Thank you also for paying the postage

United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO
Cesar E. Chavez, President
La Paz, Keene, California 93531

Cesar E. Chavez, Pres.

United Farm Workers of America / La Paz, Keene, California 93531

Dear Friend of the farm workers,

This is a sad day when I have to ask for your help again. How many times will I have to do this?

February 10, 1979 was also a day of sadness, a day of infamy for farm workers and their families. It was a day without hope. It was a day without joy. The sun didn't shine. The rain didn't fall.

Why was it such a day of dispair? On that day greed and injustice struck down our brother Rufino Contreras. What is the worth of a person? What is the worth of a farm worker?

Together, Rufino, his father and his brother gave the company 20 years of their labor. They were faithful workers who helped build up the wealth of their boss, helped to make his ranch prosper.

What was their reward for the service and sacrifice they gave? When they petitioned for a more just share of what they themselves produce, when they spoke out against the injustice they endured, the company answered them with bullets; the company sent hired guns to quiet them.

Capital and labor produce the food of our land, but it's labor, the life of a human being that really counts. Human beings torture their bodies, sacrifice their youth and numb their spirits to produce the agricultural abundance which is so vast it feeds all of America and much of the world. And yet, the men, women and children who are the flesh and blood of this production often do not have enough to feed themselves.

The true wealth of Rufino Contreras cannot be measured in money, status, or power. It is measured in the legacy he left behind for those he loved and those he inspired.

So Rufino is not dead. Wherever farm workers organize, stand up for their rights and strike for justice he is with them.

Rufino Contreras lives among us. It is those who murdered him and those who conspired to murder him that have no life. They have no love, compassion, or light in their hearts.

Why do we say Rufino still lives? Because those of us who mourn him are rededicating ourselves to the ideals for which he gave his life and with your continued help will go on building a union that will someday bring justice to all farm workers.

Please join with us by boycotting for justice. Boycott Chiquita Bananas!

United Brands Co., (formerly United Fruit) is the parent company of Chiquita bananas. United Brands also owns Sun-Harvest, Inc. which is the world's biggest producer of iceberg lettuce. We have had contracts with them for years but now they are refusing to negotiate in good faith. Farm workers don't work all year round; the majority of lettuce workers only make $3.70 an hour -- no one can support their families on that.

The company is bringing in strikebreakers and using the rural courts and sheriffs in a concerted effort to break our strike. This curtails our ability to pickett, and the violence of the growers and threat of more murders of our brothers and sisters like Rufino Contreras force us once again to ask for your help.

We have thousands of farm workers and their families out on strike. We need money as soon as possible for food, clothing, and medical aid so our people can maintain themselves while on the pickett lines. Please send as much as you can afford at this time.

Also, please don't buy or eat Chiquita bananas. Tell your friends about the boycott. Organize a committee to visit stores asking managers not to carry Chiquita bananas. Publicize the boycott any way you can, e.g., religious and community newsletters.

I am hopeful because I know we are not along any longer in our struggle for justice. You shared with us before. You showed you care about people. To care about others gives life meaning ... when we aren't afraid to show we care then we find what we give to the lives of others returns to our own.

We trust you to help us again.

Thank you,

Cesar E. Chavez
Spring 1979

P.S. If you have received more than one appeal, please forgive us. Unfortunately, as hard as we try, duplications are unavoidable.

UFW CALLS FOR BOYCOTT AGAINST CHIQUITA BANANAS

BY ROBERT MONTEMAYOR
AND EVAN MAXWELL
Times Staff Writers

CALEXICO — United Farm Workers of America President Cesar Chavez called for a national boycott against Chiquita brand bananas here Wednesday in an apparent move to pressure Chiquita's parent company, United Brands Co., into meeting UFW demands in a six-week lettuce strike.

United Brands owns Sun-Harvest, Inc., one of 10 lettuce companies against which the UFW has been striking for higher wages and improved employe benefits.

Chavez' call for a boycott came 10 days after he personally took part in private bargaining talks with Sun-Harvest negotiators in Los Angeles.

Those talks, originally greeted as the first sign of grower capitulation to union demands, produced no results.

One Sun-Harvest official said after the talks that the UFW had threatened to boycott Chiquita but that United Brands executives were skeptical of Chavez' ability to carry out the threat.

"You need machinery in cities all across the country to do that," the Sun-Harvest official said. "We don't think Cesar has that machinery anymore."

"That's another life it has cost us," says Chavez (above, at the wake). "I can't help it if I cry — I'm not ashamed of it."

People Weekly, March 12, 1979

They came 4,000 strong — men, women and children clustered in a barren depression near the Mexican border — a place migrant workers know as "the Hole." There on normal harvest days at 4 a.m. they climb into buses and are driven to fields of ripening lettuce in the Imperial Valley nearby. This time, however, they gathered at dusk, and the scene was somberly transformed. Black union flags were held on high, and thousands of candles flickered in the twilight. The only sounds rising above the crackle of bonfires and the yapping of dogs were the low murmurings of grief. The Southern California lettuce workers' strike had turned into an angry vigil; one of their pickets. Rufino Contreras, 28, had been shot dead, allegedly by employees of one of the growers, and his co-workers' bitterness boded ill for a settlement. Since then the gloomy prospect has been fulfilled. The strike is in its seventh week — with more violence and no solution in sight.

For union leader Cesar Chavez the killing was a tragic jolt: the end of what he had called his "dream strike" — a battle at last on money issues rather than for the union's very right to exist. In some ways the walkout had seemed to signal another of those bold-relief exercises in controlled strife that have marked and made his career. Yet times have changed since the United Farm Workers was founded 17 years ago — perhaps more for the union than for Chavez himself. At 52 (and 5'6", 140 pounds), he still lives by the exemplary asceticism of the UFW's youth. He works a slave-driver's schedule of 20-hour days, sleeping where he drops, accepting only $10 a week in pay, plus expenses. He prays and meditates two or three hours every day and often fasts, even though his followers no longer seem to require such an example. "We've had no problem keeping people out this time," he says. "They're organized, they have job security, they have something to fight for. For the first time, they're fighting for real wages. That's the difference."

In his tempestuous and unorthodox career as a union leader, Chavez has faced risk often — never more dramatically than during the historic five-year grape-pickers' strike that ended in 1970, and the bitter decade-long battle with the Teamsters for the right to bargain for the farm workers. That he emerged unscathed is remarkable (Chavez accepted the bodyguards that now surround him only after the UFW board overrode his veto); that he prevailed is little short of a miracle. Born in Yuma, Ariz., he dropped out of school in the eighth grade and went to work in his teens as a field hand. Once an unlettered street-corner tough, he discovered Gandhi and turned to steel-willed self-discipline. He neither drinks nor smokes; his work is his life and passion. ("I haven't taken a vacation since 1962," he admits with a trace of pride.) Home is a four-room cottage at union headquarters in La Paz, Calif., and on the road he lives with his workers. "I eat whatever they have and sleep on floors when there's no bed," he says. "It's a way to stay in touch."

Story by Cheryl McCall

Los Angeles Times February 14, 1979

More Farm Workers Join Lettuce Strike

BY LAURIE BECKLUND
and ROBERT MONTEMAYOR

EL CENTRO — The number of farm workers on strike in the Imperial Valley rose to more than 4,300 Wednesday as their strike against lettuce growers spread in reaction to a symbolic "volunteer harvest day" staged by growers.

About 300 volunteer pickers, many of them members of growers' families, cheered as they began working a nine-acre field of iceberg lettuce two miles northeast of here on Mario Saihkon Co. property. Only a handful of United Farm Workers' pickets demonstrated on the edge of the field.

Virtually all those particpating in the volunteer harvest were relatives of growers or of others working in the agriculture industry.

Many of the growers' sons and daughters, who were excused from high school for the event, had to be instructed in how to use the machete-like blades issued them. They had never cut lettuce before.

When asked how much lettuce the 300 inexperienced pickers planned to harvest, one volunteer answered:

"Hell, we're not out here to pick lettuce. We're just trying to demoralize those flag wavers."

"I really wouldn't want to do this for a living," admitted one grower's wife, as she stooped over another head of lettuce.

Los Angeles Times, March 3, 1979

Unfair Labor Charges Filed by Cesar Chavez

From a Times Staff Writer

EL CENTRO — The United Farm Workers of America union, engaged in a bitter strike against lettuce and other vegetable growers in California and Arizona, has filed "unfair labor practice" charges against 28 growers in the Imperial Valley.

The charges, filed late Thursday with the El Centro office of the state Agriculture Labor Relations Board, allege "bad faith" negotiations and claim the growers are engaging in "surface bargaining," a UFW spokesman said.

A Sad Farewell to Rufino Contreras

Widow and son, Rosa Contreras and Julio, 5, at funeral mass.
Photo by Robert Lachman, Los Angeles Times

By WILLIAM OVEREND

A nurse and a few close friends and relatives accompanied Mrs. Contreras to the mortuary. She arrived in a van and was lifted to the ground in her wheelchair, wearing only a robe with a black shawl over her head, the burns on her hands visible, those on her legs and feet covered by a loose layer of hospital cloth.

In front of the open casket, she broke into uncontrollable grief, her sobs and cries of loss ringing through the building, the same words over and over again, until it was time to go.

"Goodby, my heart...

"Goodby, my love...

"Goodby, my friend....."

Those who knew Rufino Contreras the longest — his father and two brothers — remembered him in simple terms, as a "good man" who worked hard, stayed out of trouble and was "very close" to his wife and children.

"He was a very exceptional person," said Fortunato. "In a sense, he was a better than us...He never had any fights with anyone. He got along with everybody.

7,000 Attend Funeral Mass of Field Worker

BY LAURIE BECKLUND
Times Staff Writer

CALEXICO, Calif. — Rufino Contreras the 27-year-old lettuce picker who was shot to death on Saturday, was buried here this morning after an outdoor mariachi funeral Mass in which he was mourned as a martyr by more than 7,000 United Farm Workers members and their families.

"Rufino is not dead," UFW President Cesar Chavez said in his eulogy. "Wherever farmworkers organize, stand up for their rights and strike for justice, Rufino Contreras is with them."

Sitting in a wheelchair in the front row of a flower-filled shrine in the parking lot of a labor pickup site was Rosa Contreras, the young man's widow. She had been hospitalized since last week after a household accident left her with severe burns over most of her lower body.

Clutching her 5-year-old son to her, she seemed oblivious to the labor leader's words.

"Mis hijos," she said time after time, leaning her head back and moaning, tears running down her face. "My children, children of my heart. Where is their father; where are you, Fino?"

Because of her hospitalization, she was not told until Monday that her husband had been killed Saturday by a single bullet in the head. The shot was fired as he and other striking workers crossed into a private lettuce field where strikebreaking laborers were harvesting. Three growers' employes have been arrested but not formally charged in the case.

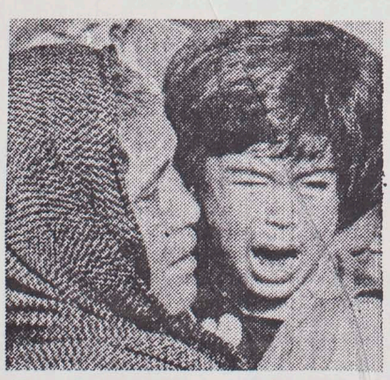
The cries of Contreras' young widow could be heard throughout the eulogy. Her son, Julio Cesar, was escorted to her. She grabbed hold of him and cried into his shoulder as if he were a man.

Her other child, Nancy Berenice, 4, smiled when she saw her mother. She did not know she was supposed to cry.

Throughout the funeral, Julio Cesar stood absolutely still and silent, his arms around his mother's black-shawled shoulders.

Only when he was taken by his grandmother, Adelinda Contreras de Mijangos, to the metal coffin with a purple satin cloth over it did he break down.

"My papa!" he shouted then, his wails reaching the thousands attending the Mass. "My papa, papa, papa..."



Rufino Contreras' son and stepmother at his funeral.

Rosa Contreras is wheeled from Calexico mortuary, after viewing the body of her husband Rufino, slain during a United Farm Workers strike against lettuce growers.
Times photo by Larry Armstrong

Tues., Mar. 13, 1979 Los Angeles Times

Chavez Asks U.S. Probe of 'Conspiracy' in Slaying

BY LAURIE BECKLUND

United Farm Workers of America President Cesar Chavez called upon U.S. Atty. Gen. Griffin Bell Monday to investigate what he called the possibility of a conspiracy among growers and law enforcement officials in the shooting death of a striking farm worker last month in Imperial Valley.

In a telegram sent to Bell, Chavez claimed that "extensive interviews with eyewitnesses to the slaying (of Rufino Contreras) and (with) other farm workers have raised serious questions as to whether last month's incident was the result of a conspiracy...to deprive Brother Contreras of his civil rights under the U.S. Constitution."

Specifically named in the telegram were grower Mario Saikhon, on whose property the shooting occurred, the Western Growers Assn., the Imperial Valley Vegetable Growers Assn., and Imperial Valley County Sheriff Oren Fox.

Three of Saikhon's employes, who were supervising strikebreaking replacement crews at the time of the shooting, have been charged with murder in the case.

UFW spokesman Marc Grossman said the telegram was sent to Bell after interviews with eyewitnesses to the shooting indicated the three supervisors "fired in concert."

The sheriff was named, Grossman said, because of the "conspicuous absence" of sheriff's deputies at the site of the shooting.

Deputies had been assigned to guard other fields where strikebreaking crews were working. But, according to sheriff's spokesman Dick Wilson, the sheriff's office had been told no one would be working that day in the field where Contreras died.

A spokesman for the Imperial County district attorney's office, which is investigating the murder, said, "We don't object to an investigation. We don't want any secrets. If they (the Justice Department) feel there is cause, we will welcome them."

UNITED FARM WORKERS of AMERICA AFL-CIO
National Headquarters: La Paz, Keene, California 93531
(805) 822-5571

SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Resolution 16

SUPPORT OF AMNESTY FOR ILLEGAL WORKERS

Submitted by National Executive Board

WHEREAS, America is a land of immigrants, built with the sweat and toil of foreign born peoples from every part of the world, and

WHEREAS, the history of American agriculture has been marked by a ruthless exploitation of immigrant workers by the masters of agribusiness, and

WHEREAS, unscrupulous employers have used illegals to defeat farm worker strikes and have pitted brothers against brothers and sisters against sisters, and

WHEREAS, illegal workers often suffer more at the hands of the growers than legal residents, and

WHEREAS, the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO is dedicated to liberating all farm workers who suffer regardless of color, creed, ethnic origin, religion or residence status,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the membership of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, sitting in convention in Fresno, California, that this organization urges the enactment of legislation granting amnesty to all illegal workers, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that if growers can bring illegal workers to this country for the purpose of exploiting them, then we can organize illegal workers to liberate them.

Viva la Causa! Viva la Huelga!

UNITED FARM WORKERS of AMERICA AFL-CIO
National Headquarters: La Paz, Keene, California 93531
(805) 822-5571

SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Resolution 17

SUPPORT OF FULL CITIZENSHIP FOR LEGAL RESIDENTS

Submitted by Marn Packing Company

and National Executive Board

WHEREAS, farm workers and other poor people have been denied the benefits of full citizenship because of their ethnic heritages and language barriers, and

WHEREAS, employers who dominate the social and political institutions of rural America have purposely excluded minority and poor peoples from participation in the democratic process by establishing discriminatory barriers to acquiring citizenship rights, and

WHEREAS, farm workers and other poor people represent a vast untapped source of political and moral strength in this nation, and

WHEREAS, farm workers and other poor people who have established themselves as productive and responsible residents deserve the same rights afforded all Americans,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the membership of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, sitting in convention in Fresno, California, that this organization urges the enactment of legislation granting full American citizenship to all legal residents with a three year good record, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that these newly enfranchised legal residents be provided the right to vote in their own native language.

Viva la Causa! Viva la Huelga!

FOR A NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY

EVALUATION AND CRITIQUE OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION PROPOSALS ON IMMIGRATION

BY MARK DAY

Stop the Deportations

Of what significance is President Carter's program for the undocumented worker?

Is it amnesty or a trap to find out who is here without a visa?

President Carter's proposals to the solution of the problems of the undocumented will only create more problems, difficulties and persecutions for the Spanish-speaking workers here without visas.

Instead of giving them more rights and human compassion, he seeks to put them in a more difficult position with fewer rights and provides Immigration authorities with easier methods to track, hunt, or locate the undocumented.

Instead of providing more jobs for the U.S. born citizen and for the permanent residents, both being Spanish speaking, he will give them only more obstacles, more discrimination, and less security in their jobs.

Instead of creating more jobs, he will increase the unemployment problem.

Instead of compassion for those who do not have a visa, he will bring more hostilities upon them, making it harder for them to unite with their families.

Instead of being protected, they are left helpless; instead of guarantees, he creates an atmosphere of false promises, confusion, and more deportations for the undocumented.

President Carter uses the amnesty like frosting on the cake.

Let's see what the President proposes:

1. The so-called amnesty is nothing but frosting on the cake. It does not propose an unconditional amnesty.

   What Mr. Carter and Lionel Castillo, Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, are trying to assure is that the amnesty that they are proposing will permit between 300,000 or possibly 500,000 who have been here since 1970 to apply to stay here.

   But in order to apply they must comply with the following requirements:

   a. They must prove they have had continuous residency for 7 years.
   b. They must prove that they have had steady and consistent employment since their date of entry.

c. They must have prepared and paid their income taxes, and they must not owe the government any money whether it be from taxes, welfare payments, health care, or payments owed to clinics or hospitals. They must not have incurred any income tax violation.
d. They must not have a police record.
e. They must not have any sicknesses like tuberculosis, diptheria, etc.
f. Those who apply for amnesty and are rejected will be deported.

Those who are not deported will be converted into victims of "involuntary servitude."

2. Those who have been living here after 1970 but before 1977 without visas may be able to stay for a maximum term of five years if they fulfill the following requirements.

   a. Support themselves by working.
   b. They must not solicit or have solicited welfare or medical services in government hospitals or clinics.
   c. They cannot immigrate under permanent resident status.
   d. They cannot immigrate or bring their families.
   e. They will not have rights to Social Security, unemployment insurance, disability insurance, public assistance, health benefits at clinics or hospitals.

   In fact they will be treated as persons and workers of inferior or second-class category. . .indentured servants or **braceros. . .without any rights.**

The Eilberg-Rodino Law does not produce employment but rather unemployment and discrimination.

The law proposed by President Carter to fine and penalize the employer who employs undocumented workers (who, according to the Eilberg-Rodino Law, do not have the right to work in the United States) will not serve that purpose but will work against all the Spanish-speaking workers whether they be citizens, permanent residents, or undocumented. The law will also penalize the union hiring halls. Even more dangerous for the worker is that the foreman, the contractor, and the employment agency are given the right to determine if the birth certificates of the U.S. citizens and the documents of the permanent residents are legal.

People will have to prove to INS's satisfaction that they have resided continuously in the U. S. and any departure, even by virtue of being deported will have to be accepted at INS's discretion and could be interpreted as an intent to abandon residence in the U.S. INS will exercise its discretion in this determination.

In the state of California we are still suffering the havoc of a similar law (Dixon-Arnett) as that proposed by Rodino and Eilberg. This law is used by the employers to violate the union contracts, to violate the seniority and employment security of the workers who demand and have struggled for their rights.

The new identification card is a step into a police state type of government.

The new Social Security and identification card that President Carter proposes will be a work permit that will apply to those of Hispanic ancestry as is used against the black people in South Africa.

It is repugnant to all Americans having to carry this type of identification for traveling, working, etc., since this has always been considered one of the basic fundamental freedoms such as the right to freedom of movement, respect for the privacy of a person, and no infringement on his right to privacy. Identification cards are for those police states and dictatorships such as those of Hitler and Mussolini, now also those of Pinochet in Chile and the government of South Africa which have all violated the personal freedoms of the persons solely because of their race, color, religion, or beliefs.

Why does it have to start with our people?

The attempt to contract braceros.

"New Importation Program of Temporary Agriculture Workers."

This is the name given to the new program of braceros being pushed forth by the agribusiness interest in government. Given the fact that there was strong opposition by the labor unions and numerous Hispanic organizations, the President still assured the agriculture industry that he would protect their interest by ordering more than 800 temporary workers into Presido, Texas, in order to provide cheap labor to the melon farmers in that area.

We should not be surprised that the Carter Administration will seek an agreement between the agribusiness people and the Mexican government to achieve the importation of "temporary seasonal workers." Such agreements will be announced as a means of regulating the entrance of the agricultural worker. Naturally, they will also propose it as a means of protecting the same worker from bad conditions and abuses by the employer. They will use this new method to "regulate and protect" the Mexican bracero. They will implement it slowly using a case-by-case or region-by-region approach. The end results will be an on-going

bracero program by executive order which the Congress will have very little to say about.

2 thousand border patrol guards is not the solution but means instead more persecution.

The reinforcement of the Border Patrol is not only to prevent the entrance of those the press and government call "the hordes of illegals" or "Mexico is going to flood the United States" but is also to maintain and control any easy, exploitable people who are vulnerable to violations of their human rights. Cesar Chavez, the director of the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO, has well classfied the Border Patrol as "the gestapo of the Mexican people." There will be more murders of Mexicans and Latin Americans who only come to work, more bribes, more lies and tricks placed upon them by officers acting under color of law.

How to help the underdeveloped countries.

Much has been said by government spokesmen and so-called experts on immigration in Latin America and the reasons for immigration to the United States. Under the guise of benevolence in a Marshall Plan type of help and mutual help, it is suggested that this country that is so powerful and rich will out of its good heart help those poor countries of Latin America to develop their economy to be able to sustain half of its working class and farm workers with jobs and income. The truth and the results of this type of help is that it has always put and will keep on putting the economics and governments of these countries in a more total dependency on the United States as well as more debt and under the control of the international bankers like that of the International Monetary Fund. The results have been and continue to be counter productive to the countries of Latin America. The most tragic cases have been that of Chile followed by Brazil, Uraguay, Ecuador, and Argentina. There is a need for a new political line, but not the one that is being talked about now. Latin America needs its economic and political independence based on a broad internal and democratic policy with the sentiments of the people.

A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WORKERS WITHOUT VISAS

Along with an unconditional amnesty, we Americans, who love and respect our human rights and liberties in this democratic society, propose the following Bill of Rights for those workers and persons without documents or visas in the United States.

1. The right of each worker to fulfill his needs in life for him and his family by depending on a steady job.
2. The right of not being deported or from being separated from his family.
3. The right to be reunited with his family in the country where he is presently living.
4. The right to obtain his permanent resident visa without having to leave and return to his country of origin.
5. The right to vote should be granted to all persons here under permanent resident status.
6. The right to all benefits of employment.
   a. This would include job security, seniority, equal pay for equal work, opportunity to advance, and the right to positions within the unions.
   b. The right to receive unemployment insurance, disability insurance, medical assistance, Social Security and all other rights under the labor laws of this country.
7. The right to obtain affordable housing.
8. Equal opportunities for the sons and daughters of these workers without visas to enter the colleges, universities, and other centers of learning.
9. The right to use their own language to obtain citizenship, defend themselves in court, government agencies, and in other forms of civil contracts and particularities.
10. The right of freedom of movement and all the other rights granted in the Constitution of the United States of America.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO HELP?

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN AND SENATOR.
TELL THEM YOU OPPOSE THESE BILLS.
SEND CONTRIBUTIONS OR ASK FOR LITERATURE AND INFORMATION TO:

NATIONAL IMMIGRATION COALITION
8601 LANKERSHIM BLVD.
SUN VALLEY, CA. 91352
TEL. (213) 768-1171

FR. CUCHALAIN MORIARTY
SACRED HEART CHURCH
PALM & LOCUST STS.
SAN JOSE, CALIF. 95110

CENTRO DE IMMIGRACION
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAW CENTER
600 NEW JERSEY AVE. N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

MIDWEST COMMISSION ON DEFENSE
OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS
408 SEGUR AVE.
TOLEDO, OHIO 43609

FR. LIDIO TOMASI
209 FLAGG PLACE
STATEN ISLAND, N. Y. 10304

UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
THIRD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
SELLAND ARENA, FRESNO, CALIFORNIA
AUGUST 26, 27, AND 28, 1977

RESOLUTION 73

RESOLUTION ON IMMIGRATION REFORM

Submitted by the National Executive Board

WHEREAS, the wealth of America has been built atop the sweat and sacrifice of foreign-born peoples from every part of the world, and

WHEREAS, the history of U.S. agriculture has been marked by a brutal exploition of immigration workers by the masters of agribusiness, and

WHEREAS, President Carter has proposed legislation to reform the U.S. immigration laws,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the membership of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, sitting in convention in Fresno, California, that this organization oppose the immigration reform measure offered by the Carter Administration, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Union support the granting of a total amnesty to undocumented aliens, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Union continue its opposition to legislation making it illegal for employers to hire undocumented aliens as such employer sanctions will prompt wholesale discrimination in employment against all workers who have dark skins and speak languages other than English, whether they be undocumented, resident aliens, or citizens, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Union urges the government of the United States to commit this country's resources to improving the economics of nations from which undocumented aliens immigrate as the only long-term solution to the U.S.'s immigration problems, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the legal immigration quota for Mexico and the Western Hemisphere be increased to a just level, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that priority be given for the immigration of the families of aliens.

VIVA LA CAUSA !!!

December 8, 1970

To All members of the Chicano Community:

The Huelga office and the National City chapter of M.A.P.A. will picket the Alpha Beta store Friday, Dec. 11, 1970 from 5-7 p.m. to show our support for Cesar Chavez and the U.F.W.O.C. (United Farm Workers Organizing Committee) Alpha Beta has been chosen because of their affliation of being one of the largest buyers of non-union lettuce.

Following at 7:30 P.M. a mass, conducted by Father Juan Hurtado, will be held at Saint Anthony's Church --18th and Harding St.,to reaffirm our belief in the non-violent philosophy. This form of solidarity will support our people in their quest for social justice.

Contact: Herman Baca 477-5434
Carlos Legrette 262-2950

BE THERE! !

SUPPORT ! !

La Causa Needs You !

CHAVEZ RECHAZA LAS PROPUESTAS DE CARTER SOBRE IMMIGRACION

UNION DE CAMPESINOS DE AMERICA, AFL-CIO
TERCERA CONVENCION CONSTITUCIONAL
SELLAND ARENA, FRESNO, CALIFORNIA
Dias 26, 27, y 28 de agosto, 1977

Resolucion 73

RESOLUCION SOBRE LA REFORMA DE LA IMMIGRACION

Sometida por el Consejo Ejecutiva Nacional

CONSIDERANDO, que el poder de los Estados Unidos ha sido construido por el sudor y sacrificio de gente inmigrada de todas partes del mundo, y

CONSIDERANDO, que la historia de la agricultura que se ha caracterizada por la brutal explotacion de los trabajadores inmigrantes por los lideres del negocio agricola, y

CONSIDERANDO, que el Presidente Carter ha propuesto legislacion para reformar las leyes de inmigracion de los Estados Unidos.

QUE SE RESUELVE, por la membrecia de la Union de Campesinos de America, AFL-CIO sentada en la Convencion en Fresno, California, que esta organizacion se oponga a las reformas a las leyes de inmigracion propuestas por la administracion de Carter, y

QUE SE RESUELVE, que esta Union apoye que se conceda total amnistia a los inmigrados indocumentados, y

QUE SE RESUELVE, que esta union siga la oposicion contra legislacion que haga ilegal que empleadores den trabajo a inmigrados indocumentados, pues, esta clase de sancion al empleador resultaria en una discriminacion total en el trabajo contra todos los trabajadores que tienen piel obscura y que hablan otro idioma que no sea ingles, aunque sean indocumentados, residentes permanentes, o ciudadanos, y

QUE SE RESUELVE, que esta union impele al gobierno de los estados unidos a que encomienden los recursos de este pais para mejorar la economia de otras naciones de donde los indocumentados imigran siendo esto la unica solucion a largo plazo del problema de inmigracion de los Estados Unidos.

QUE SE RESUELVE, que la cuota de inmigracion para Mexico y el hemisferio del oeste sea subido a un nivel justo, y

QUE SE RESUELVE, que la prioridad sea dada a la inmigracion de las families de los inmigrados.

(English on reverse)

CHAVEZ REJECTS CARTER'S IMMIGRATION PROPOSALS

UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
THIRD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
SELLAND ARENA, FRESNO, CALIFORNIA
AUGUST 26, 27 and 28, 1977

Resolution 73

RESOLUTION ON IMMIGRATION REFORM

Submitted by National Executive Board

WHEREAS, the wealth of America has been built atop the sweat and sacrifice of foreign-born peoples from every part of the world, and

WHEREAS, the history of U.S. agriculture has been marked by a brutal exploitation of immigrant workers by the masters of agribusiness, and

WHEREAS, President Carter has proposed legislation to reform the U.S. immigration laws,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the membership of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, sitting in convention in Fresno, California, that this organization oprose the immigration reform measure offered by the Carter administration, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Union support the granting of a total amnesty to undocumented aliens, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Union continue its opposition to legislation making it illegal for employers to hire undocumented aliens as such employer sanctions will prompt wholesale discrimination in employment against all workers who have dark skins and speak languages other than English, whether they be undocumented, resident aliens, or citizens, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Union urges the government of the United States to commit this country's resources to improving the economics of nations from which undocumented aliens immigrate as the only long-term solution to the U.S.'s immigration problem, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the legal immigration quota for Mexico and the Western Hemisphere be increased to a just level, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that priority be given for the immigration of the families of aliens.

(Español al Reverso)

W Denounces Carter ogram on Illegal Aliens

ecretary of Labor Marshall Fails in Effort to Win acking for Controversial Hiring Law Proposal

BY HARRY BERNSTEIN
Times Labor Writer

NO—Secretary of Labor Ray l tried vainly here Saturday Cesar Chavez' farm workers back the Carter Administra- legal alien program.

ly before Marshall even made delegates to the United Farm s of America convention had ously adopted a resolution de- g the Administration's propo-

hall presumably knew of the position before he delivered ress, but apparently he hoped en the opposition to some de-

labor secretary, who has close organized labor, praised Chav- his union for dramatically g the status of "organized orkers, who were among the owerless people in America."

the first time, Marshall said, orkers now appear to have the l support and strength and ions achieved by most other an worker decades ago.

st of our basic labor laws treat workers as a breed apart," the ary said. "But I have come to impo.tant c ..ion: Farm rs are not fundamentally dif- from any other group of Amer- orkers."

even in his praise of the UFW, hall raised another point of dif- ce between himself and the

e UFW wants a separate federal for farm workers patterned on fornia's farm labor law, which al- hem to vote by secret ballot on which union, if any, the workers prefer.

This state's law was designed specifically to meet agricultural problems such as short harvest periods and rapid labor turnover.

Marshall made no firm promise of any quick action by the Carter Administration which would give collective bargaining rights to farm workers.

Marshall suggested farm labor-oriented additions to present laws.

If the Administration does move on this issue, as he wants it to, Marshall said, no proposal can be expected before next year.

And, while Marshall said he has "an open mind" on the UFW plan, "I am very concerned about the implications of a special federal statute modeled after California's law."

"I fear," he said, "that a special statute would only encourage the myth that farm workers should be treated differently from other workers."

As of now, he said, the "most sensible approach" would seem to be an addition to the present federal labor law, but an addition that "could contain many of the provisions of the California statute."

The most fundamental and immediate difference between the Carter Administration and the UFW is over

Please Turn to Page 26, Col. 1

UFW OPPOSES RODINO-EILBERG TYPE LAWS

UFW Denounces Illegal Alien Plan

Continued from Third Page

the highly emotional issue of illegal aliens.

Carter has proposed a law to punish employers who knowingly hire the illegals.

This, the Administration hopes, will eliminate much of the temptation for foreigners, primarily Mexicans, to slip into the United States because employers will be reluctant to offer them jobs.

Carter also proposed amnesty and probable citizenship for illegals who can prove they arrived in this country before 1970.

In addition, he would create another category for illegals who came here after 1970, but before January, 1977. These people would be allowed to work but not allowed citizenship rights for at least five years while their fate is considered by Congress.

In his strong request for backing by the predominantly Spanish-speaking UFW, Marshall said:

"I believe we can not afford to continue to have an underclass (of illegal aliens) in this country which is outside the protection of our basic laws.

"You know that there are hundreds of employers who prefer to hire (illegals) because they work scared and hard (and) because they don't have to pay these frightened people the minimum wage."

The Carter proposal, he said, "should be looked at as a first step in dealing with this problem."

But the UFW, while supporting amnesty for illegals with no apparent time limitations, opposed most of the key elements of the Carter proposal.

The union said it will fight any legislation which would make it illegal for employers to hire the illegal aliens because such a law "will promote wholesale discrimination in employment against all workers who have dark skins and speak languages other than English . . ."

The only suggestion the union made for dealing with the controversial question was to urge the U.S. government to use this country's resources to improve the economies of Mexico and other nations whose unemployed workers continue to stream in increasingly large numbers into the United States.

Despite the convention delegates' differences with Ma shall, they gave him a warm welcome, and he in tu promised to work closely with UFW leaders in formulati legislation affecting farm workers.

But Marshall obviously felt that much more must done to curb the flow of illegals. In a separate intervie he said that U.S. unemployment problems will be difficu if not impossible to solve unless the flow of easily exploit illegal aliens is curbed.

He also contended that a crucial key to any law on ill gals is a "tamperproof" Social Security card that all wor ers would use for identification in getting jobs.

Such a system, he stressed, would provide employe with a method of defending themselves against charg that they knowingly hired illegals and also would he prevent discrimination against Mexican-Americans a other minorities.

Marshall and Chavez were in agreement in their stro opposition to proposals calling for the government create a new "bracero" program under which the goverr ment would recruit foreign workers for U.S. employers.

Marshall said he will fight any such plan, but he d promise that the government will help U.S. employers r cruit domestic workers when there are apparent lab shortages.

Carter himself sent a letter to the convention in whi he assured the UFW that his Administration "shares yo organization's unflagging determination to ensure soci and economic justice for all Americans."

Blas Ople, secretary of labor of the Philippines, a dressed the convention and afterwards, Chavez urged hi to call on Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos to e martial law in that country.

Several delegates said privately they resented the inv tation extended to Ople because of charges that Marc governs as a dictator.

STATE AFL ★ Los Angeles Times Tues., Aug. 9, 1977—Part I 3

Labor Leader Raps Carter on Aid to Poor

Warns of Conservative Influence in Washington, Sacramento

BY HARRY BERNSTEIN
Times Labor Writer

Organized labor agrees with Urban League Director Vernon E. Jordan and others who have accused President Carter of failing to deal with the problems of America's poor families, California's top union leader said here Monday.

John F. Henning, executive secretary of the 1.7 million-member California Labor Federation, attacked Carter in one of the strongest criticisms made of the President by a prominent union official.

Henning, in an address to the opening session of the AFL-CIO Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union convention here, said that "conservatives are exercising the same power in Washington today that they did in the regime of Jimmy Carter's predecessor (Gerald R. Ford)."

And, he said, "conservatives are now displaying their power in the state government in Sacramento as they have not done since the days of (former Gov.) Ronald Reagan."

Henning then expanded his criticism of Democratic Party leaders—who were elected with the strong support of organized labor—by contending the "basic reason" for the disillusionment of labor, blacks and others is that "the private enterprise system is not working."

Henning, recently appointed as a regent of the University of California and a former U.S. ambassador to New Zealand, called for a "formal, structured alliance" of organizations of blacks and other minority organizations, consumer groups and liberals with organized labor.

Informal alliances of these groups were formed to help elect Carter and the Democratic majorities in Congress and in most state legislatures, including California's, he said.

But when the elections are over, "corporate power prevails again" throughout the political system, Henning maintained.

Two weeks ago, the Urban League's Jordan accused Carter of failing to respond to the needs of black Americans who had helped elect him.

Carter responded by saying he has "no apologies to make" for his Administration's efforts on behalf of the urban poor, but the criticism of the President was endorsed by the Congressional Black Caucus (16 black members of the House of Representatives), and others.

Carter also has been criticized by union leaders, but in recent days the President has won considerable praise from top AFL-CIO officials for his support of labor law reform proposals backed by organized labor.

But Henning said organized labor stands "essentially with the blacks of the Urban League and black America generally who voiced their disillusionment with the direction of government (with regard to the President)."

He said labor also "stands with brown America, who also protested the indifference of the government of the United States to the plight of millions of brown Americans."

He specifically exempted California's Gov. Brown from his attack, but said that "conservatives are in the ascendency in Sacramento, too."

Henning spent much of his time denouncing the "failures of the pri-

Please Turn to Page 14, Col. 4

Labor Leader Attacks Carter on Aid to Poor

Continued from Third Page

vate enterprise system," saying "the politicians in Washington and Sacramento are finding it beyond their capacities to repair that system."

But the union leader made no proposal for any basic change in the present system, which has long been praised by most union leaders, including AFL-CIO President George Meany.

After his speech, Henning told a reporter the alliance he advocated of labor, minorities, liberals and others could bring about major social and economic change because "we would then be too strong to be ignored the day after election victories."

But Henning told the nearly 1,000 delegates and guests to the union convention that the basic problem is the failure of the private enterprise system itself.

There are more than 7 million jobless Americans, he said, "and the only time the private enterprise system gives us full employment is in times of war or the time of preparation for war."

"We hear of mindless, senseless crimes, but how often do you hear the President or the Congress indict mindless, senseless poverty?" Henning asked, adding:

"How often do you hear them condemn a mindless, senseless system, the end product of which has been the slums and continuing high unemployment?"

Henning clearly was not appealing directly to the self-interest of most of the union delegates. Oil industry workers are the highest paid industrial workers in the country, earning an average of $8.07 an hour plus fringe benefits.

But, he said, "We say that the private enterprise system is failing when 40 million Americans today are without any kind of health protection," when the urban poor are still living in slums, and when "intensified political action (by labor and minority groups) fails."

Henning contended that while the Democratic Party has been regarded as the "instrument of change since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, today corporate America has more influence in the party than the trade unions, blacks, browns, consumers, environmentalists and all other social-oriented bodies of American life. The corporations run the Democratic Party, nationally, and in California."

UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
THIRD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
SELLAND ARENA, FRESNO, CALIFORNIA
AUGUST 26, 27, and 28, 1977

Resolution 43

CONDEMNING A NEW BRACERO PROGRAM

Submitted by the National Executive Board

WHEREAS, during World War II, due to a shortage of agricultural manpower, the U.S. Government made agreements with the government of Mexico to import Mexican nationa to perform agricultural work, and

WHEREAS, these workers performed extremely well and made a major contribution to the war effort, and

WHEREAS, agribusiness was quick to realize that imported Mexican laborers were an easily available source of cheap, docile and exploitable work force and turned the World War II program into one of the most vicious semi-slave labor systems in the history of humankind, and

WHEREAS, employers, by hook or crook, maintained the Bracero Program until 1964, when Congress finally brought it to an end after much pressure and outrage from th Labor movement, the church, and other liberal and progressive elements in the Unit States, and

WHEREAS, in June, 1977, the President of the United States, with the assistance of the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and over the object of the Department of Labor, imported more than 800 Bracero laborers to work in the fields surrounding Presidio, Texas, and

WHEREAS, the administration's action threatens a reimposition of the hated and feared Bracero Program, and

WHEREAS, in 1976 the California Legislature passed Assembly Joint Resolution No. 5 memorializing Congress and the President against any renewal of the Bracero Progra

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the membership of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, sitting in convention in Fresno, California, that this organization call the attention of the President and the Congress the tremendous danger inherent in reinstating any form of the Bracero Program, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the entire membership of this union, both collectively and individually, seek support from the non-farm worker community in the United St to impress on the President the scope and meaning of this grave error he committed.

(ESPAÑOL, EN EL REVERSO)

Volante de El Malcriado No. 11, 7 de julio de 1975

Carta Abierta A Todos Los Trabajadores Campesinos

Unámonos como hermanos
que nadie nos vencerá
si quieren esclavizarnos
jamás lo podrán lograr;
el fruto será de todos
también será nuestro el pan,
justicia habrá para todos
y habrá también libertad.
Luchemos por los derechos
que todos deben tener
luchemos por lo que es nuestro
que nadie nos va a vencer.
Unámonos como hermanos
que nadie nos vencerá
si quieren esclavizarnos
jamás lo podrán lograr.

Durante 13 años hemos estado luchando, con los sacrificios y el valor de miles de campesinos, reclamando justicia para todos. Y no fue en vano. Por primera vez en la historia del país, hay una ley campesina que cambiará las cosas en los files.

Esta ley cayó como piedra en el pozo. Pero para que esta ley sea realmente efectiva es necesaria la unidad de todos los campesinos.

Quemar los puentes que vamos dejando atrás, significa olvidar nuestras divisiones, ofensas, rencores; significa que tenemos que limpiar nuestros corazones de todo lo viejo y marchar hacia adelante bajo el sol de esta nueva ley.

Tenemos que recordar que nuestra raíz es la misma, nuestros problemas son los mismos, nuestras esperanzas las mismas. Tenemos que recordar que nuestros explotadores quieren que estemos divididos y ellos nos dividen para mantenernos bajo el yugo de la opresión.

Tenemos que tener en cuenta, hermanas y hermanos, que la unión hace la fuerza, y que esta ley nos da — desde ahora mismo — la oportunidad y el poder para unirnos todos.

Huelguistas y no huelguistas; filipinos, negros, mejicanos, blancos: trabajadores inmigrantes o quién sea; cada campesino y todos los campesinos debemos unir nuestras fuerzas para levantar de veras nuestra Unión.

La Unión de Campesinos pertenece a todo campesino. Es tuya, hermano, que estás en la huelga desde hace tiempo. Es tuya, hermano, que quebraste la huelga porque los viles rancheros te engañaron y utilizaron. Es tuya, hermano, que viniste de tierras lejanas en busca del trabajo decente que se te negó. Es tuya, hermana, que sudas y sufres en los files para que tus hijos tengan alimento y no sufran.

¡Ahora es el momento! Levantémosnos y marchemos tomados de la mano; bien juntos, para que nadie de afuera nos separe; bien juntos para que nuestra Unión crezca.

¡Hoy es el tiempo! Unidos en la lucha, unidos en la esperanza, unidos en el destino, haremos gloriosa nuestra Unión, haremos glorioso nuestro movimiento.

Viva La Causa,

César Chávez

UNION LABEL

¡Que Siga el Boicoteo de las Uvas, Lechuga, y Vinos Gallo!

El Malcriado Leaflet Series, No. 11, July 7, 1975

An Open Letter to Farm Workers from Cesar Chavez

This is an historic time. We are at the crossroads. For 13 years we have been struggling, but not in vain. Because of the sacrifices made by many farm workers and others we now have a law which will make things different. This will be the first step in ridding us of the yoke of exploitation.

But the law is only the first step. Much work will be required. And the first task will be the labor of reconciliation among ourselves.

The farm worker law necessitates unity among all farm workers, strikers and non strikers, Blacks, Mexicans, Filipinos, Whites, workers, whether they be citizens or immigrants, so that we can at last found a Farm Workers Union.

It must be a union that reaches out to all farm workers. The new law gives us that right. But we can take advantage of it only is we are organized and united.

First of all, we have to recognize that we are all farm workers. We have to recognize that we all have the same needs and the same destiny.

For the last three years we have, at times, fallen into the trap of allowing the exploiters to divide us — some of us on one side and the rest of us on the other. Now, with the help of the law, we have the opportunity and the power to unite.

But to take advantage of this historic opportunity we have to put aside the hatreds, the factionalism, the insults and the animosities of times past. We must remember that we have the same origins, we have common difficulties, we have the same hopes for our children's future; and only through unity can those hopes be realized.

The common good of each and every one of our families consists in and can be brought about only through the common good of all of our families.

The United Farm Workers Union belongs to all farm workers, to all who suffer and who await a better day. The offices of the union are open to all farm workers.

To remain trapped in stages of the struggle already past is to serve only those interests that oppress us.

We have all committed errors since to err is human. But we have to recognize that mistakes are not the consequence of any difference between us but are the result of misunderstanding. Now, under the light of the new law, we must see one another anew.

Brothers and sisters, we have arrived at the threshold of a new epoch in the glorious farm worker movement.

And in the process of reaching this new epoch all, in the heat of the struggle, have committed errors. But we have learned and have thereby freed ourselves from them.

Brothers and sisters, now is the time when we, correcting our errors and overcoming the divisiveness of the past, can build a truly democratic union which is of, for, and by farm workers without the interference of outside interests

Viva La Causa,

Cesar Chavez

Boycott Grapes, Lettuce &

UNION LABEL

United Farm Workers of America
La Paz
Keene, California 93531

Cesar E. Chavez, President

My dear friend,

For most Americans, the holiday season is a time to celebrate with friends and loved ones, and to enjoy the bounty and security with which our nation is blessed.

But as many farm worker families prepare to observe the first anniversary of their bitter strike against California and Arizona lettuce growers, the end of 1979 is a time for renewed sacrifice and rededication to a long and difficult struggle. For, as you know, we are once again pitted against wealthy corporate growers seeking to crush the democratic union we have built with your help.

Although some lettuce growers have negotiated new contracts, many still refuse to come to terms with the workers' just demands. As talks opened a year ago, farm workers sought to end a long history of low wages and improve medical and other contract benefits.

The growers responded to the workers with massive strike-breaking, brutal repression....and bullets. The strike has left a legacy of heartbreak and suffering: one young farm worker, the father of two small children, shot to death and his killers set free. Dozens of picketing farm workers severely beaten and abused by armed foremen and hired guns imported to break the strike. Families 11 and 12 months without a pay check.

The farm workers survive on meager strike benefits which the union provides, when it can, plus food trucked in by supporters in the cities.

Like the farm workers' movement itself, the strike involves the whole family. The women and children stand with the workers and share the hardships and deprivations.

For these families, the holiday season holds out little joy and little security. These men, women and children foresake the celebrations and pleasures of the season for an ideal which for them is as precious as life itself; an affirmation of their dignity and worth as important human beings.

That's what this strike is really about!

Because agribusiness still treats farm workers as if they are not important men and women. The buses and trucks they are transported in are old and unsafe. The fields are carelessly sprayed with dangerous pesticides. The laws that do exist are not enforced.

How long will it be before we take seriously the worth of the workers who harvest the food we eat?

For too long, agribusiness has amassed its wealth by forcing farm workers to accept starvation wages, substandard health and safety conditions, and inadequate or non-existant medical and retirement protections.

This inhuman treatment of farm workers and their families must end.

These are times of challenge for farm workers. Some who continue the strike in the Imperial Valley and others far away from home in strange cities organizing a boycott that gives added strength to the strike -- a boycott which we are convinced will help win the dignity and justice farm workers seek.

By asking consumers to boycott "Red Coach" label iceberg (head) lettuce we hope to convince Bruce Church, Inc., the world's third largest lettuce producer, to negotiate in good faith. "Red Coach" lettuce is wrapped in cellophane with the label clearly visible for shoppers.

The boycott is a tried and trusted tactic in our nonviolent struggle to overcome poverty and oppression. We know the boycott means hard work, long hours and separations from family and friends. But the farm workers are committed to this work until victory is won and justice is achieved.

Please help us. We need money to maintain our people on the picket lines as the winter lettuce harvest returns to California's Imperial Valley. We need money so the farm workers can take their boycott message to millions of supportive people across North America.

Your contribution will have meaning for poor people who are serious about changing the conditions that have caused them too much suffering for too long. You can help give them the resources and the will to keep struggling persistently and nonviolently for their place in the sun.

Thank you for your past concern and support. Your participation in the Chiquita banana boycott clearly helped end the dispute with Sun Harvest and other lettuce growers.

All good wishes this Christmas and Hanukkah season.

Your friend,

Cesar E. Chavez
December 1979

Chicago Tribune Wednesday, October 31, 1979

CHAVEZ STIRS UP NEW BOYCOTT SALAD

by ANNE KEEGAN

NINE O'CLOCK in the morning on Michigan Avenue and absolutely nobody is thinking about lettuce.

A cup of hot coffee, perhaps, and a roll. A glass of orange juice and a pot of steaming tea. Maybe even a Bloody Mary for an eye-opener. But lettuce? nobody.

Except there's a small familiar-looking man and a handful of followers lined up along the curb holding signs. They are thinking about lettuce.

THE SMALL man is beckoning to people on a bus. He holds a sign almost as big as he and points to it as the bus shows up and stops in front of him.

"Help Farmworkers" the sign reads: "Don't buy Red Coach Lettuce!"

The bus driver waves. Some passengers by the windows look straight through the man with the sign, unmoved by his attempts to get their attention. Other heads nod at him in recognition.

FOR IT IS Cesar Chavez standing there on the curb — raising the banner, riding the circuit, bringing another boycott in town.

"It is our 10th boycott," Chavez says, "and so far we are batting one thousand. We haven't lost one yet. How can you lose a boycott when you take all the time you need to win it?"

It has been several years since Chavez has toured the country raising public support for his union battles. He is back at it again now, using Chicago as his kickoff point for a Midwestern tour to promote the boycott of Red Coach Lettuce.

"How to tell it from other lettuce, that is our hurdle," Chavez says.

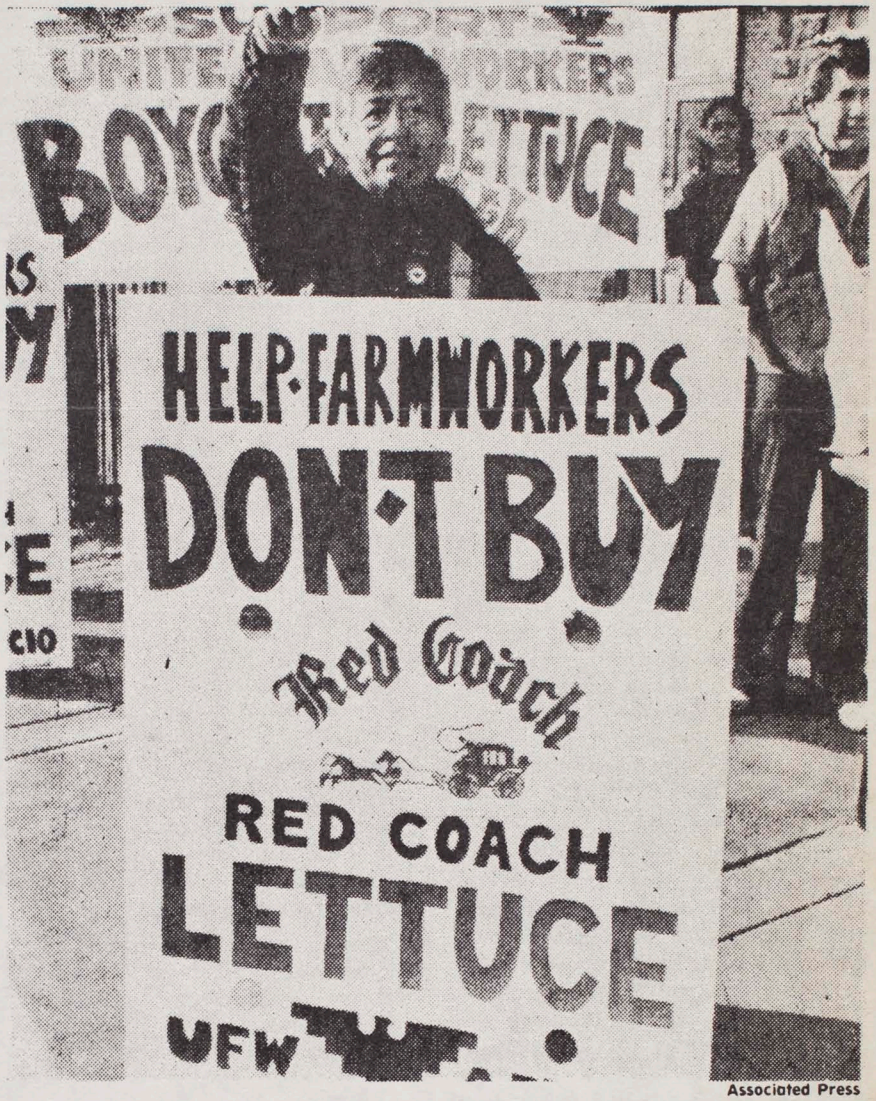
"American people aren't used to buying produce according to labels; this lettuce is wrapped in plastic and carried the Red Coach label on it," Chavez tells people on the street who stop and ask.

"If you don't know for sure, ask at the store you shop at."

CHAVEZ AND his California-based union of farm workers have called a boycott against Red Coach because, the union was striking and still trying to negotiate a contract, "the grower pulled in strike breakers — scabs to beat our strike," Chavez says. "So we called for a boycott."

"I DON'T cherish being a public speaker, being on television and radio programs — it's very tiring," he says.

"But whatever it takes, I'll do it. If I have to sit behind a desk, I'll do it. If I have to give speeches, I'll do it. If I have to walk the pavement, I'll do it. But it's on the street that I like it the most."



Associated Press

Chavez on tour

Farm leader Cesar Chavez protests in downtown Chicago yesterday in his first stop on a tour to promote a boycott of Red Coach lettuce.

Friday, April 27, 1979 The Enterprise Riverside, Calif.

ALRB charges lettuce firms caused breakdown in growers-union talks

SALINAS (UPI) — The Agricultural Labor Relations Board staff has accused 28 lettuce firms of causing a breakdown in negotiations between growers and the striking United Farm Workers Union. It was learned yesterday.

Investigators and lawyers for the board alleged that the 28 growers "failed and refused to bargain in good faith on economic issues such as wages and benefits."

Robert Dresser, spokesman for the ALRB, said the charges were filed after a "careful and intensive" investigation. He declined further comment.

Los Angeles Times Tues., April 24, 1979

Murder Charges Dismissed in UFW Striker's Death

By Evan Maxwell
Times Staff Writer

Murder charges were dismissed Monday against three men accused in the highly publicized shooting death of a striking United Farm Workers of America lettuce picker in the Imperial Valley last February.

Municipal Court Judge William Lenhardt dismissed the charges against the three men, all employes of one of the 11 growers struck by the UFW, on grounds of insufficient evidence.

UFW President Cesar Chavez, in a statement issued from the union's headquarters in Kern County, said he was "shocked" by the judge's action.

"I am very saddened for the power structure in Imperial County," Chavez said. "This is a blot on American justice."

Chavez added, "Grower gunmen have been sent a message that once again it is open season on farm workers who are on strike."

Judge Lenhardt refused to comment on his decision Monday, and no spokesman for Imperial County Dist. Atty. Fielding Kimball was available for comment.

SAN JOSE MERCURY May 25, 1979 Page 1

Alien swears growers imported him

By David Hoffman
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A 24-year old Mexican farmhand described for a Senate committee Thursday how a California produce company helped him cross the border illegally to work in the strikebound Salinas Valley lettuce fields.

Speaking in Spanish, Luis Gonzales testified along with United Farm Workers president Cesar Chavez during the second round of hearings by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee into the California lettuce strike.

On April 9, his first day at work in the Salinas field, Gonzales said, he and other workers were given phony Social Security numbers by the field boss. Gonzales said it was his duty to write the number down on each worker's employment form.

During his lunch break that day, Gonzales was approached by UFW pickets and decided to leave the farm and stay with the union, which then brought him to Washington to testify.

Chavez charged that Gonzales' odyssey was typical of hundreds of illegal aliens who are being smuggled across the border to break his union's strike against 11 California lettuce growers.

Saturday, September 1, 1979, Los Angeles Herald Examiner

UFW wins settlement in lettuce strike

Pact with largest grower announced; United Brands boycott called off

SALINAS (AP) — The United Farm Workers won a major victory yesterday in the seven-month-old lettuce strike, announcing a tentative contract with Sun Harvest, largest of California's lettuce growers.

UFW president Cesar Chavez immediately called off a boycott against United Brands, the firm's parent company.

The boycott of Chiquita bananas and all the products of United Brands company, including A & W Root Beer and John Morrell Meats, is officially ended," Chavez said.

Chavez said the union's resources will "now be focused on the international boycott of (non union) iceberg lettuce, specifically...lettuce produced by Bruce Church Inc. and marketed under the Red Coach label."

Lester Pollack, vice chairman of the board of United Brands, said, "We are very pleased the prolonged strike was ended. The settlement...is fair and equitable to both sides and the union and the company are on a very positive track."

Sunday, September 16, 1979
THE WASHINGTON POST *Page 1*

Doubts Raised By Transcript of Dismissed Case

By Lou Cannon and Carl Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writers

EL CENTRO, Calif. — Last February, in a lettuce field near this desert town just above the Mexican border, a striking farmworker named Rufino Contreras trespassed and was shot to death.

The killing came at a critical time in the Imperial Valley lettuce strike. It drew national attention and it sparked demands for justice from Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers. But 2½ months later, when the strike and the attention had moved elsewhere, murder and assault charges against three men accused of the killing were unexpectedly dismissed.

At no time, however, has the case been dismissed in the minds of the Contreras family — Rufino's widow Rosa, his brother Luis, his father Lorenzo. Now their concern is shared by others who have examined a recently prepared transcript of the preliminary hearing in El Centro Municipal Court, where the dismissal occurred.

The transcript has deepened the suspicions of those who thought that the case merited a trial by jury. Among other things, the transcript revealed that the prosecutor, Imperial County District Attorney Fielding Kimball, had not even attempted to make a closing argument, urging that the defendants be tried.

Judge William E. Lehnhardt, who once defended his dismissal ruling on strictly legal grounds, now acknowledges that Kimball's attitude helped influence the outcome. Asked whether the lack of argument was significant, the judge replied, "That helped — the D.A. didn't care."

Meanwhile, Rosa Contreras, Rufino's widow, waits for word that the case will be reopened. While it has been eight months since her husband's killing and she has only vague assurances that there will be a new investigation to sustain her hopes, she believes her husband's killer will be brought to justice.

FROM: Manuel R. Martinez, OFM

DATE: July 25, 1977

I am writing to share with you some information.

The establishment of an adequate minimum wage for working people faces a major legislative struggle this year. The Coalition for a Minimum Wage has issued A Call for a coalition to work for a fair wage rate, one that will raise the incomes of full time workers above the poverty level defined by government. Workers earning the prevailing minimum of $2.30 per hour are 61 cents below the level needed just to bring them to the federal poverty level income for a family of four. In fact, an increase of 53 cents an hour is needed just to restore the buying power loss since 1974, when the minimum wage law was last amended. PADRES is a participant in the Coalition for a Fair Minimum Wage. Send enclosed card to Congress and the White House.

We have also been invited, by Jose Angel Gutierrez, Zavala County, Texas, judge, to a Call For Action Conference, October 28-30, 1977, on immigration and related issues, We have accepted.

Fr. Roberto Pena, our President, has also accepted a sponsoring position on the Board of Centro de Inmigracion in Washington.

Enclosed you will find a copy of Blueprint (April, 1977) which printed a letter of 23 theologians of the Pontifical Faculty of the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley to Archbishop Jean Jadot, the Apostolic Delegate in the United States. Because it is such a significant dissent, we thought of sending it to you; to relate to one of our resolutions at the last Congress.

PADRES has been invited by the Secretariat for the Spanish Speaking Office to participate in the preparation of the Segundo Encuentro Nacional Hispano on August 18-21, 1977. More specially, I have been serving in the National Co-ordinating Committee which has met on several occassions to discuss the on-going work and preparations for the II Encuentro. As a movement, PADRES has been granted two delegates --- Fr. Roberto Pena and myself.

The Texas Region voted to support the efforts of the Texas Farm Workers. In their march from San Juan to Austin, Texas during Lent several PADRES members joined them in their walk and celebration of masses. On July 18, 1977, the T.F.W. started their Human Rights March to Washington, D.C. to ask for their right to organize as Farm Workers and for the repeal of the Right-to-Work Law. Fr. Pena joined them for three days in Louisiana. The U.F.W. fo America are requesting financial aid to continue their efforts in Union Elections. Please Send them your financial help to California.

FARMWORKER DATA NETWORK

A Colorado Migrant Council Component

LA ONDA CAMPESINA by lalo 2-19-79

HISTORY: HUD TURNED OUT A REPORT ON HOUSING FOR HISPANICS AND WE PARAPHRASE FROM THEIR SPANISH VERSION---IT REMAINS, THEN, THAT IT IS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAT OF ALL THE SPANISH SECTORS, THE PUERTO RICANS, AND THE MEXICAN AMERICANS, IN THAT ORDER, HAVE THE GREATEST PROBLEM IN SECURING ADEQUATE HOMES.

HISTORY: FROM EL MALCRIADO, JUNE 1, 1970, COVER QUOTE,---DELANO GRAPE GROWER SAYS---I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED AT THIS POINT THAT CESAR CHAVEZ AND HIS UNION ARE HERE TO STAY.

WASH. D.C.: HOW IRONIC THAT 1,350 FARMERS HERE WENT THROUGH A SERIES OF POLICE CONFRONTATION AND ARRESTS CLAIMING THEIR RIGHTS TO "BLOCK TRAFFIC" WERE DENIED--THEY ARE HIGHLY UNSENSITIVE TO THE RIGHTS OF FARMWORKERS WHO ARE BY FAR IN WORSE SHAPE ECONOMICALLY TOO.

CALIFORNIA: LA PAZ/KEENE -- UFA UNDER PUBLIC ATTACK FOR ALLEGEDLY BLOWING ALMOST TWO MILLION BUCKS OF FEDERAL FUNDS. ALL BUT ONE TENTH OF ONE PERCENT OF WHAT GROWERS GET IN TERMS OF TAX BUCKS. ON THE STRIKE SCENE, RUFINO MIJANGOS CONTRERAS 27, OF MEXICALI, MEXICO WAS SHOT TO DEATH BY AN UNKNOWN "REPLACEMENT WORKER".

NEW YORK: ON SEPTEMBER 7, 8, AND 9 THE ORGANIZERS COMMITTEE, AND COALITION OF PUERTO RICANS, CHICANOS, INDIANS AND BLACKS WILL STAGE A MAJOR DEMONSTRATION AGAINST POLICE AND MIGRA REPRESSION MORE DETAILS LATER..

WASH. D.C.: D.O.L. IS BEING SERVED NOTICE THAT LA COOPERATIVA CAMPESINA OF CALIFORNIA HAS RETAINED MR. NOEL FLOREZ OF THE FIRM BROASBERG, HEWES, FINKELSTEIN, AND FLOREZ TO SEE ABOUT THE LAST QUARTER OF MIGRANT FUNDS.

ARIZONA: LUPE SANCHEZ, JESUS ROMO, AND GUS GUTIERREZ RUN MARICOPA COUNTY ORGANIZING PROGRAM AND PRESENTLY ARE STRIKING TWO CITRUS GROWERS IN THE SAME COUNTY. VENTURA, GUTIERREZ, AND PABLO CARRIZALES OUT OF COCHELLA, CALIFORNIA ARE ALSO ORGANIZING VEGETABLE WORKERS AND MINORS.

7905 West 44th Avenue • Wheatridge, Colorado 80033 • (303) 425-1532

NEWS FROM UFW

UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
LA PAZ, KEENE, CA 93531 (805) 822-5571

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

CONTACT: Marc Grossman
Vicki Lopez

FOR RELEASE: March, 1979

FARM WORKERS TURN TO BOYCOTT AS GROWERS TRY TO BREAK UNION; CESAR CHAVEZ URGES CHIQUITA BANANA BOYCOTT IN U.S. TOUR

The United Farm Workers of America has returned to a successful tactic--the nationwide consumer boycott--in response to a campaign by lettuce growers that the union says is aimed at breaking the UFW.

UFW President Cesar Chavez is rallying support behind the farm workers' boycott of Chiquita bananas in a tour of major U.S. cities. Chiquita bananas are produced by United Brands Company (formally United Fruit), the international conglomerate that owns Sun Harvest, Inc., the nation's largest iceburg lettuce producer and the UFW's chief target in a bitter strike that has already seen one union striker murdered.

Chavez says the Chiquita banana boycott is necessary because lettuce growers--and Sun Harvest in particular--"are out to break the union."

"What began as a strike to win decent wages and benefits has become a strike to save the union," the UFW president says. "Instead of engaging the farm workers in good faith negotiations," Chavez says the employers have sent professional recruiters to three states and Mexico to import strikebreakers. The UFW leader says growers have used rural sheriff's deputies and rural courts to all but deny the UFW's ability to picket.

"Rural police agencies, heavily armed private security guards, and armed company foremen have beaten, clubbed, maced, and tear gassed peaceful pickets," Chavez says. Deputies from five counties have massed

in strike areas to harrass pickets, he states.

Sun Harvest has boasted it is recruiting strikebreakers to replace striking UFW members, and on March 14, Sun Harvest executives announced the company mailed written notices firing its 1,200 striking employees.

The growers hired public relations expert Bill Roberts--who ran the Reagan and Ford campaigns--to polish the growers' image. Roberts formed white "citizens committees" composed of Anglo townspeople to aid the growers. Soon Anglo teenagers, recruited on high school campuses, and friends and relatives of the growers taunted picketing farm workers while they unsuccessfully tried to harvest the struck lettuce.

And amidst rising Anglo-Chicano racial tension, the Ku Klux Klan announced it had stationed its members among growers' supporters and offered attack-trained dogs and "security forces" to battle strikers.

On February 10, 1979, UFW member Rufino Contreras, 27, was shot in the face with a .38 caliber bullet when he and a small group of unarmed strikers attempted to speak with imported strikebreakers in a Mario Saikhon lettuce field near El Centro, Calif. Three Saikhon foremen, who caught the men in a deadly cross fire, are awaiting trial on murder charges.

The company gunmen kept Contreras' fellow workers--including his father and brother--from going to his aid for more than an hour with continuing gunfire as he lay dying in the lettuce field.

The strike, which began January 19 in Southern California's Imperial Valley, effectively idled nearly 5,000 farm workers at 11 companies which account for 35-40 per cent of the nation's winter lettuce production. By April, the strike will have spread to Northern California's lush Salinas Valley.

The UFW has filed charges with California's farm labor board against

Sun Harvest and other growers for refusing to bargain in good faith. The employers insist on observing President Carter's 7 per cent wage-price guidelines despite the fact growers are exempt from the price guidelines (producers of unprocessed foods are excluded) and most UFW members are exempt from the wage guidelines (workers earning $4 per hour or less are released--55-60 per cent of the lettuce workers are excluded).

Most lettuce workers who earn an hourly wage make $3.70 per hour. A 7 per cent increase would give them $3.96 per hour, still below the president's $4 exemption. Field laborers working on the piece earn 57¢ per box, up from 40¢ per box in 1970. But when inflation is taken into account, the piece rate workers are making 6.4¢ less per box than they earned nine years ago.

The growers contribute 16½¢ per hour to the union's medical plan, one/fifth the size of the average contribution to a California workers' health plan; 7 per cent of 16½¢ per hour is almost nothing.

"When the growers limit their profits to 7 per cent, we will limit our wages to 7 per cent," Chavez says. In eight years, lettuce growers made $195 million in profits after costs. Last season alone in Salinas producers cleared $71 million on sales of $201 million. Imperial Valley growers increased lettuce prices by 110 per cent over last season.

The boycott is a tried and trusted UFW strategy that has enabled the farm workers to draw on a depth of backing from a broad coalition of supporters throughout the country. A 1975 nationwide Louis Harris poll showed that 17 million American adults boycotted grapes for the UFW, 14 million boycotted lettuce, and 11 million boycotted Gallo wines.

"The boycott of Chiquita bananas will force Sun Harvest to face the farm workers in the cities as well as in the fields," Chavez says.

-30-

CHRONOLOGY OF LETTUCE STRIKE

August 26, 1978--Nearly 150 farm worker delegates representing most California-Arizona vegetable growers under UFW contract meet at the union's La Paz headquarters to prepare for upcoming negotiations; delegates elect a 10-member Negotiating Committee to bargain with growers when talks begin.

November 27, 1978--Negotiations start; UFW submits contract proposals.

January 1, 1979--UFW contracts expire; workers' Negotiating Committee grants 15 day extension of contracts.

January, 1979--Growers hire Bill Roberts of Dolphin Group--top public relations expert who ran Reagan and Ford campaigns--to handle grower PR.

January 15, 1979--Fifteen day extension ends; contracts expire.

January 18, 1979--Growers announce they will observe President Carter's 7 per cent wage-price guidelines and offer only 7 per cent for all wage and non-wage economics for each of three years of a proposed contract.

January 19, 1979--UFW members at California Coastal Farms strike; by late January, workers at eight companies have walked off their jobs.

January 23, 1979--Growers hold press conference in San Diego to announce public support for President Carter's wage-price guidelines; they say the industry "needs to sign something within 7 per cent," despite the fact growers are exempt from price guidelines (all producers of unprocessed foods are excluded) and most UFW members are exempt from wage guidelines (workers earning $4 or less per hour are excluded--55-60 per cent of lettuce workers earn less than $4 per hour).

January 19-26, 1979--Strike peaceful; struck companies completely shutdown.

January 27, 1979-on--PR man Roberts and growers use Anglo school children and grower friends in futile attempt to harvest struck lettuce; growers assault, intimidate strikers with heavily armed private security guards; Roberts forms "Citizens Committees" composed of Anglo townspeople to aid growers; Anglo-Chicano racial tension in valley reaches all time high; Ku Klux Klan offers growers help, says it has stationed members in strike affected areas.

February, 1979--Teamsters Joint Council 42 (representing truck drivers) and Meatcutters Union(representing packingshed workers) sanction farm workers' strike in Imperial Valley.

February 9, 1979--Workers at two additional companies--Admiral Packing and giant Bruce Church--walk out on strike.

February 10, 1979--UFW striker Rufino Contreras, 27, brutally murdered at Mario Saikhon lettuce field; three Saikhon foremen charged with murder in the shooting death.

February 11, 1979--UFW President Cesar Chavez declares moritorium on picketing until burial of Contreras.

February 12, 1979--10,000-12,000 farm workers at the valley's 40 major grower-shippers of lettuce engage in one day valley-wide work stoppage in memory of slain striker.

February 14, 1979--8,000 farm workers follow Rufino Contreras' casket to cemetary in Calexico; workers at all Imperial Valley ranches stay away from work in solidarity with UFW martyr.

February 20, 1979--Anti-farm worker violence intensifies: private security guards and sheriff's deputies tear gas, charge picketing farm workers at Maggio field; UFW terms incident "police riot"; deputies from five adjoining sheriff's departments converge in Imperial Valley to harrass, intimidate UFW strikers; struck growers dispatch professional recruiters to import strikebreakers from California, Arizona, Texas, and Mexico.

February 21, 1979--Growers reshuffle wage position to give appearance of flexibility; offer 11 per cent first year but only 6 per cent second and 4 per cent third year; total over three years equals original offer of 7 per cent per year.

February 27, 1979--Cesar Chavez declares international boycott of Chiquita bananas, product of United Brands conglomerate which owns Sun Harvest, Inc., largest U.S. lettuce producer and chief UFW strike target; union cites Sun Harvest's recruitment of professional strike-breakers, company's use of rural courts and police agencies to curtail UFW's ability to picket, and Sun Harvest's failure to bargain in good faith.

March 1, 1979--UFW files massive unfair labor practice charges with California farm labor board against Sun Harvest and 27 other growers the union has been negotiating with since November 27, 1978; farm workers accuse growers of bad faith bargaining, cite employers' refusal to budge from 7 per cent offer, refusal to explain rejection of UFW contract proposals and failure to offer counter proposals.

March 14, 1979--Sun Harvest executives publicly announce company is firing all UFW strikers.

UNITED FARM WORKERS of AMERICA AFL-CIO
National Headquarters: La Paz, Keene, California 93531
(805) 822-5571

March 20, 1979

Letters to the Editor
Los Angeles Times
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, CA 90053

Dear Editor:

We feel compelled to speak out at the attempt by Harry Bernstein and Ronald Taylor to cast doubt upon the sincerity of our belief in nonviolence. The gist of the contention in their March 19 article on the United Farm Workers is that by failing to issue public statements, and fast and march to Sacramento, we have forsaken our historic stand against violence. They appear to speculate as to the reasons why.

Perhaps this is one forum we can use to answer that contention. How many Imperial Valley growers suffered shotgun wounds during the current vegetable strike as did farm worker Jose Luiz Guerrero? How many Imperial Valley growers had their legs crushed by private security guards' cars as did farm worker Isauro Lopez? How many Imperial Valley growers' skulls were fractured by club-wielding hired goons as was farm worker Dayid Hernandez? How many Imperial Valley growers were smashed to the ground by strange sheriff's helicopters suddenly sweeping down upon them as was farm worker Gustavo Villareal?

And finally, who among the growers took a .38 caliber bullet through his brain and poured out his life's blood in the lettuce fields of the Imperial Valley as did 27-year old farm worker Rufino Contreras?

Another question, gentlemen. In thinking the whole thing over, did it ever occur to you that perhaps this time the ones who must raise their voices against violence, along with ours, the ones who must march in our footsteps on the long road to Sacramento and fast in our cubicle against murder, this time, must be those who are responsible for it?

When will the Times call upon the growers to make the same lifelong commitment against violence that the farm workers have observed all these years?

Sincerely yours,

Cesar E. Chavez
President

CEC/ew

MAYO-JUNIO de 1971 VOL. XXI No.

PANORAMA ECONOMICO

Publicación Bimestral del SISTEMA BANCOS DE COMERCIO

CONTENIDO

TOPICOS FINANCIEROS — PERFIL DEMOGRAFICO DE MEXICO (II), DINAMICA DE LA OCUPACION — POBLACION ECONOMICAMENTE ACTIVA DE MEXICO — PROCESO DE URBANIZACION EN MEXICO — APENDICE ESTADISTICO.

TOPICOS FINANCIEROS*

Mucho me honra asistir a esta Sesión-Comida con que cierran sus trabajos sobre financiamiento. Tengo la certeza, conociendo la acuciosidad y el empeño que siempre pone la Cámara Americana de Comercio de México en todo lo que hace, que los frutos del seminario habrán sido muy jugosos; que les serán ya familiares el cómo y el porqué de la obtención del financiamiento en nuestro país.

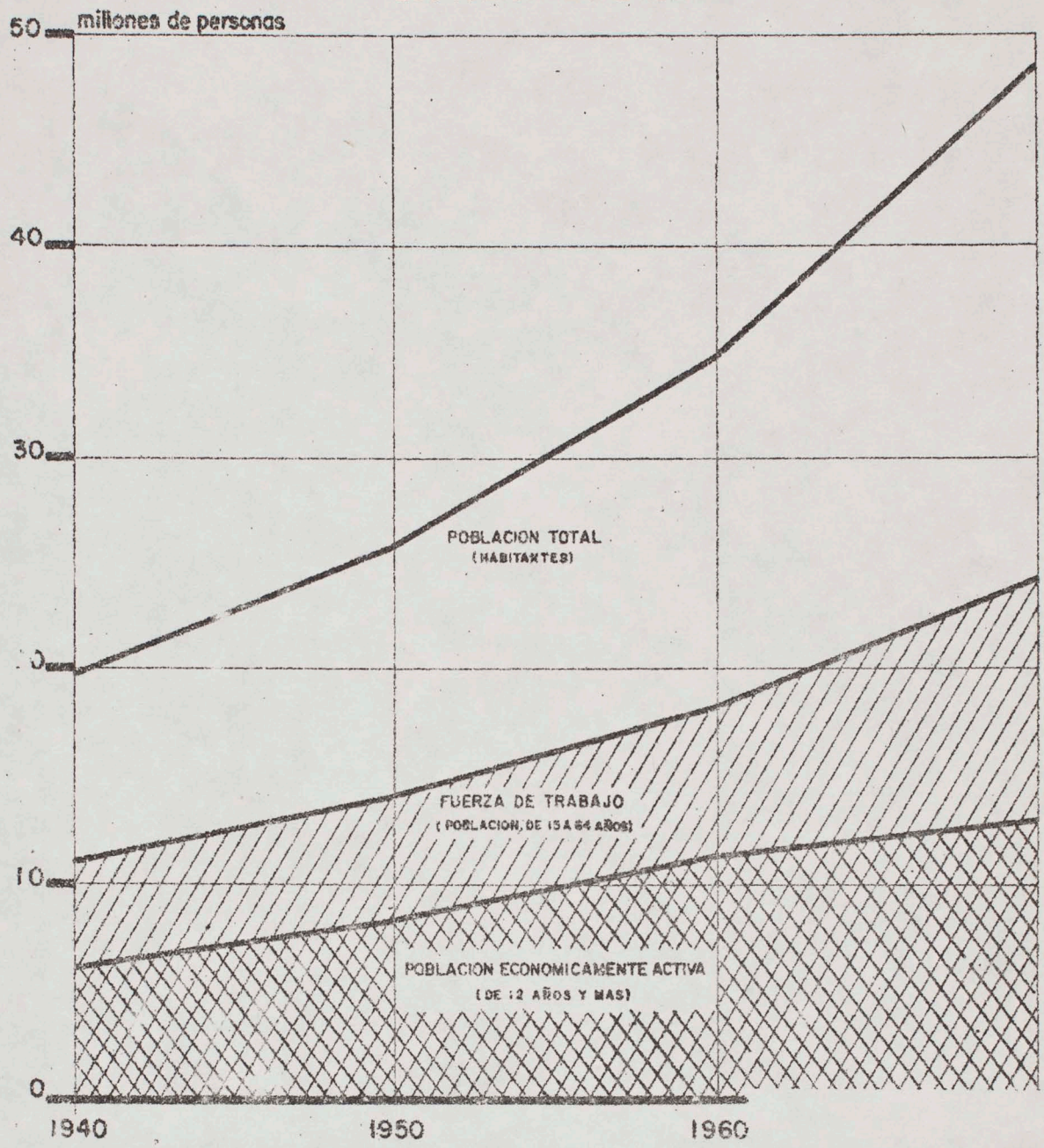
No pretendo, pues, en esta ocasión, hablarles de préstamos de habilitación o de créditos refaccionarios; o de la documentación que se requiere para obtener fondos bancarios y de otro tipo. Sería incurrir en repeticiones inútiles. En lugar de describirles aspectos mecánicos del financiamiento, lo que hoy quiero hacer es abordar algunos temas estrechamente ligados con los problemas financieros. Temas como la bolsa de valores y las implicaciones financieras de la política económica del gobierno. También trataré, aunque superficialmente y a riesgo de que ya las hayan examinado, algunas novedades en materia financiera para las empresas que operan en México y me permitiré hacer una que otra reflexión sobre la estrategia que en este campo deben seguir las compañías extranjeras en nuestro país.

MEXICO: RELACIONES ENTRE POBLACION TOTAL, FUERZA DE TRABAJO Y POBLACION ECONOMICAMENTE ACTIVA

Años	Población total (Habitantes)	Fuerza de trabajo (Población de 15 a 64 años)	Población económicamente activa (De 12 años y más)	Fuerza de trabajo como porciento de la población total	Población económicamente activa como porciento de la fuerza de trabajo	Tasa de actividad de la población %
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4) (2) / (1)	(5) (3) / (2)	(6) (3) / (1)
1940	19 653 552	10,966 375	5 858 116	55.8	53.4	29.8
1950	25 791 017	14 123 595	8 272 093	54.8	58.6	32.1
1960	34 923 129	18 182 444	11 275 309	54.1	62.0	32.2
1970	48 377 363	24 219 963	12 994 332	50.1	53.7	26.9

FUENTE. Elaborado por el Departamento de Estudios Económicos del Banco de Comercio, con datos de los Censos Generales de Población de los años indicados.

MEXICO: POBLACION TOTAL, FUERZA DE TRABAJO Y POBLACION ECONOMICAMENTE ACTIVA



FUENTE: ELABORADO POR EL DEPARTAMENTO DE ESTUDIOS ECONOMICOS DEL BANCO DE COMERCIO, CON DATOS DE LOS CENSOS GENERALES DE POBLACION DE LOS AÑOS INDICADOS.

OLIGARQUIA MEXICANA: CRISIS Y REVOLUCION

Lino Medina

La Crisis De Estructura Que Padece El Pais

El pais vive en la actualidad una situacion economica dificil. La multiplicacion del producto en ocho veces durante los ultimos treinta anos no han significado bonanza general, ni mucho menos. Puede hablarse de un periodo de "prosperidad" burgesa relativa hasta mediados de los anos cincuenta, momento hasta el cual tuvieron vigencia las reformas de estructura realizadas en el periodo aparecer fenomenos conflictivos en las relaciones de produccion. Los ritmos de crecimiento marchan en zig zags, las instalaciones industriales bajan en su grado de utilizacion hasta alcanzar un 60%, sobreviene de manera creciente el fenomeno del desempleo masivo, se agudiza la contradiccion entre la ciudad y el campo, se acentua el subconsumo de las masas populares reduciendose en terminos relativos el mercado interno; el mercado exterior se mantiene en un bajo porcentaje de intercambio, se infla colosalmente la deuda exterior y se mantiene y fomenta la dependencia hacia un solo mercado exterior.

Sigue operando durante este largo periodo, con ligeros cambios, una politica y una legislacion industrial, comercial, bancaria y fiscal que corresponde a otras situaciones y que por lo mismo, traba el propio desarrollo burgues.

Hemos senalado en otra parte la elevada concentracion industrial, pero insistimos, esto no supone que la monolizacion haya sido completa, que pone que la monolizacion haya sido completa, que se haya creado la amplia gama de los monopolios en las diversas ramas de la produccion, se trata solo de un gigantismo monopolista en varias ramas de la produccion, pues en algunas casi no existe y en otras mas esta poco desarrollado, habiendo varios monopolios extranjeros. La alta concentracion de la produccion industrial en pocas empresas se explica tanto por el excesivo desarrollo de algunos monopolios como por el escaso desarrollo industrial en general del pais. Se trata, quepa la expresion, de un "monopolismo subdesarrollado", protegido, y que, por lo mismo, traba el paso, aunque lento, hacia una economia desarrollada.

Las deformaciones del proceso de monopolizacion han llevado al gobierno a tomar medidas para corregir la politica economica que en alguna consideracion las explican; como es la proteccion a sectores industriales que si antes lo requirieron, mantenerla es una traba al desarrollo, y en cambio dar facilidades fiscales y crediticias a los capitalistas que inviertan en el conjunto de ramas industriales verdaderamente nuevas y en todas aquellas cuya ampliacion y desarrollo se reviertan tanto en el impulso del mercado interno como del mercado exterior. De este modo, en un proceso de competencia se abren las puertas a las mas amplias lineas productivas, y ya despues vendra de manera "natural" su monopolizacion, como ha ocurrido con otras, aunque ya desde ahora varios grupos monopolistas abren otras lineas de produccion.

Se trata, pues, de una crisis estructural burguesa, de la que podra salirse dada su profundidad al cabo de varios anos, si antes el descontento de las masas no irrumpe en estallido revolucionario.

Un momento muy agudo de esa crisis ha tenido lugar el ano pasado. Haciendo un balance muy resumido de los hechos puede decirse lo siguiente:

En el examen del primer semestre de ese ano los analistas del Banco Nacional de Mexico senalaron: "los pagos se hicieron pesados y con retraso, fue menor el crecimiento de la captacion de recursos en bancos y financieras, hubo dificultades para conseguir credito . . . lentitud en la demanda de bienes de consumo intermedio y final, y principalmente duraderos".

En el mismo semestre tuvimos decrementos en varios renglones de la produccion; camiones 27.2%, cobre electrolitico 4.1%.

En los primeros ocho meses se redujo la prodoccion de varilla corrugada en 9.8% tubo de acero sin costuras 4.9%. La produccion de acero bajo en 11% en los primeros 10 meses. Una gran empresa siderurgica, la Fundicion de Fierro y Acero tuvo una baja de 17% en ese lapso.

En los meses de enero a agosto disminuyo el volumen de obras de construccion en 10 mil millones de pesos con relacion al mismo periodo de 1970, de acuerdo a informaciones de la CAMACINTRA.

El comercio en general dismuinuyo sus ventas. El Presidente de la Asociacion de Automoviles nuevos y usados senalo que en los primeros 8 meses, las ventas de estos habian descendido en un 60% en un volumen anual de cuatro mil millones de pesos.

El volumen de ventas del comercio en general descendio en un 12% en los meses de enero a octubre de 1971 con respecto al mismo periodo del ano anterior conforme lo declarado por la CANACO. Business Trend, senalo que en un periodo de 12 meses que cerro en julio, los banco hicieron operaciones en un 7% menor que en el mismo periodo de 1970.

Muchos de los hechos anteriores y algunos mas hicieron decir en octubre pasada al Presidente de la Asociacion de Industriales del estado de Mexico, segun version de EL SOL DE MEXICO, una fuerte crisis sacude a la industria del pais, no hay consumo suficiente y en el mercado externo ha decaido las exportaciones, las bodegas se llenan de articulos comerciales sin salida, se recortan las jornadas de trabajo y hay reajustes de obreros".

Los indices presentados no cedieron en todo el curso del ano sino que la situacion empeoro. Los problemas del pais, al menos en ese ano, no tuvieron lugar con agravamiento de fenomenos negativos en el comercio exterior, pues como hemos visto, aunque en porcentajes limitados, aumentaron las exportaciones y disminuyeron las importaciones.

En el enjuiciamiento de la situacion economica del ano, Terrones Langone, Presidente de la CAMA CINTRA, dijo: "El pais no resistira otro ano como el de 1971", Miguel Blanquez, Presidente de la CONCANACO refiro en enero de 1972 que en el ano anterior las operaciones comerciales registraron "Una alarmante acumulacion de inventarios", agregando que "el 70% de los establecimientos comerciales manifestaron haber registrado descenso en sus operaciones comerciales, el 10% tuvieron el mismo nivel y el 20% tuvo aumentos" respecto de 1970.

La critica situacion economica del pais en su aguda manifestacion durante el ano de 1971 se reflejo en el balance ofrecido en el informe anual del Banco de Mexico. A diferencia de anos anteriores no se determino con fijeza el volumen del producto nacional y se dijo que esto podria hacerse hasta mediados del ano actual, senalando tentativamente que el PNB habia crecido entre 3.2% y 4.2% lo que representa un descenso brusco en relacion con anos anteriores.

El cuadro de la situacion puede rubricarse con el estado que guardo el presupuesto federal. El deficit presupuestal aumento considerablemente, durante los primeros ocho meses se recaudaron tres mil millones menos de lo previsto y se erogaron tres mil millones mas por encima del presupuesto, lo que sumado a los 10 mil millones de pesos anuales en que extraoficialmente se calcula el deficit normal, da un total de 16 mil millones de pesos.

En definitiva durante 1971 un conjunto de ramas importantes redujeron en porcentajes considerables su produccion: carros de ferrocarril 22.8%, varilla corrugada 8.5%, sulfato de amonio 6.3%. En bienes de consumo, la cerveza 22.6% y televisores 9.3%.

Las actividades pesqueras en especies comestibles descendieron 9.5%. En mineria se redujo la produccion en la mayoria de los productos. El oro y la plata bajaron en 23.9% y 16.1% respectivamente. Los no metalicos como el azufre 14.9% (Bol. Inf. Cont. Ests. Ec. Sector Privado).

Lopez Morton, Presidente de la CANACO examinando la situacion de los primeros meses de 1972, dijo que la "atonia" continuaba.

En el informe del Banco Mexicano se afirma que en el comportamiento de la Economia en 1971 a los factores de la orden circunstancial se han superpuesto los desequilibrios basicos.

Durante el primer semestre de 1972 ha habido algunos cambios favorables en el comercio exterior pero no alteran el importante deficit cronico. En el mercado interno han recuperado anteriores ritmos de produccion algunas ramas industriales, pero otras siguen en crisis, como la del vestido; y en el caso de la siderurgica operan con fuertes bajas varias empresas. El cuadro general de la crisis estructural se mantiene sin cambios notables y asi continuara.

Disminucion Relativa De La Poblacion Economicamente Activa y Mayor Desocupacion En El Ultimo Decenio

Falla concomitante al sistema, pero que toma caracteres alarmantes con la crisis de la estructura actual del pais es la tendencia a la disminucion de la poblacion economicamente activa y los crecientes volumenes del desempleo. La crisis de la estructura determina el conflicto actual entre la produccion y el consumo en el interior del pais y, en el ambito internacional el agravamiento de la contradiccion en el mercado exterior entre Mexico y los paises desarrollados, lo que deriva en la utilizacion incomplete de las instalaciones industriales aprovechamiento parcial de la tierra y gran desperdicio de mano de obra.

En 1960, con una poblacion total de 34,425,129 habitantes, la economicamente activa era de 11,332,000 y en 1970 con 48,377,343, habitantes, la Pob. Ec. activa es de 12,994,000 o sea que esta disminuyo en ese decenio de 33% a 26.8%.

Conforme al crecimiento de la poblacion, analistas del Banco de Comercio estiman que los individuos de 15 a 65 anos en 1960 era 18,162,844 y en 1970 las personas de estas mismas edades era 24,219,465, lo cual, conforme a los datos aportados antes, se revelan altos indices de desempleo. En el ultimo decenio ha disminuido notablemente la poblacion economicamente activa como la total en el campo. Esta ultima representaba en 1960 el 52.8% y en 1970 constituia el 40%, mas el desplazamiento de la poblacion rural a las areas urbanas no ha redunadado en crecimiento de la poblacion economicamente activa en general, pues esta ha disminuido en 4.% el ultimo decenio. El movimiento migratorio ha ocasionado un mayor desempleo en las ciudades.

En el Distrito Federal, area en la que hay el mayor desarrollo economico, en la cual van desapareciendo los ejidos y a donde concurren un amplio movimiento migratorio, tampoco hubo un incremento relativo de la poblacion economicamente activa, pues esta bajo en la decada de 36% al 32.44%. En esta region las cifras de desocupacion son povorosas. El censo de 1970 ofrece el dato 109 mil desocupados, pero esta cifra no da sino una sombra de la realidad, pues en otro renglon se ofrece el data de 1 millon 350 mil dedicados a los quehaceres domesticos, entre los cuales hay centenares de miles de gente sin trabajo.

Aunque el gobierno adopta medidas para amortiguar el desempleo este continuara en todo el pais; en una serie de industrias y en los servicios se siguen dando reajustes. La introduccion de tecnologia moderna impone disminucion de mano de obra y no se crean sino pocas nuevas fuentes de trabajo y, por otra parte, la gente desplazada, en buena medida por su edad, esta condenada a no encontrar empleo.

La Situaccion Economica y Social de La Clase Obrera y De Las Amplias Masas Populares

La obligarquia mexicana ha fincado su fabuloso enriquecimiento en la intensificacion y superexplotacion de la clase obrera y de las masas populares, en la reduccion del poder adquisitivo de salarios y sueldos por el continuado encarecimiento del costo de la vida; en el aumento del deficit de viviendas y en el empeoramiento de las que existen; en la limitacion de las prestaciones sociales. en la politica fiscal antipopular; en la incapacidad para aumentar los niveles ocupacionales, en el agravamiento de nuestro comercio exterior y la deuda externa. La situacion de las masas se ha visto agravada por la prolongada crisis de estructura.

La situacion antes descrita es completamente objetiva, aunque hay sectores muy estrechos de trabajadores que, mediante sus luchas han podido controlar su empobrecimiento absoluto y en algunos casos el relativo, algunas decenas de miles trabajadores. La cuestion del empobrecimiento tiene que contemplarse historicamente, tomando en cuenta de manera particular, las nuevas necesidades que el avance de la civilizacion crea, tambien hay que tomar en cuenta que el estado capitalista mexicano actual no es indiferente ante el hecho de que una politica continuada y permanente de reducion creciente de los niveles de vida de las masas le es contraproducente, porque acentua la lucha de clases.

Distribucion De La Renta Nacional En Los Renglones Que Se Indican

Concepto	1939	1965
Ingresos de capitalistas	41.09%	48.1%
Sueldos y salarios	30.5%	26.3%

La situacion de las masas, en rasgos generales, se reflejo en los censos de poblacion y vivienda de 1970 y en algunas otras estadisticas oficiales de la siguiente manera:

* El 40.23% de la poblacion economicamente activa percibe ingresos mensuales que oscilan de Un Peso a $499.00.

* No comen carne 9 millones 979 mil 154 personas.

* No toman leche 18 millones 446 mil 874.

* El 41.14% y el 26.91% viven en casas de uno y dos cuartuchos respectivamente.

* 13 millones 430 mil personas de mas de 6 anos no tiene ninguna educacion son analfabetos.

* El azucar aumento el 53%, el cafe, el frijol y un conjunto de articulos de primera necesidad tuvieron fuertes elzas.

* El acero laminado subio un 15% con el consiguiente aumento de articulos metalicos y no metalicos.

* La politica fiscal incremento el costo de la vida.

En el Distrito Federal donde la situacion es un poco menos penosa no deja de ser alarmante.

* El 46% de la poblacion economicamente activa tiene ingresos entre UNO y 999.00 pesos.

* 490 mil no comen carne

* 639 mil personas no comen huevos.

* 862 mil no toman leche.

* 417 mil ninos de 6 a 14 anos son analfabetos en una poblacion de 1 millon 390 mil de esas edades.

* Conforme a datos oficiales falta 600 mil viviendas.

Los datos presentados no agotan la dificil situacion economica y social que atraviesan las masas populares del pais, falta senalar los millones que no usan zapatos, los millones de personas que no tienen seguro social y varios aspectos mas, pero lo dicho es suficiente para tener una idea del grado de miseria y de explotacion a que ha sido sometido nuestro pueblo por el regimen de la oligarquia gobernante.

CASA APOYA!..

LA UNION DE CAMPESINOS -UFWOC

LIBERTAD PARA LOS "3",

CHAVEZ ORTIZ y J. CORONA

MARCHEMOS JUNTOS

JULIO 22 Hollenbeck Park
A LAS 11:00AM

Y JULIO 28 A LAS 10:00 AM
De la 6 y Hill a La Placita

C.A.S.A PROTESTA POR LOS ATAQUES DE LOS CHACALES Y GORILAS ENVIADOS POR LOS LIDERES CHARROS DE LA UNION DE TEAMSTERS A ROMPER LAS HUELGAS DE LA UNION DE CAMPESINOS! ! !
C.A.S.A. PROTESTA POR LOS ATAQUES DE LOS CHACALES Y GORILAS DE IMIGRACION A LOS OBREROS Y GENTE PACIFICA EN EL CONDADO DE LOS ANGELES, SAN DIEGO, NUEVA YORK Y CHICAGO! ! !

MARCHA CONTRA LA REPRESIÓN Y

DIA·NACIONAL DE SOLIDARIDAD CON LOS TRES

TRABAJADORES—ESTUDIANTES—CAMPESINOS—GENTE DEL BARRIO
TODOS A MARCHAR JUNTOS EN PROTESTA POR:

DEPORTACIONES Y REDADAS de IMIGRACIÓN

PRESOS POLITICOS—

PRECIOS ALTOS— SUELDOS BAJOS— DESEMPLEO

CONTINÚA REPRESIÓN POLICIACA

Participación del GOBIERNO en TRÁFICO de DROGAS

DESTRUCIÓN de LOS BARRIOS

RECORTES $$ a ESTUDIANTES

JULIO 22, 11:00 AM

COMIENZA **PARQUE HOLLENBECK**

4th & ST LOUIS.

AUSPICIADA POR:

C.A.S.A. CONGRESO ESTUDIANTIL COMITE LABORAL de LA RAZA UNIDA—COLECTIVA del PUEBLO—COMITE NAC. PRO-LIBERACION de LOS TRES

TEL. 223-3471 487-4171

Fran Oldsen
Coordinator

Ruben Seja
Training Director

Cesar Lopez
Field Placement Director

HERMAN:

I THOUGHT YOU MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN THIS ARTICLE. AS YOU KNOW THE VALLE IS 85% CHICANO YET WE OWN LESS THAN 9% OF THE FARM LAND THERE. IT IS NOT SURE AS TO WHAT DIRECTION THIS THING IS GOING TO MOVE BUT IT WILL HAVE TO BE FOR THE BETTER. I AM GOING TO BE MEETING WITH GOPHER, SOME COUNTY OFFICIALS AND THE SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE TO FOCUS IN ON ALTERNATIVES. I'LL KEEP YOU IN TOUCH ———

UN CAMARADA

CESAR

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RALLY

AD HOC COMMITTEE

ON

CHICANO RIGHTS

IN SUPPORT OF THE UFW

FARMWORKERS

YES ON 14

PRESENT

CESAR CHAVEZ

BISHOP GILBERT CHAVEZ

HERMAN BACA

SISTER SARA MURRIETTA

ST. ANTHONY'S HALL
18th & HARDING
NATIONAL CITY

7:00 PM
FRIDAY SEPT. 17, 1976

101

RALLY

AD HOC COMMITTEE

ON

CHICANO RIGHTS

IN SUPPORT OF THE UFW

FARMWORKERS

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FRIDAY SEPT. 17, 1976

101

MITIN

AD HOC COMMITTEE

ON

CHICANO RIGHTS

EN APOYO DE LOS UFW

CAMPESINOS SI CON *14*

PRESENTA

CESAR CHAVEZ

BISHOP GILBERT CHAVEZ

HERMAN BACA

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SALON ST. ANTHONY
18 Y HARDING
NATIONAL CITY

7:00 PM
VIERNES 17 DE SEPT. 1976

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18 Y HARDING
NATIONAL CITY
7:00 PM
VIERNES 17 DE SEPT. 1976
101

CESAR CHAVEZ

Apostle of Non Violence
Excerpted from an interview by Gerald Barr (Observer, May 1970)

Observer: ... Why do you insist on non-violent means in this struggle?

Chavez: Our conviction is that human life and limb are a very special possession given by God to man and that no one has the right to take that away, in any cause, however just.

We also find that violence is contagious; it is uncontrollable. If we use it, then the opposition is going to respond in kind and it is going to be escalated.

Also we are convinced that non-violence is more powerful than violence. We are convinced that non-violence supports you if you have a just and moral cause. Non-violence gives the opportunity to stay on the offensive, which is of vital importance to win any contest. Suppose we are striking and the opponent appears to be getting the best of us and we resort to violence. Then he will bring in other forces and one of two things happens: violence has to be escalated, or there is total demoralization of the workers. Non-violence works in exactly the opposite manner: when for every violent action committed against us, we respond with non-violence, we tend to attract people's support; we have a chance of attracting other people who are not involved because they are workers, but are involved because they have a conscience and because they would rather see a non-violent solution to things.

Obs: So it is a good strategy.

Chavez: Yes, but that alone is not reason enough. If you have no basis for non-violence other than a strategy, a tactic, then when it fails your only alternative is completely the reverse and that's violence. So you have to balance the strategy with a clear understanding of what you are doing. However important the struggle is and however much misery and poverty and degradation exist, we know that it cannot be more important than one human life. That's basic. Second, we operate on the theory that men who are involved and truly concerned about people are not by nature violent. If they were violent they couldn't have that love and that concern for people. That sort of man becomes violent when that deep concern he has for people is frustrated, when he's faced with overwhelming odds against what he is trying to do. Then sometimes he feels that violence is really a short-cut or a sort of miracle to end everything and bring about a solution. We don't want to get into that trap.

Obs: What if violence is a short-cut?

Chavez: It isn't. It has never been proved in the history of mankind that it is a short-cut.

Obs. You're using a very broad perspective.

Chavez: Well, let me tell you - if I were to tell the workers: "All right, we're going to be violent; we're going to burn the sheds and we're going to dynamite the growers' homes and we're going to burn the vineyards," provided we could get away with it, the growers would sign a contract. But you see that that victory came at the expense of violence; it came at the expense of injuring. I think that once that happens it would have a tremendous impact on us. We would lose our perspective and we would lose the regard we have for human beings - and then the struggle would become a mechanical thing.

Obs: If you lose a sense of justice in your cause, you lose a lot of strength...

Chavez: Nothing can replace that strength. And the victory is not total. If you use violence, you have to sell part of yourself for that violence, either because of your own self-guilt or because you have to incorporate people who are extremists and violent or whatever it might be. Then you are no longer the master of your own struggle, and the important thing is that for poor people to be able to get a clean victory is something you don't often see. If we get it through violence, then the employers will just wait long enough until they can get even with you - and then the workers will respond, and then...

Obs: So a violent resolution to a problem is never a resolution, just a cessation?

Chavez: Let me give you an example: the armed revolutions we have. What happens? Once you set up an army or militia to gain independence you have to maintain that army. You know against whom? Against your own people.

Obs: All violence is necessarily an oppression then?

Chavez: That's right. If we were to become violent and we won the strike, as an example, then what would prevent us from turning violence against opponents in the movement who wanted to displace us? Say they felt they had more leadership and they wanted to be the leaders. What would prevent us from turning violence against them? Nothing. Because we had already experienced that violence awarded us victory. If we are concerned about human beings and if we are concerned about respecting man, then we have to be concerned about the consequences.

Another thing is that people think non-violence is really weak and non-militant These are misconceptions that people have because they don't understand what non-violence means. Non-violence takes more guts, if I can put it bluntly, than violence. Most violent acts are accomplished by getting the opponent off guard, and it doesn't take that much character, I think, if one wants to do it. I am confronted frequently by people who say, "So-and-so tried non-violence and it didn't work." That's not really so. Non-violence is very weak in the theoretical sense; it cannot defend itself. But it is most powerful in the action situation where people are using non-violence because they want desperately to bring about some change. Non-violence in action is a very potent force and it can't be stopped. The people who are struggling have the complete say-so. No man-made law, no human ruler, no army can destroy this. There is no way it can be destroyed, except by those within the non-violent struggle. And, so, if we have the capacity to endure, if we have the patience, things will change.

Obs: What do you say to the honest activist who feels that so many of the channels to change in his society are closed that he has no choice but to take up arms? I am thinking of people like Camillo Torres in Columbia.

Chavez: There is no question that they have tremendous love for people and they want to bring about change. In the case of Torres, we see very clearly how he went from a life of priesthood to the extreme of using violence. And I'm sure he felt he had no other way of doing it. But I'm sure that if we examine the development of this man, and if we examine the reasons for which he worked, we would find that he probably was a failure as an organizer, as an organizer of masses of people ....

Obs: Then for you non-violence is a universal approach regardless of the degree of oppression?

Chavez: The greater the oppression, the more leverage you have. What I'm trying to say is--violence didn't work and it's not going to work, and if it works, it it replaces, as in Latin America, one violent government with another that is more violent. People are abused with violence. In Latin America, who gets killed in case of a revolution? The poor people, the workers. Who gets nothing but crumbs when another force comes into power? Take the Mexican revolution, take

any revolution the people of the land are the ones who give their bodies, who get killed, and they really don't gain that much from it. I think it's too big a price to pay for not getting anything. They are being exploited as much by the ones who "help" them as by the others. To call men to arms with a lot of promises and to ask them to give their lives for a cause, and then not produce for them afterward is the most vicious sort of oppression. And we've seen it happen.

Obs: Has Christianity affected your philosophy of non violence?

Chavez: Very definitely. Christianity is not the only religion, but it is the one that I am a believer in. It has taught us the message of Christ with regard to loving our neighbor and with regard to respecting one another and exhorting us to be able to forgive. Now these are very difficult things and, of course, we are not even approaching that. But we have seen very little action in a dramatic form by Christians in our world. There is a lot of good will, and they talk a lot about that but people sacrificing themselves -very little.

Gandhi is an example. He was not a Christian but in my estimation he probably personifies a Christian more than most men. He showed us not by talking, not by what he wrote as much as by his actions, his own willingness to live by truth and by respect for mankind and accepting the sacrifices. You see non-violence exacts a very high price from one who practices it. But once you are able to meet that de mand then you can do most things, provided you have the time. Gandhi showed how a whole nation could be liberated without an army. This is the first time in the history of the world when a huge nation, occupied for over a century, achieved independence by non-violence. It was a long struggle and it takes time.

Obs: You speak of patience and determination as a necessary part of non violent politics. The grape workers' strike is one of the longest in American history. What keeps you going?

Chavez: I think that it is a conviction in what we are doing - that we are involved in a just cause. We know that most likely we are not going to do anything else in the rest of our life except this. We know that if we weren't doing this we wouldn't be doing anything we would like to do more than this. We know really there is nowhere else to go and although we would like to see victory come soon we are willing to wait. Non violence calls for hardnosed organizing, for a minimum of dramatics and a great deal of understanding of what the situation is -being able to assess the opposition, being able to win by winning small victories constantly, and by not letting yourself be locked into a position where you can't move because you're cornered

Obs: Do you see your struggle as having historical significance?

Chavez: All successful struggles tend to set precedents, but I think more important than that, perhaps for the first time in the history of the richest nation in the world, it would give those people who work at producing food some food for themselves.. And also it would point out very concretely that this came about becauseof the determination of the people in the struggle, and more important because of the way the people conducted themselves through the struggle.

PROFILE:

CESAR CHAVEZ

By
PETER MATTHIESSEN

Reprinted from the June 21 and June 28, 1969 issues of The New Yorke

One Sunday morning last summer, I knocked on the door of a small frame house on Kensington Street, in Delano, California, that is rented by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee for the family of its director, Cesar Estrada Chavez. It was just before seven, and no one came to the door, so I sat down on the stoop to wait. The stoop was shaded by squat trees, which distinguish Kensington Street from the other straight lines of one-story bungalows that make up residential Delano, but at seven the air was already hot and still, as it is almost every day of summer there in the San Joaquin Valley. On Kensington Street, a quiet stronghold of the middle class, the Chavez house drew attention to itself by worn yellow-brown paint, a patch of lawn between stoop and sidewalk that had been turned to mud by a leaky hose trailing away into the weeds, and a car, lacking an engine, which appeared not so much parked as abandoned in the driveway. Signs that said "DON'T BUY CALIFORNIA GRAPES" were plastered on the car, and "KENNEDY" stickers, fading now, were still stuck to posts on the stoop. The signs suggested that the dwelling was utilitarian, not domestic, and that the Chavez family's commitment was somewhere else.

In the time it must have taken Chavez to put on the clothes that are his invariable costume—a plaid shirt and work pants—and to splash water on his face, the back door creaked and he appeared around the corner of the house. "Good morning," he said, raising his eyebrows, as if surprised to see me there. "How are you?" Though he shook my hand, he did not stop moving; we walked south on Kensington Street and turned west at the corner.

Chavez has an Indian's bow nose and lank black hair, with sad eyes and an open smile that is both shy and friendly. He is five feet six inches tall, and since a twenty-five-day fast in the winter of 1968 he has weighed no more than a hundred and fifty pounds. Yet the word "slight" does not properly describe him. There is an effect of being centered in himself so that no energy is wasted, and at the same time he walks lightly.

In the central part of Delano (pronounced De-*lay*-no), the north-south streets have been named alphabetically, from Albany Street, on the far west side, to Xenia, on the east; the cross streets are called avenues and are numbered. On Eleventh Avenue, between Kensington and Jefferson, a police car moved out of an empty lot and settled heavily on its springs across the sidewalk. There it idled while its occupant enjoyed the view. Having feasted his eyes on the public library and the National Bank of Agriculture, the policeman permitted his gaze to come to rest on the only two citizens in sight. His cap, shading his eyes from the early sun, was much too small for him, and in the middle of his mouth, pointed straight at us, was a dead cigar. He looked me over long enough to let me know he had his eye on me, then eased his wheels into gear again and humped on his soft springs onto the street. Chavez raised his eyebrows in a characteristic expression of mock wonderment. Then he waved at the back of a building that fronted on Jefferson Street. "That's our station house," he said, in the manner of a man who is pointing out, with pardonable pride, the main sights of his city. As we walked on, he talked about how he had come to be a labor organizer.

Until Chavez appeared, union leaders had considered it impossible to organize seasonal farm labor, which is in large part illiterate and indigent, rarely remains in one place long enough to form an effective unit, and is composed mostly of minority groups that invite hostility from local communities. In consequence, strikes, protests, and unions had been broken with monotonous efficiency—a task made easier by the specific exclusion of farm workers from the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, which authorizes and regulates collective bargaining between management and labor. In a state where cheap labor, since Indian days, had been taken for granted, like the sun, reprisals were swift and sometimes fatal, and the struggles of Mexican-American farm workers for better conditions have met with defeat after defeat.

In 1947, when Chavez was twenty, he himself picketed the cotton fields of Corcoran, a few miles north of Delano, for the National Farm Labor Union, and watched the union fail. As a migrant laborer who had not been able to afford enough time from the fields to get past the seventh grade, he often discussed the frustrations of the poor with his wife, Helen, and his brother Richard, but he saw no way to put his feelings into action until 1952. That year, when he and Richard were living across the street from each other in San Jose and working together in the apricot groves, a new venture called the Community Service Organization, which had been set up in Los Angeles to do something about the frustration of the Mexican-American poor in California, was preparing to open a chapter in San Jose. The C.S.O. was a project of the Industrial Areas Foundation, based in Chicago and headed by Saul Alinsky, who describes himself as a "social activist." When the man Alinsky had assigned to organize the C.S.O. asked a parish priest in San Jose for a list of likely recruits, he was given the name of Cesar Chavez. "I came home from work and they told me this gringo wanted to see me," Chavez said. "In those days, when a gringo wanted to see you it was something special — we never heard anything from whites unless it was the police. So, anyway, Helen says, 'Oh, no, it must be something good for Mexicans—money and a better job and things!'" Chavez's expression conveyed what he thought then about promises of something good for Mexicans. "You see, Stanford had people nosing around, writing all kinds of screwy reports about how Mexicans eat and sleep—you know—and a lot of dirty kind of stuff, and Berkeley had its guys down there, and San Jose State. All the private colleges. They were interested in the worst barrio, the toughest slum, and they all picked Sal Si Puedes."

"What?" I said.

"Sal—"

"Escape If You Can?"

"Yah. That's what our barrio was called, because it was every man for himself, and not too many could get out of it, except to prison. Anyway, we were just sick and tired of these people coming around asking stupid questions. I said to hell with him. Well, he came the next day again and said he would come back in the evening, so when I got home I went across the street to Richard's house, and in a little while this old car pulled up and this gringo knocked on my door, and Helen told him I was working late or something. As soon as he left, I came back and said, 'What happened?' and she said, 'He's coming tomorrow,' and I said, 'Well, I'm not going to be here tomorrow.' So I came home from work and just dumped my lunch pail and my sweater and went over to Richard's house, and the same thing happened again. Helen said he was coming back tomorrow, and I said I wouldn't see him, and she said, 'Well, this time you tell him that, because I'm not going to lie to him anymore.' So he came and talked to me. His name was Fred Ross. I was very closed. I didn't say a thing. I just let him talk. I'd say, 'Yes,' and nod my head, but half the time I was plotting how to get him. Still, there were certain things that struck me. One of them was how much I didn't like him even though he was sincere. I couldn't admit how sincere he was, and I was bothered by not being able to look at it. And the other think was he wore kind of rumpled clothes, and his car was very poor. Well, he wanted a meeting as soon as possible to talk about what the C.S.O. could do, and I said, 'How many people do you want?' and he said, 'Oh, four or five,' and I said, 'How about twenty?' 'Gee, that'd be great!' I had my little plan, you see. So I invited some of the rough guys in the barrio, and I bought some beer and told them how to handle it — when I switched my cigarette from my left hand to my right, they could start getting nasty."

The memory of his own behavior made Chavez frown. "These damn people used to talk about fifty-year patterns, and how did we eat our beans and tortillas, and whether we'd like to live in a two-bedroom house instead of a slum room — things like that. They try to make us real different, you know, because it serves their studies when they do that. I thought this guy meant to snoop like all the rest. We didn't have anything else in our experience to go by. We were being pushed around by all these studies. So we were going to be nasty, and then he'd leave, and we'd be even. But I knew all the time that this gringo had really impressed me and that I was being dishonest. So we had a meeting, and he came in and sat down and began to talk about the Mexican-Americans — no, not about them but about farm workers. And then he took on the police and the politicians — not rabble-rousing, either, but saying the truth. He knew the problems as well as we did—he wasn't confused about the problems, like so many people who want to help the poor. He talked about the C.S.O. and then the famous Bloody Christmas case, a few years before, when some drunken cops beat up some Mexican prisoners down in L.A. I didn't know what the C.S.O. was or who this guy Fred Ross was, but I knew about the Bloody Christmas case, and so did everybody in that room. Some cops had actually been sent to jail for brutality, and it turned out that this miracle was thanks to the C.S.O. By this time, a couple of guys began to press me for some action. But I couldn't give the signal, because the gringo wasn't a phony. I mean, how could I? I couldn't do it, that's all. So some of them got nasty, and I jumped in and said, 'Listen, the deal's off. If you want to stay here and drink, then drink, but if you can't keep your mouth shut, then get out.' They said I had chickened out, so I took them outside and explained. There were a couple of guys that *still* wanted to get this gringo, but, anyway, the meeting continued, and he put everything very plainly. He did such a good job of explaining how poor people could build power that I could even taste it, I could *feel* it. I thought, Gee, it's like digging a hole—there's nothing complicated about it!" There was still a note of discovery in Chavez's voice, sixteen lears later.

"You see, Fred was already an organizer when Alinsky hired him. I guess some of his theories came from Alinsky, but I learned everything from Fred. Anyway, I walked out with him to his car and thanked him for coming, and then I kind of wanted to know—well, what next? He said, 'Well, I have another meeting, and I don't suppose you'd like to come?' I said, 'Oh, yes, I would.' I told the others I would be right back, and I got in his car and went with him, and that was it. That first meeting . . . I'd never been in a group before, and I didn't know a thing. Somebody asked for a motion, and I didn't know what the hell they were talking about. The next day, I tried to get answers from my friends, and none of us knew. We were just a bunch of *pachucos*—you know, long hair and pegged pants. But Fred had wanted to get the *pachucos* involved—no one had really done this—and he knew how to handle the difficulties that came up, and he didn't take for granted a lot of little things that other people take for granted when they're working with the poor. He had learned, you know. Finally, I said, 'What about the farm workers?' and he said that the C.S.O. could be a base for organizing farm workers, and it was a good prediction—not exactly as he envisioned it, but it came about."

Chavez laughed. "I was his constant companion. I used to get home from work between five and five-thirty, and he'd say, 'I'll pick you up at six-thirty—give you a little time to clean up and eat,' and I'd say, 'No, I don't want to clean up and eat. Pick me up at five-thirty — wait for me!' So he would be waiting when I got home from work, and I'd just drop off my lunch pail and rush right out — maybe change my shirt. I was observing how he did things, how he talked to people and how patient he was, and I began to learn. A lot of people worked with him, but few learned what I learned. I think the reason was that I had more *need* to learn than anybody else. I really *had* to learn. So I'd pay attention to the smallest detail, and it became sort of a—well, I'd use the word 'game' if it didn't throw a wrong light on it. It wasn't a job, and at the same time it was very, very important, trying to understand these things and then apply them."

Chavez first joined the C.S.O. as a volunteer in a voter-registration drive. The organization of Mexican-American bloc voting was a first lesson in his understanding of how to build a power base. "Most of the volunteers were college people, or had good jobs. Very few were farm workers. I had a part-time job in a lumberyard. The voter registration depended on as many evenings as you could give, and soon so many people stopped showing up that we had to find a new chairman every day. Finally, I was the only one who went with Fred every night, so he made me chairman. So here I am in charge, and where do I start? I can't go to the middle class, or even the aspiring middle class, for my deputy registrars—I have to go to my friends in Sal Si Puedes. So I round up about sixteen guys"—at the memory, he began to smile — "and not one of them can qualify as a deputy registrar, not *one*. They can't even *vote!* Every damn one of those guys had a felony!" He laughed. "Well, they could still knock on doors, you know, and they put out a lot of energy."

Some months later, with Alinsky's approval, Chavez was hired by Fred Ross as an organizer to work on voter registration and citizenship training. After six months in San Jose, he took over Ross's C.S.O. chapter in Decoto, and two weeks later was asked to start a new chapter in Oakland. He was still so poorly educated that he could scarcely read. He was small and thin, and looked much younger than his twenty-seven years, and he lived in terror of the meetings he was supposed to run. He would drive back and forth in front of the house where one was to be held, then dart in and sit in a corner until he was forced to identity himself as the organizer. But his first big meeting in Oakland was a success, and Fred Ross recognized it as a kind of turning point for him; soon after, Ross put Chavez in charge of the whole San Joaquin Valley. In the next few years, Chavez established chapters in Madera, Bakersfield, and many other towns. He was already a good organizer, and he got better as he developed techniques of his own. He learned to beware of established precepts, to cut around the entrenched local leadership, and to avoid philosophizing in favor of clear illustration and example ("You have to draw a simple picture and color it in," he often says), and, above all, he recognized that organizing required time. From forty to fifty per cent of California farm workers, he estimates, are illiterate in English and nearly so in Spanish. "You have to spend time with people, that's all," he told me. "If he is interested, it makes no difference if a man can read or write—he is a man."

In the early fifties, the Cold War reaction that congealed around McCarthyism was widespread in the Valley, and a man who encouraged Mexican-Americans to vote struck many people as an obvious subversive. Cowed by local patriots, his own people in the Madera chapter began investigating Chavez for symptoms of the dread Communism, and then retreated, abashed, when he challenged them to do this in his presence, not behind his back. According to Chavez, the experience taught him not so much how foolish it was to expect gratitude as how pathetically afraid poor people were. Subsequently, he had to return to San Jose and rebuild the C.S.O. chapter there; in the absence of strong leadership, the people had withdrawn again into apathy. Nevertheless, the C.S.O. was gaining strength, and its new power was reflected, among other ways, in the increased expense accounts of its staff. Politicians and professional people attached themselves to the organization for pur-

poses of prestige, and meanwhile the organization's own leaders opposed what they regarded as Chavez's impractical demand that they try to organize a union of farm workers. At meeting after meeting, Chavez spoke out against the new luxurious habits and the softening of purpose —the "erosion," which he speaks of to this day as the thing most to be feared in his own union. To symbolize his protest, he showed up at meetings unshaven and tieless—he has been tieless ever since—and refused any further increase in his own salary. "To come in a new car into a community of poor people to organize them—that doesn't work," he told me. "And if you have money but dress like they do, then it's phoney. Professional hunger." He grunted in disgust. "You can be hungry and have money in the bank, or you can be hungry and have nowhere to go There's a big difference.

In 1962, having failed to interest the C.S.O. in organizing farm workers, Chavez quit the organization and settled in Delano, where he began his campaign to win for farm workers the right to organize in their own behalf that is enjoyed by all other large labor groups in the United States. The union he heads is now engaged in a strike to organize the workers of the entire California grape industry, and it has called a nationwide boycott to support the strike. If his organization survives, it will be the first effective farm workers' union in American history.

A car coming up behind us slowed down suddenly. Chavez, like a feeding deer, showed his awareness with a sidelong flick of his brown eyes, but he did not turn, and he did not stop talking. A voice called out in Spanish, asking him if he would like a lift. He smiled and waved, then pointed to a church two streets away. *"No, gracias! Yo voy a la misa!"*

A sign giving the name of the pretty stucco church at the corner of Eleventh Avenue and Clinton Street—Our Lady of Guadalupe — was garish and utilitarian, and the churchyard was a parking lot, enclosed by a chain-link fence. But the place was planted with cypress, pines, and yew, which, in the early light, threw cool, fresh shadows on the white stucco under a red tile roof. Two white crosses stood outlined against the hot blue of the sky. Chavez hurried across the concrete. Though he had said nothing to me about church, it appeared that he had been bound here all along. "Let's just go in for a little while," he murmured. He was hurrying now as if a little late, though in fact the Mass was very near its end. Inside, he moved into the shadows on the left, where he crossed himself with water dipped from a font in the rear wall and subsided onto his knees behind the rearmost pew. The people had begun to sing "Bendito." All were standing, but Chavez remained there on his knees behind them until the hymn was finished. Alone in the shadows of the pew, the small Indian head bent on his chest and the toes of his small shoes turned inward, he looked like a child at prayers beside his bed.

Outside, under the evergreens, members of the congregation greeted Chavez.

"Buenos dias!"
"Cesar! Como esta?"

At one point, Chavez answered, *"O, batallando con la vida!"* ("Oh, I am still struggling with life!") He grinned at me. A Filipino in his sixties came up with a fine, wordless smile and pumped Chavez's hand in both his own.

"That's one of the brothers," Chavez said when the old man had gone. (The term "brother" is used to describe a union member, but it also has the conotation of "soul brother," and is so used by Chavez.)

A young priest, Father Mark Day, came up and spoke heartily to Chavez. The following Sunday, he said, the Catholic churches of Delano would speak out in favor of the workers' right to form a union. Hearing this, Chavez merely nodded. Many national church groups, and particularly the Migrant Ministry of the National Council of Churches had long ago come to his support, with personnel as well as money, and Father Day, a Franciscan, had been assigned to the farm workers in 1967. But the local clergy, Catholic as well as Protestant, had denounced the grape strike or dodged the issue, for fear of offending the growers, most of whom are Catholics of Italian or Yugoslav origin and are important contributors. Chavez's union was allowed to hold its strike vote in the parish hall of Our Lady of Guadalupe in 1965, but until Father Day and two other Franciscans took it over the church did not support the strike. ("I find it frankly quite embarrasing," Father Day has said, "to see liberals and agnostics fighting vehemently for social justice among agricultural workers while Catholic priests sit by and sell them religious trinkets along with distorted notions of Christianity.") It was only in recent months that — more and more embarrassed by the example of outside clergy of all faiths, many of whom had marched in the union picket lines—the Delano clergy had begun making some attempts to reconcile the growers to the union.

The young priest spoke to Chavez of the large Zaninovich clan, some of whom came to Mass at Our Lady of Guadalupe. "If they would just get together with their workers," he said, we woulan't have any problems."

Chavez looked doubtful, but he nodded politely. "Yes," he said, after a moment, "this church is really coming to life." With Chavez, it is often impossible to tell when he is joking and when he is being serious, because he is so often both at the same time.

A worker in a soiled white shirt with a fighting cock in bright colors on the pocket stood waiting for a hearing. Though Chavez is available to his people day and night all week long, it is on Sunday that they usually come to see him, and his Sundays are all devoted to this purpose. *". . . buscando trabajo,"* I heard the worker say when he had Chavez's ear: he was looking for work. The man had just come in from Mexico on a "green card," or visa, which is a symbol of the most serious obstacle that Chavez's organizing effort faces: the century-old effort of California farmers to depress wages and undercut resistance by pitting one group of poor people against another.

By the eighteen-sixties, the Indians who were used as near-slaves in Spanish California had all but disappeared. In agricultural areas, they had been largely replaced, after the Gold Rush, by Chinese labor, originally brought in to work on the Southern Pacific Railroad. But the thrifty Chinese were resented and persecuted by a rabble of jobless whites for whom the Gold Rush had not panned out, and also by small farmers, who could not compete with the cheap labor force. Chinese immigration was ended by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and after that the big farmers turned to the importation of Japanese. The Japanese, too, were soon bitterly resented, because they undercut all other labor. Even worse, they were better farmers than the Americans and they bought and cultivated poor land that nobody else had bothered with; this impertinence was dealt with by the Alien Land Law of 1911, which prevented further acquisition of farm land by aliens. The next waves of farm laborers in California contained Hindus, Arabs, Armenians, and Europeans. The European and Armenian immigrants, less oppressed than other groups by the racial discrimination that had advanced the economy of California from the start, gained a strong foothold, and the parents of many of the Valley farmers of today were among those immigrants. Mexican peasants had always crossed the border more or less at will, and after the Mexican Revolution of 1910 starving refugees presented the growers with a new source of cheap labor, which, because it was illegally, had the additional advantage of being entirely defenseless. Filipinos were brought in in the nineteen-twenties, and for a time cheap Mexican labor was undercut by cheap Filipino labor. Most of the Mexicans were deported after 1929, when the Okies and Arkies and upcountry Texans swarmed into California from the dust bowl; the De-

pression produced a heavy labor surplus among the native-born, and an effort was made to keep the border closed. Mexicans had been predominant in the farm-labor force from 1914 until 1934, and in those years, because of their illegal status, they had tended to be more tractable than other groups. For the most part, it was Filipinos and Anglos—as non-Mexican whites are called in California—who staged the famous farm strikes of the nineteen-thirties. The Filipinos became known during this period for their militance and for refusal to scab on other workers or underbid them. After the Philippine Islands Independence Act of 1934, the importation of Filipinos came to an end, and their numbers have been dwindling ever since. By 1942, the Chinese had long since moved to the cities, the Japanese had been shut up in concentration camps, the Europeans had graduated from the labor force and become farmers, and other Anglos had drifted into the booming war economy of factories and shipyards; the minority groups that remained were not numerous enough to harvest the enormous quantities of produce that the war demanded. The farm labor emergency was met by a series of agreements with the Mexican government known collectively as the *bracero* program, under which large numbers of Mexican field hands, or *braceros,* were brought into California and other states of the Southwest by truck at harvest time and trucked out again when the harvest was over The *bracero* program was so popular with the growers that it was extended when the war ended. In Washington, lobbyists for the growers argued successfully that Americans would not do the hard stoop labor required in harvesting cotton, sugar beets, and other crops hence the need for extension of the *bracero* program. Everyone conveniently forgot that the white fruit tramps of the thirties had done plenty of stoop labor, and that workers of all colors were available to the farms if a living wage and decent conditions could be obtained. But the Mexicans, whose poverty was desperate, worked long, hard days for pay as low as sixty cents an hour, and were used to undermine all efforts by indigenous workers to hold out for better treatment. By 1959, an estimated four hundred thousand foreign workers (mostly Mexicans but including small numbers of Canadians, in the potato fields of Maine, and British West Indians, in the Florida citrus groves) were obtaining work in the United States, although four million people here were unemployed. Churches and various citizens' groups began protesting the lot of the farm workers—especially that of domestic migrant laborers — and at the end of 1964 Public Law 78, the last and most notorious phase of the *bracero* program, was allowed to lapse. (This was a year in which Congress passed significant poverty and civil-rights legislation, but P.L. 78 was primarily a casualty of congressional concern over the outflow of gold.) The death of P.L. 78 seemed to be the birth of hope for a farm union, but by 1965, when the current grape strike in California began, the growers had found another means of obtaining the same cheap labor. Under P.L. 414 (the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952), large numbers of foreigners were permited to enter the United States as "permanent resident aliens," on a special green visa card. "Green-carders" can become citizens after five years of residence—and pay taxes, be drafted, and qualify for Social Security while they wait. A migrant agricultural worker can earn fifteen times as much for a day's work in the United States as he can in Mexico, but most Mexicans have declined the opportunity to become citizens. Instead, they "commute," taking their high harvest wages—an estimated fifteen million dollars' worth in 1967—back to their homes each year. Under the law, no green-carder is supposed to work in a field where a labor dispute has been certified, but enforcement has been desultory, to say the least, and although almost half of the members of Chavez's union are not United States citizens, many Mexicans have become strikebreakers. As long as farm workers are excluded from the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, they have no legal means of forcing employers to negotiate. When their strike was subverted by imported scabs and anti-picketing injunctions, they resorted to what the growers call an "illegal and immoral" boycott.

The man with the fighting cock on his shirt was a union green-carder who did not wish to cross picket lines. At the moment, however, there were more union workers than union jobs—only three growers out of several dozen in the Delano area had signed contracts with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee — and Chavez encouraged the man to take a job wherever he could find it. He did not have to encourage the man to help the union on the job by whatever means he could; the man complained that Social Security payments had been deducted from his last paychecks even though no one had asked for his Social Security number. Chavez says that workers who cannot read are chronic victims of petty paycheck chiselling on the part of both labor contractors and growers. "Those people make a lot of money that way," Chavez said. "A *lot.*" At that moment he looked ugly. "In the union, they get an honest day's pay, because both sides understand the arrangement and accept it. Without a union, the people are always cheated. And they are so innocent."

We walked on along Eleventh Avenue to Albany Street and turned south along cotton fields. The day was hot now, and the flat farmland stretched away unbroken into dull mists of agricultural dust and sprays, still unsettled from the day before, that hid the round brown mountains of the Coast Range. Chavez said that many of the green-carders, and especially those who intend to return to Mexico, felt they could do better than the union wage scale by working furiously for non-union growers on a piecework basis; others refused to join the union out of ignorance—they had never heard of a union—or out of fear of reprisal. "Out at Schenley—we have a contract there now—there was a guy named Danny," Chavez said. "Danny was so anti-union that he went to the management and said, 'Give me a gun. I'll go out and kill some of those strikers.' He just hated us, and he didn't know why. He was working inside when we came with the picket line, and I guess he felt guilty about not joining us, so he went too far. And also, he told me later, "I didn't know what a union was. I never heard of a union—I had no idea what it was or how it worked. I came from a small village down in Mexico.' You see? It's the old story. He was making more money than he had ever seen in Mexico, and the union was a threat. Anyway, we won there, and all the guys who went out on strike, they got their jobs back. And, man, they wanted to clean house, and they wanted to get Danny, and I said no. 'Well, he doesn't want to join the union,' they said. 'And if he doesn't join the union, he can't work here.' And so I challenged them. I said. 'One man threatens you? Do you know what the real challenge is? Not to get him out but to get him in. If you are good organizers, you will get him, but you're not—you're lazy!' So they went after him, and the pressure began to build against him. He was mad as hell. He held out for three months, and he was encouraged by the Anglos—the white guys. They had the best jobs — mechanics and all — and they didn't want to join the union, either. But finally Danny saw the light, and they did, too. It took about six months before we actually got down to negotiating a contract after we won the election, and by the time we got around to setting up a negotiating committee Danny had not only been converted but been elected to the committee. So when the committee walked in there, Danny was one of them, and the employers stared at him. 'What are you doing here, Danny?'" Chavez laughed. "And now he's a real St. Paul. He'll never turn against the union, because he knows both sides. People who don't know, and come on so enthusiastic and all at first, they might be turncoats one day, but not the ones like Danny. That's why the

converted ones are our best men."

A car passed us, bursting with cries, and rattled to a halt a short way beyond. Two workers were driving a third out to the Forty Acres, the site of a new union headquarters that is being built, and Chavez suggested that we ride out there with them. The car turned west and rolled two miles through cotton and alfalfa to a barren area of mud, shacks, and unfinished construction on the north side of the road. The Forty Acres lies between a state road and the city dump. Useless for farming in its present condition, the land was obtained in 1966 from a widow who no longer wanted to pay the taxes on it. Here the car left us, to go back to town, and the third man, shouting cheerily to Chavez, went off to water some scattered saplings that were shrivelling in the summer heat.

"We've planted a lot of trees," Chavez said. 'Elms, mostly, and Modesto ash—only the cheapest kinds." He stood with his back to the road, hands in hip pockets, gazing with pleasure at the desolation. "Don't get me started on my plans," he said. To Chavez, the Forty Acres, on which he envisions the country's first migrant workers' center, is already very beautiful; he goes there regularly to walk around and let his plans take shape. "There's alkali in this land," he said, putting it mildly. "We're trying to get something growing here, to cut down the dust."

Near the highway, an adobe building with an orange tile roof, designed to house gas pumps, an automobile repair shop, and a cooperative store, had recently been completed, but was not yet in use. Behind it was a temporary aggregation of shacks and trailers. These accommodated a clinic and the offices of the union newspaper, *El Malcriado* ("The Rebellious Child," "The Nonconformist," "The Protester"—there is no simple translation), which puts out editions in both English and Spanish every fortnight. A green trailer bearing the legend "Mobile Health Center" was a contribution of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; its medical staff, like the staff of *El Malcriado* and most of the rest of the U.F.W.O.C. operation, was entirely volunteers. So was the labor being done, intermittently, on the headquarters building, a gray shell on the west side of the property. The work at the Forty Acres was being supervised by Chavez's brother Richard, who was away just then on a trip to help out with the boycott in New York. "The strike is the important thing," Chavez said, moving toward the headquarters building. "We work on the Forty Acres when we get a little money, or some volunteers." The day before, six carpenters from a local in Bakersfield had given their Saturday to putting up gray Sheetrock interior walls, and Chavez entering the building, was delighted with the progress. "Look at that!" he kept saying. "Those guys really went to town!" He told me that plumbing had been done by a teacher at Berkeley, and that, two weeks before, forty-seven electricians from Los Angeles, donating materials as well as labor, had wired the whole building in six hours. "You should have seen it," he said. "I could hardly get into the building. Everywhere I went, I was in somebody's way, so I just went out through the window." He turned in a complete circle. "Those guys *really* went to town It's entirely changed! The first center for farm workers in history!"

Outside again, we walked around the grounds, in the hot emptiness of Sunday. "Over there"—he pointed—"will be another building, a little training center, mostly for people in the union, the organizers and ranch committees. Non-violent tactics, you know—though if it were just a matter of non-violence, that could be studied in a monastery. It has to be real, you know—the mechanics of union work, and so forth. And also we want to be very strong about honesty. Some of these guys will be getting a lot of power as the union develops, and some will be very good and some won't know how to handle it. If someone in the hiring hall is willing to take a bribe to put one guy ahead of another for a job, he may also be willing to steal a hundred dollars from the union, or accept a hundred dollars for an act of violence. There's all kinds of chances for corruption, and things can go to hell very fast—we've seen that in other unions. So the best way to teach them is by example."

Chavez glanced at me. He is the least boastful man I have ever met, and, being a truly humble man, he does not waste his own time or his listener's with false humility, yet he is uncomfortable when the occasion arises to speak about himself, and may even emit a gentle groan. He grinned suddenly, glad to change the subject. "You know, we have some great guys in this union, some really great guys. We've put together farm workers and volunteers, people who just wanted to do something for the cause. We have so many volunteers that we save only the best. In a way, we're all volunteers, even the ones — the lawyers and everybody — whose salaries are paid by outside people. They're not making any money. You start paying the strikers for what they should do for themselves, then everything is done for money and you'll never, never be able to, build anything. Most of us work for five dollars a week. Outside people thought we were crazy—the Teamsters and everybody —but really it's the only way we can stay in business. It's a long, long haul, and there isn't any money, and if we start paying wages, then it means that only a *few* can be hired, and a few can't do as much as many. It has to be done that way. I've been in this fight for too long, almost twenty years, learning and learning, one defeat after another, always frustration. And then, of course, raising a family—you have to get your family to suffer along with you, otherwise you can't do it, you know. But finally we are beginning to see daylight, and that's a great reward. And then, you see, these farm workers will never be the same. If our union was destroyed today, these people would never go back to where they were."

Under the eaves of the garage, in the shade of its north wall, a blue wooden bench had been placed against the adobe. We sat there for an hour or more, cut off from the hot highway by the cool clay wall. Across the property to the north, dead cars glittered on the crown of the city dump, and to the west was a farm, with a solitary black-and-white cow in the barnyard; surrounding all was the flat, low, dusty green of vast crops. The adobe walls and orange tile roof were Chavez's own wish, to be repeated in the other buildings as they take shape; this idea came from the old Franciscan missions and from an adobe farmhouse of his early childhood. "The people wanted something more modern—you know, kind of flashy—to show that they had a terrific union going here, but I wanted something that would not go out of fashion, something that would last," he said. Eventually, the entire Forty Acres will be surrounded by a high adobe wall, which will mercifully shut out its grim surroundings. The flat, hard sky will be broken by trees, and there will be a fountain in a sunken garden, and a central place where no cars are to be permitted.

Chavez drew his hopes in the dust with a dead stick. "Inside the walls, paths will lead everywhere, and we'll have places for the workers to rest," he said. "There will be little hollows in the walls — you know, niches, where the people can put little statues if they want, or birds and things. We'll have frescoes. Siqueiros is interested in doing that, I think. This place is for the people, and it has to grow naturally out of their needs." He smiled. "It will be kind of a religious place, very restful, quiet. It's going to be nice here." He gazed about him. "I love doing this—just letting it grow by itself. Trees. We'll have a little woods." He pointed to some Arizona cypress that had been planted along the property lines, but I noticed that many of the seedling trees had yellowed and died in the heat.

Near the blue bench, a shaded passage penetrated the building. Opening off it to the left was a back door to the cooperative store, which was stocked with food for the strikers donated by individuals and agen-

cies all over the United States. (During the strike, members have been able to get food there when not holding a job, and, if necessary, their rent has been paid out of the strike fund.) Opposite this back door to the cooperative was the door of a small storeroom, eight feet by six. It was in that small room, behind thick walls that sealed away the sounds of the outside world, that Chavez had fasted for some three weeks.

The fast began on February 14, 1968, just after Chavez returned from a fund-raising tour around the country. (Of such tours Chavez once remarked, "The speaker is just a little man in a big box. When the speech is over, he is put back in his box and carried on to the next place.") Everywhere he had gone, the militant groups that supported him or sought his support had been talking about the violence that was being planned for the summer of 1968, and in Delano his own people were rivalling the growers with loose talk about quick solutions. It was winter, in the hungry time between the pruning and the girdling of vines, and the grape strike had been going on for two and a half years, and the workers were muttering that they had waited long enough. Hadn't violence got results in the ghetto riots of 1967? Perhaps a little burning in Delano, or an explosion or two, might force the growers to negotiate. Chavez could not deny this. "If we had used violence, we would have won contracts long ago," he once told me, "but they wouldn't be lasting, because we wouldn't have won respect." Depressed, he decided on the fast as a kind of penance for the beligerence that had developed in his own union.

Chavez had fasted twice before, for periods of four days and ten days; he had no idea when he began how long this fast would last. "I started to fast on a Wednesday, and on Monday I called a special meeting in town and told the people what I was doing. I said that there was nothing to debate or decide, because it was a personal decision—that I knew I would not be able to carry out all my duties, because I would be in bed, but that I would do the best I could, and would always be available to them. I told them I thought the best place for the fast was our own Forty Acres. I told them that I didn't want anybody else to fast. Somebody might say, 'Well, if Cesar can do it I can do it,' but there was no reason for them to starve themselves. For me, it was different—I was prepared and everything. So I got out of the meeting and I walked a couple of miles, and then Helen got a ride and caught me, and walked with me the rest of the way out here to the Forty Acres. I told everybody that the fast should be kept as secret as possible, and that if it got out I wouldn't talk to the press. The people could come to see me day or night, and the strike should go on as usual. But it didn't, and there was a lot of confusion. Even at the meeting, there were some people against, some people for. It was the sixth day or the eighth day before everybody accepted it. When I disappeared, there was a rumor that I had been shot, and then everybody said that I was very sick, and finally we had to tell them the truth, but we still said we didn't want any interviews or pictures or anything. I didn't talk to the newsmen—didn't want to. I just wanted to continue working."

He laughed. "I did more organizing out of that bed than I did anywhere. It was really a rest, though. To me, it was a vacation. As soon as the word got out, the members began to come. Just people! From all over the state! Mexicans you know—farm workers. We estimated that ten thousand people came here during the fast—we never turned anybody away. And Negroes came, and Filipinos. Everybody! I didn't know how the people were going to respond to the fast, but the Filipinos and the Mexicans have very similar traditions—the Spanish went to the Philippines and they did pretty much what they did in Mexico. Anyway, everything went beautifully. The Filipinos came and began to paint the windows in some of the buildings, and all kinds of little things began to appear. They weren't artists, but the thing looked *beautiful.*" He spoke this last word with great intensity, turning to look at me. "I think the fast was a sort of rest for the people, too. You know? Oh, I could go on for days about the things that happened in the fast that were really great! I guess one time I thought about becoming a priest, but I did this instead, and I'm happy to be a part of it. For me, this work is fun. It's really fun! It's so great when people participate. Mexico is such a poor country, and I could never understand how after the Revolution they could produce all that beautiful art. But now I see it in our own strike. It's only a very small revolution, but we see this art beginning to come forth. Art is becoming important to the people, and they are bringing these things. When they find themselves like this, they begin to appreciate some of the other things in life. I didn't understand this at first, but they began to bring things. Offerings, you know—religious pictures, mostly. Some people brought a hundred-and-fifty-year-old Christ of the Miners, handmade out of silver down in Mexico, and there were some other really valuable pieces. We've got everything safe, and we'll put it on display one day here at the Forty Acres. The only pictures we got that weren't of Christ or of a saint were of John Kennedy—there were many of them. And the people learned more about Martin Luther King and about Ghandi in that fast than if we had sat them down for a whole year of lectures.

"Something else very beautiful happened. For years and years, the Mexican Catholics have been very discriminatory against the minority Mexican Protestants. They didn't know anything about them, they were just against them, and I didn't like it a bit. Well, we used to hold Mass every day in the store across from my room—we made it into a kind of chapel. And about the fifth day a Protestant preacher came. He works out there at Schenley, and he has a little church in Earlimart. And I said, 'How would you like to come and preach at our Mass?' And he said, 'What?' I mean, such a thing had never happened, and he thought he would be stoned, because there was a lot of nonsense still going on between Catholics and Protestants. I told him this was a wonderful time to begin to repair some of the damage that had been done, the bad feeling, but he said, 'I can't preach here. I'll get thrown out.' I said, 'No, if that happens I'll go out with you.' So he said, 'All right, fine.' And when he came I introduced him, gave the full name of his church and everything, so there was no room for doubt about where he came from. And he did it in great form, something like the Negro Southern preacher, but it wasn't too much or anything. He knew the Bible by heart. He spoke about non-violence —from Matthew. And the people accepted him. There was a great spirit. They just took him in. So three days later I asked another one to come, and he came, and he was also great, and then a Negro minister came — it was beautiful. So then I went back to the first one and told him to come again and bring his whole group and sing some of those Mexican Protestant hymns. He said, 'Gee, no.' " Chavez shrank back and imitated the clergyman's voice. "Sure,' I said. 'The people will love it.' So they came and sang some real great Mexican Protestant music that we're not familiar with because of that prejudice. And now our Franciscan priest has gone and preached out there, in that little Protestant church in Earlimart!"

I asked him if his concept of the fast derived from Gandhi.

"Well, partly," he said. "In India, fasting is part of the tradition — there's an Indian engineer here who is a friend and comes to see us, and he says that in India almost everybody fasts. But Mexicans have the Catholic concept of sacrifice. The *penitencia* is part of our history. In Mexico, a lot of people will get on their knees and travel for five miles. I didn't know much about Ghandhi, so I read everything I could get my hands on about him, and I read some of the things that he had read, and I read Thoreau, which I liked very much. But I couldn't really under-

stand Gandhi until I was actually in the fast. Then the books became much more clear. Things I understood but didn't feel—well, in the fast I *felt* them, and there were some real insights. There wasn't a day or a night that I lost. I slept in the day when I could, and at night, I read. I slept on a very thin mattress, with a board—soft mattresses are no good. And I had the peace of mind that is so important. The fasting part is secondary."

In the heavy Sunday silence of the Valley, Chavez got up from the bench and stretched and grinned, and we went back out into the sun. Ten o'clock had come and gone, and the blue sky had paled to a blue-white. In one corner of the Forty Acres, just off the highway, was a heavy wooden cross made of old telephone poles, with ten-foot arms. It had been consecrated soon after the fast, and after the assassination of Robert Kennedy it was covered with a shroud. In late June, after two attempts to burn it, vandals had sawed it down. The charred remnants had been left there in the mesquite-desert dust, so that no one on either side should forget the event. Chavez glanced at the despoiled cross but made no comment. We went out onto the highway and walked toward town.

During the fast, Chavez subsisted on plain water, but his cousin Manuel, who often guarded him and helped him to the toilet, was fond of responding to knocks on the door by crying out, "Go away, he's eating!"

I asked if in the fast he had had any hallucinations.

"No, I was wide awake," he said. "But there are certain things that happen, about the third or fourth day, and this has happened to me every time I've fasted. It's like all of a sudden when you're up at a high altitude and you clear your ears. In the same way, my mind clears — it is open to everything. After a long conversation, for example, I could repeat word for word what had been said. That's one of the sensations of the fast. It's beautiful. And usually I can't concentrate on music very well, but in the fast I could see the whole orchestra and everything, that music was so clear. That room, you know, is fireproof, and almost soundproof—not quite but almost. There's a ten-inch wall, with six inches of poured concrete. There were some Mexican guitars around—this was about the nineteenth day — and I turned to Helen and my brother Richard and some of my kids and said, 'I hear some singing.' So everybody stopped talking and looked around. 'We don't hear anything.' So I said, 'I'll bet you I hear singing!' So this time they stopped about forty seconds. 'But we don't hear anything!' 'Well,' I said, 'I still hear singing.' Then my sister-in-law glanced at Richard. Her expression was kind of funny, so I said, "We'd better investigate this right now, because either I'm hearing things or it's happening.' They said it was just my imagination, and I said, 'Richard, please investigate for me, right now, because I won't feel right if you don't.' So Richard went outside, and there were some guys there across the yard having a drink, and they were singing." Chavez laughed. "Then, toward the end, I began to notice people eating. Helen and everybody. I'd never really noticed people *eat*. It was so . . . so . . ." He struggled for words to express fascination and horror. "Well, like animals in a zoo. I couldn't take my eyes off them."

I asked Chavez what had persuaded him to end the fast.

"Well, the pressure kept building, especially from the doctor. He was getting very concerned about the acids and things that I didn't know anything about. A kind of cannibalism occurs, you know—the acid begins to eat your fat, and you have to have a lot of water to clear your kidneys. First of all, at the beginning, I wouldn't let him test me. I said, "If you declare me physically able to begin the fast, then its' not a sacrifice. If you find out that I'm ill, there will be too much pressure not to do it. So let me begin, and after I've started, *then* we'll worry about what's wrong with me.' But I forgot that the doctor was responsible for me—that if something went wrong with me he would get it. So I argued and he worried. Finally, after the twelfth day, I let him check my urine, and about the seventeenth day I let him check my heart, and he said, 'Well, you're fit.' And I said, 'I know I'm fit. I knew it when I got into this.' " On the twenty-first day of the fast, Chavez's physician, Dr. James McKnight, insisted that he take medication, and also wanted him to drink a few ounces of bouillon and unsweetened grapefruit juice. Dr. McKnight and many other people felt that Chavez might be doing himself permanent harm. Chavez did not agree. He said that the back pains that had been bothering him for about ten years gave him less trouble during the fast than they had for some time, and that the chronic headaches and sinusitis from which he had suffered also disappeared. "After the fast they gave me a complete analysis—blood and all that stuff — and do you know something?" Chavez smiled, shaking his head. "I was perfect!"

Chavez told me that he could have gone on longer than he did, but that the pressure—all kinds of pressure —kept mounting. He smiled again. "Usually there was somebody around to guard me—give me water, or help me out if I had to go to the rest room — but one time, about two o'clock in the morning, they were singing out there, and then they fell asleep, and the door was open. And this worker came in who had come all the way from Merced, about fifty miles from here, and he'd been drinking. He represented some workers' committee, and his job was to make me eat and break my fast." Chavez laughed. "And he had tacos, you know, with meat, and all kinds of tempting things. I tried to explain to him, but he opens up this lunch pail and gets out a taco—still warm, a big one—and tries to force me. And I don't want to have my lips touch the food. I mean, at that point food is no temptation—I just thought that if it touched my lips I was breaking the fast, you see, and I was too weak to fight him off. This guy was drunk, and he was pretty big, and so he sits on top of me, he's wrestling with me, and I'm going like this." Chavez twisted and groaned with horror, rolling his eyes and screwing up his mouth in an imitation of a man trying to avoid a big, warm taco. "Oh! Ow!" he cried. "Like a girl who doesn't want to get kissed, you know. I began to shout for help, but this guy really meant business. He had told his committee, 'Look, you pay my gas and I'll go down there and make him eat. He'll eat because I'll *make* him eat. I won't leave there *until* he eats.' So he didn't want to go back to Merced without results. First he gave me a lecture, and that didn't work. Then he played it tough, and that didn't work. Then he cried, and it didn't work. And then we prayed together, and that didn't work, either."

I asked if the man was still sitting on him while they prayed, and Chavez said he was. "He got my arms, like this," Chavez gestured. "And then he got my hands, like *this*." He gestured again. "In a nice way, you know, but he's hurting me, because he's so heavy. I'm screaming for help, and finally somebody—I think it was my cousin Manuel—opens the door and sees this guy on top of me. Manuel thinks he's killing me, but he's so surprised he doesn't know what to do, you know, so he stands there in the door for at least thirty seconds while I'm yelling, 'Get him off of me!' Then about fifty guys rush in and pull him out of there. I thought they were going to kill him because they thought he was attacking me. I can hardly speak, but I try to cry out, 'Don't do anything to him! Bring him back!' 'No!' they yell. 'Bring him back!' 'No!' they yell. I'm shouting, you know. 'Bring him back! I have to talk to him! Don't hurt him!' " In describing this scene, Chavez made his voice quaver piteously. "So finally they brought him back. He wasn't hurt—he was too drunk. So I said, 'Sit down. Let me explain it.' And I explained it, step by step, and the guy's crying—he's feeling very dejected and hurt." Chavez stopped on the highway shoulder, laughing quietly at the memory, in genuine sympathy with the emissary from Merced.

"Anyway, the kids began to feel

the pressure, and my father and mother," he went on. "My dad began to lose his sleep. He'll never talk about himself, but he's over eighty, you know. so I got a little worried. He has fasted a couple of times himself. Once, he had dysentery and he couldn't clear it up, and he was dying. And one of those hoboes on their way through—this was in the Depression and they were white Okies, mostly — one of them told my father not eating could take care of it. He said, 'I'll either save you or I'll kill you, and I'll be back in three days, so you think it over.' Well, my dad had been to a specialist and everything, and nobody could help him, but he said, 'Hell, how can I stop eating? I can't stop eating for even half a day.' And the hobo said, 'No, you can go for twenty days, maybe thirty days.' So, anyway, when the hobo came back my dad said he would try it. So he stopped eating, and in three days he got rid of the dysentery—there was nothing to feed it. He went for twenty days. So I said to him, 'Dad, you fasted for twenty days,' and he said, 'Yes, but that was different.' I had no set date in mind, but a combination of things made me end it on March 10th, after twenty-five days. I could have gone a few days more. I broke the fast on a Sunday—it must have been about one or two o'clock. I ate a small piece of bread. But actually I kept on fasting for the next four days, because you can't eat right away. So really I felt weaker *after* I broke my fast."

During the fast, Chavez had received a telegram from Senator Robert Kennedy ("I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I FULLY AND UNSWERVINGLY SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLES WHICH LED YOU TO UNDERTAKE YOUR FAST . . . YOUR WORK AND YOUR BELIEF HAVE ALWAYS BEEN BASED SOLELY UPON PRINCIPLES OF NON-VIOLENCE . . . YOU HAVE MY BEST WISHES AND MY DEEPEST CONCERN IN THESE DIFFICULT HOURS"), and the Senator with a phalanx of the press, appeared in person on the epochal Sunday when the fast ended. Chavez had first met Robert Kennedy in Los Angeles back in 1960— a brief early-morning meeting concerned with a voter-registration drive for John Kennedy's Presidential campaign—and in 1966, as a senator, Robert Kennedy had come to Delano for hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. "Even then, I had an idea he was going to be a candidate for the Presidency, and I was concerned for him because he endorsed us so straightforwardly, without straddling the line," Chavez told me. "This was a time when everybody was against us—the only people for us were ourselves. He didn't have to go so far. Instead of that awful feeling against politicians who don't commit thmselves, we felt protective. He said that we had the right to form a union and that he endorsed our right, and not only endorsed us but joined us. I was amazed at how quickly he grasped the whole picture. In the hearings, when they began to call the witnesses, he immediately asked very pointed questions of the growers. He had a way of disintegrating their arguments by picking at the very simple questions. He had to leave just before the hearings ended, but he told the press that the workers were eventually going to be organized, and that the sooner the employers recognized this the sooner it was going to be over. And when reporters asked him if we weren't Communists, he said, 'No, they are not Communists. They're struggling for their rights.' So he really helped us, and things began to change."

On March 10, 1968, while Senator Kennedy was in Los Angeles, he was notified that the fast was ending, and he chartered a plane and flew to Delano with Paul Schrade, head of the West Coast United Automobile Workers. At first, according to some of the people around Chavez, Kennedy seemed rather cold. "He felt kind of uneasy, and one of our people heard him ask Paul Schrade or somebody, 'What do you say to a guy who's on a fast?' " Chavez told me. "He was only in the room with me about thirty seconds. He looked at me"—Chavez grinned mischievously—"and he says, 'How are you, Ce-zar?' I said, 'Very well, thank you. And I thank you for coming.' He said, 'It's my pleasure,' or something. So then we kind of changed the subject. I was very weak, and I did not know what to say, either. I think I introduced him to Paul Schrade." Chavez laughed. "The TV people were there, and one poor cameraman got blocked out. I saw he was frantic, and I was too weak to shout, but finally I signalled to let him in, and they let him in. The poor guy was really pale. And he said, "Senator, this is probably the most ridiculous request I ever made in my life, but would you mind giving him a piece of bread?' And the Senator gave it to me, and the camera rolled, and the man said, 'Thank you very, very much.' "

Chavez, who used to be rather stocky, had dropped from a hundred and seventy-five pounds to a hundred and forty during the fast; bundled up in a dark checked hooded parka against the March cold, he was half carried to a Mass of Thanksgiving held in a Delano park, where an altar had been set up on a flatbed truck. During the offertory, Paul Schrade, on behalf of his auto workers, presented the union with fifty thousand dollars for the construction of its new headquarters at the Forty Acres. Reies Lopez Tijerna, a leader of New Mexico's Mexican-Americans, gave a fiery speech, and Kennedy declared that he was present out of respect for "one of the heroic figures of our time." After taking Communion with Chavez, he gave a speech in a Spanish so awful that he stopped to laugh at himself. "Am I murdering the language?" he inquired, and was wildly cheered. *"Hool-ga!"* he shouted, in an effort to say *"huelga,"* which is Spanish for "strike." *Hool-ga!"*

The Mass was attended by from four thousand to ten thousand people, depending on the source of the estimate, and Kennedy's meeting with Chavez and with the crowds in Delano obviously enlivened him more than anything had in a long time. "He had a heck of a time getting from where we were sitting to the car," Chavez told me. "The crowd was pushing and surging, and when he got there he didn't get in. The way the people were reacting, he wanted to stand there and shake their hands and talk to them. Everybody was afraid of so many people pushing like that, and when he got inside, the people were saying through the windows, 'Aren't you going to run? Why don't you run? Please run!' Then the car got moving, and Kennedy turned to some people in the car with him and said, 'Maybe I will. Yes, I think I will.' So when he announced his candidacy a week later, it was no surprise to us. When Paul Schrade called to ask if I would endorse the Senator and run to be a delegate, I knew it would not be honorable to ask for something in return. With most politicians, this would have been all right, but not with this man who had already helped us so much. After a three-hour discussion, our members voted unanimously that I should be a delegate, and we immediately began a voter-registration drive for the primary in June. We worked right up to the last minute. We had a beautiful time, and the drive was a tremendous success. Some precincts went out a hundred per cent for Kennedy. But I was very tired after the voting, and I felt embarrassed when my name was called at the victory rally at the Ambassador in Los Angeles, and so I left early, before the Senator came downstairs. The last time I ever talked to him was when he gave me that piece of bread."

Our shoes scuffed along on the highway shoulder, over the slag of broken stone, tar bits, glass, and flattened beer cans. Passing cars buffeted with hot wind the big yellow sunflowers that had gained a foothold between the asphalt and the dull, man-poisoned crop, and pressed toads, as dry as leaves, gave evidence in death that a few wild things still clung to life in this realm of organophosphates and chlorinated hydrocarbons. Hard-edged and monotonous as parking lots, the green fields seemed without life. The road we walked across the Valley floor was as straight and rigid as a gun barrel, without rise or curve.

Of all California's blighted regions, the one that man has changed most is this great Central Valley, which extends north and south for almost four hundred miles. The Sacramento Valley, in the northern half, was once a sea of grass parted by rivers; the San Joaquin Valley, adjourning the Sacramento to the south, was a region of shallow lakes and bulrush or tule

marshes. Both of these sections of the Central Valley supported innumerable animals and birds, among which waterfowl, antelope, and tule elk were only the most common; there were also significant populations of wolves, grizzlies, cougar, deer, and beaver. To the Spanish, centered in the great mission holdings along the coast, the grass-lands of the interior were scarcely known, and their destruction was accomplished almost entirely by the wave of Americans that followed hard upon the Gold Rush. Game slaughter became an industry, and the carnivores were poisoned; unrestricted grazing by huge livestock herds destroyed the perennial grasses. Oat grass, June grass, and wild rye grass gave way to tarweed, cheatgrass, and thistle, which were crowed, in turn, by rank annual weeds escaped from the imported food crops of the settlers. In the last part of the nineteenth century, the huge corporate ranches were challenged for the dying range by huge corporate farms; the first big factory crop was wheat, the second sugar beets. One by one, the tule marshes were drained and burned over; by the beginning of our century, the lakes and creeks, like the wild creatures, had disappeared without a trace. As the whole Valley dried, the water table that had once lain just below the surface sank away; the search for water became fiercely competitive, and in some places people resorted to oil-drilling equipment, tapping Ice Age aquifiers hundreds of feet down. To replace the once plentiful water, the rivers were dammed and rechanneled; Shasta Dam destroyed the Sacramento, and Friant Dam choked off the San Joaquin. Today, there are no wild rivers in the Valley, and very few in all of California; the streams of the Coast Range and the Sierras have been turned to irrigation. seeping across the Valley floor in concrete ditches.

A car, bulging with children, slowed down, and the driver offered us a lift; when Chavez refused, the occupants shouted in surprise. The car swayed on, and a woman's voice drifted back to us: " . . . *su penitencia?*" Chavez, glancing at me shyly, grinned. *"Si, si,"* he murmured. *"Mi penitencia."* The driver of the next car, seeing Chavez refuse the ride, blared a loud greeting on his horn, and a child's voice—"Hi, Mr. Chavez!"—was whirled upward and away in the hot, dusty wind of the car's wake.

A farm truck came by as we approached the town, and the sunburned face of a blond boy stared back at us. I wondered if he had recognized Chavez. "Some of the growers still get pretty nasty," Chavez remarked, after a moment. "The worst are some of these young Anglo kids. They come by and give you the finger, and you wave back at them. Then they give you a double finger, and you wave back again. You don't wave back to make fun of them — you just wave back."

As he spoke, Chavez stopped to pat a mangy dog, which flinched away from him; he squatted down to talk to it. " *Hay Mas Tiempo que Vida'*—that's one of our *dichos*. "There is more time than life.' We don't worry about time." (In a letter to the head of a growers' association, he once wrote, "Time accomplishes for the poor what money does for the rich.")

Children and a woman greeted him from a shady yard, and he called back to ask the woman about her husband's job. The woman's house was right next door to the old union office, now the hiring hall, a gray stucco building at the corner of Albany Street and First Avenue; this is the far southwest corner of Delano, and across the street, to the south and west, the vineyards stretch away. The hiring hall, which was originally a grocery, is in poor condition, because of old age and cheap construction, and also because of several hit-and-run assaults. "One truck backed right into it," Chavez said, bending to show me a large crack in the wall. "Practically knocked down the whole thing. See? See what he did there?" He straightened. "They broke all these windows. One time, they threw a flaming gasoline-soaked rag through the window—that just about did it. But someone saw them and called the fire department, and they put it on the radio, and my brother Richard was listening to the radio and took off and got over here quick. He had it out before the fire department got here." Chavez shook his head. "One second more and the whole thing would have gone." He laughed suddenly. "Man, they used to come here with bows and shoot fire arrows into the roof! We had to keep a ladder and a hose on hand for a long time."

Rounding the corner onto First, we approached the union headquarters, in a building known as the Pink House. Although it was Sunday, several cars were parked along the street, and two workers in clean denims stood on a bleached patch of lawn behind a low picket fence. Chavez hailed them: *"Que tal?"*

I talked with the two workers for a little while. In telling me about Chavez and the union, they interrupted each other out of pure enthusiasm. They both said that if a secret ballot could be taken, ninety-five per cent of the workers on most ranches would be pro-union but that the workers were uneducated people who did not speak English very well and were afraid. "They scared if they do anything the boss just kick them out," one of the men said. "And if you got kids you *got* to work, you know. If you got kids, you got to work every day." He was a very big man with heavy eeybrows and steel-rimmed glasses. At the mention of children, he looked worried.

"We know we livin' in a free country, but the growers don't know it yet," said the other man, whose broad open face had a small mustache on it. "Why they don't want a secret ballot? Because they afraid! When the picket line comes, they have *everything* out there to drown it out." The man snickered with delight. "Man, they have radios, they have loudspeakers, car horns, bells!"

One non-union grower, the men told me, was paying a dollar-sixty an hour at the moment, because he needed people for the harvest, but later he could drop the wage to a dollar-forty, and anybody who didn't like it was out of a job. Union workers had a two-year contract, giving them a dollar-ninety an hour, which would automatically be raised ten cents the following year. Not only that but the work hours were regulated now, with time and a half for overtime.

The face of the man with glasses wrinkled in distaste. "Before Cesar was there, everybody was afraid." To illustrate, he doffed his hat in a slow, obsequious gesture. "Now we not afraid no more."

"We got paid vacations now," the other man said, in a voice suggesting that he could still scarcely believe it. "We got seniority. You know Henry? Well, we got this colored fella, Henry, that was out there eleven years, and never got no seniority on the best jobs. Now he's drivin' a tractor, and he don't believe it. He just don't believe it."

Both men were silent. Then the man with the mustache said, "I want the union for every poor people in this country. I win more money, then they must win it, too. If you got a big family, one-forty an hour is not much —you got to work twelve to sixteen hours every day. This is the way they killin' the peoples. A man workin' seven days a week for twenty, thirty years — I don't think that man is livin'."

In the late afternoon, Chavez sat down in the shade of the Pink House with a delegation of high-school students from East Los Angeles called the Young Adult Leadership Group. On his busiest day, Chavez seems unhurried; he is altogether where he is. Once, I asked him about a magazine interview in which his responses to the reporter seemed too simple, and Chavez nodded. "He was in a hurry," he said. "So I was, too." The students were mostly Mexican-Americans, along with a few whites and blacks. Some were straight and some wore long hair and hippie beads, but all were interested in helping the union boycott by picketing the East Los Angeles supermarkets. "We had a great reception in East L.A. when we went down to get the vote out for Senator Kennedy," Chavez told them. "I went to many polling places and talked to the ladies and the men, and they knew all about the union. We made a *lot* of friends there. They send us food now, and some have come to visit us in Delano. Anyway, don't let them kid you about those grapes coming from Arizona or Mexico. In East L.A., they shouldn't be selling any grapes at all." He grinned. "They should only be sell-

ing tacos and tamales, things like that." The Mexican students laughed.

Chavez talked about race prejudice and the problems he had had with it in his own union. "The *chicanos*"—the Mexican-Americans — "wanted to swing against the Filipinos. We don't permit that against anyone. I told them they'd have to get somebody else to run the union. You don't take a vote on those things—whether to discriminate or not. You don't *ask* people whether they want to do that or not —you just don't do it." He regarded his audience of black, white, and brown students. "That doesn't mean you can't be proud of what you are. In the union, we're just beginning, and you're just beginning. Mexican-American youth is just beginning to wake up. Five years ago, we didn't have this feeling. Nobody wanted to be *chicanos*. They wanted to be anything but *chicanos*. But three months ago I went up to San Jose State College and they had a beautiful play in which they let everybody know that they were *chicanos* and that *chicanos* meant something and that they were proud of it." He paused again. "In a conflict area like here in Delano, you have to be for your people or against them. We don't want to see anybody on the fence. I walk down the street here and I get insulted almost as many times as I get a friendly wave. And that's the way it should be—you have to be for or against. If you aren't committed one way or the other, then you might as well lie in the weeds."

The students told Chavez that the police in East Los Angeles had become very hostile, especially against the Brown Berets, a group of young Mexican-American militants who pattern themselves after the Black Panthers. A girl said, "The Man is after everybody now. I think they're out to crush the whole *chicano* movement." Discussing the police, the young people sounded tense and worried, and in their haste to confide their worry to Chavez, who looked worried himself, they interrupted one another.

"Them thirteen that were arrested—"

"Club you, man. They club you—"

Chavez was nodding, he has told me that he feels it is only a matter of time before brown communities start exploding like the black ones. "But those police clubs will organize the people," he told the young visitors.

After Chavez excused himself, the students chattered excitedly among themselves. Already a few of them had acquired buttons that said "VIVA LA CAUSA!" and "HUELGA!" One of the hippie contingent, a boy with dark skin and long hair, wearing wild beads and a green Che fatigue shirt, was pinning on a "GRAPES OF WRATH—DELANO" button. "We'll show these guys," he told me. "Cesar don't believe in violence, but we do." Fists on hips, he tossed his chin toward his fellow-students who were squealing, jostling, squalling. and flirting their way to a bus. "The Young Adult Leadership Group," he said, and he gave a low, mocking whistle.

At the Stardust Motel, I ran into the sunburned blond boy I had seen staring at Chavez from a pickup truck. He turned out to be the nephew of a local grower, and was working in the vineyards for the summer, before going to college. He had stared at Chavez because a foreman in the truck had said that whenever he saw a Mexican near Albany Street it was probably one of Chavez's men, and now he was actually surprised to learn that he had actually seen Chavez himself. Most of the growers, I had already discovered, had never laid eyes on this dangerous figure, and probably would not recognize him if they did. The nephew was handsome, pleasant, and polite; he called me "sir." He said that although his generation felt less strongly than their fathers, and although some sort of farm workers' union seemed inevitable, the Delano growers would let their grapes rot in the fields before signing a union contract with Chavez. I asked if this was because Chavez was a Mexican. No, he said, it was because Chavez was out for himself and had no real support; even that three-day fast last winter had been nothing but a publicity stunt.

A few days later, I drove down the Sandrini Road to Lamont, a farming town southeast of Bakersfield, where a small vineyard was to be picketed by Chavez's people. The Lamont- Arvin-Weedpatch fields, celebrated by John Steinbeck in "The Grapes of Wrath," are the southern-most in the San Joaquin Valley; here the grape harvest, which had scarcely begun in Delano, thirty-five miles to the north, was almost complete.

At dawn, the hot summer air was already windless, and a haze of unsettled dust shrouded the sunrise. Trucks were unloading empty grape boxes for work crews at the ends of long rows of vines, which looked almost fresh in the thin dew, and the men in charge, standing beside their pickups, watched my strange car approaching from a long way off.

As I drew up behind the waiting vehicles, two men in the middle of the road began to argue. One said, "You don't want to do that, Abe. You don't want to do that. You do that and they'll know they're getting to you."

But the other, small and bespectacled, stomped over to my car. "You on our side?" he demanded.

His companion, a husky, dark-haired man in his late twenties, came over to calm him down. Politely, to elicit my identity, he introduced the small man —Abe Haddad. "Barling's my name," he added, hand extended. "Most people around here call me Butch." He glanced at Haddad, who glared at me, unmollified. "Our dads are partners in this field," Barling explained.

I asked how they had known they would be picketed this morning.

"How did you know?" Haddad countered.

I said that I had learned it from the union office.

"Well, we have a spy system, too," he said. "But their system is a hell of a lot better." He pointed to some unpicked vines near the public road, where his pickers would be working within easy reach of the voices from the picket line. The pickets, he said, would arrive around seven-thirty, when the pickers were well settled at their work. If even one worker could be persuaded to walk off the job and give his name to agents of the United States Department of Labor, then a labor dispute could be certified, under P.L. 414. "I think me and Johnston's are the only ones left around here that do not have a certified strike," Barling remarked. But, in fact, I knew he was wrong: several people had walked off the Johnston farm after work the day before.

Haddad and Barling told me that Chavez had been losing ground with the workers. "As far as your local help here, they don't want no part of him," Haddad said. "They wish he'd get the hell out of here."

I asked why.

"Because they're makin' more money here than they could ever make with the union!" Haddad said.

"The union, they only work a forty hour week, so even with their wage increase they make less money," Barling said. "On your union ranches, sure the wages are just as good, maybe better, but they don't let 'em work the hours, work the days. The union is tryin' to run a farm like a factory, and you cannot run a farm like a factory!"

When Haddad had gone, Barling acknowledged that the boycott had hurt him. "Today the market is three dollars a box — I'm breaking even. Next week I could be going backward." He laughed at his own helplessness. And even a grower with a small holding, like Barling, is far better off than a man trying to subsist on a family farm. Two-thirds of California's farms are of less than a hundred acres, and even without the pressure of a strike the family farms are going under; California has lost fifty-three thousand farms—nearly half—in the last decade. Since 1960, more than a quarter of America's family farms have vanished, but it is the family that vanishes, not the farm; farm land, absorbed by the large growers, has decreased only about four per cent in the same period. The small farm, with small capital and small margin, can afford neither the labor force nor the new machinery that keep incrasing the advantage of the large ones. Rarely do the small farms cooperate in their production and distribution operations, or join forces to support the price of their smaller crop. Huge corporate enterprises, which can make money on a small profit from an enormous volume, are actually far more of a threat to Barling than Chavez's union.

We stood around awhile, waiting for the pickets. Before long, Barling said, "Here they come now." A cara-

van of ancient cars had appeared on the Sandrini Road. They drew off the pavement, and fifteen or twenty people got out, stretching. Carrying horns and "HUELGA!" banners, the pickets split into two groups, stationing themselves opposite two main crews of pickers.

"Well, this is a pretty good-looking group," Barling said, starting across the highway. "Sometimes we get a lot of these guys with long hair and beards." He grinned bitterly through his own early-morning stubble. "Course, we know they're actual grape pickers, not just a bunch of hippies from L.A.," he said. "Don't get me wrong." For the first time, and the last, we laughed together. He crossed the public road. Arms folded on his chest, legs wide apart, he took up a position where his workers could get a good look at the boss.

Up and down the road, red strike flags fluttered, the only brightness in the sunny haze that stretched away to the brown shadows of the Tehachapi Mountains. Already the voices of the pickets were calling to the workers.

"Venega! Venegase! Companero!"

"Huelga! Huel-ga!"

To Chavez, the picket line is the best school for organizers. "If a man comes out of the field and goes on the picket line, even for one day, that man will never be the same," he once told me. "The picket line is the best possible education. Some labor people came to Delano and said, 'Where do you train people? Where are your classrooms?' I took them to the picket line. That's where we train people. That's the best training. The labor people didn't get it. They stayed a week and went back to their big jobs and comfortable homes. They hadn't seen training, but the people here see it, and I see it. The picket line is where a man makes his commitment. And the longer he's on the picket line the stronger the commitment. The workers on the ranch committees who don't know how to speak, or never speak—after five days on the picket lines they speak right out, and they speak better. A lot of workers make their commitment when nobody sees them — they just leave the job and they don't come back. But you get a guy who, in front of the boss and in front of all the other guys, throws down his tools and marches right out to the picket line—that's an exceptional guy, that guy, but that's the kind we have out on the strike. Oh, the picket line is a beautiful thing, because it does something to a human being. People associate strikes with violence, and we've removed the violence. Then people began to understand what we are doing, you know, and after that they're not afraid. And if you're not afraid of that kind of thing, then you're not afraid of guns — these things can't frighten you. If you had a gun and they had a gun, then you would be frightened, because it becomes a question of who gets shot first. But if you have no gun and they've got a gun, then—well, the guy with the gun has a lot harder decision to make than you have."

In the first months of the strike, in the autumn of 1965, local sheriffs and the state police of Kern and Tulare Counties followed the strikers everywhere they went. At that time, many of the ranch foremen carried guns, and shotgun blasts destroyed picket signs and car windows. The growers, startled by a walkout of several hundred harvest workers in the first few days, apparently meant to see to it that this strike was broken as quickly as all the rest, and they set about their business with a will. With policemen watching, they marched up and down the picket lines slamming the strikers with their elbows, kicking them, stomping their cowboy boots down on strikers' toes; they cursed them, spat on them, and brushed them narrowly with speeding trucks. On September 23, 1965, while picketing the house of a scab-labor contractor in Delano, a small striker named Israel Garza was knocked down repeatedly by a grower before the police intervened; they had been warned by Chavez that he could not control the crowd if the attacks continued. The police reported to the Fresno *Bee* that they had dispersed the crowd "when one picket fell down." The strikers accepted this treatment, in the expectation that arrests would soon be made, but those arrested were invariably strikers, who were taken into custody for such offenses as shouting, the public use of bullhorns, the public use of the word *"huelga,"* and, in one case, the public reading of Jack London's "Definition of a Strikebreaker."

Of all the tactics of harassment, the threatening use of trucks was the most dangerous, but repeated complaints got nothing more from the police than the statement that no crime had been committed. At one point, a Filipino union member named Alfonso Pereira, who said that he had lost faith in the non-violent philosophy, announced that he was old and despondent and wanted to trade his life for that of a grower. He got into his car, drove around a field to pick up speed, and then launched himself into a trio of growers by the roadside. All but one jumped clear; the victim, John Zaninovich, got away with a broken hip. Pereira was dealt with swiftly by the courts, and went off to spend a year in jail, apparently with no regrets.

A few months later, a striker was run down. The complaint charged:

On or about Oct. 15, 1966, at the packing shed located at Garces Highway and Glenwood St. in the City of Delano, County of Kern, State of California, at or about the hour of 10 a.m. of said day, defendant Lowell Jordan Schy, acting within the course and scope of his employment, did maliciously, deliberately, and willfull assault and batter plaintiff by driving a flatbed truck, California license number W49-554, over plaintiff's body.

The plaintiff, Manuel Rivera, who had been one of the first workers to walk off the job and join the strike in 1965, was permanently crippled, and very nearly lost his life. The man who crippled him was not a trucker but the sales manager of a large grower; he had got angry when the drivers refused to cross the picket line, and decided to drive a truck himself. But, having run down Rivera, he rolled up the windows of the truck cab and subsided into a funk. If the episode had taken place out in the vineyards instead of in town, Schy would almost certainly have been killed. Had Chavez not arrived very quickly, he might have been killed anyway, because the truck was coming down around his ears when Chavez got there. Chavez had left the scene a few minutes before the accident; Helen Chavez phoned him at the office, and he came rushing back. Schy was actually calling for Chavez to come and save him, but Chavez could not reach the truck door through the angry crowd. Finally, he crawled under the truck bed and surfaced at the running board of the cab, where he rose like a vision before the mob. But the people were cursing non-violence; they wanted blood, and Chavez was in their way. Chavez yelled that they would have to get him too, then, and at last the people in front calmed down enough to listen, and he brought them back under control. He escorted Schy to the packing-shed offices, where he confronted the owner, a man named Mosesian. "That was the maddest I ever got," Chavez told me. "I really let him have it. I told him, 'You people value your damned money more than you value human life.' " Mosesian said he was sorry about what had happened, but subsequently a citation was issued against Manuel Rivera, for obstructing traffic. An assault case against Schy is still pending, and Rivera has received no compensation.

The mood of that time has been described by the Reverend James Drake, Chavez's administrative assistant: "Everybody thought Rivera was going to die, so everybody wanted to get the cops, who had been practically goose-stepping up to the picket line with their clubs, and they wanted to get the driver. One of the strikers, carrying a gun, walked up to Cesar and said, 'Goodbye. It's been nice knowing you.' He said how enjoyable it had been, working with Cesar and the union. So Cesar said, 'Where are you going?' and the man said, "I'm going to kill that guy.' So Cesar put his arm around him and said, 'Let's take a little walk.' Anyway, in a situation like that you forget your philosophy. I've been on the picket line ten different times when I didn't even know myself—you just see red and you have to do something."

I had followed Barling out onto the public road, and he pointed out two Labor Department officials and a heavy man in a white shirt who was leaning against a pale-blue car, arms

folded. This was Joseph Brosmer, of the Agricultural Labor Bureau — an organization set up, in effect, to protect the growers by keeping them from getting "overly excited," as Barling put it. "Some of your growers lose their tempers fairly easy, particularly if they are picked on or aggravated at, or so on and so forth," Barling said. He introduced me to Brosmer, who, upon discovering that I had a journalistic interest in the strike, asked me if I was aware of the fact that a worker who had been employed only one second could walk off the job and give his name to the gentlemen over there— he pointed to the Department of Labor people— in order to certify a labor dispute. "This situation tends to lend itself pretty well to plants," he said.

Approaching the strikers, I was stopped by the picket captain, a husky blond man with glasses. He had seen me talking with the growers, and he asked for my identification. "I want to know if you're friend or enemy," he said. I told him that on a public road I was under no obligation to identify myself. "I'm asking anyway," he said, neither rudely, nor politely, and I obliged him, because if he could not stop me from asking questions, he could stop me from getting answers. This picket captain was Nick Jones, a member of the staff of the Migrant Ministry, a Protestant group that attends to the needs of migrants in many states and, in Jones's opinion does a poor job of it everywhere but in California. A sign that read "No Trespassing: Survivors Will Be Prosecuted" attracted Jones's attention, and he went over to an old Volkswagen and got out an old camera to record it. In the foreground of his picture he placed a stout Mexican woman striker with a bullhorn, whom he addressed as Mrs. Zapata. She wore a big, cone-peaked straw sombrero with a pink brim, which was festooned with Kennedy buttons, an A.F.L.-C.I.O. badge, a "Grapes of Wrath—Delano" button, a small portrait of Jesus, and a purple feather. In the long rise and fall of loudspeaker rhetoric, she talked non-stop most of the morning. She told the workers that they should not be afraid of the *patron,* that they, the strikers had known hunger, too, and were seeking to better the lot of the poor, that all workers must organize and fight so that their children would not have to work like animals, as they had. *"Venganse, senores!"* she bawled. *"Para su respeto ye dignidad!"* Her entreaties were carried to the workers on wages of *"Huelga! Huelga!"* from the picket line, and the workers glanced at her uneasily and kept working. Now and then, Mrs. Zapata was drowned out by a passing truck, which would blare its horn from half a mile away and continue blaring after it had passed, its dust cloud rolling off into the fields. These trucks were diven at high speed, skimming the road edge just behind the strikers. Once, I had to jump, and each time I was shaken by the passing blast of air. Then the strike cries would resume again: *"Huelga!"*

Since many of the first-line strikers were now working on the boycott in the Eastern cities, what was left was a sort of skeleton crew. The men pickets that morning were mostly aged Filipinos, the women mostly Mexicans who were out of work. One pretty woman told me that she had been knocked unconscious by nitrate fertilizer spray while she was working in the Coachella Valley a few weeks before. She was a green-carder from Mexico City, Magdalena by name and beautician by trade, who had come to make some quick money during harvest time. She was gaily attired in a green shirt with huge white polka dots, a yellow bandanna, lavender slacks, and fake red hair, all set off by a small silver Virgin on a chain, and she was extremely cheerful about her ailments, which included nosebleeds, headaches, and sore lungs. It still pained her to breathe, she told me, and she could not go near the smell of sprays without a recurence of her symptoms.

"Huel-ga!" the pickets shouted. *"Venganse! No tengan miedo del patron, senores! Venganse!"* The old Filipino men beckoned with their arms, or waved red baners back and forth like fans. When they saw a countryman among the work crews, they would switch from poor Spanish and English and cry out to him in their native Tagalog: *"Mag labas kayo, kabayan! Huelga!"*

Jones told me that he was optimistic about the progress of the strike. The Johnston ranch had been struck yesterday; no workers had walked off the job during the picketing, but a whole group had come in to the farm workers' office afterward. "If we get the base here, we can start sweeping, take a lot of ranches further north," he said. "Those guys aren't going to make us boycott, because that hurts them worse than the strike itself. Much as they dislike Cesar, they'll sit down and negotiate."

"Esquirol!" a woman shouted at the workers. *"Esquirol!"*

I asked her what the word meant, and she said it was a term used for scabs. *"Es un animal."* She laughed, making an ambiguous writhing motion with her hand. *"Ni aqui ni alla."*

"Man, they don't like Cesar," Jones went on. "And behind the dislike for Cesar is the whole Mexican thing — someone they called 'boy' is standing up and asking to negotiate."

Chavez himself has given a good deal of thought to the growers' feelings about race. "Let them have their pride," he once told me. "What we want is the contract. This is what they fail to understand. We are not out to put them out of business, because our people need the work. We are out to build a union, and we'll negotiate half of our lives to get it. If we can get better wages and conditions for the workers, we are willing to give up something. But they choose to make it a personal fight, so we have to do something to save their face. It's not hard to understand why they feel the way they do, because they've had their own way for so long that they've got the habit of it. So things can't look as if we are getting a victory and they are not."

The perfunctory yells and catcalls on the picket line gained sudden momentum; red flags danced as the pickets gathered in a single spot, like a flock of birds. Down a row of vines, perhaps fifty yards away, a work crew had run out of boxes, and while they waited for a truck they turned toward the picket line and sat down to listen. The strikers' big gun, Mrs. Zapata, was moved into position, and while she huffed and blew into her bullhorn a Filipino shouted at the work crew in an old, hoarse voice that could scarcely be heard. Most Mexicans in the vineyards do not speak English, and this man's Spanish was not up to the job. *"Ven!"* he cried. "Come on, you! All of you! *Ven!* Come on! *Leesten,* you!" He wore a red "HUELGA" kerchief tied into the band of a plastic straw hat, and a purple button that said "Don't Buy Scab Grapes."

"Para respeto, hombre" Jones yelled. "Come on!"

The workers appeared to be arguing among themselves. Then one boy stood up and started for the picket line. After a few steps, he retreated, to argue some more. A second time he started down the road, motioning over his shoulder for his friends to follow. Though several got to their feet, they did not move. When the boy reached a point perhaps ten yards from the property line, he looked back and saw that he was all alone. He was no more than eighteen, and very small and thin, with a red-and-white kerchief tied around a homely narrow head. He stared at the dancing banners of the picket line—*"Vengase! Venga!"* —and at his boss, Barling, and at Joseph Brosmer, and at the two federal officials. He glanced back again at the *campesinos* he had left. Then he sank slowly to one knee and picked at the earth. He forced a smile, to suggest that he was only playing a game. He glanced back again to where he had come from.

"Venga! Vengase! Nosotros tambien tenemos hambre!"

The boy with the red-and-white kerchief waved a thin, ragged arm at the workers he had left behind. No one was working now; the boy's crew had been joined by others. But after a while the other crews dispersed and went back to work. Soon the long row was almost empty, stretching away southward into the dusty sky. The boy got up. He hesitated, then he spun away, cringing in a howl of disappointment that went up from the pickets. Shoulders hunched, he hurried down the row. Staring at the ground, kicking at clods, he lifted both hands high into the sky, thumbs outward, and without turning, waggled a goodbye with his fingers to the picket line.

The picket line subsided in discouragement; the boy had dissipated any pressure that might have been built up, and the morning was a failure. Mrs. Zapata moved a few rows away, where, using the bullhorn, she burst into song. "Nosotros Venceremos" ("We Shall Overcome") was followed promptly by "Huelga General" ("General Strike"):

Viva la huelga en el "fil"!
Viva la causa y la historia!
La raza llena de gloria!
La victoria va cumplir!

A big woman came to the edge of the fields and shouted violently at Mrs. Zapata. Through the bullhorn, Mrs. Zapata notified the workers that she knew this broad only too well and that she was entirely untrustworthy; in fact, she owed fifteen dollars to Mrs. Zapata herself, which she refused to pay. The woman, calling Mrs. Zapata a bitch, shrieked out an invitation to cross the property line, at which time she would be paid in full. In response, without letting up on the bullhorn, Mrs. Zapata saluted the woman with one finger. (To cross the property line, as the workers knew, was to get arrested.) Laughing, the picket line disbanded. The strikers got into their old cars and drove away.

When I recrossed the road, Barling said, "That Mexican gal with the bullhorn is terrific. She's better than all the rest of their people put together." He seemed more tense than ever. Barling and Brosmer had been joined by a young grower named Dan Surber, of Caratan Farms. "Him and I have some grapes together, too," Barling said.

"Them geese are making one-forty an hour fertilizing that pond," Surber said, pointing at some white geese in a farm pond behind his truck, "and they're goin' on strike."

Brosmer laughed.

Barling had promised to let me go into the fields and talk with his workers once the pickets were gone, and when I reminded him of his promise he looked unhappily at Brosmer.

"I think that would be useless, Butch," Brosmer said. "I think it would be better to wait until you finish your day." To me, Brosmer said, "People have a natural-born curiosity, and you may only talk to two, but every goddam one of 'em is going to stop working to watch. It's just human nature." Barling nodded, in discomfort. He did not look me in the eye. Brosmer continued, "I think I'd have to agree with Butch that you'd better hold off going in there until Butch finishes his working day."

Apologetically, Barling said that after work he would take me in and let me pick out any worker I wanted to talk with, and I asked him why, now that the strikers were gone, it would not be all right for me to walk into the fields by myself.

"I guess we're not communicating," Brosmer said before Barling could speak. "You would be a disruptive factor."

But Barling said, "That would probably be all right. Just so long as I don't get disrupted."

"No," Brosmer said. "I think you're making a mistake."

"Well, let's go, then," Barling said ambiguously, looking at no one. He set his jaw and started for his truck, and I went with him and got into it.

"You're making a big mistake!" Brosmer called after him.

We drove down a side road into the fields. It was nearly noon, and the truck raised big, evil clouds of hydrocarbon dust. Barling swung off into a service lane that crossed the rows of vines, and stalled the truck at the edge of a crew of workers. "I ain't *never* goin' to get this crop out of here if them damn people don't leave me alone," he said. His voice was tight and his face red.

Down the rows, I spotted a red-and-white kerchief on a head that sank down behind the leaves. I waited a little while, and then I asked Barling if I could talk with the worker of my choice. Sure, he said. Which one? If he didn't mind, I said, I'd like to operate alone—it might be more spontaneous. He grunted and let me go. But the big woman who had shouted at Mrs. Zapata saw where I was going. *That* young kid?" she called. "There weren't any boxes, and he said, 'I'm going to have some fun with them while I'm waiting.' That's why he walked out there and sat down."

The boy was deep under the vines, which were no higher than my chest. In the shadows, the filtered sun gave the big bunches of green grapes a soft glow. Crouched there, he stared up at me. He did not speak English.

"Buenos dias," I said.

He did not so much answer the greeting as repeat it, in a hushed voice full of fear.

In bad Spanish, I told him please not to be afraid, and then asked why he had gone back.

I had expected a few frightened murmurs, but he spoke right out, in passion and pain. He was a green-carder on vacation from an insurance job in Mexico, and he could speak frankly because in harvest time no one was fired. His voice grew louder. Besides, as an insurance man he would be here only two weeks more before his vacation ended. The insurance man poked his head out of the vines and looked up and down the row before continuing in a lower voice. Si, he was in favor of a union. "The ranchers have no concern for us. Everybody should have a union."

Persisting, I repeated my question: Why had he not walked out an hour before?

The boy picked at the dust on his sandals. "The whole world was awaiting me," he murmured, "and I became afraid."

The walls at the headquarters of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, in Delano, California, are decorated with photographs of Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi; beside them is a blood-red poster of Emiliano Zapata, complete with mustachio, cartridge belts, carbine, sash, sword, an giant sombrero, under the exhortation *"Viva la Revolucion."* All three, in their different ways, are heroes of U.F.W.O.C.'s director, Cesar Chavez. There are also portraits of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy, black-bordered and hung with flowers, as in a shrine. Here and there is the emblem of U.F.W.O.C., a square-edged black eagle in a white circle on a red background, over the word "HUELGA," which in Spanish means "strike." According to one legend, the eagle appeared in a dream to Chavez; according to another, the inspiration came to Chavez's cousin Manuel from the label on a bottle of Gallo Thunderbird wine. The truth is that after Cesar Chavez settled on an Aztec eagle as an appropriate symbol for the union, Manuel sketched one on a piece of brown wrapping paper with the help of Cesar's brother Richard. They then squared off the wing edges so that the eagle would be easier for union members to draw on the handmade flags that are now a familiar sight on picket lines near vineyards in the San Joaquin Valley and elsewhere in California, where for nearly four years U.F.W.O.C. has been conducting a strike to win union contracts for the grape workers.

I was shown around the offices and introduced to members of the staff one morning by LeRoy Chatfield, one of Chavez's assistants. Before joining the union movement, three and a half years ago, Chatfield, a man in his early thirties, with the white hair of a blond child in summer and a wide-eyed, bony face, had been known as Brother Gilbert, of the Christian Brothers. He had been a teacher at Garces High School, in Bakersfield, but it was Cesar Chavez, he told me, who had given him his education. Chatfield introduced me to two staff lawyers, Jerry Cohen and David Averbuck; to the Reverend James Drake, a young Protestant clergyman who has been working with Chavez since 1962; to Philip Vera-Cruz, a Filipino vice-president of the union; and to Chavez's wife, Helen, who runs U.F.W.O.C.'s credit union. Mrs. Chavez speaks very softly, but Chatfield told me later that she has a hot temper, which has been known to erupt on rare occasions. "Sometimes she has less faith than Cesar in non-violence," Chatfield said.

Manuel and Richard Chavez were on the point of setting off for New York by car to try and gain support for a boycott of California grapes, which seemed to be faltering. Large quantities of Thompson seedless grapes had been arriving in New York in boxes marked "Hi-Color," a label belonging to a subsidiary of the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, with which Chavez had signed a contract, and which was therefore exempt from the boycott. According to Man-

uel Chavez, DiGiorgio had not been harvesting table grapes in recent months, and workers had reported seeing "Hi-Color" boxes in the vineyards of non-union growers. "I am going over to New York," Manuel Chavez said. "How far is it?" His face had been serious, but suddenly he laughed.

One of the union's vice-presidents is Dolores Huerta, a very pretty, sad-eyed young woman who does not look like the mother of seven children but is. Mrs. Huerta told me that she met Chavez through a man named Fred Ross. Ross had been active in behalf of the migrant Okies during the Depression, had taken up the problems of displaced Japanese and Nisei during the war, and was working to help Mexican-Americans by setting up branches of a private agency called the Community Service Organization when Chavez and Mrs. Huerta came under his influence. In 1955, when Mrs. Huerta first met Chavez, she was an active member of the Stockton chapter of the C.S.O. "I had heard a lot about him from Fred Ross—Cesar this and Cesar that—but I didn't really get a chance to talk to him, and he didn't make much of an impression on me," she said. "I forgot his face. I knew he was a great organizer, but he never showed it. It came out in the reports. He was very unassuming, you see—did a lot of work but never took any leadership role. The first time I really heard him speak was at a board meeting in Stockton in 1957. He had to respond to sharp questions from an attorney, and I was very impressed by the way he handled it. You couldn't tell by looking at him what he could do. You had to see him in action to appreciate him. In 1958, they made him organizing director of the whole C.S.O., but even then he wasn't the forceful leader that he is now." Mrs. Huerta paused, and laughed. "Of course, everywhere he worked tremendous things happened," she said. "Those things didn't just happen by themselves. The rank and file began to see Cesar as the real head of the organization long before the leadership did."

For a year and a half, between August, 1958, and November, 1959, Chavez worked at organizing the farm workers at Oxnard against the inequities of the so-called *bracero* program, which he believed was being abused for the growers' benefit by both the Farm Placement Service of the California Department of Employment and the Bureau of Employment Security of the United States Department of Labor. The program had been set up during the Second World War, when there was a scarcity of farm laborers, to bring Mexican *braceros,* or field hands, into this country on a temporary basis. Even in the late nineteen-fifties, Chavez found that American laborers supposedly assigned to jobs by the F.P.S. still had trouble getting work when any *braceros* were available. According to law, the American workers should have been given first choice. Chavez documented hundreds of cases of illegal job discrimination by taking groups of unemployed workers to fill out employers' work cards day after day and keeping a record of the results. Then he staged sit-ins—his men went out and stationed themselves opposite the *braceros* who had taken their jobs—and protest marches, at the end of which the cards were burned in a gesture of contempt for the corruption of the hiring practices. Reporters were invited to the fires. These maneuvers anticipated tactics that Chavez would refine in his own union, and they worked. Because of all the publicity, American workers began getting more jobs. There are some eighteen hundred workers around Oxnard who were loyal to Chavez, and they held firm when he demanded better wages and working conditions. The growers met his terms, though not officially. Without giving their names, they would call up and ask him to send so many workers to be picked up by a truck near a certain church. Chavez wanted very much to get a union shop, but his C.S.O. job did not give him authority to negotiate an actual contract, and he watched in despair as the Packinghouse union of the C.I.O. took over what he had begun to build. Under routine trade-union direction, the organization soon disintegrated.

In the aftermath of Chavez's experience at Oxnard, I was told, he offered a year's service without salary to the C.S.O. if it would support a new union of farm workers. At a C.S.O. convention in Calexico in March of 1962, the board voted down Chavez's plan. At that point, Chavez stood up and said simply, "I resign." Immediately, people started arguing with one another, as if he weren't there. Chavez *couldn't* resign, they decided. But he had, and that evening, when he and Dolores Huerta and Fred Ross went across the border to Mexicali to get something to eat, they were all very depressed. According to Mrs. Huerta, Chavez was heartbroken.

Chavez was immediately offered a well-paid job as an organizer for the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, a farm workers' union that had been set up by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Stockton during his own successful organization of the workers in Oxnard, but at the time he wanted no part of traditional trade-union methods, and he turned it down. He spent two weeks finishing up his work for the C.S.O., and on March 31st, his thirty-fifth birthday, he drove off with his wife and his children—he had eight—to Carpinteria Beach, southeast of Santa Barbara, and not far from where he had picked tomatoes for several seasons during his own time as a migrant worker. This was the last vacation he has ever had time or money enough to take. After six days on the coast, Chavez had made up his mind how and where he would begin his own organization drive for farm workers, and the Chavezes went straight to Delano, where his wife's family lived and where his brother Richard had been head of the local C.S.O. chapter. Chavez himself had first worked in Delano's vineyards and cotton fields in 1937, when he was ten. He has said that he chose Delano because he knew that hard times were ahead and his family would not starve there, but another good reason for choosing Delano was the composition of the work force. There are seventy-odd grape ranches in the Delano area, with an estimated thirty-eight thousand acres of table grape vineyards, and grapes, unlike most crops, require tending of one kind or another -- pruning, tying, thinning, girding, leafing, cultivating, spraying, and so forth—for almost nine months of the year. Because of the long work season, the farm workers of Delano are less transient than most, and many stay the year round — a situation that makes organizing them both simpler and more effective. The growers are doubtless right in their contention that Delano's grape workers, who average twenty-four hundred dollars a year, are the best-paid farm workers in California, but, in Chavez's opinion, the most desperately poor are not necessarily those most inclined to take action; unlike people who have glimpsed a spark of hope, the destitute are often too defeated to revolt.

In Delano, Mrs. Chavez got a job picking grapes at the DiGiorgio Corporation's huge Sierra Vista Ranch and Chavez took a three-day trip to "absorb" the Valley, from Marysville south of the Tehachapi Mountains, crisscrossing the flat countryside on long, straight roads. Then he returned to Delano and got a job picking peas—the first of a series of part-time jobs that helped to support the beginnings of his organization, which was called the National Farm Workers Association.

At first, Richard Chavez did not appreciate what his brother was trying to do. Richard was earning his living as a carpenter, and had small interest in a farm workers' union. As for Manuel, he was working at that time in San Diego, making good money as a car salesman; when Cesar asked him to join the new association, he flatly refused. "We aren't farm workers anymore," he said. "We got away." But Cesar argued that because the Chavezes had got away didn't mean they could abandon all the others. Finally, Manuel agreed to join up for one month. He has never left.

Apart from Mrs. Chavez, the only person who was enthusiastic from

the start of what is now known as *La Causa* was Mrs. Huerta. When Chavez left the C.S.O., she told him she would be honored to work for him—the verb is hers—and a few months later she quit her job as a lobbyist for the C.S.O. at the state capitol in Sacramento and moved to Delano. Not long after Chavez started to work in Delano, the Reverend Chris Hartmire, the state director the Migrant Ministery of the National Council of Churches, who had worked with Chavez in Oxnard, assigned James Drake to Delano. Drake had just arrived in California, and this was his first mission. Like Mrs. Huerta, he was not overwhelmed by his first encounter with Chavez. "Cesar was very quiet," he told me. "He just mentioned that he had quit his job to start organizing farm workers around Delano. I was expecting to do the same thing, more or less. I was assigned to spend six weeks in Delano, and I'm still here."

When Chavez first got to Delano, the cheapest rental he could find was a house on Kensington Street, a block north of the one he lives in today. He had a small garage that he used as a headquarters, and it was so hot in there, Drake recalls, that all the ink melted down in a mimeograph machine the Migrant Ministry had lent him. "Everything was so oppressive that first summer that everything he wanted to do just seemed impossible," Drake told me. "He had so many kids, and they had almost nothing to eat, and they had an old 1953 Mercury station wagon that burned much too much gas and oil—it belonged in a museum even then. So I really thought this guy was nuts. Everybody thought so except Helen—even Helen's family. I had a car and a credit card, but I couldn't really help much besides that. They had no money, but whatever they had they shared. I'd bring a lunch with me, but it was very important to them that I eat with them, and they were so gracious that I finally gave in. What impressed us most at the Migrant Ministry was that even though Cesar was very hard up for financing, he didn't want *our money*. He made it clear right from the start that whatever organization he got going would be entirely independent; he didn't want any Teamster money or any money from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. or any other money that might compromise him."

"Cesar had studied the structure of the C.S.O.," Mrs. Huerta said, "and he tried to correct its mistakes in his organization. Mainly, he wanted the people who did the work to make the decisions. He wanted the workers to share, to participate, and he still does, because without that the union has no real strength. This is why he would never accept outside money—not, at least, until the strike began. He wanted the workers to see that they could pay for their own union." Very early in his struggle, Chavez turned down a private grant of fifty thousand dollars, offered without conditions, because he felt that the gift would put pressure on him to obtain immediate results. "Manuel and I almost quit," Richard Chavez told me.

In that first year, after Chavez had spent his own savings, amounting to twelve hundred dollars, he sometimes found himself asking people for food. This was hard on his pride, as he admits, but he came to believe that the union got some of its best members as a result of this begging. He has frequently said, "The people who give you their food give you their hearts."

Chavez got up early every morning and worked until midnight, taking a survey up and down the Valley to find out what farm workers really wanted. With his youngest child, Anthony, who was then four, he went from door to door and out into the fields, distributing eighty thousand cards on which the workers were invited to set down how much they thought they should be earning. At that time, the average wage was ninety cents an hour, and it is a measure of their morale that most of the workers said that they deserved a dollar-ten, or perhaps a dollar twenty-five. Occasionally, a man would ay that he deserved a dollar-fifty, or even a dollar seventy-five, and a few might scrawl on their card a note of encouragement or hope. These people Chavez visited in person, and many became the first members of his association.

"His consistency and perseverance really struck me," Drake told me. "A disability case, a worker injured on the job—he would stay with that worker day and night, day and night, until he could locate an attorney who would take the case for nothing, or find some way of settling it that was of benefit to the worker. That's how his union was built—on plain hard work and these very personal relationships. It was a slow, careful, plodding thing. The growers didn't even know he was in town. Even when the strike started, they had no idea who Cesar Chavez was. But the workers did. Day and night, they came to his house, because his office was his house. He just built up this very basic trust. He ran a series of house meetings and never talked about forming a union—just an association of concerned people—because there had been unions and unions and strikes and strikes, and every one of them had failed. He learned out of a government manual how to keep books, and he set up a credit union. He talked about cooperatives and everything, but he neved used the word 'union' until 1965, when the strike began."

One of the early members was a man named Manuel Rivera. Rivera came to Chavez in 1963 with the complaint that his labor contractor not only had refused to tell him what his hourly wage was for work already done but, when he protested, had kicked him out of the truck and let him walk back to town; the police had shown no interest in his case. Chavez learned Rivera's old car had broken down for good, and that the Rivera family had spent three days at the bus station in Delano. The Chavezes took the whole family into their own small house and lent Rivera an old Volvo. When Rivera had saved a little money and was ready to move on, he said, "How much do I owe you?" and Chavez answered that he didn't owe anything; he owed help to other farm workers. After returning Chavez's old car all polished up, Rivera left Delano, and Chavez soon forgot about him. Six months later, Rivera showed up again. Over Chavez's protest, he paid union dues for all the months since Chavez had taken him in, and on the job spoke so fervently of Chavez to other workers that he eventually brought in more than a hundred new members. (In 1966, Rivera was run down and permanently crippled by a flatbed truck belonging to a grower whose fields were being picketed.)

The organizing work has always gone slowly, and it was especially difficult at first. Manuel Chavez still has his 1963 N.F.W.A. card. On it, along with a green eagle, is printed "Delano Local Number 2. Cesar Chavez, General Director. Manuel Chavez, Secretary-Treasurer." Manuel laughed as he showed it to me. "I guess Cesar was one local and I was the other. We were the membership, too. It's a good thing Richard was still a carpenter—he was kind of supporting us." In this dark period, Chavez, who was penniless, turned down a job, at twenty-one thousand dollars a year, as director of the Peace Corps in a four-country region of South America.

Chavez held on, and by August 1964, his association had a thousand members. A number of these new members, including Julio Hernandez, who is now a union officer, came from the town of Corcoran, about twenty-five miles northwest of Delano. It was in Corcoran, on October 4, 1933, that five thousand cotton pickers, many of them Mexicans, began a strike that spread up and down the cotton fields of the San Joaquin Valley, and eventually involved eighteen thousand workers. As was customary in the Depression, wages had been drastically pushed down by advertising for many more workers than could be used, then letting starving men with starving families underbid each other for jobs, until the pay ran as low as fifteen cents an hour. When the cotton pickers struck, the growers armed themselves and, after evicting the strikers from their camps, followed them to a rally in Pixley, just north of Delano, where they opened fire on the crowd and killed two workers. A

third worker was murdered the same day at Arvin, a town southeast of Delano, in Kern County. Eleven growers were arrested and eleven were acquitted. The strike, which lasted for twenty-four days, won a small wage increase for the workers, but the leaders of the union that ran the strike—the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, an unabashedly pro-Communist organization—were flogged, tarred and feathered, and finally jailed. At the time of the Corcoran strike, an assistant sheriff was quoted as saying, "We protect our farmers here in Kern County. They are our best people. They are always with us. They keep the country going. They put us in here and they can put us out again, so we serve them. But the Mexicans are trash. They have no standard of living. We herd them like pigs." Like the signs of Chavez's childhood that read "NO DOGS OR MEXICANS ALLOWED," remarks of this sort are considered poor public relations these days, but the underlying attitude, I was told by members of Chavez's union, is still very much alive.

After a new surge in membership, Mrs. Chavez left the fields to work full time at running the credit union, and Mrs. Huerta took over the bookkeeping and other responsibilities. At about this time, a man named Gilbert Padilla was assigned by the Migrant Ministry to work with Drake on the problem of improving conditions in labor camps run by the counties of Kern and Tulare for migrant workers. A large-scale rent strike organized in the Linnel and Woodville camps of Tulare County by Drake and Padilla and a lawyer named Gary Bellow finally closed them down and led to the construction of new camp buildings. "The county was making a big profit on those camps, which were just slums," Drake told me. "When the workers found out about the profit, it wasn't hard to organize a rent strike." The workers Drake and Padilla had organized during their rent strike came into Chavez's association in February, 1965, and in the summer of that year Padilla led them in a strike at the J.D. Martin Ranch, in Tulare County near Earlimart, and won a pay raise for the grape pickers there. This small victory lifted morale in the new union, and that September what is now known as the California Grape Strike began in earnest.

The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. farm workers' group Chavez decided not to go to work for in 1962, had made some small gains for its members—most of whom were Filipinos—but it got no further than the unions of the past in winning legal contracts and the right of collective bargaining. (Because of the failures of farm unions in the past and a general feeling that unions dominated by what are known as Anglos had actually worked with employers against the interests of Filipino and Mexican-American farm workers, the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, like Chavez's National Farm Workers Association, avoided the word "union" in its title.) On September 16, 1965, the Mexican Independence Day, Chavez's N.F.W.A., which was made up mostly of Mexican-Americans, voted to support an A.W.O.C. strike for a wage increase which had started a week before. Led by two Filipino organizers, Larry Itliong and Ben Gines, six to eight hundred A.W.O.C. workers had struck a number of Delano vineyards, including the huge holdings of the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation; in supporting the A.W.O.C. strikers, Chavez's group voted to strike two other large growers—Schenley Industries, Inc., and Guimarra Vineyards, Inc. On September 20th, eleven hundred members of N.F.W.A. walked off the job.

Chavez, seeking funds and volunteers, spoke at a number of colleges, and appealed to CORE and S.N.C.C. for people with experience in confrontations to act as picket captains until the farm workers could be trained. The response to Chavez's appeal was mixed. At public meetings, he would be asked when he had last paid dues to the Communist Party. Once, he was actually pelted with eggs and tomatoes, but he kept right on with his speech, and before he was through the booing had changed to wild applause. Besides S.N.C.C. and CORE people, a number of clergymen, of all faiths, came to man the picket lines, and there were also volunteers from other groups, such as Students for a Democratic Society and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, as well as an assortment of hippies of uneven quality, some of whom were less help than hindrance. Chavez eventually got rid of those who were becoming financial burdens, or sources of embarrassment because of their behavior. "He didn't act nearly as fast as the rest of us wanted," Chatfield told me. "He agonized about those kids for months. But when he did move—" Chatfield made a chopping motion with his hand. *"Man!* Like a knife!"

The strikers' main efforts in the early months were concentrated on Schenley Industries. The Schenley farm in Delano was such a small part of the company's operation that a defense against the boycott that was undertaken in late 1965 might scarcely have seemed worth the negative publicity Chavez's volunteers were trying to give the Schenley trade name all across the country. But the Schenley fight was costly for the farm workers. Hundreds of people already poor had sacrificed their jobs to strike, and that first autumn exhausted the strike fund. Despite a good many misgivings in some quarters about Chavez and his allies, the labor movement began to provide some support for the strike. A workers' clinic was operated by a volunteer nurse, and out-of-town doctors gave free service. (No local doctor ever volunteered.) In San Francisco, the Teamsters refused to cross the Schenley picket lines, and in mid-December Walter Reuther, of the United Automobile Workers, marched through the streets of Delano with Chavez and Larry Itliong and spoke out in defense of the Schenley boycott. "We'd rather not do negative things like boycotts," he said, "but when the growers refuse to sit down at the bargaining table there is no alternative." Reuther handed over a check for five thousand dollars, and pledged the same amount every month until the strike was over. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. was underwriting A.W.O.C. at ten thousand dollars a month, and collections had been taken up by the Garment Workers, Seafarers, Packinghouse Workers, and other A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions, as well as by church and student groups. But the combined sums did not pay for the strike, which was costing forty thousand dollars a month. The deficit was made up in hardship.

By the middle of March, 1966, when the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor conducted hearings in California, the two organizations involved in the strike—N.F.W.A. and A.W.O.C.—had conducted by far the longest farm strike in California history, and seemed to be on the edge of total defeat. The chairman of the subcommittee was Harrison A. Williams, Jr., a Democrat from New Jersey, who had been supporting the interests of farm workers in Congress since 1959—the year the subcommittee was established—and he was accompanied by Senator Robert Kennedy, of New York, and Senator George Murphy, a California Republican. Chavez addressed Senator Williams's subcommittee with his usual frankness. "Although we appreciate your efforts here, we do not believe that public hearings are the route to solving the problem of the farm worker," he said. "In fact, I do not think that anyone should ever hold another hearing or make a special investigation of the farm-labor problem. Everything has been recorded too many times already, and the time is now past due for immediate action. Oh, some people say education will do it—write off this generation of parents and hope my son gets out of farm work. Well, I am not ready to be written off as a loss, and farm work could be a decent job for my son, with a union. But the point is that this generation of farm-labor children will not get an adequate education until their parents earn enough to care for the child the way they want to and the way the other children in school—the ones who succeed—are cared for

. . . All we want from the government is the machinery—some rules of the game. All we need is the recognition of our right to full and equal coverage under every law which protects every other working man and woman in this country." Chavez was referring to the fact that growers, unlike most other employers, are under no legal obligation to bargain with their employees, since farm workers have been specifically exempted from the terms of the National Labor Relations Act, and only a few farm workers have been affected by federal minimum-wage legislation. In the course of the hearings, Bishop Hugh A. Donohue, of Stockton, expressed unanimous support for the strikers on the part of the eight Roman Catholic bishops of California and made an eloquent appeal for full collective-bargaining rights for farm workers.

On March 17th, the day after the hearings, Chavez set off on a widely publicized workers' march — or *peregrinacion*, as he called it — from Delano to the steps of the capitol at Sacramento. The *peregrinacion* was inspired in part by the freedom march from Selma, Alabama, that had taken place a year before, but, like a fast that Chavez undertook two years later, it had a religious connotation as well. Its emblem was the Mexican patron saint of the *campesinos*, La Virgen de Guadalupe, and the *peregrinacion* was to arrive at the capitol steps on Easter Sunday. Chavez had suggested that the march should be penitential, like the Lenten processions of Mexico — an atonement for past sins of violence on the part of the strikers, and a kind of prayer. But *La Causa* was supported by a number of Protestants, Jews, and non-believers, and some of them made it clear that they did not see the slightest reason for atonement on the workers' part —weren't the workers the victims? "The question was brought up at a special meeting," Mrs. Huerta told me. "We put the Virgin to a motion, and virginity won." Sixty-seven strikers set off on the three-hundred-mile march to Sacramento, where they hoped to meet with Governor Edmund G. Brown. The progress of the *peregrinacion* was slow and ceremonial; as Chavez had anticipated, it received a good deal of support and participation from people along the way, in the form of food and shelter for the marchers. More than fifty of the strikers, who came to be known as *los originales*, made the entire march from Delano to Sacramento, which lasted twenty-five days, and when they arrived on the capitol steps, in the rain, on Easter morning they were joined by thousands of supporters and some notable figures in politics and labor. Governor Brown had forsaken notables and *originales* alike in favor of a weekend in Palm Springs with Frank Sinatra, but the occasion did not lack a climax, for it was announced that Schenley had agreed to negotiate a contract. The contract, which was signed in June, 1966, provided an hourly wage of a dollar seventy-five and a union hiring hall. Except for some contracts the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union had won for pineapple workers in Hawaii, it was the first real contract for farm workers in the history of American labor.

The strikers now turned their attention to DiGiorgio, whose Sierra Vista Ranch occupied forty-four hundred acres near Delano, and began to establish a boycott of DiGiorgio's products. Suddenly the Teamsters union, which had provided important support for the strikers in the fight against Schenley, announced that it was prepared to represent the DiGiorgio workers, and the company quickly arranged an election in which workers could choose the Teamsters, Chavez's N.F.W.A., or no union at all. The election was held on June 24th, but Chavez told his people not to vote, and Governor Brown ordered an investigation by Ronald W. Haughton, of the American Arbitration Association, who recommended that a second election be held. There followed two tense months of accusations, violence, reprisals, injunctions, and arrests. Among those arrested was Chavez. Having persuaded ten workers to walk off the job at DiGiorgio's Borrego Springs property, northeast of San Diego, Chavez and two clergymen, one Protestant and one Catholic, accompanied them into the ranch to retrieve their belongings and were arrested for trespassing. All of them except the Catholic priest were then stripped naked and chained together by some zealous sheriff's deputies.

The Teamsters was the only union that had supported the retention of the *bracero* program, and, as Chavez saw the situation, the Teamsters had entered into an alliance with DiGiorgio to work out what is known as a "sweetheart" contract—one that would almost certainly benefit the union and the employer but might or might not help the workers. Under these circumstances, Chavez concluded that he had no choice but to merge N.F.W.A. with A.W.O.C., under the banner of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. The merger took place in August, before the second election at DiGiorgio, and the last phase of the battle with the Teamsters was extremely vicious. The A.F.L.-C.I.O., which had expelled the Teamsters in 1957, charged the Teamsters were controlled by gangsters, and the Teamsters countered that the new organization, called the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, was influenced by an international Communist conspiracy. Prevented from picketing at the Sierra Vista Ranch, the strikers held nightly vigils outside the labor camps, at a shrine set up in the back of Chavez's old Mercury station wagon; the workers, some of whom had been recruited by DiGiorgio from as far away as Juarez, Mexico, were proselytized when they came out to pray. The second election was held at Sierra Vista on August 30th, and anyone who had worked there for fifteen days or more during the previous year was eligible to vote. The Teamsters already had a large California membership of workers directly dependent on agriculture, which is a four-billion-dollar industry in the state, and the workers in the packing sheds voted 94 to 43 to join the Teamsters. But the field workers, some of whom had heard about the election in Mexico and had come back at their own expense, voted for U.F.W.O.C. by 530 to 331.

Nine days after the DiGiorgio election, the field workers walked out of the vineyards of A. Perelli-Minetti & Sons, demanding to be represented by U.F.W.O.C. But the company, which makes Tribuno wines, signed a contract with the Teamsters. After another inter-union struggle in the course of which a U.F.W.O.C. picket, John Shroyer, was beaten up, the Teamsters reversed their policy and came to terms with Chavez. Under a general agreement reached in July, 1967, U.F.W.O.C. gave the Teamsters representation of certain shed workers in return for representation of all field workers, including those at Perelli-Minetti, whose union contract was at once transferred to U.F.W.O.C. After these devolpments, Gallo, Almaden, Christian Brothers, and the other large California wineries presented very few difficulties for Chavez; the big wineries, which sell their products under their own nationally advertised brand names, would be especially vulnerable to a boycott, and by September of 1968, when the Paul Masson vineyard signed, almost all of them had contracts with U.F.W.O.C.

Meanwhile, the growers of table grapes, who are less vulnerable, continued to resist, and they were unquestionably heartened in November, 1966, when Ronald Reagan, who had spoken out against the grape strike from the start of his campaign, was elected governor. In that same month, U.F.W.O.C. won another representation election at the vineyards of Mosesian-Hourigan-Goldberg, a relatively small firm in Delano, by a vote of 285 to 38, but that was the last new representation election any table grape grower has permitted. In fact, there had not been much good news of any sort for the union in many months until a few days ago, when ten table-grape-growers in the Coachella Valley indicated that they would be willing to negotiate with Chavez.

Chavez eats no breakfast and is careless about lunch. He usually sits down to a modest meal in the evening. During the day, he drinks a

great deal of Diet-Rite Cola, and he keeps a supply of dried apricots and prunes and a package of matzos in a drawer in his desk at U.F.W.O.C. headquarters in Delano. On the other hand, he is very fond of Chinese food, and I drove thirty miles with him one evening last summer to eat dinner at his favorite Chinese restaurant in Bakersfield. It was a family outing. Helen Chavez and four Chavez daughters went in one car, with a friend; Chavez and I were in a second car with the youngest daughter, Elizabeth, and the two young Chavez sons, Anthony and Paul. The only child missing was Fernando, nineteen, who was living with his Chavez grandparents in San Jose.

All eight of the Chavez children have nicknames. Elizabeth, who was then ten, had pronounced her own name as "Titibeth" when she was a baby, and it had stuck; Paul, eleven, who had been an especially rotund infant, started out as Bubble, and the name was later modified to Babo; and Anthony, who had just turned nine, was called Birdie, because of his supposed resemblance to a bird. "My own name was Manzi," Chavez told me. "As a small child, I was supposed to have liked *manzanilla* — you know, camomile tea? So the family always called me Manzi."

The memory made him smile. There is a single silver strand in the black Indian hair that falls across his forehead, and a black mole on the brown skin just below his lower lip seems to balance a gold tooth in his smile. He went on talking cheerfully about his childhood. His paternal grandfather had been a peon in Mexico, but had come to the United States with his family in 1889 and acquired, as a homesteader, about a hundred and sixty acres of sage and mesquite desert in the Gila River Valley some fifteen miles northeast of Yuma, Arizona. Chavez's parents were both born in Mexico, but Cesar Estrada Chavez entered the world, on March 31, 1927, as a citizen of the United States. According to Chavez, his grandfather, another Cesar, greatly admired the big Mexican haciendas, and since he had nine sons and six daughters, some of whom had families of their own, he designed his house on the same scale. It lasted a half century, and might have lasted indefinitely in that dry climate if the roof had been of tile instead of adobe, because the walls were twenty-four inches thick. The house was cool in summer, warm in winter; it stood on a slope against the hills, with a laundry and a woodshed on one side and a garden on the other side. The farm produced cotton, lettuce, carrots, and watermelon, with maize, grain, and alfalfa for the animals, and it fed not only the Chavez families but many strangers who were wandering up and down the land in the Depression years. "At that time," Chavez said, "my mother's patron saint was St. Edwiges—I think she was a queen who gave everything to the poor — and my mother had made a pledge never to turn away anyone who came for food. And so, you know, ordinary people would come and have the food, and there were a lot of hoboes that used to come, at any time of day or night. Most of them were white. We lived in my aunt's house in Yuma for a while, and my mother sent my brother Richard and me out into the street sometimes to look for *trampitas*—that was our affectionate way of calling the hoboes. I remember the first one. We found him sitting under a retaining wall, right around the corner, and we wanted this one bad, so we could quit looking and go play. But when we told him all about the free food just waiting for him around the corner, that tramp couldn't believe it. 'What for?' he said. 'What are you doing it for?' 'For nothing,' we said. 'You just come with us.' So we hustled him around the corner, and he ate the food, but he still didn't believe it. She'd just give them very simple things—beans and tortillas and hot coffee—but it was a meal, and soon all the hoboes knew about her, because word spreads. We didn't have much, and sometimes there was enough for everybody and sometimes there wasn't."

Manuel Chavez, who is first cousin to Cesar and Richard, came to the farm to live when he was small, and has been close to Cesar, ever since that the two men refer to each other as "my brother." For a while, this produced a certain amount of confusion in the union movement. The story goes that one time someone came to Cesar and begged him for enlightment: *Was* Manuel his brother? In this period, Manuel's volatile nature was a constant threat to Cesar's program of non-violence, and Cesar considered the question a few seconds before he answered it. "Sometimes," he said.

The farm in the Gila River Valley represents a lost home to all three men. By 1937, Chavez's grandfather had died and the family's money was all gone; the farm was seized by the county to pay off the local taxes and the water bill. While they were working in the Imperial Valley last summer, Manuel and Richard drove over to see the homestead, and reported to Cesar that they found only a ruin of fallen adobe on another man's farm. "I missed that house," Cesar told me. "When I was living there, we had all kinds of space—it seemed like the whole world belonged to us. In the cities, I couldn't get used to the fences. We couldn't play like we used to. On the farm, we had a little place where we played, and a tree in there was ours and we played there. We built bridges and we left everything there and when we came back the next day it was still there. You see, we never knew what stealing was, or to be stolen from. Another thing that we learned after we left the farm—my dad especially—was that people would lie to you. Lie without batting an eye. For instance, they'd say, 'If you go to so-and-so place, they have a job for you, at a very high wage.' And we always went for it, hook, line, and sinker. They'd get you to go because you were competition. And we'd get there and we'd find there was no housing. The wages weren't what they'd said, and in many cases there wasn't even a job. I remember now that my dad and my mother had a heck of a time trying to understand why anyone would really—you know—just *lie*."

Chavez was quiet for a while. "We went to live in Brawley, and we used to shine shoes, and we really hustled. The cops wouldn't let us into Anglo Town, where the white people lived, but there was a diner right on the line, kind of, and everybody talked about how it was supposed to have beautiful hamburgers. It also had a sign reading 'WHITE TRADE ONLY,' but we had just come from the country, from Arizona, from a country, from a community that was mostly Mexican or whites too poor to bother about us. So we didn't understand yet, and we went in. The counter girl was up at the far end with her boy friend, and I said, 'Two hamburgers, please!'" Chavez shook his head. "The girl said, "What's the matter—you can't read? Goddam dumb Mex!' She and her boy friend laughed, and we ran out. Richard was cursing them, but I was the one who had spoken to them, and I was crying. That laugh rang in my ears for twenty years. It seemed to cut us out of the human race."

With the loss of their land, the Chavez family became migrant farm workers. Up and down California they followed the crops, struggling for shelter, clothing, food. When the trek began, Manuel was twelve, Cesar ten, and Richard eight. Their childhood was already over. They worked with their parents in the fields, picking prunes and figs and apricots, turning grapes for raisins, hunching and stooping down row upon row, from the Imperial Valley north to Marysville, and then south again in November, taking such poor, segregated schooling as they could find in the brief winter season between pruning and girdling. Chavez says that he attended more than thirty schools, without ever reaching high school. Although all members of the family were United States citizens, they were in constant peril of deportation: the Border Patrol, known as *"la migra,"* rarely concerned itself with the difference between Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. "My mother was so frightened of *'la migra'* that she would be

trembling whenever we were near the border," Chavez said. Sometimes the family lived in tents or under bridges, eking out a meagre diet with fish and with greens culled from roadside ditches. "Mexicans like hogweed," he said enigmatically. He and Richard saved tinfoil from old cigarette packs found on the highway; from the sale of an enormous ball weighing eighteen pounds, he remembers, they made enough to buy two sweatshirts and one pair of tennis shoes. In 1939, in San Jose, Cesar's father joined a C.I.O. union that was organizing workers in the dried-fruit industry; this union was broken, like all other farm workers' unions, as soon as it went out on strike.

Chavez stopped talking to point out some freight cars on a railroad siding; in the twilight, I could just make out that the cars were heaped with sugar beets. "That is one crop I am glad is automated," he said. "That was work for an animal, not a man. Stooping and digging all day. And the beets are *heavy*. Oh, that's brutal work. And then to go home to some little place, with all those kids, and hot and dirty—*that* is how a man is crucified. *Crucified.*" He spoke with a low, intense burst of anger, gazing back at the cars of beets. "The growers don't care about people, and they never will. Their improvements, their laborsaving devices are all for their own benefit, not for ours. But once we get union contracts, we'll be protected. We're not afraid of automation. We'll split the profits of progress with them, fifty-fifty."

At Bill Lee's Bamboo Chopsticks, in Bakersfield, we all sat at one big table in a corner. The older girls announced that they wanted the combination shrimp plate, and there were jokes between Chavez and his children about shrimp strikes and hungry strikebreakers who might cross the picket line in the middle of the table. In the excitement, Chavez repeatedly confused the names of Sylvia and Linda, his very pretty older daughters, and at last Linda shouted, "He doesn't know us apart!" Chavez shook his head ruefully; he gazed at her until she looked at him and smiled. But then he called Linda "Sylvia" again, and his wife hissed at him with real vehemence.

Mrs. Chavez, whose maiden name was Fabela, has fierce Spanish eyebrows. Her father was a colonel under Pancho Villa in the Revolution, and Chavez sometimes teases her about her hot blood. They met in Delano during the Second World War when Chavez, then fifteen and still migrating, found himself stranded there, out of a job. She was working in a grocery store. "She used to give me gas coupons, I think," Chavez told the children. "Then she asked me to a show. How could I say no?"

Unwillingly, it seemed, Mrs. Chavez began to smile.

"Who paid?" Sylvia asked.

"She did, of course." He laughed a little, smiling warmly at his wife. "She had a job and I did not—what could I do?"

"Were you a lover in your days?" Linda inquired.

"Love 'em and leave 'em, I bet," another daughter said, and the shrimp eaters giggled as a group. The children were all salty and affectionate with their father without being impolite.

"Well, I was very friendly, you know. A lot of girls were my friends, but I was not a lover." Chavez said this simply, without coyness.

Chavez was called to the telephone while we were breaking open our fortune cookies, and we waited for him a little later in the street. There was a bookstore right across the street from the restaurant, and Mrs. Chavez said, "I hope it isn't open—he'll be in there all night." She said that he was the same way about camera stores. Her shyness made me feel shy myself. At any rate, I had no wish to intrude upon her, and confined myself to the observation that I was supposed she would be very glad when the strike was over. Helen Chavez's smile, when it appears, is a beautiful surprise. "Yes," she said, paying no attention to the fatuity of my remark. Standing there on the sidewalk, considering life without the strike, she spoke the word with all her heart.

On the way home, Chavez reminisced about the two years he spent in the Navy, where he first became interested in photography. "I got in this poker game," he said. "I think that was the first time and the last time I ever gambled. And I won and I won and I won—I could not stop winning. There was more money lying there than I had ever seen before. And I couldn't quit. The guy who gets that far ahead, he can never quit." Finally, a loser begged Chavez to buy his camera so that he could keep on losing. Chavez said he had forgotten what happened to the money, but he kept the camera and started taking pictures.

He had joined the Navy in 1944, and he served for two years on a destroyer escort on weather patrol out of Saipan. He had never been on a ship before, and at first he was very seasick, and frightened of the sea. In fact, the ocean still disturbs him. "I like the sea, but I don't rest there," he said. "I think. The waves coming in, you know. They make me think. I love the woods. Big trees. That's where I rest."

In 1948, Cesar Chavez and Helen Fabela got married. "We went to live on a farm near San Jose, and there was a little tiny house for me and my family. I was married, Richard was married, and there was my mother and my dad, my sister, and my other brother. We worked the strawberries, sharecropping—it was horrible. We worked there for two and a half years, and we never made any money. We figured later the whole family together was making twenty-three cents an hour. At the end of the month, we just didn't have anything left over. We worked two and a half years. Every day, every single day—Saturday, Sunday. And I couldn't get my dad to leave. I didn't want to leave him there, yet I couldn't get him to leave — because he'd made a commitment, you know. His word! There were hundreds of people caught in this exploitation. Finally, we got him to admit that we were being taken, and that the best way was just to leave the whole damn thing."

In 1950, Richard and Cesar went to work in a lumber camp on the Smith River, just south of the Oregon border. It was summer, and they slept in the big woods along the river. One day, they asked the foreman if they could build a cabin in the woods, and because they were both good, dependable workers the permission was granted. In their spare time, they built a serviceable cabin, and in the process learned basic carpentry. For Richard, this was a turning point, because not long after that he became an apprentice carpenter. The brothers loved the cool forest and the river, they were proud of their cabin, and they were making good money. But although both had steady work and could have brought their families there, they returned in the same year to San Jose, where they lived in a slum area known as Sal Si Puedes—a name that may be translated, roughly, as Escape If You Can. Before long, Richard became a carpenter, and Cesar, supporting his family as best he could, took the first steps in his career as a labor organizer and the founder of what may become the first effective farm worker's union in America.

It is as an organizer, rather than a union leader, that Chavez sees himself, and one afternoon while we were driving back to Delano from some appointments he had had in San Francisco he told me, with cheerful fatalism, that when his union is established and his own people, no longer preoccupied with survival and aspiring to consumer status, find him too thorny for their liking and kick him out, he might like to go and organize somewhere else — maybe in the Mexican slums of East Los Angeles. He always speaks passionately about organizing, but he does not romanticize his work. "There's no trick to organizing, there's no shortcut. A good organizer is someone willing to work long and hard," he said. "Just keep talking to people, and the people will respond. People can be organized for the most ridiculous things. They can be organized for bad as well as good. Look at the John Birch Society. Look at Hitler. The reactionaries are always better organizers. The right has a lot of discipline that the left lacks. The left always

dilutes itself. In stead of merging to go after the common enemy, the left splinters, and the splinters go after one another. Meanwhile, the right keeps after its objective, pounding away, pounding away."

Going south through Oakland toward the freeway, Chavez pointed out St. Mary's Church, in whose hall he had held his first big meeting for the Community Service Organization. "I was green, you know, but we brought in over four hundred people. Oh, I was so happy! I was *happy!*

By the time we reached the freeway, it was nearly five, and an hour later we were still caught on a belt of noise and ugliness that bored through the sprawling suburbs of the Bay area. The rush-hour traffic was stifling any chance we had of reaching Delano in time for a union meeting that evening, and Chavez said, "Maybe I could stop in San Jose and just say hello to my mother and my dad." Aside from his parents and his son Fernando, he has two sisters and a brother living in San Jose. The brother is a carpenter. One sister is married to a carpenter, the other to a plasterer. "They're pretty good guys," Chavez said. "But they're not interested in what we're doing. I don't see too much of them." Chavez talked a lot about his sister Rita, who became president of the San Jose C.S.O. In a fight to get blacks into her chapter, he said proudly, she had beaten down the prejudice against them that she found among many of the Mexicans. "Oh, Rita's great!" he said. "If she had a choice, she'd be swinging with us right now, down in Delano."

Chavez has always wanted to have his family involved in his organizing work as much as possible. "Of course, I'm lucky to have an exceptional woman," he said. "Even if I come home at four in the morning, I give her a full report on what has happened, and to this day—well, most of the time—she still wants me to do this."

He recalled one Sunday when his wife succeeded in getting him to accompany the family on a picnic. There were so many workers coming to see him on their day off that he planned to leave very early in the morning to avoid refusing them. But a few arrived before he could get away and had to be left unattended to, and Chavez felt so miserable all day that he ruined the picnic for everybody. That evening, he told his wife that he was being pulled apart, that he had to give his full time to the people and just do the best he could with his own family. "It's lucky I have Helen there, because I'm never really home," he said. "I was home when two of the children were born and away for all the rest." He closed his eyes and massaged them with the fingers of one hand—a characteristic gesture of distress. "You know, I always felt that because I really wanted to do something for people this would be all right. But we talk about sacrificing ourselves and often we are sacrificing others. By the time Birdie came, Helen was pretty much used to it, I guess, but . . ." He stopped speaking for a minute, then opened his eyes, and when he spoke again his voice was harsher. "You cannot have it both ways. Either you concentrate your attention on the people who have claims on you or you say, 'No, I have to help many more at their expense.' You don't exclude them totally, and they get more attention than anybody else, but they aren't going to get enough. You can't have it both ways. You cannot! Anybody who uses the family as an excuse not to do what he has to do . . ." He stopped again, then resumed, in a quieter voice. "I haven't been home in four nights. Sometimes I'm away for ten nights, maybe more. It hurts me not to be home with my family, you know—I feel it. The whole thing is rough on the children. I know that. They don't like living in poverty, especially when they know that it's intentional on my part. And things get harder as they get older—it's harder to get nice hand-me-down clothes and everything. But they are great, they are just great!" He smiled. "I told them that they were better off than the migrants, that at least they had a purpose in their lives, and they understood this — they really did. Of course, they think I'm pretty old-fashioned. I tease Sylvia about always fixing her hair—the waste of time, you know. I told her that women are prettier the way they are made, that they should leave their hair the way it came. And I make a lot of fun of people who give their spare time to mowing the lawn, or washing their cars, or playing golf. To me, it's such a waste of time. How can you justify doing that sort of thing as long as all these other things are going on—the suffering?"

I said nothing, and a moment later, very quietly, he went on. "There's a saying in Spanish, *'Lo que no puedes ver en tu casa, lo has de tener'*—'That which you don't like you wind up having at home.' Sylvia finished high school, and I've asked her several times about registering for college, but she won't go. And Fernando . . ." He nodded. "My son is a good golfer. He is a *real* Mexican-American." This was the first truly bitter remark I had ever heard him make. He caught himself immediately. "Well, that isn't fair," he said. "By 'real Mexican-American' I mean someone who is just interested in material things. But Fernando isn't that way at all. He had a hell of a time in school, you know—we finally had to take him out. One fight after another. There was one grower's son who was really out to get him. Here I was, dedicated to non-violence, and my son fighting right and left." He managed a smile. "He always won. I think they finally had a great big fight that was supposed to settle things once and for all, and Fernando knocked him out." Chavez frowned a little, evidently to repress a small note of pride. "By that time, anyway, he had already lost interest in the strike."

Chavez was quiet for a while, and then he said, "I never once took him fishing or to a ball game, or even to the movies." His tone in judging himself had the same harshness that he had levied on his son. "I only took him to the office or out on the picket line. He'd be interested at first, but after a while he lost interest. He still doesn't know what he wants to do. He's out of a job, and he's not really in school, and he's liable to the draft." Chavez rubbed his eyes again.

"My family is deprived," he said flatly, after a time. "And we're going to stay deprived until we can get education. I can't get them to read. If I could just get *one* of them . . ." He paused. "Maybe Birdie." Nodding, he repeated, "Maybe Birdie."

Between the Oakland suburbs and San Jose, a countryside of small truck farms and farmhouses has not yet been sealed over with asphalt and concrete. Chavez remarked on how pretty these small farms were in comparison with the huge food factories of Delano. "They have life in them," he said. "People still live here." Seeing men and women stooping in the fields, he talked about the short-handled hoe, which he regards as a symbol of man's exploitation of man. "You have to caress a plant tenderly to make it grow, and the short hoe makes you bend over and work closer to the plant," he said. "But a good man can work just as well with a long hoe, without the exhaustion." Stoop labor with the short hoe is so painful that in speeches to workers an attack on the short hoe brings a wild cheer of anger and approval every time he uses it.

We left the freeway, turning east up the gleaming glass-plastic-neon boulevard that is San Jose's main thoroughfare; at the end of it low, bare ridges of the Santa Clara Mountains ease the eye. Toward the eastern edge of town is Sal Si Puedes. Of the many communities that Chavez has known since he left the Gila River Valley, he feels drawn most strongly to Sal Si Puedes, where he lived for long periods both before and after he was married. He pointed out a wooden church that he had helped to build. Sal Si Puedes was the first community that he organized for the C.S.O., and there is scarcely a house along those small streets that he hasn't been in. The part of the *barrio* where his parents live has a few trees and patches of lawn among the bungalows. We stopped at a mailbox marked "Chavez," and he went into the yellow stucco house to see if his parents were at home. When he came out to get me, he was tailed by two toddling nephews, and he was laughing.

Chavez's parents are about eighty, and they both have spectacles and snowy hair. The father, who must have been a very strong, good-looking man, has been troubled for several years with age and weight and deafness; his wife is still very alert and

active. After I had said hello to Chavez's parents, he introduced me to a niece of his, a pretty fifteen-year-old named Rachel, and to his son Fernando, a tall, strong-looking boy with a generous, open face and manner. Fernando held a golf iron in his hand.

Chavez, sitting on the couch with his mother in the living room, asked Rachel if she was coming to Delano the next summer to help in the strike, and she said enthusiastically that she would like that. I had the feeling that he was talking to his son, and apparently Fernando thought so, too, because he murmured mildly that he had meant to accompany Manuel to New York to help with the boycott and wondered why Manuel had not let him know that he was leaving.

Chavez looked at his son. "I guess you know we don't pay people to strike," he said in a flat voice.

"I know," the boy said uneasily. "I wanted to go anyway." He met his father's gaze.

"Well, it's never too late, I guess," Chavez said. He turned back to his mother.

Fernando glanced at me and smiled; the smile made no comment. I asked him about his golf, and he told me that he shared a bag of clubs with a friend and that he had once broken seventy.

Chavez spoke with his mother for all but a few minutes of the hour or so we spent in his parent's house; the pleasure he took in her company was a pleasure to see, and I doubt if her eyes left him once during the visit. His father sat quietly on a chair by the door. Chavez speaks warmly of his father, from whom he learned his contempt for that special kind of male self-consciousness that Mexicans call *machismo,* unlike most Mexican-Americans, Mr. Chavez never considered it unmanly to bathe his children or take them to the toilet or do small menial jobs around the house.

Before we left, Chavez took his mother's fragile hands in his and said goodbye. On the way to the road, he knelt to talk with his small nephews, giving them ten cents each. He asked the older child his name, and the boy said he was Aguilar Chavez Junior the Third. Everybody burst out laughing except Aguilar Junior the Third, who merely looked pleased. The boys said goodbye to "Tio Cesar," and he left them grinning broadly. "You see?" he told me. "Money talks."

In the car I told Chavez that I thought Fernando had seemed sincere about going to New York, and he nodded. Apparently, Manuel had mentioned before leaving that Fernando wished to go along, but Cesar had not taken it seriously. Now he did, however, and for a while, as we drove south, he spoke proudly of Fernando. "We'll make a good organizer out of him yet," he said in a delighted tone. But then he caught himself and laughed. "I know," he said. "This time I'll let him come on his own decision, with no pressure. That will be best."

From San Jose, we continued south on U.S. 101, following El Camino Real — the Royal Way — which once connected the old Franciscan missions of California. Since Chavez had given up any idea of getting to the union meeting, he decided to visit one of the most beautiful of all the missions, which was only a few miles off our route. "Our time is our own for the rest of the evening," he said. "We can spend it as we like."

Along both sides of the road were pretty orchards, but Chavez took no pleasure in them. Belted in, shrunk down in his seat, he peered out at them through a corner of his window. "Oh, I picked a lot of prune, a *lot,*" he said. "I hated it." Farther on, the orchards gave way to the soft, flowing golden hills of the small Santa Clara Mountains, and here and there, like islets in the stream of golden grass, stood old, dark, sturdy oak trees. The oaks made him sit up again; he called my attention to the more beautiful ones as we rode along, and said that oaks—*los robles*—were his favorite trees. With disgust, he pointed to a place where giant oaks had been hacked down to make way for a big raw-metal cistern.

At Gilroy, it was late in the summer day, though the light was still warm on the round crests of the low hills. On one of these hills, to the south, the Mission San Juan Bautista was founded, in 1797. Its hill overlooks a small valley and is overlooked, in turn, by higher hills. The mission is of white adobe, roofed with tiles of fine old reds, and the church, with the portico of its monastery, forms one side of one of the oldest Spanish plazas in California. The plaza is fronted on two other sides by high adobe and frame buildings of the nineteenth-century West—the Golden West, to judge from the nugget color of their paint. The columns of the portico are three feet thick, and they reminded Chavez of the walls of the adobe farmhouse in the Gila River Valley. He laid his small brown hand on the old surfaces. "You can always tell when adobe walls are thick," he said. "Even from head on and far away. It's almost magical."

We walked the length of the empty portico. Dark was coming, but the light was so clear—we were far from the cities—that different reds could still be made out on old tiles of different ages. All was softened by ancient evergreens and crusting lichens, and under the caves violet-green swallows flitted out and returned. Chavez pointed out the old floor of the portico, which was a broken, weathered mix of stone, adobe, ancient brick, and concrete—anything that had come to hand over the years. He said that he longed to have such a floor in the buildings at the Forty Acres, the new union headquarters outside Delano, but that the members would never tolerate it. "They're real Americans," he said affectionately. "They want everything to look slick and expensive, to show the world that their union is a success." He laughed. "Well, we're going to put a wall around the Forty Acres, to make it a kind of cloister, like this mission, and the beautiful side will be facing *in*, so that the people who built it can enjoy it. If outsiders wish to come in and look, they'll be very welcome."

Our shoes whispered on old stones. Slowly, we walked around the mission in the gathering dusk. Chavez said that he liked to think his adobe buildings at the Forty Acres would weather as well as the old missions, but the state had demanded steel reinforcements; he said this as if steel, lacking the right spirit, might prove to be the weakest link.

"I can't remember when my interest in the missions started," he said. "It must have been very deep. When I got married, Helen didn't know very much about missions, so on our honeymoon we visited just about all of them, from San Diego north to Sonoma. What appeals to me is their ability to withstand the ages. Some are two hundred years old, you know. And this is for me a sort of symbol of what happens to people with the right attitudes. Everywhere else, they slaughtered the hell out of the Indians, all across the country, but in the missions it was different. Everywhere else, the Indians were exploited—whatever religion they had was taken away from them and they were made Christians. Of course, the missions used them, too, but the whole spirit was different. The Mexican government perceived this, and that's why they wanted to destroy the missions. Oh, they were animals, some of those Mexican governors! They were *animals!* You see, it was really a Dark Age in terms of human life, but the missions gave sanctuary to the Indians, and it was a whole new approach to human beings. The Franciscans came and they said, 'These are human beings.' And the missions reflect this spirit—not just the architecture but the way they have lasted." He looked around him, and continued, "They are beautiful. They are peaceful. And I think that comes from a kind of crusading spirit, completely opposed to what was happening in the country before and afterward. There were few Indian uprisings here, very few. The big fight was between the Franciscans and the governments — first Spain and then Mexico—to keep the soldiers from rape and looting. Those Spanish soldiers were terrible. Hopeless. They were always at odds with the Franciscans, because the priests wouldn't give in on moral grounds. 'You can't abuse Indians,' they said. 'You can't abuse women.' The Franciscans made the soldiers respect the Indians. There were abuses on their side, too, but in general the moral force was great. Their history was long and most of the records have been lost, so the abuses by the Franciscans have been exaggerated. Most people don't realize what these priests did for the Indians—in South America and Mexico as well as here, and at

great cost. They neutralized the governments. If the Church had been active in the United States at the time the Negroes were coming in, with the same kind of moral force, the present mess would never have developed. And it wouldn't have happened with the Indians — the mass slaughters, wiping them out." He sighed. "Bartolomé de Las Casas—he was a great Dominican missionary, and he fought the Crown, and finally he made them understand. Today, the Franciscans have only about four of the old missions. There's one mission that has been fully restored by the government—La Purisima Concepción, near Lompoc, on the coast. They made the tiles exactly the way the tiles were made by the Indians, and it's beautiful, but it's empty. It's cold. If the Church is not there—the people—it loses its life. It dies."

When the United States acquired California, the Indians who were inherited from the mission farms were paid half of what other workers got, and their objection to this treatment was a factor in a general massacre that took place between 1850 and 1852, when Indian numbers in California, already low, were reduced from perhaps eighty-five thousand to about thirty-one thousand. This free-enterprise solution to the Indian problem caused a temporary labor shortage, but the advantages of the discriminatory pay scale in keeping labor groups at odds with one another were obvious, and the device has been used effectively ever since. For example, when the Filipinos arrived in force, in the nineteen-twenties, they were paid even less than the Mexicans, who were already in a very poor bargaining position, since most of them had entered the United States illegally, as "wetbacks," and could be, and often were, deported before payday came around, or when they protested too strenuously about anything. Traditionally, Mexicans and Filipinos have competed for the available work—usually stoop labor, since preference in the tree jobs is given to the Anglos—and, despite Chavez's most earnest efforts, there is still noticeable distance in the union between the two groups that formed it in 1965.

"I hear more and more Mexicans talking about *la raza*— to build up their pride, you know," Chavez told me. "Some people don't look it it as racism, but when you say *'la raza,'* you are saying an anti-gringo thing, and it won't stop there. Today it's anti-gringo, tomorrow it will be anti-Negro, and the day after it will be anti-Filipino, anti-Puerto Rican. And then it will be anti-poor-Mexican, and anti-darker-skinned Mexican. We had a stupid guy who just wanted to play politics with the union, and he began to whip up *la raza* against the white volunteers, and even had some of the farm workers and the pickets and the organizers hung up on *la raza*. So I took him on. These things have to be met head on. On discrimination, I don't even give the members the privilege of a vote, and I'm not ashamed of it. No, the whole business of discrimination can't exist here. So often, these days, the leaders are afraid, and even though they feel strongly against racism, they will not speak out against it. If the leadership is united, then it can say, 'All right, if you're going to do things that way, then you'll have to get rid of us.' You have to speak out immediately, the first time. Anyway, this guy was talking to people and saying he didn't like Filipinos taking over the union. So a small group came to me and said that a lot of people were very mad because the Filipinos were coming in. And I really reacted. I said a lot of people would be mad if Negroes came in in large numbers like that, and I said they were going to accept the Filipinos if I had to shove them down their throats." Chavez paused, as if surprised at his own violence. "I told them, 'That's the way I feel.' And so they left. A couple of days later, they said they wanted a big meeting. And I said, 'O.K., let's have a big meeting.' So at the big meeting they said they wanted to discuss discrimination — in other words, they wanted to take a vote to discriminate. And I said, 'Over my dead body. There will be no such vote taken here, and furthermore, before you get rid of the Filipinos you'll have to get rid of me.' 'No vote?' they said, and I said, 'It can't be done. Those of you who don't like it, I suggest that *you* get out, because you're not doing anybody any good. Or, even better, *I'll* get out. I'll join the Filipinos, and we'll build a trade union.' Well, I'd say ninety-five per cent of the audience stood up and applauded. And this small group felt isolated. the employers, of course, have used this for years and years—one group set against the other. I explained this to the audience, and I told them that the Filipinos would be a tremendous asset—new people, new ideas. That's what a union is. *La raza* is a very dangerous concept. I speak very strongly against it among the *chicanos*. At this point in the struggle, they respect me enough so that they don't emphasize *la raza*, but as soon as this is over they'll be against me, because I make fun of it, and I knock down *machismo*, too. Oh, I heard a sick, sick speech by a Mexican the other day. I don't like to see any man discriminating. But when a Mexican discriminates -- *ooh!*" He winced. "That *really* cuts me. As a Mexican-American, I expect more of them than of anybody else. I love them, and I guess I'd like them to be perfect."

Severe back pains that had been dragging Chavez down for months finally forced him to take some time off last autumn, and he went to St. Anthony's, a Franciscan seminary in Santa Barbara, where he could have daily therapy at a hospital. I found him flat on his back in bed. In crisp white pajamas, he looked small He greeted me cheerfully but made no effort to sit up when he took my hand, his drawn face patched with gray from months of pain. Over his head, three rosaries hung from an extended bar, and with them a Jewish mezuzah on a silver chain, which he always puts on under his shirt when he goes out. "I'm sure Christ wore a mezuzah," he said, with a grin. "He certainly didn't wear a cross." On a wall of the room, as in his office in Delano, there was a Mexican straw crucifix. It was a small room, and the bed, a washstand, two stiff chairs, and a small bureau filled it. On the bureau was a borrowed tape recorder, with tapes of some flamenco music by Manitas de Plata and songs of Joan Baez. There was also a framed photograph of Gandhi.

There had been some bad news from Delano. Mack Lyons, the workers' representative at DiGiorgio, had found two groups of non-union pruners working in DiGiorgio's Arvin vineyards, and when the pruners were questioned they said that the vineyards had been sold. Since the union had been unable to obtain a so-called successor clause in the contract with DiGiorgio, guaranteeing that the contract would bind a new owner, this was a serious blow, and Chavez had called an emergency meeting to discuss how to handle the new threat. The next phase of the long battle was clearly going to be a difficult one, and Chavez would need all his strength for it. (In March of this year, Dr. Janet Travell, who treated President Kennedy, concluded that Chavez's back trouble was not a degenerative-disc condition, as had been thought, but a muscle spasm caused by the fact that one of his legs is shorter than the other and one side of his pelvis is smaller—an imbalance to which, as he grows older and less resilient, his muscles can no longer adjust. Dr. Travell's treatment is the first that has given Chavez any real relief.)

Last fall in Santa Barbara, there was speculation that the long fast Chavez had made earlier in the year might have aggravated his back condition, and in the sun on a porch outside his room I talked with Helen Chavez about the fast. She told me that at the beginning he had kept it a secret for about three days. At home, he would pretend that he had already eaten or that he wasn't hungry. Then one day Manuel said to her, "Is he still fasting?" After that, she offered Cesar all his favorite foods, and still he would not eat. Finally, she confronted him in his office, and when he admitted he was fasting she got very upset; she was sure he would harm himself. "The kids were already worried," she said. "And when I told them, they said, 'Dad looks awful. Will he be O.K.?' But after another day or so we got used to the idea and went along with him."

Not everyone went along. The fast, which lasted twenty-five days, split the union down the middle. Mrs. Chavez and Richard and Manuel knew

that he had been fasting before he announced it, but even they were stunned by his intention of prolonging the fast indefinitely. So was LeRoy Chatfield, who still speaks with awe of the speech in which Chavez had called a special meeting for twelve noon on Monday, February 19, 1968, at a hall in Delano, and the strikers and the office staff as well as their families were there. Several acts of violence had been committed by union people, and he talked for an hour and a half about non-violence. He discussed Vietnam, wondering aloud how so many of his listeners could deplore the violence in Asia and yet promote it in the United States. He said that the Mexican tradition of proving manliness —*machismo*—through violence was in error. *La Causa* must not risk a single life on either side, because it *was* a cause, not just a union, and had to deal with people not as membership cards or Social Security numbers but as human beings, one by one.

"Cesar took a very hard line," Chatfield told me. "He said we were falling back on violence in the strike because we weren't creative enough or imaginative enough to find another solution—because we didn't *work* hard enough. One of the things he said in the speech was that he felt we had lost our will to win—by which he meant that behaving violently or advocating violence, or even thinking that maybe violence isn't such a bad thing, is really losing your will to win, your commitment to win. This seems like a very idealistic position, but there's truth in it. Anarchy leads to chaos, and out of chaos rises the demagogue. That's one of the reasons he is so upset about *la raza*. The same Mexicans that ten years ago were talking about themselves as Spaniards are coming on real strong these days as Mexicans. Everyone should be proud of what he is, of course, but race is only skin-deep. It's phony, and it comes out of frustration — the *la raza* people are not secure. They want to use Cesar as a symbol of their nationalism. But he doesn't want any part of it. He said to me just the other day, 'Can't they understand that that's just the way Hitler started?' A few months ago, a big foundation gave some money to a *la raza* group—they liked the outfit's sense of pride, or something—and Cesar really told them off. He feels that racism will destroy our union faster than anything else—that it plays right into the growers' hands if they can keep the minorities fighting, pitting one race against another, one group against another."

In his speech that day, Chavez discussed the civil-rights movement and how, in its recourse to violence, it had made black people suffer; black homes, not white, were being burned, and black sons killed. The union, he said, had raised the hopes of many poor people. It had a responsibility to those people, whose hopes, along with all the union gains, would be destroyed after the first cheap victories of violence. Finally, he announced the fast. It was not a hunger strike, because its purpose was not strategic; it was an act of prayer and love for the union members, because, as their leader, he felt responsible for the acts of all of them. There would be no vote on the fast, which would continue for an indefinite period, and had, in fact, begun the week before. He was not going into seclusion, and would continue his work as best he could. He asked that the people in the room keep the news entirely to themselves. Since it was difficult to fast at home, and since the Forty Acres was the spiritual home of the union, he would walk there as soon as he had finished speaking, and remain there until the fast was done. "His act was intensely personal," Chatfield told me. "And the whole theme of his speech was love. In fact, his last words to us before he left the room and started that long walk to the Forty Acres were something like 'I am doing this because I love you.' "

Helen Chavez followed Cesar from the hall, and everyone sat for some time in silence. Then the meeting was taken over by Larry Itliong, the assistant director, who said straight out that Brother Chavez should be persuaded to come off the fast. Manuel Chavez then declared that Cesar was an Indian, and therefore stubborn, and that once he had made up his mind to do something, nothing anyone could say was going to stop him. Other members made many other comments. One man, for example, dismissed all the talk about striker violence as grower propaganda, and therefore saw no reason for the fast. Some of the Protestants and agnostics in the union, white and brown, still resented th Catholic aura of the Sacramento march of the year before, and now they felt offended all over again. They were supported by some Catholics, who felt that the Church was being exploited, and also by most of the white volunteers, the Jews especially, who disliked any religious overtone whatever. For the first week or so, almost the whole board of directors was against the fast. On the other hand, the membership, largely Catholic, accepted it in apprehensive faith. The people complied with Chavez's request that no one try a fast of sympathy on his own, but he learned later, from the candidly expressed annoyance of their wives, that three young men had taken a vow of chastity for the duration of the fast, and held to it. He speaks of this sacrifice with awe and regret, but it seemed to him a moving example of the farm workers' new spirit.

There were many misgivings and many doubts about what Chavez was trying to accomplish. "When we visited Cesar in his little room at the Forty Acres," Chatfield told me, "he would point at the wall and say, 'See that white wall? Well, imagine ten different-colored balls, all jumping up and down. One ball is called Religion, another Propaganda, another Organization, another Law, and so forth. When people look at that wall and see those balls, different people look at different balls, and each person keeps his eye on his own ball. For each person, the balls mean different things, but for everyone they can mean something.' I began to see what he meant. My ball was Propaganda, and I kept my eye on that. I could therefore be perfectly comfortable, and understand the fast completely in those terms, and not negate the nine other balls—Organizing, say. And, as a matter or fact, we never organized so many people in such a short time, before or since. The fast gave the lie to the growers' claim that we had no following. Some people came every night to attend Mass at the Forty Acres — came sixty-five, eighty-five miles every night. People stood in line for an hour, two hours, to talk with him. Cesar saw it as a fantastic opportunity to talk to one man, one family, at a time. When that person leaves, he goes away with something. He's no longer a member, he's an organizer. At the Sunday Mass, we had as many as two thousand people. That's what the growers don't understand—we're all over the state. In fact, there's nowhere in this state or anywhere in the Southwest where the people don't know about Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers. And they say, 'When is he coming? Are we next?' "

As the fast wore on through February and into March, many of the farm workers became worried, and a number of strikers came to Manuel and swore that they would never be violent again if he could just persuade Cesar to quit. Other union members were made increasingly uncomfortable by the religious implications of the fast, especially after the seventeenth day, when Chavez asked his brother Richard to construct a simple cross — the materials cost a dollar and a half, according to Richard—which was later burned by vandals. The cross was the ultimate affront to at least two volunteers. One dismissed the entire fast as "a cheap publicity stunt." The other, who had once been a priest, accused Chavez of having a Messiah complex. Both soon quit the United Farm Workers for good.

At a Mass of Thanksgiving that concluded the fast, Chavez was too weak to speak, and a brief speech was read for him, in English and in Spanish. After describing the purpose of the fast, he concluded as follows: "When we are really honest with ourselves, we must admit that our lives are all that really belongs to us. So it is how we use our lives that determines what kind of men we are. It is my deepest belief that only by giving our lives do we find life. I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness, is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. God help us be men."

—PETER MATTHIESSEN

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A letter from the PUBLISHER

James R. Shepley

ANY issue that arouses as much passion as the California grape strike, the subject of TIME's cover story this week, inevitably poses a doubly difficult task for journalists. The simplest facts become fogged by rhetoric; rumor and innuendo abound and every source, it seems, has chosen sides. To meet this challenge, TIME's Los Angeles bureau deployed nine correspondents and stringers across the Southwest. For several weeks, they toured the towns and vineyards, traveling thousands of miles and talking to hundreds of people for their report to Writer Keith Johnson and Editor Laurence Barrett.

Los Angeles Bureau Chief Marshall Berges took on the job of providing an overview from the state government and community leaders. Martin Sullivan, recently arrived from Montreal, went into the East Los Angeles *barrios* to distill the Mexican-American way of life—and found the *Chicanos* strikingly similar in mood and plaint to their French-Canadian cousins in Quebec. Sandra Burton observed the importation of "green-card" nonunion workers from Mexico and covered the climax of a 100-mile march between El Centro and Calexico, in which, she reports, the heat hit 120° and blisters "were like merit badges." At the end, when Union Leader Cesar Chavez began to speak, she thought that she had obtained a perfect worm's-eye view amid the swarming crowd by squirming under the flatbed truck that served as a podium—until Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, standing barefoot a few yards away, started scratching and announced that the grass was infested with chiggers.

In the Coachella Valley and the Delano market center, Susan J. Diamond set out to get the growers' side of the dispute. Most of the time, she could only interview the growers at night, after their 15- or 16-hour day, and she went away suspecting that tempers were short largely because the owners worked such killing hours. Curiously, no one ever offered her a grape.

The assignment of interviewing Chavez himself fell to Robert Anson. Almost immediately, the workers' mistrust of the Anglos was sharply brought home to him. He had arrived in jacket and tie, and an organizer quickly informed him that it would be better to leave the jacket and tie home. "You have to realize," said the man, "that a lot of these people have been exploited by

J.R. EYERMAN

ROBERT ANSON IN VINEYARD

men wearing jackets and ties." "From then on, I wore Levi's," says Anson.

The talks with Chavez were held in the back room of a small house near union headquarters in Delano. All interviews were strictly limited to 45 minutes (Chavez spends the rest of every hour exercising his disabled back), and the union leader insisted on talking only about *la causa*, never about himself. Those around Chavez were equally reluctant to discuss him as a man. Says Anson: "For most of them, Chavez is a symbol rather than a person."

The Cover: Oil on canvas by Manuel Gregorio Acosta, 48, a Mexican-born Texan and onetime protégé of Peter Hurd and Andrew Wyeth, who makes his first appearance in TIME.

INDEX

Cover Story . . . . 16 Color 47

Art	54	Law	62	People	35
Behavior	38	Letters	6	Press	68
Books	78	Listings	2	Religion	57
Business	70	Milestones	58	Science	65
Cinema	46	Music	64	Sport	36
Education	52	Nation	12	World	23

AP

GRAPE STRIKERS MARCHING FROM DELANO TO SACRAMENTO

DAVID GAHR

PICKETS OUTSIDE MARKET IN BROOKLYN

THE LITTLE STRIKE THAT GREW TO *LA CAUSA*

ITEM: At a dinner party in New York's Westchester County, the dessert includes grapes. The hostess notices that her fellow suburbanites fall to with gusto; the guests from Manhattan unanimously abstain.

ITEM: At St. Paul's, a fashionable New Hampshire prep school, grapes are the only part of the meal invariably left untouched.

ITEM: In San Francisco, a Safeway official observes: "We have customers who come to the store for no other reason than to buy grapes. They'll load up their car with grapes and nothing else."

ITEM: In Oakland, a conscience-ridden housewife explains apologetically to her dinner companions: "I really wanted to have this dessert, and I just decided that one little bunch of grapes wouldn't make that much difference."

ITEM: In Honolulu, the Young Americans for Freedom organizes an "emergency grape lift" by jet from the mainland, inviting "all of those starved for the sight of a California grape to come to the airport."

WHY all the excitement about this smooth, sweet and innocent fruit? The answer is that the table grape, *Vitis vinifera*, has become the symbol of the four-year-old strike of California's predominantly Mexican-American farm workers. For more than a year now, table grapes have been the object of a national boycott that has won the sympathy and support of many Americans —and the ire of many others. The strike is widely known as *la causa*, which has come to represent not only a protest against working conditions among California grape pickers but the wider aspirations of the nation's Mexican-American minority as well. *La causa's* magnetic champion and the country's most prominent Mexican-American leader is Cesar Estrada Chavez, 42, a onetime grape picker who combines a mystical mien with peasant earthiness. *La causa* is Chavez's whole life; for it, he has impoverished himself and endangered his health by fasting. In soft, slow speech, he urges his people—nearly 5,000,000 of them in the U.S.—to rescue themselves from society's cellar. As he sees it, the first step is to win the battle of the grapes.

Magnified Movement

To enter the public consciousness, a labor conflict must ordinarily threaten the supply of essential goods and services, like steel or transportation. Politicians and the public take notice only when there is great impact on the economy, when spectacular bloodshed occurs or when well-recognized issues are at stake. The grape strike seems to meet none of these criteria. Americans could easily live without the table grape if they had to, and even that minor sacrifice has been unnecessary. The dispute has been relatively free of violence. Neither great numbers of men nor billions of dollars are involved. The welfare of agricultural workers has rarely captured U.S. attention in the past, but the grape strike—*la huelga*—and the boycott accompanying it have clearly engaged a large part of the nation.

The issue has divided husband and wife, inspired countless heated arguments at social occasions and engendered public controversy from coast to coast. As if on a holy crusade, the strikers stage marches that resemble religious pilgrimages, bearing aloft their own stylized black Aztec eagle on a red field along with images of the Virgin of Guadalupe, patroness of Mexicans and particularly of those who work the soil. As the workers and their sympathizers march, supermarket chains, middle-class consumers, and even the grape growers are choosing sides. Some supermarkets are leaving the choice to the shopper. Others sell only grapes imported from Africa or Israel, and make a point of advertising that they do not carry the California product. On Capitol Hill, diners in the House restaurants have not seen a grape for months, while the Senate refectory has been using 15 lbs. to 20 lbs. a week. When one California Congressman sent large bags of grapes to each of his colleagues, many of the recipients returned them. Within a few hours, the corridor outside the Congressman's office was asquish with trod-upon fruit.

Governor Ronald Reagan calls the strike and boycott "immoral" and "attempted blackmail." Senator George Murphy, like Reagan an old Hollywood union man-turned-conservative, terms the movement "dishonest." The Nixon Administration has seemed ambivalent, putting forward legislation that would ostensibly give farm workers organization rights but would also limit their use of strikes and boycotts. The Pentagon has substantially increased its grape orders for mess-hall tables, a move that Chavez and his followers countered last week by preparing a lawsuit to prevent such purchases on the ground that grapes are the subject of a labor dispute. Some auto-bumper stickers read: NIXON EATS GRAPES. The growers' answering slogan: EAT CALIFORNIA GRAPES, THE FORBIDDEN FRUIT.

Edward and Ethel Kennedy, following the late Robert Kennedy's example, have embraced Cesar Chavez as a brother. The so-called Beautiful People, from Peter, Paul and Mary to the Ford sisters, Anne Uzielli and Charlotte Ni-

CIVIL RIGHTS

Keeping a Promise

Conservative Southerners have long resented civil rights legislation and court rulings aimed solely at their region. Richard Nixon acknowledged their feeling last year by giving assurances that he would not support such measures. Last week he kept his promise.

Appearing before Emanuel Celler's House Judiciary Committee, Nixon's Attorney General, John Mitchell, went against bipartisan sentiment on the committee by opposing a five-year extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Instead, he offered a package that would broaden coverage to the whole country but risk weakened enforcement in the South.

Burden of Proof. The 1965 statute was passed because the case-by-case enforcement suits initiated under earlier civil rights acts had proved inadequate to overcome Southern resistance to Negro voting. The law banned literacy tests in seven states where less than half the voting-age population was registered. It also allowed the Attorney General to assign federal examiners to observe elections in counties covered by the act. Most important, it forbade the affected states and counties to adopt new voting laws and procedures without the approval of the U.S. Attorney General, and thus placed on the states the burden of proving that local laws were not discriminatory. The effect on voting was spectacular. Almost 600,000 Negroes were added to voter lists in the seven states. In Mississippi, Negro registration increased by more than 60%.

In one sense, the Nixon Administration's bill would go beyond the 1965 law. It would apply a recent Supreme Court decision by suspending voter literacy tests across the U.S. on the grounds that they discriminate against those who have had an inferior education. It would also abolish residency requirements for voting in presidential elections. But it would eliminate the Justice Department's advance review of voting laws and shift the burden of proof from the states to the Government. The effect of the proposed change would force the Justice Department back to the slower, more costly case-by-case enforcement of voting rights.

Sophisticated Effort. Explaining the Administration's view, Mitchell said: "We have come to the firm conclusion that voting rights are no longer a regional issue. They are a national concern for every American which must be treated on a nationwide basis." His rationale failed to impress committee members, liberal Congressmen and the only other witness to testify last week, Clarence Mitchell of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Chairman Celler, while not opposed to voting-law reform, felt that the Administration's bill was ill-timed. He argued that the existing law should be extended until a more comprehensive —and perhaps controversial—bill like the Administration's could be maneuvered through Congress. The committee's senior Republican, William McCulloch of Ohio, also favors a five-year extension of the 1965 act. So does the N.A.A.C.P.'s Mitchell, who described the Administration's proposal as a "sophisticated, calculated and incredible effort by the chief lawyer of the United States to make it impossible to exercise the tools we have to ensure the right to vote."

Whether the Administration's bill gets through Congress or not, the very fact that it was proposed is certain to affect Nixon's tenuous relationship with black Americans. Nixon himself admitted shortly after taking office that he was "not regarded as a friend by many of our black citizens," and said that he hoped his performance as President would change matters. Last week's action could only alter things for the worse.

UPI

ALABAMA NEGROES AT POLLS
No longer a regional issue.

LABOR

Settlement in Charleston

The ordeal of Charleston had seemed impossible to remedy. During the 100-day strike by nonprofessional black hospital workers, there were mass arrests, curfews, patrols by the National Guard, the threat of a sympathy strike that would have closed the port and the ever-present possibility of serious racial violence. Every attempt at settlement collapsed—until last week.

By then, the pressure of a coalition of common sense had proved too much for Dr. William McCord, director of the Medical College Complex and a stubborn opponent of union recognition. Governor Robert McNair had long been demanding a peaceful conclusion. The local business community wanted an agreement, and the Nixon Administration sought to produce an acceptable formula. Then, at the urging of federal mediators and a newly formed citizens committee, talks began. They featured an interesting extra ingredient. In the middle of one session, Dr. McCord was summoned to take a telephone call from White House Aide Harry Dent, former Republican chairman of South Carolina. The details of the message were secret, but an agreement was soon reached.

The settlement saved face for both sides. Medical College Hospital, the larger of the two institutions being struck, agreed to rehire all strikers, including the dozen whose dismissal touched off the walkout. It did not agree to formal union recognition, which is forbidden by state laws covering public employees. But it did consent to a grievance procedure in which a union member can assist workers, and it approved an employee credit union that would allow a form of dues checkoff. As far as the union is concerned, these concessions amount to *de facto* recognition.

Both Ralph Abernathy, the civil rights leader who had supported the strike to the point of going to jail, and Moe Foner, secretary of the organizing committee for the Drug and Hospital Employees Union, were pleased by the outcome. They had good reason. The strike renewed the partnership between the labor and civil rights movements and represented a much needed victory for the advocates of activist nonviolence. The union's objective is to organize the nation's 1,500,000 nonprofessional hospital workers, many of whom are black. As the settlement was being announced, union men were on their way to Baltimore to begin working with the 1,200 semiskilled workers at the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

arches, are helping to raise funds for the strikers. That support is one of the few issues that find Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, iconoclastic Writer Gloria Steinem, and liberal Senators Jacob Javits and George McGovern in total agreement. Ralph Abernathy lends black help to what is becoming the Brown Power movement.

The fact that it is a movement has magnified *la huelga* far beyond its economic and geographic confines. At stake are not only the interests of 384,100 agricultural workers in California but potentially those of more than 4,000,000 in the U.S. Such workers have never won collective bargaining rights, partially because they have not been highly motivated to organize and partially because their often itinerant lives have made them difficult to weld into a group that would have the clout of an industrial union. By trying to organize the grape pickers, Chavez hopes to inspire militancy among all farm laborers. Because most of the grape pickers are Mexican Americans, he also believes that he is fighting a battle on behalf of the entire Mexican-American community, which as a group constitutes the nation's second biggest deprived minority.

Unlettered and Unshod

Like the blacks, Mexican Americans, who are known as *Chicanos*, are a varied and diverse people. Only recently have they emerged from a stereotype: the lazy, placid peasant lost in a centuries-long siesta under a sombrero. Unlike the blacks, who were brought to the U.S. involuntarily, the *Chicanos* have flocked to the U.S. over the past 30 years, legally and illegally, in an attempt to escape the poverty of their native Mexico and find a better life. Whatever their present condition may be, many obviously find it better than their former one, as evidenced by the fact that relatives have often followed families into the U.S. The *Chicanos* do not speak in one voice but many, follow no one leader or strategy. Their level of ambition and militance varies greatly from *barrio* to *barrio* between Texas and California.

No man, however, personifies the *Chicanos*' bleak past, restless present and possible future in quite the manner of Cesar Chavez. He was the unshod, unlettered child of migrant workers. He attended dozens of schools but never got to the eighth grade. He was a street-corner tough who now claims as his models Emiliano Zapata, Gandhi, Nehru and Martin Luther King. He tells his people: "We make a solemn promise: to enjoy our rightful part of the riches of this land, to throw off the yoke of being considered as agricultural implements or slaves. We are free men and we demand justice."

The dawning of Chavez's social awareness came in a seamy San Jose, Calif., *barrio* called *Sal Si Puedes* —"Get out if you can." Through Fred Ross, a tall, quiet organizer for Saul Alinsky's Community Service Organization, Cesar began to act on Alinsky's precept that concerted action is the only means through which the poor can gain political and economic power. Chavez, a Roman Catholic, has delved deeply into the papal social encyclicals, especially *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*.* "What Cesar wanted to reform was the way he was treated as a man," recalls his brother Richard. "We always talked about change, but how could we go about it?" Cesar Chavez went about it by working with the C.S.O. among Mexican Americans for ten years. Then, in 1962, he left to form a farm workers' union.

The conditions under which farm laborers toil have improved somewhat since the squalid Depression era so well evoked by John Steinbeck in *The Grapes of Wrath* and *In Dubious Battle*; yet field work remains one of the most unpleasant of human occupations. It demands long hours of back-breaking labor, often in choking dust amid insects and under a flaming sun. The harvest-time wage for grape pickers averages $1.65 an hour, plus a 25¢ bonus for each box picked, while the current federal minimum wage is $1.60.

Despite this, the seasonal and sporadic nature of the work keeps total income far below the poverty level. Average family income is less than $1,600 a year. There is no job security, and fringe benefits are few. If they are migrants, the workers must frequently live in fetid shacks without light or plumbing (though housing, bad as it is, is frequently free or very cheap.) As a result, many have moved to the cities, where even unskilled labor can find work at decent wages.

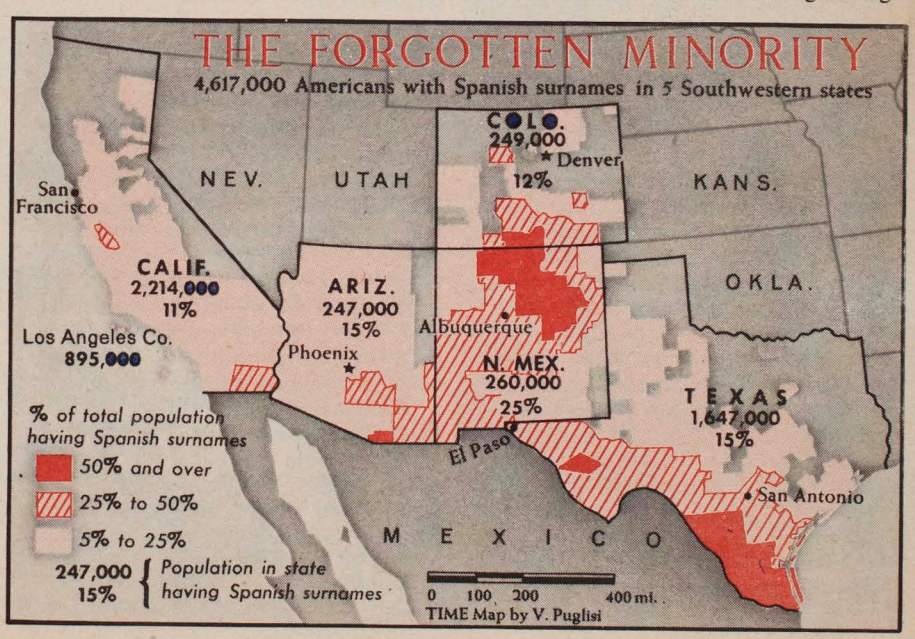
Chavez was not the first to try to organize farm workers. Ineffective efforts to found agricultural unions date back to the turn of the century. But only in Hawaii, where Harry Bridges' tough longshoremen's union used its muscle to win the first farm-labor contract for sugar-cane workers in 1945, did unionization take hold. Agriculture is outside the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board, which has provided federal ground rules for industrial workers' unions since 1935; on a national level, there is no similar mechanism for farm workers. In May the Nixon Administration proposed an independent Farm Labor Relations Board, but chances for passage of such a law this year are small. Without NLRB protection, and with farm labor normally transient and seasonal, the difficulties of organizing are enormous.

Rose Grafts and Table Grapes

Undeterred by these obstacles, Chavez took his $1,200 in savings and started the National Farm Workers' Association seven years ago, setting up its headquarters in the San Joaquin Valley agricultural town of Delano. He clicked off 300,000 miles in a battered 1953 Mercury station wagon, crisscrossing the San Joaquin and talking to more than 50,000 workers in the first six months. His money was soon gone, but he found people who were willing to give him food. The N.F.W.A. had its first formal meeting in Fresno in September 1962; 287 people showed up. Chavez soon started a death-benefits plan for his members, a curious echo of the burial societies organized decades ago by Eastern European immigrants on their arrival in the U.S. He also set up a credit union with $35 in assets (it now has more than $50,000). By August 1964, he had 1,000 members, each paying $3.50 a month in dues—no small sum for a farm worker's family. Soon he began publishing a union newspaper called *El Malcriado* (The Misfit), whose circulation is 18,000.

At last the union felt strong enough

* *Rerum Novarum*, published by Leo XIII in 1891, contended that the rich had in effect enslaved the poor, and that every man has a right to a decent wage and reasonable comfort. Pius XI, in *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), criticized the economic despotism that results from "limitless free competition" and reiterated the principle of a just wage.



to tackle the growers on a substantive issue. In 1964, the N.F.W.A. took one employer to court for paying less than the then minimum wage of $1.25 per hour, and after months of wrangling, won the case. The amounts of money gained were small but the point was made: a boss could be beaten. Then the association sued the Tulare County housing authority over the rents and conditions at two labor camps, built in the late 1930s and intended to be used for only a few years. The camps were a hideous collection of 9-ft. by 11-ft. tin shacks, boiling in the summer sun and lacking both indoor plumbing and heat for the chill nights. Tulare officials subsequently built modern accommodations.

In May 1965, Chavez signed up a group of rose grafters and won a strike vote for higher wages. Everyone pledged not to go to work, but just to make sure that no one did, Chavez and Dolores Huerta, his tiny, tough assistant, made the rounds early on the strike's first morning. Mrs. Huerta saw a light in one house where four of the workers lived. She reminded them of their pledge, but they had changed their minds. Mrs. Huerta moved her truck so that it blocked their driveway and put the key in her purse. The incident illustrated the charge that Chavez and his aides sometimes coerce those who would rather work than strike. After only four days of the strike, the grower agreed to give the workers a 120% wage increase.

That same spring, in the Coachella Valley east of Los Angeles, the largely Filipino grape pickers of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s fledgling Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee won a brief strike for pay equal to that given field hands imported from Mexico. When the workers moved north to Delano at the end of the summer, grape growers there refused to make a similar agreement, and A.W.O.C. once more went on strike. On Sept. 16, which just happened to be Mexican Independence Day, Chavez's group held a tumultuous meeting and voted unanimously to join the walkout. The hall of the Roman Catholic church on Delano's west side resounded with cries of *"Viva la huelga!" "Viva la causa! Viva la unión!"* The N.F.W.A. and the A.W.O.C. merged two years later to form the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, headed by Chavez.

Table-grape growers are particularly vulnerable to strikes because their product requires continual attention through much of the year. Since the appearance of the fruit affects its value—unlike the case of wine grapes—the bunches must be carefully picked by hand. Because of their vulnerability, Chavez picked the table-grape growers as his first target. In 1966, after a strike, he got his first contract when Schenley Industries capitulated because it had a nationally known name at stake. Later that year he won the right to represent workers at the mammoth Di Giorgio ranch in an election monitored by the American Arbitration Association. Both Di Giorgio and Schenley have since sold their table-grape holdings, however, and Chavez's only contracts now are with wine producers: Gallo, Christian Brothers, Masson, Almadén, Franzia Brothers and Novitiate.

Boycott and Breakthrough

Chavez has never been able to get large numbers of laborers to join the strike. Many of those who do follow him are fanatic in their loyalty, but a large segment of the shifting, transient work force continues to be indifferent to unionism. Wages have been rising even in the absence of contracts, and few farm workers can afford to go unpaid for long. Although federal regulations theoretically prohibit the hiring of aliens, or "green-carders," as strike breakers, the owners have nevertheless continued to use imported workers of Mexican citizenship.

Chavez decided to resort to the boycott to keep pressure on the table-grape growers. He applied it first in 1967 to the Giumarra Vineyards Corp., the largest U.S. table-grape producer. Giumarra started using the labels of other growers—in violation of Food and Drug Administration rules—to circumvent the boycott. In retaliation, the Chavez people began to appeal to stores and consumers not to buy any California table grapes at all. The boycott has been extended overseas to Britain and Scandinavia.

Chavez has now finally achieved a breakthrough: nationwide grape sales were off 12% in 1968, and prices for this year's first California grapes are down as much as 15%. Last month ten growers representing about 12% of the state's table-grape production announced that they would sit down with Chavez to write a contract. If negotiations with Chavez succeed, some other vineyards may also sign contracts, but a determined majority still barely acknowledge his existence and remain adamantly opposed to union recognition.

If the union does begin to win contracts with an increasing number of growers, a new difficulty could arise: How is the consumer to tell the difference between union and nonunion grapes? Boxes can be labeled easily, but not loose bunches of grapes in a market. The union claims that existing boycott machinery can be turned around to promote the produce of those who

An Anglo-*Chicano* Lexicon

As with other minority groups, there is a special vocabulary used by and about Mexican Americans. The words, naturally, are mainly Spanish. Among them:

Anglo: white, non-Mexican American. Though normally used simply in a neutral, descriptive manner, the term sometimes has pejorative overtones. It has to some extent replaced *gringo. Agringada* describes a Mexican American who has gone completely *Anglo* in his way of life.

Barrio: literally "district," the Spanish-speaking quarter of a U.S. city; also, *colonia.*

Bracero: Mexican citizen brought into the U.S. temporarily and usually in groups to add to the existing labor force at times of peak activity. The program, begun during World War II to relieve manpower shortages, was ended—over farmers' protests—in 1964. However, individuals known as "green-carders" (for the permits they hold) can work as aliens.

La Causa: literally, "the cause." Cesar Chavez's farm-labor movement; also, more broadly, the advancement of Mexican Americans.

Chicano: Mexican American. A shortened, corrupted form of *Mexicano,* with the first syllable dropped and the "x" pronounced like *ch* in *cheese,* in the fashion of Mexico's Chihuahua Indians.

Hispano: descendant of the original Spanish settlers of areas now part of the U.S. Used chiefly in New Mexico and Colorado to distinguish such Spanish-speaking Americans from later immigrants of Indian descent.

La Huelga: the strike.

Malinchista: traitor to the Mexican-American cause. From Malinche, the daughter of a Mexican nobleman, who became Cortés' mistress and aided the Spanish in their conquest of Mexico.

Mestizo: person of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, as are most Mexican Americans. *Gueros* have relatively light skins; *trigueños* are somewhat darker.

Pachuco: tough guy. Used of teenage Mexican-American boys in gangs. During World War II, dressed in gaudy zoot suits, they were the target of racial violence in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

La Raza: the race, meaning all Mexicans and Mexican Americans, and derived from the mystical theory of the 19th century philosopher, José Vasconcelos, that people of mixed race will inherit the earth. At best, it is a rallying cry betokening a mild form of cultural nationalism; at worst, it connotes outright racism.

Tio Taco: literally "Uncle Taco," the Mexican-American equivalent of an Uncle Tom. An equally contemptuous synonym is *vendido,* sellout.

Wetback: illegal immigrant from Mexico, so called because a common means of entry was to swim the Rio Grande.

CURT GUNTHER—CAMERA 5

CHAVEZ UNDER PHOTO OF GANDHI
Also Zapata, Nehru and King.

have signed; they could be marketed through the chain stores that have refused to handle the produce of struck growers. However, any such confusing procedure is bound to dilute the boycott's effectiveness.

Most of the growers bitterly dispute Chavez's contentions. His claim to represent the workers is false, they say; only 3% of California's grape pickers have joined his union. Chavez has not been able to strip the fields of workers and, they argue, even if he personally preaches nonviolence, his followers do not practice it. Packing sheds have been set afire, foremen threatened, tires slashed. Chavez also has outside help. Long-haired pickets came down from Berkeley in the early days of *la huelga*, and the union gets $14,500 a month in grants from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers. By insisting that all workers join his union, moreover, Chavez wants what amounts to a closed shop (which is illegal under the Taft-Hartley Act, but the act does not apply to agricultural workers). This means that, for now at least, Chavez's goal, however unpalatable, is a legal one. Chavez opposes placing farm workers under the National Labor Relations Board precisely because that would make the closed shop he seeks unlawful.

The growers of Delano are difficult to cast as villains. Many are self-made men, Yugoslavs and Italians who came to the valley between 1900 and 1940 with nothing and worked hard to amass enough capital to practice the grape-growing arts they learned in Europe. Most of the Delano spreads are family enterprises, and many of them have had rough going. Costs have risen sharply over the past decade, and grape prices have now begun to decline.

The California growers also pay the second highest agricultural wages in the U.S. (after Hawaii, where unionized workers average $3 an hour).

While they generally belittle the extent of his support, however, the growers have gone to some lengths to counter Chavez's moves. The anti-U.F.W.O.C. campaign even included for a time a group called Mothers Against Chavez. The growers are using the J. Walter Thompson agency to place $400,000 worth of ads extolling the benefits of table grapes. The California public relations firm of Whitaker & Baxter has been retained to advise the growers about how to counter the boycott. Whitaker & Baxter helped to manage Richard Nixon's unsuccessful campaign for governor of California in 1962, and masterminded the American Medical Association's attempt to defeat Medicare.

On $10 a Week

One reason for the lack of comprehension between Chavez and the growers is that each has different concepts of the fundamental issue. The growers see themselves as management in a classic labor dispute, while Chavez and his followers believe that the cause of all Mexican Americans is at stake.

That is what inspires Chavez's devotion to *la causa*. For years he and his wife and eight children have lived jammed into a tiny two-bedroom house in Delano, subsisting on $10 a week from the union and on food from the communal kitchen in nearby union headquarters. Chavez has grown increasingly ascetic. He has given up casual socializing as well as liquor and cigarettes: his idea of a real treat is an eclectic meal of Chinese food, matzohs and diet soda. The fight has become his life. "The days and weeks and months run together," he told TIME Correspondent Robert Anson. "I can't think back to a time when we were not on strike." Nor does he contemplate surrender to the growers. "Either the union will be destroyed," he says, "or they will sign a contract. There's no other alternative."

The use of only peaceful means has been central to his thinking since a 1953 showdown in the San Joaquin Valley between his Mexican-American C.S.O. pickets and a public official. Suddenly, he realized that if there were any violence or serious disorder it would be his responsibility. He began reading Gandhi, and he says now: "If the strike means the blood of one grower or one grower's son, or one worker or one worker's son, then it isn't worth it."

In February 1968, Chavez began a 25-day fast "as an act of penance, recalling workers to the nonviolent roots of their movement." Although he insisted that his decision was essentially a private one, the fast took on a certain circus aura and raised suspicions that its motivation was more theatrical than theological. During the fast, Chavez had to make a court appearance in Bakersfield, on charges of improper picketing, in a case that has yet to come to trial. As he did so, 2,000 farm workers knelt outside in prayer. One woman solemnly asked him if he were indeed a saint. When the fast ended, Senator Robert Kennedy knelt next to him to receive Communion. Some 8,000 others joined them in Delano's Memorial Park for a bread-breaking ceremony.

The fast, and Chavez's years of 12- to 16-hour days, took their toll. Last September he suffered a muscular breakdown in his back—he had been in pain for years before that—and found his legs nearly paralyzed. After spending more than two months in traction, he has now substantially recovered, but is still bedridden much of the time. Instead of spending long hours driving around the state, he receives a constant stream of subordinates at his bedside.

Chavez's religious conviction mingles with the exigencies of the movement. He opposes birth control for his people, but only partly out of conventional Catholicism; he argues that smaller families would diminish the numerical power of the poor. A priest brings him Communion daily. To Correspondent Anson he explained: "God prepares those who have to suffer and take punishment. Otherwise, how could we exist? How could the black man exist? There must be something special. I really think that He looks after us."

Cesar Chavez came to his mission from a background of poverty and prejudice that is a paradigm of that of many *Chicanos*. Like most Mexican

JOHN A. KOUNS

CHAVEZ ENDING FAST AT MASS
Ideas mainly from the encyclicals.

J.R. EYERMAN

GRAPE WORKERS NEAR DELANO

Among the most unpleasant of human occupations.

Americans, he is of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, with liquid brown eyes, deeply bronze skin and thick, jet-black hair. He was born on an 80-acre farm in Arizona's Gila Valley near Yuma, where his parents tried to scratch a living from the arid desert earth. Chavez met racial hostility early in daily rock fights between Anglo and *Chicano* kids at the village school.

The farm failed in the Depression, and when Chavez was ten, the family packed everything it owned into a decrepit automobile and headed across the Colorado River into California. In Oxnard, Chavez's father found work threshing lima beans; when all the beans were harvested, the family took off, looking for other jobs and often turning up just a few days after a crop was in.

Anglos on the Left

That first winter back in Oxnard, with the little money earned in the fields already gone, was the family's worst time. Cesar's brother Richard remembers: "There was this nice lady there, and she had a vacant lot that she let us use. So we put up a tent. It was a very small tent—I guess about 8 by 10. That's all we had. All the family stayed there. And it rained that winter. Oh, it rained. Rain, rain, rain. We had to go to school barefoot. We had no shoes. I can't forget it."

The family lived that winter on beans, tortillas and an occasional potato. Chavez's father sometimes picked peas for 50¢ a day, half of which went to the contractor who drove the workers to the fields in the back of a flatbed truck. There was nothing else to do. By the next spring, the family had learned more of the harvest schedule, and it set off for the first of many years on the circuit familiar to every migrant worker in California. Starting in the Imperial and Coachella valleys of the south, through the state's bulging middle, the San Joaquin Valley, on up north of San Francisco and into the Napa Valley, they worked each crop in its turn: asparagus, grapes, beets, potatoes, beans, plums, apricots—anything that needed picking, hoeing, thinning, leafing, tipping, girdling, digging or pruning.

In 1941, the family moved to Delano, where Chavez met his future wife, Helen Fabela. At the movies with her one night, he had a jarring brush with discrimination. He refused to stay on the right side of the theater, which was reserved for Mexicans, and sat instead with the Anglos on the left. "The assistant manager came," Chavez recalls. "The girl who sold the popcorn came. And the girl with the tickets came. Then the manager came. They tried to pull me up, and I said, 'No, you have to break my arms before I get up.' " Chavez, then 16, was hustled off to the station house for a lecture from the chief of police, but he would not promise not to do the same thing again.

Like many other teen-age Mexican Americans, Chavez became a *pachuco*, affecting a zoot suit with pegged pants, a broad flat hat and a ducktail haircut. Some sociologists now see the *pachuco* movement as the first example of militant separatism among *Chicanos*, an assertion of a distinct identity hostile to Anglo culture. The Anglos took it that way, in any case, and reacted violently: during a series of riots in the Southwest during the summer of 1943, several thousand soldiers, sailors and Marines beat up hundreds of *Chicano* youths. Police promptly arrested some of the victims.

Because of his own experience of poverty and acquaintance with prejudice, Cesar Chavez has made *la causa* more than a labor movement. He is determined to better the lot of all Mexican Americans. There is much room for improvement. There have never been Jim Crow laws against them, like those against blacks, but overt discrimination undeniably exists. *Chicanos* still find it hard to get into the barbershops and public swimming pools of south Texas. Still, though the *Chicano* is set apart by language, assimilation is often easier for him than for the Negro. For this reason, and because most of the *Chicano* population lives in relative obscurity in the *barrios* or rural areas, the Mexican-American community has been slow to develop aggressive leadership.

Now, because they have seen that organized black action gets results, the *Chicanos* have begun to stir with a new militancy. They have formed the Brown Berets, modeled on the Black Panthers, and set up a $2,200,000 Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, financed by the Ford Foundation. "We are about ten years behind the Negroes, and we must catch up," says Dr. Daniel Valdes, a Denver behavioral scientist. "But I think we will do it without extreme violence." Lawyer Donald Pacheco puts the plight of the Mexican American more bluntly: "We're the 'nigger' of ten years ago."

If he is a migrant farm worker, the Mexican American has a life expectancy of about 48 years *v.* 70 for the average U.S. resident. The *Chicano* birth rate is double the U.S. average—but so is the rate of infant mortality. More than one-third live below the $3,000-a-year level of family income that federal statisticians define as poverty. Eighty percent of the Mexican-American population is now urban, and most live in the *barrio*.

Forbidden Language

The overwhelming majority work as unskilled or semiskilled labor in factories and packing plants, or in service jobs as maids, waitresses, yard boys and deliverymen. Particularly in Texas, Mexican Americans sometimes get less pay than others for the same work. Even the few who have some education do not escape discrimination. *Chicano* women find that jobs as public contacts at airline ticket counters are rarely open; they are welcome as switchboard operators out of the public eye. Mexican-American men who work in banks are assigned to the less fashionable branches. Promotions come slowly, responsibility hardly ever.

One major impediment to the Mexican American is his Spanish language, because it holds him back in U.S. schools. Mexican Americans average eight years of schooling, two years less than Negroes and a full four years less than whites. Often they are forced to learn English from scratch in the first grade, and the frequent result is that they become not bilingual but nearly

nonlingual. In Texas, 40% of *Chicanos* are considered functionally illiterate. In Los Angeles, only an estimated 25% can speak English fluently. *Chicano* children in some rural areas are still punished for speaking Spanish in school. Only this year, *Chicano* students at Bowie High School in El Paso—in a predominantly Mexican-American section—managed to get a rule abolished that forbade the speaking of Spanish on the school grounds.

The *Chicano* is as vulnerable to mistreatment at the hands of the law as the black. Seven Mexicans were beaten by drunken policemen at a Los Angeles police station on Christmas Eve, 1952; six of the officers were eventually given jail terms. During an 18-month period ending last April, the American Civil Liberties Union received 174 complaints of police abuses from Los Angeles Mexican Americans. Two of the recent landmark Supreme Court decisions limiting police questioning of suspects involved Mexican Americans—*Escobedo* v. *Illinois* and *Miranda* v. *Arizona*. Many Mexicans still look on the Texas Rangers and U.S. border patrols with terror.

Pluralism v. the Melting Pot

That Chavez has dramatized the problems of Mexican Americans in the city as well as on the farm seems beyond dispute. Father Bernardo Kenny, a Sacramento priest with a sizable Mexican-American congregation, believes that even if Chavez never wins his strike he will have made a "tremendous contribution." Says Kenny: "He focused attention on the problem of the farm workers, and he made the Mexican Americans proud to be Mexican Americans. Chavez must be given credit, I think, for really starting the Mexican-American civil rights movement." Ironically, mechanization hastened by unionization may eventually diminish Chavez's farm-labor base—but it will not slow the momentum of *la causa*.

The new Mexican-American militancy has turned up a mixed *piñata* of leaders, some of them significantly more strident than Chavez. In Los Angeles, 20-year-old David Sanchez is "prime minister" of the well-disciplined Brown Berets, who help keep intramural peace in the *barrio* and are setting up a free medical clinic. Some of them also carry machetes and talk tough about the Anglo. Reies Lopez Tijerina, 45, is trying to establish a "Free City State of San Joaquin" for *Chicanos* on historic Spanish land grants in New Mexico; at the moment, while his appeal on an assault conviction is being adjudicated, he is in jail for burning a sign in the Carson National Forest. Denver's Rudolfo ("Corky") Gonzales, 40, an ex-prizefighter, has started a "Crusade for Justice" to make the city's 85,000 Mexican Americans *la causa*-conscious.

As with the blacks, the question for those who lead the *Chicanos* is whether progress means separatism or assimilation. Cal State Professor Rafael Guzman, who helped carry out a four-year Ford Foundation study of Mexican Americans, warns that the *barrio* is potentially as explosive as the black ghetto. He argues for a new pluralism in the U.S. that means something other than forcing minorities into the established Anglo-Saxon mold; each group should be free to develop its own culture while contributing to the whole.

Yet there is no real consensus in the *barrio*. The forces for assimilation are powerful. A young Tucson militant, Salomon Baldenegro, contends: "Our values are just like any Manhattan executive's, but we have a ceiling on our social mobility." While federal programs for bilingual instruction in Mexican-American areas are still inadequate, that kind of approach—if made readily available to all who want it—leaves the choice between separatism and assimilation ultimately to the individual *Chicano* himself. He learns in his father's tongue, but he also learns in English well enough so that language is no longer a barrier; he retains his own culture, but he also knows enough of the majority's rules and ways to compete successfully if he chooses to.

Cesar Chavez has made the *Chicano's* cause well enough known to make that goal possible. While *la huelga* is in some respects a limited battle, it is also symbolic of the Mexican-American's quest for a full role in U.S. society. What happens to Chavez's farm workers will be an omen, for good or ill, of the Mexican-American's future. For the short term, Chavez's most tangible aspiration is to win the fight with the grape growers. If he can succeed in that difficult and uncertain battle, he will doubtless try to expand the movement beyond the vineyards into the entire Mexican-American community.

THE PRESIDENCY

Sporting Life

Americans are one of the world's most sports-conscious people, yet for years they have not had a President who shared that enthusiasm. President Eisenhower's interest was largely confined to golf and John Kennedy's to swimming and sailing. In the Johnson years, the principal sport was hunting ranch deer from a Lincoln Continental. Richard Nixon, by contrast, is an all-round sports enthusiast who not only follows the sports pages with the attention of a Monday morning quarterback, but has learned to relax by attending sports events and by participating in sports as well.

Nixon has already watched the Washington Senators lose three times this year, which sets some kind of attendance record for modern Presidents. He enjoys chatting with the players, which has led a few wags to the conclusion that the White House has better relations with Senators on the field than with Senators on the Hill. Bob Short, owner of the Senators, marvels that Nixon "knows more about baseball than I do. I was amazed to hear him say he'd been following the Senators on his trip to Midway." Nixon and David Eisenhower attend games together and frequently talk baseball. One recent evening, the duo sped out to the stadium, Nixon rushing away from a press conference, David forsaking his bride. The Senators lost, but Nixon was still optimistic about their future.

No Dumb Questions. As Vice President, Nixon once said: "Baseball is a diversion that both stimulates and clears the mind." Yet his interest in the arena does not fade when the World Series ends. He likes hockey, and is the kind

PICTORIAL PARADE

NIXON AT GAME WITH SON-IN-LAW & SHORT
Stimulating and clears the mind.

McLAUGHLIN AND IRVIN
606 S. Olive Street, Suite 1110
Los Angeles, California 90014
(213) 485-1351

Attorneys for Plaintiffs.

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

FOR THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES

ALPHA BETA ACME MARKETS, INC., a corporation; MARKET BASKET, a corporation; and THRIFTIMART, INC., a corporation, Plaintiffs, -vs- UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, AFL-CIO, an unincorporated association; DOE INDIVIDUAL ONE through DOE INDIVIDUAL FIVE HUNDRED; and DOE ASSOCIATION ONE through DOE ASSOCIATION TEN (Inclusive of all intervening numbers as though such DOE were separately and severally designated), Defendants.	No. 986953 ORDER TO SHOW CAUSE AND TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER

On reading the verified Complaint on file in this action and the supporting declarations and the memorandum of points and authorities, it appears to the satisfaction of the Court that this is a proper cause for granting an Order to Show Cause and Temporary Restraining Order, and that unless a Temporary Restraining Order is granted as prayed for, plaintiff will suffer great and irreparable injury before the matter can be heard on notice. Good cause appearing:

IT IS ORDERED that defendants shall appear before this Court in Department 65 thereof on the 16th day of October

1970, at the hour of 9:30 o'clock A .M., then and there to show cause, if any, why defendants, their officers, agents, representatives, members, employees, attorneys, and each of them, and all persons acting in aid or in concert with defendants, should not be enjoined and restrained, pending the final determination of this action, from doing or attempting to do, or threatening to do, and from causing to be done, either directly or indirectly, by any means, method or device whatsoever, any and all of the following acts:

(a) Picketing, parading, patrolling or standing in or upon the automobile parking lots of plaintiffs' retail stores, or upon or along the sidewalks adjacent to the customer entrances to plaintiffs' retail stores, or in front of or within the entrances to said stores, or upon the premises on which plaintiffs' retail stores, or any of them, are located; except that defendants may station not more than two (2) individuals for lawful purposes at or in the vicinity of each entrance to plaintiffs' stores at a distance of not less than six (6) feet therefrom.

(b) Blocking, obstructing or impeding in any manner whatsoever the ingress and egress of customers and potential customers to or from plaintiffs' stores, or blocking, obstructing or impeding automobiles from entering or leaving plaintiffs' parking lots.

(c) Forcing or requiring customers or potential customers of plaintiffs to listen to defendants or engage in conversation therewith by walking in front of, standing before or otherwise blocking or impeding customers and potential customers as they walk toward or leave plaintiffs' stores, except that defendants may converse in normal tones with persons who voluntarily listen or talk to defendants.

(d) Entering into or trespassing within plaintiffs' retail stores for the purpose of demonstrating, marching, parading,

distributing handbills or talking to customers or employees, or for any other purpose.

(e) Interfering with the business of plaintiffs in any other manner.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that defendants, their officers, agents, representatives, members, employees, attorneys, and each of them, and all persons acting in aid or in concert with defendants, be and they hereby are enjoined and restrained, pending the hearing on this Order to Show Cause, from doing or attempting to do, or threatening to do, and from causing to be done, either directly or indirectly, by any means, method or device whatsoever, anywhere in the State of California, in furtherance of an economic boycott upon the purchase, sale and marketing of lettuce, melons, strawberries or other produce grown by growers with whom defendants or any of them, are engaged in a labor dispute, any and all of the following acts:

(a) Picketing, parading, patrolling or standing in or upon the automobile parking lots of plaintiffs' retail stores, or upon or along the sidewalks adjacent to the customer entrances to plaintiffs' retail stores, or in front of or within the entrances to said stores, or upon the premises on which plaintiffs' retail stores, or any of them, are located; except that defendants may station not more than two (2) individuals for lawful purposes at or in the vicinity of each entrance to said automobile parking lots and buildings to plaintiffs' store at a distance of not less than six (6) feet therefrom.

(b) Blocking, obstructing or impeding in any manner whatsoever the ingress and egress of customers and potential customers to or from plaintiffs' stores, or blocking, obstructing or impeding automobiles from entering or leaving plaintiffs' parking lots.

(c) Forcing or requiring customers or potential customers of plaintiffs to listen to defendants or engage in con-

versation therewith by walking in front of, standing before or otherwise blocking or impeding customers and potential customers as they walk toward or leave plaintiffs' stores, except that defendants may converse in normal tones with persons who voluntarily listen or talk to defendants.

(d) Entering into or trespassing within plaintiffs' retail stores for the purpose of demonstrating, marching, parading, distributing handbills or talking to customers or employees.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that a copy of the Summons and Complaint, declarations and points and authorities, together with a copy of this Order to Show Cause and Temporary Restraining Order, be served on the defendants not later than the 9th day of October, 1970.

DATED: October 2, 1970.

$500 Bond: Corporate surety.

/s/ RICHARD SCHAUER
JUDGE

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Attorneys for Plaintiffs.

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

FOR THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES

ALPHA BETA ACME MARKETS, INC., a corporation; MARKET BASKET, a corporation; and THRIFTIMART, INC., a corporation, Plaintiffs, -vs- UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, AFL-CIO, an unincorporated association; DOE INDIVIDUAL ONE through DOE INDIVIDUAL FIVE HUNDRED; and DOE ASSOCIATION ONE through DOE ASSOCIATION TEN (Inclusive of all intervening numbers as though such DOE were separately and severally designated), Defendants.	No. 986953 COMPLAINT FOR TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER, PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION AND PERMANENT INJUNCTION

Plaintiffs complain of defendants, and for a cause of action allege:

I

Plaintiffs, MARKET BASKET and THRIFTIMART, INC., are now and have been at all times herein mentioned corporations organized and existing under the laws of the State of California and in good standing and entitled to do business in the State of California. Plaintiff ALPHA BETA ACME MARKETS, INC. is now and has been at all times herein mentioned a corporation organized and existing under the laws of the State of Delaware and authorized to do business in

the State of California.

II

Plaintiffs are engaged in the business of selling food, meat, produce and related products in their various retail food supermarkets. Plaintiffs operate and maintain in excess of 300 retail food markets in the State of California.

III

Defendant, UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, AFL-CIO, sometimes known as "United Farm Workers", is an unincorporated voluntary association acting and doing business as a labor organization and is composed of a large number of members, the exact number being unknown to plaintiffs. Said defendant claims to represent agricultural employees who are employed to pick and handle lettuce, melons, strawberries and other produce by various agricultural growers in and about the State of California. Defendant, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, maintains an office and place of business in the City of Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles, State of California.

Defendants, DOE INDIVIDUAL ONE through DOE INDIVIDUAL FIVE HUNDRED, inclusive, are each individual persons who have engaged in the acts and conduct hereinafter set forth. Each of such individuals performed such acts and engaged in such conduct in concert with and in direct support of the defendant, United Farm Workers.

Defendants, DOE ASSOCIATION ONE through DOE ASSOCIATION TEN, inclusive, are each voluntary unincorporated associations organized for various purposes and each of which has engaged in and joined in the acts and conduct hereinafter set forth in concert with and in direct support of defendant, United Farm Workers.

Defendants, DOE INDIVIDUAL ONE through DOE INDIVIDUAL FIVE HUNDRED and DOE ASSOCIATION ONE through DOE ASSOCIATION TEN, are sued herein under fictitious names, for the reason that

plaintiffs do not know their true names. When plaintiffs ascertain the true names of such defendants, plaintiffs will ask leave to amend this Complaint and allege the same.

IV

Defendant, United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, at all times material hereto was and now is engaged in a labor dispute with various farm organizations and growers who employ agricultural workers for the purpose of picking and handling lettuce, melons, strawberries and other produce. Said dispute generally involves the claims of defendant that it represents, for collective bargaining purposes, a majority of such agricultural workers and its demands for collective bargaining negotiations on behalf of these agricultural employees.

Plaintiffs do not employ agricultural workers for any purpose, and defendant has made no claim or demand upon plaintiffs of or concerning the collective bargaining representation of any employees of plaintiffs. Plaintiffs are not parties to the collective bargaining dispute between defendant and the agricultural growers.

In furtherance of and in support of its dispute with the agricultural growers, defendant has commenced, and is now engaged in, an attempt to impose an economic boycott upon the purchase, sale and marketing of lettuce, melons, strawberries and other produce grown and sold by such agricultural growers in an effort to coerce and force the growers to agree to defendant's demands.

V

Plaintiffs are members of Food Employers Council, Inc., a non-profit corporation, which represents a large number of retail food supermarket chains operating in the State of California in all of their industrial relations problems. The various members of Food Employers Council, Inc. have been threatened by defendant

United Farm Workers Organizing Committee with boycotts, picketing and other economic activity unless they ceased purchasing lettuce, melons, strawberries and other produce from any agricultural grower with whom said defendant is engaged in such labor dispute and removed all such produce from their shelves and cease the selling of the same to their retail customers.

VI

Defendant United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America are both labor organizations in which employees participate and which exist for the purpose of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, hours of employment and conditions of work. Neither of the said labor organizations are or have been financed in whole or in part, interfered with, dominated or controlled by plaintiffs nor by any employer or any employer association within one year of the commencement of this action.

VII

Defendant United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America are engaged in a controversy between themselves as to which of them has or should have the exclusive right to bargain collectively with an employer on behalf of his employees. The concerted interference with plaintiffs' operations and business, as further alleged hereinafter, and the acts performed and done by defendants are and have been in support of the controversy which defendant United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America. Plaintiffs are persons injured and threatened with injury within the meaning of Section 1116 of the California Labor Code.

VIII

On September 9, 1970, retail stores operated by plaintiff Market Basket in Los Angeles and Orange Counties were picketed by defendant United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. On September 25, 1970, retail stores operated by plaintiff Alpha Beta Acme Markets, Inc. in Los Angeles and Orange Counties were picketed by said defendant. On September 22, 1970, a retail store operated by plaintiff Thriftimart, Inc. in Santa Barbara County was picketed by said defendant. The picketing was conducted and brought about by defendant United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The other defendants joined and engaged in such picketing and in the acts and conduct which occurred in connection with and in support of this activity.

IX

Each of the stores operated by plaintiffs have large automobile parking lots and pedestrian sidewalks for the use of patrons and customers. Each of the said stores has two or three entrances and exits for customers which open upon sidewalks and parking lots. Plaintiffs, at all times material hereto, have engaged in the retail sale of fresh produce, including but not limited to lettuce, melons and strawberries, at each of the said supermarkets at which picketing took place and at each of their other retail stores within the State of California. Defendant United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has threatened to continue to picket and demonstrate at plaintiffs' stores throughout the State of California.

X

In furtherance of its economic boycott of plaintiffs, defendants, on the aforementioned dates, placed between 3 to 15 pickets directly in front of the customer entrances to and in the parking lots of plaintiffs' stores. At the Santa Maria store operated by plaintiff Thriftimart, Inc., 50 pickets physically invaded

the interior of the store. While inside this store, the pickets blocked the interior aisles, interfered with customers and store personnel in the performance of their duties and brought store operations to a standstill.

Insofar as their activities outside the stores are concerned, the pickets blocked and interfered with customers while they were parked in their automobiles, while they were proceeding across the parking lot to the store entrances and at the store entrances themselves and made it difficult for persons to leave or enter the stores and parking lots. The pickets carried signs and large flags. The signs bore legends, such as "Don't Shop Here" and "Help The Farm Workers". In addition, the pickets distributed handbills, urged customers not to buy lettuce and urged customers not to purchase in any store operated by plaintiffs, all in a manner which blocked and impeded these customers who were attempting to patronize plaintiffs.

XI

As a direct and proximate result of the aforesaid unlawful activities of defendants and their agents and representatives, plaintiffs have lost the patronage and good will of numerous customers and potential customers and have suffered large and substantial losses of sales and the profits thereon.

Unless enjoined and restrained by this Court, defendants are now, and in the future will be, causing plaintiffs to lose much good will and the patronage of many customers. Shopping at a particular store is a habit with patrons, and when plaintiffs' patrons and customers are forced and coerced to shop for food products at other food markets, such patrons and customers are likely to form the habit of shopping at the markets of plaintiffs' competitors and will not return to plaintiffs' markets to purchase food products.

The loss to plaintiffs is difficult to estimate, but

plaintiffs allege that the loss suffered by each supermarket that has been picketed as aforesaid is in excess of $5,000.00 per day that said picketing, coercion and intimidation have occurred and are permitted to continue. Plaintiffs will suffer irreparable loss and damage if the unlawful acts of defendants are permitted to continue, and such acts will continue unless enjoined. Plaintiffs cannot be adequately compensated in damages and are without any plain, speedy or adequate remedy at law.

XII

The acts of defendants and their agents and representatives were committed deliberately, maliciously and willfully and with the express intent and purpose of causing plaintiffs to suffer severe economic damage and injury in order and for the purpose of forcing plaintiffs to discontinue the purchase and retail sale of lettuce, melons, strawberries and other produce.

WHEREFORE, plaintiffs pray judgment against defendants as follows:

1. For a temporary restraining order, preliminary injunction and permanent injunction enjoining and restraining the defendants, their agents, servants, employees and all persons acting in concert and participation with them, and each of them, from doing or causing to be done, directly or indirectly, any of the following acts or things:

(a) Picketing, parading, patrolling or standing in or upon the automobile parking lots of plaintiffs' retail stores, or upon or along the sidewalks adjacent to the customer entrances to plaintiffs' retail stores, or in front of or within the entrances to said stores, or upon the premises on which plaintiffs' retail stores, or any of them, are located; except that defendants may station not more than two (2) individuals for lawful purposes at or in the vicinity of each entrance to plaintiffs' stores at a

distance of not less than six (6) feet therefrom.

(b) Blocking, obstructing or impeding in any manner whatsoever the ingress and egress of customers and potential customers to or from plaintiffs' stores, or blocking, obstructing or impeding automobiles from entering or leaving plaintiffs' parking lots.

(c) Forcing or requiring customers or potential customers of plaintiffs to listen to defendants or engage in conversation therewith by walking in front of, standing before or otherwise blocking or impeding customers and potential customers as they walk toward or leave plaintiffs' stores, except that defendants may converse in normal tones with persons who voluntarily listen or talk to defendants.

(d) Entering into or trespassing within plaintiffs' retail stores for the purpose of demonstrating, marching, parading, distributing handbills or talking to customers or employees, or for any other purpose.

(e) Interfering with the business of plaintiffs in any other manner.

2. For an order of this Court directing that defendants, and each of them, show cause, if any they have, at a time and place to be fixed by the Court, why a preliminary injunction should not issue, as prayed for hereinabove.

3. For a judgment for damages against the defendants as may be sustained by plaintiffs to the rendition of final judgment herein.

4. For plaintiffs' costs of suit herein.

5. For such other and further relief as may be deemed just and proper.

DATED: October 2, 1970.

McLAUGHLIN AND IRVIN

By Thomas S. Kerrigan
Attorneys for Plaintiffs.

(VERIFICATION — 446, 2015.5 C. C. P.)

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES } ss.

I am the Vice President of ALPHA BETA ACME MARKETS, INC., one of the plaintiffs *in the above entitled action; I have read the foregoing* COMPLAINT FOR TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER, PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION AND PERMANENT INJUNCTION *and know the contents thereof; and I certify that the same is true of my own knowledge, except as to those matters which are therein stated upon my information or belief, and as to those matters I believe it to be true.*

I certify (or declare), under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.*

Executed on October 2, 1970 *(date)* *at* Los Angeles *(place)*, *California*

/s/ LYLE BOYD
Signature
(LYLE BOYD)

(PROOF OF SERVICE BY MAIL -- 1013a, 2015.5 C. C. P.)

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
COUNTY OF } ss.

I am a citizen of the United States and a resident of the county aforesaid; I am over the age of eighteen years and not a party to the within entitled action; my business address is:

On _____, *19*____, *I served the within* _____

on the _____ *in said action, by placing a true copy thereof enclosed in a sealed envelope with postage thereon fully prepaid, in the United States mail at* _____ *addressed as follows:*

I certify (or declare), under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.*

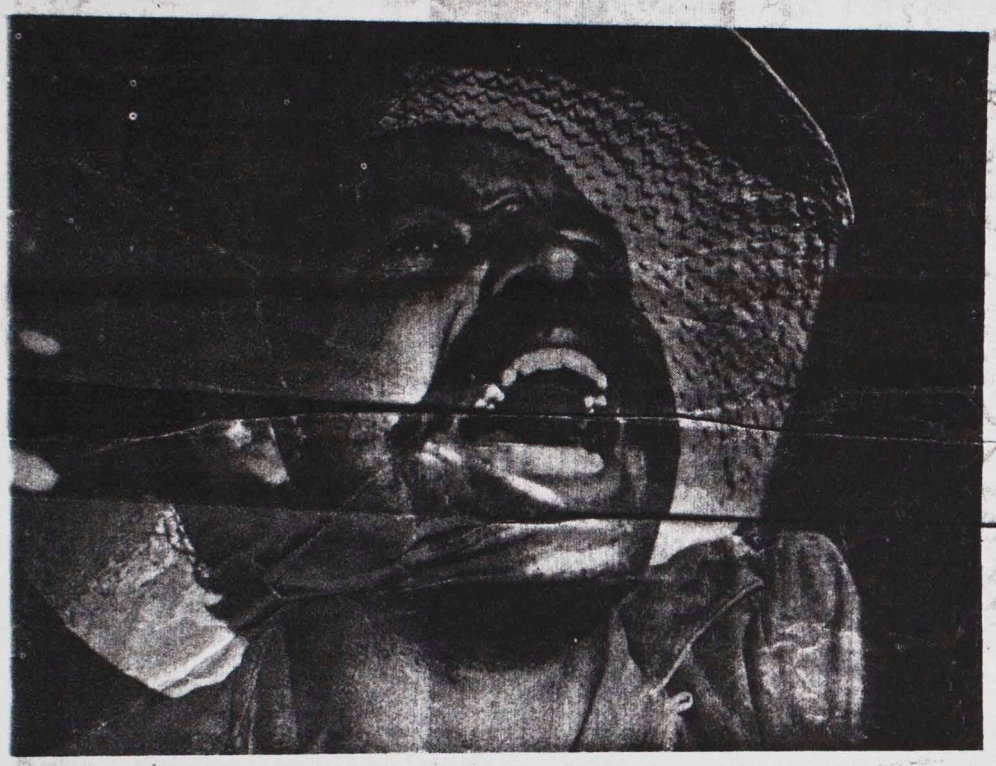
Executed on _____ *(date)* *at* _____ *(place)*, *California*

_____
Signature

*Both the verification and proof of service by mail forms, being signed under penalty of perjury, do not require notarization.

Los huelguistas de los viñedos de California marchan a la frontera mexicana con una súplica y un grito

LA ¡VIVA HUELGA!



Uno de los manifestantes lanza un grito de reto

Por carretera y a campo traviesa recorrieron más de 160 Km. que hay de Indio a Caléxico, en la frontera entre California y México. Eran los huelguistas de los viñedos californianos que, en manifestación pacífica pero dramática, llevaban una súplica a los trabajadores mexicanos: que se unieran a la huelga negándose a cruzar la frontera para ir a trabajar en la vendimia próxima a empezar. La huelga, ya en su cuarto año, ha tenido repercusiones nacionales. Los huelguistas, en su mayoría de ascendencia mexicana, han recibido el apoyo de sindicatos y otras organizaciones que han declarado un boicot nacional a la uva de mesa. Y muchos políticos, teniendo presente los miles de votos cosechables en el sudeste del país, han coreado el grito de "¡Viva la huelga!" El problema principal de los huelguistas estriba en la corriente de trabajadores mexicanos que cada día cruzan la frontera y que se han convertido, acaso inconscientemente, en esquiroles. César Chávez, líder y alma de la huelga, y fundador del sindicato United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), trata ahora de conseguir la cooperación de los mexicanos, convencido que para bien de los trabajadores de uno y otro lado de la frontera es indispensable que triunfe la huelga.

Arriba, los huelguistas atraviesan un campo bajo cultivo.

U.S. Opens Drive On Illegal Aliens

(Continued from Page A-1)

the illegal aliens do farm labor or work Americans will not do are not true in Los Angeles, where statistics show they are employed in light and heavy industry Knoepp said. The same may apply here.

Knoepp was critical of the past practice to prosecute individual alien entry cases.

"We're talking about an office that has spent one-fourth to one-third of its manpower on illegal aliens," he said. The prosecutors might as well have spent that time on vacation "because that's the impact we have had.

"It's a foolish waste of our time and effort if we can't do something meaningful," he said.

STRESS SMUGGLING

With the new approach, Border Patrol efforts will be concentrated on smuggling rings that operate a business worth millions of dollars, according to Batchelor.

Smugglers now concentrate on bringing in aliens from Central America, Batchelor said.

Usually distance determines how much an alien pays a smuggler, Strauss said. The price has been as high as $700, Knoepp said.

Batchelor said efforts will be made by the Border Patrol to identify "all conspirators" involved with smuggling rings. Although there are no plans to hire additional agents, additional manpower will be assigned to each case as it develops, he said.

LINK NOTED

Batchelor said that large-scale smuggling rings are related to employers.

Knoepp added that working conditions of illegal aliens in California are becoming a "major scandal." Robberies, beatings and rapes committed against illegal aliens have become commonplace along the border.

The U.S. attorney said that illegal aliens who cooperate with the government in its investigations will be proposed for "favorable status."

STATUS DEFINED

"We will encourage the Immigration and Naturalization Service and everyone connected with them to give them favorable status," he said. Favorable status would make the legal immigration more attainable.

Knoepp said he decided on the new program after reviewing the situation and talking with his assistants once he took office last month.

Farmworker ballot victory

(Continued from page 1)
triumph on April 8 by the UFW at the David Freedman ranch, where workers voted the black eagle ticket by a 723-15 margin. Freedman has been under a UFW contract since 1970.

FOOT-DRAGGING

Following that win, the first for the UFW in the current Coachella Valley organizing drive, the union quickly scored another victory at Beckman & Bender, a small outfit formerly under Teamster contract. The vote there was 35-2 for the UFW over "no union".

Because the bulk of Coachella Valley elections are yet to come, the UFW considers the Tenneco win especially important. Not only did the UFW have to overcome intense anti-union pressure from Tenneco bosses, but the election drive also showed the notorious foot-dragging of Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) agents remains a reality.

The board failed to move quickly when Tenneco supplied the UFW with a nearly unusable list of employes after the union, following state law, showed 10 percent of Tenneco's workers want the UFW to represent them.

Supplying a list full of postoffice boxes and wrong addresses is a favorite growers' trick the ALRB is supposed to combat. But the local board waited to make a decision on the unfair labor practice charge file against Tenneco by the UFW until it was too late, the union complained.

"We won the vote anyway," one UFW source said, "but we still expect to win that grievance. It will certainly help us later in other Tenneco elections. After all, they only have about 450 employes here in Coachella. But Tenneco is all over Kern and Tulare Counties, where their major holdings are. I worked on one ranch near Delano where there were at least a thousand campesinos.".

Farm Workers Picket Here In GOP Boycott

By JIM McVICAR
Labor Writer
The San Diego Union

The United Farm Workers national union brought its boycott of the Republican party to San Diego yesterday.

Police estimated that 225 pickets with signs and strike flags marched most of the day in front of Republican National Convention headquarters at the Royal Inn at the Wharf.

Members of the group came to San Diego for the one-day demonstration from as far away as Yuma County, Ariz. Many also attended a noon rally in New Town Park and heard a series of speakers.

WORKERS BLAME GOP

The farm workers blame the GOP for being instrumental in a National Labor Relations Board complaint which alleges that UFW secondary boycotts of wine and lettuce growers are illegal.

Since the complaint was filed by the NLRB in Fresno last week, the union announced it will fan out over the nation to work for the defeat of GOP candidates. A UFW spokesman said the Republicans "are out to destroy our union by eliminating its most useful tool."

UFW pickets have been marching at stores which sell products made by eight non-union wineries in the Napa Valley. Members also talk to store owners and ask them to stop selling the non-union merchandise.

SPREAD TO STORES

Picket activity may spread soon to stores that handle non-union lettuce, Cesar Chavez, union president, announced a resumption of the lettuce boycott earlier this week.

The group that participated in the UFW activity yesterday was composed mostly of out-of-towners, said Ruth Shy, San Diego organizer for the union. They drove here in car pools from Mexicali, Calexico, Brawley and San Luis, Ariz., near Yuma.

Maria Preciado of Mexicali, one of the pickets, said she "would go anywhere — even to Washington" to protest the NLRB action. "All of us fear that the effectiveness of our union will be hurt if we have to stop picketing the stores."

Miss Shy said there are "numerous" sympathizers with the union movement in San Diego, but very few card-carrying members. "We have no contracts in San Diego," she said.

While the pickets marched peacefully and determinedly along the east sidewalk of Harbor Drive, work went on as usu-

(Continued on B-4, Col. 5)

Mexican-Americ
name NC attorn

Daniel Gallardo, an attorney with offices in National City, was elected president of the San Diego County Businessmen's Forum.

Meeting in Swiss Park, the group chose Gallardo over three opponents. Comprised almost entirely of Mexican-Americans, the forum has been organized by Carlos Montalvo of the Small Business Administration to encourage self-help in the Mexican-American community.

Prior to the elections, the group heard Ben Fernandez, head of the National Economic Development Association (NEDA). Funded by the SBA, NEDA has been charged with helping the Spanish-speaking entrepreneur and now wants to expand its activities.

"WE HAVE THREE basic goals," Fernandez said. "We want to provide assistance for the small businessman, set up an educational fund and encourage our young people to get their college degree, and encourage our people to organize banks and savings and loans."

Fernandez said he had talked to President Nixon recently, and pointed out to him how badly the Mexican-Americans need an economic base.

"I told the President, 'Of the 6,000 savings and loans in this country, you know how many are controlled by Mexican-Americans. None. Do you know how many banks are controlled by that community? None.'

"However, we are about to correct that. We have several applications now

3-Year Alien Residency Plan Studied

(Continued from Page A-1)

and unmarried sons and daughters still residing in their native countries, the impact of amnesty on the U.S. population and economy could be substantial.

"It may be necessary to grant amnesty but without the same rights permanent resident aliens obtain," said one official working with a cabinet-level committee drafting the administration's proposal.

The legislative package is expected to be sent to Congress within two or three weeks, according to officials of the House and Senate judiciary committees which would hold hearings on the proposal.

There have been fears raised that granting amnesty to illegal aliens could result in a huge influx of their immediate relatives.

However, administration and congressional officials who are knowledgeable on the subject say it is presumed that most illegal aliens who have established permanent residency in the U.S. already have their families with them.

"Amnesty would not affect transients, who sneak into the U.S. to work for severa'

months and then retu home," one administrat official said in an interv yesterday.

"But the problem is that nobody knows how many

illegal aliens are in the U.S., ill much less how many have been here for what length time.

It is generally estima that six million to eight n lion aliens are in the U.

Even re United

Vague Summarization

A brief summary prepared by the state attorney general's office vaguely summarizes the "chief purposes and points" of Propostion 22, saying, for instance, that it will make "specified types of strikes, picketing and boycotts unlawful," and that it "defines unfair labor practices."

The complex law was written by growers and their attorneys, which, in itself, is a fact the union supporters say must make it suspect.

One of the provisions most unacceptable to unions would effectively bar strikes at harvest time by allowing a grower to get a court order to stop a threatened walkout for 60 days.

In most cases that would be long enough to get a threatened crop harvested.

The growers argue that a "cooling-off" period in labor disputes is not unusual, but the unions argue that a strike would be futile after the harvest had been completed.

The growers say that their year is made or destroyed economically within a relatively few weeks at harvest time, and that a strike at harvest time could ruin them.

They contend that if a union is effective it can call a strike which would run from after harvest time into the period when the next crop is planted, and so effective strikes still could be called.

Another controversial section provides for a secret ballot election to let workers decide if they want a union.

This section, the growers say, finally gives farm workers the same kind of legal protection to form and vote for a union that other workers in the country have had since the National Labor Relations Act was passed in 1935.

Collusion Hedge

It also means that workers will not be forced into a union against their will by collusion between growers and the union, supporters of Proposition 22 contend.

However, the section on elections is more complicated than the federal law, and it sharply limits the number of workers who can help vote in such elections.

For example, the law provides that elections will be called only when the number of temporary employes does not exceed

Prop. 22: Two Sides of Farm Labor Issue

Continued from First Page

dream of some day unionizing all of the nation's farm workers, who generally are on the bottom rung of the economic ladder.

And he contends that the California Proposition 22 is part of a national attempt to block unionization.

Arizona recently passed a law regarded by union people as somewhat less drastic than Proposition 22, and modified versions are in effect in two other states: Kansas and Idaho.

The vote on the California measure will, all sides agree, have a major impact on farm labor legislation throughout the country.

Two Aspects of Debate

There are two aspects to the debate now raging over Proposition 22.

California's Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown Jr. has filed a suit to take it off the ballot because, he charges, Proposition 22 supporters engaged in what "may represent the gravest case of election fraud in recent history to get it before the voters in November."

Those charges, being fought out in court, alleged that many signatures were forged to get the 325,504 names required to qualify the initiative measure for the ballot, and that petition gatherers deliberately concealed the purpose of the measure from voters asked to sign initiative petitions.

The growers angrily deny the accusations.

As for the measure itself, few citizens will actually read the 7,000-word initiative measure entitled only, "Agricultural Labor Relations."

the number of permanent employes on a farm.

The bulk of the harvest season work force presumably would be disenfranchised by that clause, since large growers have far more temporary workers than permanent employes.

Some growers may employ as few as 10 or 20 workers year-round, but have several hundred at peak seasons. This means that most farm workers to whom the union would appeal for support would not be allowed to vote in the election, the union says.

Another Aspect

Another critical aspect of Proposition 22 is the lengthy section dealing with boycotts. The union's most effective weapon in winning the grape strike and in its dispute with other growers has been the boycott.

The growers argue it is unfair—and should be illegal—for the union to be able to "coerce and intimidate" food markets and shoppers from buying struck products by putting up picket lines.

The union still could make calls for public support of its strike, the growers say, as long as there is no violation of the law.

The proposed law not only would prohibit picketing of markets, but also would require the union to identify specifically the name of the company being struck, and that firm's product.

That would mean the literature circulated by the union would have had to, for example, list every grape grower in the state when it was engaged in the grape boycott.

Grower Protection

The law, furthermore, would protect many growers from being struck if their crop had a label used by other non-struck growers.

The p[illegible]

posal says if the [illegible] wants to urge the public to stop buying struck products it could not direct "publicity against any trademark, trade name, or generic name which includes agricultural products of another producer or user of such trademark, trade name or generic name, and shall not include picketing at a retail establishment."

That section alone would have effectively halted the California grape boycott and the current iceberg lettuce boycott.

It would also mean, for example, the union could not call for a boycott of, say, Sunkist lemons unless it struck every grower producing lemons which bear that label.

Fines of $5,000 and/or a year in jail are the punishments which could be imposed for violations of the law.

UFW Victories

Using strikes and boycotts, the UFW has won contracts covering more than 80% of California's table grapes, about 15% of the lettuce and 10% of the state's wine grapes.

There are about 20,000 union members usually, going up to an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 at peak seasons out of the 245,000 farm workers in California.

The contracts Chavez has won also have forced other growers to increase their own wages and fringe benefits to keep the union from attracting their workers, union spokesmen contend.

Mike Gravelle, leader of the drive to get Proposition 22 approved, says the proposed law is designed to "protect the workers from unscrupulous unions."

Chavez says the measure is "a fraud which would destroy the farm workers union in California."

Terminaron su Marcha

(Viene de la [illegible])

ante unas 3,000 personas que se reunieron en el parque Rockwood de Calexico, California y dijo que hace 50 años que en su país se aprobó la protección de sus hijos e hijas, hace 30 años que se reconoció el derecho del trabajador para negociar sueldos justos y mejores. Esto no se ha logrado en el campo.

Al terminar el discurso del más joven de los hermanos Kennedy, muchos de los allí reunidos corearon vivas a Kennedy y finalmente lo despidieron repitiendo a coro "Seventy Two" (setenta y dos), refiriéndose a la época en que se harán las próximas elecciones en el vecino país y en las que esperan que el senador Kennedy sea el candidato presidencial del Partido Demócrata. Fue el líder de la Unión de Trabajadores Agrícolas, César Chávez, quien después de dirigir un encendido discurso, presentó al senador Kennedy.

Chávez pidió a los simpatizadores de la causa que inició que no deben olvidar que la gente pobre, el negro, el latino, los campesinos, deben de tener los mismos derechos, como fórmula para que haya paz.

Pero los instó a respetar los derechos de los demás, recordando el apotegma del licenciado Benito Juárez "El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz".

En otra parte de su perorata dijo que no deben ser los rancheros quienes determinen si son máquinas agrícolas o seres humanos.

Dijo estar orgulloso porque el pueblo debe luchar y aprender que los derechos deben de ser respetados y debe hacer ver que sabe cómo luchar por defender sus principios.

RECORRIERON EL ULTIMO TRAMO

Los integrantes de la caravana de trabajadores agrícolas salió ayer a las 7.15 de la mañana de la ciudad de El Centro, California, donde había pernoctado la noche anterior, y en esa forma se inició el recorrido de la última etapa de la peregrinación que terminó en la ciudad de Calexico, California.

La caravana hizo descanso en la ciudad de Heber, de donde partieron nuevamente a las 11.45 horas, después de que se ofició una misa en la iglesia católica.

A las 17 horas entró la columna a Calexico. Para entonces ya sumaba el millar de personas, ya que gente que vino desde Redlands, Colton, Riverside y otras ciudades cercanas a Los Angeles, y del Valle Imperial se les sumó en el trayecto.

A las 17.23 horas se detuvo la columna encabezada por Pete Velasco, Roberto Bustos y Héctor Reyes, quienes ya eran acompañados por los senadores demócratas Walter Morndale (Minnesota), Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas) y James G. O'Hara, en la esquina de la calle Tercera y avenida Heffernan, frente al mercado Safeway, en donde los manifestantes se pusieron de rodillas y el reverendo católico Oliver Gardner dirigió una oración que rezaron para que "Dios ablande el corazón de los ricos dueños de ese mercado para que dejen de comprar la uva a los rancheros de Coachella y de esa manera protejan al trabajador".

Cinco minutos después llegó la columna a la intersección de la avenida Heffernan y la calle Primera, precisamente donde está la garita internacional. Allí se sentaron a descansar y nombraron una comisión con los representantes de cada una de las regiones donde está constituida la Unión, para que fuera a recibir a los dirigentes bajacalifornianos de la AFL-CIO CTM.

Como no fue posible que cruzaran la línea divisoria hacia México los manifestantes, los delegados bajacalifornianos conferenciaron con Manuel Chávez, otro de los dirigentes del movimiento obrero y el senador Yarborough en la línea internacional, sobre el paso de peatones.

Allí Roberto Luévano Aguayo, presidente de la comisión en Baja California, dio a conocer el respaldo moral de los trabajadores locales a la causa de aquéllos. También dijo que por acuerdo de la agrupación a que pertenece (CTM), solamente debería llegar hasta ese punto, pero no tenía autorización para cruzar al vecino país porque podrían crear un conflicto de orden internacional.

Posteriormente, cuando la columna se trasladó al parque Rockwood, Fred Martínez hizo uso de la palabra a las 18.22 horas, para dar a conocer su personal impresión sobre la entrevista de los dirigentes obreros.

Aseguró que lo que Luévano Aguayo dijo fue que "como los periódicos estuvieron publicando historias contrarias al movimiento en las que se decía que venían a arrojar bombas Molotov, ellos se abstendrían de cruzar la frontera".

Siguió diciendo que Luévano Aguayo les ofreció que la CTM inculcará a los emigrados la idea de que hagan causa común con los trabajadores de la Unión, y aseveró que se hará una campaña para organizar a los trabajadores emigrados residentes en esta ciudad para que ocurran a la United Farm Workers cuando necesiten trabajar y no lo hagan directamente con ningún patrón del campo.

A las 18.30 horas los feligreses católicos que les acompañaron en su peregrinación dirigieron cánticos alusivos. 54 minutos después llegaron los senadores Kennedy, Mondale, Yarborough y O'Hara, acompañados del líder Chávez.

El senador Kennedy llegó a Calexico poco antes de las 17 horas, se hospedó en el hotel Hollies, fue custodiado estrechamente por elementos de la guardia nacional, agentes del FBI y de la policía local, hasta que salió de esa ciudad a las 20.40 horas.

El senador O'Hara, al dirigir la palabra dijo que ha llegado el momento de que el campesino se organice para defender

Por su parte, el senador Yarborough señaló al senador Kennedy como al líder de la libertad en el vecino país. Aseguró que su patria necesita libertades, liberarse de la necesidad, liberarse del hambre, liberarse de la ignorancia.

El senador Mondale se refirió a que el campesino no cejará hasta obtener la justicia social y nunca apoyará a funcionarios como el senador Murphy y los ayudantes del Presidente Nixon, que quieren a toda costa que se prohiba el boicot que hacen los trabajadores agrícolas a los campos de uva de Coachella.

day on picket line farm labor dispute

EDITOR'S NOTE — Imperial Beach Star-News reporter Larry Peterson has been covering the bitter UFWOC, Eggar-Ohio farm labor strike for the past three months. Last Saturday, he spent the day on one of the South Bay tomato fields where strikers and pickets hovered on the knife-edge of open warfare. Here is Peterson's commentary.

By LARRY PETERSON
Star-News Staff Writer

When I started out here as a reporter I quickly found out that one routinely put in more than 60 hours a week between the weekends.

So I vowed that, short of a Mexican invasion, I would not venture into the IB area on a weekend — in a professional capacity that is.

I HAVE BROKEN that vow twice — once at a meeting over a proposed international park

See related stories on Page A-8

and the other, last Saturday, to cover an anticipated rumble at the site of the Eggar-Ohio strike.

On both occasions, Mexicans were involved, so I guess that's my rationalization.

Saturday I spent most of the day in the fields, struck for three months by the United Farm Workers Organizing committee.

I had been told by several sources to expect big trouble between the strikers and the farm employes.

The cauldron seethed all day but never quite bubbled over. I guess someone from one of the big media might just fold up his gear, call his boss and say nothing happened and that there was no story.

But still one could come away from that day in the tomato fields with something more than sore feet and truck-driver arms.

IT WAS JUST a miracle that the thing never did blow out. Most of the strikers — about 50 of them — came armed to the teeth. They carried sticks and boards, bullwhips, pipes, heavy wire knives, and a few other odds and ends.

Their excuse was that the security guards — two of them — carried pistols and clubs, and that some of the farm's field workers carried knives, although none were ever pointed out.

Saturday marked somewhat of a change in tactics for the strikers. Before then, they had been for the most part unarmed.

THEY ARMED themselves Saturday, they said, because the San Diego police had told them they would not act on their complaints, and that they would have to resort to "citizens' arrests" (an interesting thing to say to a group composed mainly of Mexican nationals).

With this rationalization added to the arsenal

the deployment of their "pickets" (more carried weapons than flags and none carried signs).

The usual tactic has been to mass as a group and shout their mixture of obscenities and exhortations at the field workers.

But Saturday the group split into several sub-groups around the circumference of one large tomato field. They finally actually went in among the rows of tomato plants, which further accomplished the purpose of guaranteeing that the security cops could not watch them all at once.

THE GROUP LIKES to stress its non-violence, and I must concede that I have not yet seen any member of the group directly initiate violence.

But it is not merely enough to say this and move on.

Here is what took place. The strikers "heavy weapons platoon" (the pipe, bullwhip and larger sticks) stood and shouted obscenities at one man constantly for 20 minutes, mostly at a range of about 15 feet.

I cannot tell you all that the more than a dozen of them yelled at that poor man. In reply the strikers will say, if and when they read this, that el reportero cannot speak the truth because he does not speak Spanish.

But one only has to know about a dozen words in Spanish to be aware that the verbal assaults were mainly obscenely worded insults directed at the young worker's manhood, mother, sisters, integrity and general personal worth.

BUT MIRACULOUSLY this did not spark a fight. The foreman or a security guard intervened several times to keep the enraged farm worker from charging into the group of hecklers, probably to be maimed.

Why did the strikers pick on this man? Well, they said, he was a hothead who had several times tried to start fights and was carrying a knife. Perhaps so, considering the circumstances under which I saw him try to "start a fight."

So it is a peculiar form of non-violence which this outfit pursues.

To repeat, they post a dozen armed men around a worker, shout obscenities at him, and remember to say "he started it" if any trouble results.

THERE WERE SOME other gems, too. Like calling the workers with long hair "dirty hippies" and calling the Anglo truckloaders the "goon squad." (The "goon squad" is a mean bunch — last week one of them obstructed the strikers by getting his head in the way of a picket pole).

The last thing I watched Saturday was co-owner Robert Egger handing out 317 checks to his workers totaling about $27,900. For the full-time workers, the average take home loot was $105 — for six days of work.

It was my sixth day of work that week, too. And when I looked over my pay check stub, and considered the $3 a day the strikers get, I wondered who was exploiting whom.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUGUST 23, 1977 48 PAGES DAILY 15 CENTS

SAN DIEGO UNION HEADLINES

THIS IS BASICALLY WHAT HAPPENS IN MEXICO ABOUT A YEAR AGO REMEMBER?

New Rules Could Split Big Farms

Reclamation Water Curbed For Irrigation

Compiled from The San Diego Union's News Services

New regulations to prevent owners of large landholdings from obtaining federal reclamation project water for irrigation were announced yesterday by the Interior Department in Washington.

The regulations would break up huge corporate and other large farming operations involving thousands of acres.

They also would result in the sale of 1,074,000 acres of excess land in the arid West, 85 per cent of that total in California alone.

And they also drastically would change farming operations, an $8.9 billion gross business for California last year and a $500 million gross business for Imperial County.

800 INVOLVED

An estimated 800 landowners, controlling an estimated 230,000 acres of the 500,000 acres under cultivation in the Imperial Valley, would be affected.

Major regulations include residency requirements and stringent enforcement of the long-standing 160-acre limitation on ownership of land receiving water from reclamation projects.

The Interior Department has allotted 90 days to accept written comment on the proposed regulations and may hold public hearings.

Robert F. Carter, executive officer for the Imperial Irrigation District, which distributes water to the Imperial Valley, said it would be "very, very difficult to comply administratively" with the proposed regulations.

Carter said he does not see how the Interior Department can install a residency requirement that the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in effect threw out.

The appellate court last Friday upheld the 1902 Reclamation Act limiting to 160 acres the total acreage owned by individuals receiving water from reclamation projects.

The court took no action on the residency question raised in the lawsuit upon which it issued its ruling. Leases on land that receive reclamation water never have been restricted and a residency requirement was left out of amendments to the Reclamation Act adopted by Congress in 1926.

APPEAL PLANNED

IDD plans to appeal the Circuit ruling and, Carter said, if this is successful, the new regulations will not apply. He said if the appeal is successful, he does not see how the Interior Department could take action on an administrative basis.

He declined further comment pending receipt of a full copy of the proposed regulations. Carter was contacted in Washington, where he is discussing the appeal of Friday's decision.

Interior Secretary Cecil

Rules May Split Big Farms

(Continued from Page A-1)

Andrus, in a statement said:

"Let me emphasize that these proposed regulations are not designed to jeopardize legitimate family farm operations. They are designed to help the family farmer, not agribusiness."

'EXCESS LANDS'

Although the proposed regulations cover only "excess lands," a spokesman said restrictions for other lands "will be prepared as soon as practical."

Owners of more than 160 acres who receive federal water have been required by law to sell irrigated land above the 160-acre limitation, the so-called "excess land." However, this section of the Reclamation Act has never been enforced.

It has permitted individuals and such corporations as United Fruit, Purex, Tenneco, Kaiser and Southern Pacific to exceed the acreage limit.

NO EFFECT

Local officials said the proposed regulations will have no effect on San Diego County's agricultural industry. "We don't have any of those big farms here," they said.

Under the proposed rules, corporations and large landowners would have to give up lands receiving federal reclamation water over a period of five to 10 years, depending on the contracts they have with the federal government.

Andrus would hold a lottery or other random selection process to determine who could buy the 1,074,000 acres. The acreage lies, in addition to California, in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, Utah, Nebraska, Kansas and Wyoming.

OK NEEDED

The sale price for the land also would be subject to approval by to prevent excess profits. The lottery would prevent large farming interests from selling excess land solely to relatives and business associates.

Under proposed rules, applicants for the land would have to show they are residents of the area or intend to move to within 50 miles of the land within three years after purchase.

Applicants also would have to have the money to buy the land, would have to have agricultural experience, and could not own another 160-acre plot irrigated with federal water.

However, under the pr
posed rules, a farmer a
his wife could each own 1
acres and each could lea
160 acres, for a total of 6
acres. In addition, each fa
ily member, includi
newborn infants, grandch
dren and spouses of t
farmers' children, could o
160 acres and lease 1
acres.

The new rules follow
court action by Ben Yellen
Brawley physician who fil
suits to enforce the 160-ac
limit and residency requi
ments. They are also a r
sult of lawsuits filed by
group called National La
for the People.

A spokesman for t
American Farm Bure
Federation reacted imme
ately, saying the acrea
limit and residency requi
ment are "antiquated" a
"everybody would be bet
off if they were eliminated

Opposition Stalls Carter Alien Plan

By GEORGE RAMOS
Staff Writer, The San Diego Union

LAS CRUCES, N.M. — The unveiling of the Carter administration's alien package has been stalled by opposition to several of its provisions, the Immigration and Naturalization Service director said yesterday.

INS director Leonel J. Castillo, attending yesterday's session of the Organization of U.S. Border Cities here, said resistance has been primarily aimed at two key issues:

— Sanctions against U.S. employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens.

— A so-called amnesty program that would allow certain aliens to remain in the United States if they have resided in the United States for a certain period of time.

"There are still some unresolved matters before it can be presented to Congress," said Castillo.

The Carter package, seen as meeting growing public concern over the flow of illegals from Mexico, was to have been presented several months ago, Castillo admitted. He indicated that it may not be sent to Congress until late this summer.

Some of the delays come from President Carter's personal insistence that various groups — including the Mexican government — be consulted before the package is introduced.

Castillo said he recently went to Mexico City to brief Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo on the package.

"He listened politely and received it," Castillo said.

The official Mexican government response, to be sent to Mr. Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, will be that Mexico will not accept the package as a true solu-

(Continued on A-6, Col. 1)

S.D. Union 7-16-77

Carter Alien Package Stalled

(Continued from Page A-1)

tion to the illegal flow of immigrants into the United States.

"They are interested in more trade," Castillo said.

OTHER ELEMENTS

The other elements of the widely-discussed package include more INS manpower, stricter enforcement of minimum wage laws, an overhaul of INS laws and policies and some type of economic aid for Mexico.

The employer sanctions have been criticized by numerous Chicano and Hispanic activist groups, contending that the sanctions will inadvertently lead to job discrimination against U.S. citizens of Latin descent.

Others are not sold on the idea of an amnesty for illegals, many considered lawbreakers by some U.S. citizens, Castillo said.

Also, there still is debate on the cutoff date that would be applied in order to decide how many illegal immigrants could remain in the United States.

Castillo recently said that an amnesty proposal may cover only about 500,000 persons in the United States.

A temporary guest worker program, possibly the key to the Carter proposal, received considerable attention from the mayors along the Rio Grande Valley at yesterday's meeting.

Texas farmers in the valley, who rely on Mexican labor to help harvest area crops, recently persuaded President Carter and Castillo to allow 800 Mexican laborers to pick crops in the Presidio, Texas, area.

Said Mayor Othal Brand of McAllen, Texas: "We need those workers very badly."

However, Castillo, Brand and others were sued by a Texas civil rights group over the decision. Chicano activist Herman Baca of National City has been critical, also calling Castillo a "coyote" for U.S. agribusiness interests.

Coyote is a term used to describe smugglers who help illegals enter the United States.

Sen. James Eastland, D-Miss., has rejected employer sanction legislation twice before as chairman of the Senate's Judiciary Committee because it lacked provisions for temporary guest workers.

AID DISPUTED

Castillo admits that Eastland's support will be crucial to the Carter administration's chances of passage for its alien package.

At the meeting, several mayors complained to Castillo that more money should be spent to bolster the Mexican economy. Mayor Paul Pierce of Alpine, Texas, said substantial aid for Mexico should be approved in view of past U.S. economic aid for Vietnam and Israel.

Later, however, Mayor Manuel Quevedo Reyes of Ciudad Juarez — across the border from El Paso — answered:

"I don't think that's the solution to the problem. We don't want more money. We need better trade, we need a just way to deal business with the United States.

"Then we can do very well on our own."

The observation drew prolonged applause from those attending the border cities meeting.

San Diegan Nominated

San Diego Union Staff Dispatch

LAS CRUCES, N.M. — Jesse Ramirez, executive director of the Chicano Federation of San Diego County, Inc., has been nominated to serve on a U.S. immigration advisory group made up of prominent Hispanics, it was learned here yesterday.

An Immigration and Naturalization Service spokesman said Ramirez was selected to fill one of two vacancies on the 21-member INS Hispanic Advisory Committee. Houston immigration agency official Hector Garcia has been nominated to fill the other vacancy.

The two men are undergoing routine security checks before the appointments become final, the spokesman said.

The advisory group, mostly made up of Chicanos, was formed last year by former INS director Leonard F. Chapman as a liaison between the INS and the nation's Spanish-speaking communities.

The current INS director, Leonel Castillo, is a former member of the advisory committee.

At present, there are no San Diegans on the committee.

Lettuce Picker May Renew UFW, Growers' Battle

BY ROGER SMITH
Times Staff Writer

California's lettuce growers several years ago fought and lost a bitter battle with the United Farm Workers in an effort to hold labor costs down. But a machine now under development at the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the University of California could revive their campaign.

The machine can automatically harvest four rows of iceberg head lettuce simultaneously. A sensor using either gamma rays or X-rays examines each head to judge whether it is ripe, a cutter chops off the selected heads and a conveyor removes the harvest to a trailing hopper.

USDA officials estimate that widespread commercial use of the $60,000 harvesters would replace up to 30% of the state's lettuce workers.

"And we think the machine can do a better job of selecting lettuce for harvest than is now being done by hand," says one USDA scientist.

For California growers, who annually produce $325 million worth of

Please Turn to Page 10, Col. 3

LETTUCE

Continued from 9th Page

lettuce, the savings could be significant.

Although the number of lettuce workers is small compared to the total membership of the United Farm Workers, the union is nevertheless worried about the machine. The subject is almost certain to come up at the UFW's constitutional convention in Fresno at the end of the month.

"We're concerned about this," says Mark Grossman, assistant to UFW president Cesar Chavez. "Mechanization can make more money for the growers, but it should not come at the expense of the workers."

Most growers signed three-year agreements with the UFW last year. But extensive use of the machine could make renewals difficult in 1979 "if a grower wants to evade bargaining in good faith," Grossman claims.

The USDA and the university have developed different designs of the machine, and both are in prototype stages.

The machine is getting close to commercial reality, says Roger Garrett, chairman of the agricultural engineering department at UC Davis, but questions remain about how quickly the lettuce can be packed once it comes off the machine.

The lettuce comes out of the machine so fast that packers cannot keep up with it. To operate it at full speed, a bulkier packing trailer will be needed or growers will have to revert to hauling lettuce to sheds for later packing.

Automated packing, which would reduce the work force another 20%, could be a solution, says USDA's Johnson. But the critical question is whether growers want to make the commitment. "Many are reluctant to antagonize the union," he says.

Chavez, Coca Cola In Florida Accord

MIAMI, Fla. (AP) — Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers Union and the Coca Cola Foods Division of Florida announced an agreement yesterday that provides for a three-year contract for 1,200 citrus grove and harvesting laborers.

The agreement is the first breakthrough in the California-founded union's eight-month effort to obtain recognition for Florida's estimated 150,000 seasonal and migrant workers.

RETROACTIVE BENEFITS

The contract with Coca Cola covers 300 full-time and an estimated 900 seasonal agricultural employes at the company-owned Minute Maid Corp. fields in Auburndale, Fort Pierce, Indiantown, Avon Park and Frostproof.

The effective date on the contract was Jan. 3, 1972, and a spokesman for the union said workers would receive wages and some other benefits retroactively.

DIM VIEW

Chavez said the present salaries for full-time workers ranged from $1.80 to $2.25 an hour. These would go to an hourly minimum of $2.25 up to $3.70. Seasonal employes received lesser increases in wages and piecework rates.

Announcement of the pact drew response from citrus interests, which indicated they are not inclined to follow suit.

Fred Adkinson, president of the Citrus Industrial Council, which represents virtually the entire industry, said of the pact: "I think it will prove very unpopular with the harvesting people in our state."

The council represents the grower cooperative Florida Citrus Mutual, the Florida Canners Association and the Florida Fresh Citrus Shippers Association. It was formed 11 years ago to set industry guidelines on wages, improved housing and working conditions in the groves.

THE DELANO GRAPE STRIKE:

The Farm Workers' Struggle For Self Determination

By: The Rev. Wayne C. Hartmire, Jr., Director, Calif. Migrant Ministry

"When we are really honest with ourselves we must admit that our lives are all that really belong to us. So, it is how we use our lives that determines what kind of men we are. It is my deepest belief that only by giving our lives do we find life. I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. *God help us to be men!" (Cesar Chavez)*

"The time has come for farm workers: dignity and a measure of hope through organization and self-determination."

—George Ballis photos

On December 1, 1968, *Prebyterian Life* printed a long article by Mr. Allan Grant entitled "California Grapes and the Boycott - The Growers' Side of the Story." Among other things Mr. Grant implied that farm workers in California are doing reasonably well economically. He also hinted that the leaders of the Union have no real interest in the workers or in social justice. Mr. Grant pieced together a large number of facts and conclusions (some accurate and some not): but he did not deal seriously with the underlying issues of the Delano Grape Strike: 1) Are seasonal farm workers underpaid and mistreated on the job? 2) Would an organization of their own improve conditions? 3) Do farm workers want such an organization; do they want to be represented by Cesar Chavez' UFWOC? 4) Is the agricultural industry opposing the formation of a strong and independent organization of workers? Answers to these questions might help Christians respond to one important ethical question that confronts us: *How are we to be servants to the men, women and childen who harvest the crops?*

I would like to talk about the nature of the agricultural industry, conditions in the fields and trace the history of the Delano strike and in so doing try to address the basic human issues involved in the farm worker's

struggle. I will then deal more directly with some other statements made in Mr. Grant's article. I am not writing as a detached student of this struggle. The California Migrant Ministry has been at work in the fields for 25 years. I have known Cesar Chavez for more than 7 years. Our staff has been present from the beginning of the Strike in September 1965. Our concern is for dignity and full life for workers, their families and indeed for all men in the agricultural community. We believe that self-determination for farm workers is one crucial element in a more just and human future. We believe that farm workers must have a strong organization of their own if they are to improve their life situation and we have tried to help them gain the strength needed to bring about that measure of equality that will make possible bargaining with their employers.

California's Most Powerful Industry

California agriculture is big business! Gross agricultural income in 1966 was a record $3.95 billion dollars. Since then it has topped four (4) billion dollars.[1] California agriculture and related industries, by their own testimony, account for 33% of the jobs in the state. Farm workers are pressing for change against the determined resistance of the state's most powerful and influential industry.

Agriculture in California has been characterized by large farms, specialized crops, high peak labor needs and a large supply of impoverished farm workers - often from other countries.[2] Although the majority of farmers in California are smaller landowners, the industry is dominated by the largest landowners. The 1964 U.S. Census of Agriculture showed 81,000 farms in California. 49,000 of those farms hire no outside labor. 7% of the farms employ 75% of the labor.[3] 60% of California's farms average less than 50 acres but the total acreage of these small farms is 5% of California's agricultural land.[4] The 1959 U.S. Census of Agriculture showed that 6.0% of California's farms own 75% of the land. Included among those large landowners are So. Pacific Railroad, Standard Oil, J. G. Boswell, Anderson Clayton, Tejon Ranch (L.A. Times), Bank of America and Giumarra Vineyards Corporation. Contrary to Mr. Grant's statements many Delano area growers other than Giumarra have large landholdings in excess of 2,500 acres.[5]

These powerful agricultural landholders and their economic allies dominate the agricultural industry in California. They and their predecessors have resisted unionization since the turn of the century.[6] The farm workers' struggle for organization and bargaining may be focussed today on table grapes but it is in fact a struggle with the will of the entire industry. And as many people in other states have noticed, it is a struggle with agricultural labor users all over the nation. If farm workers are to

succeed against the resistance of the industry, they must succeed in Delano and in table grapes. If they can gain the right of organizing and bargaining in wine and table grapes then all farm workers may share in the benefits and the dignity of new found organizational strength.

Poverty & Suffering Among Farm Workers

Some may ask: Why is such organizational strength necessary? Are conditions really that bad? "No other segment of our population is so poorly paid yet contributes so much to our Nation's wealth and welfare."[7] So speaks the U.S. Senate Subcomittee on Migratory Labor in its discussion of seasonal farm workers in the U.S.A. But as Mr. Grant implies it may be unfair to lump California farm workers into national conclusions since farm workers in California are paid more than in any other state (excepting Hawaii where farm workers are organized).[8] California's Welfare Study Commission made the following statement in referring to farm workers: "one occupational group *in California* is so deeply locked in poverty that it is set off from all others."[9] Allan Grant quotes the Governor's Advisory Commission on Housing but overlooks the following conclusion of their study: "Fewer than 20 percent of the California farm worker families covered in our study lived in dwellings which could be considered adequate by present standards of health, safety and comfort. Sixty-three percent of the dwelling units occupied by general field workers were dilapidated or deteriorated. For 33 percent of the dwelling units occupied by general field workers, the only toilet facilities were pit privies. Thirty percent of the dwellings had no bathing facilities, and 25 percent lacked even so basic a necessity as a kitchen sink with running water. These conditions, to be discussed in detail in the body of the report, offer little evidence of improvement in the relative economic and social position of the agricultural worker in California. He remains, as he has since the state's early transition to intensive labor use farming, among the most poorly paid, poorly fed, and poorly housed of California's citizens."[10]

It is true that many grape pickers in California earn $1.40 or $1.50 per hour plus an incentive piece rate *during the peak harvest season*. But the peak harvest season lasts only four to six weeks.[11] During the rest of the year wages hover around $1.40 per hour[12] and work is sporadic and uncertain. Even at harvest some employers pay a flat $1.50 per hour[13] and not all workers get steady employment. Mr. Grant quotes the $1.65 minimum wage established by California's Industrial Welfare Commission. He failed to mention that California's grape growers sought to have that minimum wage set aside in court—an expensive legal action that can only be understood in the context of hourly pay under $1.65 per hour. The $1.65 State minimum is for women only. Men are covered by the federal law but at a discriminatory level: $1.30 per hour as compared to $1.60 per hour for other workers. According to an independent study done for the University of California, the average grape worker in Kern County (where Delano is located) is employed 119 days out of the year. Full employment would be somewhere near 250 days.[14] His *annual* income is comparable to the average for all seasonal farm workers in California: $2,024.[15] To make matters worse, the gap between farm workers and other workers is widening. In 1948, the average California farm worker earned 62% of the hourly wage of his counterpart in manufacturing. In 1965, average farm worker earnings were 46% of the wage earned by the average worker in manufacturing.[16] Farm workers in California are poverty-stricken; real human suffering results from that poverty. Those who doubt the reality of that suffering need to spend some time in the barrios and rural fringe communities of our state.

Powerlessness

Annual income is only one aspect of the farm workers problem. They are relatively powerless on the job and in the life of the community. As a result, farm workers are excluded from unemployment insurance, and collective bargaining legislation. Mr. Grant affirms the protections farm workers have in California but enforcement of the laws that do cover farm workers in California is at best weak and inconsistent.[17] The California Rural Legal Assistance program, led by attorneys, has been investigating the enforcement of laws that are supposed to protect farm workers. In a preliminary report they noted 1,869 violations of state health and sanitation laws. Over 90% of the farmers in one county were in violation of state health laws.[18] In another county they determined that only 14 of 139 farmers surveyed provided toilets for their workers and that only two of the 14 did so in compliance with health standards.[19] Even Governor Ronald Reagan has recently called for more effective enforcement of laws that are on the books to protect California's farm workers (in the same statement he opposed unemployment insurance for seasonal farm workers and the extension of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) to agriculture).[20]

California farmers are not especially cruel or corrupt. They are men like us who happen to have too much power over the lives of their workers. They have become accustomed to an over-supply of poor and unorganized workers which has allowed them to control all the important decisions about wages and working conditions. Being human, they have paid more attention to their own economic interests than to the interests of the workers. As a result workers in agriculture have been denied the improved wages and working conditions that are commonplace in industry.[21] The vast majority of farm workers in California do not have contracts; they do not get overtime pay; too often they do not even know their rate of pay while they are working; there are no holidays or vacations with pay; they do not have health or pension plans; in many instances they must provide their own tools & equipment; safety provisions are minimal; there are no

regular rest periods; toilets and sanitary drinking water may or may not be provided. Farm workers go to work not knowing how long the day will be or how many days of work there will be in that week. Workers are laid off in the middle of the day, in the middle of the week, for days or weeks at a time with no notice and no clear indication of when work will be available. If a male worker is told to show up for work at 6 A.M. and the equipment is not ready or the trees are wet and he does not work until 10 A.M., he is not paid for those 4 hours. Speed-ups and abusive supervision are all too common. Farm workers can be fired at any time without explanation. There are no established channels for grievances. The many who will dispute these realities can point to examples of better wages and working conditions but their examples do not represent the experiences of the majority of unorganized farm workers in California and the U.S.A. The farm workers' powerlessness on the job crushes his dignity and leaves him no alternative but resentment and suffering. Justice demands that there be a change—for the sake of workers, the industry and the larger community.

Change Through Organization

But how will that change come about? Should workers wait for their employers to make the needed changes? In California they have already been waiting for 100 years. Should they wait for Congress to pass legislation that will protect their right to bargain with their employers? All farm workers in our country have now been waiting 33 years for that day.[22] Workers could leave agriculture. But what would be the alternatives in the city for a man with farm labor skills?

In 1962 Cesar Chavez made a decision to do something about the conditions of farm workers. He left his job as an organizer for the Community Service Organization (CSO) and moved to Delano, California. He and his wife and 8 children lived on their minimal savings and on sporadic field work earnings while Cesar began to build a self-supporting organization of farm workers that would in time be strong enough to bargain with employers for improved wages and working conditions. By September 1965, the NFWA had about 2,000 family members, nearly half of them in the Delano area. There was a credit union and a death benefit insurance plan tied to the $3.50 per month dues.[23]

Allan Grant who is the highly paid professional spokesman for a four billion dollar a year industry[24] implies that Chavez is a money and power hungry labor professional. Cesar Chavez *is* an experienced and skilled organizer. He is also a dedicated Christian who is pouring out the substance of his life in an effort to achieve a new kind of dignity for workers. After 16 years as an organizer he lives in a small, four-room house in Delano. He does not own a car. Since the strike began in 1965 he has received no salary. He and his family live like all of the Delano strikers; $5.00 per week spending money, food from the strike kitchen or store and basic bills, e.g., rent and utilities paid by the Union.

"Farm workers and supporters gather to break bread with Cesar Chavez at conclusion of his 25 day fast for non-violence"
—George Ballis photo

In September 1965, the now famous Delano Grape Strike began. It was at first a joint effort by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) of the AFL-CIO and the independent National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). The two organizations have now merged into the UFWOC of the AFL-CIO, with Cesar Chavez as director. As a result of the Delano strike and the several boycotts that have accompanied the strike, there have been union representation elections, bargaining and contracts with 10 wine grape growers. The aspirations and the organizational energies of the workers are now focussed on table grape growers.

In May and June of 1967, UFWOC carried on an organizing campaign among the workers of Giumarra Vineyards Corporation (12,500 acres, approximately half of the acreage in table grapes). In June, UFWOC sent a registered letter to Giumarra stating that the Union represented Giumarra's workers and asking for a meeting to discuss a union representation election. The Company did not respond. The Union then sent a telegram, asked the State Conciliation Service to arrange a meeting, and through other independent parties tried to get a meeting with the Company. The Company refused. *Note* that the workers were not asking for recognition or for immediate bargaining. They were only asking for a meeting to discuss fair procedures for a secret ballot election that would determine the will of the workers. The Company would not even discuss such an election and since that time has resisted all mediation efforts by church groups and others.

This same offer to discuss election procedures has been made to all table grape growers in California - large and small. Without a single exception (so far) table grape growers have refused to meet with representatives of organized workers to discuss elections or other issues having to do with representation and bargaining. In Jan. 1969 UFWOC offered to meet with employers even if there were only one agenda item: the effects of chemical pesticides on workers.

On August 3, 1967, after two months of trying to meet with Giumarra a strike was called by UFWOC. I watched 80-90% of the field workers leave their jobs to join the strike.

The Company began recruiting strikebreakers from Mexico and elsewhere and the struggle was on. The boycott against Giumarra's grapes began in the fall of 1967. Other growers loaned their labels to Giumarra to help him minimize the pressure of the boycott. In the spring and summer of 1968, the strike spread to Coachella Valley and southern Kern County. There are now 42 strikes certified by the U.S. Dept. of Labor. Also in the spring and summer of 1968, as mentioned above, the offer for elections was made to all table grape growers. In the face of the unified resistance of the industry to any conversations with organized workers, the boycott was expanded to include all California table grapes. Church groups, unions and public officials all over the country have given their support to the boycott.

The hard reality is that the workers need and want organization and collective bargaining and their employers are resisting this change with all the considerable power at their command.[25] The industry is attempting to cloud that reality by talking about "outsiders" and "labor professionals" and by stating that the "real workers" don't want Chavez and UFWOC. But who are the "real workers"? Mrs. Josephine Gabaldon (mentioned by Grant as a "real worker" opposed to Chavez) is not a field worker but a crew boss. Jose Mendoza (also mentioned by Grant) is a shoe salesman hired by the National Right-to-Work Committee to represent himself as a worker and to spread anti-union propaganda. He makes speeches all over the country but has no solid organizational base at home, no following among farm workers and is just the most recent example of the willingness of some minority people to sell themselves to the very forces that keep their brothers poor and powerless.

Do Workers Want a Union?

But the claim is made that the workers don't want Chavez and UFWOC? Why then don't employers agree to fair elections supervised by a neutral party so the workers can vote their will? Employers argue that they know what their workers want and don't feel the need for an election. But if they are so sure why not have an election and thus destroy the effectiveness of the boycott? And how can they be so sure since workers have voted for the union every time they have had a chance? In the three secret ballot elections and the five card check elections held to date, the workers have *in every case* voted to be represented by UFWOC.[26] These elections are the only hard, public evidence we have that indicates the will of the workers. Perhaps grape growers *do* know the will of their workers and are, for that reason, resisting the only fair and free way of determining that will.

Cesar Chavez and the workers: "We have something the rich do not own. We have our own bodies and spirits and the justice of our cause as our weapons."
—George Ballis photo

I will conclude with comments on some of Mr. Grant's "facts and conclusions" that have not been dealt with above:

1) Mr. Grant claims that "it was not local farm workers who were picketing" (in 1965 and 1966). The striking farm workers have asked for and received help from church groups, civil rights groups, unions and others. They do not apologize for that nor do we think that anyone is an "outsider" to the problem. But to state that the picket line was composed of or dominated by non-farm workers is a complete distortion of reality. CMM staff and many other churchmen were on those picket lines and watched Delano farm workers walk out of the fields and develop roving picket lines to communicate the Huelga (strike) message to other workers.

2) Mr. Grant states the "90% of the more than 5,000 pickers hired at the peak of the harvest in Delano are residents of the area." He documents this by referring to a booklet published by The South Central Farmer's Committee - a Committee composed of struck Delano growers. Independent research carried on before the Delano strike indicates that approximately 60% of the grape harvest workers in Kern County are migrants.[27] Almost the full 100% of the harvest work force are seasonal workers-as opposed to year-round hired hands. Whether migrant or local, seasonal workers are locked in the same poverty, have similar aspirations for their children and have the same need for organizational strength and the protections of a contract.

3) Mr. Grant says the harvest season lasts for four months and that grape pickers can work almost all year-round. Dept. of Employment figures show that the labor *needs* in Kern County (where Delano is located) fluctuate greatly even during the harvest period:[28]

December 2, 1967	200 workers	(harvest)
Dec. 18, 1967—Jan. 27, 1968	3200 workers	(pruning)
February 24, 1968	400 workers	(pruning)
March 30, 1968	0	
May 13—June 1, 1968	3500 workers	(thinning)
July 13, 1968	800 workers	(thinning)
Aug. 7—Sept. 2, 1968	6000 workers	(harvest)
Sept. 21, 1968	1500 workers	(harvest)
November 23, 1968	50 workers	(harvest)

A small percentage of workers work year-round. The vast majority of seasonal workers (migrant and lo-

cal) have long periods of unemployment and underemployment. As stated earlier the average grape picker who works regularly in the grapes in Kern County gets 119 days of work per year.

4) Allan Grant contends that there is no strike in the grapes and that the Union does not represent the workers. It is *the classic argument* used by employers who oppose the unionization of their workers. How can employers in an unorganized industry know the deeply held convictions of their workers? How can the public know the will of workers when employers refuse to allow elections?

The grapes *are* being picked. It is slow and expensive but growers have been willing to pay the cost of recruiting strikebreakers from Mexico and the Southwest rather than to discuss issues with their original employees. Can it be said that there is no strike just because there are too many hungry people in the U.S. and Mexico – some of whom are willing even to be strikebreakers in order to meet the basic needs of their families?

Mr. Grant quotes UFWOC membership figures as an indication that Chavez is a failure. He fails to mention that these are family memberships and that many families include 2-3 workers. He also compares these membership figures with the total number of farm workers in California when the UFWOC organizing drive has been mainly limited to grape workers since the strike began in September 1965. (California agriculture produces more than 200 commercial crops.) I freely acknowledge that more farm workers need to be reached by the organizing struggle. My conclusion from that is that the strikers need more help: more food, money and volunteer assistance—more help so they can win the strike *and* reach out to workers in other crops. It is ironic that growers point to slow progress in gaining members & contracts. It is *their* own unified resistance to reasonable social change and a more just future that makes the struggle so slow and so difficult for all parties. It is their unified refusal even to discuss elections that makes the boycott necessary.

Problems of Small Farmers

5) Mr. Grant points to the cost-price squeeze that is affecting many farmers. The vast majority of churchmen and farm workers empathize with the plight of the small farmer. However, it must be pointed out that most workers in California are employed by large commercial farms (see earlier figures in this article). It must also be said that even the hard pressed small farmer is not in the same economic position as the worker. The farmer can sell his land; he also has credit at the bank; normally he has an established place in community life and access to the decisionmaking process. Humanly speaking, the plight of the worker still demands priority attention.

Farm workers, although in sympathy with small farmers (who tend also to be laborers), are now saying: "we will not tolerate any longer a situation where your survival in business is purchased by our poverty and the poverty of our children." With concerned churchmen the workers would press small farmers to organize themselves for effective collective bargaining at the market place. Ralph Kittelson, the National Organizing Director for the National Farmers Organization (NFO) has said that farmers must stand up for their rights or the problems will grow.[29] He and the NFO are organizing farmers not to oppose the legitimate aspirations of the workers but for effective use of power in the marketing of their products. The NFO is now active in California. In the CMM we have argued that if farmers would organize for the sake of a fair price at the market place and would articulate their demands and their strategy, churchmen would support their efforts. This, after all, is what the workers are trying to do—help themselves through the strength of their own organization.

6) Mr. Grant quotes with satisfaction the anti-strike conclusions of Vancouver Mayor Thomas J. Campbell. However, Mayor Campbell is an exception to the general rule. Starting as far back as December 1965, distinguished visitors to Delano have generally supported the reasonable demands of the workers, even when their travel expenses have been paid for by the growers or the chain stores. Two (2) Minneapolis–St. Paul clergymen Father Edward Flahavan & the Rev. Wm. Merriman, sent by the chain stores in their area to become "weekend experts" on the growers side of the strike insisted on examining all sides and returned home to testify that the Calif. grape growers were anti-union and racist in their attitude toward workers. An editorial in the St. Paul Dispatch Pioneer Press then accused the ministers of being "overnight experts" (i.e., the wrong kind of overnight expert).

A three man Fact-Finding Committee from Toronto composed of Mr. Ron Haggart, a reporter for the Toronto Telegram Reporter; Mr. Wm. Archer, former City Controller and the Rev. Edgar File of the United Church of Canada carefully spent blocks of time with growers, workers, union leaders and public officials. They concluded that "the over-riding issue in the California grape dispute is the right of collective bargaining which is being denied to the farm workers. From our examination it is clear that the table grape growers are unwilling to allow their workers to choose their own representatives and let them bargain freely for themselves. . . . we are satisfied that the UFWOC has substantial support among the vineyard workers in the Delano area."[30]

Rabbis Jacob Lantz and Judea Miller of Boston spent a week in California examining all sides of the grape controversy. They concluded that the strike was both real and legitimate and called on their constituents to support the farm workers. Rabbi Miller in a report to his congregation made

the following comments: ". . . we toured the vineyards, spoke to growers and farm workers, to representatives of industry and of the Union, including Cesar Chavez. It is our conclusion that there definitely is a strike there . . . Despite contentions by the growers that the conditions of the farm workers in that region are better than those in other regions in the nation, still the conditions that we did find were wretched. We have studied the entire situation and find this to be a moral question. The exploitation and dehumanization of other human beings for the sake of profit is a religious issue."[31]

Non-Violent Social Change

Many churchmen sympathize with the plight of the workers but balk at unions and boycotts. They worry about strikes at harvest; but UFWOC has agreed to no-strike clauses in all its ten contracts. They are concerned about the ability of the Union to service the contracts; but the wine growers under contract have testified to the integrity and sense of responsibility demonstrated by UFWOC.[32] As fellow Christians I urge you to put yourselves in the workers' place. How can they change unjust conditions without organizing and pressing their demands? What else *is* a union than an organization of farm workers seeking changes through collective bargaining? They have asked their employers to discuss representation elections and been refused. They cannot call on the legal machinery of the NLRB because the law excludes them. Having sought changes through discussion and negotiation and been rebuked, what alternative do they have other than to apply pressure through strike and boycott? The workers are asking for a reasonable thing: collective bargaining. They are pressing their demands *non-violently*.

What will happen if farm workers do not get support from men of good will? Fresno Mayor Floyd Hyde is worried: "We have left the poor people of the (San Joaquin) Valley no alternative and there are growing signs they realize it. We are pushing them toward violence."[33] But Cesar Chavez is determined to liberate his brothers without resorting to violence: "one drop of human blood is worth more than all the contracts. We'll use strikes and we'll use boycotts to get recognition, but we'll wait as long as we must to get contracts without violence."[34]

Will militant non-violence succeed in bringing a measure of justice to the "factories in the fields?" Can Cesar Chavez and the pioneer farm workers with him maintain the momentum of their struggle and expand the dignity and raise the hopes of farm workers throughout the nation? The answer depends very much on what churches and churchmen do. Farm workers need our concrete help. With the rest of the world they are calling on us to be servants.

FOOTNOTES

1) New York times Magazine Section, Nov. 17, 1968, p. 84 (article by Dick Meister)
2) "Calif. Farm Labor Problems"; Part 1, Report of Calif. State Senate Fact Finding Committee on Labor & Welfare. 1961, pp. 13-16.
3) Los Angeles Times, Sunday, Nov. 17, 1968 (article by Leonard Greenwood)
4) Howard Gregor, "The Plantation in California" *The Professional Geographer* Vol. 14, March 1962.
5) e.g., Bianco, 6795 acres; W. B. Camp, 4908; Divizich, 5500; Elmco Vineyards, 3610; D.M. Steele, 4187; Marko Zaninovich, 3686. Just under 2500 acres: Milo Caratan, 2183; Pandol & Sons, 2288; A. & N. Zaninovich, 2283, V. B. Zaninovich, 2157. Statistics from Assessors Records — Kern and Tulare Counties, Agricultural Conservation and Stabilization Service Croplane Figures, 1959 U.S. Census of Agriculture.
6) "California Farm Labor Problems" op. cit, pp. 200-205.
7) "The Migratory Farm Labor Problem in the U.S."—1968 Report of the Committee on Labor & Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, made by the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, February 19, 1968, p. 27.
8) It is not as unfair as California farmers contend. Farm labor organizing all over the country depends on success in California. The aspirations of workers in Michigan, New York, etc. are tied to UFWOC's efforts in the grapes.
9) Welfare Study Commission Report—The Pattern of Dependent Poverty in California March 1963, p.370.
10) Appendix to the Report on Housing in California - Governor's Advisory Commission on Housing Problems, April 1963, p.656.
11) Calif. Dept. of Employment: Weekly Farm Labor Report, 881A, #1184, August 3, 1968.
12) Los Angeles Times, op.cit. (article by Greenwood)
13) Calif. Dept. of Employment: Weekly Farm Labor Report, 881A, #1191, September 21, 1968, also #1193, October 5, 1968; #1195, October 19, 1968, etc.
14) William H. Metzler - Technological Change & Farm Labor Use, Kern County Calif. 1961 (Giannini Foundation 1964, Berkeley) Part 11, p.27.
15) Calif. Dept. of Employment, Disability Insurance Report #835, parts 5a. 5b, 5c, 5d, 1967.
16) U.S. Dept. of Agricultural, Human Resource Division; U.S. Dept. of Labor Bulletin #1370-5.
17) For a national perspective see "Migratory Farm Labor Problem in the U.S.", op.cit,p.37.
18) Los Angeles Times, Monday, July 1, 1968, Part 1, p.3.
19) *California Farmer*, May 18, 1968 (article by Don Razee)
20) Los Angeles Times, Wednesday, December 4, 1968 (article by Jerry Gillam)
21) These conditions are not universal. There are some employers who are unusually sensitive to the needs of their workers. But the conditions described are the natural result of too much employer power and they are the conditions experienced by the vast majority of workers in California and in the nation.
22) Agriculture is specifically excluded from our nation's basic collective bargaining legislation (the NLRA) which was first passed in 1935.
23) The staff of the CMM watched this development firsthand. This is not hearsay.
24) Mr. Grant is the full-time paid executive officer of the California Farm Bureau Federation.
25) Farm News: The Voice of Kern County Agriculture, October 23, 1968 (article by Bill Mead)
26) Results of the secret ballot elections: (procedures and supervising body agreed to by workers and employers: DiGiorgio (Delano & Borrego) UFWOC, 530; other unions (Teamsters), 331; no Unions, 12; —DiGiorgio (Arvin) UFWOC, 283; other Unions, 0; no Unions, 199; Goldberg (Delano) UFWOC, 285; other Unions, 0; no Unions 38.)
27) William H. Metzler "Farm Mechanization & Labor Stabilization", Part 1, pp. 38, 40 90; Part II, p.46.
28) Figures taken from Weekly Farm Labor Report, 881A for the dates indicated.
29) Los Angeles Times, op.cit. (article by Greenwood)
30) Presentation by the Fact Finding Committee to the Mayor and City Council of Toronto. November 20, 1968.
31) Temple Tifereth Israel Bulletin (Boston Mass.), November 12, 1968.
32) Los Angeles Times, Monday, December 16, 1968 (article by Harry Bernstein) A few quotes from this article: "representatives of Schenley Industries & DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation said relations with the Union (UFWOC) have been remarkably good. (George Morrison of Almaden said): "Our contracts have increased labor costs but we're not hurt. It is unfair to say this is not a responsible Union."
33) Los Angeles Times (article by Greenwood) op.cit.
34) Ibid.

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Media Consciousness Industry Serves Capitalism

Extracted from "The Role of Mass Media and Popular Culture in Defining Development," by Dallas W. Smythe.

The purpose of this paper is to state and briefly develop the practical and theoretical significance of the role of massively institutionalized communications media and the related arts and popular culture as the agenda-setters for populations. The policy which effectively governs what appears on the agenda produced by these institutions has a special role in defining the terms in which "development" of individuals and societies take place.

...It is misleading to define the communications institutions bureaucratically as only the press, radio-TV, book industry, cinema, or even with the addition of telecommunications (meaning users of the electromagnetic spectrum). The industrialization through mass production of the arts and handicrafts has grafted into the communications institutional complex music (through the recording industry), photography, the commercial application of art to product and container design for the full range of consumer goods and services, the fine arts, and through teaching machines and related software, an increasing fraction of formal educational practice. The function of "information" transfer, which in the 18th Century was the province of the press and the post office is now diffused through this broad complex of institutions. And the flowering of computers and information processing has added a new level of meaning to "informational" function of the "communications" complex--a function of serving as the means of production, exchange and consumption of "information" in the sense of Norbert Wiener's definition, "a name for the content of what is exchanged with the outer world as we adjust to it, and make our adjustment felt upon it." Through its penetration of the work institutions, the military, and all other major institutions, the integration of computer-type information into the "communications" institutional complex seems fully to justify christening the whole sprawling communications institutional complex consciousness industry.

The capitalist system, like other social systems, has its constituent institutions and population. And through their words and actions its population spend their daily lives according to how their real conditions, with all of the contradictions and conflicts which such real conditions produce, are affected by the demands of that agenda. For most people, much of the time, the substance of the capitalist daily agenda is painfully manifested by the wage/price squeeze, the unmet needs for medical attention, etc. For most people, much of the time they are instructed in the meaning of the daily agenda through their contacts with work, religious, police, school etc. organizations. But for virtually all of the people, virtually all of the time, the agenda which directs their attention is that which, perhaps mostly in their so-called leisure time, comes to them from the mass media segment of consciousness industry. Priorities in their agenda tend to be set by the priorities assigned to topics or themes in the mass media. The informal daily education of the population is conducted by the mass media which tend to select some topics and ignore others, give precedence to some and not others, and frame contexts and select content all according to standards which perhaps owe more to custom than to malevolent design, and more to unconscious synchronization of decisions than to conspiracy. Because it is the special institutional function of the mass media to produce their hourly/daily/weekly quota of what for lack of better words we still refer to as "news", "entertainment" and "information," the unique function of the mass media of communication stand first among equals amidst other institutions in the business of reproducing a particular kind of human nature. And it is probable that the political tendencies which saturate all of the organs of capitalism will continue to perpetuate the capitalist system even after socialist revolutions and into the transitional stage to socialism.

For my part, identification of the structure of the capitalist mass media agenda setting process grows out of an analysis of the politico-economic dynamics of the system which is briefly as follows. The United States empire has been strategically on the defensive but tactically on the offensive following the conversion of about one-third of the world's population to socialist systems. Economically, the successes of United States monopoly capitalism in developing markets and investments in western Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America have been very great. Militarily, the United States empire is protected by massive destructive power, supplemented now as a result of intensive research and development in areas such as Indochina, Indonesia, Brazil, and Chile by substantial competence to deny indigenous liberation movements the effective ability to control their own future development.

The basis of the sustained growth in United States capitalism since 1945 is the spontaneous cooperation of the relatively few giant monopoly corporations (there are few in each major industry and they aggregate about 500 for the whole system,) each of which accumulates and cherishes the surplus derived from its managed markets for the relative autonomy and security that surplus provides the cooperation. The deliberate collusive avoidance of price competition between giant monopoly corporations engaged in consumer goods production provides stability to the system. The continued growth of the system's surplus depends on the innovation of "new" models of familiar products and of "new" products and services. Replacement markets are generated by designed obsolescence: by style changes and by deliberate standards of quality in manufacture which produce tolerably short product lives and predictable "junking" of familiar products (because it would cost more to repair them than to replace them). And the stylistic features of all consumer goods and services are based on calculated manipulation of public taste so that consumers increasingly pay for images rather than use-values. There are two broad classes of markets in which the "Sales Effort" works to generate the surplus which powers the monopoly capitalist system. The first and most easily recognizable of these broad classes of markets is the Civilian Sales sector where ordinary civilians buy their consumer goods and services. But if left to depend on this sector alone for its growth, the monopoly capitalist system would be plunged into ruinous depression. To compensate for the "leakiness" of the system (the accumulation of surplus by corporations and their direct beneficiaries in lieu of the distribution of surplus to workers so that they in turn could buy the products produced), the Military Sales sector must be maintained as a giant and increasingly generous "pump primer," as well as for its real function in protecting the security of the capitalist system against dissidents and criminals at home and liberation movements in American economic colonies.

It is in this context that we identify the agenda-setting role of the mass media and consciousness industry in the broader sense (as including related cultural industry). The prime item on the agenda of consciousness industry in monopoly capitalism is to produce people in markets motivated to buy the "new models" of consumer goods and services and motivated to pay the taxes which support the swelling budgets for the Military Sales. The task of consciousness industry is to market these goods and services. In performing this role, the mass media under monopoly capitalism are the cutting edge of a team of cooperating institutions, together properly called consciousness industry. The mass media institutions are typically large monopolies linking regional markets and linking TV, AM-FM broadcasting, newspapers, magazines, books and cinema. They also intersect the ownership of giant monopoly corporations in manufacturing and banking.

GUEST BOOK REVIEW - MACHO

MACHO!

BY EDMUND VILLASEÑOR

Macho has much to offer its readers who ignore the hardships which begin for the Mexican illegal once he enters the United States. He comes searching for work, for better wages, for better working conditions; he comes, or so he thinks, to the land of "milk and honey." Edmund Villaseñor quickly dispels this fantasy by describing the negative aspects of the immigrant's quest for "money to burn: at every Border point, he meets the lawless coyote who promises to obtain legal status for him while, in reality, only aims to rob him of his few pesos; while crossing the border, he meets the immigration officers who spray him with dangerous chemicals; picking fruit in the valleys under a 108° sun, he meets death, or else he meets it on a lonely road at night. He meets the greedy grower all too eager to use him for cheap labor or to resneak him across into his fields after the migra has dumped him off near the border as though he were a bag of garbage instead of a human being. All this and more, Villaseñor concretly describes throughout the novel.

The author, however, fails to carry out to its conclusion a crucial question he himself asks midway through the novel: what is the illegal's relationship to the Chavez huelgistas who are fighting to realize a better working situation for the agricultural laborer of the Southwest? During a huelga demonstration, a grower representative deliberately runs over a boy in mid-field with a tractor, chopping off his foot. As a result of this maneuver, a young girl, who has been trying to incite the onlookers to join the Chavez organization, loses her balance and is thrown down off a truck. These events occur before Roberto's eyes and consequently encourage him to support the Huelga. Filled with awe for the strikers, he attempts to cross over to them. His friends, Juan and Luis cry out to stop him; under their pressure he retreats, wondering, "What were they (his friends) doing letting an old balding boss and a bunch of fat-ass foremen treat their people like this?" (p.166.)

Unfortunately, these words mark the extent of Roberto's awareness of this timely social problem. Juan and Luis, constantly living under the fear of deportation, encourage him to forget the entire incident. Though this question continues to manifest itself again and again throughout the novel, Villasenor fails to resolve it, fails to permit his protagonist to grapple with it, thus failing to develop Roberto's potential to become a politicized worker. The novel ends and Roberto never comes to understand either the reasons or the goals of the Chavez struggle. This important issue gets submerged under the aura of the machismo cult.

Machismo, "the code of honor unto death" is the novel's central question. Villasenor defines it through cliche episodes: the cantina quarrels, the cock fights and horse races, two sports which essentially provide his characters with an opportunity to expend their sexual energy through substitution, and lastly, the showdown in which Roberto avenges his father's death.

In these situations, Villasenor's secondary characters reveal an insatiable appetite for blood: "Hell, we've seen no action in days" (p. 94) yells one, insisting that Roberto fight a thief who lunges out at him. Elsewhere, the author expands his definition of the cult using a trite metaphor to glamorize it: a man's honor, the attainment of "machoness," is like the flow of virgin blood. Only virgin blood satisfies Villaseñor's males. Set on killing his father's murderers, Roberto returns to Mexico, thinking: "Code of the mountains, Mexican style, and honor, she, this most precious of virgins, would be kept alive by him, man, a lo macho." To defend a father who is essentially as much to blame as his murderers, a father who drinks away the money which is the subsistence of his family, seems to constitute a positive value for Villaseñor.

The author does provide some antagonistic opinions to the macho manner of solving such problems. Esperanza, Roberto's sister, advises him to ignore his father's murderers, for truly, he was as much to blame as they. Appearing before his enemies, Roberto remembers her words. At the height of the men's anger, he turns his back to them, refusing to fight, a move which immediately unleashes the pent-up forces demanding expenditure. In the end, Roberto avenges his father's death, a lo macho. Although Villasenor does set up a conflict, indicating some awareness that this form of machismo should be questioned, he nevertheless allows it to run its course.

Machismo, as defined by Villasenor is a futile activity. True, it may indicate to us the alienation and atomization of the male in modern Mexican and Southwest society. True, it may represent his nostalgic searching for the image of himself as a once whole and complete entity, for a return to his unthreatened role in society. In this light machismo becomes a necessary avenue through which the male compensates for his lost security.

But machismo as defined in Macho, is dangerous for the reader who approaches the novel uncritically. He may finish it thinking that this is the only form machismo can assume within a modern day social context. Villaseñor, no doubt, helps to perpetuate a machismo in its negative form. One feels that had he developed Roberto's political and social consciousness in terms of the Chavez' workers' struggle or even in terms of the needs of his own Mexican village, he might have used his macho energies to more productive ends.

- Marta Sanchez

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SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Resolution 16

SUPPORT OF AMNESTY FOR ILLEGAL WORKERS

Submitted by National Executive Board

WHEREAS, America is a land of immigrants, built with the sweat and toil of foreign born peoples from every part of the world, and

WHEREAS, the history of American agriculture has been marked by a ruthless exploitation of immigrant workers by the masters of agribusiness, and

WHEREAS, unscrupulous employers have used illegals to defeat farm worker strikes and have pitted brothers against brothers and sisters against sisters, and

WHEREAS, illegal workers often suffer more at the hands of the growers than legal residents, and

WHEREAS, the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO is dedicated to liberating all farm workers who suffer regardless of color, creed, ethnic origin, religion or residence status,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the membership of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, sitting in convention in Fresno, California, that this organization urges the enactment of legislation granting amnesty to all illegal workers, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that if growers can bring illegal workers to this country for the purpose of exploiting them, then we can organize illegal workers to liberate them.

Viva la Causa! Viva la Huelga!

STATEMENT OF STEPHANIE BOWER, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE
UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE POLICY
ON THE SUBJECT OF EMPLOYER SANCTIONS

September 30, 1981

On behalf of the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO, I am eager to express our view point on the proposed legislation which would impose sanctions on employers who hire illegal aliens.

AVAILABILITY OF LOCAL WORKERS

The United Farm Workers is composed of minority groups - Hispanics, Blacks, Filipinos among others. In the West and the Southwest, the American farmworker population is largely Hispanic. Each day these local workers wait in line by the hundreds at our Union hiring halls for employment. There has always been an oversupply of labor for the fields. We don't, however, see attempts being made anywhere to develop a local farmworker labor force when it is common knowledge that unemployment among hispanics is 9.7%, 15% among the black population and over 50% among black youth.

EMPLOYER SANCTIONS AND ENFORCEMENT OF SUCH SANCTIONS

We concur with the AFL-CIO's position that sanctions imposed upon employers who hire illegal aliens would be an effective way of controlling the hiring of illegal aliens if the proposed legislation could be effectively enforced.

We feel that the proposed fine of $500 - $1000 is not high enough and should be raised to $1500 per worker per day. As it is now proposed it is not enough of a deterrent. An employer may have to pay $500 for health insurance for a Union member.

We cannot help but question that if even the most stringent of fines is placed on farm employers who hire illegal aliens, who will enforce the proposed legislation?

Murder has long been considered a felony in America, incurring in some cases the death penalty - yet, in all of the history of farm labor organizing, when workers have been murdered during strikes, not one of the responsible parties has spent as much as one night in jail.

There have been laws which mandate sanitation facilities, yet farmworkers continue to work with no toilets in the field; and laws have long been on the books abolishing child labor, yet where the United Farm Workers have no contracts, children continue to perform back breaking work.

When laws against hiring illegal aliens are enforced, it it only a ruse.

We feel it necessary, therefore, to suggest that a large budget be allocated for staff and operations in order that the proposed legislation be enforceable both nationally and on the local level.

SOCIAL SECURITY CARDS

If employer sanctions were to become a reality, it would be imperative that each worker be given a counterfeit-proof social security card for identification purposes, and that every effort be made to see that discrimination of local hispanic and black workers does not occur.

Issuing social security cards to farmworkers would mean more money in the social security system and also security to the workers in their older years.

Employers have traditionally done everything possible to avoid allowing the American farmworker into a system which would provide them with deserved benefits. Bringing in contract workers robs the social security system of money.

At the present time, many growers and labor contractors hold back social security money. If the farmworkers all had social security cards, the emploeyrs would not be able to continue this practice.

Our Union represents decent wages and living conditions for farmworkers. Employers have traditionally encouraged the employment of illegal aliens. They sleep in pup tents, caves and under the trees. They are brought to this country to be exploited. The late Dorothy Day, founder of the Catholic Worker Movement, on her travels through the South West, shared her disgust with her travelling companion when she remarked that the animals have better places to live than the people who plant and harvest our food.

There have been several occasions when Puerto Rican workers who were brought to the East Coast to pick apples were dismissed in favor of Caribbean workers who do not require social security benefits. The United Farm Workers in Washington, D.C. housed several of these workers in 1976 as they were determined to fight this discrimination legally.

In 1973 a black reporter from Florida, in a study called "Offshore" cited examples of Caribbean H2 workers who were sent home when they complained of their conditions.

Most farm employers see an endless supply of slave labor and this attitude must be stopped. The United Farm Workers have found since we began organizing on the West Coast that most farm-worker employers are racist. They would like to institutionalize and make a permanent sub-class of Mexicans in America.

We believe that it is essential for all farmworkers to be provided social security cards, and be allowed to participate in the Social Security System.

LIMITATION OF SANCTIONS TO EMPLOYERS WITH MORE THAN FOUR EMPLOYEES

The United Farm Workers Union believes that limiting the coverage of the proposed legislation to employers with more than four employees is unjust. Most employers of domestic workers hire less than four persons. At the United Farm Workers Convention, held September 5 - 7, 1981, we supported through a Resolution, the right of domestic workers to organize.

We agree with the AFL-CIO that there must be an expanded program for economic development in the countries from which illegal aliens come. Only when the "push" factor of no jobs and low income in these countries is effectively dealt with can the problem of job-seeking illegal aliens be fully and finally resolve. Any program involving U.S. aid for economic development in these countries must, of course, make certain that jobs, wages, and working conditions in the United States are not lost or undermined as a result of such foreign aid or investment program.

We support the kind of U.S. aid to developing countries that increases job opportunities, raises workers' income, and lifts living standards for workers and their families. It is essential that U.S. aid programs help developing nations establish and strengthen free democratic institutions, including trade unions, and promote strong domestic economies with more income and buying power for workers and their families. Decent wages and decent working conditions and decent labor standards help develop the kind of economy that will provide jobs and income that will keep workers in these other nations from illegally seeking work in the

NEED FOR A PROGRAM TO ANALYZE LABOR NEEDS

The United Farm Workers Union opposes any program similar to the Bracero program which was in effect during World War II and for many years afterwards. The Bracero program under which large numbers of workers could legally come into the fields from Mexico made the organizing of farm laborers impossible until it ended in 1962. The Bracero program also destroyed the Mexican family base, exploited hundreds of thousands of workers, and was a black mark not only on our own labor history but on our relations with Mexico as well.

We wish to emphasize the fact that before any legislation bearing any resemblance to the Bracero program is seriously considered, there be a strong aggressive positive program to analyze farmworker labor needs, and place local workers in jobs in their respective communities.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO and FLORA WALKER as ADMINISTRATOR OF UNITED DOMESTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA/NUHHCE, AFSCME, AFL-CIO,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

UNITED DOMESTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA/NUHHCE, AFSCME, AFL-CIO, et al.

Defendants.

CASE NO. 05cv1251BTM(POR)

ORDER GRANTING MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

Plaintiffs seek a preliminary injunction to enforce an administratorship. On June 27, 2005, the Court held a hearing on Plaintiff's motion for preliminary inunction. For the reasons discussed below, Plaintiffs' motion is **GRANTED**.

I. BACKGROUND

In this action, plaintiff American Federation of State, County and Municipal employees, AFL-CIO (AFSCME) seeks to enforce an administratorship which, AFSCME claims, was properly imposed on defendant United Domestic Workers of America (UDW) in accordance with AFSCME's International Constitution.

Prior to 2001, UDW was directly affiliated with AFSCME as a local union. (UDW/AFSCME Affiliation Agreement, Exh. A to Supp. Nicholas Decl.) In 2001, UDW entered into an affiliation agreement with the National Union of Hospital and Health Care workers ("NUHHCE") and became a district of NUHHCE. (UDW/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement, Exh. B to Supp. Nicholas Decl.) In 1989, NUHHCE and AFSCME entered into an Affiliation Agreement. (AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement, Exh. C to Supp. Nicholas Decl.)

The AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement provides that "all provisions of this Agreement shall be applicable to all such districts and other intermediate and subsidiary bodies as may now exist or may in the future be created by NUHHCE." (AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement, 3.) The AFSCME/NUHHCE Agreement also provides that "the administratorship provisions set forth in Article IX, Sections 31 through 41 of the International Constitution shall not be applicable to NUHHCE or its Districts, except as may be necessary to prevent or correct corruption or financial malpractice or to resolve democratic procedures." (Id. at 4.)

In a letter dated April 26, 2005, AFSCME notified UDW that it had committed financial malpractice and violated the AFSCME International Constitution by: (1) depositing dues payroll deduction checks from employers directly into UDW's general account rather than depositing such checks in the Cooperative Dues Trust Account; (2) unilaterally deducting amounts it claimed to be due as Cooperative Strategic Organizing Program ("CSOP") rebates from the per capita tax due to AFSCME for the months of February ($45,056.90), March ($45,823.13), and April ($46,928.70); (3) unilaterally deducting voluntary county per capita rebates from the March and April per capita tax payments; (4) unilaterally reducing the per capita tax rate to the rate that was in effect during 2004 and deducting the sum of $43,137.38 from the April 15 per capita tax payment for "net increased dues paid in January, February and March of this year." (Exh. C to Verified Complaint.)

In a letter dated May 24, 2005, Gerald W. McEntee, International President of AFSCME, made a request to John Seferian, Judicial Panel Chairperson of AFSCME, that

the Judicial Panel appoint an Investigating Committee to investigate UDW's alleged financial misconduct. (Exh. C to Verified Complaint.) McEntee explained that although UDW had properly paid its most recent per capita tax payment, it was still depositing dues checks in its own account rather than the Cooperative Dues Trust Account and had failed to pay its per capita tax delinquency resulting from underpayments in March and April. McEntee noted:

> UDW's failure to pay its per capita tax delinquency has led me to believe that UDW has spent those funds belonging to the International Union for its own purposes. I am also concerned that UDW's per capita tax delinquency may have resulted from difficulty in meeting its other financial obligations and may be a symptom of even more serious kinds of financial malpractice.

(Id.) This letter attached the April 26, 2005 letter and was copied to the Officers and Executive Board Members of UDW.

The investigative hearing was held on June 9, 2005. (Transcript of Investigative Hearing ("Transcript"), Exh. A to Supp. Weinberg Decl.) Counsel for UDW was present. Counsel for UDW objected that the union was not subject to the administratorship provisions of AFSCME's International Constitution but participated in the hearing based on the understanding that his participation did not constitute a waiver of his jurisdictional argument. (Transcript, 9-13.) At the hearing, evidence was presented regarding the specific charges identified in the May 24, 2005 letter as well as other alleged financial misconduct of UDW and its officers. At the conclusion of the hearing, counsel for UDW expressed that UDW did not receive proper notice of any of the financial matters discussed except for the issues regarding per capita tax payments and deposit of dues checks. (Transcript, 197-99.)

Based on the evidence presented at the hearing, the Investigating Committee issued a report on June 13, 2005, which recommended the imposition of an administratorship upon UDW. (Exh. E to Verified Complaint.) The Report concluded that UDW had committed financial malpractice in the following respects:

1. UDW has failed to comply with the requirements of the cooperative dues trust agreements that it cause all dues to be deposited in that account and receive its portion of dues from that account.

2. UDW has failed to pay its International per capita tax as required by the International Constitution by deducting amounts to which it was not entitled, deducting amounts that were to be paid as

rebates after the per capita tax was paid and unilaterally reducing its per capita tax payments for 2005 to 2004 rates. While the amount of the delinquency may have been paid by check received by the International on the day of the hearing, a payment made in this manner, after several written demands for payment were ignored, does not inspire confidence that UDW will comply with its obligations in the future. The International Union should not be required to resort to administratorship investigations to persuade affiliates to meet their constitutional per capita tax obligations.

3. Despite receiving millions of dollars in assistance from the International Union, primarily in the form of grants, and despite repeated efforts by the International Union to bring financial responsibility to UDW, the leaders of UDW have spent the organization into bankruptcy.

4. UDW has attempted to mask its true financial condition by keeping misleading financial records.

5. UDW has obtained improper interest-free loans from its related charitable organization DWHCC.

6. The president and secretary-treasurer of UDW have received what appear to be improper and excessive payments from DWHCC.

7. UDW has filed false LM-2 reports with the U.S. Department of Labor in an apparent effort to hide the improper loans from DWHCC.

(Investigative Committee Report, 8.)

Based on the report of the Investigative Committee, McEntee concluded that an administratorship would be imposed over the affairs of UDW. McEntee appointed Flora Walker as the Administrator and directed UDW to turn over to Walker all books, records, funds, and other property of UDW. On June 15, 2005, Walker attempted to begin the process of taking over the operation and management of UDW. Walker was not granted access to the UDW offices and was advised that UDW and its officers refused to acknowledge the validity of the administratorship.

II. PROCEDURAL HISTORY

Plaintiffs filed this action on June 17, 2005. In their Verified Complaint, Plaintiffs allege that UDW has violated AFSCME's International Constitution, § 301(a) of the LMRA (29 U.S.C. § 185(a)), and § 302 of the LMRDA (29 U.S.C. § 462), by refusing to recognize

the administratorship established by AFSCME. Plaintiffs seek injunctive and declaratory relief.

On June 20, 2005, Plaintiffs filed an application for a temporary restraining order. The following day, the Court held a hearing on the application. The Court granted Plaintiffs' application in part and enjoined Defendants from (1) drawing or transferring funds from UDW's General Fund Account at Neighborhood National Bank or dissipating or transferring any other funds or assets of UDW unless ordered by the Court; and (2) destroying, removing, secreting, or altering the financial records or any other records of UDW or any records relating to UDW, including computer files. The TRO was to remain in effect until the Court ruled on Plaintiffs' motion for preliminary injunction, which was scheduled to be heard on Monday, June 27, 2005 at 2:00 p.m.

On the afternoon of June 24, 2005, a Friday, the Court received a notice from UDW's counsel that UDW had scheduled a referendum on the issue of merging with Service Employees International Union ("SEIU"), Local 434B. The vote was scheduled to take place at 9:00 a.m. on June 27, 2005. Plaintiffs' counsel also received the notice and telephoned chambers to obtain a hearing for an emergency TRO application.

The Court held a telephonic hearing at 4:10 p.m. on June 24, 2005. During the hearing, counsel for UDW indicated that the referendum was originally scheduled to take place in July. The Court concluded that UDW was attempting to divest the Court of jurisdiction and render the controversy moot. Based on the actions of UDW, the Court determined that it would be appropriate to enforce the administratorship on a temporary basis and issued a temporary restraining order enjoining Defendants from (1) refusing to turn over possession and control of the offices of UDW to Flora Walker, as Administrator of UDW, or her designee; (2) refusing to deliver all property, funds, books, records, and assets of any kind in their possession to Flora Walker, as Administrator of UDW, or her designee; (3) representing themselves as the authorized officers and/or representatives of UDW, unless so authorized by the Administrator or her designee; (4) interfering in any manner with the conduct of the administratorship by Flora Walker or her designee; or (5) destroying,

removing secreting, or altering the financial records of UDW or any financial records relating to UDW. The Court ordered that Plaintiffs post a bond in the amount of $40,000 with the Clerk of the Court.

III. LEGAL STANDARD

To prevail on a motion for a preliminary injunction, the moving party must show either "a) a probable success on the merits combined with the possibility of irreparable injury or b) that [the moving party] has raised serious questions going to the merits, and that the balance of hardships tips sharply in her favor." Bernhart v. County of Los Angeles, 339 F.3d 920, 925 (9th Cir. 2003). These alternatives are "extremes of a single continuum," thus, "the greater the relative hardship to the moving party, the less probability of success must be shown." Id. (citations omitted). Courts will also consider the public interest when evaluating a request for injunctive relief. Caribbean Marine Servs. Co. v. Baldridge, 844 F.2d 668, 674 (9th Cir. 1988).

IV. DISCUSSION

A. Merits

In opposing Plaintiffs' motion for preliminary injunction, Defendants argue that (1) UDW is not subject to the administratorship provisions of AFSCME's International Constitution; (2) UDW did not receive fair notice of the investigative hearing; and (3) the administratorship was imposed for an improper purpose. The Court examines each of these arguments below.

1. Applicability of Administratorship Provisions

UDW contends that its Affiliation Agreement with NUHHCE superseded UDW's prior Affiliation Agreement with AFSCME and that UDW never agreed to be subject to the administratorship provisions of AFSCME's International Constitution. AFSCME counters that by becoming a district of NUHHCE, UDW agreed to be bound by the administratorship provisions as set forth in the 1989 AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement. The Court

agrees with AFSCME.

The AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement provides that "all provisions of this Agreement shall be applicable to *all such districts* and other intermediate and subsidiary bodies *as may now exist or may in the future be created by NUHHCE*." (AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement, 3) (emphasis added.) The AFSCME/NUHHCE Agreement also provides that "the administratorship provisions set forth in Article IX, Sections 31 through 41 of the International Constitution shall not be applicable to NUHHCE or its Districts, *except as may be necessary to prevent or correct corruption or financial malpractice or to resolve democratic procedures*." (Id. at 4) (emphasis added.)

The UDW/NUCCHE Affiliation Agreement provides that "NUHHCE agrees to establish a UDWA District whose jurisdiction shall consist of California *consistent with the terms of the AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement*." (UDW/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement, ¶ 2.A.) (emphasis added.) UDW argues that the phrase "consistent with the terms of the AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement" qualifies the word "jurisdiction," not "District"; therefore, UDW merely agreed that its jurisdiction would be consistent with the AFSCME/NUHHCE Agreement.

The Court disagrees with UDW's interpretation. In interpreting a labor contract, traditional rules for contractual interpretation are applied as long as their application is consistent with federal labor policies. D.E.W., Inc. v. Local 93, Laborers' Int'l Union of North America, 957 F.2d 196, 199 (5th Cir. 1992). Courts should first look to the explicit language of the agreement to determine, if possible, the clear intent of the parties. Golden v. Kelsey-Hayes Co., 73 F.3d 648, 654 (6th Cir. 1996). If possible, each provision should be construed consistently with the entire document and the relative positions and purposes of the parties. Id.

Viewing the disputed language in context, the Court finds that it unambiguously requires that UDW, as a NUHHCE district, comply with the terms of the AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement. The Court rejects UDW's argument that the phrase "consistent with the terms of the AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement" qualifies the word "jurisdiction"

because Paragraph 2.B., the very next paragraph, explicitly addresses the issue of UDW's jurisdiction. Paragraph 2.B. states: "UDWA/NUHHCE, as an AFSCME affiliate, shall have exclusive jurisdiction over domestic workers in the State of California consistent with the AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement." If the Court were to interpret Paragraph 2.A. as suggested by UDW, Paragraph 2.A. would be largely redundant.

UDW points to Paragraph 8 of the UDW/NUHHCE agreement as evidence that the administratorship provisions do not apply to UDW. Paragraph 8 provides that UDW shall retain its identity and shall have full autonomy in accordance with the provisions of the agreement. However, similar autonomy provisions are also present in the UDW/AFSCME and AFSCME/NUHHCE agreements, both of which also provide that the administratorship provisions of the AFSCME International Constitution apply. Therefore, Paragraph 8 is not inconsistent with UDW being subject to the administratorship provisions.

Moreover, UDW's course of conduct confirms that UDW intended that it would be subject to the terms of the AFSCME/NUHHCE agreement. Most significantly, in 2003, UDW participated in election protest proceedings which were conducted pursuant to the AFSCME International Constitution. (Weinberg Decl., ¶ 3.) The AFSCME/NUHHCE agreement provides that internal disputes arising under the NUHHCE Constitution involving disciplinary matters or election protests shall continue to be resolved in the first instance in accordance with the procedures set forth in the NUHHCE Constitution, but that NUHHCE members, as members of AFSCME, have the right to appeal the decisions in such proceedings to the AFSCME Judicial Panel in accordance with the appellate procedures set forth in the AFSCME Constitution. (AFSCME/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement, 6.) Pursuant to this provision, the 2003 election protests were heard by an AFSCME Judicial Panel officer, a full Judicial Panel, and the AFSCME International Convention. (Weinberg Decl., Exh. 2.)

In a letter dated August 22, 2003, counsel for UDW acknowledged that the AFSCME Constitution and AFSCME Elections Code were applicable to the 2003 election. (Weinberg Decl., Exh. 2.) Based on this evidence, the Court concludes that UDW was aware of the AFSCME/NUHHCE agreement and knew that by becoming a NUHHCE district it was

submitting to the terms of the agreement.

UDW's claim that it had no knowledge of the AFSCME/NUHHCE agreement when it entered into the Affiliation Agreement with NUHHCE is wholly unbelievable. Ken Seaton-Msemaji claims that UDW would not have become a NUHHCE district if it had known that it would be subject to the administratorship provisions of AFSCME's International Constitution because the main reason UDW affiliated with NUHHCE was to "get out from under AFSCME's control." (Seaton-Msemaji Decl., ¶¶ 4-14.) The Court does not find Mr. Seaton-Msemaji's self-serving statement to be credible.

The UDW/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement specifically refers to the AFSCME/NUHHCE agreement. If UDW was so concerned about remaining independent from AFSCME, UDW certainly would have looked into what the AFSCME/NUHHCE agreement covered.[1] UDW would have also been alerted by Paragraph 2.B. of the UDW/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement, which states that UDW will be "an AFSCME affiliate." Furthermore, UDW's actions in taking millions of dollars in assistance from AFSCME belie Seaton-Msemaji's claim that UDW wanted to have little to do with AFSCME.

In sum, by entering into the UDW/NUHHCE Affiliation Agreement and becoming a district of NUHHCE, UDW became subject to the AFSCME administratorship provisions to the extent that they are "necessary to prevent or correct corruption or financial malpractice or to resolve democratic procedures."

2. Fair Notice

UDW argues that it did not receive fair notice of the investigative hearing. Although UDW did not receive fair notice with respect to the alleged financial misconduct not identified in the May 24 and April 26 letters, fair notice was given as to UDW's failure to deposit dues

[1] Henry Nicholas, President of NUHHCE, claims that he provided Fahari Jeffers, Secretary-Treasurer of UDW, with the AFSCME/NUHHCE agreement prior to UDW entering into the Affiliation Agreement with NUHHCE. (Supp. Nicholas Decl., ¶ 12.) Ms. Jeffers is an attorney. (Id.)

checks in the Cooperative Dues Trust Account and UDW's per capita tax delinquencies. This specific misconduct constitutes financial malpractice which justifies the imposition of an administratorship.

Section 304(c) of the LMRDA provides that a trusteeship imposed in conformity with procedural requirements of a labor organization's constitution and bylaws and authorized or ratified after a fair hearing is presumed valid for a period of eighteen months. 29 U.S.C. § 464(c). Section 304(c) also provides that when the presumption is in place, the trusteeship shall not be subject to attack "except upon clear and convincing proof that the trusteeship was not established or maintained in good faith for a purpose allowable under section 462 of this title." Id.

Accordingly, the Court begins its analysis by determining (1) whether the administratorship was imposed in accordance with the requisite procedural requirements as set forth in the union's constitution and bylaws; and (2) whether it was authorized or ratified after a fair hearing. UDW does not dispute that AFSCME imposed the administratorship after following the procedures set forth in the AFSCME International Convention. However, UDW claims that the hearing was not fair because UDW did not receive adequate notice.

A fair hearing has three minimum requirements: (1) notice of the charges; (2) presentation of evidence and witnesses; and (3) an opportunity for cross-examination. International Bhd. of Boilermakers v. Local Lodge D238, 865 F.2d 1228, 1236 (11th Cir. 1989). The notice should set out in writing the factual basis for alleged violations of law or the union's constitution that justify imposition of a trusteeship. Becker v. Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, 900 F.2d 761, 768 (4th Cir. 1990). General allegations of wrongdoing that do not specify a factual basis for the charges are insufficient because they do not provide a fair opportunity to prepare a defense to the charges. Id. at 760.

Here, fair notice was given with respect to the charges that UDW had failed to deposit dues checks in the Cooperative Dues Trust Account and had underpaid its per capita taxes in March and April of 2005. However, UDW did not receive prior notice that the

Investigative Committee would entertain charges that UDW spent the organization into bankruptcy, kept misleading financial records, obtained improper interest-free loans from DWHCC which were used to make excessive payments to the President and Secretary-Treasurer of UDW, and filed false LM-2 reports to hide the improper loans (Findings 3-7 of the Investigating Committee Report). McEntee suggested that UDW's per capita tax delinquency may be a symptom of "even more serious kinds of financial malpractice" but did not elaborate.

AFSCME argues that UDW waived its objection to lack of fair notice by failing to make a timely request for clarification of the charges or to ask for a continuance. The Court disagrees. Prior to the Investigative hearing, counsel for UDW did not know that evidence regarding any other alleged misconduct by UDW and its officers would be presented at the hearing. The scope of the allegations against UDW was not actually clear until the conclusion of the hearing. At that time, counsel for UDW asserted that UDW had not received proper notice as these additional matters and suggested that AFSCME present its concerns with respect to these matters in a more formal fashion. (Transcript, 198-99.) UDW's objection was timely and adequate.

Nevertheless, the administratorship was properly imposed because the charges which UDW received notice of are sufficient in and of themselves to support administratorship. At the hearing, AFSCME presented evidence that in February, March, and April of 2005, UDW failed to deposit dues checks into the Cooperative Dues Trust Account in violation of a Cooperative Dues Trust Agreement between UDW and NUHHCE. (Transcript, 80-82.) The Cooperative Dues Trust Agreement provides that "[t]he purpose of the fund is to escrow and distribute all UDW dues and fees, a portion of which is payable to NUHHCE." (Id.) The agreement also provides that "the parties agree that all proceeds for membership dues and initiation fees deductions by the employers of UDW, will be wired directly into the fund, in lieu of being paid to UDW by check." (Id.) This account is a way for NUHHCE to divide members' dues between NUHHCE, AFSCME and UDW. (Voice Decl., ¶ 19.)

UDW argues that it has never wired the dues payments directly into the Cooperative

Dues Trust Account as required by the Cooperative Dues Trust Agreement. However, AFSCME was not concerned with the fact that the dues payments were not wired directly to the account and admits that UDW has never complied with this particular requirement of the Cooperative Dues Trust Agreement. (Transcript, 80.) AFSCME's concern was that in February, March, and April of 2005, the dues payments were not deposited into the account at all.

AFSCME also presented evidence that with respect to the per capita tax payments for the months of February and March, UDW deducted CPOS rebates to which UDW was not entitled, deducted amounts that UDW claimed as voluntary per capita tax rebates even though such rebates were to be paid *after* the per capita tax was paid in full, and unilaterally reduced its per capita tax payments for 2005 to 2004 rates. (Transcript, 66-75.) To understand the per capita tax and CPOS rebate issues it is necessary to review the history of financial dealings between AFSCME and UDW.

Prior to 2002, AFSCME provided substantial financial assistance to UDW primarily in the form of grants. (Transcript, 87-88.) In 2002, AFSCME and UDW agreed that any future financial assistance from AFSCME would be in the form of loans. (Id.) AFSCME's motivation in insisting that future assistance be in the form of loans was that (1) UDW did not make timely payments on loans it had received in 1998 and 1999, but still kept asking for financial assistance; (2) AFSCME wanted to put UDW on a course of fiscal responsibility; (3) AFSCME was having budget problems of its own and could not afford to continue giving grants; and (4) UDW projected membership growth numbers that would allow UDW to pay off the loans. (Transcript, 88-90.)

In accordance with the agreement, AFSCME loaned UDW $500,000 in 2002. (Transcript, 89.) AFSCME also gave UDW a $300,000 grant. (Id.) In 2003, AFSCME loaned UDW $160,000 a month for the first four months of the year, totaling $640,000. (Transcript, 91.) In June 2003, UDW asked for further assistance. (Transcript, 92.) AFSCME agreed to loan UDW an additional $1,010,000 over the course of the remainder of 2003 on certain conditions that were set forth in a written agreement dated June 16, 2003.

(Woocher Decl., Exh. B.) The agreement set forth a loan repayment schedule for the prior loans. With respect to the current loans, the agreement provided: "AFSCME will be repaid for these loans . . . from the amounts that become due to UDW/NUHHCE as CSOP rebates. UDW/NUHHCE will not receive CSOP rebates until all loans are paid." The agreement also provided that UDW/NUHHCE would submit to AFSCME a revised monthly budget for 2003 that shows at least a breakeven budget with the $160,000 monthly loan through October 2003 and a breakeven operation without the $160,000 monthly funding beginning November 2003.

According to AFSCME, UDW/NUHHCE did not abide by the budget and was actually operating at a deficit in November, 2003. (Transcript, 96-99.) To cover this deficit, UDW, unbeknownst to AFSCME, obtained a loan commitment from NUHHCE for an additional $325,000. (Transcript, 99-100.)

In 2004, UDW requested that AFSCME pay them all CSOP rebates in connection with a couple of new counties instead of applying the rebates to the loans. (Transcript, 102.) AFSCME and NUHHCE declined the request but agreed to a rebate of voluntary members. (Id.) AFSCME and NUHHCE also agreed to roll all of the loans together, do away with the repayment schedule, and allow for repayment of all of the loans through CSOP rebates. (Transcript, 103.) Subsequently, AFSCME also agreed to pay UDW 50% of the CSOP rebates for the first six months of the year. (Transcript, 105-06.) During the remainder of 2004, UDW came to AFSCME on a monthly basis and asked that the 50% CSOP rebate payments continue. (Transcript 106.) AFSCME extended the 50% CSOP rebate payments on a month-to-month basis. (Id.) AFSCME did not agree to pay the 50% CSOP rebates in 2005. (Transcript, 107.)

During the investigative hearing, counsel for UDW questioned Thomas Kulikosky, international auditing manager, about a 2005 projection of revenues and expenses which included in its projected income AFSCME CSOP rebates. (Transcript, 32-37.) However, Mr. Kulikosky indicated that he could not say whether he prepared the document and, if so, whether it was the final version. (Transcript, 34.) Charles Jurgonis, Director of Financial

Services with AFSCME, also failed to recognized the document.

Counsel for UDW also questioned Mr. Kulikosky and Mr. Jurgonis about a letter dated March 2, 2005 with attached financial schedules from Paul Booth and Mr. Jurgonis to Henry Nicholas and Kathy Sackman. Apparently, the first page of the financial schedules indicates that UDW would receive income in the form of AFSCME CSOP rebates throughout 2005 and does not indicate that the CSOP rebates would be applied to loans. (Transcript, 43.) However, the second page of the schedule includes an entry which projects that the CSOP rebates would be applied against the loan. (Transcript, 56.) Mr. Jurgonis explained that the sole purpose of the document, which was not sent to UDW, was to show how much money was available to pay off the loans to AFSCME and NUHHCE. (Transcript, 120.) AFSCME and NUHHCE understood that when the schedules referred to CSOP payments, the rebates were to be applied against the outstanding loans. (Transcript, 123.)

Based on the evidence presented at the hearing, UDW was not entitled to 50% CSOP rebate payments in 2005 and was certainly not authorized to deduct such payments from its February and March per capita tax payments. Given UDW's history of being unable to satisfy its financial obligations towards AFSCME, UDW's failure to deposit dues payments into the Cooperative Dues Trust Account in conjunction with UDW's per capita tax delinquencies rose to the level of financial malpractice. UDW's actions clearly signaled the existence of serious financial problems within the union.

The charges of which UDW received fair notice were sufficient grounds in and of themselves to support imposition of the administratorship. Accordingly, the Court presumes the validity of the administratorship.

3. Improper Purpose

To overcome the presumption of validity, UDW must provide clear and convincing evidence that the administratorship was imposed for an improper purpose. 29 U.S.C. § 464(c). UDW contends that the administratorship was imposed for the improper purpose of preventing UDW from associating with SEIU, Local 434B. However, the Court finds it

unlikely that UDW will prevail on this argument.

On April 23, 2005, UDW and Local 434B entered into a Servicing Agreement. The agreement provides that Local 434B shall act as the agent of UDW and shall perform collective bargaining negotiations, administration of contracts, adjustment of grievances and other duties, as it may be called upon to perform them. In consideration of the duties that SEIU is performing on behalf of UDW, UDW agrees to pay Local 434B an amount equal to the dues received from UDW members in units listed in Appendix A to the agreement, minus the payroll cost for the UDW officers and its active staff and minus any per capita taxes paid by UDW on behalf of such members to NUHHCE and AFSCME.

AFSCME asserted its charges of financial malpractice about the same time that UDW and Local 434B were entering into the Servicing Agreement. However, this fact does not establish that AFSCME was motivated by the improper purpose of preventing UDW from associating with Local 434B.

AFSCME and NUHHCE had legitimate concerns regarding the Servicing Agreement's impact on UDW's finances and integrity as a collective bargaining unit. (Supp. Nicholas Decl., ¶15.C.) Under the terms of the Servicing Agreement, UDW would be placed in a position where it would have no funds to satisfy outstanding obligations, including rent and overhead, loans from financial institutions, and loans from NUHHCE and AFSCME. (Supp. Nicholas Decl., ¶ 15.D.) In addition, the officers and staff members could transfer their responsibilities to Local 434B while still retaining their salaries. (Id.) Considering the dire fiscal consequences of the Servicing Agreement, it makes sense that knowledge of the agreement would prompt AFSCME to take immediate action with respect to UDW's breach of its obligations to deposit dues payments into the Collective Dues Trust Account and to pay per capita taxes.

UDW's strongest evidence of improper purpose is a proposed agreement prepared by Henry Nicholas. (Seaton-Msemaji Decl., Exh. 5.) Under the terms of this proposed agreement, AFSCME would not go forward with the investigative hearing if UDW agreed, among other things, to terminate and nullify the Servicing Agreement and not enter into any

like or similar agreement or arrangement with any other labor *organization not affiliated with AFSCME*.[2] This language seems to indicate that NUHHCE and/or AFSCME is concerned with the fact that UDW is associating with Local 434B. However, this language can also be interpreted as consistent with legitimate purposes. If UDW entered into a similar Servicing Agreement with an AFSCME affiliate, AFSCME would arguably have more power to ensure that the Servicing Agreement does not adversely affect UDW's members and/or AFSCME.

At any rate, AFSCME did not approve of the proposed agreement because it felt that it did not properly address AFSCME's concerns regarding UDW's financial misconduct. (McEntee Decl., ¶ 7.) AFSCME did not direct or authorize Mr. Nicholas to negotiate a resolution of the pending referral to the Investigating Committee. (Id.)

Furthermore, there is evidence that AFSCME had no objection to UDW associating with Local 434B. As admitted by UDW, UDW joined Local 434B in the California Home Council, pursuant to a joint organizing agreement between SEIU and AFSCME.

Finally, the Court notes that as long as the administratorship is supported by at least one proper purpose, it is immaterial that an impermissible motive may also have been present. Service Employees Int'l Union, Local No. 87 v. Service Employees Int'l Union, Local No. 1877, 230 F. Supp. 2d 1099, 1105 (N.D. Cal. 2002). As discussed above, the administratorship was supported by a legitimate purpose – the prevention of financial malpractice.

B. Irreparable Harm

Plaintiffs have established a likelihood of success on the merits. In addition, Plaintiffs have shown that AFSCME and UDW may suffer irreparable harm if the requested relief is not granted.

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[2] Nicholas's proposed agreement also included the terms that outstanding per capita taxes must be paid, dues must be wired directly into the Dues Trust Fund, AFSCME, NUHHCE, and UDW will meet to agree upon financial arrangements that will enable UDW to operate within its budget, and AFSCME and NUHHCE will conduct an audit of UDW.

If injunctive relief is not granted, it is likely that AFSCME and UDW will suffer irreparable harm in the form of financial injury as well as injury to reputation. See International Bhd. of Teamsters v. Local Union Number 810, 19 F.3d 786, 794 (2d Cir. 1994) (holding that the international union demonstrated irreparable harm because the allegations of financial malpractice and undemocratic procedures "severely test[ed] the allegiance of union members to their chosen leaders."). The reason for the imposition of the administratorship was financial malpractice. It appears that UDW has been struggling with financial difficulties for a number of years and that UDW's financial condition is only going to decline further. On June 20, 2005, Neighborhood National Bank declared in default two loans it had extend to UDW – one in the amount of $150,000 and the other in the amount of $55,075. (Supp. Weinberg Decl., Exh. B.) The bank has expressed its intention to exercise its right to set off the amount due and payable under those loans from accounts UDW maintains at the bank. (Id.)

To make matters worse, there is evidence that UDW's financial problems are intertwined with corrupt practices and self-dealing by UDW officers. AFSCME has evidence that in 2004, UDW borrowed $92,000 in the form of an interest-free loan from Domestic Workers Home Care Center ("DWHCC"), a tax exempt charitable organization created by UDW. (Transcript, 18-19.) The Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer of DWHCC are Ken Seaton-Msemaji and Fahari Jeffers, the President and Secretary-Treasurer of UDW. The loan to UDW was reflected on DWHCC's books but was not shown on UDW's books. (Id.) In addition UDW's Form LM-2 for the year 2004 does not list the DWHCC loan as a loan payable. (Investigating Committee Report at 6.)

There is evidence that Seaton-Msemaji and Jeffers paid themselves from DWHCC's coffers. Based on DWHCC's 2002 Form 990, $36,000 was paid to Seaton-Msemaji and Jeffers as "expense account and other allowances." (Transcript, 196; Report at 6.) The 2003 Form 990 reflects $14,250 in "compensation" payments to Seaton-Msemaji and Jeffers. (Id.)

In addition, it appears that the $55,075 loan from Neighborhood National Bank was

obtained for the improper purpose of benefitting Mr. Seaton-Msemaji and individual UDW employees. A Chief Credit Officer at the bank informed AFSCME that the loan was taken out by UDW for the purpose of providing cash for three UDW employees to purchase automobiles from Mr. Seaton-Msemaji. (Supp. Weinberg Decl., ¶ 6.) Apparently, the employees were unable to obtain credit on their own, so the money was loaned to UDW and then given to the employees for their use in purchasing the automobiles. (Id.)

UDW's recent decision to enter into the Servicing Agreement with Local 434B illustrates the danger of not enforcing the administratorship. Under the terms of the agreement, the officers and employees of UDW would continue to be paid their salaries, even though some or all of their duties might be delegated to Local 434B. All remaining dues monies (with the exception of per capita taxes) must be paid over to Local 434B. Thus, UDW is left without funds to satisfy its other financial obligations, including substantial loans from AFSCME. Moreover, questions have arisen whether, under the terms of the agreement, the UDW officers would be in compliance with their fiduciary duties and whether the UDW members would be effectively represented. See First Amended Complaint in Miller-French v. United States, et al., Case No. 05cv931 BTM.

If the administratorship is not imposed on a preliminary basis, AFSCME may completely lose the ability to protect itself and the members of UDW. The Court enforced the administratorship on a temporary basis because the Court learned that UDW had scheduled a referendum on the issue of merging with Local 434B. The vote was originally scheduled to take place in July but was moved up to take place before the preliminary injunction hearing. UDW argues that there is nothing improper about UDW choosing to break away from AFSCME and merge with another union. In ordinary circumstances, UDW might be correct. However, because AFSCME had already imposed an administratorship, it would be unfair and contrary to the purpose of the LMRDA to allow UDW to avoid administratorship by merging with another union and mooting the controversy.

Because AFSCME has established a likelihood of success on the merits as well as the strong probability of irreparable harm, the Court will enforce the administratorship on a

preliminary basis. The Court's order is consistent with the LMRDA's statutory scheme and furthers the public interest. See National Ass'n of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO v. Sombrotto, 449 F.2d 915, 921 (2d Cir. 1971) (explaining that the LMRDA's statutory scheme "clearly evidences an expectation that disputes over trusteeships would be litigated with the trusteeship in effect"); Transport Workers Union of Philadelphia, Local 234 v. Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, 131 F. Supp. 2d 659, 669 (E.D. Pa. 2001) (explaining that upholding contractual provisions contributes to the stability of labor organizations and that judicial noninterference in internal union affairs fosters the public interest).

V. CONCLUSION

For the reasons discussed above, Plaintiffs' motion for preliminary injunction is **GRANTED**. The terms of the temporary restraining order filed on June 24, 2005 are incorporated herein by reference as the terms of the preliminary injunction and shall remain in effect as the preliminary injunction until further order of the Court.

IT IS SO ORDERED.

Dated: June 30, 2005

HONORABLE BARRY TED MOSKOWITZ
United States District Judge

cc: Magistrate Judge Porter
All parties and counsel of record

http://www.latimes.com/news/local/la-me-ufw8jan08,0,6620187.story
From the Los Angeles Times

UFW: A BROKEN CONTRACT

Farmworkers Reap Little as Union Strays From Its Roots

The movement built by Cesar Chavez has failed to expand on its early successes organizing rural laborers. As their plight is used to attract donations that benefit others, services for those in the fi

By Miriam Pawel
Times Staff Writer

January 8, 2006

Red letters flash inside the famous black eagle, symbol of the United Farm Workers: "Donate," the blinking message urges, to carry on the dreams of Cesar Chavez.

Bannered on websites and spread by e-mail, the insistent appeals resonate with a generation that grew up boycotting grapes, swept up in Chavez's populist crusade to bring dignity and higher wages to farmworkers.

Thirty-five years after Chavez riveted the nation, the strikes and fasts are just history, the organizers who packed jails and prayed over produce in supermarket aisles are gone, their righteous pleas reduced to plaintive laments.

What remains is the name, the eagle and the trademark chant of "Sí se puede" ("Yes, it can be done") — a slogan that rings hollow as UFW leaders make excuses for their failure to organize California farmworkers.

Today, a Times investigation has found, Chavez's heirs run a web of tax-exempt organizations that exploit his legacy and invoke the harsh lives of farmworkers to raise millions of dollars in public and private money.

The money does little to improve the lives of California farmworkers, who still struggle with the most basic health and housing needs and try to get by on seasonal, minimum-wage jobs.

Most of the funds go to burnish the Chavez image and expand the family business, a multimillion-dollar enterprise with an annual payroll of $12 million that includes a dozen Chavez relatives.

The UFW is the linchpin of the Farm Worker Movement, a network of a dozen tax-exempt organizations that do business with one another, enrich friends and family, and focus on projects far from the fields: They build affordable housing in San Francisco and Albuquerque, own a top-ranked radio station in Phoenix, run a political campaign in support of an Indian casino and lobby for gay marriage.

The current UFW leaders have jettisoned other Chavez principles:

The UFW undercut another union to sign up construction workers, poaching on the turf of building trade unions that once were allies.

The UFW forfeited the right to boycott supermarkets and stores, a tactic Chavez pioneered, in order to sign up members in unrelated professions.

And Chavez's heirs broke with labor solidarity and hired nonunion workers to build the $3.2-million National Chavez Center around their founder's grave in the Tehachapi Mountains, a site they now market as a tourist attraction and rent out for weddings.

A few hundred miles away, in the canyons of Carlsbad north of San Diego, hundreds of farmworkers burrow into the hills each year, covering their shacks with leaves and branches to stay out of view of multimilliondollar homes. They live without drinking water, toilets, refrigeration. Fireworks and music from nearby Legoland pierce the nighttime skies.

In a larger camp a dozen miles to the south in Del Mar, farmworkers wash their clothes in a stream, bathe in the soapy water, then catch crayfish that they boil for dinner.

Scott Washburn was the last UFW organizer to work in the San Diego County camps; when he left in 1981, so did the food cooperative, armored trucks that cashed checks without charge, and doctors and English teachers who made regular visits.

"Man, it's sad down there," lamented UFW President Arturo Rodriguez, who has run the union since his father-in-law, Chavez, died in 1993.

Yet his union has done nothing to help.

In the fields, the only Cesar Chavez many farmworkers have heard of is the famous Mexican boxer. "I think right now it's one of those nice memories for the older people," Eliseo Medina, one of the most successful labor organizers in the country, said about the farmworker union he once helped lead. "It's just not the factor it should be, which is unfortunate. Because farmworkers desperately need a strong union."

Isai Rios has never heard of the UFW. At 17, Rios came to San Diego with his father from Oaxaca. They moved into the Carlsbad camp last spring to work in the strawberry fields across Cannon Road. Home is a shack made of plastic sheets tied to tomato stakes. The housing alternatives are overcrowded, costly and inconvenient — rented rooms in houses shared by as many as 30 people.

Each Sunday, church volunteers bring jugs of water, garbage bags, ramen noodles and toilet paper to the Carlsbad camp. A clearing just above the road serves as the meeting room, where Rios took Communion at the Wednesday evening Masses, listened to advocates explain basic rights such as overtime and breaks, and tried to learn simple English phrases from college students: "How are you?" and "I feel sick."

Fernando Bernadino is 33 and has a ninth-grade education, more than most of his co-workers in the Carlsbad camp. His Sunday routine is to pick up free Spanish-language papers while he does laundry in Oceanside, scrubbing hard at strawberry stains that won't wash out.

He is the kind of worker who in another era might have been recruited to organize for the UFW. He reminds others to clean up garbage so the city will not bother the camps. He cooks most of his meals on a propane stove and packs lunch so he isn't dependent on the lunch trucks. He seeks out people who can tell him of his rights, and he helps advise others. He is careful to use clean water for drinking and bathing, and examined the vitamin C content of juice drinks before picking mango punch during a recent shopping expedition.

He has a wife and three children at home in Oaxaca, and he is not proud of how he lives here. He has read about Cesar Chavez and considers him a great leader.

"If he were here," he said, "things would be different."

A Man and His Cause Capture a Nation's Attention

On the quintessential American holiday, July 4, 1969, the drawing of a boyish face with a shock of dark hair and faintly Indian features filled the cover of Time magazine: Cesar Chavez and his grape boycott had become a national cause.

The short, rather unassuming leader compensated for his flat speaking style with a flair for dramatic gestures: In the midst of a 25-day fast to emphasize nonviolence, Chavez shuffled weakly past television cameras up the escalator of the Kern County Courthouse to comply with a summons. Days later, he broke the fast with Sen. Robert F. Kennedy by his side.

By the summer of 1973, as striking farmworkers filled jails, walked picket lines and faced violent confrontations with Teamsters, Chavez presided over the first convention of the United Farm Workers of America. The preamble to the new constitution spoke eloquently of the need for the union and the determination of its founders:

"We, the Farm Workers of America, have tilled the soil, sown the seed and harvested the crops. We have provided food in abundance for the people in the cities, the nation and the world but have not had sufficient food for our own children.... And just as work on the land is arduous, so is the task of building a union. We pledge to struggle as long as it takes to reach our goals."

In 2002, Chavez's heirs excised the preamble.

In 2006, the UFW does not have a single contract in the table grape vineyards of the Central Valley where the union was born.

Nor does it have members in many other agricultural swaths of the state: The union Chavez built now represents a tiny fraction of the approximately 450,000 farmworkers laboring in California fields during peak seasons — probably fewer than 7,000.

Precise numbers have always been elusive in an industry dependent on transient, often undocumented workers. The physically grueling, minimum-wage work has historically been the bottom-of-the-rung job for the newest immigrants, today overwhelmingly undocumented Mexicans and, increasingly, indigenous people from the Mexican states of Oaxaca and Guerrero. Employers depend on the undocumented workers, who come north because it is so difficult to make a living back home.

Chavez publicized the oppressive conditions at a time when farmworkers lacked even toilets in the fields. Beginning with the Delano grape strike 40 years ago, the UFW combined picket lines with boycotts, sending farmworkers across the country to talk about their plight. They generated enormous public sympathy, and that translated into economic and political pressures that forced change.

Some gains have been lasting. Older farmworkers talk about learning that even without a union presence they could stand up for their rights. Laws brought farmworkers unemployment benefits, overtime, rest breaks and drinking water.

But the economic gains the UFW achieved have all but evaporated: In real dollars, the $6.75-an-hour minimum wage in California is less than what many farmworkers earned under UFW contracts in the 1980s.

Rodriguez, the UFW president, refused to release a list of contracts or even a number, saying some growers with union employees would face "peer pressure." He acknowledged there are not many contracts; estimates are between 20 and 30, including several outside California.

As the union lost contracts, the number of workers who qualify for UFW pensions or healthcare plummeted. Fewer than 3,000 farmworkers are covered by the union health plan during peak months, the plan administrator said. The pension plan has more than $100 million in assets, but pays pensions to only 2,411 retirees and has trouble finding more who qualify.

In 2002, assessing the bleak circumstances, the UFW board made a dramatic shift. It changed focus and chose to capitalize on the growing Latino population across the country. The board deleted all specific references in the UFW constitution to agricultural workers, including the preamble.

"Our overall goal is helping to improve the lot of 10 million Latinos by 2015. We're definitely going to go beyond farmworkers. What those industries are, how we do it, we don't know yet," Rodriguez said.

"We'll never leave our roots. We'll never abandon farmworkers by any means, or rural communities. But we certainly don't want to position the organization or the future of the organization to only be dependent on that. There are lots of needs out there that have to be met, and if we have the capacity to be able to do that, then shame on us if we don't."

More recently, as he attempts to leverage his union's position amid a split in the national labor movement, Rodriguez said he saw the UFW's role as organizing all "food-related" workers.

As part of the Latino strategy, the UFW signed up workers at a Bakersfield furniture store that subsequently went out of business and ran unsuccessful campaigns to represent hotel workers in Texas. UFW members today include Catholic parish workers in Brownsville, Texas, and workers who assemble prefabricated classrooms for a San Jose-based company.

After signing a contract to represent the assemblers, the UFW helped the company petition the state for a job-classification change that would have allowed the firm to pay lower wages on public jobs.

"I support the farmworkers trying to organize and make peoples' lives better, but when you cross the line and you start undermining other workers' wages, it's not acceptable," said Neil Struthers, head of the Santa Clara County building trades council, which successfully fought off the move. "They have more rights than we do to organize [farmworkers]. They're not organizing there. They're organizing whatever falls in their lap."

Other union leaders question the effectiveness of a pan-Latino approach.

"You're not going to build a union or a movement that way," said Medina, a farmworker who became a UFW leader in the 1970s and is now a national executive vice president with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). "You don't do it around ethnic lines. You do it around industries. I think what they're trying to do now is figure out where it's easier to maintain the institution."

Focus Is on Raising Money, Not Organizing in the Fields

On the wall of the cramped Santa Maria living room that doubles as his office, Pedro Lopez tacked a larger-than-life poster of Cesar Chavez.

"Every time I do things, I think of him," Lopez said.

But the young Oaxacan farmworker has no faith in the UFW.

In the summer of 1999, Lopez helped organize walkouts among Mixtec Indians in the strawberry fields of Santa Maria. He would drive his truck into the fields, climb on top and call workers out in roving strikes. With ripe berries rotting on the vines, startled strawberry growers quickly agreed to increase wages.

Lopez was fired from his job and blacklisted, but the strike only deepened his commitment to organizing. An elementary school graduate who left Mexico at 12, Lopez had only recently learned about Chavez. He called the UFW for help.

The union filed a complaint that successfully recovered back wages for Lopez and others. Then, at a meeting in Santa Maria, Lopez and others recall, UFW Secretary-Treasurer Tanis Ybarra pledged whatever support the workers needed to continue organizing — an office, telephones, a computer.

When Lopez and several leaders of the United Mixtec Farmworkers arrived a few weeks later at the UFW headquarters to work out the details, the story was different.

Anastacio Bautista, then vice president of the Mixtec group, was among those asked to wait outside while the UFW leaders talked to Lopez alone; they offered Lopez a job but said the union had no money to help his group organize in Santa Maria. And they asked for a decision on the spot. Ybarra recalls Lopez wanted a job; Lopez said he wanted organizing support but felt he needed at least a paycheck.

"Pedro abandoned us, but he had no other choice," Bautista said. "We lost faith. We didn't want to organize anymore."

Lopez worked for the UFW for six months but said it was difficult to generate interest in the union because it had not made good on the initial promises.

That did not stop the UFW from using the plight of Lopez's group to raise money.

"The United Mixtec Farmworkers turned to the United Farm Workers of America for help. Our goal is to restore rights and dignity to the Mixteco Indian farmworkers," a fundraising e-mail said. "Your gift of $25, $35 or even $50, would help provide legal and organizational support."

The UFW spent $940,000 last year on direct-mail fundraising appeals, its largest expense after salaries, according to tax returns. Donations account for almost one-third of the UFW's budget — more than $2 million a year — and consistently total more than member dues, which hover around $2 million.

Lopez never saw the letter about his own organization. Shown the fundraising appeal recently, he shook his head slowly. "That's not right," he said. "They didn't help.

"I believe they had the power to help, but they didn't want to. Why? I don't know. They want to do it the easy way. They want to come in when everything's already done. They don't want to spend any money."

California has the only law in the country that protects and regulates union representation for farmworkers, passed in 1975 to end the UFW's boycotts and strikes. But the law, which mandates quick elections if enough workers petition for them, is seldom used these days.

UFW leaders say the law is not enforced well enough to be effective in combating the power of employers, who have great control over workers' day-to-day lives.

"You really can't look a worker in the eye and say, 'If you stand with us, we have lawyers here who will protect you,' " said the UFW's chief counsel, Marcos Camacho.

Rather than making elections and contracts its primary focus, the UFW has concentrated on selling annual memberships for $40 a year to build grass-roots support. They remind workers that the laminated membership cards can be used for identification, something many undocumented workers lack.

Pedro Lopez is convinced that only contracts will protect the Santa Maria farmworkers. "Fear is the main problem," Lopez said. "But with a good guide, they'd lose the fear. When they get results, workers aren't scared."

In the garage of the small house where Lopez is raising five children, across from acres of vegetable fields, a handful of leaders of the United Mixtec Farmworkers meet each Saturday to strategize. They are not quite sure how to proceed, but they know they're on their own.

"The UFW says, 'Organize yourselves first,' "Lopez said. "People say, 'If we have to do that anyway, what do we need them for?' "

Social Services Funding for Farmworkers Goes Unspent

The goal of the Martin Luther King Farm Workers Fund could not have been clearer: The foundation was "irrevocably dedicated" in 1976 to providing healthcare, education and social services for farmworkers.

The UFW leaders were so committed that they made the MLK Fund a standard part of contracts: Employers had to pay a nickel per hour to fund "campesino centers" that would help navigate life outside the fields.

The money has not been spent on farmworkers in more than a decade.

For years, tax returns show the fund has had about $10 million, which sits accumulating interest. Each year, the board doles out a small percentage — the minimum required by law to maintain its tax-exempt status — to support the operations of the Farm Worker Movement.

In 1995, UFW leaders renamed the fund the Cesar E. Chavez Community Development Fund, said Paul Chavez, chairman of the foundation and Cesar's son.

The fund also lent money to help the National Farm Workers Service Center, a UFW affiliate, rehabilitate an apartment complex — in the hills of San Francisco, nowhere near the fields.

"It's the money that was paid for our work," protested Rosario Pelayo, a former UFW leader who picked grapes and vegetables for 20 years and is angry about what happened to payments the union negotiated as a benefit for workers.

When the UFW was focused on organizing farmworkers in the 1960s and 1970s, the union operated its own health clinics and credit union, and offered legal assistance, immigration counseling, social service referrals and income tax preparation.

Today one UFW affiliate, the Farmworker Institute for Leadership and Development, offers two English classes; although farmworkers attend for two hours each evening after work, the classes always have long

waiting lists.

Services that were once free are now offered for a price by UFW leaders who use their union credentials to help attract business. Camacho, the chief counsel, recently opened a law office in Glendale that specializes in immigration cases; he advertised for business with a full-page insert in the program at the 40th reunion of the UFW in September.

The UFW-affiliated radio station offers one weekly call-in show on health issues — hosted by a Bakersfield doctor who has paid the station rates as high as $300 an hour for the time.

The tasks of providing legal advice, immigration counsel and healthcare for farmworkers today falls largely to ad hoc coalitions of nonprofit groups and volunteers.

In the fields of northern San Diego County, medical care is a 28-year-old physician assistant in the North County Health Clinic van that comes by the largest camp every few months, with a driver who doubles as record-keeper and fills out the forms for those who can't write their own names. Blood and urine samples are taken, but it is often hard to find patients to give them the test results.

On a midsummer afternoon, farmworkers straggle back into the dusty Del Mar camp, arriving on foot, by bike, seven in a car. As the mobile van closes up at 5:30, the line out the door is almost as long as the 15 patients the medical staff treated during the two-hour visit.

Built by Nonunion Labor, Homes Not for Farmworkers

Over the last 15 years, the National Farm Workers Service Center has raised $230 million to buy or build more than 3,500 housing units for lower-income families in California, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.

Very few are for farmworkers.

Almost all have been built with nonunion labor.

"It's a tricky one," said Paul Chavez, who has run the charity since being tapped as president by his father in 1990. "We do the best we can. You should honor labor; you should help poor people."

Paul Chavez said that only by paying lower, nonunion wages can he hope to meet the Service Center's ambitious goal of housing 100,000 people in the next decade. The organization provides housing and services for lower-income families, who work mostly in service, retail and construction jobs.

In many places, Chavez said, it is difficult to find union contractors willing to bid on projects, though the Service Center does solicit bids.

That wasn't the problem in Bakersfield in November.

When the Service Center rejected a union roofing contractor's bid as too high, roofers union official Joe Guagliardo denounced it as a double standard, saying farmers use the same rationale to oppose the UFW.

"United Farm Workers Are Hypocrites — Shame," read the banner Guagliardo draped from his truck, which he parked outside UFW headquarters one weekend. The Service Center reversed itself and told the union its roofer would get the job on the Bakersfield apartment complex. "They didn't want my truck there," Guagliardo said. "Bad for business."

Rodriguez, the UFW president, said he was sympathetic to the Service Center's dilemma. "To me, we've got to serve the needs of poor people. That's what this organization is about," he said.

Like the Bakersfield project, most of the Service Center housing projects are not aimed at farmworkers, whose low salaries and intermittent work make them less desirable tenants.

Paul Chavez said he will probably follow a recommendation from a strategic retreat: Change the name of the National Farm Workers Service Center's housing arm to something without "Farm Workers" because it confuses people. "It's the same problem as Kentucky Fried Chicken," he said, referring to the fast-food chain's concern that its name would be incongruous when it launched a line of nonfried food. "So they call it KFC."

Seasonal work and low incomes make it difficult to finance farmworker housing projects without major subsidies, said Manuel Bernal, a housing expert Chavez brought in a few years ago to run the department.

"You don't have any continuous income to finance the mortgage. That's why we've basically stayed out of it," he said. "Second, even if you had the income, there's been a concern — more than a concern, a lesson learned — that farmworkers may not necessarily want to spend the money to live under our housing model because they'd rather save to send the money back home."

Decent, affordable housing is one of the most critical needs for farmworkers across California. The real estate boom has made sheds, garages, overcrowded apartments and shacks even more common accommodations.

A bargain in Salinas is a tiny one-bedroom apartment for a family of four in a 1950s labor camp with a board where the window should be and a hole in the roof. The tenant, who once organized her neighbors to protest poor conditions, is now afraid to complain for fear she would be evicted or the camp shut down; she could not find another place to live for the $450 a month she pays in rent.

In San Diego, a coalition of advocates, lawyers and religious leaders has been trying for years to work out a plan with the city of Carlsbad to build housing for farmworkers who live in shacks in the hills. So far, each proposal has been defeated by community opposition.

In the sprawling Del Mar camp where hundreds of farmworkers live at the height of the season, neighborhoods are defined by Mexican hometowns. The trees provide camouflage, hiding the shacks, while their branches double as closets. Frying pans, toothbrushes and plastic bags stuffed with clothes dangle from limbs.

One afternoon, three friends built a home from scrap lumber scavenged from construction sites; it took 10 minutes to cut one two-by-four because the handle kept coming off the ancient, rusted saw.

Jose Gonzalez, who lived in the camps when he first came from Oaxaca two decades ago, now works as a night manager at Rite Aid and spends his spare time trying to help more recent arrivals. He worries most about drinking water and pesticide contamination. "In jail we have criminals who have better living conditions," he said. "Why can't we do that with the hardworking people?"

Banking on the UFW Brand to Build Political Clout

In 1998, political consultant Richard Ross showed UFW leaders a statewide poll of Latino voters. The UFW ranked at the top as a name to trust.

"Richie just said, 'This is gold,' " UFW Political Director Giev Kashkooli recalled.

From then on, the union has been selling its brand.

In 1999, the union began running political campaigns as a business. Since 2000, the union and several related nonprofits have received close to $1 million from state campaign committees alone, a combination of civic donations and payments for election help.

Most unions contribute money to candidates; the UFW collects it instead. Most unions give money to their political action committees; the United Farm Workers PAC pays the union.

"We're unusual in that we actually get paid to run campaigns," Kashkooli said.

The UFW frequently works on campaigns in areas where it does not have members but ranks high in polls, such as Long Beach, and where candidates believe the affiliation will help their cause. They are often campaigns advised by Ross, a lobbyist who also works for the UFW.

In Calexico last spring, for example, the Viejas Indians paid the UFW $75,000 to run a campaign to win approval for a casino in the Imperial Valley city. Rodriguez sent letters urging support and enclosing a UFW pin with an eagle.

"I have a very soft spot for the union; it was kind of a blow to see that we were on opposite sides of the fence," said Mary Rangel-Ortega, an Imperial County educator who led the losing fight against the measure.

Politicians at all levels of office routinely contribute to the annual Chavez Foundation fundraising dinners, turn out for the walkathons and buy ads in the programs for the UFW conventions. Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa is featured prominently on the UFW website advertising "Sí se puede" wristbands.

Political clout has also helped the farmworker movement obtain public funds — more than $10 million in state money alone in recent years, not counting low-interest housing loans and tax credits.

"The union was able to help us build the political support for the funding," said Andres Irlando, who recently stepped down as president of the Chavez Foundation, which has been awarded more than $5 million in state grants to build a visitor center, memorial garden and retreat center around the UFW headquarters where Chavez lived and worked.

In 2002, the union used its political strength to achieve a major legislative victory, a law that imposes mandatory mediation if contract negotiations reach an impasse at a farm where the union has won an election to represent the workers. The UFW reported spending $241,432 on lobbying that year, money that paid for lobbyists and mass demonstrations to pressure then-Gov. Gray Davis to sign the bill — a 10-day march and chartered buses to bring supporters to the Capitol.

The UFW has invoked the law only once, although there are dozens of companies to which it could apply. Union officials said they are waiting to see if it withstands a court challenge.

Rodriguez, the union president, said politics has become an important part of the UFW's work. "We take the positive things that we've been blessed with — Cesar's image and the name and the reputation and the symbol of the black eagle — and we utilize that to empower Latinos," Rodriguez said. "We've not necessarily branded it that way, but others have branded this as a symbol for Latino empowerment."

That effort helps the entire labor movement, said John Wilhelm, president of the hospitality division of the labor union Unite Here: "I think that the moral authority of the farmworkers has never been questioned and I think that's of tremendous value at a time when the labor movement is not well regarded by lots of people in

society."

Rodriguez moves comfortably in the world of politics and power and was proud of his role in negotiating regulations to mitigate extreme heat stress last summer. The new rules were announced at a joint news conference with Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, after several farmworkers collapsed and died during unusually hot weather.

The heat-related deaths gave the UFW an organizing opportunity as well as a political one. Workers at Giumarra Vineyards, angered by the deaths and poor working conditions, had come to the union asking for help. The UFW attempted late last summer to win an election to represent the workers, in the heart of table grape country.

The night before the Sept. 1 vote, the union president was in Sacramento, hosting a fundraiser for the UFW Foundation. Formerly named the Farm Workers Health Group when it helped fund health services, the nonprofit organization now has no clear mission. Rodriguez, president of the board, said it might focus on immigration issues.

The invitations for the September fundraiser said contributions would go to a nonpartisan fund to help register farmworkers to vote, but Rodriguez described the purpose differently. He thanked the donors for their support and talked about using the money to fight for immigration reform. He mentioned the Giumarra vote and talked confidently about prevailing as he mingled with supporters. "Pray for us tonight because we have a big election tomorrow," he said.

The next day, in Sacramento, a gay-marriage bill passed the Senate. Sponsors attributed key votes to public support from the UFW and the union's aggressive lobbying of Latino lawmakers. While the legislators were approving gay marriage, farmworkers at the country's largest table grape company were rejecting the UFW.

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About This Series

Today: The UFW betrays its legacy as farmworkers struggle.

Monday: The family business: Insiders benefit amid a complex web of charities.

Tuesday: The roots of today's problems go back three decades.

Wednesday: A UFW success story — but not in the fields.

On the Web

For additional photos, visit latimes.com/ufw.

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(BEGIN TEXT OF INFOBOX)

UFW budget

The UFW is an unusual union for its reliance on donations, which have grown in importance as the number of its labor contracts has declined. Dues, 2% of workers' wages, once made up as much as two-thirds of the total

revenue.

Total revenues

1971: $1.85 million

Initial wave of contracts that followed grape boycott.

Dues 60%

Donations 24%

Other 16%

1978: $2.43 million

UFW grew after the 1975 Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which allowed farmworker union elections.

Dues 61%

Donations 20%

Other 19%

1982: $4.53 million

Peak in dues reflects wage increases after a 1979 vegetable strike.

Dues 66%

Donations 6%

Other 28%

2004*: $6.64 million

Dues have declined, reflecting about 20 to 30 contracts. UFW officials won't say how many.

Dues 31%

Donations 35%

Other 34%

-

2004 budget breakdown

Expenses total: $7,216,385

Officers' compensation	$548,094
Other payroll	2,406,984
Professional fees (legal, accounting, consulting)	1,027,481
Direct mail (fundraising)	819,249
Travel/vehicle	395,275
Rent	310,961
Telephone	225,805
Affiliation with AFL-CIO	163,996
Conferences	144,372
Postage	96,370
Other	1,077,798

Revenues total: $6,638,239

Donations	$2,295,943
Dues	2,074,575
AFL-CIO organizing support	693,000
Services**	535,766
Fees***	444,446
Sale of supplies	210,368
Sale of real estate	197,000
Events	92,034
Supporting memberships	47,376
Other	47,731

Net assets: $1,523,066

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* Most recent data available

** Payments from other nonprofits in the movement for services such as accounting, human resources and technical support.

*** Includes payments for running political campaigns and for member services provided to the pension and health funds.

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Source: Annual Form LM2 reports to the U.S. Department of Labor. Graphics reporting by Miriam Pawel

January 10, 2006 latimes.com : California

UFW: A BROKEN CONTRACT

Decisions of Long Ago Shape the Union Today

■ In the late 1970s Cesar Chavez grew intent on keeping control. He crushed dissent, turned against friends, purged staff and sought a new course.

By Miriam Pawel, Times Staff Writer

In the winter of 1977, at the height of his union's power, Cesar Chavez summoned the leaders of the United Farm Workers to a mountain retreat in the Sierra foothills. They found themselves in an ultra-clean compound where recovering drug addicts with shaved heads wandered the grounds dressed in uniform overalls.

The purpose soon became clear: Charles Dederich, the flamboyant founder of Synanon, welcomed his guests to the rehabilitation facility and explained the rules of the Game, a therapy designed for drug addicts. A dozen players would gang up on each other, "indicting" a participant for bad behavior by hurling abusive and often profane invective.

The UFW board members had arrived expecting to hash out a new strategic plan after a string of victories, including a pact to keep the rival Teamsters union out of the fields. Instead, they found themselves in the Game room, where some observed from elevated seats as others accepted a challenge to play in the recessed pit.

In retrospect, some UFW leaders came to view the Synanon meeting as a watershed, the first clear signal that Chavez had veered off course and shifted his focus away from organizing farmworkers.

"We were so close," said Eliseo Medina, one of the UFW's top organizers and a board member until 1978. "And then it began to fall apart.... At the time we were having our greatest success, Cesar got sidetracked. Cesar was more interested in leading a social movement than a union per se."

The story of Chavez's erratic leadership during a pivotal period emerged in bits and pieces at the time but has not been fully told before. Many who left the UFW were for a long time reluctant to discuss the union for fear of harming an institution and cause they still believe in deeply. Today, an extensive review of historical letters, minutes, memos and tapes of meetings, along with scores of interviews with participants, paints the first detailed portrait of a critical and turbulent time.

The decisions Chavez made a quarter of a century ago shaped the union and Farm Worker Movement today, turning it away from the core mission of organizing farmworkers. His actions drove out a generation of talented labor leaders; he replaced them with handpicked loyalists — including many of the people now running the organization. He quashed dissent and increased his control just as the union's growth made that more problematic.

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He became increasingly concerned with traitors, spoke of malignant forces and publicly purged the young and old. He turned on proteges, some of his earliest supporters and close friends. His actions so baffled them that many years later they still seek explanations.

For a decade, he had been an internationally acclaimed, visionary leader, a brilliant strategist who inspired dozens of talented people to follow him. He had built a volunteer movement that galvanized public support to change the lives of farmworkers, bringing them dignity as well as higher wages. In California, he had pushed through the only law in the country that gives farmworkers the right to vote for union representation — establishing a legal framework that the UFW had been quick to exploit, winning dozens of elections and contracts.

As the UFW board gathered in February 1977 at the Synanon campus, there was a moment of opportunity to solidify those gains. Instead, Chavez became focused on building a community at the UFW's rambling headquarters in the Tehachapi Mountains. He railed about inefficiency, obsessing about the cost of telephone bills or questioning a $7.20 brake repair bill. He led committees that discussed celebrating movement anniversaries instead of birthdays. He studied mind healing and practiced curing illness by laying on hands.

For more than a year, Chavez required staff members to drive as much as five hours every weekend to La Paz, the union's headquarters, to play the Game.

"Cesar was struggling with disloyalty within the ranks. Dederich says: 'This is how you deal with it.' The Game came to La Paz for control," said Chris Hartmire, a close Chavez aide who became the "game master" at La Paz, setting up the encounters.

Disciples said Chavez's eclectic interests and commitment to a movement were fundamental to his vision. "When people would accuse him of not being a union guy, he kind of took pride in that," said his son, Paul Chavez, who has carried on the social entrepreneur legacy by building affordable housing.

Said Marc Grossman, a Chavez public relations aide for many years and still the UFW spokesman: "He took as much personal satisfaction in converting someone to vegetarianism as to trade unionism. He really did."

Dolores Huerta, co-founder of the UFW, said in an interview that Chavez's brilliance was often misunderstood, and that during the turbulent years of the late 1970s he acted to defend the movement he built when it was under attack from insiders who thought they could run the union better. "It's very hard to build an organization, but it's very easy to unravel," she said.

Whether Chavez initiated the changes or responded defensively, the net result was the same. By 1982, he had driven out dissenting voices on the board, among the staff and in the fields. Key staff and architects of the union's early success were gone, along with the next generation of leaders in the fields. The UFW never regained the same momentum as a labor union for farmworkers.

1977: The Purges

In December 1976, Nick Jones, a longtime left-leaning volunteer who had been directing the UFW boycott, was accused by Chavez of masterminding a communist conspiracy to bring down the union. "I was flabbergasted," said Jones. "It demoralized me more than anything else in my whole life."

Jones quit, his abrupt departure triggering protests from around the country. The boycott had been a powerful weapon for the union, publicizing the harsh conditions for farmworkers and exerting pressure on companies to sign contracts. A mix of volunteers, students and farmworkers, the boycotters were a close-knit group. Many moved from city to city, and Jones was a well-known and liked leader.

"An atmosphere of suspicion has developed, in which preposterous accusations can be made and acted upon indiscriminately. People have been fired on the basis of flimsy charges against them," the Seattle boycott staff wrote to Chavez, one of many letters that demanded either an explanation or an apology.

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Decisions of Long Ago Shape the Union Today

The response was one that would be offered repeatedly in the coming years: Cesar knows things you don't, and he is protecting the union. Hartmire, a much beloved Chavez confidant and Presbyterian minister, became the official apologist, and his reassurances kept many staff members in the fold.

"People would go to Chris and say, 'I don't know about this,' and he would say, 'I know it seems that way, but you don't see the whole picture; Cesar does,' " said Ellen Eggers, who worked as a lawyer for the UFW.

In meetings and memos, Chavez stressed the need to foster community at La Paz, the isolated former tuberculosis sanatorium east of Bakersfield where he had moved the union in 1971. Chavez urged a greater role for children who had grown up in the movement and understood its values. He criticized board members for tolerating bad and subversive behavior because they were desperate for staff. He brought in management consultants and tried to find the ideal structure.

"The big problem we face is we haven't made up our minds what kind of union we want to be. Or if we're going to be a union," he told a group of staff after they had played the Game.

At a community meeting on April 4, 1977, that became known as the "Monday night massacre," volunteers were viciously attacked and expelled for sins ranging from smoking pot to betraying the union. "It was planned, and it was brutal," said Larry Tramutola, then a high-ranking union leader who participated in the denunciations.

Deirdre Godfrey was one of those expelled; she described in a letter to the executive board how security guards followed and threatened her that evening when she made a call to find a place to live: "I have never spent such a fearful night.... I shall never forget the frenzied, hate-filled faces and voices of people who had been warm and friendly with me right through to the hour of the meeting."

Over the next year, Chavez continued to denounce popular workers as communist infiltrators. A volunteer in her 70s was turned out with no place to live. In the middle of a wedding reception, Chavez vilified a young woman who had lived in his house as a teenager, ordering her thrown off the grounds just weeks after she had successfully negotiated a contract.

Huerta said it was a time when security had become a major concern in the loose-knit organization, after Chavez received death threats. "If Cesar was a little paranoid, there's a reason for it," she said.

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Decisions of Long Ago Shape the Union Today

"He was my idol," said Salvador Bustamante, a farmworker who wrote a poem about Cohen after watching him negotiate with growers. "I loved seeing him deal with them, avenging every affront they ever did to me."

Cohen had helped craft many of the union's early victories, from the law protecting union activity in the fields to the pact keeping Teamsters out. The legal department was in Salinas because he refused to live in La Paz.

Cohen had thought Chavez was comfortable with that decision, which placed the lawyers closer to many courts, though distant from union headquarters. But at the Synanon meeting, Cohen discovered otherwise: The lawyer got "Gamed" about why he abandoned his friend Cesar and moved to Salinas.

In an organization where most staff were volunteers, paid $5 a week plus free room and board, UFW lawyers had special status: They earned about $600 a month. In the spring of 1978, each lawyer asked for a $400-a-month raise.

Chavez seized on the requests and turned them into a referendum on the larger issue of whether the union would have paid staff. He painted the lawyers as greedy and unwilling to sacrifice like everyone else and said acceding to their demand would be a prelude to destroying the volunteer organization. He asked the board to vote in support of the status quo, effectively dismantling the legal operation.

Cohen and Ganz countered that a stable of professionals who could afford to stick with the union was critical, particularly as the contracts in Salinas were expiring. The debate was so heated the executive board adjourned for 10 days. Chavez eventually won by one vote, and most of the lawyers left soon after, replaced by a smaller operation at La Paz.

"It wasn't about money; it was about control," said Cohen, who resigned as chief counsel but stayed during a transition.

To Medina, the vote was one more sign the UFW was headed in the wrong direction. A farmworker who had risen quickly to a leadership position, Medina was widely viewed in the fields and among staff as the logical successor to Chavez. But Medina had been unhappy for months. "We sort of had become focused on everything except going out and organizing farmworkers," he said.

Organizing was what he excelled at: In the three months he had run the department, Medina reported at the June board meeting, the UFW had won 13 elections and gained 3,030 members.

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ABOUT

Quotes and minutes, m during the UFW archi University i

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ACTIVI

Cesar Ch campaign and respe history of

1962: Cha Farm Wor

1965: Firs Central V

1966: Cha mile marc

1967: Firs

1968: Cha broken wi

1970: Cer pressure Lettuce ar growers s

Just three months later, Arturo Rodriguez, who has since become UFW president, gave a very different report: He told the board that organizing prospects were grim.

Asked what it would take to win elections, according to minutes from the meeting: "Brother Artie responded that he wasn't really sure.... Brother Cesar said he doesn't think we can do very much about organizing right now."

The last item on the September agenda was Medina's resignation. Ganz, though more a competitor than a friend, argued that the board should not accept it. Chavez made no attempt to sway Medina.

"That removed the one credible alternative to Cesar," Ganz said. "It changed the dynamic."

1979: The Strike

Salvador Bustamante, known as Chava, had followed his older brother, Mario, who had followed their father from Mexico into the fields of Southern California and then into the union hall. In the winter and early spring, they picked lettuce in the Imperial Valley, the southeast corner of California along the Mexican border, then followed the harvest north to Salinas when the weather turned too hot in the desert.

Mario the firebrand and Chava the poet became union leaders, each elected to represent workers at his company.

"The union taught us not to be afraid," Mario Bustamante said. "Before we became part of the union, we were afraid of the law, the police, the growers."

The early successes were basic: an eight-hour day instead of harvest hours that began by the lights of trucks at 4:30 a.m. and ended when darkness fell at 9 p.m.

"That was one of the main advantages of having a union, to be able to put a limit on what the grower demanded," Chava Bustamante said.

Such victories helped them win converts. "We were really able to instill faith in people. Not just hope: faith," he said. "Our faith in the union."

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<< back 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 next >>
Single page

MOST E-I

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TOP OF TI

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Columns
Education
Food
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Highway 1
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Outdoors

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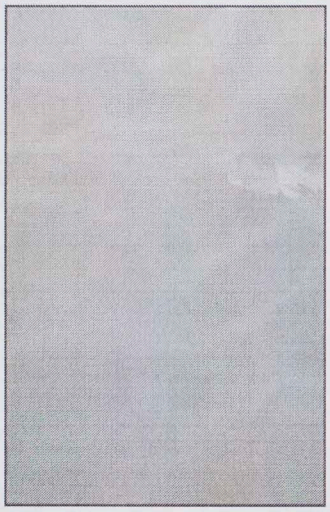
Decisions of Long Ago Shape the Union Today

When the UFW launched what would be its last major strike in early 1979, the Bustamante brothers were part of the core group that helped Ganz run the action.

At first the strike was successful. Then, on Feb. 10, a striker named Rufino Contreras went into the fields to chase out strikebreakers and was shot and killed. Amid mourning and recrimination, acrimony escalated among UFW leaders.



By March, Chavez called a special meeting because executive board members were barely speaking to one another. He had only one suggestion: "We have to play the Game, clean ourselves up."

Others, including his brother Richard, denounced the Game as destructive and doubted it would solve anything.

"I know it can," Chavez responded. "I don't know of any other thing; I don't."

Those who badmouthed the Game, especially Ganz, were undermining an unpleasant but useful tool, Chavez said: "Some people are afraid of being told things they're guilty of. Some are willing to take it for the goddamn cause and some are not."

The strike moved north into the Salinas Valley, following the harvest.

Ganz was stalling workers who wanted to expand the strike and stalling Chavez, who was pushing to end it. Workers devised slowdowns that varied from day to day: Plan Tortuga (turtle), go extra slow; Plan Canguro (kangaroo), skip over rows.

On the eve of the UFW's convention in Salinas on Aug. 11, more than 6,000 farmworkers and supporters marching from two directions converged at a rally where Chavez and Gov. Jerry Brown gave fiery speeches and talked about a general strike.

In fact, Chavez had come to Salinas intent on shifting the union's resources into a national boycott. At a secret meeting that night, he explained to the workers' leaders that the UFW could not afford a strike.

"The union is broke. We've spent $2.8 million on this strike," Chavez said. A boycott would increase pressure. "It takes more time, but it is easier to win. It is a sure win. In a general strike you aren't as sure you will win."

The farmworkers didn't buy it. One by one, for more than 90 minutes, they articulated reasons to strike. If they were

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ABOUT

Quotes an minutes, m during the UFW archi University i

PART ON farmwork

PART TW amid a cc

PART TH back thre

PART FO fields.

ACTIVI

Cesar Ch campaign and respe history of

1962: Ch Farm Wor

1965: Firs Central V

1966: Ch mile marc

1967: Firs

1968: Ch broken wi

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sent to boycott, they would lose their jobs and seniority. Workers had been eager to strike for months. If there was money to support a boycott, why not for the strike that workers were demanding?

"If we don't do it, the high morale and all the desire they have had for so long to go on strike … that morale will fall to the ground," Chava Bustamante told Chavez. "We have to make a decision that we will have to live with forever."

Workers who had been on strike for seven months would feel abandoned, his brother Mario said: "And with that, the faith and spirit that everyone had in us will be lost."

Ganz ended the meeting after midnight, saying everyone was tired. The convention would endorse a boycott and a strike, concealing the dissension, and the group would reconvene. They never met with Chavez again.

"I think it was the worst thing you could do to a leader like him," said Sabino Lopez, another farmworker who attended the meeting. " … To say, 'Sorry, boss, we're not going to boycott.' "

Within days, more workers went out on strike, without benefits. Chavez called a meeting at La Paz to plan the boycott; Ganz was running the strike and refused to go. The two did not speak for weeks.

"I didn't feel I was part of the union leadership," Ganz said.

Unusually hot weather accelerated the harvest and increased the pressure on growers, who began to settle on terms union leaders had only dreamt about: wages starting at $5 per hour, significant medical benefits and paid union representatives.

Chavez hailed the victories but shunned the celebration at a Salinas hotel. "We had the growers lined up at the Towne House, waiting to sign, and Cesar wouldn't come," recalled Cohen, the lawyer who handled negotiations.

CONTINUED
<< back 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 next >>
Single page

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Columns
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Food
Health
Highway 1
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Outdoors

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Teamsters
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1975: Agri
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Union repr
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1977: UFV
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1979: Lett
Salinas va
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State Ord
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TOP OF TI

SIGN UP

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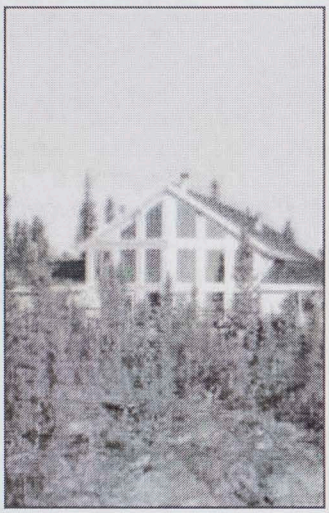
Decisions of Long Ago Shape the Union Today

Back in La Paz, there was a different celebration around the same time. A class of farmworkers had completed a 10-week English course. More than a hundred friends, family and residents of La Paz gathered for graduation and applauded a student slide show that concluded: "The union is not Cesar Chavez. The union is the workers."

Minutes later, graduates and guests sat down to a celebratory lunch. Dolores Huerta rose and attacked the teacher, demanding to know who had put the students up to voicing such heresy.



The lunch was over before it began. Chavez fired two teachers later that day.

1980: The Paid Reps

The farmworker leaders had gathered at La Paz in May to discuss their new jobs when a jubilant young lawyer burst into the classroom to tell Cesar Chavez her good news: She had passed the bar.

Like many, Ellen Eggers had become hooked on the UFW after working as a boycott volunteer during college. By the time she graduated from law school, the legal department she knew had been dismantled. Sorry to miss working for Cohen, Eggers was nonetheless happy to move to La Paz and work for the usual $5 per week.

Chavez interrupted the meeting and introduced Eggers to the farmworkers who had recently been elected as paid representatives. They gave her a round of applause.

Mario Bustamante and Sabino Lopez were among the dozen elected by their peers to work as full-time union representatives, paid by the growers to work for the UFW — in effect, the only UFW staff who earned salaries.

"They were the future," Eliseo Medina said. "They were outstanding leaders."

The paid reps, as they were known, worked closely with Ganz, who had nurtured their leadership through the strike. They tackled grievances against the companies and the union bureaucracy. They struggled to explain to workers that they had responsibilities as well as rights. They harassed La Paz about medical claims paid so slowly that workers were getting dunned by collection agencies. And they helped organize other workers, believing that was essential to protect the financial stability of companies that paid union wages.

After wildcat strikes began in the garlic fields of Gilroy, the paid reps won an unlikely ally.

Tramutola had worked for the UFW for 11 years and considered himself a loyalist. He knew others viewed him that

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ABOUT

Quotes and minutes, m during the UFW archi University i

PART ON farmwork

PART TW amid a cc

PART TH back thre

PART FO fields.

ACTIVI

Cesar Cha campaign and respe history of

1962: Cha Farm Wor

1965: Firs Central Va

1966: Cha mile marc

1967: Firs

1968: Cha broken wi

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way, some with suspicion because of his role in carrying out purges. He was wary of the paid reps, with their penchant for independence and their Salinas power base, until he saw them organize elections that summer.

"Knowing it worked totally changed my perspective," he said. "They were the real deal. Their loyalty to Cesar was as great as anyone. It was working the way we had always hoped."

When Tramutola was summoned to La Paz at the end of the season, he drove confidently in the union's trademark Valiant, expecting to be quizzed about the election victories.

"In a second, I realized my time had come," Tramutola said. "Cesar had a way of pursing his lips when he was angry. He looked at me and said, 'Who are you working for?' He said, 'Are you taking your orders from Moscow? Only I will call elections.' I said, 'With all due respect, workers have the right to call for elections.' "

Tramutola resigned. He told others he did not want to be caught between Chavez and Ganz.

As questions about loyalty increased, so did forced resignations.

Gilbert Padilla had worked with Chavez and Huerta even before they formed the first farmworkers association back in 1962. A diplomat dubbed the Silver Fox, he had a gift for mimicry and making people laugh that served him well in negotiating compromises between workers and employers.

For some time, Padilla had found the changes in his longtime friend and mentor so puzzling that he asked others if they thought Chavez had gone crazy. Padilla was particularly outraged when Chavez scrapped plans for a clinic and service center in the Central Valley city of Parlier and turned the site over to a builder to make money jointly by selling houses.

"I knew Cesar was the man, *el jefe*, but I didn't think the movement belonged to him," said Padilla, who resigned as secretary/treasurer. "I thought it belonged to the workers."

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CONTINUED
<< back 1 2 3 4 **5** 6 7 8 next >>
Single page

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Highway 1
Home
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Decisions of Long Ago Shape the Union Today

1981: The Confrontation

The farmworker leaders in Salinas who had faced off politely against Chavez two years earlier when he tried to curtail the strike no longer trusted the leadership in La Paz. The feeling was mutual.

As the UFW convention approached, the challenge became more direct: The Salinas leaders decided to run candidates for the board. "There were no farmworkers on the board," Mario Bustamante said. "There was a need for someone to be on the board who understood the problems in the field."

They turned to Rosario Pelayo, a proud and fiercely determined farmworker with a warm smile and shy manner. Born in Mexico, she had worked in the fields since she was 8 and had followed her husband to California. She gave birth to 13 children, eight of whom survived, and began to volunteer with the UFW after the last was born in 1970. By 1973 she was getting arrested, by 1975 she was hosting Chavez at her home in the Imperial Valley, by 1977 she was president of the workers at her ranch.

"You always thought about the future of your children," she said, recalling days that began at 2 a.m. with leafleting buses that workers took to the fields and ended with late-night organizing sessions. "You didn't want what happened to you to happen to them."

The campaign for the UFW board was as fierce and ugly as the elections between the union and the growers. Chavez dispatched board members, who spent almost $5,000 campaigning against the insurgents, painting them as dangerous radicals trying to depose Chavez at the behest of Ganz and Cohen. Both had left the union months before.

Huerta had often found fault with Ganz but had been unable earlier to shake Chavez's confidence in his trusted aide. Then and now, she accused him of masterminding the Salinas insurgents' campaign, a charge Ganz and the workers reject as patronizing and untrue.

"They were good organizers," Huerta said about the paid reps, arguing they were manipulated by Ganz, who thought he should run the union.

On Sept. 5, Chavez opened the Fresno convention with a speech about "malignant forces" and then pulled off a parliamentary maneuver that effectively precluded a contested election for the board seats.

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ABOUT

Quotes and minutes, m during the UFW archi University i

PART ON farmwork

PART TW amid a cc

PART TH back thre

PART FO fields.

ACTIVI

Cesar Ch campaign and respe history of

1962: Cha Farm Wor

1965: Firs Central Va

1966: Cha mile marc

1967: Firs

1968: Cha broken wi

1970: Cer pressure f Lettuce ar growers s

About 50 of the Salinas delegates walked out in protest. Chavez allies passed out leaflets calling the insurgents communists. Mario Bustamante broke the staff of his union flag in two.

The next day, Doug Adair, a grape picker and delegate from Coachella, rose to speak when Chavez asked for nominations.

Adair was working in the fields when he joined the UFW the day before the 1965 Delano grape strike began. He was a striker, a picketer, an aide in the legal office and an editor of the newspaper before returning to work at a Coachella vineyard. Pelayo had worked there, as had her sister. Adair liked her, and he thought the board needed someone who understood the workers' problems and was willing to challenge Chavez.

"At that point, there was nobody on the board to disagree with him," Adair said. "There was no connection between La Paz and the members in the field."

Adair nominated Pelayo, but was ruled out of order because she had walked out the day before.

After the convention came the repercussions.

Adair's wife was fired from her job as a nurse at the union-run health clinic. She was told, she said, that she was fired for "being married to the traitor."

In Hollister, Cesar's son Paul led picketing of the office of a legal assistance agency where Chava Bustamante worked.

"They'd come out to the fields and attack me and my friends," Pelayo said. She returned to the Imperial Valley, never worked in the fields again and tried to shut out news of the union. "I didn't want to know anything. It was great pain."

In Salinas, Huerta led a campaign to unseat Mario Bustamante, who had served as president of the union workers at his company for seven years, and the other dissident leaders. When the workers stood by their elected representatives, Chavez fired them.

"They accused me of being a spy, being with the growers," said Sabino Lopez. "I refused jobs with growers. I didn't want to allow them to make the point. At the end, nobody wanted me. The union didn't want me, the growers didn't want me."

CONTINUED
<< back 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 next >>
Single page

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TOP OF TI

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Bustamante, Lopez and seven others sued, charging Chavez had fired them illegally because they were elected by the workers. Chavez countered with a $25-million libel suit.

The task of defending the UFW and its president fell to Ellen Eggers. She agonized. She convinced herself that Ganz was masterminding the plot, though she had doubts.

"I felt horrible," Eggers said. "Here were these farmworkers who had assumed leadership positions, paid by the growers. Everyone had high hopes for them. And I was defending the guy who fired them."

A decade later, Eggers would seek out Bustamante to apologize.

In 1982, a judge concluded that Chavez had acted illegally, because the reps were elected and not appointed. The victory was pyrrhic, since the contracts were expiring and many had lost their jobs.

Today Mario Bustamante runs a small taxi company in Calexico. He and Pelayo were recently denied UFW pensions because they fell short the necessary hours in their final year, after the fight occurred.

Chava Bustamante is a union leader again, the 1st vice president of a Service Employees International Union local representing California janitors and security guards.

Lopez still helps farmworkers in Salinas, as deputy at a nonprofit agency that finds housing solutions; he recently became the first farmworker on the board of the John Steinbeck Center.

"I'm part of the union. We did great things together," Lopez said. The UFW experience, he said, transformed him from a shy immigrant with an elementary school education into a community leader. "No matter what happened, we're part of the movement. We're part of history. The union missed a really great opportunity to have farmworker leadership on top. There were really good people."

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ABOUT

Quotes an minutes, m during the UFW archi University i

PART ON farmwork

PART TW amid a cc

PART TH back thre

PART FO fields.

ACTIVI

Cesar Ch campaign and respe history of

1962: Ch Farm Wor

1965: Firs Central V

1966: Ch mile marc

1967: Firs

1968: Ch broken wi

1970: Cer pressure Lettuce ar growers s

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Activism timeline

Cesar Chavez rose to national prominence through his campaign to win higher wages, better working conditions and respect for farmworkers. Here are key points in the history of this movement:

1962: Chavez forms precursor to UFW, the National Farm Workers Assn.

1965: First grape strike starts in Delano and spreads in Central Valley.

1966: Chavez leads thousands of farmworkers on 340-mile march from Delano to Sacramento.

1967: First national grape boycott begins.

1968: Chavez's first fast, to promote nonviolence. Fast broken with U.S. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

1970: Central Valley table grape growers, under pressure from boycott's success, agree to sign contracts. Lettuce and vegetable strike starts in Salinas Valley after growers sign Teamsters contracts.

1973: Table grape growers also sign contracts with Teamsters, costing UFW most of its members. Strikes, violence, second national grape boycott follow; UFW, now part of AFL-CIO, drafts its first constitution.

1973: Tab
Teamsters
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1975: Agri
combined
Union repr
17 million

1977: UFW
try to orga

1979: Lett
Salinas va
wage incr

1984: Thir
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1988: Cha
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TOP OF TI

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CONTINUED
<< back 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 **next >>**
Single page

January 10, 2006 latimes.com : California

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Decisions of Long Ago Shape the Union Today

1975: Agricultural Labor Relations Act signed, due to combined pressure of boycott, strikes, other protests. Union representation elections begin; Harris Poll reports 17 million Americans boycotting grapes in early 1970s.

1977: UFW signs pact in which Teamsters agree not to try to organize farmworkers.

1979: Lettuce and vegetable strikes start in Imperial, then Salinas valleys. By fall, UFW signs contracts with record wage increases, 50% over three years.

1984: Third grape boycott starts, focused on pesticide use; has little effect and ends in 2000.

1988: Chavez engages in final fast, tied to pesticide boycott.

1993: Chavez dies; son-in-law Arturo Rodriguez takes over union.

Sources: Times reporting

Los Angeles Times

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About This Series

Quotes and historical references are drawn from letters, board minutes, memos and statements and tape recordings made during the 1970s and 1980s. The material is housed in the UFW archives at the Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University in Detroit.

Sunday: The UFW betrays its legacy as farmworkers struggle.

Monday: The family business: Insiders benefit amid a complex web of charities.

Today: The roots of today's problems go back three decades.

Wednesday: A UFW success story — but not in the fields.

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ABOUT

Quotes and minutes, m during the UFW archi University i

PART ON farmwork

PART TW amid a cc

PART TH back thre

PART FO fields.

ACTIVI

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1966: Cha mile marc

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1968: Cha broken wi

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Former Chavez Ally Took His Own Path

■ Where Eliseo Medina has gone, unions have grown. His successes in organizing immigrants show what farmworkers lost -- but can find again, he believes.

By Miriam Pawel, Times Staff Writer

At 21, the farmworker from Delano with an eighth-grade education hopped an airplane for the first time, with $20, a bag of UFW buttons to sell and the name of a Chicago postal worker loyal to the union cause.

The kid from the tiny town in the Central Valley who landed on John Armendariz's doorstep in 1967 was totally green — amazed at the city traffic, baffled by Chicago's El and faced with a daunting task: Get supermarkets to stop selling grapes.

Armendariz had watched his five children grapple with fear in different ways, and he wondered how Eliseo Medina would cope, without even winter clothes.

"His were real fears," Armendariz said. "How do you introduce yourself? How do you talk to people? He did an amazing job of controlling that."

Drawing on the kindness of strangers, his charm and his wits, Medina built a boycott operation that kept grapes out of a major Midwest supermarket chain, helping force California growers to negotiate the first contracts with the UFW.

Today the trademark smile that lights up his whole face is unchanged, but the scared kid has grown into a graying giant of the labor movement. He has helped orchestrate labor's rise in Southern California, has become a key player in the national immigration debate and now oversees locals in 17 states as executive vice president of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU).

If not for Cesar Chavez, Medina might still be in Delano, picking grapes and shooting pool at People's bar. Instead, he is the preeminent example of a generation of activists nurtured by the UFW and its founders.

But Medina is organizing janitors and healthcare workers, not farmworkers. His life illustrates another part of the Chavez legacy: The UFW founder drove out many of the union's most committed labor leaders, who quit the fields and turned their talents to other causes.

Medina was once the obvious heir apparent to Chavez. Even in his youth, he displayed a similar charismatic appeal and tactical brilliance.

"He would have been president if he'd stayed," said Dolores Huerta, co-founder of the union.

In August 1978, Medina resigned as a vice president of the UFW, frustrated by Chavez's insistence on an all-volunteer staff and his reluctance to give workers greater power. "At a time when we should have been focused on consolidating and building the union, we got involved in a lot of things that drew attention from what I felt was our priority mission," Medina said.

Chavez, Medina concluded, was caught up in the idea of creating a poor people's movement.

"My interest was building a farmworkers union," Medina said. "The goal was not building a farmworkers movement per se. It created a lot of tension."

Medina's success in the intervening years has proved a union can negotiate better wages and working conditions for undocumented immigrants — a stark counterpoint to the excuses offered by the current leaders of the UFW to justify their failures.

Around Delano, the farming town where the UFW began, people still ask when Medina is coming back. His older sister hears it all the time.

Consuelo Nuño lives in the house where she and Medina grew up. At 63, she works in a vineyard six days a week. Her wages went up a quarter when labor was scarce last summer, to $7 an hour, and the bonus for every full box of grapes is 2 cents more than it was four decades ago when she joined the UFW's first historic grape strike.

Bleak numbers like those encourage some friends to hope Medina might return to tackle the unfinished cause that launched his career. A split in the national labor movement this summer heightened such speculation.

SEIU led several unions that left the AFL-CIO and formed a new coalition, vowing to put more resources into organizing workers. The UFW has joined the coalition, and two other unions in the group have contracts with farmworkers; whether they will join forces remains unclear.

Medina voices enthusiasm for a coordinated campaign to organize farmworkers, but demurs about his own role. "There needs to be a farmworkers union," he said. "I hope that will come out of this. It's certainly going to happen in every other occupation. Why should agriculture be any different?"

From Huanusco to Chicago

The leaders of Huanusco recently commissioned a statue to honor the generations of emigrants who have left the small Mexican town in Zacatecas and traveled north. They are dedicating it to the town's favorite son, Eliseo Vasquez Medina.

He was born there almost 60 years ago, the son of a bracero who worked in the California fields under the guest worker program. At 10, Eliseo moved to Delano, after spending almost two years in Tijuana waiting for permission because his mother insisted on obtaining legal entry. Eliseo entered fourth grade speaking no English; his mother and two older sisters went to work in the Central Valley fields.

Eliseo joined them there full time after eighth grade. He was skilled at trimming grape vines so they would grow out the right way, not in a clump that would be difficult to pick, but so bad at picking tomatoes just when they showed a touch of red that people thought he was colorblind.

Conditions in the fields were difficult; there were no toilets or drinking water, and often workers would have to camp out in front of the grower's office all day Saturday to get paid for the week.

"We all hated the way the system worked," he recalled.

In 1965, El Malcriado, a brash UFW newspaper that combined news with irreverent humor, wrote about how the union had forced the state to fine a major labor contractor who had underpaid his workers. Medina took note: "To see somebody brought up and made to pay back wages, to me that was terribly impressive."

The rest of the story he has told hundreds of times, sometimes in English, sometimes in Spanish, somehow sounding fresh each time, always using his life to gently make points about organizing workers:

How clever Chavez was to call the first mass meeting on Mexican Independence Day, when he would get a good crowd. How Medina was taken aback by Chavez's small stature, doubting someone so unimpressive looking could be a great leader — but then blown away by his speech and moral force. How he went home and scrounged up change to pay $10.50 for three months' dues. How he began to picket because he heard they paid money ("I didn't know what picketing meant, but $1.20 an hour seemed pretty good to me," he told a group of SEIU organizers), and then discovered the power of the picket line.

Barely more than a year after he broke open his piggy bank to pay dues, Medina was on the cover of El Malcriado as one of the UFW's "Young Tigers," Chavez's youthful lieutenants successfully taking on the powerful growers.

When he arrived in Chicago to run the boycott, he opened the phone book and called the A&P.

"I said, 'Hi, I'm a farmworker and I'd like you to stop selling grapes,' " Medina recalled.

He was, as he often says in speeches, "one scared kid," so shy that his sister remembers seeing him on television at a news conference where he could not open his mouth. He soon was moving confidently in many circles, building support through publicity stunts like pray-ins over grapes in supermarket aisles. The sophisticated boycott operation not only stopped the sale of grapes in major stores but also raised thousands of dollars to support the UFW.

Medina was already attracting followers. In 1971, Dorothy Johnson, a quiet boycott volunteer with a wry wit and quick laugh, picked Chicago for her next assignment because of Medina's reputation for innovative and effective campaigns. She ended up following him to Calexico, Calif.; Florida; Ohio; back to Chicago and then back to California in 1975 when the state adopted a law regulating union activity in the fields. The two were married at his mother's house in Delano in 1976 between election campaigns and contract negotiations.

Medina's years in the union compensated for the education he never got in school; for someone with an insatiable curiosity about people, the UFW was a sumptuous buffet. He showed a knack for devising clever ways around obstacles. When growers began circumventing the union's election victories by filing objections and dragging the appeals out for months, Medina figured out a solution: Keep striking citrus workers off the job just long enough to extract a promise from the company to recognize the union and negotiate a contract.

The tactic was key to the union's winning more than 3,000 new members in the spring of 1978 — nearly half as many farmworkers as the UFW represents altogether today.

Leaving — His Way

When Medina left the UFW in the summer of 1978, his departure was as unexplained as it was sudden. Scott Washburn was at a meeting in Santa Maria where Medina outlined the next organizing battle. They walked outside, and on the way to the car, Medina mentioned that he had quit.

"When something's hard, I struggle with it. But once I decide, I move forward," Medina said in a recent interview. "I thought for months and months; I was having a very difficult time. It took me a while to come to grips with the fact that it would be best if I just moved on."

That internal struggle was all but invisible even to those closest to him. Unlike others who left about the same time and for similar reasons, Medina did not voice criticism. He has always talked publicly about how much Chavez and the UFW did for him, and not about the disappointments that led him to leave, or his conviction that Chavez had taken the union in the wrong direction at the very moment it had an opportunity to become a lasting force. He did not tell his family why he left, and he has never talked about it with his sister.

"Eliseo is a closed box," said Sabino Lopez, a former farmworker who later worked for Medina organizing janitors in San Diego.

Washburn, who has known Medina since 1973 and worked for him at two unions, describes him as a loyal friend who keeps his feelings to himself. It is all about the job.

"I'm sure he's concerned with me, and I'm concerned with him, but we're both obsessed with organizing," Washburn said.

That obsession drove Medina's frustration during his last months with the UFW, when he felt Chavez often was focused on everything but organizing workers. The relationship between the two, once warm, deteriorated.

Chavez publicly attacked Medina over a proposal he made about hiring organizers, and the exchange made a big impression on others.

"It wasn't unusual for Cesar to do that; it was unusual for him to do it to Eliseo," remembered Washburn.

After Medina resigned, he dismissed entreaties to change his mind, rejecting the idea that his departure would have a profound effect on the union.

"It's important not to believe your own PR," he likes to remind people.

In San Diego, more than a decade later, Sabino Lopez confronted Medina about having disappeared with no explanation to farmworkers.

"When you left, we felt like we lost our hope, the next generation," Lopez recalled telling Medina. " ... You were, for us, the guy. You were the heart and soul."

Medina told him he had felt as though he was causing problems more than solving them.

"As organizers, our personal credibility is all we have," Medina said recently. "If you don't believe what you're saying, it comes through. At that point, I didn't feel good about what I was doing."

Taking Risks

Medina enjoys playing two games: Chess and pool.

"In both," he said, "you have to plan your next moves."

He sharpened his pool game in Delano at the UFW hangout, People's bar. Then in Chicago, where the boycott crew depended on handouts for pretty much everything, a donated chess set provided free entertainment.

In games and work, Medina advocates taking risks. Big risks bring big gains, a lesson he learned from watching Chavez gamble on tactics like the boycott: "Who would have ever thought that sending out a bunch of uneducated farmworkers to stop grapes could work?"

When Medina landed at SEIU in 1986, after organizing university workers in California and public employees in Texas, the task was taking over a failing public employee union in San Diego. Within five years, membership went from 1,700 to 10,000 as he rebuilt the local and then took over a far larger rival union.

"The minnow swallowed the whale," he likes to say, the closest he comes to a boast.

In 1991, Medina got a call asking for help from an old UFW acquaintance. Liza Hirsch Du Brul had become a New York labor lawyer, representing musicians around the country. The San Diego Symphony was in the midst of a contract dispute and the musicians needed to stage a protest, but she was stuck on the East Coast.

Medina agreed to organize a human billboard around symphony hall.

When she took him to lunch to thank him, he told her he had been happy to help but pointed out that the musicians shouldn't be relying on "borrowed power" and needed to organize themselves.

He was separated and she was widowed; though they had known each other only slightly, their shared experiences over the same decade in the UFW were a common bond. They got together soon after and were married one morning at City Hall four years later. Medina had to duck out on a celebratory lunch after the ceremony because a candidate running for president of SEIU was in town.

That was a prelude to another big risk: Medina backed the long-shot candidate, Andy Stern. When Stern won, it cemented Medina's position in the leadership of SEIU. In 1996, he became the first Mexican American to assume a top position in the union.

"There is no more dignified, thoughtful, humble person in this movement," Stern said recently. He described Medina as a rare species, the pragmatic dreamer: "Thinking big enough that it's a little bit beyond your reach but not so outrageous — but also building the operation to get it done."

While based in Los Angeles, Medina was the behind-the-scenes architect of two recent campaigns that organized workers who had never been unionized: Justice for Janitors, and a new union for home healthcare workers. In 1997, SEIU signed up 74,000 home healthcare workers in Los Angeles County, then expanded across Southern California.

"He continues to push people beyond what they think they can do," said Marion Steeg, who worked for Medina both in the UFW and SEIU. And the work always comes first. "No matter how much he loves you, he will move you around to get the job done.... But it's never vindictive. It's never personal."

Medina's role within SEIU gradually expanded. In 2000, his arguments were key to the AFL-CIO's decision to shift its position on immigration reform; until then the labor federation had opposed any efforts to regularize the status of illegal immigrants.

Stern has watched Medina grow over the years into a more forceful advocate willing to challenge authority.

"I think he's sort of gained a level of confidence and appreciation that he has an opportunity to become a voice for lots of people like him when he was growing up," Stern said.

Today Medina oversees SEIU's operations in 17 states in the South and Southwest, organizing campaigns in states with little record of embracing unions. He describes the mission as a risk.

"Most people think that's for young kids. At my age, I could fail," he said. He shrugs, unconcerned. "Nobody ever guarantees you you're going to win. You can't ever just do things when you have a guarantee. You can't."

Applying the UFW's Lessons

Medina is standing in a cavernous Las Vegas ballroom, talking about building a movement, not just a union. About how the people in this room, most of them not born during the anti-Vietnam War protests or the grape boycotts, can become a force comparable to those historic movements, a force that changes America.

"We're building a union where there's no previous model. We're either going to create something new, or we're going to crash and burn," he tells them. "But we'll crash and burn together."

More than 100 SEIU organizers, most of them recruited in the last six months, are preparing to win converts in some of the least union-friendly states in the country: Arizona, Texas, Colorado, Nevada. Medina is firing them up to beat the odds. He flashes a slide showing that their union's penetration in Texas is 0.00009%. His arms are waving and suddenly his whole face lights up: "Hell, how can we miss? Everywhere you look, there's an unorganized worker."

The campaign Medina constructed in the Southwest has much in common with the early days of the UFW, and he draws on familiar strategies.

Coalition building: "Ministers see them in church Sunday, we see them at work Monday," he says, urging alliances with religious leaders.

A sense of moral outrage: He lists five reasons that the union should be fighting to change the current immigration system. "And the sixth reason is, it's just wrong." The room bursts into applause.

Creative experimentation: "Very few times do organizers ever get a blank slate. Here it is: Draw your own picture," Medina exhorts them. "Build a new union that is activist, that is rooted in the workers, that can win."

He has also learned what not to do.

"Right hand, left hand," he mutters a lot. The right hand always needs to know what the left hand is doing. That's why he brought the organizers from four states together for three days.

"He's my hero," says Mitch Ackerman, SEIU director in Colorado and one of many who say they're there because of Medina. "Without him and his ideas … we'd be a bunch of disparate groups."

To excite them before they begin the drudgery of winning over converts — one by one, following workers home, persuading people to overcome their fears — Medina has drawn again on the experience of the UFW, having opened the meeting by bringing in Dolores Huerta and former antiwar activist Tom Hayden.

"They were people who had a vision, a burning thirst, a passion for justice," Medina says.

"I want people to leave here feeling like they too can make this happen," he says about the team he's assembled, who range from veterans like Washburn to 26-year-old Arnulfo De La Cruz, grandson of an original grape striker, born while his father was on a lemon strike in Oxnard that Medina directed.

When Huerta addresses the group, she talks about Medina: "He has to include himself of course in making history. He was such a big part of making sure the UFW survived…. Now you are all in those shoes — to make the history that will change the world."

Blended Worlds

D*ichos* are folk wisdom, short sayings in Spanish that can be straightforward or elliptical but always make a point.

Medina collects them, and can always find one suitable for any occasion or cause.

For the labor movement: "*Camaron que se duerme, se lo lleva la corriente*" ("The shrimp that sleeps is carried away by the current").

For workers: *"El que no habla, Dios no lo oye"* ("He who doesn't speak, God doesn't hear").

"There is so much truth and clarity contained in a few words, that, for organizers, you can make a point without a lot of elaboration," he said. Sometimes he coins his own, just as he plays with words to come up with apt expressions to describe friends and colleagues.

Dichos also resonate with people he wants to reach.

"What makes Eliseo special is his ability to deal with people at their own level," said Salvador Bustamante, a UFW veteran who is now first vice president of SEIU's local representing California building workers. "He's very at ease with workers. That's his background. He really has the experience of working as a farmworker, of having experienced poverty, oppression, and that makes him special."

When the other top SEIU officials are in the front of the room, Stern said, he knows he will find Medina mingling in the back. At the UFW's 40th reunion in Delano this summer, while most speakers addressed the crowd of former boycott volunteers and strikers in English, Medina spoke in Spanish, the language of the workers whose accomplishments he was celebrating.

Medina moves easily between worlds, comfortable talking to low-wage workers, negotiating immigration policy in Washington or meeting with presidents in Central American countries.

His life is a similar melange. He earns $169,184, travels with his iPod and Treo, and is fond of electronic gadgets and Diet Pepsi and ice cream and watching football. He prefers Mexican food and does not drink coffee or alcohol or eat ripe fruit — he acquired a taste early for peaches the way farmworkers pick them, still hard.

His crusade for changes in immigration policy combines personal conviction with pragmatic concern; immigrants are the future of SEIU.

"It's another strategically smart move," said Washburn, the Arizona SEIU director. "And it's real. It comes from a real place."

So does Medina's commitment to helping farmworkers. He says it is both possible and necessary to organize farmworkers again, and is dismissive of the UFW's excuses for not doing more.

In the fields today, he and his sister agree, the UFW means little to people though its legacy still lingers for the older generation.

"What they did is they taught us how to defend ourselves," said Nuño. She works for a vineyard owned by the family of the same labor contractor that the UFW had gotten fined back in 1965, the story that first caught Medina's attention in the union newspaper.

"They are making a farmworkers union inevitable," Medina said. "It will happen. It's not a question of whether a farmworkers union is possible; it's a question of when it's going to happen."

*

About This Series

Sunday: The UFW betrays its legacy as farmworkers struggle.

Monday: The family business: Insiders benefit amid a complex web of charities.

Tuesday: The roots of today's problems go back three decades.

Today: A UFW success story — but not in the fields.

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Real Estate Deals Pay Off for Insiders

■ In one case, a charity sold property earmarked for low-income housing to a group with which it had ties. The land was then flipped for a $1.1-million gain.

By Miriam Pawel, Times Staff Writer

The financing was set and the plans were drawn, dotted yellow lines showing just where the morning and afternoon sun would shine on the 53 homes for lower-income families.

Almost a decade after the National Farm Workers Service Center had bought vacant land at a Fresno crossroads, the charity was ready to break ground on the affordable housing project called La Estancia.

Then the plans were abruptly scrapped.

Paul Chavez, president of the Service Center, decided the plot had appreciated so much it made more sense to sell. He did not have to look far for a willing buyer: Emilio Huerta, the Service Center's lawyer, worked in the office next door.

In May 2004, Huerta formed a private corporation called Landmark Residential. Three months later, Landmark bought the Fresno parcel from the Service Center for $1.8 million.

The day they closed the sale, Huerta and his partners had already agreed to sell the land for $2.9 million to a local developer, according to county records — reaping a profit of $1.1 million.

The insider deal is one example of how leaders of the UFW and the groups they call the Farm Worker Movement have steered money to friends and relatives at the expense of the charities they serve.

Some other recent transactions illustrate their penchant for doing business with their friends:

• A UFW-related charity rented space last fall in a building owned by UFW Secretary/Treasurer Tanis Ybarra, who also sits on the charity's board. Ybarra said he leases the building, in Parlier near Fresno, to his son Arturo.

The charity's executive director, Nora Benavides, said she sent her staff to talk with Arturo Ybarra because he was well-connected in the area, and he offered to make space alongside his mother Martha's tax preparation business. Benavides said it is convenient for the community organizing group's clients: "We say, hey, listen, there's Martha here who's preparing taxes if you need it.... We don't push it, we just let people know it is available."

Benavides said she formalized the rental arrangement to avoid any conflicts of interest. The move was never discussed by the charity's board, which Tanis Ybarra said doesn't "micromanage" such decisions.

• The Service Center sold the UFW a Craftsman-style house in West Los Angeles that once housed dozens of boycott volunteers during the height of the union's organizing activity. The UFW allowed friends to live there rent free, then sold it in 2004 to a daughter of UFW co-founder Dolores Huerta for $200,000 — about half the market price for comparable houses at the time, according to county records.

Huerta said that when she heard the UFW was going to sell the house, she asked to buy it because of its historic significance to the movement and her family. Because she had not taken a salary or received a pension during her years working for the UFW, the union gave her a break on the price, she and UFW President Arturo Rodriguez said.

Charities, exempt from paying taxes because they serve a public good, have a legal responsibility to obtain the best possible deal. They are required to disclose transactions with related groups or individuals and to be able to defend such decisions as cost-effective.

In the case of La Estancia, Paul Chavez said Landmark matched a competitor's bid and was ready to pay the full $1.8 million in cash. He said he was unaware that Landmark flipped the property at a significant profit.

"What you have is a deal in which the charity obviously was paid a million dollars less than what the property was worth," said Marcus Owens, an attorney who formerly headed the Internal Revenue Service division that oversees tax-exempt groups. "That's a lot of money."

The Players

Emilio Huerta and Paul Chavez have been friends since childhood, when they roamed the grounds around the building where they now work — the compound in the Tehachapi Mountains where Paul's father, Cesar, and Emilio's mother, Dolores, built the United Farm Workers union.

Emilio, the fourth of 11 children, grew up in a series of surrogate homes as his mother negotiated contracts, organized strikes and lobbied in Sacramento and Washington. He dropped out of high school and went to work full time for the UFW.

At 17, Emilio worked as a graphic artist in the UFW print shop, alongside Paul, who worked as a printer. A few years later, Cesar Chavez tapped the two to attend a negotiation school set up to groom the next generation of union leaders. At the time, Huerta said he had no idea why he was chosen; later, he tied it to an ongoing battle over the departure of the UFW's legal staff. "Part of it was Cesar making a point: He could teach anyone to be a negotiator," Huerta said.

In 1990, Paul Chavez took over the Service Center and began an ambitious affordable housing program; after attending college and law school, Emilio Huerta joined him. Huerta became the secretary of the corporation in 1993, serving in that position for the next decade. The next year he became the general counsel, a job he performed first as an employee and later as an independent contractor.

For several years beginning in 2000, Huerta's firm was paid more than $120,000 as a consultant to the Service Center. As an independent lawyer, Huerta bills for work on individual housing projects built by Service Center subsidiaries; a 2001 contract gave his hourly rate as $200.

In the 1990s, Chavez and Huerta hooked up with another high school friend who grew up in the UFW movement. Billy Encinas had started a small development company in San Diego and specialized in affordable housing projects.

Chavez had access to financing, thanks to the UFW's political clout and the Service Center's track record; Encinas had connections to projects, particularly in Texas, a state that Service Center leaders were desperate to move into as they fashioned themselves into a broader Latino advocacy group.

Encinas and the Service Center teamed up and went on to develop housing projects in California and Texas with subsidies from the state and federal governments.

The Land

In the early 1980s, as Cesar Chavez was struggling to find ways to finance services for farmworkers, a Fresno businessman had approached him with a proposition: Develop housing jointly and split the profits.

"He said, 'I know how to make money; I'd like to help out,' " Paul Chavez recalled about Celestino Aguilar, now a Fresno appraiser. "He's the one who really talked about housing as an investment."

The partnership, which built and sold some upscale houses and then apartment complexes and commercial strip malls, was the UFW's first foray into development.

Later the union built housing for farmworkers; in more recent years under Paul Chavez's leadership the Service Center has

built and bought affordable housing aimed at lower-income Latinos — though not, for the most part, farmworkers.

The first partnership Cesar Chavez formed with Aguilar was called American Liberty Investments, and in 1993 the corporation bought a 12-acre plot in a sparsely developed area on the west side of Fresno for $316,000. A few years later, the Service Center took ownership.

Community opposition scuttled various development plans, including a sale to the high school that had been built across the street. Residents also opposed the Service Center's plan to rezone the site and build multiple units, but the Service Center persisted and eventually won approval.

After drawing up plans for a town house complex, the Service Center tried to get a state grant earmarked for farmworker housing. But state officials rejected the application, saying the proposed home prices would require that families earn at least $29,245 a year, an unrealistic income for farmworkers. State housing officials also said the proposed price, $115,166 for a three-bedroom home, was too high for the area and the homes could be priced more reasonably if the Service Center did not insist on collecting an "excessive" development fee of $10,000 per home.

Eventually, the Service Center arranged other financing and announced in a newsletter that construction would begin by the end of 2003. By then, the real estate market had exploded. The demand for single-family homes was high, particularly in that area of Fresno. A parcel that had been through the time-consuming process of rezoning was worth significantly more.

A contractor the Service Center was working with offered to buy the site and build the subdivision himself.

The Deal

Emilio Huerta was very familiar with "the dirt," as he called the Fresno parcel. He had tried to negotiate the sale to the school district years before. Though his current role didn't involve him directly in the Service Center's housing department, Huerta often drew on his experience to offer Chavez advice on property and land values.

After a decade with the Service Center — much longer than he had intended to stay — Huerta wanted to move on. In the fall of 2003, he began working privately with Encinas on a plan to build single-family housing.

During 2004, Huerta juggled the new venture with his responsibilities for the Service Center, which he still served as counsel. He had been traveling around the country with Encinas, making plans, when they heard Chavez wanted to sell the Fresno land. It seemed like an opportunity to launch the new business.

"Paul came and said, 'I'm willing to sell this land,' " Huerta said. Chavez said he had another buyer lined up, and Huerta asked for a chance to compete. "I said, 'If we're allowed, I'd like to make an offer.' "

Encinas and Huerta consulted with another partner, Daniel Rigney, a veteran homebuilder now working as a senior vice president at Sunamerica Affordable Housing Corp., and Landmark made a bid.

Chavez opted for the businessman who made the first offer and asked Huerta to draw up the contract.

Within days, that deal fell through. Chavez went back to Landmark.

Huerta said he pointed out several times that the value of the land would increase if the Service Center waited and finished the site plan, negotiating such details as sewers, curbs and utility hookups. "Paul said, 'We need some money.' " Huerta recalled. "I said, 'Paul, it will be much more valuable if it has a map.' "

Chavez needed the cash right away because he was interested in bidding on a new radio station that could expand Radio Campesina into the Sierra foothills. If the Service Center won the bid, it would need to produce a lot of cash in a hurry.

He pulled his friend aside and warned Huerta not to bid if he couldn't make good on the deal, Huerta said. "I didn't see it as some sort of opportunity to cash out," he said. "I saw it as an opportunity to go ahead and prove to Paul and the Service Center that we can put land deals together. This is my chance to prove to Paul and the Service Center that I can produce — that's how I saw it."

Chavez asked for $1.8 million and imposed a tight timetable and other restrictions. Landmark agreed to all Chavez's conditions.

"They had a high bid; we just stepped in and took it at that price," said Rigney. "I thought, there's still some opportunity there; we can build it out, make some money — a little retirement nest egg."

Rigney called a loan broker he had done business with before and asked him to see what kind of deal he could put together to finance the purchase. The broker called a week later: Another client, Ennis Homes, was looking for more land to develop; would Landmark be interested in selling?

"I said to my loan broker, 'If you can sell for x, sell,' " Rigney recalled. "I threw something way up high on the wall, and they came back and took it."

By the time Landmark bought the property, the partners had an agreement to resell the land to Ennis, Rigney said. County records show the Landmark-Ennis deed is dated Aug. 25, the day before the deed on Landmark's purchase from the Service Center.

Chavez said he saw no conflict in the sale. When first asked about it, he expressed surprise that Huerta was involved. "He had given me notice that he was leaving; we talked, and he had a change of mind," Chavez said in an interview. "He said, 'You know what, I've put too much into Service Center.' My understanding was that he severed the relationship" with Encinas.

Huerta said there was full disclosure and that the Service Center board, which approved the sale, was aware that he and Encinas were partners in Landmark.

In a written clarification to The Times, Chavez later said that Huerta had continued to do business with Encinas but that it was not a conflict because Huerta resigned as secretary of the Service Center in October 2003, though he continued to do legal work.

The distinction could be significant for the Internal Revenue Service, which levies sanctions on deals where officers or key officials of a charity profit unduly from a transaction with the organization.

"It really was a very, very clean deal: Buying from one and planning to do something, then somebody comes in and offers you a deal," Rigney said. He estimated his profit could have been double if Landmark had decided to develop the houses itself rather than sell. But the offer from Ennis had been too tempting to turn down: "I guess I shouldn't look a gift horse in the mouth."

Huerta said he decided after the sale to part ways with Encinas because of philosophical differences, and he is in the process of dissolving Landmark. "We had a national plan. They were dreams," he said.

The Service Center tried to acquire the new radio station but was outbid. Last January, the Service Center board reappointed Huerta as secretary, Chavez said, adding that Huerta does much of his legal work for the organization pro bono.

Calling Chavez his best friend since childhood, Huerta said: "No amount of money is worth jeopardizing that. It wasn't because I saw big dollar signs. As an attorney, I could make more money than here. My reputation was on the line. I wanted to do housing. I still want to."

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they may not be able to afford the cost of protecting themselves by arms and be so occupied with their daily tasks that they have no time for rebellion." - Aristotle

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Please send a letter to the editor today

The Los Angeles Times is running a series of inaccurate, dishonest and untrue stories by reporter Miriam Pawel viciously attacking the Farm Worker Movement and Cesar Chavez.

We know the conditions farm workers endure on a daily basis and recognize much work remains. Despite supplying extensive, detailed information and unparalleled access over many months refuting specific inaccuracies and misleading charges, L.A. Times reporter Pawel refused to include the Farm Worker Movement's side in her stories. These initial points will be followed by a much more detailed response.

The UFW's commitment to organizing farm workers is unwavering. Less than 150 union members are non-farm workers. Our limited resources mean we can't be every place the need is desperate in California. So our focus has been the Central Valley and Central Coast, the greatest concentration of farm workers in America.

Thousands of farm workers benefit daily from the United Farm Workers' efforts:

* 32 election victories, most in California, since the current organizing drive began.
* Dozens of UFW contracts including the largest strawberry, rose, winery and mushroom firms in California and the nation plus victories in other states.
* Over the last decade, the UFW has dedicated up to 50% of its resources to organizing, among the highest of all unions. Donations provide key support for organizing.
* Ongoing UFW organizing faces stiff resistance, as evidenced by the state of California's ruling that last summer's election at Giumarra table grape vineyards could be thrown out because of the grower's illegal actions.
* The UFW has helped tens of thousands of farm workers through recent legislative gains: the 2005 regulation to prevent heat deaths; seat belts in farm labor vehicles; remedies for workers cheated by farm labor contractors; new pesticide protections; the historic push for immigration reform could aid hundreds of thousands in farm labor.

The Farm Worker Movement is continuing the legacy of its founders, Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, who believed the movement had to go beyond the work place through non-profit,

independently-run groups with distinct missions and staff. Annual independent financial audits give all the organizations clean bills of health.
* The nine-station, three-state Radio Campesina network mixes Mexican music with extensive educational programs for 300,000 daily listeners. Radio Campesina blankets the highest concentrations of farm workers in the nation.
* More than 1,900 of 3,500 amenity-rich affordable housing units serving about 10,000 people are in farm worker areas in the Central Valley, Arizona and Texas.
* Community organizing efforts where farm workers live are improving the lives of thousands in the Salinas and Central valleys and in South Texas'Rio Grande Valley.
* The Cesar E. Chavez Foundation empowers and equips tens of thousands of young people to carry on Cesar's life and work.

It is natural for members of Cesar's family to be inspired by his example. Less than a dozen of 400 committed movement employees are family members; just four hold policy-making positions. Many spent decades as full-time volunteers, work hard for modest pay. They all serve without compensation as board members. Arturo Rodriguez was elected UFW president directly by farm workers.

You can help! These facts and much more that didn't appear in the L.A. Times are why we ask you to help us bring balance to these unjust stories. Please write down your own feelings and send a letter to the L.A. Times.

Sign your letter to the editor with your full name, street address and phone number, and send it today to: letters@latimes.com or Letters to the Editor, 202 West First Street, Los Angeles, CA. 90012

If you send a letter-to-the editor, please cc us a copy at: ufwofamer@aol.com.

"It is also in the interests of a tyrant to keep his people poor, so that they may not be able to afford the cost of protecting themselves by arms and be so occupied with their daily tasks that they have no time for rebellion." - Aristotle

Support, participate, and view documents and information from the National Chicano Summit at www.nationalchicanosummit.org La Lucha Sigue! The Struggle Continues! Vote and Register La Raza Unida Party! Que Viva La Raza!

"You don't make progress by standing on the sidelines, whimpering and complaining. You make progress by implementing ideas." "Service is the rent we pay for the privilege of living on this earth." --Shirley Chisholm

"In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends."-- Martin Luther King, Jr.

Peace and Dignity Project/Proyecto Paz y Dignidad,Support the Kumeyaay Children's Shelter of Tecate www.peaceanddignityproject.org

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OPINION

Ruben Navarrette Jr.
SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE

An ugly evolution for the UFW

Discussing the Jack Abramoff congressional lobbying scandal, some have invoked the colorful saying — often attributed to Eric Hoffer, a longshoreman-turned-philosopher of the 20th century — that every great cause begins as a movement, degenerates into a business and winds up a racket.

I can't help but think how beautifully, and how tragically, that phrase sums up the moral trajectory of the United Farm Workers union over the last 40 years. What began as a worthwhile cause — to bring dignity to farm workers — eventually became a national movement, then a family business. And now, the evidence suggests, it has become a racket.

To get a sense for how this happened, you might read a well-done series of articles that appeared last week in the *Los Angeles Times*. Totaling more than 20,000 words, the series lifts the veil on what the UFW has become. And it's not pretty.

Thanks to an investigation by *Times* reporter Miriam Pawel, we now know that the modern UFW is a well-tuned fundraising machine that exploits the memory of the late UFW President Cesar Chavez and uses the plight of farm workers to raise millions of dollars in public money and private donations.

While agricultural laborers remain near the bottom of the economic food chain, UFW Inc. has done well in their name. According to the series, the enterprise includes a network of tax-exempt organizations and charities that rake in $20 million to $30 million a year and have an annual payroll of $12 million. It also includes a service center that has raised more than $200 million to buy or build more than 3,000 housing units for low-income families in California, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. (Few units house farm workers, and, ironically for a bunch that once made a big deal about people buying grapes picked by non-union workers, most of the housing was built with non-union labor.) There's also a charitable fund that has, to its name, about $10 million and which mostly just sits in the bank collecting interest, and a pension fund that is worth more than $100 million but services just a few thousand workers.

A bit of the take is doled out in six-figure salaries to members of the Chavez clan — more than a dozen of the iconic leader's children, in-laws, friends or kin. Ghoulishly, they're even marketing the $3.2 million center they had built around Chavez's gravesite in California's Tehachapi Mountains as a tourist attraction and are renting it out for weddings. It seems that these days, *la causa* is mostly about *el dinero*.

No one will have a tougher time accepting this than those white liberals and Mexican-American baby boomers who cut their teeth on the strikes and grape boycotts of the 1960s and '70s, and whose image of Chavez and his crusade are locked in time. The way they prefer to remember it, the UFW was a pure and powerful instrument of social change that used nonviolence and grass-roots organizing to force growers and the politicians they controlled to make concessions to decency.

No matter what you think of the UFW, you have to give Chavez and the union their due. Before the movement came along, farm workers were denied the collective bargaining protections enjoyed by other kinds of laborers or the right to vote for union representation. There were no toilets or canteens of clean water in the fields. Growers thought nothing of demanding that workers put in 12-hour days with no guaranteed wage.

Chavez and the union altered that reality with strikes, boycotts, organizing, marches, political pressure and legal action. The labor leader tempted death with weeks-long fasts that attracted national attention and earned a powerful ally in Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. Given all that was accomplished, it was entirely believable when Kennedy went into the fields and proclaimed to the UFW faithful that, though their backs might be bent from many years of labor, no one would stand taller than those who could say: "I was there. I marched with Cesar."

Those individuals, the true believers who worked at the grass-roots level and marched hundreds of miles and logged countless hours in service of a cause in which they believed, have nothing to be ashamed of. There's no denying what they helped bring to fruition. They still stand tall.

Too bad we can't say the same for the union, the movement and a generation of friends and relatives who have come, the *Times* series suggests, to treat the Chavez legacy as an ATM.

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