

RAZA UNIDA ON YOUTH

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I. ON YOUTH ITSELF.

Our development through the stages of youth, from the time that we first become aware of the fact that there are people around us is one of constant interaction, between ourselves and those who are around us and between ourselves and our surroundings. At times we are in harmony with those who surround us and our conditions, and at other times we are in conflict, but we learn from every encounter. In our childhood, we are totally dependent, therefore we begin by making many demands on our parents and those who are taking care of us, but as we grow older, we begin to have certain demands placed on us, unless, of course, one happens to be quite rich, but most of us do not have that luxury.

As we grow into adolescence, we begin to get conflicting signals, from the society around us and from our own physical, mental and emotional processes. Whereas before we had had strong releases of energy by free play and devilry in the classroom, we now seem to be going through a stage of very tense energy which needs to be directed and is often expressed in rebellion against the restrictions our parents place against us or is directed into sports, hobbies, work or gangs and fighting, according to the signals we get from the environment we live in. If we happen to ^{come} from a middle class home, the probability is that we will (probably) be directed into athletic activity or organized group activities, but oftentimes it only means hanging out in groups.

In the barrios, we receive a different set of signals; there we find the streets for the most part unpaved and unlighted, the mud when it rains and the houses in poor condition. We find the winos, the fights, the filoreadas, the fights that spill out onto the streets when the family is arguing, but at the same time, we find the closeness of the family, and that is not just mother, father and children, but tíos, tías, primos, abuelos, padrinos, madrinas and just about everyone else in the barrio, even the tecatos. There are the frijoles, the chile, the arroz dulce, the fiestas, the cuentos and the parties and the batos or chavas who are part of our growing up. But, the barrio also has the early pregnancies, the droppouts from school and the misery of not being able to find a job or having a poor paying job.

All of these conditions affect the way that we look at life. The middle and upper class youth tend to look forward to school and the possibility of going on to college or a certain party or getting a car or a driver's license, the going to a party where there are many good things to do and eat, and it tends to blind a person to the fact that there is misery in the barrios and in the pueblitos and ranchitos. For the youth in the barrio, it means that more than likely the partys are booze parties or riding around in one of the vato's cars looking for wisas or hanging out on the corner, at the movie, the snack bar or just the bar, trying to get some vato to buy a bottle for you. It may mean peddling papers in the bars instead of paper route. It means you probably are waiting to reach sixteen so you can get the hell out of school and get a job at one of the stores or doing day labor, or for some, trying to get an education to get out of the barrio and get a good job.

The growing energies of both the barrio youth and the middle class youth are wasted, at a time when they are trying to grow and develop, when they are trying to deal with the contradictory feelings and idealism, the desire to "do something," to "be somebody" and to "understand" as well as to actively participate as a part of a group. This is true in the middle class youth, because he is directed into a world of materialism and possessions, while the poor youth find only despair and often times prison, unless by some chance he happens to escape through either luck or harder than normal work or both. Neither youth finds his or her potentials fulfilled, and both feel that something is missing. This can lead to middle class dissipation in gangs, cars, parties, "kicks" with drugs or alcohol or a dissatisfied life for many Chicano youth from the middle class or similar conditions from a different lifestyle for the barrio youth.

Both young people are being insulated from the total reality in which they are growing up by the society in which and the reality in which they live. They are not able to see the "whole picture," thus they do not have the information they need to make the proper decisions about what to do with their lives, where to direct their energy; they are not exposed to the total picture. Adults either tell them to "behave" or to "settle down" or they are left totally to themselves to do whatever they want, because the parents themselves do not have the knowledge to guide their children or are so busy trying to make a living or so steeped in misery that they do not have the ability or the time to guide their children, because they themselves are victims of the same society that is forming their children.

These conditions have created Chicano youth who because of a middle class upbringing try to immitate anglos or Chicanos who are condemned to to live in poverty or to be shuttled from jail to jail or from prison to prison. It causes and identity crisis in the Chicano community which pits Chicano against Chicano, divides us and helps to keep us from getting together to try to solve the problems that were created from the effects of the time when we were in our most critical stages of development, our pre-teenage and teenage years, when the middle class Chicano is anglocized and the barrio youth is povertyized. All of this because society now is just being geared to produce goods and services, and if one is lucky enough to be middle class, you will probably get some of the goods and services, but if you are from the barrio, you will probably just spend your time desiring the goods and services, and neither one of you will really be able to see what is really important in the world, including the world you are growing up in.

Most of you as Chicano youth will probably not have the books and supports to develop yourselves as human beings who know enough about the world to make any but the most direct and simple decisions relating to daily life and you will probably know very little about what is shaping your life, but you will have it shaped anyway and you will react according to the information you have or you will mostly be looking for a good time or to just make it.

II. YOUR CONDITIONING BY SOCIETY.

3

While you may not be even aware of it, as a child, your parents start to condition you. The food that is put before you on the table conditions whether or not you will like chile, whether you eat frijoles or Campbell's soup, enchiladas or steak, arroz dulce or jello pudding, quelites or spinach; this same environment conditions whether you will speak Spanish or English, whether you operate in an extended family or the nuclear family of the parents and children, whether your childhood stories come from the lips of your grandparents or the story books that come from the store. Your parents give you concepts as to whether or not school is good and what it is good for, whether you call yourself Mexicano, Spanish, Spanish American, Latin American, Latino, Hispano, etc..

The home you live in and the neighborhood in which you live will determine your attitude about what life is, whether you make your own toys or if they are bought for you, if you play in the mud or on a grassy front lawn or park, whether you are often sick or if you go to a doctor at the slightest hint of a cold, whether your father comes home in dirty coveralls or in a suit, whether you have books in the house or if you learn to read on comic books and playboy, whether you can study quietly in your own room or if you have to study in the kitchen because it is the warmest room in the house and you are competing for your attention on the books with the radio, the television, the yelling kids, your bothers and sisters arguing, and maybe your mother and father fighting.

The attitudes our parents exhibit about other people are also a part of the ideas that we pick up. This, for example can have an effect on whether we see the poor Chicano as lazy or as a victim of the society and its discriminatory organization, whether we feel that people can really rise as the "American dream" says we can or whether we feel that only the "lambes" and "vendidos" are going to make it in this society. It can make you feel that the people who are humble and respectful according to the Mexicano tradition are as they should be or whether they are seen as superstitious, church dominated, weak and deserving of poverty. It can make you proud of speaking Spanish and of people who speak Spanish or it can make you ashamed of us as being retrogressive or "unamerican", and it can make you feel ashamed of speaking or of people who speak Spanish in front of the anglo. There are historic reasons for these attitudes which we will discuss further along in this presentation.

Once we leave the home, we are affected in our views and attitudes by the society around us. If that society places importance on working in a suit and tie, having the nicest home, the newest and most modern furniture, we are affected by that. In many cases, the Chicano community is sort of an island inside of the anglo community and it has its own lifestyle like that which we have partly described, but it too is affected by society that surrounds. The Chicano community is a combination of the Mexican culture and the anglo culture which surrounds it because many Chicanos want to have the things that they see in the anglo culture, but at the same time they are affected by the customs, food and language or their forefathers and neighbors and the Mexican culture which is constantly coming into the barrio. We the Chicano/Mexicano have been the ethnic group which has held on to our culture the most strongly, be-

cause unlike other immigrant groups, we did not immigrate here after the anglo came. We are a people descended from two bloods which were here long before the anglo, the Indian and the Spanish, so we do not feel, for the most part, that we have to give up our language and our culture, nor do we feel that the Mexicano who crosses the border without papers is illegally here, because we have been crossing that strip of land through both our Indian and Spanish ancestors since long before the anglo even set foot on this continent.

Still, despite the fact that we have been strong in retaining our culture and our language and are struggling to preserve it even now, anglo society is still affecting our barrios and our people. Often, our first contact is through a glimpse we perceive as our parents travel through the anglo part of town or through the radio or television. For the young Chicano, television is often the first acculturating tool he comes into direct and frequent contact with. In the last 20 years, the Chicano family has gone from the radio to the television set as this has gotten less expensive, but both have had their impact.

In the 1930's and 1940's the Chicano was strongly influenced by the movies, which were the medium with which most people had contact and much of the pachuco culture was developed around the melodrama of Humphrey Bogart and the stars of the times, and they began to be strongly influenced by the rhythm and blues they were hearing on the radio and the early rock and roll. The entry of rock and roll and mandatory education began to affect the Chicano even further in that the young people began to half forget Spanish and only half learn English. With the entry of television into the Chicano home, the very young began to be exposed to television and the English language, because only along the border could anyone receive Spanish language stations, whereas before there were often Spanish language radio stations for people to listen to.

Television caused the very young to start parroting English and many parents who had been in the military or had been able to get some schooling began to teach their children only English, and thus we now have a largely English speaking population of young Chicanos, but fortunately, because of the Chicano movement, some young Chicanos are getting Spanish in bilingual education and are taking Spanish classes, also, the non Spanish speaking youth are coming into contact with the Spanish speaking Chicanos from the small towns and the children of documented and undocumented immigrants from Mexico and there is an interchange of language taking place.

The schools have been one of the greatest socializers of Chicanos into the anglo system along with television, because the anglo schools have done everything possible to erase the Spanish language from the mind of our Chicano youth by forcing English on us. For those of us whose first language was Spanish, this caused us to be six years behind our anglo classmates, or perhaps even further behind, because usually the anglo kids had books in their homes and we were lucky if we had the bible to read in Spanish (and surprisingly, many of us did) or comic books.

5

All of the history we learned was the history of the anglos, from George Washington on down to John F. Kennedy, the Mountain Men, the railroads, the cavalry and their battles against the Indians (and the Indians were always the bad ones), the war of 1812, the addition of the Florida territory of Spain, the Louisiana Purchase, the War between the United States and Mexico, the big industries of the Industrial Revolution, the Cowboys and pioneers and the men who "tamed the West (including Mexicans)" and the famous Roosevelt and Wilson and the First and Second World Wars, the space age, etc.

We were told that, under the U.S. system of rugged individualism, "free" enterprise, and democracy, anyone who would work hard could prosper. We were fed the story of Abe Lincoln going from log cabin rail splitter to President of the United States. The different European immigrant groups were held up before us as examples of the fact that anyone could have a part of the "American Dream." But, somehow, Blacks, Browns and Reds (Blacks, Chicanos and Indians) were not to be included. The Indian was a museum piece to be kept on the reservations in traditional style for the tourists to see how they lived the and the Blacks and Chicanos were supposed to provide the stoop labor and the menial jobs whites didn't want so that whites could be middle class, and the "coloreds" would be an underclass.

It is true that some Chicanos and Blacks have "made it" in this society, but they are few in number when they are compared to the same ratios of anglos. It is said that some 25 to 35% of Chicanos live "below the poverty line," but when one considers the underemployed, it comes closer to 50%, and for Chicano youth in the cities and ranchitos, it runs as high as 75-85%. Those Chicanos who have "made it" have often made it as politicians who use their background and name to rise politically among our people and then deliver the votes to anglo candidates for other offices, very few help our people once they get into office, because if they try to, their careers in politica are going to be very short. Other Chicanos get their money by selling in the barrio to the Chicano community and they become the merchants. Others are the children of middle class or of the few professional class parents who then go on to become professionals or bureaucrats themselves. A few poor Chicanos do make it by their own right despite the obstacles and stumbling blocks of poverty and discrimination, but compared to the general Chicano population, they are very few in number.

Nevertheless, society gives us anglo and black models to copy in the countless ads, that we see in television, magazines and newspapers or hear on the radio or see on billboards. They tell us that to be successful, we have to speak English, dress like the anglo, look like the anglo, smell like the anglo, work like the anglo and drive cars and go to the same type of entertainment as the anglo, but despite the Chicano's copying of the anglo in many ways, we still have the lowest education of any ethnic group in the United States except the Native American (the Indian) we have the highest unemployment, the least teachers and administration officials. We have bought the "American Dream" but for many Chicanos, it turned out to be a short end of the stick. We are still the most exploited and the most ignored minority in the United States and some of the people who are worse off economically, socially and politically in the United States.

In the United States' educational system, we have been taught that the country was the first to try the grand experiment of democracy dreamed of by John Locke, Thoreau, but it omits much mention of the slavery and the effects of that slavery on the black. It further discusses the history of the United States as one of progress and westward expansion, but it doesn't deal very long with the attitudes of the rich "robber barons," the sweatshops in which people and even little children labored from sun to sun and more 18 hours a day to make the rich richer; it doesn't recognize that the westward expansion of the United States took place over the dead bodies of Indians and Mestizos who worked the lands and were to be considered as inferior under Manifest Destiny and Social Darwinism. The United States took Florida from Spain under threat of invasion, it bought the territory of Louisiana from France which claimed it because it had invaded and was occupying Spain, the original claimant; the United States bought, according to the European code, stolen property. The United States then proceeded to try to "buy" Texas and California from Mexico and the people of the southern United States had the idea of taking Mexico's land by force, which they did first in Texas and later in the rest of the Southwest by invading Mexico in a war that the United States provoked by sending U.S. troops into Mexican territory. Lastly, the United States took the northwest territory by threatening England that it was going to invade it under the doctrine of "44-40 or fight", which meant that the United States wanted the land up to the present boundaries of Canada.

U.S. history books justify the takeover of our Mexican territory by saying things like the fact that Mexico did not recognize Texas as an independent nation, "and though Mexico later denounced the treaty as having been signed under duress, she made no further attempt to reestablish her authority (Blum, Morgan and others, The National Experience, P. 262) and feel that this is enough justification for the anglos and the United States to take over the territory, and about the war between the United States and Mexico, they have to admit "though Mexico was far from blameless for the war that came, THE CENTRAL CAUSE WAS NEVERTHELESS THE READINESS OF THE POLK ADMINISTRATION TO RESORT TO ARMS TO ACHIEVE ITS EXPANSIONIST GOALS." (p.269) Fredrick Merk, in his book Manifest Destiny and Mission tells us that the United States was not satisfied with this, but it wanted to control Canada and Central and South America and take all of Mexico.

In all of this history that is written about the United States, the Indian, the Mexicans and the Chinese do not exist except as they are supposed to be a problem for the United States and its heroes the cavalry and the cowboys. In the twentieth century, we disappear, especially in the 1950's and 1960's. The same history book mentioned above covers the entire Chicano Movement up to the 1973 edition in one paragraph about César Chávez, José Angel Gutiérrez and Reies López Tijerina. The antiwar movement gets about four pages, the Black Movement gets 1 1/2 pages and the women's movement gets two pages. All in all, we have been considered unimportant and invisible to the United States, until now that we count as votes from the Democrat party and the street gangs shown in "Boulevard Nights" and other movies and in the news programs about the gangs in L.A. and the "Mexican Mafia" and "La Familia."

As Chicanos, we were affected in the 1950's by television, and we dressed our Vatos in courdovoyes, with crew cuts, and the girls wore white and black shoes and bobby socks and went to the sock hops, and listened to "rock 'n' roll" and bouth records and went to the movies and went to the movies and bought Fats Domino, Chubby Checker and Elvis Presly and the Ventures and anything else that came along, but a lot of us, especially the Chicanos on the farms and ranches and the Mexicanos who was coming in on the bracero program and the Mexicanos who came in without documents were listening to the rancheras; in New Mexico, we still danced the "Varso-viana" and the polkas, and in Texas, the "Tex-Mex" sound was starting to grow.

During this time, the G.I. generation of the Second World War getting into the skilled trades, and some were going to college while other Chicanos were being drafted to fight in Korea. The anglo beatniks and the motorcycle gangs and other gangs were trying to immitate the Chicano pachucos and low riders. Some Chicanos were making it and getting into good jobs and middle class, and this middle class began to raise a generation of Chicanos who couldn't speak Spanish, who preferred anglo food and were going to rise in the anglo system, but most Chicanos still lived in poverty and sub-standard housing and the other conditions we have already described in the barrio, but we were being affected by television.

By the 1960's a large part of the Chicanos were not able to speak their mother tongue of Spanish, and operation wetback was deporting our mexicano brothers who could have helped us keep our language alive, but the anglo was making us think that they were taking our jobs, our girls and that they were unamerican, and since in the 1960's, more Chicanos were staying in school these schools had more of a change to make us think that our culture was inferior and that we had to pledge allegiance to the flag, eat a balanced breakfast of bacon, eggs, milk, juice and buttered toast, instead of hueyos rancheros, atole, chaquegüe, and tortillas de harina y de maíz. So Chicanos during that time really did not know for sure who they were. The parents were too busy trying to make a living in a money economy of jobs to pass on culture to the youth and tell them about our history, or because they did not have any schooling, they really didn't know it except as they had learned it in the first grade, and in grade school, because most of them didn't make it past the sixth grade.

In the 1960's, we were Latin Americans, Spanish Americans, Mexican Americans, Spanish, Latins and who knows what else, we had just come out the 1950's where we were suspected by the Mc-Carthy withhhunters to be alien, communists, subversives, degraded, inferior, dirty, greasy, smelly, and good only for the lowest form of jobs. To be sure, people like George I. Sanchez, the Mexicano and Chicano newspapers and many organizations tried to change that, but they weren't heard. Even an anglo, Carey McWilliams tried to change our stereotypes and tell the truth about how we had been oppressed, but McWilliams' book, which came out in 1948 wasn't discovered by anglos and Chicanos until around 1968, 20 years later.

In 1958, a man named Reies López Tijerina began to make regular visits into New Mexico, he had been born in cotton field in Texas to parents whose forefathers had had a history of being oppressed by the anglo, and whose grandfather had been lynched when he refused to give anglos his land. He organized the Alianza Federal de Pueblos libres in New Mexico to get back the land grants that had been stolen from the Chicanos in New Mexico, just like his lands had been stolen in Texas. He began to hold meetings, then marches and demonstration to Santa Fé, in Río Arriba County and in many other places. He sent petitions to the government, tried to get help from the government of Mexico and was deported fro his troubles, studied land grant documents in Santa Fe, Parral, Chihuahua, Mexico City, Spain, and from the documents he got from the members of the Alianza. He influenced the Chicano everywhere and began to travel to California, Arizona, Texas, Colorado, wherever there were Chicanos, and the organization was growing

About in the same time César Chávez was organizing the farm workers in California, starting around in 1962, after he left the Uommunity Service Organizations, which tried to organize the Chicanos in the cities to get better services, to elect Chicano candidates to school boards, to city councils, etc.. César Chávez gathered people like his brother Mannel and Dolores Huerta and many others who knew what the farm workers had suffered, and early in the organization, they held a strike against the rose growers that they lost, then they had the famous grape strike of 1965 that brought support from many Chicanos and anglo liberals, but the United States bought grapes and sent them to Viet Nâm, because people here weren't buying them.

In 1965, a young man who had been a boxer and who had "made it" by having apartment buildings for rent, being a bail bondsman, having power in the Democrat party, working for the government and making good money decided that the Chicano for the most part was getting screwed over, so he started a picket line and boycott against the Rocky Mountain News that got him thrown out of his government job and the democrat party. He started an organization with an office in downtown Denver called the Crusade for Justice, and he began to organize the Chicano in the streets, the vatos locos and he began to give them a purpose, to struggle for their raza. The Crusade grew, until they had an old Church school building in Denver and began to bring in the families of the vatos locos and others who weren't in the same pattern.

In 1965, the students at Loyola University called a meeting of Chicano students in other southern California universit@i)s and began to discuss the fact that there weren't very many Chicano students in the schools and that there were almost no Chicano professors and that the classes really weren't telling the truth about the Chicano. They started to think about not joining the anglo fraternities, since in many cases they weren't allowed in any way, and they started to think about forming Chicano clubs. From this came the United Mexican American Students, UMĀS; in texas, the same thing was happening, and the Chicanos formed the Mexican American Youth Organization, MAYO, and other organizations like them began to grow up sucha as MAYA, the Mexican American Youth Association, SASO, the Spanish American Student Associaton which

was established at New Mexico Highlands University in 1969, one year after an UMAS chapter was started at the University of New Mexico; there was also MASA, AHORA, and many another Chicano student organization. These organizations began to take pride in being Chicano and they began to try to reverse the assimilation into being an anglo that had been going on in the schools in the 1950's and the 1960's, and they began to look in the history books and look for our past, they look at the history of Mexico for heroes for our people, like Pancho Villa, who organized the Chicano and Mexicano, because many Chicanos fought in the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and Emiliano Zapata, who organized the poor farmworkers in Southern Mexico, and since the majority of Chicanos were descended from Mexicanos who came to the United States after the 1920's, this was proper. The students began to look at Latin America for more contemporary heroes, Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and we began to celebrate Mexican holidays like el Cinco de Mayo, when the Mexicanos defeated the best army in Europe, the French, el 16 de Septiembre, Mexican independence day, and we began to learn to replace George Washington with Padre Miguel Hidalgo Y Costilla, Thomas Jefferson with Padre José María Morelos y Pavón, who drew up the first Mexican constitution, Nathan Hale with Vicente Guerrero and Guadalupe Victoria, both of whom carried on Guerrilla warfare until the Spanish were driven out and, after they kicked out Mexico's first dictator, Iturbide, Victoria became President of Mexico, the first. We learned about Benito Juárez, who fought the French until he drove them out, a full blooded Zapotec Indian who defeated the best army in the world at the time.

At this same time, the students in the high schools were getting tired of being treated like dirt and having our culture and language put down, and they got together and began to plan how they could do something, and they started moving and joined the Movement that was growing around César Chávez, Corky González and Reies López Tijerina, even though they did not know it at the time. At the same time, the vatos locos, the street dudes, were getting together under the leadership of David Sanchez, and they began to organize to protect the barrios against police brutality, and they joined the students in the walkouts that were to come. Many of the students and the vatos in California were impressed by what César Chávez was doing and began to develop a consciousness of lucha, struggle, and many went to help the farm workers.

On the fifth of June, 1967, the Chicano Movement exploded, Reies López Tijerina and his Alianzistas and their youth organization of Río Arriba teenagers, los Caballeros de la Indias, the Knights of the Indies, attacked the courthouse at Tierra Amarilla to free the members of the organization who were arrested for going to a convention at Coyote, New Mexico, and people from all over the Southwest came to help the Alianza, especially after Reies was captured. Corky Gonzalez came down from Denver with many of his people, and many youth came from California to support "el Tigre del Norte," as he came to be known. Reies defended himself well, and the Chicano judges helped him all they could, both Joe Angel and Pablo Larrazolo came from families which had struggled for the Movimiento de la Gente in Las Vegas, New Mexico in the 1890's, so Reies went free for a time, and he continued to organize, but now the whole Southwest, the whole Chicano

Movement, the whole country knew him, and like César Chávez, he was called a communist and another Chicano Fidel Castro who wanted to take over the Southwest.

In 1968, the Chicano Students began to move, by this time, a popular Chicano teacher, Sal Castro, in Los Angeles had been trying to make education relevant to the Chicano students, and the administration tried to move him out, and he refused, so the students walked out. This was an important time in the Chicano Movement, because for the first time, we a large number of Chicano students in the schools, and these students let it be known that they weren't going to swallow what the schools had been teaching about our people, that they wanted to learn the truth about ourselves, and they were part of generation who would go to college or graduate to teach that history and write it, and they started the Chicano Studies programs, which had to operate on temporary monies in many places and in risky jobs in others, but the Chicano began to plan for himself what he wanted in Education. The Chicanos all over the Southwest began to walk out to demand Chicano teachers and Chicano Studies. In 1968, the Chicano students and teachers and professors got together and drafted a Chicano plan for education, the Plan de Santa Barbara, a Chicano plan for college education which included work in the community and returning to the barrios to work with our people after getting our degrees, to serve the community and not to go into the anglo system to be swallowed up/

At this time, Reyes López Tijerina became a Chicano political prisoner, as he went to jail for an act he didn't commit, but which his wife did, burned a forest service sign, and Corky Gonzales called the Movement together in Denver, Colorado in 1969. Here, the students and the vatos locos gathered with the families of the Denver area and began to write a document that would profoundly affect the Chicano Movement, the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. This plan and the conference recognized that there should be no borders in the Americas, because we the Mestizos of the Americas were all one people, the concept of our Indian heritage was given importance over the Spanish, and we receive the symbols of the three faces of the Mestizo, the Indian, the Spanish and the Mestizo himself, we took on the flag of the United Farm Workers of César Chavez as the symbol of the Chicano Movement, and we recognized that the land of Aztlán had been inhabited by our Mexican Indian ancestors, and thus was our true homeland, and we came away with the concept that we, and not the anglo, had the right to control our own communities and to form our own nation if we wanted to.

At this point, the youth began to take the leadership of the movement, the students. The Mexican American Youth Organization, MAYO, began to put into practice the resolutions of the Denver Youth Conferences of 1969 and 1970 under the leadership of José Angel Gutiérrez, himself a college student, by forming a Chicano political party and guiding the first Chicano takeover of a community controlled by the anglo, that of Crystal City, Texas, and it was owed to the students who walked out of Crystal City High School in 1969, and this started the ball rolling. La Raza Unida began to grow as a political party, as the students began to try to implement the plans of the Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. The time of the students had come, and they were making the most of it. Conferences for the Chicano students and the Chicano movement began to take place all over the country.

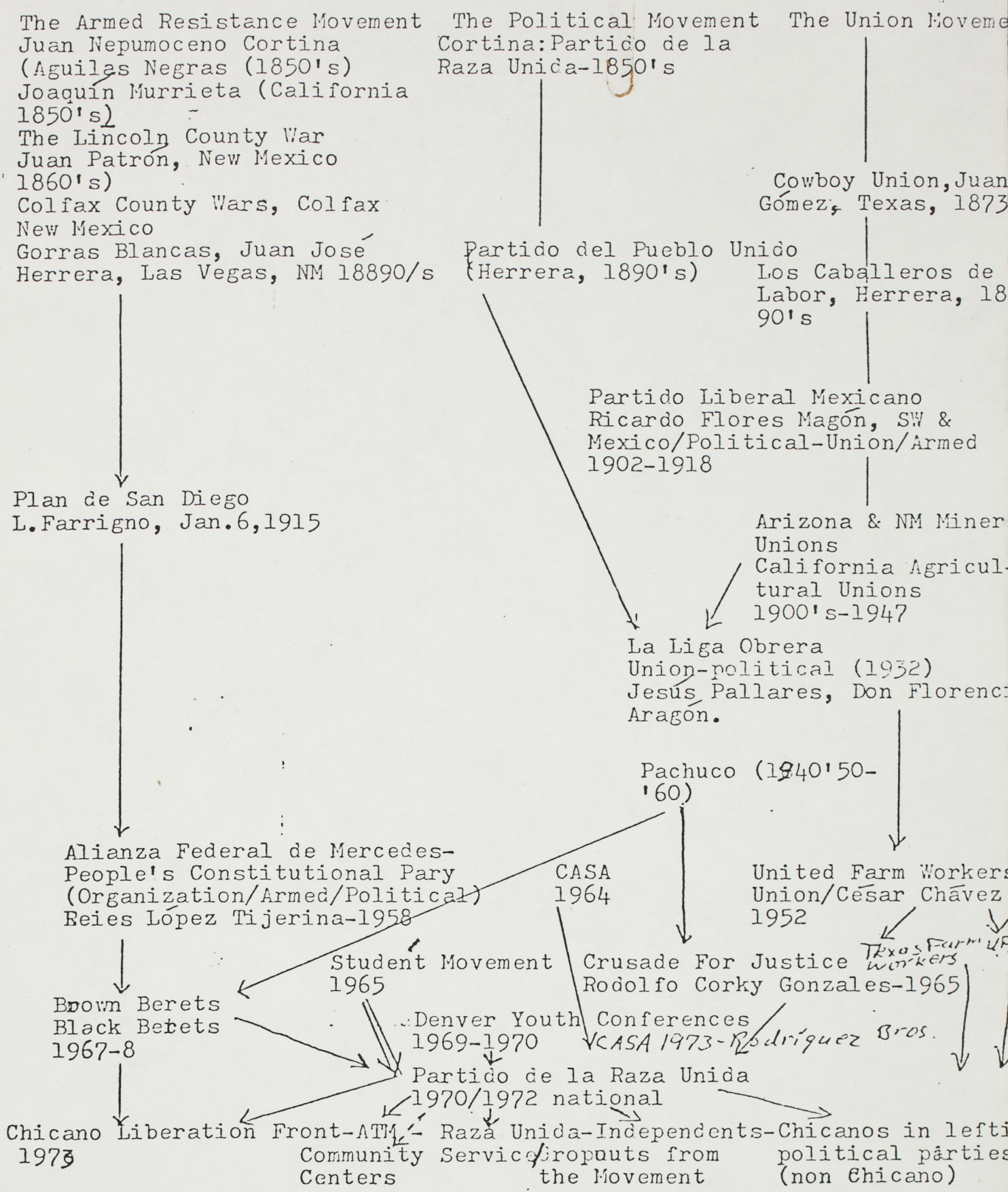
Students held walkouts all over the Southwest and began to confront City Councils, School Boards, County Commissions, and they began to build the Partido de la Raza Unida and Raza Unida organizations all over the United States, and in 1972, all of the Chicano Movement except Cesar Chavez, who did not consider himself part of the Movement, came together in the most important conference of the Movement in El Paso, Texas on September 2. This was the National Convention of the Partido de la Raza Unida. Three of the big Four of the Movement were there, Reyes López Tijerina, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and José Angel Gutiérrez, who had founded the Partido de la Raza Unida. The Organization which had been formerly the UMAS was present as the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan, MEChA, as were the other Chicano student organizations, the Brown Berets were there, as were the Alianzistas, the Chicanos from the Community Service Centers and even many farmworkers from UFW.

When the conference was over, we seemed to come out united despite the many fights that had taken place, but two factions were developing in the Chicano Movement and the Partido de la Raza Unida, the "Corkistas" who were rallying around Rodolfo Gonzales and the "Gutierristas" who followed the Partido line of José Angel Gutiérrez. New Mexico voted to support José Angel Gutiérrez by 2-1, and after that the state Partido tried to mediate between the two factions to try to bring them together. The division went on into the Congreso de Aztlan meeting in December of 1972 and split even wider at the Partido de la Raza Unida meeting called in Denver, Colorado in June of 1973, and the final split occurred at the East Chicago Congreso meeting of September 1973.

After the September meeting, the "Corkistas" began to leave the Partido and form local groups, the Movement began to lose a great deal of its steam, as a lot of the leaders got jobs in the colleges, went to work for government programs, for the schools, or just felt the pinch of the recession of 1973 and had to leave their full time work in the Movement to get jobs to feed their families. Many of the youth who had been single and in school when the movement began were getting married and taking on responsibilities that did not allow them to stay as active as they had been, and the Movement began to shrink into cores of activist in the different states and even just in the different cities. Many of the Chicano Studies programs began to close down for lack of students or because the Chicano teachers were being fired.

In the discouragement that followed, the Chicano activists in many places fell away from the Partido de la Raza Unida feeling that the Partido was not the way to get all of the Chicanos together as we had wanted in Chicago, so new organizations were being formed. Herman Baca founded the Chicano Rights Organization in San Diego, California, the Labor Committees of the Partido formed the August Twenty Ninth Movement to give the Partido a Socialist, Nationalist ideology, and Rodríguez brothers took control from Bert Corona in the Centro de Accion Social Autónomo, which had been set up to help the Mexican immigrant without documents and made it a transborder organization affiliated with the Communist Party of Mexico, and they began to say that the Chicano and Mexicano were one and the same and we should call ourselves Mexicanos, not Chicanos and unite with Mexico.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE CHICANO MOVEMENT



(The strongest organizations in numbers of members are Raza Unida, the Independents coalition (Crusade, Chicano Defense, Chicanos Unidos of El Paso, Texas, Bert Corona, et. al., CASA, Coalition of Service Organizations, Chicanos in the anglos socialist and communist orgs.)

Many Chicanos have also left the Chicano Movement because they feel that what is need is an organization for workers of all races peoples and ethnic groups, and they have gone into anglo socialist and communist organization; other felt that what was needed ware Chicano communist and socialist organizations and they formed the August Twenty Ninth Moevement, which was attempting to promote the formation of a socialist Chicano nation, while CASA also became a socialist organization and was working for the unification of the Southwest with Mexico, as they said that there was no Chicano people, only Mexican people, and this idea has begun to take hold in the Movement.

The Independents in the Chicano Movement, many of whom were part of the Partido de la Raza Unida have come together in a coalition which includes the Crusade for Justice, headed by Corky Gonzales, the Chicano Rights Organization of San Diego, California, Bert Corona who is an independent union organizer now in California, the Chicanos Unidos of El Paso, Texas, Mario Cantú and his Partido de los Pobres Unidos de America of San Antnnio, Texas and an assortment of smaller organizations. The Chicano community services centers have also formed a national organization to try to fill what they see as a vacuum of leadership and organization in the Chicano Movement, to try to face national issues in a united manner.

There have been two major national Chicano conferences since the National Partido de la Raza Unida convention in El Paso, Texas in 1972, these took place in Salt Lake City, Utah under the planning of Armando Navarro and Lalo Delgado, who wanted to try to heal the wounds of the Chicano Movement and have us forget about ideology, this took place after the final split of the youth from the Alianza Federal de Pueblo Libres of Reies López Tijering in the Conference on Land and Culture^s of November 1972. Armando and Lalo tried to get a national organization going which would forget the ideologies and work together as Raza, and here Lalo read his poem against disunity "Anclas de la desunidad." In 1977, the National Conference on Immigration and Public Policy was held after being organized after a meeting of the Chicano leadership with Armando Navarro to discuss the possiblity of doing what the 1976 conference had been unable to do, form a national Chicano organization. The Partido was the major sponsor of the conference, but it was not the conference to create a National Chicano organization that many Chicanos wanted, and there was an massive conflict between the Socialist Workers Party and CASA which overshadowed the theme of the conference, which was the defense of the rights of the undocumented immigrants. Since that time, there have been a number of student conferences in California a national student conference for Chicanos in Colorado, and a student conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico, with another national student conference planned for Albuquerque, New Mexico in 1980.

While all of this movement has been going on, the youth which the movement forgot are coming of Junior High, High School and College. The drugs which began to hit the Movement in the 1960's and ake away some of our poetential Movement people are having an impace on the Chicano Movement. As the Chicano Movement began splitting up and retreating in 1973, the number of Chicano drug addicts, paint sniffers and cronic alcoholics began to go up, and many of the youth,

not being organized and channeled into struggling for the Chicano community, began to go back into the gangs, the drug scene, the baint sniffing, and the gangs and the jails, because their energy was no longer channeled into the Movement, so it went to crime and self destruction through drugs and the gang warfare, and, as usual, what happens in California is usually two years ahead of what happens to the Chicano in the rest of the Southwest.

Along with this crisis in the barrio, we also have the younger Chicanos from the well to do families who grew up during the Movement but were too young to remember it, and this generation looks like a replay of ourselves in the 1950's, apathetic about politics, the Movement, the community, the Chicano/Mexicano culture, the Spanish language, and all that we fought for in the 1960's-70's. These youth are either pleasure oriented and could care less about school or are career/upward mobility oriented and feel that the supreme goal is to make it in the system, to get a good job, buy a nice house, cars, etc, and there is a clash going on between the Movement Chicano and the new generation of Chicano whom we see as the epitome of everything we rejected in the 1960's.

This clash, though, is the dialectic which is changing the veterans of the Chicano Movement into adapting our tactics and language to those which are more effective for these times, and it is bringing us into discussions with the youth which we forgot in our circle of conferences in which everyone knew everyone else from the last conference, when we should have been working with our younger carnales and with the workers in the Chicano community. Today's Chicano youth are making the former Chicano youth who formed the Movement to face ourselves and think, and we are doing the same, at least in those cases where we are dedicating ourselves to work with the new generation of youth to understand them and to try to help them with our experiences and to try to understand theirs.

V. TODAY'S YOUTH.

Today's youth are what can be called TV-food stamps-middle class generation which has not benefitted from the Chicano studies of the 1960's 70's, because they did not filter down to that level. When the Chicano Movement began to turn in on itself and contemplate itself, these youth were untouched, as was the majority of the working Chicano. Today's youth was abandoned to the clutches of the anglo social-political-educational system which only all too gladly usurped. The system did what it did not do to the 1950's 60's generation because it had access to the 60's 70's generation in a way that it did not have with the 50's 60's generation because it rejected that generation, but the Chicano Movement made anglo society realize its mistake and correct by embracing the Chicano youth with assimilatory, not cultural maintenance, bilingual education, with head start, with support of college programs geared into traditional fields, and with the lectures against radical. The brothers and sisters in the Movement were divided from the younger brothers and sisters in the schools. The Chicano Movement was effectively isolated both by its own lack of perspective and by the school system which took our brothers and sisters away from us when we weren't looking and took them down another road.

While the TV-food stamp-middle class generation has adopted the American Dream as a goal, this is occurring at a time when the anglo society is cutting back the openings ~~with~~ which were created by the Chicano Movement. Chicano Studies are being eliminated or being watered down in multicultural studies programs which concentrate only on the harmless aspects of culture while leaving the cultural conflict and oppression out. The Chicano Studies programs in the colleges are being closed down with the exception of the strongest ones and others are being taken over by conservative Chicano faculty members. Nevertheless, the number of Chicanos is going down in the universities, the youth who are not finding themselves able to go to college are facing a closed job market, and even Chicanos with college degrees are being forced out of the job market at the college level and are being forced to go into other professions.

As the current generation of disco Chicanos and success oriented Chicano youth will begin to find the money short for the pleasures of being able to buy the clothes for the disco, for the low riders' cars, for entertainment, and with the Bakke decision and upcoming Weber decision, cutbacks in teaching, professorial staffs in the universities, etc. the young Chicano will begin to radicalize, not because of any feeling for Chicano culture, or the Spanish language, or the Chicano family, but of sheer necessity, economic necessity, which is the strongest radicalizing element of all.

Other social conditions are affecting today's Chicano youth, such as police brutality and the growth of hatred against the people of color, Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans and others who are seen as competing with anglos for jobs, which will become even in shorter supply, even with the anglo. The large influx of Mexicanos, who now often come with their wives and children and who have Mexican culture oriented children will begin to influence the Chicano youth with respect to returning to our culture and language, but the influx of Mexicanos and the return to Chicano culture will cause the anglo to exert even stronger pressure against the Chicano community, and all sectors of Chicano youth can't but feel the pressure.

The youth of today are beginning to revive their interest in the Chicano Movement and are reviving established Chicano organizations and forming new ones, some of a radical type, other in between the system and the movement, but like LULAC, GI Forum and Image, the conditions of the times, disillusionment, rejection by the anglo and exclusion are beginning to drive the youth into the radical camp and into the movement. Many who find themselves in difficulty with the system come to the Movement for assistance, others come out of curiosity to see the "radicals" or to see what the Movement is all about.

At the same time that Chicano youth have been caught up in the disco culture and the upward mobile tendency, they are beginning to be disillusioned with these areas as they turn up in disappointment or grow old and fade as a fad. When this occurs, youth must find an alternative, and this is the time when the Chicano Movement can and must offer that alternative or else leave the youth to alienation. For this reason, certain sectors are turning their attention to the needs of youth and their need for communication, role models, orientation and camaraderie.

What, then, can we learn from the past and the Chicano Movement? Simply this, that, while youth and adolescence, the teenage years, are formative years, when a youth is undergoing many physical changes and beginning to come to grips with his or her emotions, when there is a great deal of pressure from one's friends, youth is still looking for the best way to develop him or herself, and to do something that will help people and have some meaning, but at the same time, he is rebelling against the ties that bind him to the authority of the family, preparing for the time when he will have to be on his own and make his own decisions for himself; despite this, the Chicano youth of the 1960's and early '70 were able to sort out the needs of their people and take up the slack of the Chicano Movement and give it new insight, energy and direction when the older organizers like Cesar Chávez, Reies López Tijerina were beginning to slow down and lose effectiveness. It was the youth who gave direction to the Chicano Movement on the College and High School and even Junior High School campus, but it was also the youth who realized that they had to go back to the barrios and share what they had learned with their parents and brothers and sisters. It was the youth who developed the concept of a Chicano political party, an idea that had not been widely thought about despite Reies López Tijerina's formation of the People's Constitutional Party in New Mexico.

The National Convention of the Partido in 1972 was largely a youth attended gathering, which began to address for the first time many issues, such as the aspects of police brutality, the right of Mexican and Latin American undocumented immigrants to be in the United States, support for the struggles in Latin America to establish democracy, support for the Puerto Rican people who are still colonized by the United States, rejection of a war which was only taking away the best of our youth when they were needed to fight the battles in the barrios and not in Viet Nam, and youth rebelled against it.

But, youth also has a quality of impatience for results, which Juan Gómez Quiñones gives as a reason why he feels that the Movement cannot be built and based on youth, and that youth should give a supporting hand to the workers and the older people of the community. In many cases, he seems to be supported by the occurrences in the Chicano Movement, when youth began to leave in large numbers, because there was little inspiration in the Movement between 1974 and 1978. Youth is also strongly influenced by trendism and, which may have been one of the reasons why so many youth joined the Chicano Movement in the 1960's and early '70's, to be with their carnales and camaradas and for that strong feeling of energy, brotherhood and excitement that was present in the Movement in the 1960's and early 1970's. The youth for the most part did not have the long range perspective and patience to work long and hard in a period when it seemed that the best way to go was to take advantage of the jobs that the Movement had opened up or to give up because the changes weren't coming fast enough or to "just kick back and cool it."

Today's youth and students of High school and early college age grew up in this vacuum when drugs and apathy were beginning to take over and the drug culture in the Chicano community and the influence of the rock culture were beginning to take hold, and the present disco and low rider generation began to be formed, and television encourages it with the records, "Saturday Night Fever" the Pepsi generation

and age of 7-up commercials; the Frito Bandito was replaced with Chips, and "Chicano and the Man" gave us a Puerto Riqueno playing a Chicano version of the Black "Makin' It" programs. And, just as we went for the rock and roll of the 1950's and 1960's the nostalgia movies put out by the system resurrected the same emotions and actions in our younger brothers and sisters, yourselves of the present generation of youth, and it is a question that this generation of youth must deal with and analyze, just as we did in the 1960's.

We can see that this is now beginning to happen, as many more youth are taking an interest in the Chicano Movement, and even the conservative Chicano resistance is reappearing the same way that it happened in the early 1960's, with the debate and dialogue between the more radical and the more conservative Chicano youth taking place as happened in the Texas Chicano student conference, and for the present time, the Chicano conservatives have the upper hand, in the Student Councils and Student Senates, but the difference now is that the Chicano Movement that started in the 1950's with Reyes López Tijerina is more together than the Movement of the early part of the century was, and the Chicanos concientizados are much closer in age and generation than the Movement leaders who revived our people's defense after the Movement was practically destroyed in the late 1940's and the 1950's and early 1960's. We also have a strong influx of our Mexicano brother and sisters who will be organizing into the present Secretary of State is calling the Civil Rights Movement of the 1980's.

The Chicano Movement has its first line of intellectuals who have developed out of the student Movement of the second phase of the Chicano Movement, so that for the first time, we have a large number of educated people who are willing to use the education for the benefit of the Chicano community rather than just a few educated individuals who could be easily identified and deported and killed or who were subject to being burned out because they had no help at the leadership level. Once today's youth are convinced of the need to organize, they set their minds to the task, it is still a few people who do the major part of the work, but it is a much larger few than it ever has been in the past, and today's youth are ready to get back into the Movement, and the numbers are growing as the youth are being turned out of the system and back out into the streets, as the glamour of the disco fades and as low riding begins to lose its meaning.

VI. OUR RELATIONSHIPS TO OTHER PEOPLES AND MOVEMENTS

During the latter part of the Chicano Movement in the middle 1970's, the tendency has been to form coalitions with anglo movement groups and even for Chicanos to join anglo organizations and to try to help our community through a "people's movement" rather than just a Chicano Movement, others have taken a Latin Americanist orientation and have joined organizations against repression in Latin America, trying to develop ties with the liberation struggle of those countries and trying to build support groups in this country, this has included groups like the Brigada Venceremos and independent c commiteis, some formed together with anglos. In many cases, this has caused many Movement youth and older radicals to become anglo-cized and to turn away from much of Chicano culture and to try to

take many Chicano activists with them and to try to recruit Chicano youth from the barrios and middle class youth to join their organizations, but the trend among Chicano youth to turn back inward to the Chicano community, where we have often sought spiritual rebirth and guidance, and here the youth are finding the strength of our customs, language and people; the youth who are joining the Chicano Movement now are going back toward organization of our own people and youth but with a willingness to join together with the anglo where we have a common ground for working together.

Still, there is beginning to be a certain doubt about working with large groups of anglos and anglo organizations, because in many cases, the priorities of what the anglos think are important issues and what the Chicanos consider as important are often in conflict, and we as Chicanos resent the anglo's efforts or tendencies to try to dominate, either through direct intervention or projecting themselves or by trying to guide us into the direction they are wanting us to go. This same phenomenon is also occurring between the Native Americans and their liberal and radical supporters. More and more, the Chicano is coming to the conclusion that we can't work with the anglo on some grounds, that our differences are causing us to need to get together with our own people and to organize ourselves independently of the anglo so that we can face up him or work with him as equals, organization to organization with our own ideas and values intact, so that they don't get submerged in what the anglo in his paternalism thinks is good for us.

The Movement is also taking into perspective the need to join hands with the Native American side of our family, and more and more Chicanos are either joining Native American organizations or inviting Native Americans to Chicano conferences to develop grounds where we can work together against common oppression of today's society, which is in many ways more subtle than the direct racism we confronted in the early 1960's and is in many ways returning to the openly racist attacks of that era, but there are some areas of support among the younger anglo workers, which should give some support to the work that we as Chicanos have to do, but it is more and more with the Native American that we are joining hands to each support our own sovereignty and the right to control our own communities. We are both seeking to control our lives politically and economically, and the trend to work together with the Native American is growing, even on the college campuses, where there has been a great deal of distrust between the Chicanos and Native American because the division caused by anglo political and economic system to keep us from working together.

Native American youth educated in the Native American Movement and many of the young adult leaders have realized that the Chicano and Native American Movements have been moving closer and closer together in our demands, to the point where the Partido de la Raza Unida members have been working with and speaking before such groups such as the National Indian Youth Council, the All Indian Pueblo Council, and where Chicanos belong to the Indian organizations in the State of Washington and Del Lovato of the Indian Pueblo Council is a member of the Hispano Chamber of Commerce. Also, Native Americans from Mexico are beginning to come into the Southwest and other parts of the United States and helping us reestablish our native American

In contrast, many Latinos have treated us as sellouts whose culture and language was an amalgamation of English and Spanish and that we were no longer a part of Latin America, so we felt alienated in many Latino communities, with just cause, because many Latin American nations preferred to have an Anglo ambassador or consul rather than a Chicano, and in Mexico, we were called Pochos, agringados and much worse. In retaliation, the Chicano community, and especially Chicano youth have rejected the Mexicano and Latino as a stranger who spoke a strange strain of Spanish and who was taking our jobs, our women and our places. From this confrontation, especially in some parts of California, gangs have developed among the Mexicano community to protect themselves from the Chicano gangs which are attacking them and are trying to keep them limited to their "turf."

It is here that work among the Chicano community for education is vital, because while Puerto Ricans and other Latinos may be far away, the Mexicano is residing in our own communities in the Southwest, and he is us so to speak, so we should be taking him into our community and confidence, remembering that he is in a strange environment that even we as Chicanos have had a hard time dealing with, and it is he who is going to be our companions in the coming struggles against police brutality, discrimination, exclusion and racism in the 1980's. It is the Mexicano immigration which is going to give us the majority to control our communities, election, jobs, economy and is going to help us revive our language, culture and our contacts with our roots in Latin America to give us the support that we are going to need as repression against the Chicano in the United States becomes harsher and more brutal and it is he who will increase our ranks in the unions to make sure that the demands of Chicano workers are met and that we will control our own bargaining units, in which many of you will be participating upon going into the job market after leaving college or high school. Son nuestros hermanos.

VII. INTERNATIONALISM AND THE CHICANO MOVEMENT

While it is true that we have a great many problems to worry about here in our own communities with many of our youth spacing out on drugs, cooking their brains with paint, roaming idly in their cars on the low rider scene, or killing themselves in the gangs, and while it is true that the Chicano youth are being captured into the mindless disco scene ego trips and being acculturated into rapidly fading "American dream" and hanging their hopes on going into business as hedge against joblessness in a section in which many small Chicano businesses are going broke and closing or where the bank on tight money are going to be curtailing loans for any purpose in the Chicano community, and where Chicano businessmen are going to be squeezed by the banks into catch up loans which put the Chicano businessman deeper and deeper in debt instead of giving enough money to grow or at least break even, it is also true that the world is becoming aware of our existence as a people and many minorities are looking to us to see how we resolve our problems here in the United States.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin has compared the question of the Palestinians in Israel to that of the Chicano in the Southwest and has said that it would be no more right for Israel to give free-

dom to the Palestinians than it would be for the United States to give independence to the Chicano in the Southwest, and this may not be as far fetched as it seems, because the Chicano has had a long time talking about forming an independent nation, ever since 1848, and Las Vegas organizer of the Partido del Pueblo Unido said in 1901: or rejoin Mexico

People of New Mexico, if your destiny is but to be a beast of burden: if you must remain forever in this sad tutelage of government which you have had until now; if you must never participate in the public affairs of this nation, which is yours; if your anglo-american brothers view you with distrust, and they begrudge you the minor happiness of being able to govern yourselves; it is time that you pick up your household goods, and that you take them, along with the remains of your forefathers, to a more hospitable country. You are not lacking in talent, you are not lacking in energy. The same stars which illuminated the path of Cabral and Alarcón shine forth every night exactly where they saw them; the same breezes which pushed Magellan's ships around the world still blow upon seas which he furrowed. Men who think like you, who speak like you, and who embrace the same beliefs, have raised stupendous cities at the foot of the Chimborazo on the shores of the Parana. If the country where your Diego de Vargas sleeps no longer has any hopes for your sons, observe that the world is large, the world is good, the world is generous. Look for a country where you can determine your own destiny. (Eusebio Chacón, La Voz del Pueblo, Saturday, November, 1901, Vol. XIII, No. 40, p.2. translated and prepared by Anselmo F. Arellano & Julian Josue Vigil, New Mexico Highlands University, 1978-79 & typed by Rita Durán.)

Eusebio Chacón was not just talking about "recoge tus garras y vete, he was talking about ourselves as a people joining our land to that of our brother. It is important that we are being recognized as a people by persons all over the world, from Canada to Chile and even in Europe. When José Angel Gutiérrez, the National Chairman of the Partido de la Raza Unida makes a press conference in Mexico City, the press of the entire world attends, and he is invited to Europe to speak for the Chicano as people, because the Partido de la Raza Unida is a Chicano Political Party, and while we allow anyone to become a member who accepts our goals and ideals, it is essentially for the Chicano and Native American that we are working.

It is because that we are being recognized as a people that José Angel Gutiérrez and Reyes López Tijerina are invited to Latin America and Europe to represent our viewpoint. Our Chicano poets, Abelardo Delgado and Ricardo Sanchez are invited to go to Latin America and Europe to give reading, our Chicano theater, El Teatro Campesino is now an international figure, Chicano books are being translated and read in Latin America, and America Latina is beginning to realize that it has a long lost brother who has to be taken back into the fold, and that all of us who are brothers on the Bronze Continent have to stop our brother and sister fights and spats and start to work as

family, and that we even have to get back to our father, whom we left for being too exploitative and harsh with us; nowhere else is this more visible than in the visit of Juan Carlos to Mexico and the visit of the President of Spain to Cuba last year. The Anglo fears this so much, that only Anglo bishops were sent to the bishop's conference of the Catholic Church in Puebla, because too many Chicano priests were becoming "infected" the theology of liberation and were using their offices to help, unite and organize the Chicano community.

We have come out the time when we were isolated in our own pueblitos and barrios, though it might not seem so to look at the gang situation in Los Angeles, and we have now established contacts where the Chicano from Texas, New Mexico, California, Arizona, Colorado and Utah and even the midwest can at least talk to each other and in many cases can work together. In New Mexico, the Chicano from Guachupangue is organizing with the Chicano from Cebolleta and Larry Hill, the surumato from southern New Mexico, is working with Antonio DeVargas, the norteño from La Madera, and María Elena Martínez, Juan José Peña, and Fred Aguilar, the State Chairmen of the Partido de la Raza Unida in Texas, New Mexico and California, along with the national Chairman José Angel Gutiérrez can work together with the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores and the Mexican people to get 50 scholarships a year for Chicano in Mexico and to defend the rights of the undocumented immigrants and travel the barrios of the city of Monterrey, Mexico and be well received by los pobres and march at the head of column of 100,000 Mexicanos asking for a better stake in the fields and factories of Mexico.

The Chicano has become international, as a people and as a part of the greater Hispanic and Latino (to include the French and Portuguese of the Americas), and even the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, had to recognize the rise of America Latina and our growing importance in the world. Scholars in Quebec, Mexico and Spain are discussing the Chicano question in the United States (and cussing it), as we can see by the Tri lateral commission report which has recommended massive repression against Chicanos, Blacks and Native Americans and the jailing or killing of our leaders. The Corwin and Crampton Memoranda favor sealing the border and the shores with a massive immigration and border patrol force to keep Latino Americans from coming to the United States, and Corwin predicts a huge welfare state in the Southwest which he suggests will drain the United States economically; this is what has set off the massive sterilization of Puerto Rican, Chicana and Native American women, and it is behind the move to push Chicanos out the power positions in politics and out of the universities and the unions.

Whether or not we as a Chicano~~s~~ secede and form our own nation will depend on the kind of treatment we get from the United States and the matter of, if we secede, whether we will form an independent nation or join Mexico will depend on what the conditions are in Mexico, we would not leave one country to become the stepchildren of another. There are many basic questions to be answered as to where the Chicano Movement and the Chicano community in the Southwest will go, but one thing is clear, we must begin to discuss every aspect of the situation we are in and begin to chart the different ideology or ideas that will guide us, the means or tactics that will show us

or reunite
with Mexi

where to go and how to get there once we decide where our destiny lies, and Chicano youth must be an integral part of this discussion because it is you who will have to complete the voyage that we have started, and you must help us plan where we want to go. This planning will involve the elder statesmen and the stateswomen of the Movimiento like Don Florencio Aragón, leader in the Liga Obrera and Senior Counsellor of the Partido de la Raza Unida de Nuevo Mexico and the senior advisors of the Partido de la Raza Unida in Texas and California, as well as organizers like Ernesto Galarza, Bert Corona and many others who have participated in three phases of the Chicano Movement.

VIII. IMPLICATIONS FOR CHICANO YOUTH TODAY.

All of the events we have described tend to show that Chicano youth is undergoing the same study and reevaluation of their lives the underwent in the 1960's, and as we did, you are turning back to the Chicano community for answers and guidance and orientation, and in many ways, such as learning or relearning our language, learning about our culture and the importance of the closeness of the family our humanistic values and respect for a person is and not what he has are forthcoming, as youth force us and the generations before us to reexamine ourselves and reject those anglos values and trappings which we have taken on at the expense of our selfhood and lasting human values.

The presence of a large number of Mexicanos who are being discriminated against because they do not have documents is forcing us to relate to our brother to whom we have not been speaking for a long time, and the diffusion of Spanish language media are making us aware of the rest of our people on the Bronze Continent by the diffusion of Salsa and music of the Caribbean. In the colleges, many students are coming into contact with students from America Latina and friendships are being forged, Chicanos and Mexicanos are playing together on Soccer teams together and intermarriage of Mexicanos and Chicanos is on the rise. We are spreading our cultural wings to strengthen the ties that bind us to our brothers in America Latina and Spain.

While many of us in the Movement in college specialized in the human and social sciences, many of the youth are beginning to see that we also need to extend our areas of knowledge into engineering, medicine, mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, business (the kind we will need to run a society which will produce to the maximum for the benefit of everyone and will establish and equitable distribution of the wealth that is produced to everyone and will insure that all have jobs, education and skills), astronomy and much, much more. But, we must also avoid the mistake that the anglo has made in specialization to the point where the individual has little or no competence in anything else. We must learn from our Native American brothers that the universe is a whole entity, so we must still learn world history, Latin American history, European history, Native American history, etc., we must acquire an extensive knowledge of literature, for it is the mirror of peoples and societies, we must learn psychology and sociology and the ideas of the great thinkers, we must still work with music and the arts, for they are what gives

satisfaction to soul of a human being and helps round him out, and we must not forget language, not only our own language, but as many languages as we can acquire to make us more observant and understanding of other people, because language is more than communication, it is a mirror of the thoughts of the human being, and the better we develop it, the better we can understand the world and motivations of the people who can speak the language, because the end of the Chicano Movement is not just control by Chicanos of the communities we live in, though that is an important aspect, it is not just to control the Southwestern States, though we must prepare for that too, it is not necessarily to form our own nation or join Mexico and America Latina, though that too may come, but it is to be citizens of the world, with our own values and characteristics, to be sure, for the concepts of a world without borders are being forged and written now just as the concepts of Locke and Thoreau were beginning to develop not so many centuries ago, and ideas and concepts travel and are implemented much faster today than they ever were, and we as Chicanos need to be part of the development of the human race as a whole and to participate and contribute as equals as Chicanos, as Mexicanos, as Hispanos, as Latinos, and as Human Beings. We need to form the Ubermensch, the Hombre Nuevo, the New Man, envisioned by Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

This places a large burden of responsibility on today's Chicano youth, but you must be up to task of taking on this massive responsibility, because, we cannot go back, the only way is forward, or to stagnate like a swamp.

All of this must imply that Chicano youth must develop the necessary tools and skills to deal with so large a responsibility, and you need to come to the conclusion that that the first step is education, not necessarily taking classes in college and high school, but rather developing your own reading, studying and learning and studying outside of the school situation. It means extensive discussion on all aspects to live with people who have studied and learned those aspects; it means being skeptical of what you read unless you can establish its truth and validity from your knowledge, experience, logical conclusions or insights. It makes it necessary to put the world in perspective and read the newspaper, both establishment and alternative, and it makes it necessary to decide what is worth spending time on and what is useless for your own development.

This does not mean that you have to become a full time book worm, for that is part of the specialization trap we have discussed, but it does mean that you have to create a balance between your learning and applying that learning, between study and the care and exercise of the body, between the development of the brain and the development of the emotions and the aesthetic senses through, hanging out and rapping, dancing, listening to music or whatever. It means remembering that the acquisition of many good things require sacrifice and that it takes work to build anything that is really lasting and worthwhile, even human relationships. It means that the concept of "looking out for number one" and "one comes before two" is not to be applied, because that is what has caused alienation in the Anglo community and has broken up families and marriages. We must learn to
and dislocated youth

balance our needs with those of our fellow man and the rest of our community, and we must learn to share, otherwise we will create the same type of "rat race" and "dog eat dog" society the anglo has created.

But, creating a balanced human being and society does not mean that we have to reject all that the anglo and the Europeans have created, for there is much good in it for the alleviation of human misery, hunger, illiteracy, but we must apply technology in a new way so that it will be used to develop human beings, not to make us cogs in machines or to make us mindless spectators of television and sports and preplanned entertainment. It must be used to free us to learn, to interact with our fellow human beings and to expose ourselves to as many learning experiences as possible. We must develop communications with all human races and ethnic groups, but we must never again allow any one group to dominate as the caucasians have dominated for the past several thousand years.

This will demand self discipline of our Chicano youth from within themselves as well as discipline of ourselves as a people by ourselves. It means that our education is in large part our own responsibility, although we should force society to assist us in that learning as much as possible, it means that we must take the responsibility to participate in the decision making and to be well enough informed to make an intelligent decision based on our needs and our resources. It means that those who have an abundance of skill and talent must work together with those who do not for our overall benefit and not just for individual enrichment, because we are coming into a time when to be rich is going to be a very risky business, because the poor aren't going to stay on the outside starving to death forever, they will crash the gates, level the fences take what they need and what has been denied to them for so long, this is the encirclement that is reducing the number of "democratic" countries like the United States and England, Germany, Australia, etc., not a crisis of democracy; people want democracy, both political-social and economic democracy, and if we don't allow the United States and the Soviet Union to blow us off the fact of the earth, this will be task of the 21st Century. Your task as Chicano youth.

IX. THE QUESTION OF SOCIALISM

In the latter part of the Chicano Movement, many of the activists who remained in the Movement began to feel that the basis of Nationalism for Chicano unity was a dead end and that we had to look for other ways to organize our people, and many began to read the ideas of the classic socialists, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Nicolai Lenin, Stalin, Leon Trotsky and Mao Tse Tung. They began to try to study these ideas and concepts in depth and apply them to the Chicano community, some by consideration of the Chicano as a part of the working class and the workers struggle to take control of government, industry and all aspects of life, while others looked at Marxist ideas as a good means of unification of the Chicano community as a Chicano community. Those who took the first view went into the established communists and socialist parties or the new ones which were springing up, such as the October League, the Communist Party-Marxist Leninist, the Guardian Newspaper, etc, while those who wanted Chicano socialism formed the August Twenty Ninth Movement, named after the date of the

Chicano Moratorium against the war in Viet Nam; they were formed from many of the Labor Committees of the Partido de la Raza Unida and were working for the establishment of a socialist Chicano Nation, while the Centro de Accion Social Autonomo was taken over from Bert Corona by the Rodríguez brothers and continued its original role of defending the rights of Mexicanos in the United States without documents, but it also began to take the stand that we are essentially Mexicanos and should call ourselves this instead of Chicanos, because to call ourselves Chicangs would be to divide the Mexican people in the United States and Mexico. The Centro also put forth the position that the Chicano should work with the Mexicano to develop a socialist Mexico and that we should work to region Mexico with occupied Mexico, and they postulated this at all Chicano meetings which they attended and through the newspapers Sin Fronteras, which CASA published. Both ATM and CASA grew to be quite large and rivaled the Partido in numbers at one time, but both have since split and many members have left to join other organization, while a core of activists still remain with the original organizations.

The other Chicanos who went into anglo socialist and communist organizations began trying to recruit other Chicanns into them, and in both the Chicano and anglo socialist organizations, the rhetoric became very heavy, using the standard phrases of Marxism though many of the Chicanos did not have a clear understanding of what they meant. Many of these organizations became totally alienated from the Chicano community, which rejected them, their rhetoric, and the name of communist or socialist, because of our conditioning during the cold war scare of the 1950's. There were many accusation thrown back and forth, one group calling another revisionist or bourgeois, or misleading of the people, and much more. Many of these leftist entered the Chicano Studies programs and Chicano organizations especially the MEChA's, mostly in California. The strongest struggle for control of the Mechas happened between the August Twenty Ninth Movement and CASA, and eventually they came to the conclusion that further division was useless and had left the MEChA organizations badly split, short of members and badly discredited on the campuses where the struggles, so there were coalitions made under FRA, the Frente Revolucionario de Aztlan around what was called the Points of Unity, or the ideas that all of the members could agree to work together on.

At this same time, a struggle was going on which is still continuing today, and this among the political followers of the ideas of Stalin, Trotsky, and Mao Tse Tung, each of which claims that the others have a wrong political program and that they do not truly represent the principles of Marx and Lenin. Many of these organizations, such as the Communist Labor Party of Albuquerque and the Socialist Workers Party have made active efforts to recruit Chicanos, as has the Communists Party USA to a lesser degree, but it is recently picking up its efforts through the Venceremos Brigades and The chief organizer, Lorenzo Torres. Many of the disputes between these parties have aken place with meetings of the Chicano Movement, and a cross argument between the Mexicano socicalis CASA and ahe Socialist Worers Party at the Immigration and Public Policy Conference at San Antonio Texas in 1977, with the Partido de la Raza Unida trying to consider the resolutions on their merits and keep the conference from becoming a forum for either the SWP or CASA. This debate is still continuing and one of the major questions in the Movement is the role or exclusion

of the SWP or any other communist or socialist party from the Chicano Movement and their effects on the Movement. This is a question which must still be fully discussed and resolved, but here are a few of my observations on that question and the question of socialism in the Chicano Movement.

Essentially, the concepts of socialism have long been embedded in early Spanish culture through the Celt-Iberian culture and in the native American roots of the Chicano, so many of the concepts are acceptable to the Chicano community, because even in our Mesitzo culture, we used the concepts in the rural villages, in the barrios and through our mutual assistance organizations. The terminology of socialism and communism, however, is another matter entirely, because of the effects our community has suffered from the the categorization of our leaders as communists and the fear and phobia which our community still suffers from McCarthyism and the threat which was perceived as coming from the Soviet Union because of our training and the perceptions that were fed to us about the language associated with communism and socialism, which was associated with dictatorships and loss of freedoms.

But, when we take a long hard look at the ideas of communism, we see that many of the ideas come from the Indian ways of sharing, Marx himself took many of his ideas from Louis Henry Morgan's book Primitive Society, which describes the lives and government of the Native Americans in the present day northeastern United States. Marx and Engels studied in depth the sweatshops and horrid condition which existed in the Europe of his time, and he studied all of the ideas of government and economics which were known at the time and began to apply the scientific process of observation, proposition of theory, and drawing conclusions from the observations and calculations he could draw from that information; his work was added to and modified by person like Friedrich Engels, and his followers who tried to apply his theories, like Nicolai Lenin, Daniel De Leon, Joseph Stalin, Leon Trotsky and Mao Tse Tung

In many ways, the communist and socialist movements have become stilted and in many ways, the language no longer means what it did for the conditions and the people described by Marx, but rather it has become a technical jargon which only serves to confuse the ordinary people and to turn them against those who use the language. Marxism is a political analysis of the social, political and economic conditions, and it should be considered nothing less and nothing more; many of the observations go to the heart of the problem and provide workable solutions to the problems that they address. As was once stated with regard to the Marxism, "it is a handy bag of tools," and that is precisely what it is. The tools of Marxist analysis can be applied to the other tools that we have for understanding social political and economic systems and for finding ways to deal with the problems that we as Chicanos face. We shouldn't be scared to use what Marx said when we feel he was right and when we feel that it applies to the Chicano community, but by the same token, we should not take Marx or any of his followers as the last word on any political, social or economic work we might be doing; we need to look at all the possible solutions, because the word of Marx of Lenin, or Trotsky, of Stalin or Mao Tse Tung are not a bible on social political economic thought that we need or

have to follow to the letter. There are other very penetrating and observant political ideas which can be used together with the ideas of Marx or any other political thinker whose ideas we consider to apply to our situation and which will help us to set up the type of society for Chicanos which will do us the greatest good and will help us reach our goals of having a society where no one goes hungry, and where everyone has plenty of good nutritious food in the amounts they need, where everyone will have the type of housing which will allow them the conditions and environment to develop themselves as human beings rather than having to worry about the elements, the weather, where everyone will be able to educate themselves to a very high level without having their education interrupted by financial problems which are the major burden keeping Chicanos out of the educational system in these times, where after finishing a person's education, that person could go immediately into the world of work into a job that would allow that person to meet his needs and those of his family and where he would be able to continue his education and would be encouraged to do so as well as be able to have sufficient time to develop the close family relationships that are so important to our Chicano culture, and lastly that we could work for a world without borders, but for starter, to help bring about the unity of the people of all of America Latina, which includes the Southwestern United States.

There has been a great deal of debate lately about the participation of the Socialist Workers Party in the work of the Partido, and a large number of members of the Partido and persons in the Chicano Movement have leveled criticism for what they feel has been SWP participation in the Partido, and for those of you who do not know that much about the Chicano Movement or the parties of the political left, this can be confusing, so we will deal quickly with this question so that you will have a knowledge of what the matter is all about. First of all, the Socialist Workers Party is a socialist political party founded by a man named Jim Cannon after he and several other were expelled from the old Socialist Party, and it is based on the ideas of Leon Trotsky, who was the rival of Joseph Stalin after the death of Lenin in the time after the Russian revolution. His followers, called Trotskyist, in the United States have attempted to convince people that the ideas of Trotsky are the best ones for bringing about a socialist revolution, and they began to increase in influence among the Anglo community during the anti-Viet Nam war, during which time, they expanded somewhat into areas where there was a large Chicano population.

Since that time, they have recruited a number of Chicanos and Latinos into their political party and have been selling their news paper, "the Militant," in the Chicano community and because of this, they have come to clash with various sectors of the Chicano Movement, such as the Crusade for Justice, the Chicano Rights Committee of San Diego, the MEChA students and Rudy Acuña at University of California at Northridge, etc. And, the debate about the SWP has center around if they are just recruiting members from Chicano organizations and trying to take over Chicano organizations and guiding them participating in their activities. The SWP maintains that it has the right to become involved in Chicano issues because the Chicano is part of

the working class and a part of the overall workers movement and that the SWP has the right to present their ideas and be heard in the Chicano community and in the Chicano Movement and that their Chicano members have the right to participate in the Movimiento. Many Chicano groups say that they are disruptive and they cause division in the Chicano Movement.

The Partido de la Raza Unida is still discussing a final position on the question of the SWP, but it is my opinion that the SWP is probably the most open of the anglo political parties of the socialist line and that it has many good ideas, but that it is, nevertheless an anglo political party which should concentrate its work in the anglo community and which will not be the way in which Chicanos will organize and get together and form a society that we feel is best suited to our needs. The SWP has never controlled the Partido de la Raza Unida and never will, because it is our contention that it will be the Partido de la Raza Unida which will organize the Chicano community and our people through the Partido de la Raza Unida will take control of our communities and when we become the majority we will take control of the Southwest, then we will decide what kind of a society we want and whether or not for that time, our destiny lies with staying with the United States, forming an independent nation of joining Mexico and the rest of America Latina, but in the final analysis, it will be the Chicano people who will decide, but the Partido de la Raza Unida will work to organize our people so that they will have the organization and power to be able to decide for themselves. And, in this decision, I do not feel any of the socialist or communist parties ~~(which now exist)~~ will have the control of our people, in fact those parties will and should have their hands full with the anglo community.

Because we feel that Chicanos will unite with Chicanos to decide our own destiny does not mean that we should not talk to other political parties with different ideas and exchange our ideas with them, but at the same time we should make it absolutely clear that in the end it is our decision to say where we will go. what ideas we will use and how we will organize and do what we have to do. In many ways, these anglo parties are more effective because they have done more work, even in our own communities, and we must recognize where we have been weak, and not try to blame our weaknesses on them unless they deliberately try to disrupt our work or undercut what we as Chicanos are trying to do. We need to develop our political ideas to the point where we can discuss political ideas with anyone and defend our positions against any attack and criticism, but we must never become dogmatic like much of the left has and close our minds to new ideas. We must establish the concept of everyone carrying his share of the burden of organizing the Chicano community, whether it is among the workers, among the students, among the ancianos, among the youth, or whatever, because in the past, the Chicano Movement has been too loose and too laid back in doing our job or organizing the Chicano community, and it is time that we get down to serious business, because the anglo social system is quite serious about keeping us down, serious enough to put our leaders in jail for organizing our community and to kill those whom it considers dangerous, and if there is anything that the anglo socialist parties

parties, that is serious and hard working and dedicated, and this is something that we lack at the present time.

To sum up the question of the left, the socialist political parties in the United States are anglo political parties and as such should focus their work on the anglo community, but the ideas of socialism and Marx are just that, ideas, and we have the option of using those which we think will apply to the Chicano community, and we should not be afraid of using them, nor should we be afraid of discussing politics with the anglos socialist parties, any of the anglo socialist parties, and we must do the work that needs to be done in the Chicano community to deserve the respect and confidence of our people, and we can only do that by learning all that we possibly can, by having the best plan for the organization our community, by applying that plan and by keeping our plan guided by principles, but flexible for it to fit the will of the people and to fit their needs, if we do not do this, we cannot blame our failure on any anglo political party unless they deliberate work to sabotage our efforts to organize our community and succeed in sabotaging it. Wherever we feel this is happening, we must confront that party directly and discuss and resolve the problem, not resort to backbiting. } w smp } w smp If the problem cannot be resolved that way, then we will denounce the party which is disrupting our work and the Chicano community and confront them publicly and directly with the facts at hand.

We as Chicanos have always been hospitable with the concept that my house is your house, and many times anglos have taken this for a sign of weakness and have taken advantage, and many times we have been subjected to the racism of the anglo who is a socialist just as much as from any dyed in the wool admitted racist, and Ricardo Flores Magón of the Partido Liberal Mexicano made strong reference to this, but many times the racism is not conscious, it is subconscious, but the results and the remarks come out the same, and we must be aware of this fact and confront it for what it is. Many times this racism on the left will take the form of paternalism, which simply means that the anglos in the socialist parties feel that we are underdeveloped politically and that we need to be taken in hand and guided to the right or correct political line and down the correct political road or they will be codescending like we would be with a little child when we say, "Oh, how nice" or "Very good, very good" when a child is doing something, and this in itself is a form of racism and an anglo trait of demonstrating cultural superiority.

Politically, just as humanistically, there are many barriers of culture and thought to be overcome with the anglo who is coming from a different place than we are and who has different ideas and values, and he is quick to criticize our ideas and values, whether he is a redneck or a socialist, and what we must impress on the anglo is that he has to show respect for our community, or as Benito Juárez put it, "El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz." And, to date, this has often been lacking in the anglo community in general and it is one of the main reasons that we must seek our own destiny as Eusebio Chacón warned us 78 years ago, or else stay as someone else's beast of burden, and we will not do this for the anglo or for the anglo socialist, and we must make this perfectly clear to them, for we are not going to trade one master for another.

Clearly, what has been covered does not even begin to discuss the complexity of the question of socialism, but it does present a general position which I feel will help us avoid making a religion out of socialism and will allow you to take a clearer look and to have a clearer perspective when on the question of socialism as far as the Chicano is concerned and it can be very useful in looking at the different groups which will be trying to recruit us into their different ideological camp, but the entire of question of socialism will take long discussion to understand, and a later Discussion Bulletin of the Partido de la Raza Unica will touch on that question.

X. WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

Before getting into any discussion what youth can contribute to society in general and the Chicano Movement in particular, we must take into account some of the general aspects of the factors which affect youth. We must recognize that they youth years of the teenage years and early adulthood are times when the individual is beginning to try to understand the world around himself, as we have stated, and it is a time of emotional development and maturation in which there are many conflicting forces in play inside the mind of youth, it is also the time that nature has designated for the rebelliousness necessary to prepare youth for the taking of adult responsibility and separation from the care of your parents; it is a time when you try to assert yourself and will rebel against authority and will look, for the most part, for the friendship and camaradery of others of his own; it is also time when will be often looking for role models, people whom he can admire and if possible immitate or emulate. It is during this time that youth is looking for a direction in life, unless that drive has been dulled and reduced by factors such as hopeless poverty, the breaking of the youth's will by harsh treatment or other factors.

It is during this time that a human being is at his or her highest level of energy and often times of idealism, unless conservative training from parents and society have taken hold, and this energy if it is not directed by the youth into organization and working for social oranzation often channels itself into the party life, drugs, gangs, the disco or into self gratification and "looking out for number one," or just "getting ahead," because this is what society is trying to channel you into, in order to put you into one of its little compartments and lock you into the team of horses that it already has pulling the wagon of society.

During this period it is necessary for youth to look at society around him or her and take stock of that society and what influence it is having on him or her and analyze it; in doing this, one of the first things that can be observed is that certain people seem to control a lot of society and its resources, jobs and goods which are produced. We can see that 10% of the people control 80% or more of the money and resources and that the rest of the resources are divided up among the rest of us, and the only reason that the people of the United States and Europe and Japan are able to have a large middle class and a class of poor people is that: 1) as we have stated, the United States in its formative years took land and natural resources from the indigenous peoples of the Americas and from the Spanish and the Mestizo, 2) the United States during what was called

the expansionist period sent troops and warships into all parts of the globe as did the other european countries, and because of its military strength was able to establish influence in many other countries which allowed United States companies to go into those countries, often buying off the local leaders, exploit the natural resources of those countries and make huge profits by taking the land for next to nothing in cost and working the local natives for extremely low wages, with the support of government which they had helped to buy off or even put into office either directly or with their support. 3) government and even many supposed scholars have put the blame for the poverty which occurs in both the United States and the world on the poor people themselves, but a recent article in the Albuquerque Journal was recently forced to admit that, for the most part, poor people have no less ambition and willingness to work than anyone else, but that they just hadn't gotten the "breaks"; what this means in reality is that those who control the jobs were trying to do the job the lowest possible number of workers and later with most possible machines and were in fact quite happy to keep the poor poor as part of a large reserve force which could be brought in and trained if any of their workers gave them any trouble, but the unions have somewhat been able to combat this, but the racism of many anglos inside of the unions have kept this protection from being extended to the people of color like Native Americans, Chicanos and other latinos, Blacks, etc.. 4) What society has presented to us individualism, competition and free enterprise is in reality an effort to try to get each person to look out for number one and to try to improve himself without worrying about anyone else and without realizing that much more can be done if we all work together and plan what we want as the basic necessities which everyone in society should have, such as a job which allows them to earn a good living, and education which will prepare a person to understand his or her world and him or herself in order to participate in running society, decent housing which will promote a person's development to his fullest potential, equal voice and participation in government by all people at an equal level, etc..

So unjust is this system that even those who support capitalism are trying to reform it and at various points in time have used different methods to do this since the depression of 1929 and the 1930's, they have used welfare in its various forms, intervention to hold down wages, cutting off the amount of money banks will lend to the poor (the rich can always get money), etc. and blaming the things like inflation (when more money will buy less goods) and recession (when people are out of work and the factories aren't producing as much because the owners can't make as much money as they want so they fire workers), and, more recently, the supporters of the system are proposing making everybody "stockholders" in the industry and production of goods and services in this country, because they have come to realize that things are reaching a point where people can't buy enough food, where people are no longer able to buy their own home, where people aren't able to travel and vacation as they used to and where they are having to cut back public assistance to the poor and unemployed, causing a very real and dangerous situation for them where the poor just might get into their heads to take things over and run them themselves, and as the middle class begins to get squeezed even more by high prices and cutbacks, they begin to think about the same thing, often times after thinking that going back to

bad old days when there weren't any government regulations and there were small businesses and "mom and pop" stores everywhere, and big business is encouraging this, because they know that they are the kings of the jungle and that without controls, they will be able to take over everything, since most big companies in the United States have more money than many governments in the world.

In a situation such as this, and even before, the people who run society have tried to make it seem that government, industry and economics are too complicated for the common people and that "foreign relations" and international politics should be left to those who know, and those who know, are, for the most part the rich or those who have taken advantage of the fact that the rich need managers and have been willing to sell themselves to the rich for a piece of the pie, but one must remember that even the President of General Motors can be fired by the Chairman of the Board and his Board of Directors, and the ones who have had the educational preparation to "run things" are the rich and the children of the rich who have been trained to know and study a great many things like government, economics, law, international politics, art, literature, ideas, the sciences, business and everything that is usually considered part of a general education, but the poor have been channeled into "careers" by the colleges if they happen to be lucky to get in with the middle class, which is being given the same treatment in order to keep its shoulder to the wheel and its nose to the grindstone so that it can't learn all the things it should know in order to understand what is going on; the vocational schools do the same thing to the blue collar working class and the working poor.

In order to keep the people entertained and happy with their lot, the people who run the country insure that the people have enough of what the Romans used to call "bread and circuses," and this gives people some relief from the hard work and the problems they are having and it distracts them by more or less giving them enough to eat and keeping the people distracted so that they won't think about the fact that the people who are running things are using the situation to get richer and richer, and even off of the circuses which are being used to amuse the people (organized big time sports, paid entertainment, expensive "hobbies" the "disco scene", different fads, riding around, vacations, etc.. But, after a while, the circuses begin to get old, and you start looking at the edges, at the machinery behind the false fronts, and it becomes necessary to invent new fads to keep the people preoccupied and to keep them from thinking that maybe things would be better if they as a people were planning and running society.

In the world at large, the United States and its "representatives" try to give the impression that the United States and Europe (and perhaps Japan) are the "bastions of democracy" which are under attack by the "communists" and by the "barbarians," or the people of the poor countries who are beginning to demand that both the so called "communist" countries and the "capitalist" countries had better begin sharing the wealth that is the common property of everyone who lives on this earth and that they should use those goods and advanced technology which these countries have developed at the expense of the poor countries should be shared with everyone and that the people's of the world should be working together to establish a

new world social order in which what the world produces is worked equally by the people of the world and is shared equally and equitably by the people of the world. Many people in the United States, and especially among the educated youth, this sentiment is beginning to be shared with the poor countries of the third world, and the people who run the the country have tried to channel this attitude by adults and youth through what is called volunteerism, or the giving of services on an individual basis rather putting together a concerted, organized effort to eliminate poverty and hunger throughout the world, this is done through things such as the Peace Corps, Vista and numerous voluntary agencies, many of them run by the churches, some of which feel that they are doing a humanitarian service, which they are, but they are clouding the fact that in order to improve the lives of the people of the world, things need to be done on a massive scale.

Those countries in the world which are called "communist" need to be considered at this point also, because the Third World and the poor are also pointing the finger at them and their own people are beginning to get restive despite the tight clamps put on the people by the police state governments which are presently governing those countries. What is passed off as socialism in these countries is only partially so, because they do not allow free expression which, for example, existed among the Iroquois tribes which were taken as models for government by the founders of the United States and by Karl Marx both, nor do they allow the people in general to run the country and the production of goods and services, and this has put a small bureaucratic elite into power whose main purpose is to keep themselves in power, and naturally, when the people see that they are not running things and are benefitting very little because the leaders are putting all of the money produced into arms and repression inside the country, people become discouraged and feel that there is no reason for them to work hard if they don't have freedom to travel, if they have to carry passports to move around in their own country, if they have inadequate housing, if food supplies are short and if they can't express themselves and interact with the workers in ~~work~~ sectors in order to discuss and really be able to see that what they are doing is really benefitting them and their fellow workers; free expression is an integral part of this; this is in reality not just "bourgeois liberalism," but rather it is an integral part which the human spirit needs to develop itself to its fullest potential. Those countries which are called by their rulers as "socialist" or "communist" cannot be taken for such, because they are run by a bureaucratic cast and, except for those areas in which they have actually benefitted and improved human life, the cannot be considered as models of socialism, just as everything that is called "revolutionary" (such as hot dog cookers) in the United States cannot be taken as such, and as in the question of socialism as to how it is affecting Chicano youth or attempting to affect Chicano youth, it is a question which must be discussed in much greater depth than can be done here.

If this is what we can see by looking at the world around us, and if so many people want change and want improvement, and if society can and should be improved, what can we do to make this take place? Well, first we have to realize that despite the many advantages we enjoy in the United States, such the ability to express our-

selves, the right to form free associations, the "right" to vote, the right to have a religion (or not have one) and the right to the "pursuit of happiness," these privileges are limited to those which do not threaten the power of the people who run the country, the People who have been called the "power elite;" Times are changing and getting harder, because these power elite cannot expand and keep expanding our part of the goodies too, and so they are starting to cut back the "freedoms."

As we have stated, many social programs for the poor and unemployed are being cut back, but the ones that are being hit the hardest are the minorities. Unemployment in the Chicano and Black communities is officially twice as high as that for anglos or "whites," and unofficially, it is three time or even four times as high; among Chicano and Black youth, unemployment in the cities often runs between 65% and 80% or more, is it any wonder that the youth in these communities are turning to drugs, gangs, low riding and disco to get their minds off of this situation? In the Third World countries like America Latina, things are much worse so we have the people crowding the cites, just like in the United States and this is causing massive immigration to the United States, the country which used their resources to get rich and kept the people in the United States in ignorance about what the multinational companies were doing to these people.

Opportunities are being cut back in other areas too, especially in the area of education, because the experiment to try to make us part of the cogs in the wheels of industry did not produce the expected results among minorities. While many minority youth who had the chance to go to college did use this opportunity to get upward mobility, many of us used our education to read things that we weren't supposed to be reading, like how the U.S. companies exploited other countries, how the big companies in the United States planned ahead and created markets and profits 25 and more years in advance and how we were manipulated to buy products, how there did in fact exist a power elite which ran the country in government as well as in business, how there was "poverty in the land of plenty," that there were many alternative forms of government and economics which improve the lives of people, that in fact many of the "freedoms" which we are supposed to have are blocked when they reach the point of the people actually being able to take control of their lives, like alternative political parties being able to get on the ballot, Chicanos being able to take certain positions in government and industry if they were going to help their people (notice all of the Chicanos being fired from universities, city, state and federal government, etc. after they have done something to help the Chicano people at large).

Many of us who learned these thing began to try to apply them to get the power for the Chicano that we justly deserve, but we soon learned about the roadblocks that existed to keep us from getting behind the false fronts that existed in this Disneylandlike world where the puppets and dolls are all smiling and singing happy songs. When we tried to improve the lives of the Chicano community as a whole, we suddenly found that those who were supposed to represent us didn't and that they in fact fought us every step of the way even when we made simple and just demands such as putting in Chicano teachers and principles in districts which were 85% Chicano

and had only 25% Chicano teachers and had never had Chicano principals despite the fact that the college was turning out most of the Chicano teachers in the state and was right in the same town. We have systematically been excluded from such fields as law and medicine by premeditated planning in the form of what is called "institutionalized racism." When society realized that it could no longer lynch minorities, the power elite established very subtle and quiet ways to keep us out, such as the system of qualifications, which were raised as soon as we became qualified, so we were made to chase a mechanical rabbit which was speeded up each time we tried to catch. Society started to nickel and dime us to death academically by raising requirements because the power elite realized that they had to keep the minds of those Chicanos who were in the system occupied to the point that they wouldn't have time to think about those things we learned in the liberal arts and began to apply to create a better society; it became even more necessary to put the nose of the Chicanos to the grindstone and our shoulder to the wheel so that we wouldn't have time to think about anything and would have to swallow what the administrations told us, and those higher requirements would automatically force many Chicanos out of college, which they figure will kill the questioning which many of us were doing after having used the knowledge and the skills we acquired in college to learn about the forbidden areas which were supposed to be left to scholars who only used the materials and "pure research" and never shared the learning with the community.

The fact that minorities are in fact thinking about and looking for alternatives to the present situation are behind the higher "standards" in education, in the job market, etc. and are the causes of the Bakke decision and the possible Weber Case decision which will soon be coming before the supreme court. But, all of these cutbacks, such as taking Chicanos out of positions of power, the cutting back of services to minorities, the poor and the workers are not going unchallenged, and there is in fact a great deal of activity among all of the parts of society. This is why many of the younger workers are trying to get democracy in the Unions, so that they can keep up to the cost of living, but as far as government and business is concerned, they are thinking that there has to be a better way; the same thing is happening in the Chicano, Native American and Black communities, where there is growing disillusionment with the present political and economic setup and where the Movements of our peoples are growing after having suffered strong declines in the middle and latter 1970's, despite the efforts of the uppermiddle class minority group officials to convince us to go into business and learn about the business world, knowing full well that there isn't room for that many Chicanos to "go into business," and that as soon as we do that, the "market will become glutted (full)" and we will be sent off chasing another carrot or mechanical rabbit, as one frustrated anglo PhD stated about the rise of standards every time minorities reached a certain level *To continue to keep Chicanos out.*

However we look at it, we can only come to the conclusion that we are being taken for a ride and just plain being taken and shoved off to one side, but what can we do? Well, since it is clear that a broad education, including what society doesn't teach and a skepticism about what society does teach and an examination to look between the lines to see what society doesn't tell us directly is a good start.

XI: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

First, we have to realize that the idealism of youth and its energy and willingness to try new things are a strong base to start with in considering what Chicano youth can do for yourselves and your people, and that natural curiosity and the sharpness of vision that cuts through the "bullshit" is another tool that youth has in its bag of tools with which nature has endowed us. The rebelliousness of youth against what exists and the search for something better and the restlessness of youth are also assets when properly oriented by youth themselves. It is also an advantage that today's youth are more highly ^{educated} than any generation up to now and that we have many more students in college and college graduates than ever before, because while many of the educated youth have swallowed the teaching of the power elite hook, line and sinker, many others have used the base given them in the schools to undertake a more extensive self education and have been looking for alternatives, and this gives us an intelligentsia, or an educated group of people who know how to look for answers and how to define alternatives, but we must remember that this is not enough, we have to respect the voice of experience and the expertise developed by the workers and our elders in the "college of hard knocks." We don't know it all, but if we put our knowledge together, then we can begin to understand the situation and its solutions.

Next, we need to think about some of our deficits or weaknesses, because as youth, our rebelliousness tends to reject structure except in a very loose form, unless we have extraordinary self discipline, and we often have egocentric tendencies which make us think about "one comes before two" which society has reinforced to keep youth from thinking about together (see the Pepsi generation ads and today's People doing what they like to do 7-up ads). We need to become interested in some things which require work and concentration because our span of attention has not yet been developed to the point which it has in older persons, but this can be a point in the advantage of youth, because the mind has not yet become structured, and all of us in our youth have the ability to look at things from different angles and accept different ideas, once you get past your "ego trips" and desire to be right.

I am in strong disagreement with Juan Gómez Quiñones in the concept which he proposes that youth do not have the ability to be a major role in the development of movement which can have deep and long lasting results, because we can see from the impact that Chicano youth had in the first cycle of the present day Chicano Movement in getting Chicano Studies, in organizing the community, in getting Chicanos into jobs that had previously been closed to them, the opening up of the present day educational opportunities, which though today's youth does not realize it, because we haven't taken the time to talk to you and to explain and show you, was no small feat. It required long hours of planning, many meetings, marches, demonstrations, confrontations with administrations, all levels of government, police and national guardsmen, being put in jail and being teargassed, taking over buildings and innumerable things more than the energy and force of youth was able to bring about, not to mention the massive amounts of brainpower that went into the planning and the discussion to decide.

It was the youth who gave strength of numbers to the Crusade for Justice, the MAYO organization in Texas which eventually formed and led the Raza Unida Party to victory in many South Texas towns, which opened up the financial aid programs which are presently being used in the universities, even though they are being sharply being cut back. The students forced many bilingual education laws to be passed and Chicano Studies programs to be formed, and they force the placement of students on decision making boards, though they soon found out that they weren't allowed to make too many decisions.

The apathy that the Chicano youth are coming out of after the pause cycle in the Chicano Movement was deliberately contrived while we were putting our energies to open up some of the doors that had been closed to us. While we were making the Movimiento, our younger brothers and sisters, yourselves, were being prepared to come into the colleges and the job market thinking that the opportunity was there. Where we ran up against closed doors that we had to force open, you were able to find the doors open, either because we had opened them for you, or because the society had decided that the best thing to do to keep you from becoming radicalized like we had was to take the resistance out of your way, because resistance causes pressure to break that resistance, and so, like in the cartoon, in the latter part of the Movement, we rushed the door to break it down and we found it opened at the last minute and some of us crashed into the wall, while other thought that we had made because the door was now open. But, those same doors are now being closed and the people who want through them are being told to cooperate and those who don't are being kicked out because the powers elite see that the Chicano was obviously disorganized and though he had made it when a few people went through the doors, so they went back home to figure how they were going to get through to get to the "American dream."

Whereas we had to get our entertainment from our own imaginations and out in the streets with few or no toys to play with, we exercised our energies and tested ourselves against all kinds of things and were confronted with racism on all sides, both overt and covert, but you, our younger brothers and sisters were growing up with television which gave you a different view of the world, and food stamps and welfare checks or better job opportunities for your parents which the struggles before had opened up made it possible for you to get many of the things which we never had, and so you didn't develop that feeling of struggle that we did in the barrios and in the streets, even though it cost us many carnals going to the reform schools and eventually to prison or to be killed in senseless fights in the parking lots, the stock yards or wherever. Television conditioning made everything seem easy to get, and for a time, as you were growing up it was much easier, but it also led to disillusionment, because the things that society was telling you that were desirable really didn't have much meaning, and so with the disillusionment came the apathy and the frustration which was directed toward drugs, disco, hard rock, nostalgia programmed by the movie and record industry to distract you from the fact that you were pretty close to looking at the machinery behind the false front of materialist consumer society, and the bread and circuses have had their effect.

And as the effect has begun to wear off, the new orientation toward

something meaningful that you are looking for is being directed into "straight society" and the professions, business, science, the specializations which numb the mind away from thinking about other things, for as a professor of history recently remarked at the University of New Mexico, the rich are doing the thinking and getting the broad education to run the country, and we are being redirected toward doing the work that makes the country run---for their benefit.

As more and more youth begin to see that the doors are closing again, they are beginning to radicalize, but there are doubts about the effectiveness of the type of organizing that we did in the 1960's and 1970's and today's young organizers are searching for ways to combat the same problems we encountered in the early sixties, apathy, fear of being identified as a radical and of suffering personal retribution, doubts that organizing and protesting can accomplish anything, expectations that if we work hard we will be the one who will be allowed to enter the door to the goodies stored behind it, and so what if my brothers don't get any of it, at least I might make it, after all, "one comes before two." Youth wants to believe that society is not malicious and that there really is democracy and that there is no power elite, or if there is that if they cooperate it won't hurt them and might even give them opportunities to make it.

In the realization that the power elite only have use for the people of color as "beasts of burden," as Chacon stated it so well, many Chicanos are coming to realize that the only solution is to organize, and since people mostly begin to react when something happens directly to them, there are many Chicanos who are coming into the Movimiento as they or members of their families are being beaten by police, as they are discriminated against, as they are fired by anglo supervisors, as Chicano supervisor are replaced with anglo supervisors, as the Chicanos who had been elected with the blessing of the anglo are thrown out of office, as Chicanos are refused high positions in government or business or are removed from these positions, and since society is cutting us back in these areas, there are a growing number of people who are coming to Movimiento organizations which have managed to survive the last few hard years and are still active in the community, or they are forming their own groups.

One of the discouraging things that we who have been in the Movimiento are finding is that many of the same mistakes that we made are being repeated, factionalism, arguing over things which are not the major concern, lack of knowledge of the nature of the problems that we are fighting, "ego tripping," struggles for power, lack of respect for other positions and the inability to listen and address the issues rather than the persons or to be able to have criticism and self criticism in a constructive manner from which everyone can benefit and the inability to take criticism, analyze it and respond to it in an analytical manner, accepting it if it is valid and refuting it if it is wrong. These are some traits and issues which must be addressed if the problems are to be attacked effectively and today's youth is to effectively tackle the problems at hand. To do this, the problems must be understood, discussed and resolved in such a way that we are not purging and pushing people out, but rather that we are allowing everyone to participate with a clearer view of what the situation is.

Because of the way the power elite was able to use the media and other sources to isolate many leaders of the Chicano Movement and many organizations by using the tactic of labeling or tagging and by this isolating groups; many youth feel that they have to avoid a structured organization and anything that resembles a radical philosophy, not recognizing that a loosely structured organization has little possibility of suffering the kinds of attacks that the "system" and the power elite can mount against us; this does not mean that an organization has to be structured like an army, or that it has to be undemocratic or even that it has to have all of its members agree on everything. It does mean that the organizations have to realize that "la union hace la fuerza," and that organization is the best defense against being fragmented under pressure. With this organization there has to be a framework for clear discussion and for regular, increasing learning about not only the direct problems that are being dealt with, but rather the larger social context that is causing those problems to realize that one is only attacking the symptoms and not the disease and so the organization can begin to find some ways to attack the disease as well as trying to alleviate they symptoms.

Issue oriented organizaing is a good way to organize those who are being affected by specific problems, but it is no way to build a long lasting organization unless the issue oriantation can be used as a guide toward looking at the larger problems and to encourage those people who are concerned about a particular issue to look at the larger picture and the things that are affecting their lives. They need to see that there are a whole gamut of problems that the power elite are creating for us to keep us occupied and to keep us nickle and dimed to death trying to cover; this can be seen in the way that no one has time for anything, and in the way people are tyed up in their jobs until all ours of the nights or are involved in meetings, or justiin resolving the myriad of small problems which are piling up on us. This keeps us off balance just as surely as a very skilled juggler could keep us off balance by throwing a large number of rubber balls at us which we could just dodge, but which wouldn't allow us to move agaist to stop him.

The organizations that we put together do not necessarily have to be the same organizations which have been used in the Chicano Movement in the past, but at the same time, if those organization are still useful and uscable vehicles and can be structured in such a way as to serve us for taking us where we want to go, then we should use them, and not be afraid to use them, many 1956 Chevys are running better than the 1979 cars, which are constantly breaking down, because they have too many "bugs" which have been "ironed out" of the older models. So, while we must not be afraid of trying something new, neither must we discard something old just because it is old and no longer in style, styles change, and many times they go back to something that was used before because it was better, but we have to develop the judgement to know the difference.

It is clear that we have to rebuild the student movement on the college campuses and try to get all Chicanos under one organiza-tion if it is possible and if not, at least try to work together until we can become united in an organization that is capable of handling man different issues and which will also be able to serve as an edu-

signal and organizational vehicle for a long range Movement and which can generate and train leadership as well as attract new membership and confront any situation which threatens our people.

These organizations must have the capacity for reaching upward into the older sectors of the community and be able to interact with them as well as to reach down and help the youth coming up behind them in order to avoid the mistakes that we made in allowing our younger brothers and sisters to be alienated from us. And, it is necessary that we reach laterally and touch our peers through conversations, newsletters, films, books, showing them directly what is happening and to awaken their interest in working with you to try to improve conditions and to deal with their own problems in a collective manner with others who have the same problem. We need to recruit those who will be becoming teachers and help them acquire new materials and ways to apply these materials and new knowledge to the traditional classroom setting in such a way that it is included in the lesson plans and in the curricula. We also need to work with children outside of the classroom setting in daycare centers and youth projects.

To organize youth peers, both direct contact in an informal and a formal setting can be effective, and perhaps at the beginning the results will be disappointing, but a consistent and persistent recruitment effort will bear fruit, even if one recruits only one person out of every 100, that person will be one who is interested and who will work because he believes in what is being done, and on a campus of 2,000, 20 persons who are highly motivated and highly active can be a powerful force, but they must be in an organization that does not waste time just in having meeting and which involves everyone in some facet of the work; the work itself along with the recruitment effort will attract other members, and as the organization will be the most organized part of the student body, it can have an effect far above its numbers and will be able to move people on issues because it will have established credibility by working for what people really need and feel to be problems, but the organization cannot just become a welfare agency, it must involve the people in the solution of their own problems.

In working in the community, the students must not neglect the campus, but rather they must both work in projects which affect the community as well as trying to explain to the community what is going on in the campuses and try to get community support for the actions and the problems that the students are facing on campus. This is an extremely difficult task, since the community either fears or distrusts the institutions, and the community people have the same fears as the students about getting involved, but the same tack must be taken in recruiting community support the students as is taken in the painstaking recruitment of members for the organization, with a lot of hard work going into the effort, and participation on community problems must not be on know it all "I've got all the answers" basis, but rather on a suggestion basis and a discussion basis on a regular basis and not a sporadic incident or issue type of attendance. People in the community must know that you are consistent, trustworthy, truthful and are not out to use them; the same is true of the younger students in the High Schools and Junior High Schools.

Discipline is another important factor in the success of any organization, again, not authoritarian discipline, but self discipline and group disciplinary guidance, otherwise known as positive peer pressure, but at the same time, this should not discourage constructive disagreement. It needs to deal with the questions of doing the jobs for which one is responsible and for not reflecting negatively on the organization by one's own personal action in such a way that the work and credibility of the organization will be endangered or hampered, but at the same time, it must recognize the human needs and weaknesses of its members and make certain allowances for them as long as they do not harm the performance and work of the organization.

Communication is of the essence for any organization to survive, and this must be constant and two way with other organizations which are doing the same type of work and other types of work for the Chicano community throughout the Southwest and the nation, and it must include periodic meetings to discuss ideas and exchange information and discuss new development and ideas, and these discussions must be shared with members who are not present to keep them informed either directly or through a newsletter, newspaper, etc., and this in itself is likely to stimulate participation. The organization must not limit itself or become a one issue oriented organization, because it is supposed to be a Chicano organization to serve the general needs of the Chicano community according to the importance and the priorities which the members have set up to work on.

Coalitions can and should be made with Native American, Black and anglo groups, but the Chicano organization should not become subordinate to the other organizations of the coalition, and all groups should work as equals, unless the Chicano organization is working in a support role, in which the decisions are to be made by the organizing group with suggestions of the Chicano organization which are not necessarily binding, but if the work is contrary to the well being of the Chicano community and that cannot be changed, the organization should withdraw its support.

Continual education is also necessary, and the members should be encouraged to read as extensively as possible on as many subjects and ideas as possible and to discuss ideas and materials of particular interest regardless of what the subject may be in meeting set just for the purpose of discussion or at the end of a general meeting in order to develop the ability to discuss, debate and exchange and argue ideas without getting mad or responding with personal attacks and to be able to learn fact in order to be able to hold intelligent discussion on many ideas; all of the members should be encouraged to speak and should not be cut off unless they are totally out of line or being purposely malicious or vicious. One of the major weaknesses of Chicano Movement organizations, especially student organizations when confronted by members from the other ethnic or the anglo community or by members of socialist organizations is the inability to express oneself, defend one's ideas and answer the questions and points that these people bring up, and this causes for there to be a split in the opinion of the membership to what seem to be persuasive arguments of disciplined members or cadres which are sent to the meeting by other organizations to try to get the support of the group, to split the

or to try to recruit membership for their own organization. A good understanding of this principle will help and organization and its members distinguish between efforts to subvert the organization, damage it or if the contacts are really interested in getting organizational support for a valid issue or to form a legitimate coalition. For this reason, education and increased knowledge cannot be stressed too highly.

All in all the formation of any Chicano organization for a serious purpose and for long range effects requires a certain seriousness and in the individual members and in the way the organization is structured and works, and the responsibility cannot be taken lightly, because what the organization does affects people's lives and will affect future work undertaken in the same area by the same or by other groups in the future. It can either facilitate or make more difficult the work that has to be done in other areas of endeavor for the Chicano Movement as a whole. Organizing in the Chicano Movement is no longer just a question of socializing, it a question of defending our rights and linking up with like efforts in the Chicano community, and this cannot be taken lightly, and all efforts must be taken to succeed. It is not shameful to fail in an honest effort where all of the tools and resources have been applied and are found to be insufficient, but to fail for unnecessary mistakes which can be avoided is something to be ashamed of, because el Movimiento ya no es cosa que esta jugando a revolucion, es cosa seria que nos puede determinar el destino, and we must make that destiny as good as we possibly can.

XII. THE PARTIDO DE LA RAZA UNIDA

Up to this point, we have discussed the questions in general, but we have not proposed any particular vehicle of organization, because I felt that it was necessary for you to understand the nature of the problem we are facing and some of the possible solutions and responses that are necessary to deal with the problems and some of the ways of general organization that have been used successfully in the past.

As we can see in the genealogy of the Chicano Movement, we as Chicano have worked in different areas to try to solve our problems, until in 1972, all of the different trends coalesced into three different camps, the Land Grant Movement of Reyes Lopez Tijerina, the Union Movement of Cesar Chavez and the Partido de la Raza Unida which was formed for the most part by Chicano youth. The Partido de la Raza Unida brought together all of the different types of Chicano organizations that had been formed in the barrios and pueblos and the different ideas that the organizations had with them, and this gave the Chicano the potential for the kind of a national Movement that could have had an immense impact on the Chicano community, but the time was not right, and the differences which had hindered other attempts at a national movement were still too strong, and the post-convention period was one of people falling away from the movement in disillusionment with with the division and fighting taking place among the different faction and the "Big Four", Reyes Lopez Tijerina of the Alinza, Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers, Corky Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice and Jose Angel Gutierrez of the Partido

44

de la Raza Unida in Texas who was elected as the national Chairman of the Partido de la Raza Unida.

The period after the 1972 convention in El Paso was rough on the Movimiento, and many organizations disappeared, the fraction of the Partido de la Raza Unida that was affiliated with Corky Gonzales dissolved the Partido and went into organization of different locally based organizations or disappeared altogether, many of the Partidos who remained in the Partido and worked with José Angel Gutiérrez also faded until there were only four sections left, three of which were active, the Partido in California, Texas and Nuevo Mexico, and these were having a hard time with sharp membership declines and with many counties and chapters dissolving. The new organizations of the left like ATM and CASA began to grow in influence from the activist who had been "burned" with the fighting and disputes of the nationalis movement and wanted a socialist movement which would also be nationalist, because they felt it would be more mature, but it turned out that left or communists and socialist parties also have many differences as can be seen in the fighting between the Chicano socialist fractions of ATM and CASA.

Armando Navarro and others tried to bring us together in the 1966 Conference at Salt Lake City, Utah, which only served to air our differences and which was not attended by any of the "Big Four," giving the conference little chance to do anything more than to allow us to engage in discussion among the secondary leadership and a large number of Chicanos who really wanted some kind of a national vehicle that we could use to coordinate our national efforts.

In the last three years, CASA and ATM both challenged the National Partido for leadership and for leadership in the the states of California and Nuevo Mexico, but in the last year, factional disputes have taken both organization out the picture, while there have been two new organizations that have been formed, the Coalition of Centros, the Chicano community service centers and the coalition of Independents, which includes the groups which we have already mentioned.

At the present time, though, the Partido de la Raza Unida is the largest of any of the organization in membership and in organization and it seems to be the one with the most potential for being able to unite the Chicano, because the Partido carries out all of the functions of an organization and more, in that it is organized to take electoral power and other tasks and to actually be able to give the Chicano a way to govern himself at the local level, at the county level, at the state level and quite soon at the regional level, because of its track record and ability to survive hardships and divisions and to look at itself and do self-correction and still continue to serve the community, the people are coming more and more to the Partido for help in these times of recession, because they know that through the years we have built up a good store of experience and resources, including lawyers, teachers, certain professionals, and an organization that given certain circumstances can mobilize more people and resources than any organization.

At the present time, many community people look upon the Partido as a resource against police brutality and discrimination, but as more and more of the Chicano democrats are pushed out of

and fail to deliver for the community or enrich themselves or involve themselves in scandal and corruption, people are turning to the Partido as a viable political alternative for governing, and in the last elections, the people of Crystal City overwhelmingly reelected the Partido de la Raza Unida candidates because they have produce for the community and have actually give power to the Chicano and have not been involve in the scandal of the sort common to Chicano Republicans and Democrats in high office in government and the Democrat party or Republican party.

The Partido de la Raza Unida, then is again emerging to the potential that was forcast in 1972, and at a time when the Chicano realizes that he is about to be pushed out of the public institutions and jobs in his own community and that he is going to have to organize on a local, state and national level; where the Partido is working to offer the Chicano an alternative.

A. ~~Some~~ Principles of the Partido de la Raza Unida.

1. The Partido supports full employment at just wages, as well the right to form unions and is opposed to the socalles "Right to Work laws."
2. The Partido supports the woman's struggle for emancipation of women and their right to self determination in those areas which are of concern to them in particular.
3. The Partido proposes a society whose main goal shall be the maximum human development, physically, emotionally and intellectually and which will provide the means to obtain these.
4. The Partido supports full education to the highest level a person can attain with society at large providing the facilites for that development.
5. The Partido supports full health care for all people in order to support maximum human development.
6. The Partido supports the right of the people to have justice and to struggle against injustice in any way necessary (see the preamble of the Declaration of Independence of the United States).
7. The Partido supports the use of natural resources for the benefit of all people and not for the enrichment of the few "power elite."
8. Whereas the natural resources which come from the land are for the benefit of all humanity, neither political nor economic boundaries should be used to deny any human being his or her right to live wherever he or she may to fulfill his or her human needs and to develop him or herself as human being.

B. Concepts of the Partido.

The Partido de la Raza Unida realizes that the anglo as a people per se are not the enemy, but we also realize that because of conditioning by society, the anglo has a tendency to be oppressive against Chicanos and people of color, this is true for the most part of the greater society and is even carried over to anglo liberals and radicals, and while we will work on certain issues with the anglo, we maintain the right to run our own affairs in the manner that is most appropriate to us which does not harm other people.

We of the Partido realize that we share a common brotherhood with other third world people, especially in Latin America, and we are willing to work in coalition with third world peoples both in

the United States and outside of the United States for our common interests and well being, but again, we support our right to work as equals and not to be submerged in any coalition unless we enter in a support role.

The Partido supports Native American sovereignty, because they are the closest of our brothers in the third world, and we are willing to work together with the Native American for our common well being.

The Partido is not a racist or classist organization and will accept anyone who accepts our principles and is willing to work for the well being of the Chicano and Native American and other third world peoples and for a humanist society with the precepts of the partido or as accepted by the convention of the Partido.

The Partido is not a communist organization because we are not tied down to any particular philosophy or dogma, but we study all different ideas and programs and use what is applicable for the well being of our people, but at the same time, we are not afraid to use ideas from the Marxist or socialist bag of tools which we feel are good ideas and will benefit our people and human beings in general.

In general, we believe in the creation of a humanist world where all people can work in harmony, but each people can do what is best for itself and not to the detriment of the other and to maintain those traits of culture which are beneficial and particular to it.

C. What Raza Unida offers to Youth.

As we have seen, the Partido was an outgrowth of the ideas, work and efforts of the college and highschool youth who came together in El Paso in 1972 and developed a vehicle by which the Chicano could control his own destiny and which would help the Chicano in all aspects of his life and in relationship to other people, to give us a means to determine our own government and governance.

Raza Unida is presently composed largely of college youth and recent college graduates, although we are working hard to bring in the working people of the Chicano community and the members of the Chicano community at large.

The Partido offers youth a change and a means to work for our people from a very young age until the age of our senior counsellor, 88 year old Don Florencio Aragon, who formed the Liga Obrera in Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1972 and worked in the state steering committee, and it is a serious organization which is working to deal with the concerns of Chicano youth as well as for those of the general community at large, and it is a vehicle to unify the efforts of all sectors of our community into one united effort which will utilize to the fullest the concept of "La union hace la fuerza," and it gives the Chicano youth the contact and work in the community which was put forth in the Plan de San Diego, the Chicano plan for higher education, and it gives youth the opportunity to be part not only of efforts at the local level, but also at the state and national and even international level, since we are organized at all levels and have international contacts with all latino movements through our national chairman José Angel Gutiérrez, and we also have contact with a number of youth organizations through our international contact.

The Partido give the youth a positive opportunity to develop themselves for participation in the most important period of the of the

Chicano community in all of our history as a people under the United States and will help you to prepare for the staggering events which will be occurring in the Southwest in the next 30 years; as the big corporation move out of the East and come into the Southwest, threatening our water supplies and natural resources, leaving us like parts of Appalachia where the companies have played out all of the natural resources, and it will prepare you to deal with the attempts by anglos to push us out of all aspect of government and labor in the Southwest and the racism that is coming in with all of the new influx from the other areas of the United States and for the "Civil Rights Movement of the 1980's" the question of the undocumented immigrant as he tries to get justice from the country which is in large part responsible for taking the natural resources of Mexico and exploiting present day Mexico with large repayments on interest on loans and the exportation of Mexico's badly needed resources.

The political, social and economic developments of the 1980's and 90's will be critical to our survival as a people and even to our physical survival, and we must be prepared to organize ourselves if we are not to be pushed aside in the trample of the big corporations to use and strip our lands as they have done in so many other places, and we must be ready for the responsibility that will come from being the majority in the Southwest if the potential benefits of being the majority are not be lost and to even further worsen our position as a colonized minority of the anglo United States with all of the negative effects that this will carry.

In short, you need to organize for your future, in the community you live in, in the state you live in, in the Southwest, in the United States, In America Latina, In the world, porque para alla vamos.

SUGGESTED READINGS

- "Raza Unida de Nuevo Mexico; a Manual and Political Program."
 Discussion Bulletin Number One: "The Chicano Movement, The Southwest, and the Role of the National and State Partido de la Raza Unida in the Southwest: an Economic, Historic, Social and Political Profile from 1890 to the early 2,000's"
 Discussion Bulletin Number Two: "The Politics of San Miguel County and the Tasks of the Partido de la Raza Unida de San Miguel."
North from Mexico by Cargy McWilliams
Occupied America by Rudy Acuna
The Wretched of the Earth by Franz Fanon
Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Paulo Freire
Theology of Liberation by Gustavo Gutierrez
Marxism and the National Question by J.V. Stalin
Manifest Destiny and Mission by Frederick Merk
Fan the Flames by the August Twenty Ninth Movement
With the Wars of Strangers by Cecil Robinson
Ando Sanerando by Armando Morales
Antecas de Norte by Jack D. Forbes
La Raza Unida by Richard Santillan
Mexican American Leaders and Movements by Carlos Larralde
Chicano Power by Tony Castro
Literatura Chicano: Texto y Contexto by Antonia Castaneda Schular et.al.