

The National Farm Workers' Association Asks You, Please Don't Buy SCHENLEY / DELANO LIQUORS / GRAPES

Over 4,500 farm workers in Delano, California have been on strike against Delano grape growers since September 8, 1965.

These California farm workers are seeking the rights you take for granted: UNION RECOGNITION and COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. Delano grape growers refuse to recognize and respect these rights.

It is vital to us — consumers and workers — that this strike be settled soon and settled fairly. Delano grape growers can keep on avoiding their economic and moral responsibilities only because it is profitable for them to do so.

YOU CAN MAKE THIS INJUSTICE UNPROFITABLE — YOU CAN SPEAK FOR JUSTICE!

Support the unity of Mexican-American and Filipino farm workers in the longest strike in California labor history.

AMONG THE BAY AREA SPONSORS ARE:

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An ad-hoc committee of AFL-CIO, ILWU and Teamster leaders is being formed.

CALL BY FARM WORKERS FOR NATIONAL BOYCOTT

Since September 8, 1965, two farm worker unions, the independent National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee AFL-CIO (AWOC), have been striking the rich and powerful Delano, California grape growers. The workers are striking to gain a just portion of the huge wealth they create. Now that the harvest season is over, the workers need nation-wide support to impress the growers with the justice and urgency of their cause.

The strikers are asking for a nation-wide consumer boycott against Schenley products and Delano fresh grapes. Inside this MOVEMENT BOYCOTT SUPPLEMENT you will find sample instructions which can be used by persons interested in constructive action.

The principal boycott is aimed at Schenley. This huge corporation farms approximately 4,500 acres of land around Delano. Schenley is the largest producer of wine and other alcoholic products under strike.

When informing your community or organization about the boycott, there is a useful fact to remember: The Delano growers are being aided in business by immense subsidies, many of which are received illegally. Almost the entire water supply for Delano grapes comes from the federally — constructed Friant-Kern Canal. According to federal officials, the total cost to bring this water to the land is \$700 an acre. The farms repay \$123 per acre. The rest — \$577 — is pure profit.

In numerous cases — notably Schenley's — the subsidized water is received in violation of federal regulations.

**Send Your Support To
The Families Of Strikers**

FARM WORKERS RELIEF FUND

BOX 894

DELANO, CALIFORNIA



THE GRAPE SOCIETY

THE MOVEMENT BOYCOTT SUPPLEMENT

Boycott Instructions

TO ALL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED WITH THE GRAPE STRIKE IN DELANO, CALIFORNIA.
SUGGESTIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR A CONSUMER INFORMATION BOYCOTT.

1. Call an emergency meeting of your group to form an ad hoc committee to aid the farm workers' strike. Delegates from potentially interested and sympathetic groups: civil rights, church, union, . . . should also be invited.

2. Send a delegation to the Retail Clerks Union, inform them of the boycott, and ask their cooperation. They might (unofficially) advise a large chain-store not to buy Delano or Schenley products. This union could also collect all canned foods returned by the chains and send them to the NFWA office in Delano for families of strikers.

3. Send a delegation to the management of selected chains and ask them officially not to buy Delano grapes or Schenley products. You may tell the management that you intend to use a consumer informational boycott: but you're forbidden by law to use threats of coercion or a general boycott of the store.

4. Set up (after steps 2 & 3) -- AS SOON AS POSSIBLE -- AT LEAST ONE WEEK BEFORE CHRISTMAS -- an informational consumer picket in front of selected chains.

This kind of informational picket means you hand out leaflets to all customers entering the store and ask them to respect the boycott. (The upper half of THE MOVEMENT SUPPLEMENT first page contains the wording we ask you to use.)

IN ADDITION to this kind of picket line we would also like to see some lines with signs and placards urging customers not to buy these products. We leave this kind of picket line for you to decide where and when and what kind because you know how you can be most effective in your area.

6. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT -- in order to create the kind of persuasive tension that is needed in Delano -- to make every effort to publicize this boycott through the newspapers, radio and TV in your area.

7. This intensive and short-term effort to inform the consumer-public can be the best way to build future support for California farm workers who are fighting for their right of collective bargaining. IT IS UP TO YOU.

8. We are forbidden by law to boycott stores merely because they handle Schenley products. Picket lines cannot encourage general boycotts by consumers of a store or by employees of stores carrying Schenley products.

Viva la causal

National Farm Workers Association, Delano

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in California

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: BOYCOTT COMMITTEE, 1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, California.

Secret GROWER REPORT ON SCABS

SAN FRANCISCO -- The Council of California Growers, in a secret "Newsletter" dated October 25, confessed to problems growers are having in getting scabs to work for low wages. El Malcriado prints directly from this "For Members Only" report:

"Growers went to great extremes to find workers . . . they spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on recruiting programs throughout the Western half of the United States . . . programs with results that varied from complete failure to minimum success."

El Malcriado says: Save your hundreds of thousands. Pay local workers \$1.40.

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If You Want Good News Coverage On The Delano Strike and the Movement To Organize Farm Workers

We suggest that you subscribe to one or more of the following California publications: EL MALCRIADO Newspaper of the Farm Workers Association, Box 894, Delano, California. Every two weeks, \$2 per year.

THE MOVEMENT, published monthly by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco, California 94117. \$1 per year.

VALLEY LABOR CITIZEN, organized labor paper of the Central San Joaquin Valley, 479 North Fresno Street, Fresno, California. Published weekly, \$4 per year.

FARM LABOR, magazine published by Citizens for Farm Labor, P.O. Box 1173, Berkeley, California. \$3 for twelve issues.

Order Blank For More Copies Of The Boycott Supplement

Please send me _____ copies

Price: \$2.50 per hundred
10¢ single copy

1316 MASONIC AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO

BOYCOTT CHECK LIST

SCHENLEY PRODUCTS

DELANO GRAPES

DON'T BUY:
Any SCHENLEY Label,
plus these brands:

Bourbon
I.W. HARPER
ANCIENT AGE
J.W. DANT
OLD CHARTER

Blends and Scotch
DEWAR'S WHITE LABEL
O.F.C.
MELROSE DIAMOND 12
MACNAUGHTON
ORDER OF MERIT
LONG JOHN

Other hard liquor
CARIOCA rum
CORONET VSQ Brandy
CHERRY HEERING
SEAGERS Gin
COATES PLYMOUTH Gin
SAMOVAR

Wines
ROMA
CRESTA BLANCA
DUBONNET

A & A	NEW YORKER
ALL - AMERICAN	PBI
ALILA	PIA
ANTONE'S QUALITY	PROSPERITY
BETTER TEST	RADOVITCH
BLUE FLAG	RENNIE BOY
BLUE RIVER	RODES
BONOPHIL	ROXIE
BOUQUET	ROYAL K
CAMELOT	ROYAL DELANO
CARIC	SALL-a-ANN
CASHMERE	SILVER KING
COLUMBINE	SILVER KNIGHT
DELANO GOLD	SIERRA MOON
DELANO KING	SOUVENIER
DEL-VIN	SCOTSMAN
DIAMONDS	SPRINGTIME
EARLY MART	STEADY
ELMCO	SUNVIEW
ELTORO	SUPERSWEET
FLAMINGO	SUNTEST
GEE JAY	STEELE
HIGHLAND	TABLE QUEEN
HONEY BEE	THREE BROTHERS
HI-STYLE	TRI-VALLEY
JINDY	TREASURE
JOVISTA	TROCHA
KENNEY JR.	TUDOR
L BAR L	TUXEDO PARK
LOUIS IV	VBZ
MARUSKA	VINES BEST
MZ	VERKO
MARLIN	VINLAND
MC	ZORA
MOTHER	
MOSES	
MARY-JO	
MID-STATE	
MR. KK	

STRIKING FARM WORKERS STOP GRAPE SHIPMENTS AT DOCKS



SAN FRANCISCO --

Four pickets representing the striking workers in Delano stopped the shipment of 1250 boxes of grapes from Pier 50C last month. Standing in a heavy downpour were Serge Tumbago, a member of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO), Mr. and Mrs. Tony Mendez of the Farm Workers Association and Jim Bramell, a former Teamster and farm worker.

The grapes, picked by scab labor in Delano, were to have been loaded on the cargo-passenger liner President Wilson. But when the longshoremen, teamsters and ship clerks saw the pickets, they refused to handle the boxes. Longshoremen and clerks stopped all work, and Teamster truck drivers refused to work their trucks, which lined up hundreds of feet outside the pier.

"The cooperation by the unions was fantastic," says Bramell, one of the organizers of the picket action. "The Teamsters brought us rain slickers. The ILWU and Teamster members bought people dinner. Guys would pull up in their trucks and say, 'I hope you win your beef.'"

The American President Lines tried to get the picket line declared illegal; the ship was scheduled to leave for the Far East the next day, with 400 passengers. They did not wait, however, for the ar-

bitrator's decision; they discharged the grapes and put them back into cold storage.

"The growers came and got the grapes and took them back to Delano," reported Bramell.

The next day, 50 cases of Delano grapes were found at Pier 28. When the pickets appeared, the boxes were pulled off the docks.

The picket action on the docks is continuing. On November 28, another shipment was stopped at the Howard Terminal in Oakland. Longshoremen again respected the picket line and 2500 cases of grapes were removed from the terminal.

The grape shipment was from the Di-Giorgio farms, scheduled for loading aboard the freighter Burrard.

The ILWU newspaper THE DISPATCHER reported one longshoreman as saying, "This is a reminder of the old days when unions always supported each other in a beef. That's something lots of us have forgotten. Now maybe those growers in Delano will get the message."

How do the pickets know where the grapes are going to be? That's a top secret. Needless to say, it's similar to the "spy system" described by Wendy Goepel in the last issue of THE MOVEMENT. And it's highly accurate.

FARM WORKER POVERTY GRANT THREATENED BY GROWERS, POLITICIANS

From a letter by Cesar Chavez
DELANO, CALIFORNIA --

In February of 1965, the NFWA (National Farm Workers Association) applied for a grant under the "War on Poverty" legislation. The application received prompt attention and, after several revisions, was approved. Approval came a few days prior to the grape strike being called. Sensing that it would be impossible to administer both the strike and the \$268,000 grant, we of the NFWA requested that the money be held up until after the strike. This met with the approval of Sergeant Shriver.

Shortly after the grant was made public, the strike began. Growers from the Delano area, as a means of harassing the NFWA, pushed through the Delano City Council a resolution asking for the suspension of the grant.

The resolution read, in part: "Cesar Chavez is well known in this city, having spend various periods of his life in this community, including attendance at public schools, and it is the opinion of this council that he does not merit the trust of the council with regard to the administration of the grant." This is smear number one.

Representative Harlan Hagen, a humble servant of Tulare and Kern County growers, took up the cause. Mr. Hagen, who had earlier endorsed wholeheartedly the NFWA application, now became the Delano City

Council's and grape growers' agent. He questioned whether the Association "could objectively administer a federally - sponsored education program." Smear number two.

Now recently, Senator Kuchel also has asked for an investigation of the grant. He, too, has questioned "the experience and competence of the sponsors." Mr. Kuchel of all people, should comprehend the damage done by uneducated smear tactics. He has been victimized by such cruelty.

The fact is, Senator Kuchel never talked to the sponsors regarding the program. The fact is, Mr. Kuchel, who prides himself on careful fact gathering, and who abhors smear tactics, has smeared the National Farm Workers Association without making the least effort to learn first hand about the grant.

The powerful growers of Kern and Tulare Counties, with their political allies, have thrown up tremendous barriers to halt the strike. They have forced the Sheriff's office to arrest us for talking out loud. So, the issue is this: this grant was the first made in California to a grassroots, poverty level, organization. Economic opportunity legislation guarantees maximum involvement of the poor. The story from Washington today is that our grant may soon be cancelled. . . and it will be unless we fight for our rights, now.

What is the Farm Workers' Poverty Program?

The controversial "War on Poverty" grant to the striking National Farm Workers Association, which has been funded and may now be taken away, is a three point program. Its aim is "the education of predominantly Spanish-speaking seasonal and migratory farm workers in California's Southern San Joaquin Valley."

It will employ thirty eight farm workers and aid 10,000 farm workers directly, according to the NFWA. The three points of the program are:

SELF-HELP CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Eighteen farm workers will be employed as community workers. They will organize home study groups and conduct house meeting sessions. The aim will be to assist farm workers in such areas as obtaining water and sewage systems, learning their rights from health and welfare agencies, filing claims for wages and benefits.

CONSUMER EDUCATION

Two farm workers will be trained in this field and will work in low-income communities. They will instruct workers in the use of credit and credit unions, family budgeting, time-plan payments, mortgages, insurance. They will help workers to avoid the loan sharks and dishonest salesmen who frequent low-income neighborhoods.

RESEARCH AND ADMINISTRATION

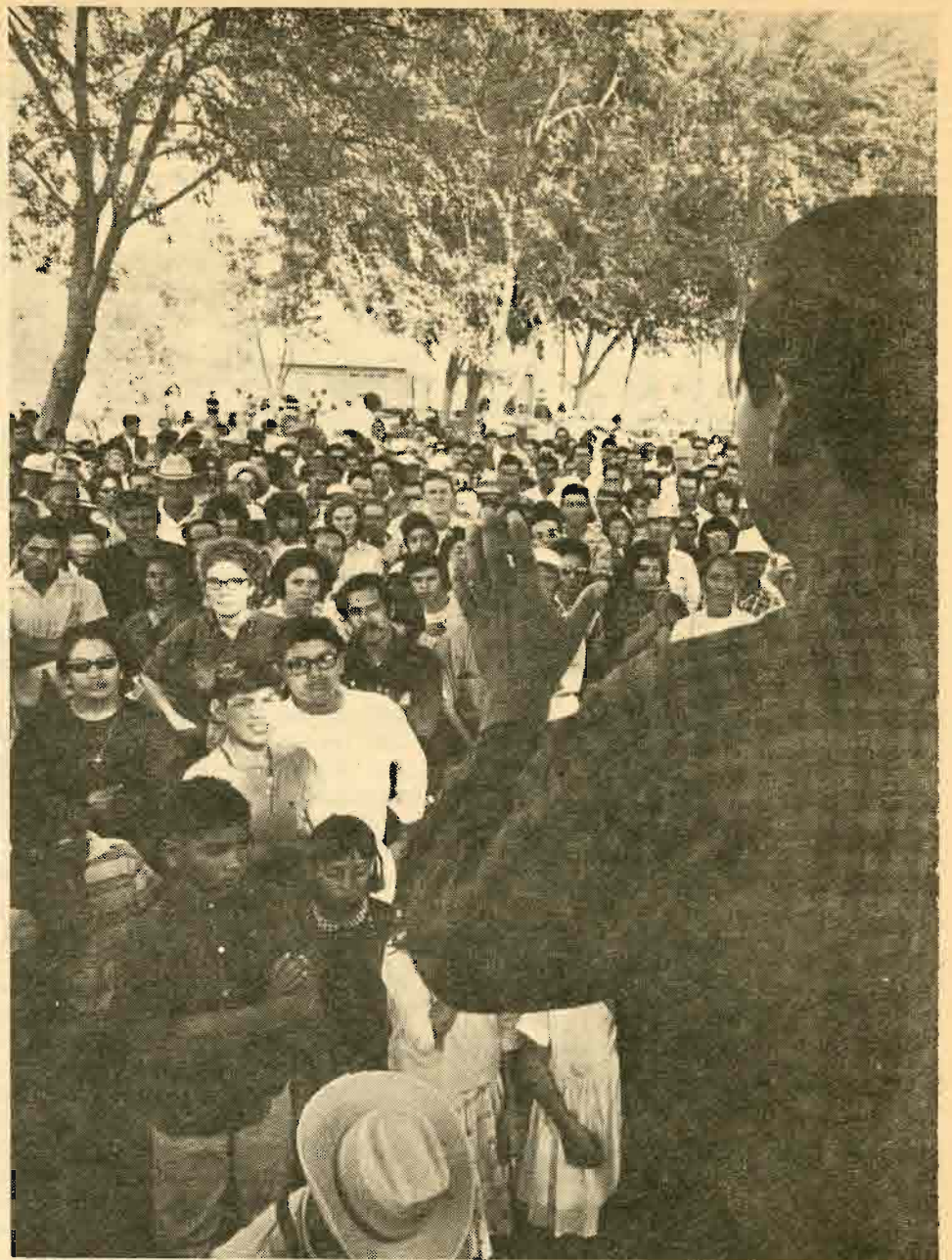
Insurance companies do not cover farm workers with group auto and health insurance programs. Research will be carried out to get the necessary actuarial data.

Administrative costs include salaries for the Director, legal services and secretarial help. The total grant is for \$267,000.

The NFWA, in a public statement, commented, "The program was submitted for funding under Section III-b, Migrant Programs, of the OEO, which section is directed by Mr. Tom Karter. He is strongly supporting the funded program, but he and his boss Shriver, are receiving pressure from legislators and right-wing groups. It is important to know that Sergeant Shriver offered Mr. Chavez a \$21,000 job with the Peace Corps when it was beginning; this is evidence of Shriver's faith in Chavez' ability. The state office of economic opportunity has strongly supported the NFWA application. But only pressure from friends of farm workers may be able to preserve this grant."



SYMPATHY MARCH IN DELANO of farmworkers and friends. Almost 1000 took part on the Sunday, Sept. 26 march through the residential section.



CESAR CHAVEZ, Director of NFWA, addresses a rally of striking farmworkers after a march through Delano.

PROFILE OF A CALIFORNIA CONGRESSMAN

SPECIAL TO THE MOVEMENT

Harlan Hagen

No one should have been surprised when Democratic Congressman Harlan Hagen from Delano blustered against a war on poverty grant to the Farm Workers Association last month. Especially since the FWA is one of two unions challenging the monolithic power of the farm interests in the San Joaquin Valley. He has repeatedly gone to heel for the growers when the chips were down.

Or when he voted against the challenge to the seating of the five illegally-elected Mississippi congressmen.

Split Political Personality

Hagen won his seat 15 years ago when he defeated a right-winger, over whom he was a definite improvement. On almost all votes in the House he can be counted with the Democratic consensus on such things as social security, urban affairs, and the minimum wage.

However -- on two key issues of economic and political power in the Valley: farm labor and water development, and on civil liberties -- Hagen is consistently illiberal.

This split personality enables him to get heavy campaign contributions from both organized labor and the growers, according to the California Secretary of State's office.

A Very Frank Man

Hagen has one definite admirable quality: frankness. When he sponsors water legislation favoring the large landowners, he says right out that the big boys want it. Another liberal Democrat, Bernie Sisk from the adjoining San Joaquin Valley district, supports the same legislation, but screens his actions with arguments about states' rights and constitutionality.

A few years back Hagen was equally honest about the House Un-American Activities Committee. Hagen told a meeting of Democratic Clubs in Bakersfield that he thought the purpose of HUAC was to harass people, and as far as he was concerned they were doing very well.

Against FWA Poverty Program

Running true to form, Hagen announced in October that the \$267,000 poverty grant to the Farm Workers Association was "obviously defective". He conferred with local officials and growers, and urged them to ignore the unions, organize the workers on their own and determine wages and working conditions unilaterally.

He worried that the FWA might use the poverty funds as a tool against the growers. He called for investigations. He personally, according to reliable reports, is badgering the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington.

Hagen's worries do not seem to extend to worrying whether the growers will use their huge federal subsidies as a tool against the unions.

While grapes are not price-supported, growers in the Delano area receive almost their total water supply from the federally constructed Friant-Kern canal. This subsidy amounts to roughly \$600 an acre. There are 37,500 acres of grapes in the Delano area. The total makes the FWA grant look like cigarette money.

Hagen's attacks on the FWA grant are hypocritical and indefensible. So are his repeated -- even if frank -- attacks on water development, farm labor, civil liberties and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Not Much Chance of Change

The movement, however, is in a weak position to unseat Hagen when he is compared to his right-wing predecessor Werdel, or his unannounced-as-yet Republican opponent for next year, Olympic star Bob Mathis. Mathis is an Eisenhower type who just moved back into the district from Los Angeles and whose main platform at the moment seems to revolve around his claim that he can beat middle-aged Hagen in a foot race.

And nothing seems to hurt Hagen too much; not even when he was rolled in a Washington DC alley after picking up a play-for-pay girl.

Cesar Chavez Talks About Organizing And The History of The NFWA

Cesar Chavez, Director of the National Farm Worker's Association (NFWA), spoke at a session of the California SNCC state-wide meeting in Fresno last month. Here are some excerpts from the tape made of his talk and his answers to questions.

I have been asked to discuss some of my thoughts on community organizing. Labor organizing, as I know it, has a lot of community organizing in it. When you read of labor organizing in this country you can say there is a point where labor "is organized." But in community organizing there never is a point where you can say "it is organized."

In community organizing you need a continuous program that meets the needs of the people in the organization. I have seen many groups attempt community organization and many have failed. The biggest reason for this is that there is a big emphasis on meetings and discussion and writing up programs and not on working with the people. Many organizers get lost in the shuffle of going to meetings, and somehow those who are being organized are lost. Too often we see as a remedy to this, people suggesting that you should have a survey or a study made.

Any one who has done any community organizing would agree with me that you can't have a program until you have the people organized. I don't mean you have to wait until you're fully organized, but how can you write a program without the participation of those you are trying to organize?

Community organization is very difficult. You can't put it in the freezer for a couple of years and then thaw it out and you're in business again. Or even a month. Community organization can disintegrate right from under you. This is why we see so many other kinds of groups — church and labor — and so few community organizations formed.

There are a lot of different ideas of what community organization is. When I think of a community, I think not of Fresno, but of Negroes or Mexican-Americans, or poor workers.

Building Power

Anyone who thinks they can organize a community and then join with the power structure is in for an awful surprise. And a disappointment because things don't happen that way. When you speak of community organization you are also speaking, really, of power. If you haven't the power to do things you're not going to do anything. Some organizers I know say, "All I need is a good public relations man." This is a lot of nonsense. The only PR the opposition knows is power, and having the power to strike him where it hurts him, political and economic. You're building power based not on the prestige of your group, but on how many actual bodies you have with you and how many bodies can be united and directed.

In many cases community organizers have been started just because there was money available to have them started. This is another real problem in getting something permanent.

Money

I was in CSO (Community Services Organization) for many years. In some ways we were successful, but in one of the most important aspects we were a complete failure, and this was in getting the group to generate its own finances so it becomes permanent. I remember many times stopping organizing so we could go organize another part of the community to raise money. In most cases when you get money, though this varies in degree, you have some strings attached. We got a lot of money for CSO and we made very clear to the donors that there could be no strings attached.

But there's always one string attached — that is when people give money, they expect miracles. Then your staff or Executive Board starts compromising between a well-thought out long-range program and something that will show immediate progress.

What is an Organizer?

Then there's another problem. People say, "I'm just an organizer." An organizer is an outsider in many cases — there's nothing wrong in that. But then he assumes a sort of special position in that program. First thing he says is "I'm not going to be

an officer; it's a people's program." What he's saying is he's something special, not an integral part of that group. I think that's a mistake. If you organize a good group, pretty soon you find yourself hoping, "I wish I had a vote in this outfit."

* * * * *

If you're going to do community organizing, you'll find out in the course of doing your job, some of the good people and some of the bad people invariably get hurt.

* * * * *

Another problem is respectability. If a minority group does "nice" things, like taking a petition to the Mayor, or having tea parties with the PTA, it's going to become respectable. And once you become a respectable group, you're not going to fight anymore. I've had a lot of experience in that. So if your group is going to City Hall or the Police Department and fight with the Police Chief, and someone on your Executive Board is friends with him, you're going to think twice before attacking him.

If an organizer comes looking for appreciation he might as well stay home. He's not going to get any, especially out of a group that's never been organized or had any power before.

In the Association, to get 100 members, we had a heck of a time. When we were over that, some joined on the strength of the others who joined. It wasn't because an organizer or an officer told him to join, but because another worker was right beside him in the fields telling him about it. So if you get a small group, they become the organizers. The only way I know is to spend an awful lot of time with each individual — hours and hours — until he understands and you've got him going.

How NFWA Began

It was a major decision for me to leave Los Angeles and CSO. CSO was the only organization I had ever known; it was my whole world. So it was difficult to quit and go out on my own. To go a little further back:

I was working in the fields when CSO came to San Jose. I was in the orchards, apricots and peaches. I talked to their organizer, Fred Ross, and the first thing I asked him was "How is CSO going to help the farmworker?" And he told me — "If we get strong enough, we're going to build a union. And I said, 'That's for me.'" And of course I had a lot of hatred for the cops and that was one of the main issues of CSO in LA.

So it was just perfect for me; I was learning a lot of things. But after a while, it was growing too fast, and it was making a name for itself, and it was attracting a lot of people who were not farm workers, but who were semi-professional and professional Mexican-Americans. It developed a verbal commitment to farm workers, but no action, just legislation.

Best Motel In Town

There were other problems. It was unheard of that CSO would meet in a room like this (a meeting room in a low-rent housing project). It had to meet in the best motel in town, very expensive, and it cut off all the farm workers who couldn't afford to be there. The reason given was — we have to build prestige. The politicians have to know who we are; we can't take them to a dump. We have to take them to the best place in town and then we can relate to them about farm workers. I was naive about farm workers. I was naive enough in the beginning to buy that.

So we ended up just with farmworkers who had gone to school or who weren't farm workers anymore. They thought that going to school gave them the right to be leaders — which incidentally isn't the case; I'll debate that with anyone.

Out Of Touch

Pretty soon we developed conflict between the people with problems in the cities, whether to help them or the farm workers. Then somehow we got messed up with programs that meant little or nothing to the worker. For example — legislation. Too remote. The farm worker isn't trained to understand the processes of government, so having a big fight for unemployment insurance or a minimum wage law — they didn't understand it — they

had no idea how laws are made.

We'd constantly get situations where we'd explain about legislation and a guy would get up in the back and say, "I've been a farm worker all my life. This is a lot of nonsense. Let's go directly to the President." Or — "The Governor should issue a statement saying we should get paid more." And we'd have to explain that the Governor couldn't do that; and we lost him.

Or, when the officers of CSO were semi-professional or professional, it became a problem of communicating with the workers. In most cases the leadership had more to lose than the workers; they'd say, "We should fight, but we should be moderate."

Split

We couldn't get them to organize a union — they felt that farm workers were outside the jurisdiction of CSO — it was a "labor" problem. Some of us in the movement felt the only way to get it was to force the issue and if we lost move out and create a group that would serve only farm workers. We felt if we had nothing but farm workers in their own group a lot of ills we had known in CSO would not be present.

So in April, 1962 I moved out of LA and came down to Delano. A lot of people have asked me — why Delano, and the answer is simple. I had no money. My wife's family lived there, and I have a brother. And I thought if things go very bad we can always go and have a meal there. Any place in the Valley would have made no difference.

I had some ideas on what should be done. No great plans; just that it would take an awful lot of work and also that it was a gamble. If I can't organize them to a point where they can carry on their



own group then I'm finished, I can't do it, I'd move on and do something else.

I went around for about 11 months, and I went to about 87 communities and labor camps and in each place I'd find a few people who were committed to doing something; something had happened in their lives and they were ready for it. So we went around to the towns, played the percentages, and came off with a group.

First Meeting

We had a convention here in Fresno, the first membership meeting, to set up a union — about 230 people from as many as 65 places. We knew the hardest thing would be to put across a program that would make them want to pay the \$3.50 (monthly dues), because we were dependent on that. I felt that organizing couldn't be done on outside money.

We had signed up about 1100 people. The first month 211 paid. At the end of three months we had 10 people paying. Talk about being scared! But we went back and kept at it. By this time Dolores (Huerta) was helping me up in the Northern part of the Valley, and I was getting help from Gilbert Pedilla, both of whom are Vice Presidents now. Gradually the membership was increasing.

At the end of six months we were up to about 200 members. Instead of going all over the Valley as I did at first, I started staying in one place long enough for them to get in touch with me if they wanted to. We put a lot of emphasis on the people getting members.

House Meetings

We had hundreds of house meetings. Sometimes 2 or 3 would come, sometimes none. Sometimes even the family that called the house meeting would not be there. I wasn't trying to prove anything to anyone who had given money. If I'd been

under a board or a grant I don't think it would have worked. In the first place, I had to get the dues in order to eat. I suspect some of the members were paying dues because they felt sorry for me.

A guy who's paid dues for a year or three years has a stake in the Association. In CSO if I was making a report, and there were five people in the room and I mentioned four of them, the fifth would take off; very sensitive. We never got any arguments, any debate in CSO. Here there's a lot of questions about how the money is spent. It should be this way.

At the beginning of the strike we had \$85 in the treasury. We had the problem of people going out on strike and having no way to support them. So we had a big drive to get workers to go outside the area to work so they wouldn't be strike-breakers.

Role Of Organizer

The organizer has to work more than anyone else in that group. Almost no one in a group is totally committed. And in the initial part of the movement there's the fear that when the organizer leaves, the movement will collapse. So you have to be able to say, I'm not going to be here a year, or 6 months, but an awful long time — until when they get rid of me they'll have leaders to do it themselves.

Question: Are you dealing with the problem of leadership by becoming the leadership — does that inhibit the development of leadership in NFWA?

We're young, and we'd say no, but we're not kidding ourselves. The best we can do is build barriers to guard against that. But we can't say to — say one of our Vice Presidents — "You've performed a function; you've developed as a leader — now we have to get rid of you because we've got to develop somebody else."

When you're doing nothing but organizing, you can move the group and you can do an awful lot of things. If you don't have a paid staff, and that staff isn't in any one place long enough to make the thing strong, you're not going to get anywhere.

(The strike) is not a normal function of the Association. We need some time to do community organizing. We will have to go back into the community and do a lot of work we should have done before the strike. We'll take the time before the pruning season to do some organizing and strengthen the organization.

In order to develop leadership from the group, you've got to have something going. My experience may be different from SNCC, but from all I've seen, whenever an organizer leaves, that's pretty much the end of that group. So what do you have? You leave because you don't want to hold back the leadership developing — but how do you get the leadership without anything going? On that I've given an awful lot of thought.

AWOC

When we get to the point where we're negotiating, my hopes are to have a joint board where both groups would equally be represented and would be in a position to negotiate with the growers. The best thing for the growers would be to organize themselves and bargain with us collectively. But if they want to bargain individually, we'll do that too. I'd rather lose the strike than bargain with the growers separately from AWOC. In fact, I won't even talk to them unless someone from AWOC is present.

Since AWOC is affiliated with the AFL-CIO we don't go directly to them for support. We depend on the clergy, the students and civic groups. We have an informal agreement that they'll stick to labor donations; and we'll go to the groups I mentioned.

We go beyond what we see as the limitations of a labor union and try to get benefits for our members before a contract. We have a combination between a labor union and a community service group. So we help the members with their individual problems and we have the Credit Union and the newspaper (El Malcriado) and a cooperative store we were starting before the strike came. And we have a small burial insurance program for them.

Hopefully we'll be able to strengthen the cooperative program — go further and have a garage cooperative. We want to organize a mutual insurance set up that will handle a health program for the workers.

Minimum Wage

A minimum wage? Of course that would be good. But even with a minimum wage we'll still have to strike to get a just wage.