

Chicano Youth and the Struggle for Self- Determination



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This draft resolution on the Chicano liberation struggle was written for the Young Socialist National Convention to be held in the Civic Center Music Hall in Houston, Texas, December 28 - January 1. This resolution was drafted by the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Similar resolutions and discussion articles deal with the movement for women's liberation, the struggles of African-Americans for self-determination, the high school and antiwar movements, and the general political perspectives for revolutionary socialist youth in the U.S. These initial draft resolutions, along with any others submitted to the convention, will be discussed and the general political perspectives outlined in them will be voted on.

The resolutions are being circulated prior to the convention to assure the fullest possible discussion on political perspectives and activities before the convention meets.

Young socialists from around the country are invited to participate in the written discussion and urged to attend the convention. Contributions to the discussion and inquiries can be sent to the Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

CHICANO YOUTH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

The upsurge of Chicano nationalism which began to make a nationwide impact in this country in the late 1960s continues to spread and deepen. Important aspects of this process have been the development of independent Chicano parties, Raza antiwar activity, Chicana feminism, student struggles, victories for the farmworkers, and the rising movement of the pintos (prisoners). An additional expression of the deepening radicalization and combativity of La Raza was seen in a series of urban explosions in Los Angeles, Albuquerque, and Denver.

CHICANO PARTIES

La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) in South Texas made further gains during the April, 1971, elections. In Crystal City LRUP took all the seats on the city council and now has a solid majority in the school board. In other areas, like Denver, Colorado, Northern California, and other cities in South Texas, although LRUP candidates did not score electoral victories, the campaigns helped to popularize the concept of an independent Chicano party and gain support for these parties. In Northern California one of the three candidates running under La Raza Unida Party banner obtained over 26,000 votes (33 percent). The LRUP campaign of Raul Ruiz has made an impact on the fall '71 elections in Los Angeles.

The LRUP campaigns and the mass actions they grew out of are educating whole layers of the population about the need for independent political action. They show the potential power of oppressed nationalities, organized independently of the Democratic and Republican parties, and how the electoral process can be used as a tool in the struggle for self-determination. In areas like Crystal City where LRUP has won elections and made changes beneficial to La Raza, this experience has helped to make concrete the concept of struggling for Chicano control of the Chicano community.

Moreover, recent studies reveal the role that La Raza Unida Party could play in further breaking up the political monopoly the two capitalist parties now have. The studies pointed out that the Chicano vote in just four states--California, Texas, New Mexico, and Illinois--could affect 101 electoral votes and possibly decide the 1972 presidential election. The studies also noted that Chicanos are the second largest "minority" next to Black people and, of the oppressed nationalities, the second largest potential voting bloc in the nation.

The current state of decay of capitalism heightens the prospects for success of a strategy of independent political action. The economic crisis faced by this country today

profoundly affects Chicanos. In the Southwest, the conditions of life for Chicanos are worse than even those of Black people.

Furthermore, Chicanos are among the hardest hit by Nixon's wage freeze and the wage controls of "Phase II." The attack on wages, designed to make working people support an economy staggering under the weight of U.S. war expenditures, perpetuates the inequalities in the standard of living of Chicanos as compared to white workers.

Nixon never intended to implement the so-called price-freeze, which was to alleviate the burden of inflation forced upon the working class, and Phase II doesn't even pretend to have direct price controls. Thus, while prices continue rising, the government will be helping to hold wages at the same miserable levels they have always been for most Chicanos.

The agricultural industry, in which large numbers of Chicanos are employed, provides a good example. Although the wages of farmworkers cannot be increased during the 90-day period, raw agricultural products are exempt from the "price freeze," thus increasing the profits of the already rich growers and making it that much more difficult for the masses of Chicanos.

An independent Chicano party can organize and mobilize La Raza against such attacks by the ruling class. The growing political awareness of masses of Chicanos will be advanced by Nixon's treacherous move. Organized into a mass independent political party Chicanos can effectively fight the Anglo ruling class's attempt to continue the oppression of La Raza.

CHICANAS

The last year has seen the emergence of a new consciousness among Raza women. Chicanas have begun to speak out and act against their oppression by organizing caucuses, writing articles, and forming their own organizations. These developments demonstrate the extent to which Chicanas have been affected, not only by the nationalist movement, but by the feminist movement as well. The national conference of Mujeres por La Raza in Houston last May was an important step for Chicana consciousness. Resolutions were passed demanding "free, legal abortions, controlled by Chicanas;" calling for "24-hour childcare in the Chicano community;" condemning the Church as "an oppressive institution;" and expressing support for equal pay for equal work. Several other conferences have also been held in the last year, such as a regional conference in Southern California, attended by some 250 Chicanas, in preparation for the national conference.

ANTIWAR ACTIONS

One way in which Chicano nationalism has been dramatically expressed is through opposition to the war in Indochina. Numerous Chicano antiwar demonstrations were held in 1970, culminating in the massive Chicano Moratorium on August 29, in Los Angeles, which was brutally attacked by the police. In response to this attack a mass action was held on Mexican Independence Day which reaffirmed the right of La Raza to protest against the war. The National Chicano Moratorium Committee turned away from organizing La Raza into antiwar actions such as August 29 and to organizing Chicanos around a multi-issue perspective. This turn left a temporary vacuum of leadership to carry out the task of organizing a Chicano antiwar movement. Despite that, Chicano antiwar sentiment remains high, as demonstrated on April 24, when 4,000 Chicanos marched in San Francisco under the slogan "Raza Si, Guerra No!"

Other smaller but significant actions have taken place. In Tucson, Arizona, a Chicano Moratorium in March, 1971, drew some 400 Chicanos. In Seattle, Washington, the Brown Berets and MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan) organized Chicano contingents and participated in two separate actions called by the local antiwar coalition, on October 31, 1970, and April 17, 1971. In the San Francisco Bay Area, MECHA and La Raza Unida Party helped organize an antiwar demonstration in Sacramento on August 7, the day on which La Marcha de la Reconquista (the Reconquest March), arrived in that city. La Marcha was organized around several issues, including opposition to the war.

The recognition that the racist war in Indochina is part of the oppression of La Raza has also begun to be reflected among Chicano GIs within the armed forces. In July, Corky Gonzales addressed a rally of 700 mostly Black and Chicano GIs at Fort Carson. The same weekend, in Denver, the antiwar and antidraft workshop at the Third Chicano Youth Liberation Conference projected reaching out to Chicano GIs.

THE PRISONS

Chicano nationalism has had a profound effect on Raza prisoners. The activities of Chicano prisoners in the last year demonstrate a widespread identification with the struggles taking place outside the prison walls. Chicano organizations have emerged in prisons throughout the Southwest, and at least a dozen newspapers are published by Chicanos inside the prisons. Radical publications, including The Militant, are widely read. In addition, Chicano prisoners are bound to be deeply affected by the recent rebellion at Attica and other such struggles that take place within the prisons.

Chicano inmates at Colorado State Prison held a conference at the end of September, which adopted a series of resolutions relating to their grievances and demanding improvements in the prisons. Participants included members

of MECHA, UMAS, and Gorky Gonzales, who was able to address the conference. Of a total attendance of 400, 200 prisoners signed up to receive The Militant.

THE FARMWORKERS

The farmworkers' movement (La Huelga) continues to win victories against the powerful growers. La Huelga pioneered the Chicano movement in its early stages and remains an important aspect of its current stage. Its growth is largely due to the fact that this movement did not limit itself to purely trade union questions but also took up other social issues of concern to Chicanos. The example set by the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee led by Cesar Chavez, which came to prominence during the successful grape strike and boycott in 1965, has been followed by farmworkers across the country.

The farmworkers' movement has had an independent thrust contributing to the development of Raza nationalism and in turn being affected by other struggles. But the Chavez leadership continues to support Democratic Party candidates, thus restricting the farmworkers' movement to dependence on liberal capitalist politicians. To maximize their gains the farmworkers will have to break with the capitalist parties and join or initiate independent Chicano political parties such as La Raza Unida Party.

CHICANO STUDENTS

Chicano students have played a central role in the struggle for national liberation. Students are subject to the same racist treatment as the rest of La Raza under bourgeois society. This common national oppression has helped to keep Chicano students closely tied to their community and to the non-student Chicano youth. Although the number of students going on to college is growing, it is still not in proportion to the population as a whole. Conditions in the schools are such that many Raza students get "pushed out" before ever reaching college and even those who stay in long enough to graduate from high school are generally channelled into vocational schools or forced to become cannon fodder for imperialist wars. These conditions, along with the general factors which contribute to the international youth radicalization have led to the development of a Chicano student movement.

In growing numbers Chicanos are demanding that education be relevant to their needs; that the true history and culture of La Raza be taught; that education be bilingual to eliminate disadvantages for students whose first language is Spanish; and that all the racist myths with which the white ruling class justifies Chicano oppression be eliminated from the educational system.

Throughout this period, Raza students have played a

vanguard role in the Chicano movement as a whole and have drawn valuable lessons for the movement. In many areas they have been the backbone of efforts to organize the Chicano community to support the farmworkers' struggles, La Raza Unida Party, and antiwar demonstrations. Chicana students have contributed greatly to the organized expression of feminism in the movement.

The fight for student control is one of the most important contributions that Chicano students have made. The question of whether or not Chicano students will have control of their education is directly related to the question of self-determination of the entire Chicano people.

An initial step in this direction has been the demand for Chicano studies programs and departments, which have rarely been won without a struggle. These struggles, in turn, lead to demands for control over those departments, the curriculum taught, the faculty who will teach them, and the administration of the departments. In many cases, school administrations have granted the programs and departments but the final decision-making power still rests with a handful of bureaucrats who answer only to the administration.

A recent fight at San Diego State College, leading to the firing of a Chicano professor because of his socialist ideas and his advocacy of student control of the Chicano Studies Department, serves to illustrate the importance of this question. Although the students favored keeping this professor in the department, the junta directiva (board of directors) waged a red-baiting campaign and through intimidation and bureaucratic procedure succeeded in bringing about a defeat for the Chicano student's movement.

THE BROWN UNIVERSITY

These struggles for student control are transitional in character. Consistent struggles carried out with this strategy will help bring student and community activists to the conclusion that their struggles cannot be fully realized within the framework of the capitalist system.

Such struggles educate whole layers of people about the racist nature of the educational system. They mobilize students into action and have the potential of involving broader layers of the community. And they help concretize democratic and transitional demands for both student control of education and Chicano control of the Chicano community. If the school administration attempts to victimize the students, then the struggle takes on the form of defense of democratic rights, especially the right to organize on campus.

These struggles for student control are one aspect of the struggle for the Brown University. The concept of the Brown University means aiming to turn the university into an organizing center for the Chicano struggle. Some initial elements of the Brown University strategy are included in the Plan de

Santa Barbara, drawn up at a conference of Chicano students and educators in 1969, in Santa Barbara. The Plan states: "Without a doubt on campus the Chicano student organization is and will remain the key agency for aligning university resources and manpower to the Chicano community. Categorically we can state that the degree to which the university works for Chicanos depends on the efforts of Chicanos on campus."

The same concept was developed by Black students in the course of campus struggles during 1968 and 1969, summarized in the slogan "For a Black University." Similarly, during the massive student upsurge in May of 1970 sparked by the invasion of Cambodia and the shootings at Kent, Augusta and Jackson, students throughout the country carried out many successful battles on the campus and advanced the strategy of the "antiwar university." The resources of the university became instruments of struggle around questions which directly affected the students but which went beyond the campus. Students reached out to other potentially more powerful social layers--the working class, the oppressed nationalities--seeking to mobilize them against the war.

In the same way, the Brown University strategy would seek to mobilize the Chicano community in support of Chicano control struggles that Chicano students wage on the campus, such as struggles for open admissions, for an end to the war, and for control of university resources to meet student and community needs.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

While much of what is true for students in the university also applies to high school students, there are some important differences in their situations.

High school students are victims of much worse conditions in the schools and greater restrictions which make political activity more difficult. Denial of the right to speak Spanish on school grounds, racist textbooks and teachers, corporal punishment, and lack of freedom to form political organizations or in any way express nationalist sentiment were all common practices until recently. In many places such practices continue, though not legally. These conditions, as well as economic necessity, result in a "push out rate" which is as high as 70 percent in Texas and 50 percent in East Los Angeles.

The high school blowouts (mass school walkouts) conducted by Chicano students during 1968 set an example which was later followed by other high school students and which led to certain gains. High school students have also played an exemplary role in helping to build La Raza Unida Party, particularly in Texas, where the Crystal City LRUP developed out of a support group for the Crystal City High School student boycott.

The radicalization of Chicano high school students is

especially threatening to the capitalist rulers since when they leave high school these students will be going into the work force, the army, or the college campuses armed with valuable political experience they have acquired while in school.

CHICANA FEMINISM

The emergence of Chicana feminism adds a whole new dimension to the Chicano movement. This new consciousness has serious implications for La Raza, for other oppressed nationalities, and for American capitalism. For one thing, it helps to further break down the barriers that capitalism places in the way to keep the oppressed from turning against that system and has the potential of politicizing and putting into motion thousands of women for the first time.

For another, this phenomenon illustrates the need felt by Chicanas to fight around their own specific needs, as women. In doing so, Chicanas are fighting against the already existing divisions on the basis of sex, rooted in the capitalist system, which are part of the oppression of nationalities like La Raza.

Rather than dividing the movement, their struggles can provide a base of real unity with other sectors of La Raza in motion and thus strengthen the movement. Those who oppose the development of Chicana feminism are, in fact, opposing an important aspect of the nationalist movement and thus helping to weaken it.

Everything from "machismo" to the role of the family is being challenged by Chicanas. They are questioning every aspect of bourgeois ideology designed to maintain their subservient role, including the Catholic Church, which has greatly contributed to their oppression.

Particularly important is the impact that the actions of Chicanas will have on women of other oppressed nationalities. Black women at the July Women's National Abortion Conference in New York expressed strong sentiment for holding a Black women's conference after hearing Elma Barrera, organizer of the Houston Chicana conference, speak. The activities of Chicana feminists will do much to advance Black feminism.

One advantage Chicanas have is that they have drawn important lessons from not only the Chicano movement, but the antiwar and feminist movements as well. The strategy and tactics they apply, and the form in which such a movement is organized, will undoubtedly be conditioned by that experience.

It should be clear that while the women's liberation movement was an important factor in the development of Chicana feminism, nationalism is at the root of the radicalization of Chicanas. The organization of separate Chicana conferences, exclusively Chicana groups and Chicana publications are all expressions of a national identity. It is the combination of feminism and nationalism that gives the Chicana feminist movement such potential strength.

Through independent struggles for the repeal of antiabortion laws, for childcare facilities and for other feminist demands, Chicanas will strengthen the feminist movement and aid in the success of those struggles.

At the same time, the demand for community control of the gains made from these struggles ties these issues to the struggle for Chicano control of the Chicano community as an integral part of the struggle for self-determination.

Because Chicanas are oppressed on a national as well as a sexual and class basis, in many cases they will organize separately from the broader women's liberation movement. But the demands and actions of the women's liberation movement as a whole provide a focus for the growing Chicana feminist movement. For example, Chicana contingents will be organized for actions such as demonstrations for the repeal of all antiabortion laws.

INDEPENDENT MASS ACTION VERSUS REFORMISM AND ULTRALEFTISM

The strategy which can most effectively advance the struggle for Chicano self-determination is the strategy of involving massive numbers of Chicanos in independent political actions, both in the electoral arena and in the streets. Broad united front mass actions can be built around specific issues related to the demand for Chicano control of the Chicano community. These efforts win concessions, raise the level of consciousness of La Raza, and build a base for the formation of an independent Chicano political party.

La Raza Unida Party was able to develop and gain wide support in Texas because it originated from the united mass actions by the students and others in the Chicano community. Another example of this approach was the Chicano Moratoriums, which mobilized tens of thousands of Chicanos around the question of the war.

Struggles for democratic and transitional demands pose the question of who should rule over the lives of the Chicano people: Chicanos themselves or the capitalist ruling class. These struggles make clear the need for a complete and radical change in the present society, and they bring those sectors involved in struggle closer to an understanding of the need to make a socialist revolution in this country.

The reformists oppose the inherently independent thrust of the Chicano nationalist movement. They oppose the mobilization of masses of Chicanos around demands relating to their needs because such mobilizations tend in an anticapitalist direction leading to consistent confrontations with the status quo. Instead, they seek to keep La Raza tied to and subservient to the Democratic and Republican parties, that is, to the parties of the capitalist ruling class which administer the oppression of nationalities like La Raza. Some reformists use the rhetoric of Raza nationalism, others the rhetoric of

socialism, to mask the fact that they are vendidos (sellouts).

There are many such reformists, however. The Communist Party (CP), and the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), which is in political solidarity with the CP, are the most significant of the nationally organized left-wing tendencies in this category.

While the organizational strength of the CP and YWLL is limited to certain areas, aspects of their political perspective appeal to a broader layer within the Chicano movement. Because reformism has significant influence in the Chicano movement, it deserves close attention.

Traditionally, its class-collaborationist politics have led the CP to support so-called "progressive" or "liberal" or "lesser evil" candidates of the Democratic Party. Rather than supporting and building independent nationalist formations, like La Raza Unida Party, the CP calls for a new "antimonopoly" "people's party" which would in reality be a third capitalist party.

The party would neither be a labor party based on the trade unions nor an independent party of the Black or Chicano people. Furthermore, denial of the right of self-determination of oppressed nationalities is a condition for the formation of coalitions with any section of the ruling class. Thus, the "people's party" strategy is inherently antinationalist, since it seeks to include within its ranks the liberal wing of the capitalist class. The logic of the CP's "people's front" politics is clearly to oppose the formation of independent nationalist parties whether Black or Chicano.

The development of La Raza Unida parties cuts across the building of a "people's party," but the CP has not yet taken an open position in opposition to LRUP. Instead it seeks to blur the distinction between the Chicano movement as a whole and Chicano parties that develop by referring, for example, to the Raza Unida movement (including Chicano Democrats) whenever possible instead of La Raza Unida Party. Where they cannot prevent the development of significant Raza Unida Party formations they can be expected to first join and then attempt to channel them back into some form of capitalist politics.

One strategy commonly used by the CP and the YWLL is to adapt to ultraleft trends to cover up their basically reformist politics. An example of this is the strategy of calling for a campaign "against repression" in general or "against racism" in general to divert the nationalist struggle. This policy has led some activists to abandon the course of organizing massive, militant antiwar demonstrations in favor of a campaign against repression, the target of which are always the "bad" capitalist politicians like Governor Ronald Reagan of California and Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles. Rather than breaking Chicanos away from the Democratic and Republican parties, this type of campaign does precisely the opposite.

Such ambiguous campaigns do not help, in reality, to do away with repression or racism. To be effective, this fight must be waged by rallying massive support for campaigns against specific repressive or racist acts, not repression in general, or racism in general.

By focusing on one or another "agent of repression," the CP takes the attention away from the ruling class as a whole and the two parties which are ultimately responsible for the oppression of La Raza, and relegates it simply to a question of "better" (lesser-evil) individual capitalist politicians in office. They mislead the masses into believing that if people like Reagan can be replaced by "good" or "liberal" capitalist politicians, then all their problems will be solved. Such are the maneuvers of the CP which then create the perfect setup for Democratic Party politicians to campaign for the Chicano vote.

Many of the CP and YWLL youth are finding difficulty reconciling the antinationalist line of the CP with the strong nationalist movement. We want to take every opportunity to draw YWLL into united fronts, to discuss and debate with them and to recruit the best of them to the YSA.

The other main strategy opposed to independent mass action is ultraleftism. Ultralefts substitute a small "revolutionary" vanguard for the masses. They fail to understand the dynamics of mass independent actions to bring about a revolutionary consciousness among large numbers of people. Instead, they look for shortcuts to this process and vacillate in their tactics between individual confrontationist actions and "do-good" social work type projects.

One common tendency which flows from this perspective is that of setting up counter-institutions. Counter-institutionalism is a distortion of the concept of self-determination. The rationale behind it is that, since bourgeois institutions fail to serve the interests of Chicanos, therefore they should be replaced by those set up by Chicanos.

Setting up counter institutions is an immediate response to the pressing needs of the oppressed which capitalist society fails to meet. While this type of activity might be able to temporarily alleviate the immediate needs of a few, it cannot, in the long run, fulfill all the basic needs of all of La Raza.

The mass struggles that helped La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City take control have made it possible for every child at the elementary and high school level to be fed breakfast and lunch, either free or at a cost in proportion with the family's income. It is this strategy, and not that of setting up free breakfast for a handful of children, which the Chicano communities need.

The "serve the people" approach drains the energies and resources of the Chicano movement and takes the respon-

sibility off of the government which should be providing the Chicano community with what it needs.

Chicanos have the right to control all the institutions which affect their lives and to demand of the government that it provide these institutions. Since the government is not willing to make any concessions unless it is forced to, such demands can only be won through struggle. That is the essence of this stage of the struggle for self-determination, as concretized in the demand for Chicano control of the Chicano community.

Furthermore, the masses of people radicalize through experience in struggles in which they themselves participate, and not by the example of an elite few, no matter how sincere or dedicated. Setting up counter-institutions as a substitute for carrying out actions which involve all of La Raza cannot take the struggle forward.

Partly because of the experiences of the Black Panther Party and largely because of the independent mass action orientation of many Chicano organizations, the mistakes that the Black movement experienced, such as abstention from mass action and arming the vanguard rather than organizing mass self defense, have been minimized by La Raza.

It is crucial to understand that both the strategy of the ultralefts and the reformists are equally dangerous to the movement. Both are deadends because both attempt to find shortcuts to the difficult and sometimes slow process of building a movement capable of mobilizing millions of La Raza. On the one hand, the reformists look to a section of the ruling class to solve the problems of the oppressed, and on the other hand, the ultralefts attempt to substitute themselves for the masses. Both have one thing in common: they bypass the masses, no matter what their rhetoric. That is why it is not uncommon to see the ultralefts bloc with the reformists against the mass-action perspectives of the revolutionary nationalists and socialists. One such example was the bloc formed at the Second Annual Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, in Denver, Colorado, in 1970. The reformists opposed calling for the formation of an independent Chicano political party because of their support for liberal Democrats. The "pick-up-the-gun" ultralefts who oppose electoral politics on principle consciously joined with Democrats in an attempt to defeat the proposal calling for the formation of La Raza Unida Party.

To disguise their basically reformist politics the ultralefts, together with the reformists, attempted to "red-bait" those who favored the LRUP proposal. The tactic of red-baiting is applied most commonly by reactionaries, but it is also used by elements inside the movement against revolutionary nationalists and revolutionary socialists who favor political independence for the movement. Sometimes red-baiting is masked by nationalist rhetoric. In either case, this tactic divides the movement and plays right into the hands of the

Democrats and Republicans.

TASKS OF THE YSA

The YSA must do all it can to help build a mass Chicano movement that can fight for meaningful improvements under capitalism and at the same time carry on the fight for complete liberation and self-determination. This means supporting the farmworkers movement, student struggles, Raza antiwar actions, Chicana feminist activities, community control struggles, and independent Chicano party developments. Work among Chicano high school and college students is especially important because of the political developments occurring on the campus, the receptivity to socialist ideas, and because of the base we have there. Where we have Raza members, we should participate actively in Chicano student groups, joining in the fight for student-controlled Chicano studies departments, open admissions, the war machine off campus, and an end to all racist practices. We favor the Chicano student movement relating to the major political issues that arise in the high schools and on college campuses, in the community and in the country.

The war in Indochina is the most important issue in U. S. politics and for La Raza. The Chicano movement has consistently opposed the war and mobilized La Raza against it. The YSA will continue to support the active involvement of Chicano youth in antiwar actions, both all-Raza actions and Raza contingents in coalition-called actions. Such actions offer a clear alternative to those who say that the war is irrelevant to the barrio. Not only is the war relevant to Chicano youth who are being drafted out of proportion to their numbers in the population, but it is a central issue for all of La Raza. Antiwar sentiment has mobilized in action more Chicanos than any other single issue so far. It has politicized thousands of Chicanos, young and old, women and men, who were never before active in the movement. It has developed new leaders for the movement. It has also served as an example for the Black movement which has yet to organize in the same way and on a similar scale.

Moreover, continued antiwar demonstrations by La Raza and other social layers can deepen the split in the ruling class and seriously hamper Nixon's ability to continue the war, much less escalate it. Revolutionary socialists must continue fighting for this perspective against the reformists and ultralefts within the Chicano movement.

The YSA will continue to support the involvement of Chicanas in the national campaign to repeal abortion laws. A great deal of enthusiasm has already been demonstrated for this campaign by Raza feminists who recognize it as central to their interests.

Our aim will be to involve not merely the most radicalized Raza women, but Raza women who do not necessarily consider themselves feminists. The actions of the abortion

campaign, such as the November 20 marches on Washington and San Francisco, in which we want to help build Chicana contingents, provide a vehicle for initiating this work.

Our support to the Socialist Workers Party election campaign affords us an excellent opportunity to publicize and build activities which the Chicano movement is carrying out, as well as get out our socialist ideas.

Both local and national SWP election campaigns have publicized and educated people about La Raza Unida Party. Building support for LRUP is an integral part of all our educational work in the Chicano movement and the SWP campaigns are an excellent tool for doing so.

Campus elections can also play the role of building the Chicano movement because our candidates will be campaigning for Chicano studies, for Chicano control of the schools, for open admissions and the rest of our campus program.

Another effective tool for explaining our program for Chicano liberation to thousands of radicalizing Chicano youth and winning them over to socialism is our press. Regular sales of The Militant and International Socialist Review must be integrated into every one of our activities. The subscription drives and the sale of individual copies that reach Chicano activists will increase the influence of our ideas in the Chicano movement. The task of reaching the movement with our ideas through the sale of our press is the responsibility of all comrades, not just our Raza members.

Part of being able to influence the movement will consist

of YSAers keeping adequately informed about important political issues in the Chicano movement, following the Chicano press, particularly in areas with large Chicano populations and movements, and being able to relate to important new developments in the Chicano movement as they take place.

Finally, we must prepare ourselves for the unprecedented growth that the YSA will undoubtedly experience in the coming period. All our work should have a conscious orientation towards winning Raza activists to the YSA, not only on the basis of our support for the Chicano movement, but to our entire program. The success of our work in the Chicano movement depends on the direction given to it by the leadership of the YSA.

A multinational revolutionary youth organization and party will be necessary to make the American revolution, which will be a combined struggle by the working class for the socialist revolution and a struggle for self-determination by oppressed nationalities. This combined revolution against a single, centralized state, will not be realized without a highly centralized, mass revolutionary socialist party and youth organization that apply the lessons of past revolutionary struggles and draw into their ranks the most conscious militants from all movements of the oppressed.

The experience of comrades who are part of the Chicano liberation movement, combined with a thorough understanding of Marxist theory and the need to build a revolutionary socialist youth organization and Leninist party will be a major contribution which will take us one step further on the road to making a victorious socialist revolution.

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