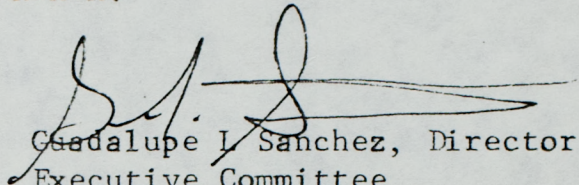


Cuadalupe Sanchez
Arizona Farmworkers Union
P.O. Box 819
El Mirage, Arizona 85335

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The enclosed Jack Anderson's article, and Cesar Chavez's letter to the editor came recently to our attention. We are hereby forwarding them to you along with some other documents and clippings for your kind attention. We are very sorry that Cesar continues to attack us; please help us bring back solidarity to the farmworkers fields. Our only strength is the unity of our just cause.

¡ LA TIERRA ES PARA EL QUE LA TRABAJA!



Cuadalupe L. Sanchez, Director
Executive Committee
Arizona Farmworkers Union



UNITED FARM WORKERS of AMERICA AFL-CIO

March 19, 1977

National Headquarters La Paz, Keene, California 93531

(805) 822-5571

Letters to the Editor
Scottsdale Daily Progress
7302 E. Earll Drive
Scottsdale, AZ 85251

Dear Editor:

We are outraged by Jack Anderson's total disregard for truth and lack of professionalism as reflected in his recent column on the United Farm Workers. Much of the column consists of inflammatory rhetoric and vague generalizations based upon several specific examples cited in the piece. Let's examine a few of those points:

Anderson claims the UFW "actually meets secretly" with growers in Texas, Arizona, New Jersey and Florida "to sabotage agreements won by other unions." The only group in any of these states that even purports to hold contracts with growers is in Arizona where a company union has signed "yellow dog" contracts with two or three Phoenix-area citrus growers (where workers agree not to join legitimate unions, including the UFW and the Teamsters). The UFW has never met with any of these growers--they have refused to talk with us for nearly ten years despite strikes by our members and demands by workers to recognize the UFW.

Anderson narrates the account of an alleged beating of an "investigative reporter" which was supposedly witnessed personally by me at a Phoenix UFW rally. According to the column, this reporter was "finally rescued by a priest in the crowd." The "investigative reporter," a Tom Barry, actually was a "freelance" writer who worked closely with the company union in Arizona. The priest, Father Henry Wasielewski--who drove Barry to and from the rally and was with him for all but a short time during the meeting when he gave the invocation--categorically contradicts Anderson's story. And reports from the dozen or so newsmen who attended the rally and from plainclothes Phoenix police officers who were there say nothing of a reporter or anyone else who was "badly beaten" at the event. In short, the beating story is a fake. Anderson's reporter now says "badly beaten" was too strong; he was only slugged and shoved around.

For reasons of space and time this letter does not refute every lie in Anderson's foul attack on us. If he had the ethics and professionalism to check his facts with independent sources, Anderson would have been pleased to know that the constitutional procedures and guarantees practiced by the UFW are among the most democratic of any union in the nation. But then ethics and professionalism are not concepts Anderson seems to cherish.

Sincerely yours,

Cesar E. Chavez
President

CEC/nt

Life: This letter apparently went out to all papers carry Jack Anderson's columns. Doubt if we'll see it.

Chavez has turned UFW into empire

WASHINGTON — It saddens me to have to report that the United Farm Workers (UFW) union, which lifted so many stoop laborers out of peonage and degradation, has become a violence-prone, tyrannical empire under the iron-fisted rule of Cesar Chavez.

The able, articulate Chavez gained nationwide fame and sympathy for his determined efforts on behalf of California's downtrodden grape and lettuce harvesters. Years of fighting the good fight earned him and the UFW respectability.

But somewhere along the way, Chavez seems to have lost sight of the people whose welfare earned that respectability. Instead, he concentrates on consolidating his personal power and purging dissident elements within the UFW, often with strong-arm tactics reminiscent of the corporate farmers' methods in the union's fledgeling days.

Even worse, organizers in Texas, Arizona, New Jersey and Florida — all of whom asked to remain anonymous for fear of reprisal — told my reporter Sally Ann Denton that the UFW actually meets secretly with grower representatives to sabotage agreements won by other unions. Members of the newly chartered Arizona Farmworkers Union charged also that the UFW incites tension between local and migratory laborers, and has gone so far as to help the Border Patrol locate and round up illegal immigrants from Mexico. ✕

One allegation was particularly disturbing, but there is evidence to support it: An investigative reporter assigned to look into charges of violence and conflict of interest against Manuel Chavez, Cesar's cousin and longtime chief aide, was badly beaten at a UFW rally in Arizona, where he had gone in the hope of interviewing Cesar. Both Cesar and Manuel Chavez witnessed the assault but did nothing to stop it. The reporter was finally rescued by a priest in the crowd.

The reporter was able to document allegations that Manuel Chavez, while serving as a UFW organizer and strike director, was himself engaged in agricultural business ventures in Mexico that exploited the unorganized, low-paid Mexican farmworkers. ✕✕

Many of Chavez' senior colleagues have left the union recently, disenchanted with what the organization has become. One who spent many years with Chavez in the UFW's formative period said that "unfortunately in recent years the UFW has spawned the ugly destructiveness of blind orthodoxy, rigid centralization, hierarchy, dangerous nepotism and even inquisitions and purges."

Leaders of civil rights groups voiced the same complaints about the union they once treated with an admiration bordering on reverence.

A common complaint centered on Chavez' fundraising tours. With the help of celebrities like Joan Baez, Chavez

Jack Anderson

would appear in agricultural states and raise thousands of dollars, supposedly to support organizing activities in those states. But the money always wound up at UFW headquarters in La Paz, Calif., and rarely if ever was disbursed to the states. Chavez refuses to give local UFW offices control over dues, strikes or other policy matters, and won't permit local charters. ✕✕✕

As far back as 1967, Chavez promised that Texas would be the next state organized by the agricultural union. He then made the same promise to workers in Florida, New Jersey and Arizona. "Finally we decided the workers couldn't wait until Cesar Chavez was ready," said Antonio Orendain of the Texas Farmworkers. "The workers don't even know who Cesar is. They just want healthy working conditions."

Chavez appears to relish his celebrity status, hobnobbing with presidential candidates and junketing to foreign countries. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of farm workers continue to live and labor in conditions of appalling filth and poverty, in desperate need of help the UFW could give but won't.

Footnote: Chavez rebuffed repeated requests for an interview. But his critics insist he knows about the misdeeds of his close associates. "Cesar is the 'patron,'" said one UFW member. "Nothing gets done without his OK."

Human Harvest

Out-of-State Unions Move To Organize Florida Fields

DAN WILLIAMS
Herald Staff Writer

Out-of-state unions have decided Florida farmworkers are ripe for the picking.

Aggressive and seasoned organizers from Arizona and Texas have arrived in Florida fields. They plan to convince workers among the state's 100,000 strong migrant force that a union will ease the long-documented harsh conditions for farmworkers in the state.



CHAVEZ The union leaders are disciples of Cesar Chavez, the pioneer California farm labor organizer, and veterans of his United Farm Workers (UFW).

LUPE SANCHEZ of the Arizona Farm Workers and Tony Orendain of the Texas Farm Workers no longer work under Chavez' organizational wing. And they have decided not to wait for the UFW to keep its 1970s promise to unionize Florida's \$3 billion citrus and vegetable industry.

But Sanchez and Orendain bring with them to Florida all of the aggressive tactics made famous by Chavez' California struggles: marches and songs, pickets and signs, boycotts and strikes.

Some leaders of Florida's farmworkers are eager to put those tactics into practice.

"We feel our time has come, and we can't be expected to wait on the UFW," said Juan Velasquez, head of the Organization of United Migrants in Immokalee, which is cooperating with the unionizing effort. "People will interpret this as a rivalry with Chavez' group. But our goals are the same."

For South Florida's migrants — all non-union — the arrival of the organizers follows close upon special hardship.

FEWER TOMATOES planted this year than last has meant less work for the vegetable picker.

Housing is short in Homestead and Florida City. Migrants are crowded into mobile homes in migrant camps; authorities say at least 90 members of farmworker families are living out of their cars on the edge of vegetable fields.

While the initial organizing effort is centered in Immokalee, the leaders have also discussed future plans for organizing in South Florida. Velasquez said that Immokalee was chosen because conditions are considered harsher.

"Immokalee will be a more difficult nut to crack," Velasquez said. "If we can get started there, it might be proven we can do it anywhere."

Florida farmers have expected an effort for some time.

"We're not panicked by the organization effort," said Al French, spokesman for the Florida Farm Bureau, a farmers' lobbying group. "We obviously don't welcome strikes and boycotts, but they've become a

way of life elsewhere for 15 years. I guess we feel unionizing has been coming closer and closer to here."

"IT'S NO surprise that professional agitators come in, so long as there's a buck to be made," said Jack Campbell, secretary of the South Florida Tomato and Vegetable Growers Association in Homestead.

Last fall in Miami, Chavez promised to hold a union organizing convention in Florida during March. However, a costly lettuce strike and boycott against a major California grower reportedly has made a March effort in Florida by the UFW unlikely.

Beside the already committed Arizona and Texas unions, Ohio's Farm Labor Organizing Committee — which for several years has been locked in boycotts of Campbell Soup and Libby's products — is also expected to send representatives.

The Farm Bureau's French said he had learned from Arizona growers that the Arizona Farm Workers (AFW) "was extremely professional" and would be "tough" to deal with.

In turn, Lupe Sanchez, president of the AFW, believes Florida will be a tough state in which to organize. "We don't have free access to the fields or labor camps. And Florida is a right-to-work state," he said.

RIGHT-TO-WORK laws forbid labor-management contracts that compel workers to join a union to hold a job.

Sanchez is basing himself in Immokalee during this winter and directing the efforts of 10 organizers.

He is known in Arizona — a right-to-work state — for his readiness to strike. Sanchez said he disregards a regulation in Arizona that requires a month and a half delay before a union election can be called.

"I was arrested 14 times during a strike of onion-pickers," said the ruddy-faced 35 year old. "But if we wait a month and a half, the farmworkers will have moved on."

His union broke with Chavez' UFW in 1977 for much the same reason that Florida organizers are going ahead now without the support of the California group: Chavez wanted to pull back organizers from Arizona to help with strikes in California.

"But in those days, the workers were literally sleeping under trees. When the farmers flooded the fields to protect against freezes, the workers would be flooded out, too," said Sanchez, whose union initially called itself the Maricopa County Organizing Project. "We set up on our own, went out to seek foundation funds and prepared to strike."

SANCHEZ SAID that many of workers who are protected by his union in Arizona complain of wages and working conditions when they come to Florida.

"They get paid 52 cents a bag for navel oranges in Arizona, and 22 cents here," complained Sanchez. The Farm Bureau's French maintained, however, that Florida wages for orange pickers are slightly high-

with
...g reporters, talki

"The Lord is



— ALBERT COYA/Miami Herald Staff

Ezequiel Perez, Age 1, Gazes From Door of Migrant Home in Homestead

er than Arizona's.

Tony Orendain, who heads the Texas Farm Workers (TFW), expects his experience in Texas, another right-to-work state, to help in organizing Florida.

"Our members are not dues-paying, we have few resources," said Orendain, 50, who had worked with Chavez since the 1950s. "But we have nothing to lose but our slave shame."

ORENDAIN'S UNION decided to go off on its own in 1975 after the California group failed to dedicate money and time to organizing in Texas.

The resource-poor group marched 300 miles from San Juan near the southern of Texas to the capital in Austin last year to build support for farmworker unions. He said his group collected 15,000 signatures

of farmworkers who would join the TFW.

Neither union leader would say how much they thought initial organization in Florida would cost. Reportedly, \$1 million in UFW funds were originally earmarked for organizing in Florida, but were diverted to finance the lettuce boycott.

Velasquez, the flamboyant Chicago-born migrant leader, said that currently all the organizers are volunteering their efforts.

New Sun

The Pittsburgh

ISSUE 162

MARCH 6—19, 1980

SERVING PITTSBURGH SINCE 1972

The Decline And Fall Of Cesar Chavez

by Eric Lelf Davin

In the desert 20 miles northwest of Phoenix, Arizona, on the road to Los Angeles, is Del Webb's Sun City. Sun City is one of the growing number of comfortable and conservative retirement communities surrounding Phoenix. No one under 50 may live there. Children are forbidden. It is safe, clean, well water, affluent — and white.

Beyond the white cinderblock which encapsulates and protects Sun City is the dry bed of the Agua Fria River and, on the opposite bank, the Mexican barrio town known as El Mirage.

For many of the Mexicans living there, life in the U.S. has indeed been a mirage. It is the home away from home for a large number of the workers who harvest the citrus, cantaloupes, and cotton of central Arizona and it compares bitterly with the Anglo wealth across the riverbed.

Here, also, are the headquarters of two organizations, both of which claim to represent the farm workers of Arizona: the United Farm Workers and the Maricopa County Organizing Project. The existence of these two rival unions is indicative of a growing national civil war in the farm labor movement which even overshadows the major agricultural strike now occurring in California.

In the last few years there has been a mass exodus of veteran UFW organizers from Cesar Chavez's union. Uniformly, these UFW dissidents have charged Chavez with one-man rule and intolerance of opposing views within the organization, which has resulted in the suffocation of farm worker organizing outside of California.

The challenge of Chavez' authority has ignited a little-noted upsurge in independent farm worker organizations in New Jersey,

Florida, Ohio, Idaho, and Washington. The most significant threats to Chavez's dominance of the farm labor movement, however, are in Texas and Arizona.

In the early 1970s, Chavez sent Antonio Orendain, a top UFW official in California, to Texas to establish the UFW among the 80,000 Texas farm workers. Years of UFW ordered inaction followed. Finally, three years ago, Orendain left the UFW, taking many of the top Texas UFW organizers with him, and formed the Independent Texas Farm Workers Union.

Alfredo Avila, a long-time Texas Farm Worker organizer and a former UFW official, explained some of the reasons for the split: "Cesar Chavez doesn't believe anyone else has a right to organize farm workers. He thinks he, and only he, is the farm labor movement. He wants to determine everything. When we try to get money from a foundation, they tell

us the UFW says we don't represent farm workers.

"The UFW is the only union I know where there is no concept of a union local. Everything comes from Cesar. So, we left."

The civil war in the fields of Arizona follows a similar pattern. Seven years ago, Gustavo Gutierrez founded the United Farm Workers in Arizona. Gutierrez charged that not only was he given little authority, but he was ordered not to use the authority he did have. "The UFW is very centralized," he added, "very dictatorial."

Finally, two years ago, Gutierrez split with the UFW, taking several UFW organizers with him, and founded the Maricopa County Organizing Project to work among the farm laborers of central Arizona. Today, the Organizing Project has 20 organizers, including four

continued on page 9

19 Aliens Arrested on Arizona Ranch

By Al Senia

Newsday Special Correspondent

Phoenix—U.S. Border Patrol agents apprehended 19 illegal Mexican aliens yesterday, all of whom were employed by Arrowhead Ranch, a citrus farm partly owned by Robert Goldwater, the brother of Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater.

Officials said the arrests were part of a continuing crackdown against illegal migrants working at Arrowhead and neighboring ranches. But the arrests coincided with a work stoppage at Arrowhead, and strike organizers charged the action was designed to intimidate fieldhands into returning to the muddy lemon and orange groves.

Lupe Sanchez, a spokesman for the Maricopa County Organizing Committee, the ad hoc group that has quietly organized laborers at the ranch during the last three weeks, claimed Border Patrol officers ignored Mexicans working in parts of the ranch unaffected by the strike. He said the patrol "concentrated on where the strikers were," and that an unidentified ranch foreman told striking workers to return to their jobs because the Border Patrol would "pick them up."

But Ron Johnson, a Border Patrol supervisor in Tucson, denied the strikers were singled out for arrests. He said there were news stories that illegal aliens were at the ranch, and it was inevitable that the Border Patrol would follow up on the reports. "We

make an effort to stay out of politics," Johnson said, adding: "You go where the business is at."

A well-placed Border Patrol official said a Phoenix district supervisor visited Arrowhead in an unmarked car Monday, saw large numbers of Mexican workers being interviewed by local news reporters on a road outside the ranch and decided to return and make arrests yesterday morning. He said 10 illegals were seized at the ranch last week in a separate action.

Yesterday's arrests were carried out in the late morning hours by five Border Patrol agents in cars and trucks, Johnson said that 19 men will be returned to Mexico.

Johnson said Arrowhead is one of about two dozen ranches in the Phoenix area that have a history of employing illegal aliens. He said officials routinely conduct unannounced visits to all the ranches.

The Border Patrol apprehended 223 illegal aliens in the Phoenix area in August, the latest month for which figures were available. Of the 223, 146 were employed at ranches. Officials were unable to estimate how many of that number, if any, were seized at Arrowhead.

Arrowhead Ranch is a subsidiary of Goldmar Inc., an investment firm. Goldmar is owned by the Arthur Martori family in partnership with Robert Goldwater.

Last spring a group of investigative reporters charged illegal migrant workers were widely used at

Arrowhead. They charged that alien smugglers were paid \$100 or more a head for bringing in Mexicans to work from dawn to dusk for as little as \$5 a day, living amid their own excrement and garbage. Corporate officials, including Martori, denied the charges. But Border Patrol officials said, "We're always out at the ranch [Arrowhead]. There's always a bunch of them [illegals] out there. They've been using aliens for 10 to 12 years but in the last few years, they've gone completely alien." Employing illegal aliens is not against the law, although abetting their presence is.

Strike organizers have also charged that all of the workers picking citrus at Arrowhead are illegals. A reporter interviewed about a dozen striking workers at the ranch on Monday and found that all spoke only Spanish. All said they were in the United States illegally.

Robert Goldwater, president of Goldmar, did not return messages left by a reporter. Martori, a vice president, is out of the country and could not be reached for comment.

In 1972, a group of farm workers filed a class action suit in Maricopa County, charging Arrowhead and other ranches with discriminating against U.S. farm workers living in the county by hiring illegal aliens instead. The suit was dismissed by a federal judge who said alleged violations of federal law had not been specified.

Maricopa County Organizing Project
P.O. Box 819
El Mirage, Arizona 85335
April 24, 1979

Mr. Cesar Chavez
United Farmworkers Union
La Paz, California

Dear Mr. Chavez:

We are shocked at your statement before the National Press Club in Washington in which you called on I.N.S. to be more active in deporting undocumented workers. In our organizing experience, we have reached the following conclusions which we would like to share with you:

1. Using a repressive agency, like the Border Patrol, which has been maiming and killing our people is not the answer to the problem of scabs.
2. The undocumented workers have just recently started organizing themselves and have made great progress. They have sacrificed a great deal to accomplish what was considered to be an impossible task--that is, to organize themselves into a viable force that growers have had to deal with.
3. As long as the documented and undocumented workers are divided, the growers can use one group against the other. Together we can be a force which the growers cannot defeat.

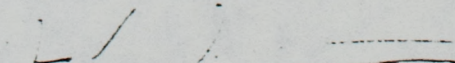
It is time to stop using the undocumented workers as scapegoats, and it is time to begin to work together. The undocumented workers are still the most oppressed workers in this country and are in great need of support from us all. We must urge you to stop all actions that would create a greater division among workers (undocumented and documented). To ask the Border Patrol to be more active is to sanction the oppression and killing of our brothers and sisters.

If the United Farmworkers Union has problems with undocumented workers being brought in as scabs, the answer is to organize these scabs, like we do with any other scab that comes in to break our strike. We know that these people suffer too and that we have a common enemy.

Cesar Chavez - 2

Our experience with undocumented workers has proven that the best organizer to organize undocumented workers is one that comes from within their own ranks. We, at present, have developed an experienced group of organizers that are themselves undocumented and would be happy to assist you in organizing these scabs that are brought in. Should you need organizers or any assistance, please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,


G.L. Sanchez

Maricopa County Organizing Project
P.O. Box 819
El Mirage, Arizona 85335
(602) 977-1410

United Farm Workers
P.O. Box 62
Reene, California 93531
Attn: Cesar Chavez

October 4, 1979

Dear Cesar:

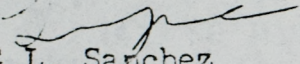
Congratulations on the excellent contracts the UFW has signed with the major lettuce growers in California. From the beginning of the lettuce strike, we offered our support and whatever resources we had to the Sun Harvest Ranch Committee. We are still supportive of UFW efforts.

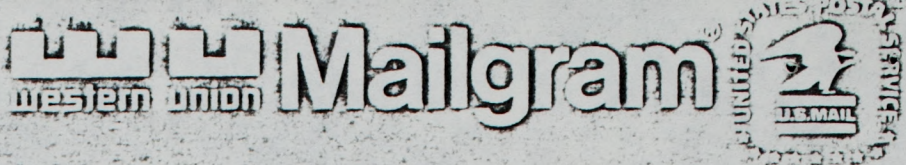
We seem to be having a major disagreement with UFW organizers in Arizona. It seems that they are encouraging workers that are on strike at Bodine, Fletcher, Mesa Citrus, and Blue Goose to scab. These ranches are currently on strike and have asked MCOP to continue representing them as we have in the past 2½ years.

We want UFW organizers to show the same respect to our strikers and picket lines as we have shown to theirs. You of all people should know that the use of Teamster oppressive and disorganizing tactics cannot succeed. These kinds of tactics are only forcing the workers to build up a deep hatred for the UFW, which we, of course, do not condone. The final solution to the problems of farmworkers will be the affiliation of all farmworker groups into one union with local autonomy.

¡Una Sola Lucha!

Sincerely,


G.L. Sanchez
Executive Director
MCOP



4-033150E285002 10/12/78 ICS IPMRNCZ CSP PHXB
1 6029771410 MGM TDRN EL MIRAGE AZ 10-12 1231P EST

JESUS ROMO FOR MCOP
P O BOX 819
EL MIRAGE AZ 85335

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

6029771410 MGM TDRN EL MIRAGE AZ 248 10-12 1231P EST
ZIP

CAESAR CHAVEZ, PRESIDENT, UNITED FARM
WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
LA PAZ

KEENE CA 93531

THIS LAST WEEK UFW ORGANIZERS HAVE COME TO CERTAIN CITRUS GROVES IN MARICOPA COUNTY THREATENING TO CALL THE BORDER PARTROL AND DEPORT MEXICAN NATIONAL WORKERS WITH SENIORITY RIGHTS UNLESS THESE WORKERS EITHER "JOIN THE UFW OR GET THE HELL OUT OF ARIZONA". PLEASE BE ADVISED THAT THE WORKERS IN QUESTION, WORKERS WHO ARE ALREADY ORGANIZED, HAVE NO INTENTION OF JOINING THE UFW, ESPECIALLY IN THE FACE OF SUCH EXTORTION TACTICTS BY THE UFW. AND THEY ALSO HAVE NO PLANS TO ABANDON THEIR LONG STANDING JOBS.

WORD NOW HAS BEEN RECEIVED THAT THE UFW SOON PLANS TO SEND ADDITIONAL ORGANIZERS INTO THE SAME CITRUS GROVES TO MAKE LIFE AS DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE FOR MEXICAN NATIONAL WORKERS, AND TO ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT THE HARD WON ORGANIZING GAINS OF THE PAST YEAR. AUTHORITY FOR THIS DESTRUCTIVE MOVE BY THE UFW REPORTEDLY HAS BEEN GIVEN BY CAESAR CHAVEZ TO MANUEL CHAVEZ WITH WHOSE HEAVY HANDED OPERATING STYLE WORKERS HERE LONG HAVE BEEN FAMILIAR. MANY SUCH WORKERS, IN FACT, ALREADY BEAR VERY REAL SCARS OF BRUTALITY BY MANUEL CHAVEZ'S GOONS FROM EARLIER ENCOUNTERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER AS FAR BACK AS THE YUMA STRIKE OF 1974.

CONSEQUENTLY, CITRUS WORKERS OF MARICOPA COUNTY HAVE ASKED US TO NOTIFY UFW LEADERSHIP IN CALIFORNIA AND OTHERS, WHICH WE ARE DOING BY THIS OR SIMILAR COMMUNICATONS, THAT CAESAR CHAVEZ WILL BE HELD PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE FOR ANY AND ALL VIOLENCE THAT SOON MAY FOLLOW AS PART OF THE UFW'S OPENLY HOSTILE ACTIONS AGAINST WORKERS HERE.

MANUEL MARIN, MEMBER BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MCOP AND PRESIDENT, GOLDMAR RANCH COMMITTEE
AND THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF GOLDMAR RANCH COMMITTEE: RAMON ANDRADE,
FELIPE FLORES, GABRIEL LOPEZ, ADRIAN RAMIREZ.

Maricopa County Organizing Project
P.O. Box 819
El Mirage, Arizona 85335
(602) 977-1410

United Farm Workers
P.O. Box 62
Reene, California 93531
Attn: Cesar Chavez

October 4, 1979

Dear Cesar:

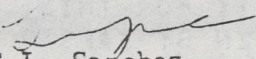
Congratulations on the excellent contracts the UFW has signed with the major lettuce growers in California. From the beginning of the lettuce strike, we offered our support and whatever resources we had to the Sun Harvest Ranch Committee. We are still supportive of UFW efforts.

We seem to be having a major disagreement with UFW organizers in Arizona. It seems that they are encouraging workers that are on strike at Bodine, Fletcher, Mesa Citrus, and Blue Goose to scab. These ranches are currently on strike and have asked MCOP to continue representing them as we have in the past 2½ years.

We want UFW organizers to show the same respect to our strikers and picket lines as we have shown to theirs. You of all people should know that the use of Teamster oppressive and disorganizing tactics cannot succeed. These kinds of tactics are only forcing the workers to build up a deep hatred for the UFW, which we, of course, do not condone. The final solution to the problems of farmworkers will be the affiliation of all farmworker groups into one union with local autonomy.

¡Una Sola Lucha!

Sincerely,


G.L. Sanchez
Executive Director
MCOP

Criticism of Chavez Takes Root in Farm Labor Struggle

By ROBERT LINDSEY

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 6 — Cesar Chavez, whose 17-year battle in the fields of California produced better wages for many farm workers, is coming under increasing attack from others in the farm labor movement who charge that he is attempting to monopolize it and prevent them from receiving financial aid from the Government and private foundations.

Even as 3,000 members of the U.F.W. remain on strike over wages, an action that has shut down much of the lettuce production in the Imperial Valley in California and in adjacent parts of Arizona since Jan. 19, the union is rife with dissent. A number of Mr. Chavez's senior aides have left his organization, the United Farm Workers of America, in the last two years.

Some aides have accused him of refusing to tolerate dissent or to share authority, and of requiring them to participate in a modified version of the "Synanon Game," in which participants subject each other to harsh oral criticism in an effort to recognize personal problems and work toward solutions. The technique was used by Charles Dederich, a long-time friend of Mr. Chavez and the founder of Synanon, the drug rehabilitation organization.

Charges May Embarrass Union

Officials of the Texas Farm Workers Association and the Maricopa County Organizing Project in Arizona contend that the U.F.W. is attempting to torpedo their efforts to establish independent farm worker unions, and in response, they have raised potentially embarrassing charges about the U.F.W. and the business interests and strike activities of Manuel Chavez, a cousin of Mr. Chavez's who was reared as his brother and was for many years his chief union aide.

Cesar Chavez denied the allegations and scoffed at the criticism of his leadership, including the allegation that he had tried to suppress dissent with the Synanon Game.

But the criticism persists. "We have the same goals as Cesar," said Alfredo Avila, a Texas Farm Workers organizer and former U.F.W. staff member. "But he won't accept the idea that any other people have any right to do the same thing; he thinks he — only he — is the farm labor movement; he wants to determine everything. When we try to get money from a foundation, they tell us the U.F.W. says we don't represent farm workers."

"The United Farm Workers is the only union I know of," he continued, "where there is no concept of a union local; everything comes from Cesar."

'Everything Is Very Centralized'

The same charge was made by Gustavo Gutierrez, another former official: "In the U.F.W., everything is very centralized, very dictatorial." He left the U.F.W. to head the Maricopa Organizing Project in Arizona.

Other former U.F.W. officials have criticized Mr. Chavez's advocacy of the Synanon Game and his appearance at a news conference last month to offer support for Mr. Dederich, who has been charged with attempted murder in an incident in which a rattlesnake was placed in the mailbox of a lawyer who had won a suit against Synanon.

About two years ago, according to a former Synanon official, Mr. Chavez and other aides began making weekly visits to Synanon to participate in the Synanon Game, a technique that Mr. Dederich has credited for his success in rehabilitating drug addicts.

"Chuck's bodyguards helped Cesar's guards learn martial arts, and Chuck put Cesar in the game," he said. "Chuck baited him; Cesar said some of the people under him were giving him a bad time, and Chuck told him, 'If they don't do what you want, get rid of them, squeeze 'em out.'"

Urging by Synanon Leader

"Cesar told him no, he couldn't do it, that he had to put everything to a vote," he continued. "But Chuck told him he was a fool, that he should tell people who did not agree with him to do it his way or go someplace else."

Mr. Chavez denied he had used the Synanon technique for imposing his will. He said that while he used a variation of it, "it's more like a sensitivity session."

Mr. Chavez also said that he and Mr. Dederich have been friends since the late 1950's, when Mr. Dederich was one of the first outsiders to lend support to his fledgling drive to organize farm workers.

One of the allegations involving Manuel Chavez is that while serving as a U.F.W. organizer and directing strikes, including one by melon pickers, against growers in the United States, he also engaged in agricultural business ventures in Mexico that benefited from the low wages paid to farm workers there. The allegations involve a purported deal to sell Mexican-grown cantaloupes in the United States in

1975 and a more recent plan to import green onions.

William A. Hamilton, an executive of the L.R. Hamilton Company, a large agricultural concern located near Fresno, Calif., said in an interview that Manuel Chavez came to him early in 1975 with a plan to grow cantaloupes on 1,100 acres in Mexico and to sell the cantaloupes in this country.

Mr. Hamilton asserted that Manuel Chavez used a different last name than his own — "Camacho" — at their first meeting, but subsequently identified himself as a close relative of Cesar Chavez and said he did not want this information made public.

Mr. Hamilton said he accepted the plan and agreed to provide capital and a market and distribution system for the cantaloupes, while Manuel Chavez would oversee the Mexican side of the operation, including dealing with growers and establishing a packing house.

A packing house was established in the Mexican town of Morelos, Mr. Hamilton said. But, he added, Mr. Chavez had difficulty supplying melons of a quality high enough for the American market, and most eventually were sold in Mexico. Eventually, the deal collapsed, Mr. Hamilton said, and he lost \$140,000.

Personal Involvement Denied

Asked about Mr. Hamilton's assertions, Manuel Chavez said he was never involved personally in any business below the border but had acted as a go-between for friends.

Cesar Chavez said he did not believe that Manuel Chavez had been involved in any business dealings in Mexico for his own personal profit.

Besides, he said, his cousin had not been a paid official of the U.F.W. for some time.

When reminded that Manuel Chavez had appeared with him at a U.F.W. rally last year and had recently presented himself to farm workers in Arizona as the union's chief organizer, Cesar Chavez said, "He may have said it, but that doesn't make it true."

Beatings by U.F.W. Alleged

The second major allegation made by the rival union leaders against the U.F.W. is that during the union's 1974-75 strike near Yuma, Ariz., which was led by Manuel Chavez, hundreds of Mexican aliens were brutally beaten by U.F.W. representatives to keep them from crossing the border and taking the jobs of striking melon workers. The rival leaders assert that this charge is important because it challenges Cesar Chavez's pledges of nonviolence.

During the seven-month strike, Mexican newspapers published many reports of alleged brutality against aliens by the U.F.W., but the allegations received little coverage in the United States. Interviews in the last week on both sides of the border confirmed that many Mexican aliens were beaten while attempting to approach the border during the strike.

The identity of the people who administered the beatings could not be established, but several officials and local residents who were interviewed blame the union. Travis Yancy, the sheriff of Yuma County, asserted that the U.F.W. had established a 100-mile-long "wet line" of military-style tents to halt the flow of illegal aliens across the border.

Sheriff Says Aliens Were Beaten

"Each tent was manned by five or six of their people who were paid \$5 to \$7 a day, plus their grub. They'd catch any 'wet' coming through and beat the hell out of them," using clubs, chains and five-foot-long flogging whips comprised of intertwined strands of barbed wire, he asserted.

He also alleged that the U.F.W. had "bombed the houses and burned the cars" of potential strike-breaking aliens and bribed Mexican officials not to interfere with the "wet line."

Asked in an interview about these allegations, Cesar Chavez acknowledged: "We had a 'wet line'; it cost us a lot of money, and we stopped a lot of illegals."

But he asserted that no acts of violence had been committed against aliens who were not dissuaded orally from crossing into the Yuma melon fields.

"If it happened," he said, "I know nothing about it. I tried to look into it. I talked to all of the Mexican officials I could get hold of; I checked everybody to get a feeling of what had happened, but I didn't find anything that made me feel anything wrong had happened."

Organizing Project out of the El Mirage UFW office from which it operated.

Then, Chavez decided to take control of the onion strike. After a series of meetings with the UFW, Sanchez said the Project decided that they would pull their own organizers out of the fields and turn over the committees they'd established to the UFW.

The UFW then sent three organizers to oversee the strike," Sanchez said. "We already had ten in the field and they were swamped. So, we met again with the UFW and told them three organizers just couldn't handle a strike of this size. They promised that in a few weeks another seven would arrive from California. They never arrived. They never intended to send more organizers.

"Instead," said Sanchez, "the UFW launched one of its classic pacification programs. They told the workers that they had to wait for two or three years until the union was ready to come in. The time wasn't right, they said. Until then, cool it. They killed the strike.

Looking for Democracy

Sanchez maintained, however, that the Organizing Project was only a competitor to the UFW because the UFW wanted it that way. "Relations between us now are tense," he acknowledged, "but we don't feel hostile to them. We've offered our assistance to their picket lines along with our full resources. But, they've refused all such assistance.

"We still believe that there is basically one union and that's the UFW. But, there has to be some democracy in the union, some local direction of the struggle. What we have proposed to the UFW is that they set up a local Board of Directors to run operations in this state. We asked that a percentage of the fund raising efforts, the donations and the membership dues, be kept here, in the state where it is raised. We don't feel that all the membership dues should go to California to build the organization there. Everything shouldn't be run out of La Paz, California.

"If an organization can't be reformed, it becomes corrupt. There can be no reform of the UFW from within. There's just too much control for dissent to emerge inside the UFW. It has to come from outside pressures, like ours. For example, even if you're a State Director for the UFW, you aren't allowed to issue press releases or even talk to the press, like I'm doing with you. If you have any questions about UFW activities or policy, you have to call La Paz.

"All we ask of the UFW," Lupe Sanchez concluded, "is to let us do our job. Give us some local control and we'll be happy to fly the UFW flag."

A few blocks up El Mirage's Alto Street from the Organizing Project is the central Arizona headquarters of the United Farm Workers. A visit to their office verified at least one criticism against the UFW by Sanchez. There was no one in Arizona, it seemed, who could answer any questions from the press. I was given the telephone number of UFW national headquarters in La Paz, California, and told to call them if I had questions.

Still, Cesar Chavez is actively concerned about the state of the farm worker movement in other parts of the Southwest. In an effort to combat the growing strength and militancy of the Texas Farm Workers Union, the first convention of the Texas UFW was held in 1979 in order to re-establish the UFW in that state.

As keynote speaker at the San Juan, Texas, convention, Cesar Chavez told the UFW rank and file that they must by no means go on strike in Texas. "This organization is not ready for a strike," he said. "It would be suicide and everybody knows that."

International Coordination
Committee
P.O. Box 423
El Mirage, Arizona 85335

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Since 1964, when the last of the Mexican braceros stopped coming to Arizona, the Arizona farm labor community has been adamantly opposed to the reintroduction of such a program or any other foreign workers program similar to it.

In 1978, because of the undocumented workers efforts to organize themselves, and taking advantage of the impetus provided by the Carter Amnesty program and the strong support of Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall for the reintroduction of a foreign workers program, the Arizona growers once again attempted to bring in Mexican workers legally.

The Maricopa County Organizing Project, (now Arizona Farm Workers Union), opposed such a program for the following reasons:

** That the problem of undocumented Mexican workers will not change so long as the socio-economic conditions in Mexico do not change. The workers are economic refugees. Hunger and lack of opportunity separates them from their families. We have found that once they leave their hometowns, they are willing to suffer further deprivations, persecution and even possible incarceration by U.S. authorities in order to get sufficient money to send back to their homes.

** That the U.S. foreign policy toward Mexico will continue to be premised on preserving a Mexican economic dependence on the U.S., while using the undocumented worker issue to exert pressure on the Mexican government by threatening mass deportations that would greatly aggravate the Mexican problems of inflation and unemployment. Already more than sixty percent of Mexico's input and output depend on imports and exports to the United States, and, according to Robert C. Krueger, Carter's special ambassador designate for Mexican affairs, in the past eight months alone "more foreign investment went into Mexico than during the previous five years. And of that amount, more than 90 percent of it came from the United States." These investments are geared toward capital, rather than labor intensive, industries, creating

1 a wider economic dependence while not solving the problem of unemployment.
2 In the meantime, and because of this, the Mexican workers continue to migrate
3 without papers to the United States where there are already more than six
4 million of them, giving the United States government leverage in the potential
5 threat of mass deportations that would create economic chaos in Mexico.

6 ** That the only possible short term solution to the problems of economic
7 exploitation and peonage that the Mexican undocumented workers are now experi-
8 encing is through the issuance of permanent resident visas that will protect
9 the workers rights, and take away the "political football" element of their
10 condition. With a visa or "green card," the workers will be entitled to the
11 full protection of the U.S. laws and will be able to bring their families if
12 they desired.

13 Presently, the U.S. authorities argue that because the workers are
14 illegally within the United States, they are not entitled to the protection
15 of the U.S. constitution, giving the growers an opportunity to exploit them
16 by paying atrociously low wages that do not even meet the federal fair wage
17 standards, and making them work and live under the most deplorable conditions.
18 In Arizona, for instance they work carrying bags that weigh up to 80 pounds,
19 all day long, in temperatures of up to 120 degrees, while living and eating
20 under the trees. It is also not uncommon to find workers living in caves
21 in Idaho and in small house trailers that accomodate more than twenty workers
22 in Florida. Also, this lack of legal protection promotes police and border
23 patrol brutality, and a general atmosphere of discrimination.

24 ** That any agreement that does not heed the workers demand for full civil
25 and human rights will only contribute to drive a wedge between Chicano and
26 Mexican workers by creating a second and third citizen status among the workers.
27 Because of the prevailing racial discrimination that exists in this country,
28 Chicano workers find themselves being treated as second class citizens who,
29 by an incident of birth, are denied employment, education, good housing and
30 medical care, and are constantly harassed by the police who demand that they
31 prove that they are Northamericans. If the undocumented workers were to be
32 given another status not equal to the Chicano workers, it would reinforce and

1 worsen the present discrimination, since no apparent distinction could be made
2 among the workers. This would create a general atmosphere of resentment bet-
3 ween Chicano and Mexican workers.

4 ** That any agreement for a bracero, H-2, guest workers, or any similar
5 program is totally unacceptable for the same reasons stated above. Our member
6 organizations, including the then Maricopa County Organizing Project, were
7 opposed to the Carter Amnesty Program because it did not recognize the undocu-
8 mented workers' full human and civil rights, and because it addressed itself
9 to the needs of U.S. interests and not to those of the workers themselves.

* * *

10 Arizona growers were denied permits to bring Mexican workers legally in
11 1978. In 1979, the growers once again applied. This time however, according
12 to one of the leading Arizona growers, they first obtained "assurances of
13 support from the Western Growers Association, some Mexican officials, ranking
14 Republican Senators and Congressmen, and some Democratic Senators and White
15 House officials including one from the very top."^I In addition they found
16 an Arizona growers association called Central Arizona Citrus Harvester.

17 According to the same grower, the plan was to introduce the bracero
18 program or "H-2" as it is now called, in Arizona as a pilot project, that is,
19 as an example of a workable foreign workers program that could be used nation-
20 wide. Accordingly, there would be provisions for "proper facilities for the
21 workers, and also a careful observance of the laws now covering the H-2
22 program."

23 The immediate need for such "workable" pilot project arose because the
24 Select Commission on immigration and Refugee Policy, now holding hearings
25 on undocumented workers and the problems of illegal immigration, will present
26 its findings and recommendations to the President and Congress by December
27 1980. Congress will, based on these findings adopt new laws governing the
28 in-flow of undocumented workers, and most of the recommendations now being
29 proposed to the Commission are far more humane and just than the present H-2
30 foreign workers program.

31 With these in mind five Arizona growers applied for H-2 labor: Production
32

I. Presumably Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall.

1 Farm management (formerly Goldmar Inc.), Tempe Harversters (labor arm of Blue
2 Goose Growers), Bodine Produce, Fletcher Farms, and Mesa Citrus.

3 The Arizona Farm Workers Union as well as other organizations throughout
4 the U.S. attempted to stop the Department of Labor from issuing H-2 visas
5 this year, all efforts however, were unsuccessful and the growers obtained
6 H-2 approval for the five ranches mentioned above. MCOP then called a strike
7 in three of the five ranches stopping H-2 there, and sought to protect the
8 rights of the workers already covered by a collective bargaining agreement at
9 Production Management through the enforcement of the workers contract.

10 The Arizona Farm Workers Union opposes H-2 even if the workers are under
11 contract. However, the legal and political limitations imposed on AFW by the
12 present circumstances left the Union no choice. It must be clear however,
13 that the only reason that H-2 is tolerable at Production Farm Management as
14 a temporary imposed aberration is that all of the seniority and collective
15 bargaining rights of the work force are independently protected by the labor
16 contract. In the long run however, the only possible short term workable
17 solution is, as already mentioned, the issuance of permanent resident visas.

18 Presently, of the five ranches granted permits AFW, through strikes,
19 has stopped H-2 at Tempe Harversters, Bodine Produce, and Fletcher Farms.
20 AFW was able, by obtaining a federal court order and an official declaration
21 of a labor dispute from the Department of Labor, to stop all workers from
22 coming in to Bodine Produce. At Tempe Harversters and Fletcher Farms, the
23 Immigration and Naturalization Service ignored AFW's claim of a labor dispute
24 and began issuing H-2 permits on its own to those two ranches. AFW then
25 obtained a Temporary Restraining Order in the Federal District Court against
26 the growers and the INS that prevents them from bringing any more H-2 workers
27 into those two ranches. The same court also scheduled a hearing to review
28 the cancelling of the permits of those workers wrongfully allowed into the U.S.
29 by INS.

30 On the fourth ranch, Production Management Farms, AFW is enforcing the
31 collective bargaining agreement protecting the rights of the workers therein.

32 The fifth ranch was able to bring the workers in under H-2 with no pro-

1 tection, but AFW is vigorously organizing the workers there for a possible
2 H-2 workers strike.

3 The Arizona Farm Workers Union, as well as the rest of the undocumented
4 workers of the Nation, need your help in fighting the H-2 problem in Arizona.
5 The Department of Labor will soon make a determination as to whether a labor
6 dispute exists in the two ranches now under a Temporary Restraining Order.
7 Please help us if you can, and send us any suggestion you might have.

8
9 Yours in Peace and Justice,

10
11 *Jesus Romo* Nov 29, '79
12 Jesus Romo,
13 National Coordinator
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32

U.S. asked to restrain growers

By Marc Adams
Republic Staff

The principal bargaining agent for non-union migrant workers sought a federal court order Tuesday to stop the importation of Mexican labor to work in strike-bound citrus orchards owned by Tempe Harvesters Inc. in Chandler Heights and Fletcher Farms Inc. in Peoria.

The Maricopa County Organizing Project requested the temporary restraining order against the Immigration and Naturalization Service. It is the fourth in a series of migrant-worker challenges to federal hiring practices in the midst of the Arizona-California harvest season.

Earlier Tuesday, the U.S. Department of Labor had bowed to pressure from the group by issuing a letter officially recognizing a similar labor dispute at the Bodine Produce Co. orchards in the northwest Valley area.

The Labor Department document effectively stopped the practice of recruiting foreign and domestic workers to replace striking lemon workers at Bodine farms, and reversed an earlier decision by the state Department of Economic Security that the 7-month-old strike is illegal.

The state agency has the duty of relieving labor shortages by recruiting workers on the Labor Department's behalf.

Project lawyers sought the order against immigration officials after U.S. District Judge Carl A. Muecke refused to disqualify himself from the dispute at the request of Bodine officials.

Company President Ralph Bodine had filed an affidavit contending that Muecke, a former labor lawyer and U.S. attorney, is biased against the management in citrus-industry labor disputes.

Muecke issued the order last month that temporarily stopped the Labor Department from hiring Mexican workers for Bodine. The latter also contended that citrus-labor disputes routinely are assigned to Muecke.

The judge denied the motion after Bodine lawyer Laurie Ann Laws of Los Angeles had testified that her evidence was largely circumstantial. The project's complaint against the immigration service was assigned to Judge Valdemar Cordova.

Muecke also denied a United Farm Workers request for a similar order against the Labor Department. The department's letter issued on behalf of the project apparently stops the approval of all Mexican worker visas until wage disputes are settled.

Illegal aliens are aggravating unemployment, official says

Labor secretary warns impact is underrated

Los Angeles Times

Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall insists that illegal aliens are taking jobs away from U.S. citizens and legal aliens, and that the United States could reduce its unemployment to less than 4 percent if it were not for the illegals.

Marshall, a key Carter administration figure in setting immigration policies, said the impact of illegal aliens on U.S. workers generally is underestimated and that the administration is working to get a consensus for legislation to deal with the problem.

The secretary stressed that he is not advocating any kind of mass deportation of illegal aliens.

"The main concern is not necessarily on the immediate impact of illegal aliens on the present levels of unemployment but to provide a just and humane solution to a complex problem before it does reach crisis proportions," he said.

Marshall said the belief that Americans cannot be found for the jobs filled by illegal aliens is a myth.

"The truth is that there are millions of American workers in all of these low-paying occupations already," he said. "The job market in which they (the illegal aliens) compete is highly competitive, with a surplus of people vying for a shortage of jobs."

The real tragedy of this shortage, Marshall said, is that it hurts "the most vulnerable people in our society: minority teen-agers, women who head families and older workers. Their high rates of unemployment are public record. They will continue to suffer if high levels of illegal immigration continue."

Marshall said although a crisis has not developed, the situation should not be ignored.



Labor Secretary Ray Marshall

"I have become concerned recently that people are beginning to say there is no problem and the illegal worker is a positive benefit for us. That is a narrow and short-sighted view."

He also warned that today's undocumented workers may become tomorrow's welfare-system recipients.

"Those who settle here permanently will increasingly rely on them (public services). They may be healthy today, but they will age, and their endurance will fade. Once they falter on the job, younger illegal workers will take their place."

Marshall sees no advantage to the competition provided by the illegal aliens.

"If we were a country that acquiesces to all economic forces, perhaps we could expect disadvantaged American-born and legal immigrant workers to compete with illegal workers. We could expect them to forget about earning decent wages, safe and

Aliens, A12

healthy conditions or the chance for advancement. We could expect older workers and women to compete with younger, stronger, male undocumented workers," he said.

"But we have come too far in this century to turn back the clock," he said. "Long ago, we decided to improve the working conditions and pay for all workers. We enacted standards for employees, and we must enforce them."

"It is repugnant that millions of workers in America are in a lifelong second-class status, without legal protections or civil liberties. It is not only repugnant, it is dangerous to our society and a problem which can come back to haunt us with a vengeance," Marshall warned.

The labor secretary is convinced that Americans are sowing the seeds of a serious future civil-rights struggle.

"We would be better off if we were to confront it now," he said.

"Undocumented workers may be desperate and fearful enough to endure this today. But what about 10 years from now? And what will their children be willing to endure. Is there any doubt that their children will be disadvantaged because of the extra-legal status of their parents?"

Marshall acknowledged that illegal aliens here are better off than in their own countries, where their income and working conditions often are even worse than in the jobs they find in the United States. Their situation here, however, is far from ideal, he said.

"They earn less money than just about everyone else. They endure poor and unsafe working conditions, high turnover and little chance for advancement."

"Employers often shamelessly exploit them, paying less than the minimum wage, cheating them and sometimes even arranging raids by immigration officers on the day before payday. Even when paid minimum wages are higher, comparable U.S. workers might earn more," he said.

"In short, the illegal immigrant often works hard and scared, and that is nothing to cheer about in a nation

Aliens

Sun Dec 2-7

Continued from A1

that has struggled for two centuries to achieve dignity for its citizens and a decent reward for work."

At the same time, Marshall warns, the quality standards of the U.S. labor market are affected seriously.

"The ample supply of docile, illegal workers perpetuates an underclass of dirty, unsafe, inefficient jobs. It removes the incentive to design work that is more efficient," he said.

Marshall is not sure that the government can judge accurately the extent of the problem.

"We know it is very serious and has a severe negative impact on employment in this country. We don't know the magnitude of the problem, and we need more data."

"For example, estimates of the number of illegal immigrants range from 4 million to 12 million. Few students of the problem believe the number is as high as 12 million," he said.

"But even if it is 'only' 4 million, that is about 4 percent of our work force, which means it is a massive problem even based on the lowest of estimates."

Marshall said although a Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy is studying the problem, corrective actions should not be delayed.

"We need not wait for the commission to see the urgent need to protect the rights of undocumented workers already settled here permanently, to penalize employers who hire illegal immigrants, to improve enforcement and to promote closer cooperation with the countries of origin."

Marshall said such actions do not mean the U.S. is unfeeling about the plight of immigrants and millions like them in the countries of origin.

"But we should not allow the costs of the aid to those countries to be borne primarily by low-wage U.S. workers who have limited economic or political power to protect themselves," he said.

Marshall suggests an identification system that would apply to all workers.

"Initially, at least, a non-counterfeitable Social Security card could be issued to all workers changing jobs and to all newly hired persons and that could be done for under \$200 million, a far cry from the earlier estimates that it would cost \$500 million," he explained.

ARIZONA FARM WORKER ARE ASKING
ORGANIZATIONS + PEOPLE TO SEND MAILGRAMS + LETTERS

TO: JIM MAIST
GEN. MANAGER
MESA C. TRUS RANCH
254 W. BROADWAY RD.
MESA, ARIZONA 85282

ASKING HIM TO HONOR THE AGREEMENT
HE MADE IN AUGUST 1978 TO
COLLECTIVELY BARGAIN WITH THE
A.F.W.

WORKERS ON HIS RANCH HAVE BEEN
ON SYMPATHY STRIKE FOR TWO
WEEKS IN SUPPORT OF THE A.F.W.

IF IT IS POSSIBLE PLEASE SEND COPIES
TO:

ARIZONA FARM WORKERS
P.O. BOX 819
EL MIRAGE, ARIZONA

85335

MM



ARIZONA FARM WORKERS UNION
UNION de TRABAJADORES CAMPESINOS
de ARIZONA

(602) 977-1219 / 974-5961
P.O.B. 819, EL MIRAGE, AZ 85335

Dear Supporter,

The Arizona Farmworkers Union is alive and well in El Mirage. It has been a while since we have communicated with some of you, but the work of the union defending undocumented workers has continued.

In fact, we have spent this summer preparing for our campaigns in the Fall to gain contracts at three of the largest ranches. And still we are making plans to return to Florida, where union members are fighting virtual slave-like conditions for the more than 200,000 migrant workers.

To build these campaigns, we are in need of a modest darkroom and a new publicity pamphlet, leading to a regular union bulletin. This way, we can keep you better informed and better organize the farmworkers themselves.

Of course, like most of our supporters, we're just working people, and such things are expensive for us. For example, a darkroom costs about \$200, and a pamphlet will cost \$300.

So, to get the ball rolling, we are calling on our working friends to get us there "a nickle and a dime at a time." If we can get \$5, \$10, or \$15 from most of our supporters, we will have more than enough for these two urgent projects. Our strength is in our numbers and in the justness of our struggle. If you can help us please send us a modest donation. WE most certainly appreciate any support we can get.

Now, you'll probably hear about more of our activities in the future.

Thank you for your help.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Lupe Sanchez', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

LUPE SANCHEZ
DIRECTOR EJECUTIVO

TESTIMONY

OF

ARIZONA FARM WORKERS UNION

Before the

SELECT COMMISSION OF IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE POLICY

on

UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS IN ARIZONA

February 4, 1980

Honorable Members of the Commission:

The Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy has asked us to address ourselves to six specific questions which we will read and then proceed to answer individually. But first, we must refer you to previously submitted testimony and documents to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary as well as to the Office of Senator DeConcini that outline the policy we believe should be followed by Congress and the Executive Branch with regard to undocumented workers in the United States.

The first question is: What labor market needs or jobs are currently being held by illegal or undocumented aliens? What evidence is there of displacement of American workers or depression of wages?

We found that the undocumented worker is employed in most areas of the economy but particularly in agriculture. Presently, in Maricopa County, undocumented workers are employed primarily in the citrus harvest. In fact, most of the workers employed by the major citrus growers are undocumented.

The citrus harvest is almost entirely dominated by undocumented workers for two reasons. First, local workers have chosen to work in other crops because of the low wages and extremely harsh working conditions. Although the citrus is probably the hardest of agricultural work, it is also the most poorly paid. Wages are still being paid at a piece-rate and, on the average, a worker earns eight to ten dollars a day for a full day's work. A full day's work means climbing up and down a ladder, carrying bags that weigh up to eighty pounds, in temperatures of up to one-hundred and twenty degrees, many times without drinking water, and more often than not, without medical care or insurance. Because of the extreme physical demands of citrus picking coupled with the minimal compensation, local workers have simply chosen not to pick citrus. This choice has resulted

in a shortage of resident pickers which growers have proceeded to supply with undocumented workers.

And second, undocumented workers are concentrated in the citrus because of the active recruitment, on the part of the grower and his agents, of undocumented workers in Mexico. The growers engage in very active recruitment in Mexico because of the efficiency of the Mexican workers and because of the cheap availability of their labor. This results in a large reserve of workers in a state of near slavery. Initially, they have to pay approximately three hundred dollars for their transportation and smuggling into the United States. Once here, they have to pay for their keeping which is under the trees. Later, they must pay for their transportation to the usually grower-owned stores to purchase their food, to the post office and to places where they can cash their checks. The worker has limited mobility outside of the ranch and employer agents, such as foremen, take advantage of this situation to further exploit the worker.

It should be noted that most workers and their families are accustomed to harvesting a particular crop only; and when that work is finished, they follow it to another state. For instance, in Maricopa County, we find workers coming in from Texas and other states to harvest the onions. When this is done, they move to another state, again searching for work in the onions. The tradition of harvesting and following a particular crop has resulted in large groups and entire families of resident workers who, for example, harvest only lettuce or onions, but very few who harvest the citrus.

Although undocumented workers are employed in most labor market needs or jobs, due to the reasons stated above, there is no evidence of displacement of American workers. The meager wages coupled with the extremely harsh nature of the work makes the citrus harvest the most undesirable work for local workers. Thus,

competition between resident and undocumented workers for jobs in the citrus is unheard of.

Employers believe that they cannot afford to work with the local, documented citizen because of the different labor problems most certain to arise. They are probably right. If the local citizen were in dire need of this job, and if he were to break his tradition of working only in certain crops, and if he were to take this job, he would most certainly demand decent working conditions and wages that were sufficient to feed his family and pay for his basic medical and family needs. Thus, the only evidence of depression of wages is due to a concerted effort on the part of the employers to have these wages depressed, in order to have the marketability of undocumented workers flowing through the border and the local, documented citizen, unemployed.

The second question is: In what ways are American sources of labor adequate/inadequate?

The sources of labor in the agricultural industry in Arizona are inadequate for three reasons. First, there exists the disproportionate use of mechanization. Arizona ranchers use most of their land for the production of crops that no longer employ human labor. And, where the crops are harvested by hand, such as in the vegetables, ranchers use the threat of mechanization to maintain the poor wages and deplorable working conditions in the fields.

Second, in addition to mechanization, growers have resorted to run-away farming operations. They have purchased land in Sonora and Baja California, Mexico, where they employ cheaper labor and do not have to observe any Federal standards.

Finally, there are the poor working conditions, inadequate wages, and un-enforcement of Federal regulations. Agricultural employment could be substantially improved if the growers were to observe the Federal guidelines requiring, among

other things, payment of minimum wage, installation of facilities in the fields, and protection against harmful chemicals.

We recommend:

1. that Federal regulations be enacted requiring an impact statement before the introduction of any mechanization in the fields,
2. that the importation of vegetables from Mexico be more closely regulated, taking the employment of farm workers into account,
3. that legislation be enacted giving farm workers protection similar to that which all other workers in the United States are now entitled to under the National Labor Relations Act, and
4. that existing Federal laws be strictly enforced.

The third question is: What could be done to assure a better supply of labor?

The answer, of course, is to improve the slave wages that are currently paid and the brutal working conditions that have always been imposed. In addition, we propose that all farm workers be covered under a National Farm Labor Relations Act since, such an act would provide just the forum on which to make public and seek redress for the exploitation and abuse that employers and companies so callously inflict.

We must bring farm labor out of the category of slave labor and up to the level of work worthy of human beings. All farm workers, local and undocumented, share in the misery of the stigma that through the years has been attached for no other reason than that of being the only sector which, in the advent of the twenty-first century, still primitively toils the land. We must shed that stigma and restore the element of dignity to farm labor. Only then will there be a better supply of labor.

The fourth question is: It is asserted that employer preference for H-2's or undocumented workers is based on the fact that they will work for less and

that there is little likelihood of unionization. How do you respond to this?

We would like to respond to this question by introducing our testimony before the Judiciary Committee on September 1, 1978 as well as a document submitted on November 28, 1979 by the International Coordinating Committee to the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy.

The testimony clearly states that, "we are, for good reasons, unalterably opposed to H-2.

The process of labor disputes and resultant gains, which undocumented Mexican National workers, with MCOP's help, began in Maricopa County last year, is a process whose short-term, not long-term, beneficiaries should be those workers themselves. If that process continues unhampered, initially sub-standard wages and working conditions eventually will climb far enough into the lower levels of the American wage system that increasing numbers of resident workers will be attracted to the jobs. Even with desired seniority protection, an inexorable transition--but reasonable and manageable--will be underway. The Mexican National workers who launched the process are aware of that fact, just as they are aware that their own long-term answers lie in Mexico, in resolution of Mexico's deep political and economic crisis, and not in the United States.

H-2, like the bracero program before it, is a grower's solution, an attempt to freeze the process of change either before it starts or before it gets too far along. Growers advertise for resident workers at wage rates and working conditions still depressed below those considered necessary for the job by all or most local labor. Predictably failing to fill their need for workers, they then receive H-2 certification from the Department of Labor to recruit foreign workers under specific temporary permits. And we have a perfect picture of characteristically conservative, free enterprise-praising businessmen using U.S. government

intervention to rig and regulate their labor supply in preference to having to compete in an organized, free labor market.

There are other profound vulnerabilities and liabilities inherent in H-2 as well.

***Enforcement of the contracted wages, housing conditions, etc...., for the foreign workers brought in with temporary H-2 permits normally would fall to the Department of Labor, which has not exactly had a past record, in this regard, that would inspire confidence.

***Vigorous grievance efforts or attempts to organize, let alone strike, by the workers in question, whose permits are held by the growers, could quickly lead to punitive revocation of permits. H-2, almost by definition, is designed to make organizing difficult, if not impossible.

***The flexibility of the recruitment process would make it possible, even probable, that growers would take punitive action against an entire group of workers who justifiably had given them difficulty one year by going elsewhere the following year for recruitment purposes. It is noteworthy that one Phoenix-area citrus grower already has indicated a sudden preference for Costa Rican workers in his H-2 application for 1978-79.

***The threats of spreading H-2 certifications undoubtedly would help to re-inflame prior tensions between resident and foreign farm workers, Mexican National or whomever, in the old game of keeping them divided and conquered in their otherwise common struggle for economic justice.

***The same threat also unquestionably would have a dampening effect on organizing drives and strike activities among all farm workers presently here, resident as well as undocumented Mexican Nationals.

***If approved and implemented, H-2 inevitably would lead to reinstitution of

the abusive and corrupt practices by bureaucrats at recruiting locations, particularly in Mexico, that long plagued and bled workers coming here under the old bracero program.

***Desperation in some areas is such that mere word of possible temporary H-2 permits in Arizona could very easily lead to an inundation of this state by undocumented workers from Mexico and elsewhere who normally do not come here at all, actually leading to a dramatic increase, not a decrease, in problems for the Border Patrol."

Furthermore, one year later, we pointed out that, "Since 1964, when the last of the Mexican braceros stopped coming to Arizona, the Arizona farm labor community has been adamantly opposed to the reintroduction of such a program or any other foreign workers program similar to it.

In 1978, because of the undocumented workers efforts to organize themselves, and taking advantage of the impetus provided by the Carter Amnesty Program and the strong support of Secretary of Labor, Ray Marshall, for the reintroduction of a foreign workers program, the Arizona growers once again attempted to bring in Mexican workers legally.

The Maricopa County Organizing Project (now, Arizona Farm Workers Union) opposed such a program for the following reasons:

***That the problem of undocumented Mexican workers will not change so long as the conditions in Mexico do not change. The workers are economic refugees. Hunger and lack of opportunity separates them from their families. We have found that once they leave their hometowns, they are willing to suffer further deprivations, persecutions and even incarceration by U.S. authorities, in order to get sufficient money to send back to their homes.

***That U.S. foreign policy toward Mexico will continue to be premised on

preserving a Mexican economic dependence on the U.S. while using the undocumented worker issue to exert pressure on the Mexican government by threatening mass deportations that would greatly aggravate the Mexican problems of inflation and unemployment. Already more than sixty percent of Mexico's input and output depends on imports and exports to the United States, and, according to Robert C. Krueger, Carter's special ambassador designate for Mexican Affairs, in the past eight months alone, "more foreign investment went into Mexico than during the previous five years. And of that amount, more than ninety percent of it came from the United States." These investments are geared toward capital, rather than labor-intensive industries, creating a wider economic dependence while not solving the problem of unemployment. In the meantime, and because of this, the Mexican workers continue to migrate without papers to the United States where there are already more than six million of them, giving the United States government leverage in the potential threat of mass deportations that would create economic chaos in Mexico.

***That the only possible short-term solution to the problems of economic exploitation and peonage that the Mexican undocumented workers are now experiencing is through the issuance of permanent resident visas that will protect the workers rights, and take away the "political football" element of their condition. With a visa or "green card", the workers will be entitled to the full protection of the U.S. laws and will be able to bring their families, if they desired.

Presently, U.S. authorities argue that because the workers are illegally within the United States, they are not entitled to the protection of the U.S. Constitution, giving the growers an opportunity to exploit them by paying atrociously low wages that do not meet the Federal Fair Wage Standards and by making them work and live under the most deplorable conditions. In Arizona, for instance, they work carrying

bags that weigh up to eighty pounds, all day long, in temperatures of up to one-hundred and twenty degrees, while living and eating under the trees. It is also not uncommon to find workers living in caves in Idaho and in small house trailers that accomodate more than twenty workers in Florida. This lack of legal protection also promotes Police and Border Patrol brutality and a general atmosphere of discrimination.

***That any agreement that does not heed the workers demand for full civil and human rights will only continue to drive a wedge between Chicano and Mexican workers by creating a second and third citizen status amon the workers. Because of the prevailing racial discrimination that exists in this country, Chicano workers find themselves being treated as second-class citizens who, by an incident of birth, are denied employment, education, good housing and medical care, and are constantly harassed by the police who demand that they prove that they are North Americans. If, undocumented workers were to be given another status not equal to the Chicano workers, it would reinforce and worsen the present discrimination, since no apparent distinction could be made among the workers, creating a general atmosphere of resentment between Chicano and Mexican workers.

***That any agreement for a bracero, H-2, guest workers, or any similar program is totally unacceptable for the same reasons stated above. Our member organizations, including the former Maricopa County Organizing Project, were opposed to the Carter Amnesty Program because it did not recognize the undocumented workers' full human and civil rights, and because it addressed itself to the needs of U.S. interests and not to those of the workers themselves."

The fifth question is: In what way has the agreement between the Maricopa County Organizing Project and Production Farm Management been beneficial to both the company and the workers? What problems has it presented?

In 1976, when the Maricopa County Organizing Project began organizing at Production Farm Management, formerly Goldmar, Inc., conditions for undocumented workers there were found to be worse than any place in the U.S. or Mexico. They were earning six to nine dollars a day and they were having to pay the foreman for everything from bringing them into the ranch, to taking them to the post office or grocery store, to being allowed visitors. They even had to pay to leave the ranch. Medical care and insurance were unheard of and frequently, workers with broken bones were deported if they did not recover quickly.

The Maricopa County Organizing Project reached an agreement with the workers at Production Farm Management, to provide technical assistance to the workers in negotiating and reaching an agreement with the company. They arrived at a contract that provided for higher wages and for improvement in the working and living conditions of the workers at PFM, including medical care, insurance, health and safety guidelines, field facilities, housing, seniority privileges, paid holidays and vacations, grievance and arbitration procedures, and an economic development fund, which is to be paid for by the grower and managed by the workers themselves for the economic development of the places that they come from.

It should be noted that the workers involved were almost in their entirety, undocumented.

This contract has been beneficial for both the company and the workers in that for the employer, it provides a stable and productive labor force, and for the workers, it is the first time they can exercise their worker's rights to a decent wage, to health and safety, and above all, to the right to be respected as workers.

The last question is: What do you recommend to assure that the wage and work standards are maintained and illegal or undocumented aliens are not employed?

Undocumented workers should be seen for what they really are, namely an entirely legitimate and important part of the total American work force. And, as such, they also should enjoy all of the basic rights of resident alien workers while working and living in the United States, including the obvious rights to legal status here and the rights to organize for purposes of improving their wages and working conditions. We therefore recommend that all undocumented workers now employed in this country be granted resident alien status.

In this manner, labor market needs would be adequately supplied with those same workers presently employed in the United States as undocumented workers. This will essentially eliminate the need for workers to come in from other countries and cut off the market for undocumented workers.

For the Arizona Farm Workers Union,

Guadalupe Sanchez
Executive Committee, Director

Maria Elena Wakamatzu
International Coordinating Committee

Civil War In The Farm Worker Movement...

continued from front page

with UFW experience, and has established itself firmly as the leading farm worker organization in Arizona.

Anywhere from 75% to 80% of all agricultural workers in the Southwest are undocumented Mexican nationals working illegally in this country. It is among these "illegal aliens" that the Organizing Project has concentrated its energies and it is one of the reasons for the growing militancy of undocumented aliens.

In 1979, the very first labor contract between an American employer and undocumented workers was signed. This contract was signed with Goldmar, Inc.'s Arrowhead Ranch, a citrus farm of over 6,000 acres near Phoenix. One of the two owners of Goldmar is Robert Goldwater, brother of Republican Senator Barry Goldwater.

Arthur Martori, the other owner, said that he decided to negotiate with the Organizing Project-sponsored ranch committee, which is composed of illegal aliens, because there was no way to avoid it. "Everyone in the Southwest had undocumented workers," he said. "This is probably true of most of the West as well. We recognize that these people are pretty much poverty-stricken and the growers recognize that there has to be a change."

Yet this change in the growers' attitude would not have happened without the tireless agitation of the Organizing Project. Lupe Sanchez, Executive Director of the Organizing Project, outlined some of the "poverty stricken" conditions the growers even still impose on their workers.

"UFW workers in California are making \$3.50 to \$4.50 per hour," he said, "while we're making \$1 per hour. We're living in poverty here in Arizona."

These wages mean, he explained, that "there is no one in the local work force picking citrus. The low pay means only undocumented aliens are harvesting America's vegetables."

But, besides the low pay, there are the wretched living conditions of the workers. Most Arizona farm workers live in orange crate shacks among the citrus groves — if they're lucky. Many live nowhere, but merely sleep in the fields, covered by a thin sheet of plastic to keep off the dew. Frequently, the workers are flooded out at irrigation time, or sprayed with insecticide from planes. And constantly there is the threat of raids from the Border Patrol.

Initially, the workers merely demanded advance notice of irrigation or spraying or simply blankets to sleep on in the fields. However, their confidence has grown, along with their demands. The recently signed Goldmar contract goes far towards the institution of better living and working conditions and improved wages.

Paradoxically, while the Arizona growers are becoming willing to negotiate with the Organizing Project, their success is threatened by the United Farm Workers. "The UFW has continually attempted to sabotage us," said

Lupe Sanchez. "They are out there now in the fields telling the Goldmar workers that if they continue to work with us, the UFW will make sure they are deported. In addition, they have threatened Goldmar with a boycott of his produce if he honors the contract. They try their best to break our strikes and demoralize the workers we've organized."

When asked why the UFW opposed the Organizing Project to the point of strike breaking, Sanchez explained, "Because we're doing the job they should have done years ago. We have a service center, a food bank, English classes, immigration counseling, and we organize effective strikes — none of which the UFW is willing or able to do in Arizona."

"Because of this," he continued, "the UFW has not been able to penetrate our citrus organization. All the workers are undocumented aliens. Many of our own organizers are undocumented aliens and they go into the fields and live with the workers, which the UFW won't do. Besides, these new arrivals from Mexico know very little about the UFW. United Farm Worker organizers are instructed to use Cesar's name as much as possible, like a magic charm. But, when these

organizers go into the fields and say Cesar wants you to do this, and this, the workers just look at them and ask, 'Who's Cesar?'

"You see, these workers are mainly from southern Mexico and you can't appeal to them on the basis of what you win for them. Out of the 300 workers at Goldmar, the UFW was only able to sign up three or four. We produce, the UFW doesn't."

Lupe Sanchez started working for the UFW in 1970 as an organizer in Mexico and California. However, most of his UFW experience was in Arizona. He left the UFW a year ago to join the Organizing Project. He explained that there were two reasons why he left the UFW: lack of local control and opposition to the UFW policy of "pacification" of the work force.

"Cesar runs the whole UFW by himself," he said, "and anyone working within the UFW has to understand that. There's a UFW office just down the street. But, that local has no control over the operation of the office, over dues, over strikes, or over field and office personnel decisions."

"A good UFW organizer isn't allowed to stay in any one area too long. Cesar doesn't want anyone outside of himself to have any followers. So, they will send you to a specific area for about a year, then, on a couple of days notice, they'll pull you out and send you to a new area. Cesar makes all the decisions, no matter how insignificant, for the entire national organization. Nothing happens without his OK."

But, perhaps Lupe Sanchez would have remained with the UFW even under these

conditions, if he had felt the UFW was doing something for Arizona workers. "But, the UFW did nothing," he said. "You have to understand that the UFW is not a national organization, it's a California organization. The resources of the UFW are completely tied up in California. It's a big state and they have a lot of problems there. They may not be able to expand outside of California for another five, six years, so they aren't able to help us, you can't depend on them."

"But the point is, they don't want anyone else to do anything in the meantime! Everytime we asked the UFW when they were going to start organizing Arizona, we were told, 'In a year, maybe two.' They've been telling us that since 1970."

"The UFW's main goal throughout the country right now is to contain as many organizations and pacify as many workers as they can until they get their own organization into a position of dominance. When they hear of a strike in Texas, they send out organizers immediately to tell the workers to cool it until Cesar gets ready to do something."

Upsurge of Organization

"But the outcry is tremendous. The workers are begging for organization. They're even organizing themselves. There's a great upsurge of self-organization, just like in the Thirties, so the UFW is having a hard time cooling them out."

"Finally, we just got tired of waiting. We decided that if anything was going to happen in Arizona, we had to do it. We're dying here, we can't afford to wait any longer."

Sanchez explained, however, that in the beginning relations were cordial between the UFW and the Organizing Project. Chavez gave his full support to the fledgling organization on the condition that it not mount any major strikes.

However, Chavez expressed irritation with the Organizing Project in early 1978 when it began organizing the citrus and onion workers. The Organizing Project called a strike against two ranches and all 600 involved workers went out. But the mood among the onion workers was volatile and the strike quickly spread out of control. By the end of the first day, 3,000 workers at other onion ranches also struck and clamored for organizers. A limited strike planned for a few weeks quickly escalated into a major strike which lasted 80 days. "Chavez supported us initially," Sanchez said, "because he didn't think we could do much. But, MCOP surprised him by taking the whole industry out on strike."

By February, 1978, Chavez was angry. A strong farm worker organization was developing independent of the UFW. Workers were flocking to the Organizing Project instead of the UFW. He responded by ordering the

ARIZONA FARM WORKERS UNION
P.O. BOX 819
EL MIRAGE, AZ 85335

Herman Baca
Comision de Derechos Chicanos
1837 Highland Ave.
National City, CA 92050

