the *Triton Times*. Just two days after he published his racist, anti-immigrant piece in the *Triton Times* in October 1976, Jeff Fenton wrote a piece against affirmative action as part of the *Triton Times'* "Pro-Con" section. Fenton called affirmative action a "euphemism for reverse discrimination" against White people that represented "growing federal government tyranny and despotism."[805] In his mind, affirmative action violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act because it gave preference to one group over another, and this, he wrote, was a violation of the Civil Rights Act's call for "full, color-blind equality, with no special negative or positive considerations."[806] He suggested that affirmative action pushed society towards "mediocracy" because it was about "advancing its mediocre or average members rather than

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[804] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[805] "Con: In Reality, It's All Another Form of Reverse Discrimination," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 10, October 15, 1976, p. 2.

[806] "Con: In Reality, It's All Another Form of Reverse Discrimination," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 10, October 15, 1976, p. 2.

its best, [and this resulted] in a cruel waste of talent and human resources."[807] Based on his previous article on immigration, it is safe to say this "talent" and "human resources" he wrote was a euphemism of his own for White people. He concluded with a statement in support of the Bakke case, which he said was an opportunity to bring an end to a "new, dangerous form of thinly-veiled, flagrant racism."[808]

Another person who came out publically against affirmative action via the *Triton Times* was Ralph H. Lovberg, a Professor of Physics. He was hired in 1964 out of General Atomics, a San Diego-based defense industry.[809] Lovberg was skeptical of the long-term effects of affirmative action because everyone assumed that "it [was] a permanent tool of public policy."[810] He called it a "terribly strong medicine [against past racial injustices], and like many potent cures for disease, it carried the danger of grave side-effects."[811] He feared affirmative action turning into an "addiction" for those that wished to remedy past injustices at the expense of the majority [presumably White population]. Not only did he imply affirmative action was a danger to U.S. [White] society if left unchecked, he compared those who benefitted from it with despotism. "The original intent [of affirmative action] was surely that this should be temporary, yet I am deeply skeptical of the chances for that being

[807] "Con: In Reality, It's All Another Form of Reverse Discrimination," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 10, October 15, 1976, p. 2.

[808] "Con: In Reality, It's All Another Form of Reverse Discrimination," *Triton Times*, Vol. 29, No. 10, October 15, 1976, p. 2.

[809] "Dr. Ralph H. Lovberg appointed as Professor of Physics and Research Physicist," UC San Diego News Release, December 1, 1964. Accessed April 16, 2019. URL: https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb3584914q/_2.pdf

[810] "Affirmative Action – Too Many Side Effects," *Triton Times*, Volume 29, No. 11, October 18, 1976, p. 2.

[811] "Affirmative Action – Too Many Side Effects," *Triton Times*, Volume 29, No. 11, October 18, 1976, p. 2.

so. What group, having once become accustomed to the heady experiences of being granted first place in line, and by legal fist at that, could ever be expected to step aside one day, having decided that it has now had enough?"[812] In Lovberg's mind, justice could easily be turned into tyranny against the majority. While he stated that affirmative action still had work to do, he implored that it be terminated once it had achieved its purpose. He concluded his piece with a very curious statement: "In the spirit of being unwilling to free ten criminals in order not to convict an innocent person, we should be willing to tolerate a few bigots to insure freedom to most people." For Lovberg, being "too just," what affirmative action sought to accomplish in society, was worse than remaining flawed. Being flawed at least gave everyone a "fair chance." If they happened to be racist, so be it. At least the [White] majority would be protected.

Jeff Fenton and Ralph Lovberg seemed to understand very little or nothing at all about structural and systemic inequality that affected people of color. Nowhere in their articles did they discuss these mechanisms, or the fact that affirmative action was a response to White male hegemony, around which all of U.S. society was built. Their only goal was to discuss the negative effects that affirmative action had on White people, who were cast as victims of a policy that actually many years before they themselves benefitted from.[813] As such, these

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[812] "Affirmative Action – Too Many Side Effects," *Triton Times*, Volume 29, No. 11, October 18, 1976, p. 2.

[813] In *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), Ira Katznelson argued that White people during Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Harry Truman's Fair Deal benefitted more than Blacks because of racist policies that skewed resources towards the former. As a result, the social and economic gap between Whites and Blacks increased considerably. New Deal programs such as Social Security, for example, excluded domestic and agricultural workers - the majority of whom were Black. The benefits of the G.I. Bill were not equally distributed either. Many Black servicemen were denied home loans, were put on low-skill job training programs, or were excluded for the most part from elite universities and colleges. This, Katznelson suggested, showed a moment in history when a type of affirmative action was used by U.S. society to give preferential treatment to White

two pieces can be read as two different forms of reactionary thought on campus to racial equality. While Fenton was more explicit in calling affirmative action "reverse racism," Lovberg simply cast it as the avenue through which "minority rule" could come about. These are just a couple of ideas that the writers of *Voz Fronteriza* contended with at the time. While the *Triton Times* did publish some pieces in support of affirmative action, it was not as consistent about it. *Voz Fronteriza*, on the other hand, was explicitly political and consistent about its positions, and this gave readers an in-depth and critical lens into the reasons why affirmative action was necessary to correct legacies of injustice and exclusion.

Months before the above anti-affirmative action pieces came out in the *Triton Times, Voz Fronteriza* was already laying the foundations for future pieces in support of affirmative action. In the article "A Look at Recruitment" Anna Caballero wrote that UCSD's announcement that it would reach its ideal enrollment size of 10,000 by 1981 was bad news for students of color. To Anna, this meant that UCSD would cease efforts to actively recruit students of color to campus. The pipeline would be cut because students who pushed the campus to be more proactive would no longer be present and nobody would take their place. "As our people graduate and leave the university there will be nothing to compel the admissions council to keep up our numbers – let alone increase them," Anna wrote.[814] She added that organizations such as EOP, while effective at recruiting students from historically excluded backgrounds to campus, did not receive or sought input from Third World students and organizations on campus. Without student input, Anna feared UCSD's bureaucracy would not do their job effectively. Furthermore, UCSD's decision to change requirements

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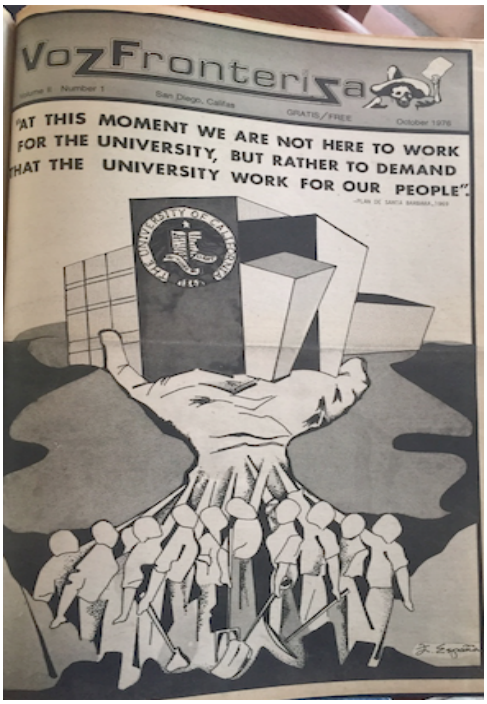
people. Affirmative action in the 1960s was then a way to remedy what racist policies had done to widen the gap between White and Black people in the early twentieth century.

[814] "A Look at Recruitment," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1976, p. 2.

for financial aid based on academic merit affected prospective Chicana/o students, Anna argued. It impacted students that came from schools that did little to nothing to encourage Chicanas/os to do well academically.



Voz Fronteriza, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1976, Cover. Source: Roger Cazares Personal Collection.

One of the biggest statements the staff of *Voz Fronteriza* made in response to UCSD's diminishing support for student diversity was the cover of the October 1976 issue. It contained the UCSD campus held by a giant hand, a metaphor that without the support of the public and communities that funded the campus there could not be a UCSD.[815] Could there be a university without the people represented in it? Yes, but it wouldn't be a university that worked in benefit of the people whose money supported it. Perhaps this cover was meant to bring awareness to the direction the university took as the 1970s turned more

reactionary. The article "Discrimination" stated that in general racial diversity among student bodies in the state of California resembled those of the pre-Civil Rights Movement. In 1966, for example, out of every 11 students, one was Black, one was Chicano, and the rest were White. In 1971, the breakdown of those 11 students was as follows: three Black, two Chicano, and six White. In 1976, it had reverted to 1966 figures.[816] This was likely a result of the cuts to EOP ordered by Governor Ronald Reagan in the early 1970s, which also affected the Chicana/o and Third World student population at SDSU (see chapter three). The article "A Threatened Future" added that racial diversity was a problem at the faculty level as well. Schools were not giving full-time jobs to Black and Chicano professors.[817] The lack of representation of San Diego's racial communities at UCSD also prevented El Plan de Santa Barbara, which outlined the reciprocal relation that needed to exist between university, students, and communities, from working effectively. Perhaps the cover page of the October 1976 issue was intended to be about El Plan. If so, then the contributors of *Voz Fronteriza* looked to remind its readers on and off campus, but especially off campus, that they would never abandon El Plan and their work was to keep it alive inside the university.

The rollback of affirmative action initiatives on campus was captured in Julia Martínez's article, "MEChA: Building a Student Movement," in the October 1977 issue. As the title implied, Julia credited MEChA with leading student efforts to keep the university open for future students from the barrios. Not much had changed since 1969, when MEChA first appeared on campus. Despite assisting EOP in the recruitment of working-class, first-generation students of color, their presence on campus was still low. "At the university

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[815] Plan of Santa Barbara Cover, *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 1, cover.

[816] "Discrimination," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1976, p. 2.

[817] "A Threatened Future," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1976, p. 2.

level," Julia wrote, "we are faced with extinction."[818] She also stated that the cutbacks to EOP resources and Chicana/o Studies courses and faculty were "an attempt to keep us [Chicanas/os] ignorant of our history and culture. Meaningful cultural and social events are kept at a minimal level so that we are forced to feel alien in an institution that should be serving our interests."[819] Thus when the Bakke decision exploded onto the national stage, readers of *Voz Fronteriza* on and off campus already knew exactly how the Supreme Court's decision literally represented a possible last nail in the coffin for affirmative action at UCSD.

Before the Supreme Court made its decision on the Bakke case, *Voz Fronteriza* had already covered some of the issues that eventually fed into the anti-affirmative action stance the Bakke case took. The Bakke lawsuit generated numerous protests in Southern California, and *Voz Fronteriza* captured this. Nearly a dozen articles on the topic appeared in *Voz Fronteriza*, easily making it the second-most discussed issue after immigration. The article "Bakke Decision: A Blow to Our Gains" expressed concern about the future enrollment of students of color in higher education following the Bakke decision. It suggested that schools that were already hesitant to increase their non-White student numbers could use this decision to reduce the presence of students of color on campus.[820] The cover page of the February 1977 issue reminded readers that equal opportunities for education were a right that all Americans had. The cover showed *el pueblo*, the people, demanding that the Bakke decision be ripped up and overturned because "education is a right not a privilege."[821] *Voz*

[818] "MEChA: Building a Student Movement," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977, p. 3.

[819] "MEChA: Building a Student Movement," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977, p. 3.

[820] "Bakke Decision: A Blow To Our Gains," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1976, p. 2.

[821] Bakke Decision Cover, *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1977, p. 1.

Fronteriza also offered readers a chance to read about what was being done at UCSD in response to the Bakke decision. The article "Our Fight for Education" in the February 1977 issue reported that an educational forum was held at UCSD on February 2 and it represented the first time "anything concrete about [the] Bakke [decision had] been done at UCSD."[822] Faculty and students attended it. Nothing major came out of this forum except that the attendees agreed that the best and most prevalent form to combat the Bakke decision as to "organize and mobilize."[823] This was something that the members of *Voz Fronteriza*, particularly Salvador Reza, did quite well.

Voz Fronteriza, Vol. 2 No. 3, February 1977, Cover. Source: UCSB California Ethnic and Multicultural Archives (CEMA), 80, Box 8.

[822] "Our Fight for Education," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1977, p. 3.

[823] "Our Fight for Education," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 3, February 1977, p. 3.

Salvador Reza wrote some of the most politically charged articles about the Bakke decision. His October 1977 article, "Bakke Case: Critical Test for Justice," was perhaps the most powerful of them all. Salvador argued that Bakke's lawsuit was actually encouraged by Peter Storandt, UC Davis' admissions officer when Bakke first applied to Medical School, and represented a joint effort by Bakke and the university to rid the campus of affirmative action policy. This information was obtained from a *Los Angeles Times* article that discussed a report where Storandt allegedly urged Bakke to reapply after he was denied admission the first time. If he were denied again, the report stated that Storandt told Bakke to sue the university. Salvador argued that UC Davis' weak response to the lawsuit also indicated the possibility that this report was true. The university and Bakke colluded to undo one of the major victories of the Civil Rights Movement. Salvador wrote that the school's response to the lawsuit, against the advice of several civil rights groups and organizations that feared an unfavorable ruling, added credibility to this story. California in the 1970s was not the liberal bastion it is today. Even though Democrat Jerry Brown was governor in the late 1970s, the state's political culture at the time remained heavily conservative thanks to the legacy left behind by Ronald Reagan. The gains made in the 1960s and early 1970s were vulnerable then. The backlash against affirmative action, one of the core civil rights gains, was in full swing across the country. Leading the charge was a more conservative and reactionary Supreme Court, transformed by the appointments of Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

Salvador reported that people across the state organized to prevent the elimination of "what was gained through struggle and blood during the late sixties and early seventies."[824]

[824] "Bakke Case: Critical Test for Justice," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977, p. 12.

He accused President Jimmy Carter of not doing much to support affirmative action. The political class couldn't be counted on to help, so Salvador thru *Voz Fronteriza* made a call for all people to join in the struggle to keep affirmative action alive in California. He urged readers to attend meetings, organize, or to simply stay informed of what was going on. Reading *Voz Fronteriza* was a way for the public to stay informed of the situation. The attack on affirmative action mattered not just to people of college age, but to future ones too. The right to an equal education for future students and unborn generations had to be defended by everyone. Getting parents and students to fight for this was crucial. This mattered even more because of the history that informed this struggle. "Affirmative action was not given to us," Salvador wrote. "We struggled for it."[825] Equality achieved thru struggle had to be kept thru constant struggle.

Salvador was one of the leading voices in *Voz Fronteriza* on the Bakke issue. In the November 1977 issue, he reported that several marches took place across the country against the Bakke decision. People marched in cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and San Antonio, which totaled 20,000 strong. These massive protests, Salvador argued, were barely covered by mainstream media outlets. For example, Salvador said that the October 15, 1977, rally in San Francisco that drew 3,000 people was not the focus of the media there. Instead, it followed five Nazi sympathizers that attended the protest. He said that the media's interest in White supremacists, and not the collective efforts of people of color to combat racism and discrimination, showed its true colors in terms of issues of social inequality.[826] He also built on his argument that the UC system was deliberately contributing

[825] "Bakke Case: Critical Test for Justice," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977, p. 12.

[826] "20,000 Demonstrate Across the Country," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 2, November 1977, p. 1.

to the end of affirmative action by not appealing cases by White students that argued they were victims of reverse racism because of racial quotas.

On April 29, 1978, 3,000 people marched in San Francisco and protested the Bakke decision. In the article "Bakke Ruling Nears" author Pauline Boutris wrote that people continued to mobilize against the Bakke decision because it was "one of many examples of the racist trend in society to deny Third World people from their basic human rights to education and decent jobs."[827] The march was organized by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD), a coalition that included the NAACP, Democratic Union of Filipinos, CASA-Hermandad General de Trabajadores, the UFW, the United Auto Workers, International Longshoremen's Workers Union, La Raza Law Students Association, Black Law Students Association, and a number of members of San Francisco's handicapped population. This coalition of labor and student organizations showed the connection between access to education and labor rights. Representatives from several cities on the West Coast including Seattle, Los Angeles, and San Diego also attended the march. A delegation of *Voz Fronteriza* members that included Julia and Susana Martínez, Pauline Boutris, Juan Gutiérrez, Juan Mora, and Velia LaGarda participated in the march, which demonstrates how these students were politically active in issues that mattered to their status as Chicanas/os and students.[828]

Inside *Voz Fronteriza*

The interviews with the former members of *Voz Fronteriza* revealed that everyone did different jobs and shared responsibilities while working for the newspaper. The initial goal

[827] "Bakke Ruling Nears," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 7, May 1978, p. 3.

[828] Susana Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

of the group was to publish at least one issue of *Voz Fronteriza* each quarter. That did not happen though. Instead, during the first three years, the group printed monthly issues. Some issues were thematic and focused on specific subjects like immigration, workers' rights, or education. The high number of editions printed was probably due to there being several hands at work. While this may have made it easier to put together more issues per quarter, getting the newspaper out on time was one of the biggest challenges many of the participants interviewed said they faced.

Presentation is key for a newspaper to gain a large and consistent readership. The goal of the group, the interviewees collectively suggested, was to create a very professional looking paper. For example, all of them remembered pulled all-nighters to get the newspaper out on time. "[We burned] the midnight oil trying to get the paper done," the Martínez sisters said.[829] Their responsibilities included tedious layout work and using typewriters and typesetters, which Susana said were a type of earlier model of today's computers.[830] They could not afford to make any mistakes, or they had to start from the beginning. Olga Villanueva-Flores did a lot of editing and layout. Yolanda Orozco wrote a lot. She recalled that several times she and many others worked in twenty-four to forty-eight hour shifts, mostly during the weekends, to get the layout done and the paper off to the printers by Monday.[831] Since their office space was very small and contained heavy machinery needed to do the layout work, only six to seven people could be inside the office at any time. That is why people took turns working in shifts to get the layout done on time. This is an example of collective work at its finest.

[829] Julia and Susana Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

[830] Susana Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

[831] Yolanda Orozco, interview with author, December 29, 2017.

Many individuals and groups on campus submitted work to publish in *Voz Fronteriza.* As editors, Julia and Susana Martínez proofread submissions. Many times they were criticized for the amount of edits they asked authors to make on their work. On one occasion, Julia said she corrected an article sent by a medical student. This article needed extensive grammar work, and after she sent her comments to the author, the writer got upset with her. Julia said the student attended several *Voz Fronteriza* meetings in order to intimidate her. At one point the student denounced her as a "lesbian feminist" simply because she did her job as an editor.[832] In later years, Salvador Reza did editing work for the newspaper. He encouraged prospective members to submit whatever type of work they felt most comfortable doing – articles, photography, or artwork. When he read articles, Salvador's concern was the clarity of the ideas presented, and not so much the writing. "I did not write, I didn't correct their spelling," he said. "I only corrected their though process."[833] The two examples show the diversity in thinking in the newspaper's core staff, and how their distinct approaches to editing contributed to the overall presentation of *Voz Fronteriza*.

Like other members of *Voz Fronteriza*, David Avalos did many jobs for the newspaper He wrote articles at first, but he slowly transitioned to doing primarily layout and graphic design. David credited Arnulfo Casillas with teaching everyone in the group how to do copying, layout, and printing. He brought his skills from Santa Barbara and shared them with *Voz Fronteriza* members at UCSD. This showed how Arnulfo contributed to the construction of a larger Chicana/o student community across California. David created the newspaper's masthead. He drew a skeleton that held a broadsheet. The design was

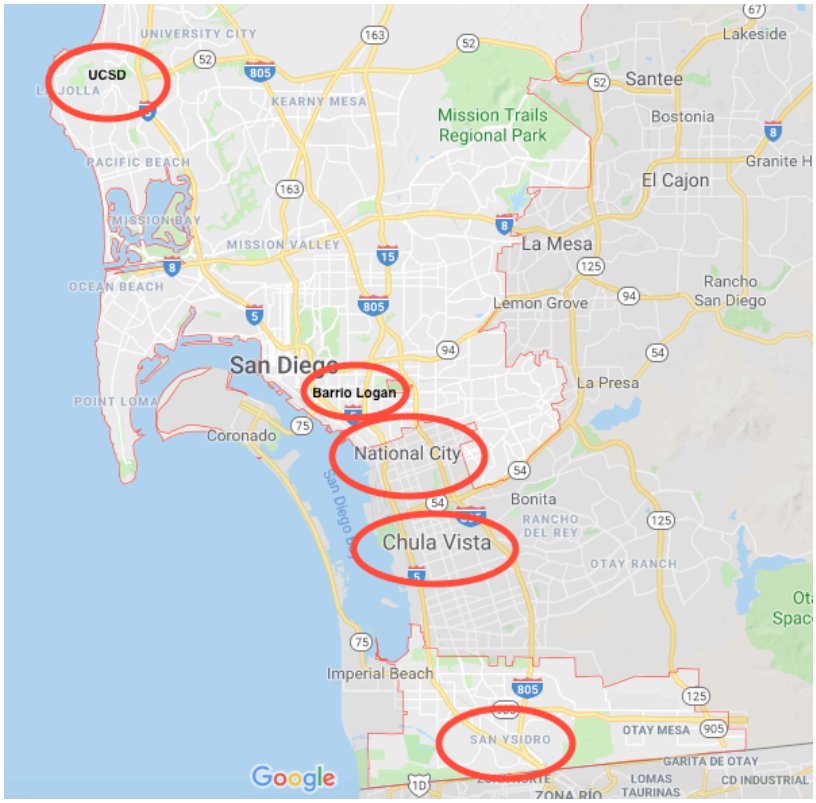
[832] Julia Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

[833] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

influenced by the work of José Guadalupe Posada, a famous late nineteenth and early twentieth century Mexican cartoonist that David admired. Posada used skeletons and the concept of death to make social and political criticisms of Porfirian-era life in Mexico. David's design also connected *Voz Fronteriza* to the history of Mexican-influenced revolutionary productions on the U.S. side of the border. Given that the articles published in *Voz Fronteriza* contained strong social and political messages, the connection to the past was evident.

After putting the newspaper together, the next task was distribution. Everyone participated in this process. During the early years of *Voz Fronteriza*, what Susana Martínez referred to as "the heyday of the paper," about 10,000 copies of each issue were printed and distributed strategically on and off campus.[834] Copies of the newspaper were left outside the offices of *Voz Fronteriza*, the Chicana/o Studies program, MEChA, and MUJER – places frequented by the Chicana/o student body on campus. A good number of copies went to neighborhoods and communities outside of campus in Barrio Logan, Chula Vista, and San Ysidro. The interviewees stated that *Voz Fronteriza* had a large off campus readership. This shows that the group was successful in making *Voz Fronteriza* a community newspaper first and foremost.

[834] Susana Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.



Map with some of the areas in San Diego County where *Voz Fronteriza* was distributed (1976-1978). Source: Google Maps.

Many issues were delivered and distributed in places like San Ysidro (located along the U.S.-Mexico border) and at NASSCO. Depending on the theme of each issue, some areas were targeted for paper distribution more than others. For example, if the theme of an issue was immigration, places like San Ysidro or National City, which were and continue to be home to large immigrant populations, received more copies of *Voz Fronteriza* than others. If the theme of *Voz Fronteriza* was labor and workers' rights, places like NASSCO, which employed a high number of Spanish-speaking workers, was the primary drop site for *Voz Fronteriza* carriers. David Avalos took copies of *Voz Fronteriza* to community meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights in National City, where he knew there'd be interest in the newspaper. Yolanda Orozco gave copies to High School students she tutored.

Salvador Reza took copies of the newspaper to "panaderias [bakeries], to the tienditas [small neighborhood stores], to the restaurants, [and] to the bars" of Barrio Logan, San Ysidro, and National City.[835] He said bars were especially important places because "somebody had read [that] Lenin said that if you want to know what the people are thinking, [you] go to the bars, so we started going to the bars all the time!"[836] Taking the newspaper to hubs where community dialogues occurred allowed people to think and organize collectively. These examples show the level of commitment and accountability that *Voz Fronteriza* participants had towards their communities. By distributing the newspaper outside of campus, the interviewees showed that *Voz Fronteriza* "wasn't just a student newspaper; it was [truly] a community newspaper."[837]

Voz Fronteriza wasn't just read outside UCSD and across San Diego County; many copies were also distributed across the state of California. The Martínez sisters took copies of *Voz Fronteriza* with them when they went on *giras*, or road trips, up and down California.[838] Places like Brawley, Los Angeles, and Chino read and learned about the issues Chicanas/os and Mexicanas/os faced in San Diego. These trips allowed participants of *Voz Fronteriza* to bond with and learn more about communities outside of San Diego.

[835] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[836] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[837] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

[838] Julia and Susana Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

Voz Fronteriza staff members (left-to-right): Salvador Reza, David Avalos, Julia Martínez, Juan Mora, and Juan Gutiérrez during a 1977 multi-city tour to assess the status of the Chicana/o Movement. Missing from photograph: Susana Martínez (possible photographer). Source: Susana Martínez.

Supporters and Responses to *Voz Fronteriza*

Voz Fronteriza was more than just a newspaper. It was a collective effort by Chicana/o students to express a political view that was often suppressed in mainstream media outlets like *The San Diego Union* and even UCSD's *Triton Times.* The article, "Voz Fronteriza: Our Commitment to the People," clearly stated that *Voz Fronteriza* did not take an objective position on issues that affected the Chicano community directly. The goal of the newspaper, the article said, was to politicize and bring awareness of the issues that affected Chicanas/os

because its commitment was to this community.[839] The articles discussed clearly proved this. The newspaper's political position was not well received by some students on campus. For example, Yolanda Orozco remembered a time when a White male student approached her and expressed his reservations about *Voz Fronteriza's* political views. According to Yolanda, the White male student told her that *Voz Fronteriza* was nothing more than a mudracking newspaper because of its numerous political and socially charged commentaries. These were also the types of responses that SDSU's *Inside the Beast* received (see chapter three). Yolanda told him that *Voz Fronteriza* was not meant to be an objective newspaper – it had a particular social and political orientation, and meeting this point of view was the objective of its contributors. Yolanda regarded *Voz Fronteriza* as an expressive form of political activism that was unapologetic.[840] It pushed a social justice agenda forward, and that was something that neither Yolanda nor anybody involved with *Voz Fronteriza* was ashamed about or willing to compromise on. White people could benefit from reading *Voz Fronteriza*, but their dislike of it wasn't reason for the staff to change the newspaper's orientation. It was after all a Chicana/o newspaper.

The position taken by the contributors of the newspaper can also be attributed to the environment created by politically active faculty and former students on campus. For David Avalos, who transferred to UCSD in 1974, the campus had a "different vibe than SDSU." When he transferred to La Jolla, he was unaware that struggles such as the Lumumba-Zapata movement had occurred on campus, but he sensed something special about UCSD. "I don't know how I perceived it, but there was a sense of energy, a sense of vitality, there was a

[839] "Voz Fronteriza: Our Commitment to the People," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1976, p. 2

[840] Yolanda Orozco, interview with author, December 29, 2017.

sense of this is the real, real [deal]."[841] When *Voz Fronteriza* was created, it received the support of a number of faculty members on campus. Many of them were holdovers from the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, and they had a hand in building and sustaining the environment on which *Voz Fronteriza* was created. *Voz Fronteriza* had the support of several Chicana/o faculty at UCSD. One of the newspaper's primary advocates was Rosaura Sánchez, a Linguistics professor and the only Chicana professor at UCSD at the time. She offered her opinion on the newspaper from time to time. For example, Salvador Reza believed that printed images of Mexican revolutionaries Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata on the cover of the newspaper would help the community organize around the ideals of revolution these two historical figures represented. Salvador recalled that Rosaura Sánchez told him that wouldn't be helpful to the community. "You should not be putting Pancho Villa in the portada [cover]," he remembered Rosaura told him. "You should write articles about where people [can] go and get their food stamps, welfare, etc."[842] According to Salvador, Rosaura believed that images of revolutionary heroes like Villa and Zapata, who she believed had been co-opted by the PRI, did nothing to liberate working-class people anymore. Salvador did not see it that way. He believed in the message these images transmitted to people, a message of freedom, equality, and rights that no political party could ever fully coopt. Salvador told Rosaura that Villa and Zapata were "symbols for the people…that the PRI use[d] them is a different [story]."[843] He added, "They're symbols

[841] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017. Although David Avalos said the climate at UCSD was more intense than at SDSU, he admitted that some of this might have been the hype behind the University of California (UC) system vs. California State University (CSU) system "rivalry."

[842] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[843] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

for the people because every time we put on the portada (cover) Emiliano Zapata or Pancho Villa, bam! Everybody would eat it up! They would eat up the paper!"[844] It seemed that these images helped ordinary working-class people remember their history and achievements as a class. Villa and Zapata came from poor backgrounds and led armies of the poor and disenfranchised people during the Mexican Revolution. That history could serve as inspiration for working-class people who fought for their rights in the 1970s.

Other Chicano allies of the newspaper and of the general Chicana/o student body were Mario Barrera and Ricardo Romo – the latter of which wrote the article "Mexicanos in the Building of the Southwest," which used pictures of family members of the newspaper's contributors to show the historical and cultural connection Chicanas/os had to the Southwest. Other Chicano faculty like Juan Rodríguez, a literary scholar, and Ramón Ruiz, a historian, helped make the university a politically vibrant space for Chicana/o students. Ruiz, who served as a bomber pilot during WWII, was described as "conservative" by the Martínez sisters and David Avalos, but they cited his tendency to listen and consider ideas of radical students as an example of why many working-class Chicana/o students found UCSD to be an ideal place or their social and political growth. David referred to Ruiz as a "contrarian, but an interesting guy."[845] In addition, other faculty likes Herb Schiller, Michael Real, and Claudio Fenner-López in Communications, and Will Wright in Sociology taught students involved with *Voz Fronteriza* the critical thinking skills necessary for them to carry out their work as editors in the newspaper.[846] These were faculty that were at UCSD because the Civil Rights Movement opened doors for them to create spaces that students later used to

[844] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[845] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

[846] Susana Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

learn the skills they applied in their activist work on and off campus. In addition, Susana said they sponsored independent study seminars and internships for students like her to access graduate level classes and secure teaching assistant opportunities.[847]

All of these professors placed heavy emphasis on social and political involvement outside of the classroom. They encouraged their students to turn what they learned into everyday practice. The Martínez sisters remembered that professors gave out extra credit for being socially active on and off campus. The professors "encourage[d] you to be involved, to be politically active, socially active," they recalled.[848] This further encouraged the social and political drive of students involved with *Voz Fronteriza.* Susana Martínez credited the classes she took with her radical professors with opening her mind. She used her personal experiences as a lens to understand Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which informed her activism. *Voz Fronteriza* members also connected their writing with their classes. They studied things they found connections with to the community. Writing about their work outside of class in *Voz Fronteriza* was an extension of what was learned inside the classroom – it was putting words into practice, which was exactly the pedagogy of choice of many radical professors at UCSD in the 1970s.

At UCSD, David changed his major to Communications because he liked the idea of "disseminating information for the people' benefit."[849] In the Communications Department, he gravitated towards Herb Schiller, the chair of the department whom David described as a Marxist-Leninist. Schiller was an outspoken figure on campus, and he worked closely with other members of *Voz Fronteriza* like the Martínez sisters and Salvador Reza. Many

[847] Susana Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

[848] Julia and Susana Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

[849] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

members of *Voz Fronteriza* had connections to the Communications Department. According to the Martínez sisters, the Communications Department helped members of *Voz Fronteriza* develop their social and political views given its focus non-Western forms of communication.[850] While UCSD had many progressive professors, it was also home to a number of conservative scholars too. Salvador Reza, for example, encountered many professors whose different political views helped and challenged him. Many of them were "dogmatic communists" that attracted socially progressive students, but many in the Political Science Department were the complete opposite.[851] Salvador double-majored in Political Science and Literature because he "wanted to know how the U.S.'s political system work[ed]. And [he majored in] literature because [he] wanted to experience, through literature, and learn from literature, without having the benefit of having to live it."[852] He did well in Literature, but struggled in Political Science, which at the time was "a very conservative [and] right-wing" department.[853] Salvador questioned and pushed back against his Political Science professors all the time. One time, he recalled a Political Science professor told his class that elections were "a true measure of democracy," and Salvador responded that elections were simply a way to "find out if the brainwashing worked or not."[854]

Another major source of support for *Voz Fronteriza* was MEChA. Several members of *Voz Fronteriza* worked simultaneously in both places, or got involved with MEChA as a

[850] Julia and Susana Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

[851] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[852] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[853] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[854] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

result of their work with the newspaper. Since its creation in 1969, MEChA served as the primary Chicana/o group on campus. Its members fought for higher enrollment figures for Chicana/o students, the creation of more campus resources that were culturally sensitive to working-class students of color, and they were the primary voice for all Chicana/o concerns on campus. Julia and Susana Martínez worked with MEChA quite a bit, and Julia wrote articles for *Voz Fronteriza* that informed readers of MEChA's work at UCSD.[855] These articles illustrated the efforts by Chicana/o students to bring more community voices into the academy. However, when internal problems fractured MEChA along political and ideological lines in the late 1970s, they left the group. Maoists, Leninists, and cultural nationalists all fought for control. It was during this time of fragmentation that MEChA tried to take over *Voz Fronteriza* to make it its own organ of communication. It was not alone. According to Julia, other campus organizations also tried to influence the content of the newspaper because they recognized its ability to sway people's minds and get them to act.[856]

The members of *Voz Fronteriza* fought to keep the newspaper's autonomy as ideological divides fractured Chicana/o organizations on campus, primarily MEChA. Several of the interviewees recalled an incident where a male student (presumably a member of MEChA) was accused of physically assaulting his female partner, and MEChA leadership took on the role of "judge and jury" to address the case. It became a type of spectacle for all those involved. It attracted the attention of people, Chicanas and Chicanos, from all over campus. According to Olga Villanueva-Flores, MEChA wanted to control what was said and printed about the story, but the contributors of *Voz Fronteriza* put distance between the newspaper

[855] "MEChA: A Historical Commentary," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1976, pp. 6-7; "MEChA: Building a Student Movement," *Voz Fronteriza*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1977, p. 3.

[856] Julia Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

and MEChA. They did not want anything to do with a story that had more to do with "personal drama" than the serious issues the newspaper was known to address. As the splits in MEChA became more visible, the Martínez sisters said they made sure that articles published in *Voz Fronteriza* stayed away from the ideological debates on campus. The newspaper was committed to students on campus, but it had a big responsibility to off campus readers as well. The Martínez sisters said that their goal was to keep all articles in *Voz Fronteriza* relatable to the readership off campus, especially for working-class folks who did not know the differences between Maoism and Leninism, for example. As editor, Susana said she suggested removing articles she and the group felt were "foreign to the community."[857] This demonstrated the contributors' commitment to keep the content of their articles relevant to the communities it served.

UCSD was a haven for progressive minded students to learn and grow as human beings in the 1970s, but it was also home to a number of conservative elements that resisted social and political change from the bottom. As the right re-emerged on college campuses starting in the late 1970s and early 1980s, *Voz Fronteriza* and other progressive student media outlets faced an uphill challenge against a regressive social and political environment.

***Voz Fronteriza* After 1978**

The social atmosphere at UCSD became more conservative as the 1970s turned into the 1980s. *Voz Fronteriza* and other progressive papers like *The New Indicator* and *The People's Voice,* an African American student newspaper, struggled to survive the campus climate as the university moved sharply to the right and political activism dwindled on campus. With the ascension of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1981, conservatism

[857] Susana Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

became the driving current of the nation, and this was highly visible at UCSD. A 1986 *San Diego Union* article best described the scene at UCSD in the 1980s:

> Nearly 20 years separates the angry student rallies in Revelle Plaza led by graduate student Angela Davis from today's placid scene. Red-stenciled clenched fists once fluttered in the breeze from dormitory windows. Today fraternity banners recruit pledges. Students play full-court basketball on the dirt field where Gov. Reagan's helicopter landed in the fall of 1968 to deliver him to a crucial board of regents meeting. A large crowd of grim students confronted Reagan, protesting the regents' decision to cancel Social Analysis 139X, a course on urban racism taught by Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver, Today, pushcart vendors hawk bouquets of rosebuds along the edge of Revelle Plaza, the same spot where long-haired men and braless women passed out leftist literature two decades ago. A new mood of career consciousness inspires today's students. Movies such as "The Big Chill" relate how yesterday's hippies traded in their rebellion for Reeboks.[858]

Salvador Reza remained active in *Voz Fronteriza* during the difficult years when "Conservative ideology [was] making a tentative comeback on America's college campuses."[859] The rise in conservative student newspapers led to campus-wide discussions over funding, and who got most of it. *The San Diego Union* went as far as calling it "press

[858] "UCSD paper surviving in new climate," *The San Diego Union*, November 17, 1986, p. A-1.

[859] "College papers turn to the right – Review sings praises of conservatives," *The San Diego Union,* January 22, 1985, p. C-1.

wars" in a September 1985 article.[860] *Voz Fronteriza* was squarely in the middle of this "war" caused, in part, by the rise of conservative student newspapers like *The California Review,* whose articles "criticized, stilted, occasional opaque commentary, increased federal spending for education, praised aid to the anti-Sandinista contras in Nicaragua, and denounced the women's movement."[861] *The San Diego Union* reported that *The California Review*'s editors' intent was simply to provide a platform for a voice long suppressed on campus. Their intent was to offer " [a] different perspective to a new breed of student tired of the still-dominant left-wing campus press."[862] Despite accusations of racism, sexism, and homophobia by progressive and moderate students, including faculty such as Herb Schiller, *The California Review* demonstrated the heightened level of conservative thought that permeated at UCSD in the 1980s.

In 1986 *The New Indicator* charged that the UCSD Associated Student Body purposely cut and withheld funds for the newspaper because of its political views. A member of *The New Indicator* told *The San Diego Union* that "there has been a kind of guerrilla warfare against the progressive press for some time now…but now it is escalating against us."[863] *Voz Fronteriza* later became a victim of this warfare. Following Salvador Reza's departure, the newspaper became "directionless."[864] From 1988 to 1990, the newspaper was defunded.[865] It

[860] "Press wars are firing up on the campus of UCSD," *The San Diego Union,* September 11, 1985, p. C-1.

[861] "College papers turn to the right – Review sings praises of conservatives," *The San Diego Union,* January 22, 1985, p. C-1.

[862] "College papers turn to the right – Review sings praises of conservatives," *The San Diego Union,* January 22, 1985, p. C-1.

[863] "UCSD newspaper has hearing, " *The San Diego Union*, November 16, 1986, p. B-3.

[864] Adolfo Gúzman López, interview with author, November 11, 2017.

[865] Harry Simón Salazar, interview with author, September 13, 2017.

was restarted in 1990 by Gene Chavarria, an older, "assimilated Chicano" that previously produced magazines about strip clubs in San Diego during the late 1970s and early 1980s.[866] Under Chavarria, *Voz Fronteriza* became "like *The Wall Street Journal* with few illustrations," according to Adolfo Gúzman López, who joined *Voz Fronteriza* during this time.[867] However, when anti-immigrant and anti-Latina/o sentiment surfaced in the 1990s in California, *Voz Fronteriza* once again became a strong voice for progressive and radical dissent. Its members partnered with Union del Barrio, a community rights organization out of Barrio Logan, to call out rising injustices across San Diego.[868] During this time Harry Simón Salazar joined *Voz Fronteriza*, and he was one of the group's most active members. He worked closely with Union del Barrio and became editor of *La Verdad*, Union's official newspaper, in 1992.[869] Harry and Adolfo were part of a generation that expanded *Voz Fronteriza* to other media outlets. In addition to printed issues, the 1990s generation used television and radio to engage with audience on and off campus.[870] It reached out to other newspapers in Southern California to re-start the Chicano Press Association, an umbrella network that kept all Chicana/o newspaper productions connected during the Chicana/o Movement era. Between 3,000 and 5,000 copies of *Voz Fronteriza* circulated each month, with two thirds distributed off campus.[871] The connection to the community was as strong as ever.

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[866] Adolfo Gúzman López, interview with author, November 11, 2017.

[867] Adolfo Gúzman López, interview with author, November 11, 2017.

[868] Adolfo Gúzman López, interview with author, November 11, 2017.

[869] Harry Simón Salazar, interview with author, September 13, 2017.

[870] Harry Simón Salazar, interview with author, September 13, 2017.

[871] Harry Simón Salazar, interview with author, September 13, 2017.

In 1995, *Voz Fronteriza* was at the center of intense local and national criticism after it published an editorial called "Death of a Migra Pig," which celebrated the death of Border Patrol agent Luis Santiago and called for the end of the Border Patrol in general. The article upset local Congressman Duncan Hunter, who threatened UCSD with legislation that cut all federal funding to the campus if the newspaper wasn't reprimanded for its actions.[872] UCSD did not take action on *Voz Fronteriza*. Despite not agreeing with the newspaper's published opinion, it defended its right to exercise free speech, which was extended to all student publications on campus. The story became a rallying call for conservatives to further stamp out political and social action at university campuses. Conservative writers Alan Charles Kors and Harvey A. Silvergate, authors of *The Shadow University: The Betrayal Of Liberty On America's Campuses* wrote that the *Voz Fronteriza* incident was an example of the "unfettered freedom of the radical campus press of the '60s" that many publications still enjoyed in the 1990s.[873] The anti-immigrant and anti-Latina/o sentiments of the 1990s in California, driven in part by the rising number of undocumented immigrants forced out of Mexico as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), created an opportunity for students at UCSD to pick up the conversation about the relation between globalization and immigration that dominated the pages of *Voz Fronteriza* in the 1970s.[874]

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[872] "Re. Hunter demands apology – student editorial said border agents should die," *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, July 6, 1995, p. B-8.

[873] Alan Charles Kors and Harvey A. Silvergate, *The Shadow University: The Betrayal Of Liberty On America's Campuses* (Harper Perennial, 1999), p. 237.

[874] For more information about NAFTA and its connection to immigration, see David Bacon, *The Children of NAFTA: Labors Wars on the U.S./Mexico Border* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); *Illegal People: How Globalization Creates Migration and Criminalizes Immigrants* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009); *The Right to Stay Home: How US Policy Drives Mexican Migration* (Boston: Beacon press, 2014); Ronald Mize and Alicia Swords, *Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Bracero Program to NAFTA* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

This allowed Chicana/o and other Latina/o students at UCSD the opportunity to contribute to an ongoing struggle against racism and for immigrant rights and immigration reform.

Voz Fronteriza remained in print until the early-mid 2000s. By then, Harry recalled, its focus shifted substantially away from political issues and was focused more on student social life. It was brought back for two issues in 2007 and 2008, when Harry returned to UCSD for graduate school. After that, after over thirty years of existence, *Voz Fronteriza* ended its run at UCSD.

Conclusion

By the late 1970s, the majority of *Voz Fronteriza*'s founders and early contributors reached the end of their time at UCSD. Some of them left *Voz Fronteriza* earlier than others. Olga Villanueva-Flores and Yolanda Orozco worked on the newspaper for only a year. Yolanda graduated in 1976 and went to law school. She earned her law degree in 1979. Currently she is a judge in the Los Angeles County Superior Court. After working with *Voz Fronteriza*, Olga got more involved with Chicano Theater, a performance group created by Jorge Huerta, a Professor of Theater at UCSD. As a member of Chicano Theater, Olga toured Southern California. She performed in many venues including men and women's prisons in Chino. She performed Luis Valdez's iconic play "Zoot Suit" and she was part of many other plays centered on the UFW.[875] Olga graduated from UCSD in 1977. Many years later, when she visited UCSD with her grandchildren, Olga was surprised to learn that *Voz Fronteriza* was still around. Its continuity, Yolanda said, was a testament to the continuing needs of Chicana/o students on campus.[876]

[875] Olga Villanueva-Flores, interview with author, January 7, 2018.

[876] Yolanda Orozco, interview with author, December 29, 2017.

Julia Martínez and Yolanda Orozco, circa 1977. Source: Susana Martínez.

David Avalos left *Voz Fronteriza* in 1977 to devote more of his time to the Committee on Chicano Rights (CCR). He started working more with the CCR after he was introduced to the organization's newspaper, *El Tiempo Chicano* (The Chicano Time). From 1978 to 1988, David worked at El Centro Cultural de la Raza before he went back to school and got an M.F.A. from UCSD's Visual Arts Department in the late 1980s. In 1991 he was hired by California State University, San Marcos (CSUSM) to teach Visual and Performance Arts. He remained at CSUSM until his retirement in 2017. Like David Avalos, the Martínez

sisters became teachers as a way to give back to their communities. They wanted to empower students to take price in their cultural backgrounds and aspire to higher education. They advocated for quality and equitable bilingual immersion programs, parent involvement, and to connect school resources to the communities that needed them most. Julia Martínez graduated from UCSD in 1979 as a double major in Sociology and Communications. During her last year at UCSD, she participated in a study abroad program at UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico). For a short time, she lived in Quebec City, Québec, Canada, where she worked with immigrant women and helped found a women's cooperative that featured menus of international cultures. After she obtained her Master's Degree in International Business, she became an elementary school teacher. She currently works as a counselor for adults with disabilities.[877] Susana graduated from UCSD in 1980 with a major in Communications. She specialized in Television Production. She now holds a Master's in Education from SDSU with multiple teaching credentials that allow her to teach bilingual and biliteracy programs and Computer Concepts and Applications. Susana is currently a Technology Specialist Teacher for the San Diego Unified School District.[878] She teaches computer applications and computer science to elementary students. She credited her editing and production experiences with *Voz Fronteriza* with pointing her in the direction of technology use for education purposes.[879]

Salvador Reza spent ten years of his life at UCSD, from 1976 to 1986. He remained involved with the newspaper during those ten years, and he was also active off campus working with working-class and immigrant communities. After leaving UCSD, Salvador

[877] Julia Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

[878] Susana Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

[879] Susana Martínez, conversation with author, March 28, 2019.

taught English as a Second Language (ESL) classes to Spanish-speaking parents in Barrio Logan. He also helped found One Stop Immigration, a community organization that assisted immigrants with their paperwork when the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 became law.[880] Salvador now lives in Arizona, where he works with immigrant rights organizations. All of the former members of *Voz Fronteriza* fulfilled their promise to return to help their community. Some took the route of education. Others became activists or entered the justice realm. Despite the differences, they all went on to serve their communities in whatever capacity they could. Here lies the true legacy of *Voz Fronteriza*, according to David and Salvador. They all worked on a newspaper that was committed to social change, and all of them continued to pursue it after leaving UCSD. They took *Voz Fronteriza* everywhere they went.

Working in *Voz Fronteriza* allowed students to elevate their sense of social consciousness. Salvador Reza described it as a "university within a university" where people learned different social and political skills working with one another. It helped them also hone their critical thinking skills. Working with other like-minded people exposed Salvador to "a wide range of thinking."[881]According to the Martínez sisters, *Voz Fronteriza* also helped break down barriers for students of color in media, especially for women. Without the labor women put into the newspaper, from writing articles to doing layout and distribution, *Voz Fronteriza* would not have achieved the political and social sophistication it did. Women used the newspaper to transmit concerns and share ideas on issues beyond those related to their gender. This allowed them to be part of a larger, unified, and stronger movement that contained educated men and women. They practiced the words they put in

[880] Currently, One Stop Immigration operates out of Pico Rivera, in Los Angeles, California.

[881] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

print. On top of that, David Avalos said that *Voz Fronteriza* gave people organizing skills and confidence. "To be able to say, 'wow, I worked on that newspaper. I helped produce a newspaper.' That's enabling as it gets," David said.[882] While *Voz Fronteriza* was outside the direct control of the university power structure, it was still subjected to the laws of the campus. This, the Martínez sisters said, gave the people who worked on *Voz Fronteriza* some degree of autonomy and sense of self-determination to write, share, and expand their ideas. They established a direct line to different communities outside of campus and called out the issues that affected the well being of students of color on campus. This turned *Voz Fronteriza* into a physical manifestation of El Plan de Santa Barbara at UCSD because, according to Salvador Reza, it was "an attempt to take on not only the university system, but the entire system that oppress[ed] us…and everybody there from Arnulfo [Casillas], all the way to whoever was the last one, somehow that was on their mind."[883] The people that worked on the newspaper "went outside the system to challenge the White system within its own backyard."[884] The university never directly censored the newspaper, but like other progressive papers on campus, it was a constant target of right-wing publications and individuals. It was tolerated by the administration, which likely wanted it to go away on it own.

For Yolanda Orozco, *Voz Fronteriza* was an important experience in her life that helped her develop and hone her political consciousness. It was a natural extension of her participation in anti-war protests that went on while she was in High School. As a member of *Voz Fronteriza*, Olga learned how to debate and win debates. Her participation in

[882] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

[883] Salvador Reza, interview with author, December 23, 2017.

[884] Julia Martínez, interview with author, October 14, 2017.

meetings and engagements with people allowed her to hone her skills as a listener and more importantly, to speak her mind. She learned to "open her mouth" and not play the game.[885] Her involvement with the newspaper contributed also to her involvement off campus with Chicano Park and with union organizing. To Salvador Reza, *Voz Fronteriza* was one of the first places where he learned to look into the political aspects of the world with more keen detail. He learned more about the injustices that working-class people faced on a daily basis. His articles in support of a humane immigration policy and against the Bakke decision, for example, demonstrated his growth as a political and social thinker. For David Avalos, *Voz Fronteriza* allowed him to grow and learn more about himself and his surrounding community. "The biggest influence of *Voz Fronteriza* [on his life]," he said, "was being part of something and to be around people who were unafraid to promote criticism of the U.S…and its systemic racism, systemic discrimination, its systemic harassment, and stifling of political opinion that would be perceived as any kind of threat to capitalism."[886] He enjoyed being around people whose ideas were different from his. They were a family, and families often don't always agree on everything. He understood that, and he was ok with it. Not everyone agreed on the means, but they all agreed on the end – social justice. For David, there was opportunity to learn new ways to see the world and understand the problems in it. He said, "being around people that, you know, opinions and positions and politics might have been very different from mine, but were unafraid to criticize…unafraid to say, hey, this country's immigration policy is inhumane, its repressive, its, you know,

[885] Olga Villanueva-Flores, interview with author, January 7, 2018.

[886] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

twentieth century plantation, to me, that's always made a difference."[887] *Voz Fronteriza* was a classroom, for all intents and purposes.

Voz Fronteriza was a result of students that wanted things to happen, to change. Guided by an incorruptible desire to make things better for present and future generations, these students represented their communities' aspirations wherever they went. They took on racist immigration policies and people who harbored anti-immigrant views. They challenged their campus to step up its efforts to provide working-class students of color with better education and resources. They kept the flame of the San Diego Civil Rights Movement alive on campus, and reached out to their communities for support when the system struck back with a vengeance. The original and early members of *Voz Fronteriza* created a safe space on campus for future generations of Chicanas/os that continued the fight for better community-campus relations with UCSD. Their work has stood the test of time. Scholars such as Benita Roth and Ellie D. Hernández have cited articles such as Yolanda Orozco's "La Chicana and Women's Liberation" in studies of Chicana Feminism. Later members of *Voz Fronteriza* have gone on to careers in media, education, and public policy. Individually, the members of *Voz Fronteriza* were voices that a corporate university could easily silence. Together, they were a voz nobody silenced.

[887] David Avalos, interview with author, October 15, 2017.

Conclusion

The Mexican American Alternative Press in Perspective

The community newspapers published by Mexican Americans in San Diego in the 1960s and the 1970s captured the ethnic and political diversity within a Mexican American social justice movement on the border. Mexican descent people, along with other racialized communities of color, pushed the predominantly White power brokers of San Diego to be more responsive to the needs of working-class people. Mexican Americans used a number of different political tactics to make their demands heard – they used the political system to their advantage, challenged it when it became an obstacle to reform and progress, and created their own alternative institutions to bring about change as conceived by their own communities. This multi-political front, which has scantly been mentioned or studied by scholars of the Civil Rights Movement or the Chicana/o Movement, revealed the different ways that San Diego's Mexican American community utilized what Tara Yosso calls its "community cultural capital" to inform their struggles to adapt, survive, and succeed in hostile environments.[888] These experiences were captured and preserved in the newspapers they published during the 1960s and 1970s.

The Mexican American alternative press of San Diego was one of the most important ways through which local communities shared information, coordinated rallies, protests, and meetings, and advocated for particular strands of social and political thought that resonated in all corners of San Diego County. While this study only examined four different

[888] Community cultural wealth refers to the different set of skills, knowledge, and resources people of color use to navigate and succeed in places where they are at a social, political, and economic disadvantage. Community cultural wealth places emphasis on everyday experience as the foundation from where groups such as Mexican Americans draw on to make decisions that will help them succeed. It valorizes culture and traditions as the key to success. For more about community cultural wealth, see Tara J. Yosso, "Whose culture has capital? A critical theory discussion of community cultural wealth." *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, Vol. 8, No. 1, March 2005, pp. 69-91.

newspapers, it offered a snapshot of the political and social richness that guided the activism of Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Movement. More studies of the San Diego alternative press are needed though. They would strengthen and make more visible the position of San Diego's Mexican American community in the narratives of the Civil Rights and Chicana/o Movement. As the first in-depth study of the Mexican American alternative press, this study reinforced the importance of community newspapers as a social justice tool that helped Mexican Americans organize and share information. It revealed the existence of alternative political ideas such as Republican activism that competed and cooperated with dominant ideologies of the time such as Chicanismo, or Chicano cultural nationalism. Scholars of the Chicana/o Movement should expand inquiry into other regions of the country where Mexican American or Chicana/o newspapers were produced – especially areas glossed over by existing studies. They can reveal more about the diversity of thought and action within this period. They could uncover a host of different political ideas that Mexican Americans entertained and pursued during the Civil Rights Movement era. These studies would enhance our knowledge of Mexican American civil rights activism considerably.

Despite the variety of political thought within the Mexican American activist community of San Diego, collaborative work across ethnic, generational, and most importantly political lines was a norm. The city's deep-seated conservative roots influenced the approaches taken by activists. This often led to what some people refer to as "strange bedfellows," but in San Diego, this was the norm. For example, the literature of Mexican American/Chicana/o history on the period of the 1960s and 1970s outright excludes the contributions of Mexican American Republicans in the struggles for civil rights and equalities. People such as Phil Saenz, Larry Montoya, and Mike Amador were instrumental in creating political and social

bases for Mexican Americans in San Diego. Their strategic allegiance with the Republican Party was fruitful because they played the system to their advantage. While this narrative was not the norm for Mexican Americans nationally in the 1960s (much less in the 1970s), this was an important chapter in the growth and maturation of the Mexican American community of San Diego. Productions such as the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine preserved this history for later generations to read and learn. To ignore this history, or worse, to dismiss as an "outlier" within the larger narrative of Mexican Americans in San Diego, is to commit historicide. The fruits of Mexican American Republican labor are evident in San Diego. The *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine offers scholars and community residents alike an opportunity to learn more about the origins of this story that challenges our understanding of what activism looked like in the 1960s, but most importantly, what it "ought to look like" because it occurred during the decade when the Chicana/o Movement took off. Progress, in terms of social and political mobility, shouldn't be associated only with liberal or left-leaning grassroots movements. Being a Mexican American Republican in San Diego in the 1960s was radical and progressive in many ways, and it was a pathway towards social and political equality and empowerment for Mexican Americans. Future research into the contributions of these pioneer activists in the 1970s and 1980s, specifically during the so-called "Decade of the Hispanic" in the 1980s, would contribute significantly to our knowledge of these important historical actors.

Newspapers such as *La Verdad*, the most widely read Chicana/o newspaper in San Diego during the height of the Chicana/o Movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, allows us to examine the development of this strategic form of cultural activism locally. The contributors to *La Verdad* were part of a larger community of activists that spanned the entire country. Despite their connections to and identification with Chicanismo, their

relations and actions on the ground were shaped by the context of their environment. *La Verdad* was born in the copy room of a progressive White newspaper. Some of the newspaper's key contributors were of mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds. Others were Mexican nationals. Some were a generation older than the youth that identified mainly as Chicanas and Chicanos. This assortment of factors indicates the adaptability and fluidness of Chicano cultural nationalism. Chicanismo was not a rigid ideology as scholars originally believed. Recent studies have shown variations within this ideology were common and widespread, and *La Verdad* is another example of how Chicanas/os molded ideology to their needs, and not the other way around. *La Verdad* showed us that the Chicana/o Movement took place in San Diego, and that local activism guided by the movement attracted its most visible products to the city – César Chávez, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, José Ángel Gutiérrez, among others. But perhaps most importantly, *La Verdad* captured the contributions of local Chicanas and Chicanos to the largest empowerment movement ever carried out by Mexican descent people in the United States.

The civil rights efforts of Mexican Americans and other racialized communities of color helped open the doors of academia to minority populations in the late 1960s. As a result of these efforts, Mexican Americans entered San Diego State University (SDSU) and UC San Diego (UCSD), the two largest institutions of higher education in San Diego, with high hopes and dreams of furthering the gains of the Civil Rights Movement from inside the academy. Their visions of a university closely connected to the communities it served guided the efforts of first-generation Mexican American youth. They conceived different ways to make this goal a reality. At SDSU, Chicanas/os allied with African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and White students to form a multiracial front against racism, sexism, and imperialist exploitation at home and abroad. Their efforts were captured

by *Inside the Beast*, an oppositional newspaper born in response to the hostility faced by racial minorities at SDSU and beyond campus. The goal of the newspaper's contributors was to highlight the places and issues capable of bringing together a progressive, multiracial coalition to combat injustice. At UCSD, Chicana/o students built a working-class, transnational community that was reflected in the pages of *Voz Fronteriza*. This student-led production centered the lived experiences of San Diego's border communities to guide a movement towards a more equitable society. Both of these newspapers revealed the continuation and evolution of political and social experimentation first carried out by local Mexican Americans in the 1960s. Their work revealed everything Chicana/o youth did to advance their rights as students and residents of San Diego. The resources available at the institutional level at the time, such as the Extended Opportunities Program (EOP), coupled with the presence of socially progressive professors on campus, nurtured the political imaginaries of Mexican American students in the 1970s. Their stories help us widen our understanding of the different types of activism Chicanas/os pursued in the 1970s, especially when the national Chicana/o Movement began to widen its links beyond the confines of Mexican America.

"Voices of the People: The Mexican American Alternative Press in San Diego, 1963-1978" adds a collection of previously overshadowed voices to the long history of Mexican Americans in California and the U.S. It also widens our knowledge of the largest ethnic group in the largest and fastest growing minority group in the country – Latinas/os. The changing landscape of the U.S. demands educators and researchers to step up and deliver more inclusive narratives of our country's history. "Voices of the People" heeds this call. In addition, the history of San Diego's Mexican American community matters locally and nationally given our current political environment. Journalism was an avenue Mexican

Americans used to combat inequality and bring about positive change. The trend continues in today's volatile climate.

An Echo of the Past in the Present

When I started to work full time on this dissertation in 2014, I had no idea of the significance that journalism would attain in the years that followed. The press has become one of the primary battlefields in a new wave of culture wars that intensified with the election of Donald Trump in 2016. The President and his followers have declared a war on fact-based reporting. They refer to all news and information that challenges their reactionary views as "fake news." They also question and delegitimize all coverage of escalating acts of racism, sexism, Islamophobia, and immigrant rights abuses. Through Twitter, Trump has repeatedly called the media "the enemy of the people." A 2018 poll found that nearly one third of Americans believed in Trump's claim – the majority of those identified as Republicans.[889] He attacks media outlets that take seriously their roles to keep government accountable to the people, but he praises and defends outlets (such as Fox News) that regurgitate and support his dangerous rhetoric. Writing this dissertation against this backdrop has been difficult at times, but it has also been an opportunity to remind people of the historical significance that journalism has played in helping communities of color fight discrimination – a fight that continues to this very day.

The diverse political strands that made up Mexican American activism in the 1960s and 1970s in San Diego remain active today. Their work has been captured and disseminated by

[889] Tal Axelrod, "Poll: Nearly a third of Americans say news media is the enemy of the people." The Hill. August 7, 2018. Accessed March 5, 2019. URL: https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/400743-poll-nearly-a-third-of-americans-believe-news-media-is-the-enemy-of

news outlets that were born as a result of the activism of the 1960s and 1970s. In the last two decades, Mexican Americans have been at the forefront of numerous protests in San Diego on issues related to economic justice, education, gentrification, police violence against Black and Brown communities, political participation, and immigration reform. During the spring of 2006, hundreds of local residents walked out of their schools and jobs and participated in numerous rallies against H.R. 4437, a House Bill that sought to criminalize undocumented immigrants and anyone who aided them. The biggest rally was on April 10, when an estimated 50,000 people gathered in downtown San Diego – prompting *The San Diego Union Tribune* to label it as "the largest known demonstration in the history of San Diego."[890] The rallies were as diverse as previous coalitions formed in San Diego. They received support from all corners of San Diego County, but like in the past, some residents disagreed with this approach and accused immigrant rights activists of using children as "political pawns" to advance partisan agendas.[891] In 2008, residents organized to help elect Barack Obama. As a candidate, Obama promised to make immigration reform a top priority for his administration. He made that pledge in San Diego in July of 2008 at the National Council of La Raza annual conference. He said, "I don't know about you, but I think it's time for a president who won't walk away from something as important as comprehensive reform just because it becomes politically unpopular. That's the commitment I am making to you, and I will make it a priority in my first year as president."[892] President Obama,

[890] "Huge turnout at Sunday's march has Latinos thinking about future." *The San Diego Union*, April 11, 2006.

[891] "Political pawns – Boycott is a disservice to Latino students." *The San Diego Union Tribune,* May 1, 2006.

[892] Molly Ball, "Obama's Long Immigration Betrayal." *The Atlantic*, September 9, 2014. Accessed March 19, 2019. URL: https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/09/obamas-long-immigration-betrayal/379839/

however, backtracked on his promise. Under his watch, more than 2.5 million people were deported, more than the combined total of all previous administrations in the twentieth century.[893] The Latina/o community of San Diego felt betrayed by Obama. After he postponed executive action on immigration in 2014, Latinas/os in San Diego voiced their disappointment with the President. Christian Ramírez, Director of the Southern Border Communities Coalition, told *The San Diego Free Press:*

> The President's decision to delay administrative action is an affront not only to millions of immigrant families, but to southern border communities as well... *T*o put electoral politics before the needs of millions of people is unacceptable. Southern border residents have paid a high-toll for the abusive and inhumane immigration system. Cases of deadly shootings and abuses committed by Customs and Border Patrol agents continue to be unresolved, hundreds of migrants perish in the deserts and mountains of the southern border and refugee families endure deplorable conditions in detention centers. This takes place while tens of millions of border residents continue to face unconstitutional practices by federal agents. Patience is running out.[894]

[893] Serena Marshall, "Obama Has Deported More People Than Any Other President." ABC News, August 29, 2016. Accessed March 19, 2019. URL: https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/obamas-deportation-policy-numbers/story?id=41715661

[894] Brent E. Beltrán, "Obama Reneges on Using Executive Action to Implement Immigration Reform Until After Midterm Election." *The San Diego Free Press*, September 7, 2014. Accessed March 19, 2019. URL: https://sandiegofreepress.org/2014/09/obama-reneges-on-using-executive-action-to-implement-immigration-reform-until-after-midterm-election/#.XJEhmBNKjow

Immigration reform is an important issue for the residents of San Diego. The President promised change, and he did not deliver. Once again, it appeared that the Democrats only used the Latina/o vote to get into office. The little Obama did on immigration, such as issuing an executive order to halt the deportations of undocumented minors, did little to solve the conundrum that is immigration policy. Perhaps it was time to try an alternative route, something Latinas/os in San Diego did not shy away from. Isidro Ortiz, a retired Professor of Chicana/o Studies at SDSU, told *The San Diego Free Press,* "Being cynical on Obama's part is easy as long as Latino voters remain snug in the hip pocket, no matter what he does; history tell us that when a bloc of voters become volatile, the parties will act to restore the loyalty of the voters by making concessions, but are Latino voters willing to heed that lesson?"[895] During a visit to San Diego in support of congressional candidates in 2014, protestors demanded President Obama halt construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), an oil extraction project that went through Native American lands near the Lakota Pine Ridge Reservation.[896] In late 2016, the San Diego 350 coalition, a multiracial environmentalist volunteer organization, protested construction of the DAPL outside the Army Corp of Engineers office in San Diego.[897] Local residents' relation with President Obama revealed that people contributed to electing the nation's first Black president, but

[895] Beltrán, "Obama Reneges on Using Executive Action to Implement Immigration Reform Until After Midterm Election."

[896] "Politics and protests during President Obama's San Diego visit." CBS 8 San Diego, May 8, 2014. Accessed March 19, 2019. URL: http://www.cbs8.com/story/25465355/president-obama-to-attend-local-fundraiser-thursday

[897] Steve Walsh, "Hundreds Come Out In San Diego To Protest Dakota Access Pipeline Permit." KPBS San Diego, November 15, 2016. Accessed March 19, 2019. URL: https://www.kpbs.org/news/2016/nov/15/hundreds-come-out-protest-dakota-access-pipeline-p/

they also did not shy away from keeping him accountable to the people that put him in office.

The pursuit of accountability and respect for local residents is visible in the ongoing fight against gentrification in Barrio Logan. New food businesses and art galleries use Barrio Logan's history and culture to produce a commercial image and sell products that attract a predominantly White and affluent clientele. This has driven up residential prices for local residents – many of whom live off minimum wages. Many have been displaced because of rent increases. Luxury cars with non-California license plates have become a normal sight in Barrio Logan. The community is slowing being swallowed up by downtown San Diego, but the community is fighting back. In 2016, voters soundly defeated a proposition that would have given the San Diego Chargers football team land adjacent to Barrio Logan for them to build a new state of the art stadium. Had the measure passed, properties in Barrio Logan would have likely been turned into parking lots for the stadium and land throughout would have become highly sought-after real estate for expanding commercial development. This would have displaced the community's remaining families and completely commercialized the city's Mexican American cultural roots.[898] In 2017 and 2018 Chicano Park, the heart and soul of Barrio Logan, saw clashes between community residents and nativist, right-wing groups driven by President Trump's racially divisive rhetoric.[899] On both occasions, residents and allies poured into Chicano Park to protect its

[898] For more information, see Mario Torero, Brent Beltrán, and Bill Adams, "Barrio Logan vs. the Stadium: Why it Matters." *The San Diego Free Press*. November 1, 2018. Accessed March 5, 2019. URL: https://sandiegofreepress.org/2016/11/barrio-logan-vs-stadium-why-it-matters/#.XH69ZVNKjow

[899] Doug Porter, "Chicano Park Murals Targeted as Revenge for Confederate Statue Removals." *The San Diego Free Press*. August 31, 2017. Accessed March 5, 2019. URL: https://sandiegofreepress.org/2017/08/chicano-park-murals-targeted-as-revenge-for-confederate-statue-removals/#.XH8M0VNKjow; Sandra Dibble and Kristina Davis, "Officer punched as tensions

murals after threats had gone out that White supremacists planned to deface the park's cultural monuments. These incidents are a direct example of how national currents manifest in San Diego, but they are also a part of Chicano Park's fight for its right to exist – a fight that began way back in 1970.

The economic and cultural connections between San Diego and Tijuana are as strong as ever. One of the reasons for this has been the soccer team Club Xolos de Tijuana. The promotion of Xolos to Mexico's Primera División (first tier soccer league) in 2011 led to the creation of a devoted binational fan base. This was the first time a professional soccer team representing the city of Tijuana played in Mexico's top division. Ever since, every 15 days during soccer season people from all cross Southern California cross the border into Tijuana to watch the Xolos play against Mexico's top teams including Guadalajara, América, and Cruz Azul. When the Xolos won the Apertura 2012 championship in just their third season in Primera División, the San Diego-Tijuana region celebrated together. In December of 2012, San Diego Mayor Bob Filner invited the team to a ceremony in their honor held at Petco Park, home of the Major League Baseball's San Diego Padres. This ceremony was part of Mayor Filner's efforts to show how the Xolos, a team with fans on both sides of the border, represented his view that the San Diego-Tijuana region was "one region."[900]

The 2016 presidential election brought out a side of San Diego that nobody knew even existed. But after I read and analyzed a number of Mexican American newspapers produced during the Civil Rights Movement era, I realized that what transpired in San Diego during

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flare at "Patriot Picnic' in San Diego's Chicano Park." *The Los Angeles Times*. February 3, 2018. Accessed March 5, 2019. URL: https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-sd-officer-punched-20180203-story.html

[900] Brenda Colón Navar, "Bob Filner welcomes Tijuana's Xolos at Petco Park." San Diego Red. December 21, 2012. Accessed March 5, 2019. URL: https://www.sandiegored.com/en/news/59447/Bob-Filner-welcomes-Tijuana-s-Xolos-at-Petco-Park

the 2016 presidential election was common. On the day that Bernie Sanders spoke at the San Diego Convention Center, I was on my way to the airport. I passed by the San Diego Convention Center and I saw thousands of people – young and old, White, Black, Latina/o, Asian, and Native American – waiting to see the Vermont Senator and Democratic Presidential Candidate speak. I knew my eyes did not deceive me because SDSU's *The Daily Aztec* later reported that "More than 10,000 San Diegans from all demographics stood in line for hours to participate [in the rally], forcing the addition of two overflow rooms in order to accommodate more people."[901] The outpour in support of Sanders, a progressive Democrat whose appeal crossed racial, class, and gender lines, was on full display in San Diego. People shouted phrases such as "Feel the bern," "Si se puede," and "Yuuuge," which further cemented the presence of a multiracial and multicultural coalition in San Diego.[902] How could this happen in a historically conservative city? If you know San Diego history, you would know it is not surprising. In 1984, Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, a group of social justice activists, came to San Diego and was met with open arms. Jackson led his followers across the border into Tijuana in an effort to create greater understanding and friendship with Mexico.[903] Perhaps it was sign of the times, but also circumstances finally revealing to the nation (and to local residents) the true nature of San Diego.

When Donald Trump visited San Diego and spoke at the same location a few months later, San Diego's residents once again showed up in force. Outside the Convention Center a

[901] "Bernie Sanders rally draws thousands to SD Convention Center." *The Daily Aztec*. April 4, 2016. Accessed March 5, 2019. URL: http://thedailyaztec.com/76836/news/bernie-sanders-rally-draws-thousands-to-sd-convention-center/

[902] "Bernie Sanders rally draws thousands to SD Convention Center," *The Daily Aztec*, April 4, 2016.

[903] "Jackson leads walk to border – Seeks defeat of immigration bill, faults Latin policy." *The San Diego Union Tribune*, July 2, 1984.

crowd of over 1,000 people protested his visit. Reuters called it "one of the largest counter-protests organized against [Trump]" in the course of the 2016 campaign.[904] Many were there to protest Trump's racist views of immigrants and his pledge to build a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border. As a border town where immigrants and border commuters are a crucial component of everyday cultural and economic exchanges, their protest was expected. Trump supporters showed up in mass as well, reminding residents and viewers alike of the conservative and nativist roots of the city were still alive and active. There were heated verbal exchanges between Trump supporters and protestors. Things escalated when Trump supporters physically assaulted Trump protestors. The police arrived in full riot gear. They did more to shield Trump supporters than the protestors who were victims of former's aggressions. The police used pepper spray to push the crowd into Barrio Logan. For a couple of hours, all eyes in the nation were on San Diego;[905] a city that people around the country just hours before knew only of for its tourist spots. These two moments introduced the country to an entirely different image of San Diego – one that was grounded in its people and their aspirations and struggles.

Spanish-Language Newspapers Today: The Legacy of the Mexican American Alternative Press of San Diego

In 2004, *The San Diego Union-Tribune* reported that San Diego had six Spanish-language or bilingual newspapers in circulation across the county: *La Prensa San Diego*, *El*

[904] Emily Stephenson and Marty Graham, "Trump's San Diego rally draws more than 1,000 chanting protesters." Reuters. May 27, 2016. Accessed March 5, 2019. URL: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-idUSKCN0YI2G3

[905] The May 27, 2016 protest was covered by a number of news media outlets such as CNN, CBS, ABS, NBC, which cut their regularly scheduled broadcasts to air live video feed of the protest and violence that ensued.

Sol de San Diego, Hispanos Unidos, *El Latino*, and *Enlace*.[906] The growth in Spanish-language newspapers was linked to the rise of the Latina/o population in San Diego, which was estimated to be 80,000, or 27 percent of the entire county.[907] Many of these newspapers were born in the 1980s and 1990s, at a time when immigration from Latin America (particularly from Mexico and Central America) increased the population of Spanish-speaking people in California. The city's main newspaper, *The San Diego Union,* realized the changing demographics and adjusted to better serve its readership. In 1999, it launched *Enlace,* which served as a companion to the English-language paper. It reported on issues, cultural events, and information relevant to the Spanish-speaking communities in San Diego and in Baja California.[908] Two of the most influential local Spanish-language newspapers are *El Latino San Diego* and *La Prensa San Diego* – the latter of which traces its roots to the 1970s. Campus newspapers at SDSU and UCSD have also followed the demographic changes in San Diego. *The Daily Aztec* and *The Guardian* now regularly publish Spanish-language articles written by students and meant to foster a closer relationship with community events and issues beyond campus.

Although productions like the *Mexican-American/Amigo, La Verdad, Inside the Beast*, and *Voz Fronteriza* are no longer in print, their legacy continues through the content and orientation of today's Spanish-language and community-focused productions.

[906] "Now more newspapers than ever in Spanish." *The San Diego Union Tribune*, February 22, 2004.

[907] "Now more newspapers than ever in Spanish." *The San Diego Union Tribune,* February 22, 2004.

[908] *Enlace* changed its name to *Hoy San Diego* in 2016.

The People Involved with the Alternative Press: A Life of Continued Activism

Each newspaper analyzed in this study is a representation of a particular voice within the Mexican American community of San Diego. These voices were heard and read across San Diego during the 1960s and 1970s. They were different, but some overlapped. Perhaps they weren't all seen at one time or another as a legitimate representation of the Mexican descent community of San Diego, but they acknowledged the presence of others. There was never a stable definition of the Mexican American community of San Diego. What it meant to be a "Mexican American" in San Diego changed as time went on. This shows their social, political, and cultural deepness present in San Diego. There was more than enough social, political, and cultural capital to define an image of Mexican American life in San Diego that met the needs at any given time.

Despite no longer being in print, the legacy of the newspapers analyzed in this dissertation remains as important as ever. The *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine was a product of a type of social and political activism that has not yet received the scholarly attention it deserves – perhaps because it does not fit the mold historians assume of 1960s and 1970s activists. It announced the impact and relevance of Mexican American Republicans in San Diego. The role of Chicana/o and Mexican American historians is to center the voices of people relegated to the margins. In this case, the story of Phil Saenz and the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine forces us to unpack the silences within counternarratives. These are histories that shouldn't be ignored because we assume they are not possible or distort our understanding of the past. That is the exact type of thinking that kept U.S. history White and dismissive of non-White narratives for many generations. Even though conservatism among people of color is often seen as a step back in terms of social, political, economic, and racial equality, the *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine showed

that Mexican Americans used the Republican Party to improve and extend civil rights to a high degree of success in San Diego. Today there are many Latinas/os in the Republican Party. But why are they part of a party that in recent times has been openly hostile to them? We have to look to the past for answers. We can't assume race and ethnicity defines political orientation. The *Mexican-American/Amigo* magazine is but one piece of this larger history, but an important source in the quest for a more complete and layered history of Mexican Americans.

For those who worked in *La Verdad*, their activism began before their involvement with the newspaper and it continued after it went out of print. The trajectory of Carlos and Linda LeGerrette post-*La Verdad* perhaps best illustrates the continuation of the type of activism covered by *La Verdad*. In the 1970s they moved to Keene, California, where they became more involved with the UFW's efforts in Central California to improve the working conditions of farm workers. They returned to San Diego in the late 1970s where they continued to be politically involved. In the early 2000s, the LeGerrettes founded the César Chávez Service Clubs to help young boys and girls succeed in school and to be socially active in their community. The program teaches students to embody Chávez's most sacred values, such as nonviolence, sacrifice, and service, in order to make a positive impact in their community.[909] Richard Saiz continued his work in media after *La Verdad* went out of print. His work was guided by a commitment to show a positive and empowering perspective of his community. His dedication to his work never wore off. Salvador "Queso" Torres remains a staple of Barrio Logan. Over the years he has worked on mural restoration and advocated for more cultural spaces in the community. He gives tours of Chicano Park

[909] For more information about the César Chávez Service Clubs, see the following URL: http://www.chavezclubs.org/

and speaks with visitors and new generations of students about the history and significance of Barrio Logan to San Diego. Through their work, these former contributors to *La Verdad* continue to show their commitment to helping their community grow and succeed.

Despite its short run, *Inside the Beast* made a distinct mark at SDSU. It was born at a time when students of color and White allies came together to protest the discriminatory environment on campus. The effect of the activism by students involved with the newspaper continues to reverberate at SDSU. As the most accessible institution of higher education for San Diego's working-class communities, SDSU continues to adapt to the needs of its current and future students. Today SDSU is a majority-minority campus that is beginning to reflect the present-day demographics of San Diego. Over 54 percent of the undergraduate body are students of color, and they make up 44 percent of the graduate student body.[910] It is one of the most politically active campuses in San Diego and in the entire California State University System. In recent years, *The Daily Aztec* has become more proactive and responsive to the student body and the communities outside campus. For example, more Spanish-language articles and sections have appeared in the last years. Students don't just report – they are involved in the issues they write about such as immigration or voting registration drives. This type of activist-journalism is reminiscent of the types of articles that were printed in *Inside the Beast*. They are the living legacy of a newspaper whose impact continues to be felt to this day.

While all the newspapers' legacies discussed remain alive in the work of their former contributors today, perhaps the influence of *Voz Fronteriza* stands out the most. As Salvador Reza pointed out, *Voz Fronteriza* served as a training ground where students molded their

[910] Enrollment by Ethnicity Date Table – San Diego State University, Fall 2018. URL: https://asir.sdsu.edu/enrollment-ethnicity-data-table/

social and political skills for a life of service to their communities afterwards. The early contributors continued to devote their time and efforts to support the communities they came from. Susana and Julia Martínez became educators and student advocates in San Diego after graduating UCSD. David Avalos became involved in the fight for immigrant rights and then went back to school to obtain a graduate degree in Art. He taught at California State University, San Marcos, where he incorporated the messages of self-empowerment and collective struggle that guided his work as artist in *Voz Fronteriza* and in the community. Salvador Reza worked with *Voz Fronteriza* for almost ten years. At the same time, he was active in the community in support of immigrant and indigenous people's rights. His involvement continues to this very day. *Voz Fronteriza* remained in print for nearly 30 years. Its contributors used the newspaper to constantly put pressure on university officials to open up their doors to more students of color. Today UCSD's undergraduate student body is diverse, but diversity in numbers is not the same as equity.[911] The school remains focused on science and technology. Out-of-state and international enrollment far outnumbers the domestic student population. Programs that were created to foster the growth, retention, and success of local working-class students of color remain a target of ongoing budget cuts. There has also been an increase in racist incidents on and near campus in the past ten years have ignited a new wave of student activism.[912] Present-day efforts to make the university accountable to the communities that support it echo the founding goal of *Voz Fronteriza*.

[911] The most recent student demographic information available for UCSD is for the 2017-2018 academic year. URL: https://ir.ucsd.edu/_files/stats-data/profile/profile-2017-2018.pdf

[912] Ana Tintocalis, "UCSD Students Say Deeper Racism Exists on Campus." KPBS San Diego. February 24, 2010. Accessed March 7, 2019. URL: https://www.kpbs.org/news/2010/feb/24/ucsd-students-say-deeper-racism-exists-campus/; Thoai Lu, "UCSD battles Another Racist Campus Incident." Colorlines. March 2, 2011. Accessed March 7, 2019. URL: https://www.colorlines.com/articles/ucsd-battles-another-racist-campus-incident; Lumumba-Zapata Collective, "Whose University? UCSD's Racial Climate and the Making of Student Minorities." The

Conclusion

The Mexican American alternative press that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s in San Diego captured the efforts of a diverse Mexican community to improve their quality of life. Their thoughts, actions, dreams, and nightmares were recorded with their own hands on the pages of their respective newspapers. They were their own voice and advocate when the city and its mainstream press ignored their struggles. Through their writing, they speak to us directly in the present. They educate us about the many histories of Mexican Americans in San Diego, about the struggles they engaged with, and the ways they helped solve longstanding issues in their communities. San Diego, California was a politically active site of the larger Civil Rights Movement – and these newspapers help us think about the different ways that Mexican Americans contributed to it. In addition, those involved with the newspapers helped create a medium for future generations to continue the civil rights revolution their forbearers started. 50 years ago, there was no voice of, by, and for the people. Thanks to the alternative press, the Mexican American communities of San Diego are today a people with many, many voices.

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