

**UFW DOCUMENTATION PROJECT
ONLINE DISCUSSION
June 2004**

Pilar (Pamela) Pederson, 6/1/04

RE: Volunteerism vs. Staff Salaries

OK. I'm finally weighing in on this discussion. I am now 50. My years with the Farmworkers were from ages 17 - 19(1971-1973). I was "in charge" of the Coachella hiring hall the summer of 1973 - the year that the Teamsters invaded. I am still connected with the Mexican people and am listening avidly to this conversation. I find much of what I read surprising but not shocking. Like all of us, I have spent much time examining these experiences since I left. As young and as middle class as I was, the pay rate for volunteers fit my need to serve, and if I wanted something more I could get it from home. I assumed & observed that folks with higher needs (families, attorneys, leadership) got those needs taken care of in the most modest sense of that word. I worked mostly in the field offices and felt largely unaffected by what went on in La Paz. I see great value in this conversation. I hear hard questions being asked and little which sounds derogatory or disloyal to the ideals we were working for. I hear sadness and disappointment that the work wasn't completed and gratitude to have learned from such great and inspirational leaders.

Two topics draw me into this conversation: the first is the issue of seniority and hiring. Farm workers travel in units, mostly comprised of families. They need to go to work with those they are hooked up with; to get a ride in a car, or to be part of their functional group. Arbitrary systems based on numbers just don't work. Why did we try so hard to centralize the authority of who could work where? Why didn't we empower our ranch committees to decide who was going to start work first? They, after all, knew the individuals: who had been longest with the Union or the particular ranch. They knew who needed to work in such-and-such a group for family or transportation reasons. Why did we take all the flack and animosity of the workers upon the Union hiring hall when there were very viable committees to whom we could delegate this hard and important task? They needed the power and could have best deflected the heat. Can somebody answer my question?

I came to see this issue of hiring as a revolutionary role for the UFW. Replacing the *contratistas* with a fair hiring practice, emanating from our Union hiring halls, is a vision which I haven't let go of. Had we succeeded, I feel history might have been written differently. As honored as I am that I was put in charge of the Coachella hiring hall in 1973, I was far too young and inexperienced to do the job well, and didn't stand up to the pressure. We had replaced union seniority with company seniority, and it went over about as poorly as Marshall describes the former. It was excruciating for me to feel the anger of the workers upon whom I was implementing yet another arbitrary and hard-to-fathom hiring system!

The other is how we enforced our contracts and treated the growers. I watched and admired a few true professionals who treated the growers in an even and respectful manner. Eliseo Medina comes to mind. Unfortunately, there weren't enough people enforcing contracts with the emphasis of fairness to all parties in the field offices where I worked.

The culture that trained me had a more instinctive and reactive emphasis. It was easy to emulate at the time, but in retrospect I do not feel it was effective in building a trade union to represent farm workers' rights in perpetuity. Most of those I lived with and learned from were first-hand recipients of repression. They taught me to disrespect and disregard the growers. And in Coachella - in my experience - we did. This is not a criticism of the Union, but a reflection on the reality of those times. Many talented leaders were off organizing boycotts. I feel that contract enforcement and field office work were just one of the too many demands on our young union. There were many wonderful people in the field offices. But I am unhappy when I remember how I was taught to react to the growers. We treated them as we felt they deserved. And that was not with respect. After I left the Union I came to understand the value of a professional, mature attitude in dealing with one's adversaries. In the heat of a legacy of generations of oppression it is

easy to understand how the early Union field office directors and their organizers felt and acted the way they did. Only strong leadership and modeling could have precluded our behavior. The growers, interested in their bottom line, had no place to go but to the Teamsters. 3 years of contracts with us were enough. Please understand that I'm speaking only about Coachella 1972-73.

Watching people transform into believing in themselves, in their power to act collectively and individually was a pivotal experience of my young life. I don't know what is happening in the agricultural fields of California today, and I would love to know. It is so great to be able to chime in on this conversation. All these stored thoughts of 30 years' making I have kept to myself. What is missing is input from the workers themselves. I am raptly reading every letter, chewing on the observations and gratefully putting events into sequence.

Sincerely,

Pilar (Pamela) Pedersen

PS: Does anyone know of the whereabouts of Roberto Garcia?

Barbara Macri, 6/1/04

RE: Paid Reps

So Marshall,

In any Union it is about control and the balance of power - such things are usually solidified, lost or changed at the convention. As I recall, you already had two sure votes on the Board, and you were looking to the convention to pick up a few more. With enough votes I truly believe that you felt you would be in the driver's seat, i.e. have enough votes to change the Union's course or in other words, "take over the union."

Your biggest mistake was that you underestimated Cesar and the love, loyalty and respect that the workers had for him. Cesar gave so many farm workers their dignity. They were not about to change horses in midstream, even if a few of their own from Salinas were trying to sell them a bill of goods. You know, to this day, what the workers remember and appreciate most about the Union and Cesar is that through the Union they claimed their dignity. We can argue about everything else, but if there is one thing we did right, we elevated the farm workers and made both the growers and the public see them for what they are - human beings - and respect them for the work they do -- harvesting the food that we all eat. Every now and then I run into retired farm workers, and they love to tell their war stories, just like we have been doing on this list serve. And you know invariably, the subject always comes back to dignity. That is what has stayed in their hearts and has meant the most to them.

I said it once and I will say it again. We ought to use this opportunity to share some of the good things we witnessed or did in the Union that impacted our lives and the lives of those around us, and in effect made this world a little better place.

Marshall, I wish you well, and I pray that one day you will be able to let go of the bitterness, frustration and disappointments, so that some day you will be able to appreciate your own contribution to the Union, as well as the contributions of the rest of the volunteers, the farm workers and the leadership of the Union, including Cesar.

Si se puede!

Barbara

Jerry Brown, 6/1/04

RE: Memorial Day/ Naji Daifullah

Dear Elaine,

What a beautiful story and fitting memorial. While focusing on winning the grape boycott and union contracts, the union inspired farm workers, volunteers and supporters across the country

alike, by being a living example of solidarity among all people – from many different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

After Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968 and black power advocates alienated many Anglos from the civil rights movement, Cesar and the union showed the country that, yes, we can all get along, and that nonviolence still works.

Back in '66 in Delano, I remember jumping into a car with several farm worker organizers to rush off to the DiGiorgio ranch on the rumor that the ranch foreman was dismantling the tiny altar to the Virgin of Guadalupe, which the union priests had placed along the roadside in the back of a station wagon. After inviting the DiGiorgio strikebreakers to evening prayers, we always got a lot of organizing done.

But during that car ride out to the altar, I must admit the thought did cross my mind. What would my Jewish grandmother think if I died defending the Virgin of Guadalupe? Oy Veh!

In solidarity, Jerry Brown (Delano, Toronto, Miami, 1966-1976)

Wren Bradley, 6/1/04

RE: Volunteerism v. Staff Salaries

Yes, Roberto Garcia is alive and well still in Salinas. He works for Sun Street Center, a drug and alcohol recovery program[.] * * * His wife and their three kids, Roberto Jr., Raul and Minnie are all doing well. Little Minnie just had her second child and as it turns out, I am her union rep., so I get a chance every so often to see the familia! wRen Bradley (1976-79)

Mary Mocine, 6/1/04 (1)

RE: Volunteer Staff System

Dear Jeff,

Greetings! Yes, I think you are describing at least one of the facets of this thing. I am struck, as I read all of this, with the parallels with the San Francisco Zen Center and its travails in the early 1980's and with its current growing pains.

What continues to pain me is the "us-them" view, not unlike that of Bush et al in my view. But, I think this discussion is tremendously useful even so.

yours, Mary

Barbara Cook, 6/1/04

RE: Paid Reps

Barbara – you referenced Cesar's moral compass in a previous email and that he never lost his bearings. Can you or anyone else comment on the firing of Gil Padilla and Chris Hartmire in that context? These two men in particular worked tirelessly on behalf of "la causa."

Barbara Cook (La Paz, Arizona, St. Louis boycott, NFWM)

Tom Dalzell, 6/1/04

RE: Free Speech

Since with Abby we have at least one insider from the Synanon Game on the list, I have a question about the Monday Night Massacre at La Paz in April 1977. If Cesar wanted to fire people because he thought they were grower spies or giving information to Hayakawa or selling marijuana at La Paz, why didn't he just fire them? Why the spectacle of public humiliation? When you were preparing for that Game, did that subject come up? Did anybody say, "Hey, this is starting to feel not just a little bit like Salem?"

Doesn't it seem that the same thing is happening here? When Marshall strongly disagrees with an idea, he calls the idea nonsense. When others strongly disagree with Marshall's ideas, they don't

just address the idea, but they call Marshall an informant, a frustrated and bitter Jew, someone who tried to take over the union, and someone whose actions in 1978 led to Cesar's death 15 years later. Something bad happened to our ability to disagree with each other in the late 1970s.

Tom Dalzell

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/1/04 (1)

RE: Free Speech

He did.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/1/04 (2)

RE: Free Speech

Well, well, well, I wish I could say I was not expecting to hear from you, Dalzell. But frankly, I could almost predict it because wherever you find Marshal, there is his sidekick, Dalzell (on retainer?). At least that is what the contributions to this Project, from what I read, indicate to me. It is comforting to know how things do not change after all these years. I want to know where it is written that volunteer staff can tell the people they work for how to run their business when they disagree with something or offer unsolicited advice *all* the time only to complain because it is not heeded? Somehow we moved from taking orders at our assigned jobs to trying to give them, from trusting those in charge of us and working to the best of our abilities where needed, to feeling of dissatisfaction and to having the audacity to question demand they be done differently. It was a lot more than "losing the ability to disagree with each other." It was telling the union how to run things by, writing memos, notes, or questioning decisions at every turn and at every meeting on how best to run the union, the hiring halls, field offices, you name it. How did Cesar manage to maintain order with so many pulling him this way or that is what I want to know. The only one who could do any changes would have been Marshal in his leadership role, and we all know how he exercised that privilege. What we hear from him now is a litany of grievances over disappointments and continual attacks on Cesar who is not here to defend himself. The crazy ones here are you, Tom and Marshal for believing that everyone on this listserv agrees with your interpretation of Cesar and the years we are discussing.

I did not realize the "Game," in which all staff participated including Marshal, scared you so much or that your anti-Cesar sentiments ran so deep. Feelings, I might add, that can only distort *a true* picture of what we are trying to accomplish with this Project. As for Salem, you seem to be doing an admirable job attempting to burn me at the stake. Oh, I forgot, you are "Tom" and the rest of us are too stupid to figure out your strategy. As in the PBS video where you discuss the injunction of fifty feet from both sides of the road leaving one somewhere in the middle of the air . . . well, that is where you are, Tom. Hot air. Abby/ La Paz, April, 1977/c/s

Doug Adair, 6/1/04 (1)

RE: Thanks from Doug Adair, Pato

Dear Gracie [Martinez],

You may not remember me, but I was a totally naive student out of Berkeley, who came down to Visalia to pick fruit in the summer of 1965. We slept in the basement at the AFSC that first night, and I think we slept in your back yard the next night. Later you and your mom and family had us over for barbeques and dinner several times, our first contact with the generosity and hospitality of the Mexicano and farmworker community. I remember you working in Delano and at the Malcriado, where I was working. I think you left with Richard Herron, and I lost track of you.

I tried to write to you a couple of years back, had gotten your address from somewhere, but my e-mail came back to me.

Anyway, your smile, your graciousness, were certainly part of the experiences that summer that made it easy for me to forget Berkeley and any return to the city life that I had always assumed was my destiny. Thanks for helping to turn my life around.

Doug Adair, Pato's Dream Date Gardens, Thermal, CA

Steve Hopcraft, 6/1/04

RE: The Game is Still Being Played by Some

To Abby and all,

Abby's email is a reminder that some have not stopped playing the GAME. Her personal attacks on Tom are just the sort of insults that were rained down on staff who gave their time, energy and parts of their lives to the UFW.

It is a failure of leadership to respond to legitimate questions from below by diverting attention with personal attacks. That's where Cesar went wrong. Certainly he had way too many decisions to make, and leaders do have people pulling them this way and that. But that is part of the true test of leadership, to be able to listen to conflicting input and then make decisions based on your own vision, judgment and experience. That's also where trusting your colleagues to make decisions and delegating them the authority to do so comes in handy.

Certainly on this list serve, lively discussion and conflicting opinions is a good thing.

After thirty years can't the truth be told? There is no need to bring the GAME back. It was a miserable failure the first time around -- except for some who enjoyed playing it and benefited in their own minds from driving hundreds of great, talented people from the Union. How did that benefit farmworkers?

We must forgive each other's mistakes, but the prelude to forgiveness is recognition that a mistake has been made.

Best to all the fantastic people I had the pleasure of working with in the UFW.

Steve Hopcraft

Livingston, Delano, Organizer, paralegal, 1975-77

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/1/04 (3)

RE: The Game is Still Being Played by Some

Thank you Steve, for your words. Please be mindful and do not commit the grave error of judging Cesar's leadership by me. Please, do not do the same to the countless dedicated volunteers who gave their *all* to the movement. Just blame me. I have always been a scrappy person and all nine of my brothers can attest to it. The game, a speck in time, did not teach me anything I did not already know at the time. It was nothing to me then or now. If you had lived my life or if you knew me at a personal level, you would know this. When I joined this Project I did not think we would all be coming on board to "praise" Cesar, I never believed we were coming on board to "bury" him.

Abby/ La Paz, April, 1977/c/s

Marc Coleman, 6/1/04

RE: Remembering Olivia Herrera

In the spirit of Memorial Day, I offer this remembrance of Olivia Herrera who passed away in December 2002. This was printed in the local paper. Many of you remember Olivia and her daughter Amelia Nieto from La Paz and Coachella. Amelia carries on the work at Centro Shalom.

To the art of remembering,

Marc Coleman (1975-1977)

Celebrating Olivia

Con las pobres de la tierra, quiero yo mi suerte echar.

With the poor of the earth, I would cast my fate.

It's December 17th, the one year passing of Olivia Herrera.

For those of us who had the privilege of knowing her, her bigger-than-life presence and huge heart are always with us.

Olivia loved Long Beach, the home of her Centro Shalom for twenty-five years. Not the buildings or the accomplishments but the people. And more specifically the people no one cares for - that was her clientele.

To Olivia, there was no such thing as an illegal person, any more than there are illegal birds or plants. Every human being was sacred and graced with beauty, possibility and basic rights.

I first met Olivia in 1976 in Coachella. She was working for the United Farm Workers Union protecting farm worker rights in the Imperial Valley. Olivia and Cesar Chavez were two peas in a pod. They both understood and dedicated their lives to organizing the poor and voiceless while fighting for their rights, educating, training, inspiring leadership and stirring resistance to oppressive conditions.

Olivia was, first of all, a fighter for justice. After starting Centro Shalom in 1977, she ran for School Board in 1992 to take on inequities in our local school system. To Olivia, it was not acceptable for the majority culture to trample the culture, history and language of Latino children through our school system. Olivia told the story of when she was a young girl growing up in Alamogordo, Texas. She was asked to write a report on the Alamo. Olivia diligently researched the issue, talked to her father and came back with a detailed report explaining how General Santa Anna had successfully repelled Yankee invaders from Mexico's land. Apparently this was an unpopular position in Texas in the 1930s. Olivia's teacher told her she had the history all wrong and gave her a failing grade. She was baffled but learned very early to stand up for herself and her history.

Olivia had a way of getting to a person's essence quickly. She once found a man sitting on the side of the road. Olivia approached and asked the man his name. "Benny Perez", the man replied. She looked at him for a few moments and said "you're no Benny Perez. Tell me your real name?" "Benigno Quiej", he replied. Olivia had recognized him as an Indian from Southern Mexico or Central America. "That's a beautiful name" Olivia told him and "Benny Perez" was no more. Benigno and Olivia became good friends and Benigno today is a member of the Centro Shalom Program Board.

Olivia claimed her ancestry directly from Manuel Nieto. If you go today to the corner of Alamitos and Ocean Boulevards, you will find Nieto rock which honors Manuel Nieto who was originally granted this entire region in 1784 by the Spanish Government. It bothered Olivia to no end that neither the City nor the School District did anything to honor the Latino history and heritage of this area.

People didn't know quite what to do with Olivia. She was impossible, impractical and unrelenting. To the City she was often a problem that had just to be overlooked like the time the City tried to shut down Centro Shalom for health violations. To the Church, she was embarrassing - always demanding shelter and care for anyone and everyone.

Olivia was Olivia. Regardless of the problem, she had a solution. To her it didn't matter if it was always the right solution. She abhorred inaction. In the absence of a better plan, you had better get out of her way.

To many, Olivia was the saint of the city. But describing Olivia as saintly doesn't really do her justice. It mystifies her in a way she never was. She was accessible to everyone and she saw each person as more than a collection of problems. She saw the person inside. If you asked her, she would say that she was nothing special, that she just did what needed to be done, day after day. Olivia understood that to be truly human means to suffer for the lives of others.

Olivia's life was her message. She touched many people but teenagers in trouble had a special place in her heart. She called them "the throwaway children". When her adopted teenage son was

killed in a drive-by shooting during the Latino/Cambodian gang violence in the 1980s, she organized a March Against Violence down Anaheim Street to try to bring together the Cambodian and Latino communities.

Olivia celebrated her life everyday. She would tell you that it's simply about choices - choices most people are unwilling to make.

How do we celebrate Olivia? Olivia was a person of great faith, hope and triumph despite overwhelming obstacles. We remember Olivia by speaking the truth despite the consequences, taking action, no matter how small to help those we come in contact with on a daily basis and insisting on the dignity due all people.

Tonight, Centro Shalom will host the one year anniversary celebration of Olivia's passing at Homeland Center, MacArthur Park, 1321 East Anaheim Street beginning at 5:30 p.m. It's a potluck and time for sharing and listening to memories of Olivia. Everyone is invited. Come and enjoy the evening and learn a little about this remarkable woman.

Marc Coleman was a friend of Olivia Herrera

Ellen Eggers, 6/1/04 (1)

RE: Free Speech

Abby: Saying that Tom is trying to distort "a true picture of what WE are trying to accomplish with this project" sounds a little like only those who agree with you are worthy of being part of the "we." I hope you don't mean that. I think it's very good to air these differences FINALLY, in a place where people who have "been there" can really tell us what they did, saw, heard, felt. Barbara certainly spoke her mind, as did Marshall and Tom...and God bless them all. We volunteers are the "eyewitnesses" and we each saw and heard different things, depending on our assignment, our relationship to Cesar, the time period in which we worked, etc. I think the purpose of the project is to put all of those many and varied puzzle pieces together. Let's put ALL of the pieces in, not just a select few. Obviously, some things, if they are just flat-out slanderous lies, probably should be edited out. But so far, I think everyone has gone into this in good faith, to try to get to the bottom of what really went on. 30 years have passed...Cesar's legacy will live on, if that's what your concern is. I am one volunteer who really appreciates that Tom and Marshall have added their voices to the discussion. It's certainly more interesting than just patting ourselves on the back non-stop. And a LOT of us have legitimate questions. I wish someone would answer the questions that Tom raised. When you lash out so ferociously, just remember that you are "documenting" some pretty mean-spirited words and name-calling. It's not fair to call Tom and Marshall "the crazy ones" because they don't agree with you. You bought into the idea that Cesar called ALL the shots, and should. And that's ok, because every movement needs people who will do just that...follow orders faithfully at all times. But I think movements also need people who will challenge and question and look for newer and better ways to accomplish things. I was more of a "follower" myself. I went along with the program 100% (except for a few times when I challenged the way the day care was being run ...no fans when it was really HOT for the kids...and Cesar got furious and told me off and told me that HE was the expert, and I better stay out of it!!) So I know how Cesar could be when you didn't like the way something was happening. I can imagine what he would have been like if someone told him how to run the union! Luckily I never did that. But sometimes other people have good ideas and really wise leaders probably try to stay open to hearing ideas from others without being threatened. I'm all for this discussion, but I'm in favor of stopping the name-calling. Please?

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/1/04 (4)

RE: Free Speech

Ellen, you brought up a lot of points which I hope I can address at a later date. Right now, I am getting ready to leave for home. I do, however, want to address one point. The reason I said Tom and Marshall were the crazy ones is because in earlier postings they said Cesar was "losing it," etc. Have you forgotten those "flat-out slanderous lies" that will be recorded for all posterity?

What qualifies them to make those remarks? Do they have a corner on history that the rest of us don't? Do you remember those e-mails? Marshall did not hesitate to call Cesar crazy, yet I am being questioned for doing that to Marshall? He is alive and can defend himself... what can Cesar do? Cesar cannot speak to say "nonsense," can he?

Well, I may as well continue after all. The union provided many opportunities for input . . . don't you recall all those brainstorming sessions we had; the starting point of all Management by Objectives planning sessions where every departments of the union gave ideas/ input? That was the forum we had (although we had other before also) and many outstanding ideas came from these sessions that benefited us in the work we did serving our farm worker members. Many of us got to see these team ideas implemented and that was extremely rewarding to us. For some reason, everyone has forgotten this. But, boy, everyone certainly remembers the Game. It must have been intimidating if that is what people remember most. I do not know what you mean about being a "follower." Now *that is* a mind game people will play to discredit you and to discredit your valuable contributions. I do not believe you were a "follower," Ellen. Maybe you didn't always win your battles, i.e., with Cesar or otherwise, but you enjoyed a lot of freedom to do your work and to do it your way. We all did and we all did the best we could even under the most difficult of circumstances as all our essays submitted prove. Our work helped build a union that nobody believed could get off the ground. Read Barbara Macri's account. I love how she writes and tells of how the union gave us dignity. I search and search for a better word to describe what the union did for me and my family, and it always goes back to that one word. Aren't you moved at having contributed to that?

Mary Mocine, 6/1/04 (2)

RE: Free Speech

[Abby Flores Rivera wrote: "Well, well, well, I wish I could say I was not expecting to hear from you, Dalzell. But frankly, I could almost predict it because whenever you find Marshall, there is his sidekick, Dalzell (on retainer?)."]

The tone of this message really saddens me. I understood Tom to be asking real questions. I also understood him to be critical of Marshall as well as of others for using disrespectful language. We must find a way to disagree and discuss all of this without the finger pointing. To raise questions and bring up contradictions is not dragging someone through the mud. Surely Cesar's legacy is strong enough to take some criticism.

Mary Mocine, 6/1/04 (3)

RE: Free Speech

[Ellen Eggers wrote: "Abby: Saying that Tom is trying to distort 'a true picture of what WE are trying to accomplish with this project' sounds a little like only those who agree with you are worthy of being part of the 'we.'"]

As the Quakers say, the sister speaks my mind. Mary

Doug Adair, 6/1/04 (2)

RE: On Yemenis and worms and caca

In a message dated 5/31/04 . . . [Kate Colwell] writes:

Throughout my years in health care I have always been aware of having seen so many things in Delano that my classmates in the first world will never see. The Yemeni farmworkers came to the clinic with Schistosomiasis. A parasitic snail disease, unheard of in this country, they were infected when they swam or bathed or gathered water in infected water in Yemen. They came to us with blood in their urine. This was so common that Dr. Dan Murphy had to apply to the FDA to use an experimental drug that wasn't approved in the US because, of course, no one in the US could have schisto. Throughout all this discussion of what did or did not go well with the Union, remember that we had faith and we tried, and that's better than despair.

This sharing of memories is very precious to me.

Si se puede

Kate Colwell

The camp I worked in at Tenneco-Ducor under the first grape contracts (1970-73), had been majority Filipino, with a Filipino cook, for whom, of course, the most prized food was pork, (linchon?). In the late 1960's, early '70's, Yemenis began arriving, hoping to get into the camp crews dominated by the Filipino crew bosses, and our camp had had perhaps 20% Arab workers before the contracts. They suffered all kinds of rip-offs from the foremen, a mattress fee, scamming and cheating on the food, a fee for riding the bus...

After the contracts came into effect, the company office in Houston ordered the office in Bakersfield to close all the camps between the end of the harvest (early November) and the pruning (December), in 1971, about 6 weeks. The foreman and many of the Pinoys did leave. But many of the workers, led by Macario Bustos (Mexicano) and Rudy Reyes (Filipino), and backed up by Juan Flores, the field rep from the Delano office, held a sit in and refused to leave... and called in the press.... The Bakersfield *Californian* ran a big spread for Thanksgiving, the huddled workers in the Tule fog, cooking their food over camp fires outside after the gas and water and electricity had been turned off... The company backed down and agreed to negotiate with the workers...

The workers insisted, as part of the agreement, that the workers who had left, including the foreman (in the unit at that time) could not return, and set out to end all the scams and rip-offs. And non-discriminatory hiring, through the hiring hall, suddenly allowed an influx of Yemenis, who were in a majority by the time I got a dispatch there in the pruning in 1971. And the critical issue for the Yemenis was.... THE KITCHEN. Many ranch committees began taking over the kitchens and demanding non-profit administration, reviewing the purchases and figuring individual payments due, without the standard kickbacks and skimming that most foremen engaged in. In our camp, the new majority Arabs also demanded purchasing more LAMB and less PORK. Even more important, they wanted separate knives, cooking pots, utensils, even ice boxes that would be pork free. They didn't want their food stored in the befouled and dirty refrigerators that had held pork! The crew committee wanted to respect and teach majority rule, so we made a valiant effort to accommodate their wishes...The poor cook also had to chance his menus...

Visits to the Delano clinic were the high points of the week for the Yemenis. The staff treated them with such respect and warmth, their first contact with "good Americans." Some would fake illnesses just to be examined and touched by the beautiful nurses. But as Kate notes, the intestinal worms (Schistosomiasis) were endemic. At one point, Dr. Murphy organized a U.N. team to come in to study the problem. Our job was to get all the Yemenis in our camp, 100% to go into the clinic and give stool samples. We did pretty good, but of course a few couldn't go in that day or weekend. So the clinic suggested we take some containers back to the camp, and collect the samples, and store them in the refrigerator until we could bring them into the clinic.

Needless to say, the Pinoys were now bemused, expressing their own outrage, and insisted that they didn't want the Arab Caca stored in THEIR clean refrigerator!

It was an uproar in the camp at the time. But the incident is indicative of the amazing effort that the Delano Clinic put out to serve the workers, the Arabs, the Pinoys, the Mexicanos, everyone. And the clinics in Coachella and Calexico were also one of the top benefits we had under the contracts. I assume the same goes for the one in Salinas. The American health system today seems to me so broken, so unsatisfactory, assuredly for farm workers. The UFW system was certainly an alternative, a "what might have been".

Viva la Causa,

Doug Adair

(El Malcriado, 1965-1970)

(Grape, Lettuce boycotts, Philly, St. Louis, 1970-71)

Tenneco West, Ducor (grapes, under UFW contract) 1971-73
(Jail and probation, 1973-75)
Legal Department, Salinas, Coachella, 1975-77
David Freedman Co., Coachella (grapes, under UFW contract) 1977-88
Pato's Dream Date Gardens, Thermal (dates), 1980-present
(UFW pension, to present)

Will Kirkland, 6/1/04

RE: Free Speech

As I have read some of these messages, I am reminded of a few words of Gandhi. Cesar honored Gandhi I believe:

“Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test:

Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him.

Will he gain anything by it?

Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny?

In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?

Then you will find your doubts and your self melting away.”

Will Kirkland

Ellen Eggers 6/1/04 (2)

RE: Free Speech

Dear Abby: Of course I was very moved by the whole thing! It's not like Marshall and Tom and others were not “moved” also. How could they have made the contributions they made without loving the cause AND its leader, Cesar? We were all in that together. But it's perfectly possible to have both feelings... love and admiration and also disappointment and bitterness. I was lucky because I did not get tossed out, so my bitterness is minimal. Cesar and I were really okay with each other, I think. But I admire the people who were willing to risk it all to challenge him. Probably not everyone, but I would think that most people who challenged him, the ones that had been around for a while, did so in the utmost of good faith and for the right reasons... the good of the union. As for Cesar “losing it”...probably all of us “lose it” from time to time...he certainly lost it a few times with me....and honestly, I did start to wonder about some of his decisions the longer I was around and had a chance to see, over many years time, that there were certain patterns to his behavior. And eventually I decided that I really did not have as much faith in his ability to lead, as I had in the past. When I say I was a follower, I WAS. My first few years with the Union I was not in a position to object to whatever he was doing. I was on the boycott for God's sake (Ha!)...what's there to do but picket, picket, picket and then find more people to picket with you! But, years later, working right there in La Paz and seeing things from a little more mature and experienced viewpoint, I did see things that bothered me. If I had been ushered out of there, like some people were, I am sure I'd be somewhat bitter too. We need to let people have their say, that's all. Ellen

Deborah Vollmer 6/1/04

RE: Free Speech

All,

Can we all agree that Cesar was a great leader--but a human being, with character flaws? I don't think anyone suffered more because of Cesar's actions than my significant other at the time, Philip Vera Cruz. I know that if Philip were alive today to participate in this conversation, he would have many bitter words about the way Cesar treated him, and he would have been justified in

saying them. I know this, because Philip and I shared our feelings of sadness, disappointment and frustration concerning what both of us were going through, repeatedly, during the years that Philip and I were together that both of us were with the Union. And Philip probably would have been a little impatient with me, for trying to step back and understand Cesar, and give him credit for his strengths, as well as pointing out his weaknesses.

But Philip had reasons for feeling the way he did; he was a leader with a following among Filipino farmworkers, and among students and others in the cities where the Union had boycott operations. But, for whatever reasons, Cesar attempted repeatedly to undermine Philip as a leader. And Philip clashed with Cesar on issues of principle--such as opposing Cesar's trip to the Philippines as a guest of the dictator Marcos, and the treatment of undocumented workers (Cesar's policy on this varied from time to time, but Philip was always consistent--don't deport them; organize them!)

Maybe it was because of my relationship to Philip, I don't know, but I seemed to be constantly targeted by Cesar (and I don't remember that Marshall was very supportive of me either!) – and yet I think it is fair to say that I did do valuable work for the Union in the Legal Department (within which there was also quite a bit of friction, but that is yet another story!)

There can be no denying that with all of his flaws, Cesar was a great leader--I think more in the beginning, than later. One of his greatest flaws was that he liked to surround himself with Yes people (which neither Philip nor I was). There were a few people who could get away with passing on constructive criticism to Cesar--when I was there, one of the few who could do this was Jerry Cohen. Then there was created this cycle—few could criticize without getting fired; constructive criticism was limited; Cesar felt more and more that he was above criticism. Cesar hurt some of the people who most wanted to help; and bitterness resulted to the extent that some folks who started out only wanting to help Cesar and the Union left with such hatred that they could no longer see the greatness that was also a part of Cesar Chavez.

All this was very unfortunate. The best of leaders welcome constructive criticism. When supporters are allowed to give constructive criticism and are heard with respect, they retain respect for the leader. Unfortunately, this did not happen with Cesar. Only a select few were permitted to criticize in a constructive manner without being fired.

By putting all this in perspective, I wonder. If we were looking at Gandhi, or Martin Luther King, or John L. Lewis, or any of a number of great leaders, - and we were to take the close look – not the idealized look from afar – would we find the same thing? I think the leader who can truly accept criticism is the exception rather than the rule, and the very qualities that make a person a strong, charismatic leader also tend to make that person so confident in their own abilities that he/she rejects criticism, no matter how constructive the intent of those doing the criticizing.

Well, I'm not sure if this helps this dialogue or not, but these are my thoughts.

Peace,
Deborah Vollmer

Emmy Bell Cardiel (Lopez), 6/1/04

RE: Free Speech

I agree, Ellen, 100%. Different people had their own personal experiences with C. Who's to say what exactly went on but the person who was involved! You were not the only one who was a FOLLOWER, LOTS of us were followers; we followed the movement and the life it laid out for us. It was just, that some of us experienced some outcomes that we would not have dreamed of otherwise. And for those people, I think they should be able to speak their minds, unless you (whomever) were there to experience the same incident - then that would allow their opinions to come up. Let those speak what their perception was at that time. I think that is what we want to hear! There are always two sides to a story. Some people have different views. SO WHAT? Cesar taught me FREE SPEECH, Cesar taught me to FIGHT for what I BELIEVE IN and I think that message came through for a lot of us. SO, I think we did just that, we FOUGHT for what we believe in and we SPOKE to defend ourselves when we had to. Cesar became an ICON for a lot of

reasons which I will always remember but I also remember other things that I will never forget! So right on Ellen!!

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/1/04

RE: "ouch"

Ellen Eggers writes "*We volunteers are the "eyewitnesses" and we each saw and heard different things, depending on our assignment, our relationship to Cesar, the time period in which we worked, etc. I think the purpose of the project is to put all of those many and varied puzzle pieces together.*"

Thanks Ellen

The intensity of these discussions has reached a level I feel is not productive to the open airing of issues. We don't have to defend Cesar. Whatever is said here will not detract from his legacy and yes, the opportunity he gave to workers to stand up for their rights. Cesar was first and foremost an organizer. He was also protective of his work. I thought about the question of dignity. Farmworkers recognized their own dignity, but it wasn't recognized by those who exploited them and the public at large who didn't know them. The movement changed this. We helped change this. Cesar became an icon for the focus of this change. He began as Cesar, a dedicated and talented organizer and was transformed by the dynamics of the times.

Any of us who worked with him are aware of his many, many strengths, his sheer genius and his weaknesses. I try to be a realist. I don't think we want to put this discussion on the ethical and moral high ground. Then again, maybe we do. In that case I believe its purpose would shift to a narrow self righteous tit for tat. I did witness a dramatic change with the new Board after the 1979 convention. I know Lupe has some thoughts on this. In my last discussion with him he advised me to consider the implications of some of my opinions. I too have some pretty intense ones, not all of them reasonable, but they are my perceptions of events. Some of what we all say at times is hard to stomach based on our own experiences. Fred Hirsch mentioned something in his essay that still stings in my memory. But let us continue, with some gentleness and regard. Viva la Union.
Kathy Murguia

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/1/04

RE: PURPOSE OF DOCUMENTATION PROJECT

A COMMENT FROM THE MODERATOR,

I say it again: in my view the farm worker movement, founded and directed by Cesar Chavez, was one of the most significant social movements in the history of our country, and each of you played a role in its development. Ready or not, you are a part of our country's history.

The purpose of the documentation project online discussion is to give each of you the opportunity to provide future readers with the benefit of your experience and your understanding of what transpired. Our online discussion is not a forum for Cesar bashing (or praising); nor is it intended to be an insider's referendum about Cesar's leadership.

To date, only 30% of the eligible members have participated in the discussion but I know that for the documentation project to be successful we need more people to participate. For example, we need to hear from those who played a role in the movement before the 1965 strike; we need to hear from those who first started the boycott; we need to hear from those involved in the Teatro and the pilgrimage to Sacramento and so on. There are so many things about the farmworker movement that future readers want to read about and understand; who better to tell them than those of you who actually did this work?

But how can we expect more participation in our discussion from former volunteers when they read some of our recent postings, which contain personal attacks, name calling, dripping sarcasm and taunts? Some of these kinds of comments create an insurmountable obstacle for many who might otherwise want to participate. And because of some of our comments, can you blame them for staying on the sidelines? I think not.

Please think about this for a moment. We can have differing - and very strongly held views - without seeking to trash one another to make our points. For example, no one will ever convince me that Cesar and/or his movement was a failure, but I am certainly willing to hear some one out and read their every word - and reflect about - their views of the mistakes that we made, things we could have done better, actions we took that brought about unintended consequences, or things we should have done.

At different points in the movement, 1962-1993, we were all in it together, we were totally committed, we made many personal sacrifices and we worked at a legendary pace. Do I wish I knew then what I know now? Of course perhaps then I would have made more of a contribution. Who can say for sure? But the reality was that I was young and inexperienced and it was Cesar who taught me what to do - and I gave him, and his cause, the best I could do. My story is not unique. In your 1,200 pages (175 essays), I read that same story - your story - over and over again. Young and inexperienced volunteers taught by Cesar to fight for social justice - and yes, dignity - for farmworkers.

By all means, let us agree or disagree, as the case may be, and let us talk about anything you want to talk about but let us also make a conscious effort to explain to future generations ALL that transpired in this historical movement, not just a sliver or two.

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

Lorraine Agtang (Mascarinas) Greer, 6/2/04

RE: Paid Reps

Kathy,

Your e-mails have been very honest about the sad things that had happened and had devastating effects on individuals. I for one applaud your willingness to share the personal side of the stories.

You may not remember me but I went to work in the Rodrigo Terronez Clinic at Forty Acres when the 1973 Delano Grape Strike ended and everyone was sent out to the boycott. I was born and raised in Delano, and my parents were farm workers. I was 21 years old when Esther Urunday agreed to hire me as the clinic receptionist, of course I told her I could speak Spanish even though I knew very, very little. She later laughed to find out there were farm workers who she did not know who spoke English until seeing them with me.

I'm half Mexican and half Filipino with parents who did not want to add additional barriers to struggles ahead so did not teach us either language. Both have passed away my mother last fall, and my dad died 3 years ago at 106 years old (God bless their souls), he contracted cancer - what do you say. He had a grand life.

In early February 1974, Ben Maddocks asked me to be the first manager of the Agbayani Retirement Village for the manongs. The manongs were the most incredible group of people to serve. I learned about wisdom and strength. Remember the manongs, Sebastian the photographer, Catalino, alias Chairman Mao, George the groundskeeper they all had their own stories. And they were the original strikers.

I left Delano for a short period only to return in early 1975, as the ARLA was nearing passage to begin organizing workers for the upcoming elections. These were the glorious days when I felt that we did make a difference. I was arrested three times in one week for trespassing. Volunteers came from everywhere to share of their time and talents to participate in the movement and history. We the local volunteers fought to end historical oppression we and our families suffered at the hands of greedy growers. The power, growers have to control a community by keeping people oppressed whether Mexican, Filipino, Arab, Porto Rican, this was because of the need for a cheap labor force.

I remember what it was like not to have toilets, cold water in the fields, or medical benefits for the children. I remember a boss Giumarra's son-in-law, who was like the Superintendent of the ranch. One day, he came out to the crew and was angry after receiving a report that the color of the

grapes being picked was too green. This was a big man, he began his lecture about the bad job we were doing by picking green grapes. Explaining how they had to be banana color, banana color? Continuing saying how even if he had a person who was blind, without an arm or leg that this person could do a better than any of us workers. He then grabbed a box of grapes dumping them on the ground he began jumping on the grapes to show his frustration. Scared the hell out of the crew.

The grape strike and then going to work with the union was my real first experience feeling free to chose. Everyday I learned something about people, the world and myself like being in a learning lab. Cesar lit a fire inside me that would forever keep me asking the hard questions and often resulting in angering many bosses. During those years I had decided that I wanted to spend the rest of my life with the union. It was a personal calling, a vocation of sorts, and my choice with what I wanted to do with my life. I was not an insider nor was I a volunteer for the summer. I did not know many people when I was hired as a volunteer, except for Chavez girls whom I had gone to school. I could go on about how terrible my life growing up in Delano, but I do not have the need. What I would like share is why I left Delano, being one of those 40 odd stats who left in 1977. Leaving Delano in 1977 with pain in my heart and feeling broken was one of the darkest days in my life it took years for healing to take place.

Anyway, my run-in was not with Cesar but Delores Huerta. Delores wanted me to go to Santa Maria for some undetermined amount of time to organize the Filipino farm workers. As a single parent I told her that I could not leave my children. Explaining to her of the endless fights with my ex-husband over the children. I could tell she really wanted me to go, so I agreed to ask my mother to watch the children. Well, my mom was working so was unable to keep the kids. When I returned to forty acres to tell Delores that I could not go, she angrily said fine if I could not find someone then she would. I said to her that maybe she did not understand, I could not leave my children with people I did not know. She proceeded to tell me that maybe I should leave the union since I had so many personal problems. I later called Ben who was my boss in Coachella and told him what Delores wanted me to do. I later found out he had called Cesar to intervene. Delores did not talk to me from that day forward. So much for speaking up.

Several months later while in a staff meeting at forty acres, all of the sudden the doors opened, and in came a number of La Paz staff. Everyone got quiet because we all recognized the prized "game" team. They quickly focused on someone I can't remember who the guy was but it was clear he was a goner. He was asked to leave. Then I became center stage and Delores began her speech about my lack of respect for the union and for myself and comments about who I was dating. It was real ugly, then systematically others joined in. All my friends even Ben had to participate. At one point I stood up and said I would not accept what was being said and left the room. Outside friends came out and said that I needed to return. Take my licks and I would not be asked to leave. I had to remind myself that working for the union was all I wanted to do with my life.

I did go back and took a deep breath as I sat and listened to Delores's cruel words and at the end I apologized for my inappropriate behavior and then it finally ended I was not fired. I should have known that this was not the end. Delores was not happy with the outcome. Strange things started happening Delores sitting outside our home at night for hours. I lived with two other female volunteers. A week or so later it was 1:30 a.m. when I heard my room mate calling my name I was asleep in bed with my three children. The next I knew my room mate opened the door and Delores barged in behind her. Before I could wipe the sleep from my eyes she started telling me how I had not followed through with the agreements from the game. I was guilty for not speaking to one of the local volunteers. I explained how I was kind of upset by the untruths told that day by a friend and it would take me time to accept. She again began to tell me how I had too many problems and so maybe now was not a good time for me to work with the union and so I should not go to work the next day. I left the house in tears and stopped at a phone booth and called Ben. I explained to him what had taken place and how Delores suggested I do not go to work the next day. Ben said if that's what she said then I should not go to work. That was my last day with the UFW.

I later learned that when one door closes another opens. As many of the volunteers left, so did I too leave. But there was something wrong with this picture. While others had their past lives to

return to that had been on hold, my life was the union and Delano my home. ***Today I look back and am only thankful to Cesar and the many volunteers who were my friends, teachers and mentors. You will not be forgotten!***

For the past 30 plus years I have spent my life enabling others to gain control of their life by making choices. I spent nearly 15 years as a Career Counselor facilitating Career Development Classes, and 7 years managing youth employment and training programs. My philosophy is if you are willing to do the work to get what you want no one can stop you. We worked with the most difficult of populations youth; youth offenders, teen parents, foster youth, and school drop outs. Success is like organizing for a campaign, as long as all the stake holders claim ownership to the process, and decisions benefit all, then everyone shares in the success.

I sing and play guitar with a group at a 5:30 pm Mass every Sunday. I am married, to a recently retired union rep, I have 8 good looking grandchildren, and my kids are old.

On May 14, 2004, Bob Thompson and I attended Ben Maddocks Retirement (CSEA) party in Fresno, it was a blast. He did a great job and it was clear that the people there had nothing but praise and respect for Ben's work. Maria looks great.

Lorraine Agtang-Greer

Delano 1973 Grape Strike, Rodrigo Terronez Clinic, Agbayani Village, Farm Worker Elections through August 1977

Doug Adair, 6/2/04

RE: '81 Convention and Paid Reps

In a message dated 5/31/04 . . . [Abby Flores Rivera] writes:

*Cesar did not "crush" the farm worker "leadership within the union". You maintain: those "within the union who had the guts to run their own candidates for the board" at the convention. You make it sound as though the **only** leadership the union had came from Salinas, from that small group "**grupito**". There is great error in this assertion, Marshal. Leadership in the union was found throughout the state(s) not only Salinas. The slate that was elected at the convention was well-known, respected, but above all, trusted by the delegates representing the majority of farm workers throughout the state. That was the **leadership** that cast the vote. (The same voting representation dynamics in place at the convention, I might add, that got you elected to the board in the past). The mistake committed by the Salinas **grupito** (the puppets from Salinas you so fiercely defend) was assuming that farm workers agreed with their agenda. They certainly were out of touch with the rest of the workers throughout the state(s). Give the farm worker delegates i.e. leadership present that day the dignity they deserve for the decisions they made that day. Otherwise, I would hate to infer from this that you might think farm workers (many of them Mexicans) might not have been smart enough to vote for their own Executive Board. I know the farm workers in San Ysidro, including my father-in-law, were mighty pleased with those elected. Also, I cannot conceive of Cesar being fearful of anything as you claim. He would have started all over again somewhere else, is my belief. If you want to blame anyone for that not getting elected blame the delegates.*

Dear Abby,

I think you are right that the official slate would have won a majority of the vote, if an open vote had been allowed, but we never had the opportunity to vote for any but the official candidates.

We in Coachella were not familiar with what was going on in Salinas. But I know a majority of the David Freedman and Travertine votes (about 40 delegates representing around 1000 workers) would have been cast for Rosario Pelayo, one of the independents running, if allowed to vote for her. I put her name in nomination, and she was enthusiastically seconded by several other grape workers, and I think by citrus workers from Oxnard. She had worked in the grapes all over the state; she had worked at Freedman, her sister and brother-in-law and daughter had all worked in the grapes and were high seniority workers at Freedman (and delegates), and she was widely known as a leader among the 1973 strikers. In the movie, it is she and her sister, chanting and

singing, as they are shoved into the paddy wagon. She might well have polled a majority of voters from the Coachella Valley delegations (mostly grapes and citrus).

And I know she had some support in Oxnard/Ventura, and was also well known in the lettuce and row crops. She had run the field office in Calexico but it was her experience in the fields, rather than the field office, that made her appealing to real, live farm workers. She had stood in line, waiting for a dispatch (and perhaps not gotten one); had waited for reimbursement for insurance (and perhaps been taken to collections because of the delays); and knew the promises being made to the workers, and logjams and snafus that left some of those promises unfulfilled. Those were the issues that concerned us, loyal Chavistas all. We wanted someone who knew the contracts from the workers' point of view, as well as an administrator's perspective. I'm guessing she might have gotten 40% of the vote, state-wide, in an open election. But her nomination was ruled out of order. According to Freddy Chavez, legal advisor to the convention, procedures outlawed nominations unless the nominee was physically present. Unknown to us from Coachella, she had left the night before, apparently after the other independents felt the cause was hopeless. So we never got a chance to vote for her.

No one in Coachella was against Cesar, or Dolores, or Richard or Artie. I was enthusiastically campaigning for Oscar Mondragon, who was unknown in Coachella, but was one of the "slate" candidates running for one of the open seats. I had seen his work in San Ysidro, his ability to listen to the workers, to respond to their needs and demands. And our preferred candidate was Bobby de la Cruz, who had worked in the grapes, run a field office (he was in charge in Oxnard at the time) and a boycott office. He had been the lead organizer in Coachella at grape ranches Beckman and Bender and Tenneco, early victories in 1977. But he declined to run.

But (and apologies to Barbara), I wasn't the only one with no enthusiasm for Frank Ortiz, who seemed to us totally insensitive to Filipinos and other minorities, an ex-foreman mentality, better at giving orders than listening. He was said to have orchestrated the firing of Maria Rifo, accusing her of being a witch or a Commie or something. Dear, sweet Maria, dumped outside the gates of La Paz with her luggage, a 70 year old woman expected to hike up to the freeway and hitch a ride to -- where? That, to me, was total disrespect for a dedicated and loyal worker. And David Martinez, the third candidate for the open seat, was well known in Coachella, and had been a disaster as organizer at the Harry Carrian election, and unloved by staff and workers when he took over from Eliseo Medina when Eliseo was gone. He was an ex- seminary student who had never worked in the grapes or farm labor, and seemed to be strictly an organization man, trying to please whoever was above him in the organization. Maria Serrano and some of the women liked him, he was a pretty boy and had a good reputation from running the boycott in Chicago. But he was not what the majority of the Freedman delegates thought we needed on the Board. Would they have won anyway, simply by being a part of the official slate? I think they would have. But why not allow a free and open debate and vote?

The first day of the convention was taken up by a vicious racist rant by an AFL hack out of Arizona, attacking the independents as agents of the growers, traitors, sellouts, Teamsters spies, every smear in the book. Cesar had to caution from the podium that no one should be labeled a traitor like that.

Then the convention was presented with stacks of petitions, presumably signed by workers in Salinas, "instructing" their delegates to vote for the entire official slate, no exceptions. The rumor was that Dolores and a crew had gone to Salinas and told workers, "If you support Cesar, sign the petition", so there was no problem getting signatures. I love Dolores dearly, but she knows how to play hardball. I'm not sure if there was any attempt to verify if the workers' names on any given petition were present, former, or future workers of any given company. But a Rules Committee then decreed that the votes of any given ranch had to abide by the petitions, precluding any honest discussion of issues before the convention delegates or a free vote of conscience by the (elected) delegates from those ranches. I gather it was at that point that the delegates supporting the independent candidates from Salinas decided that it was hopeless, and went home. I wish they had stayed.

(I might add that I think it was the David Freedman workers, under the negotiating leadership of Gil Padilla, who won the first paid rep in a UFW contract, in June, 1980. The lettuce workers followed in our path. And yes, it was understood it would be the Ranch Committee President, elected by the workers (in our case, Armando Sanchez), who would hold the position. There seems to be a prejudice in this discussion that the lettuce cutters were more militant than the grape pickers, all macho young guys in the forefront of the union. But the middle-aged Freedman workers were the first to get the pruning opened to women, (and the vine tying to men!), the first to get family seniority, allowing kids to work with their seniority family during Christmas and Spring breaks and in the harvest; and had the highest rate of using the medical benefits of any ranch in the state (someone from La Paz came down and criticized us for that, that we must be abusing the plan; but we always leafleted the crews before the layoffs, reminding them of the recall procedures, leave of absence procedures if they might not be back in time for the recall; and urging them to use the vision and dental plans during the layoff)... We were empowered by the contracts negotiated by Eliseo Medina in 1977 and Gil Padilla in 1980, with wages and benes almost equaling the lettuce workers, and in spite of an overwhelming Mexicano work force, elected a Filipino (Rudy Reyes) and Puerto Rican as Presidents of the Ranch Committee (and off and on, an Anglo, yours truly, as Secretary). But when workers are empowered like that, they want more, from the company, and from La Paz. We had great contracts and we wanted the delivery of those benefits to be the top priority of the folks in La Paz. We were paying our dues (and also turning out for the various demonstrations and campaigns), the most loyal ranch in the state. Our sacrifices are under the 110 degree sun. We didn't want someone from La Paz telling us, "No se Puede"...

Viva la Causa,

Doug Adair

(El Malcriado, 1965-1970)

(Grape, Lettuce boycotts, Philly, St. Louis, 1970-71)

Tenneco West, Ducor (grapes, under UFW contract) 1971-73

(Jail and probation, 1973-75)

Legal Department, Salinas, Coachella, 1975-77

David Freedman Co., Coachella (grapes, under UFW contract) 1977-88

Pato's Dream Date Gardens, Thermal (dates), 1980-present

(UFW pension, to present)

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/2/04

RE: Paid Reps

Lorraine, my mind is foggy about some things, but the Manongs, our beloved Filipino brothers stand out with such clarity in my mind. Lupe and I would go down to visit especially during the Holidays. They would have a Xmas meal at the Village. And there they would be. I have a great picture of all of them. I remember their love of kids. They'd talk with Ricardo and Maria, and stick quarters in their pockets. What was built there in Delano was what the movement was about. What came later, and what you experienced was an abuse of power. I'm thrilled to hear of your work with adolescents, and kids at risk. Listening, caring, nurturing, mentoring and not giving up is what it's about. I remember Bob Thompson and of course Ben. Hope to hear from them in this dialogue.. and yes I do remember you. Lupe sends his regards. All the best and isn't it great to be a grandma wait I am a great grandma. Delores' Murguia Candalita's son Anthony has three boys. Don't know if you knew Jimmy Candalita. He was also half Filipino and half Mexican, and spoke only English. He was shot and killed in Delano in the late 80's. All the best Kathy Murguia (1965-1983)

Roberto Bustos, 6/2/04

RE: PURPOSE OF DOCUMENTATION PROJECT

Hola, Leroy, well said! when the time comes I will share my experience of my involvement in the movement, especially the march to Sacramento "la peregrinacion" for which I was the captain of

this historic march. this is one of many legacies that I'm leaving behind to my sons & daughter and their sons & daughters to know what their father and grandfather did in the union. but first lets get out all of the hatred and the bickering out of the way, remember the fight for justice for farmworkers is not over, there still lots of work to done. si se puede! viva Cesar Chavez. Roberto Bustos 1965-1972

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/2/04 (1)

RE: Thanks from Doug Adair, Pato

Of course I remember you, Doug, with very much fondness. We spoke briefly a few years back and you invited me to come visit you. You have just filled in some of the gaps of my younger years, and fanned again the love and admiration I carry for my madrecita, who succumbed to Alzheimer's eight years ago. I too was a naive child of 19 in those days, full of dreams and hope for the future, striving to break away from the poverty that engulfed us all in those days. My mother was my rock. She kept the doors to our home open to anyone who associated with me. It was these early days that set the stage for the rest of my life, and my mother, you and all the others whom I met during that time were the ones who colored in the spaces. Who would have thought, Doug, I would wind up being director of such an important program as this - the job that once was held by my beloved Bard McAllister and his wife Olga. You all made the difference for me. You made me remember Bob Keller - he also got to know my family and stayed with us for a few days. We lost track and time has dimmed memories. How was I to know in September, 1965, as students from all over gathered to help with this important struggle that we were making history? I did leave with Richard Herron and we had three children. We only managed to make it to the La Paz opening with our first-born Hannah, then we buried ourselves in work in Delano, first with the legal department at the 40 acres, then later, when we helped Carol Silver open up the very first California Rural Legal Assistance office in MacFarland, where I also worked for several years. Richard and I lost track of each other several years ago. He never gave up on the wanderlust and has lived in many different places in the U.S. and Canada. Last word was that he was kicking back in Albuquerque, trying to blend in with the natives, teaching guitar and playing for whoever wants. We have had an exciting life, Pato! All of you contributed to it - my friends, Augie Lira with whom I still correspond, Luis Valdez, Norma Redmond who I believe was Bill Esher's right hand and that little trailer where we stayed, just beyond the Radio America towers on the way to the 40 acres. I have since seen dreams come true, as with Self-Help Enterprises. And now, here I am, in the midst of so many other issues still plaguing the farm workers and the undocumented that my days are full of everything. I love life, and I love you and everybody who helped to make me who I am today! God bless you all, and I look forward to sharing some more memories.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/2/04 (1)

RE: '81 Convention and Paid Reps

Doug, I certainly wished she had stayed. From your account of events, without a doubt, she would have been elected. ("According to Freddy Chavez, legal advisor to the convention, procedures outlawed nominations unless the nominee was physically present. Unknown to us from Coachella, she had left the night before, apparently after the other independents felt the cause was hopeless.") abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Kevin Michael Brown, 6/2/04

RE: nonviolent dialogue

Amen and thank you for your words of peace.

I made mistakes when I was in/with UFW and have done my best to make amends for those mistakes. I could blame it on my youth (I was in my early 20's, dropped out of college to work Detroit Boycott, 1969) but that just attempts to excuse what I did. I learned from it and have tried to do better as I got older.

I lived with Cesar at La Paz and saw some things.... I worked as personal security and saw/heard some things. They are in the past and I don't think anyone would benefit from my telling stories.

Robert F Kennedy said something like: "Some people see things as they are and ask 'Why?' I see things that could be and ask 'Why not?' Shall we all try to be constructive in our comments about what we learned and what we would like to see happen as a result of this historical discussion.

When I read some of the words, I wonder if I should have thought a little longer before suggesting the idea to LeRoy.

Namaste, y'all! Peace OUT!

Kevin 1969-1973 mas o menos

Glenn Rothner, 6/2/04

RE: Paid Reps

Hey, Lorraine. It's nice to hear about and from you after so many years.

I'd like to apologize. I was intermittently in Delano, staying in my room at the Agbayani Village, during the time you were, in my opinion, drummed out in the most inhumane fashion. I'm sorry I didn't do more at the time to take a stand against what happened. I was probably one of those who recommended taking your licks so that you could stay on and continue your good work. That's how I felt about my own continuity, but it was easier for me. I could escape, almost at will, back to Salinas, where I had Jerry Cohen as a buffer, at least for a while.

I understand people's interest in recording the positive, but as we have seen the documentation project provides a sheltered (that is, private), community forum through which those who need to do so can, in some small measure, heal longstanding pain. As others have said, reconciliation can then follow.

For my part, the paid reps discussion, the events of the 1979 convention, the ensuing litigation, and Doug Adair's contributions concerning Coachella worker empowerment are fascinating - and positive. I, for one, would like to read more about historic policy, strategic, and tactical differences in the UFW, including both the things that succeeded and the mistakes; what lessons people draw from those events; and how those lessons can be applied to the labor movement and the broader struggle for social justice. What interests me is not whether it is true that one side or the other was trying to take over the union; rather, I'm interested in how policy differences could have been better accommodated/ debated. In other words, the interesting question is what lessons we draw from these experiences about how to institutionalize and legitimize dissent and difference of opinion, which are the primary indicators of a healthy, not a dysfunctional, organization.

In my opinion, Lorraine's experiences are a poignant reminder that we all put too much faith in, and paid allegiance to, brilliant but fallible leaders, rather than cultivating a culture of allegiance to the union as an institution. In my experience, one of the best indicators of union strength is respect for, and encouragement of, the exercise of member rights, and that is a strength that can weather the coming and going of particular individuals, whatever the character of their contribution.

Glenn Rothner – Legal Department, 1974-78

Lester Silverman, 6/2/04

RE: Paid Reps

What happened with Jerry Cohen, where is he and how did he leave the union?

Les

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/2/04 (2)

RE: Paid Reps

And Frank Dennison – I spoke to him a few years back but haven't seen anything about him here.

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/2/04

RE: cancer

Jose Luna who served many real active years with La Union, also died of cancer.

Hope / 1966-1974

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/2/04 (2)

RE: Free Speech

[Emmy Bell Cardiel wrote: *I agree, Ellen, 100%. Different people had their own personal experiences with C. Who's to say what exactly went on but the person who was involved! . . . [S]ome of us experienced some outcomes that we would not have dreamed of otherwise. And for those people, I think they should be able to speak their minds, unless you (whomever) were there to experience the same incident - then that would allow their opinions to come up. Let those speak what their perception was at that time. I think that is what we want to hear! There are always two sides to a story. Some people have different views. SO WHAT? Cesar taught me FREE SPEECH, Cesar taught me to FIGHT for what I BELIEVE IN and I think that message came through for a lot of us.]*

I believe that is what we are all trying to do here including me. We are speaking our minds and offering our own points of view. Regards, abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Emmy Bell Cardiel (Lopez), 6/2/04

RE: Free Speech

I believe you're trying but I am very interested in hearing everyone's stories. No offense, maybe I just heard different. I grew up in a teenage view of everything. And hearing from everyone's point of view is inspirational and am impressed with everyone's experiences. Because while I was playing along the north unit or roaming the back roads of La Paz and trying to ride the trains while they are going through La Paz. Or leading people to believe I got washed away from the big floods that we would sometimes get (and instead I am at someone else's trailer!) And all this other big stuff was going on. It's just seems to humble me somewhat! Emmy

Mary Mocine, 6/2/04

RE: Paid Reps

Dear Lorraine,

Thank you for your own willingness to share your piece of all this. It must have been hard to do, to re-live it all. I hope it was also useful. It is useful to me. I never knew the details. It is good to hear from you. It is good to know that you are well and that your UFW time was put to good use in your life later. If ever you get to Vallejo, I'd love to see you.

As you probably know, I was chief counsel for CSEA in the late 70's and I got fired (!) because of some inter-union politics. I still know some of them and saw Ben from time to time. I know they valued his work. Please give him my best wishes on his retirement.

Please take good care of yourself,

love, Mary

Kate Colwell, 6/2/04

RE: Lorraine

Lorraine:

Your story made me sad, but I'm glad to hear how well your life has gone. I can picture you behind the front desk of the clinic and I remember hearing from people how the manongs loved having you in the Village.

I'm glad you are happy.

Kate Colwell

Susan Drake, 6/2/04

RE: from Susan Drake

hope fierro wrote:

Jose Luna who served many real active years with La Union, also died of cancer.

Are you who I knew as Hope Lopez? If so, hi. Where are you and what are you doing?

Susan Drake (Jim's first wife)

Roberto Bustos, 6/3/04

RE: cancer

Hola, Hope, nice to hear from you! yes, I remember Jose Luna from Hollister! how have you been? any more health fairs? viva la causa.

Pilar (Pamela) Pedersen, 6/3/04

RE: LISTSERVE DISCUSSION MAY UPDATE

This discussion is capturing more and more of my waking and sleeping hours. It is rewarding to hear so much after so long. Even the anger and bitterness. Thanks to those who are brave enough to go to that hard place, and thanks too to those who bring it back to neutral ground.

Thank you, Doug Adair, for that compelling report on the Freedman and Tenneco workers who became so organized that they exhorted the Union to deliver more on their promises! And who accomplished so much in their own contract negotiations. I can't stop thinking about it. I don't know you, but I wish you well in Thermal.

* * * *

Que Viva!

Pilar Pedersen (1971-73)

Ellen Eggers, 6/3/04

RE: Question about the paid reps

Barbara Macri-Ortiz wrote:

"After they (paid reps) were removed, they got a lawyer in San Francisco to file an action in federal court, and that is the mess that Ellen Eggers had to wade through. It was very painful to ALL of us. We did not like having to fight the workers in court, but again, they were suing the Union, and we had an obligation to defend the Union. I knew most of reps personally, and it was very hard for me too, but it had to be done. And in fact, Cesar's action was found to be proper, as the case was ultimately thrown out on a Summary Judgment Motion that I filed shortly after getting my license."

I would like to address this last sentence. Barbara is correct that I represented Cesar and the Union in that federal suit. It was actually divided into two parts. The first part that we litigated was simply whether the reps were appointed by Cesar (which would mean they served at his pleasure), or whether they had been elected by their ranch communities up in Salinas, in which case Cesar's authority to remove them from their post would be far less clear cut, and perhaps illegal under federal law. We were hoping to win on the first issue (they were his appointees) and just be done with the suit. However, after an emotionally grueling trial in San Jose (that included boxes of ballots showing that the position "Ranch Committee President/Paid Rep" was one for which the members had voted, something we knew going into the trial), Judge Ingram ruled against Cesar and the UFW. The farmworker reps won that part of the suit, which was quite critical, because it was the theory upon which their suit was based. The summary judgment

motion that Barbara mentions was filed after I had left the Union in 1987, and 6 years after the reps had been removed. I am not familiar with all that it entailed. As I remember, however, after so much time had passed, the reps obviously had very little "remedy" left. I suspect many had just been worn down by the passage of time, probably ran out of money to pay an atty to keep the case alive, and had generally become unable or unwilling to put up much of a fight. A damage award was probably precluded since their removal as reps did not mean they couldn't still work as lettuce workers. But I would be interested in hearing from others that know more about what actually took place, because it was not EVER my impression that the federal court established that Cesar had been correct in what he did. When the decision came down, I remember feeling like the only victory we scored was that Judge Ingram included a footnote in his ruling that made it clear he did not think that Cesar Chavez had "lacked credibility" when he testified. The judge said something to the effect that "while the reps were clearly elected" Cesar might not have been aware of it, or forgot it or something along those lines. But the judge was convinced that those guys were elected by the members and therefore not subject to summary removal. There was a US Supreme Court case that was pretty much right on point, on that issue. Again, I'm interested in knowing the basis of the claim that Cesar's action was found to be proper. I think this is important because there are farmworkers out there, along with their loved ones, who were deeply hurt by all of this, and we should at least have the facts. Ellen Eggers (LA Boycott 72-75; La Paz Legal 1980-87)

Doug Adair, 6/4/04 (1)

RE: Organizational Models

In a message dated 6/3/04 . . . [Kathy Lynch Murguia] writes:

I recall a real sense of frustration from staff at La Paz who felt overwhelmed by the needs & demands of the membership. It set up a we/ they attitude.

Dear Kathy,

On the ranches in Coachella, we were clueless as to what was going on in La Paz (or Salinas or on the boycott), and it was certainly a "we-they" attitude. We were very insular, and yes, selfish. We were putting the food on your table, both with our dues and our labor. The purpose of La Paz was to serve us. One of the few times I ever went to La Paz, all the workers had been complaining about how long it took to get reimbursed for the medical plan -- a wonderful benefit, which we should have been able to use to organize every ranch in the valley. La Paz was the somewhere that the workers sent their forms to, and then waited, and sometimes got taken to collections, and the doctors hounding them, and all of a sudden, a great bene becomes a liability, a complaint. And when we called, the RFK said they were just overwhelmed, they needed help. One time Debbie and I went up and spent a week writing checks and stuffing envelopes. And we were tremendously impressed with the long hours and dedication of those guy (I think all guys, including a gay brother, as I remember, and maybe a guy with a limp), down in a kind of dark cubbyhole with every surface covered with papers... what dedication, what beautiful people, and generous, and welcoming us. But the cynical chisme in the fields was that all "they" did in La Paz was hold hands and sing "de Colores", and getting our checks out was just not a priority...

In every union, there is going to be a clash between organizing the unorganized, which was Cesar's goal when he left CSO; and serving the membership, which became an obligation as soon as we signed the Schenley contract. How to allocate resources, how to set priorities. Gilbert Padilla and Eliseo Medina and Ruth Shy (and Nancy Elliott?, before my time, but with a very good reputation here) used serving the membership as the route to organizing new members. From our point of view, a clinic like we had in Delano or Coachella (or Salinas?) was worth a dozen boycott offices, in organizing more farm workers.

Perhaps from an administrative point of view, the members were making more demands on the administration, in time and money, than they were paying in dues. On the other hand, the boycott offices (and later, the direct mail effort), were bringing in way more money than they cost; and it was "free" money, without obligation, do what you want with it. I heard there was an interview in which Paul Chavez said that his dad was better at organizing people to support farm workers, than he was at organizing farm workers. I'm not sure I agree. He was very good at both. And he knew

how to put together a team to get the job done. But the boycott supporters were such wonderful people, so generous with their time and money. And the farm worker membership had wonderful people, sure, but also lots of Malcriados (like me), who were always challenging authority; and winos and drunks and drug dealers and lots of pot smokers, who benefited tremendously from the contract protections, but didn't really fit in to the political campaigns in L.A.; and folk who really didn't like the union, would never participate, (or Jehovah Witnesses, who didn't participate on moral grounds), but who wanted those benes... and the field office director was the one in the middle. I can remember Eliseo yelling in the phone to someone in La Paz that we needed that membership card machine (and maybe someone to work it) by 3 p.m. or something, Friday afternoon, so it would be available at the weekly general membership meeting he had for all the membership and unorganized in the valley. Ruth Shy did training sessions with ranch committees that are still functioning today, constantly training the workers to run their own affairs. But there was a later field office director here whose nickname among the workers here was Sr. "No se Puede", because whenever the workers went to him with an idea or proposal, he told them, "No se Puede, companeros, No se Puede" (that's second hand, he came after Freedman had been sold, without a contract or successor clause, and I was no longer in much contact with the field office). His job seemed to be to fill up busses with members for some politica or demonstration in L.A.

I had a long talk with Dolores in June, 1973, when I got out of jail. We had lost the original contracts in April, and I think Nagi had already been murdered, I was so depressed at what we had lost, what we were loosing. Maybe she was just trying to cheer me up. But she argued that loosing the contracts was good, because the workers were getting spoiled and selfish; and that the strike was bringing out a whole generation of new leadership, new blood, folk willing to sacrifice for the cause... that we knew how to boycott now, and that the new boycott would win better contracts than we had had before.

For your thoughts,

Vivas, Doug Adair
(David Freedman Co., 1978-89; Tenneco West, 1971-73)

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/4/04 (1)

Doug Adair wrote:

I had a long talk with Dolores in June, 1973, when I got out of jail. We had lost the original contracts in April, and I think Nagi had already been murdered, I was so depressed at what we had lost, what we were loosing. Maybe she was just trying to cheer me up. But she argued that loosing the contracts was good, because the workers were getting spoiled and selfish; and that the strike was bringing out a whole generation of new leadership, new blood, folk willing to sacrifice for the cause... that we knew how to boycott now, and that the new boycott would win better contracts than we had had before.

Dolores' comments to Doug reminded me of something David Martinez told folks at La Paz who had gathered in the kitchen when Cesar died. I was so struck by his twist of logic. If anyone was there they can correct me, but this is what I recall. David spoke of Cesar's death as his message to everyone to continue to sacrifice. It was as if this was his plan and he chose that moment because of circumstances related to the ebb in the union's momentum and influence.. David's optimism I found circumspect. I could go on, but this form of rationalization in my opinion is a distortion of sacrifice. I know this can get complicated. What are other people's thoughts on this?

Mary Mocine, 6/4/04

Dear Kathy,

I have some thoughts but in thinking about it, I wondered what David recalls that he said. I notice that neither he nor Oscar is in this conversation. What are their thoughts? I so appreciate Barbara and Abby being willing to share their truth, even if it is harsh sometimes, and they seem to feel that their points of view are not appreciated I appreciate many folks who are .speaking of what is painful. But, many voices are missing.

At any rate, perhaps this will stimulate David to jump in. I agree that it is an odd idea of sacrifice to attribute such a motive to Cesar. However, when someone we love dies, one very human response is to try to find some meaning in it, to attribute meaning to it. I don't know what David said I don't know what he meant. I wonder what he thinks now.

One of my many theories about the union is that we came from a number of different motivations, some for spiritual, some for community or family, some for power and some for political (in its broadest sense) reasons. Of course we each had some mixture of these motivations but likely had a "home" base motivation. The remarks you attribute to David and that Douglas attributed to Dolores seem to me to spring from a spiritual motivation, the religious notion of renunciation.

Surely, David, this will smoke you out? Hope you are well.

que viva, Mary

Lester Silverman, 6/4/04

RE: Organizational Models

To a certain degree every part of the organization felt that it was doing the most important job, including the boycott, which it seems is not given much credit in your note, except for the supporters. Perhaps the Union was growing too fast or taking on more than it was ready for. These are the things that happen when you're running as hard as you can and there is never enough time or energy or money, for that one more call, or house meeting or staff mtg. or etc. It's the nature of movement groups. So, while this lack of centralization, if you will, existed, it is not unique to the UFW, nor unexpected, except that as people going through the experience it was discomfoting and at times dispiriting. Oh what 30 years of reflection will do.

lester Silverman, L.A. Boycott Late 1975-early 77

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/4/04 (1)

RE: cancer

Jose Luna, bless his heart, was an organizer as down to earth and honest as they come, y "un Chavista de hueso Colorado." I recall a story reported at a staff meeting when I worked at La Paz. Jose had not attended two mandatory budget meetings in a row. Someone telephoned him to find out why and he answered that no one had told him about them. When asked, "Didn't you get the memo?" he answered, "*Memo?* Oh, that guy. I don't know who he is but he gets a lot of letters here, but nobody said anything to me about a meeting." . . . Jose, compañero, thank you for all your hard work and lasting memories/ r.i.p./ . . . sin más, abby/ richgrove/ delano

Susan Drake, 6/4/04

RE: Organizational Models/ Susan Drake 1962-73

In response to Doug Adair's thoughts...

Probably someone has already said this - I have 200 unread emails from this list, but in case not: I think a lot of the union's dysfunction was due to lack of experience. Think of how clumsy Blue Cross is now and then it's easy to understand why no one with insurance experience would be clumsy handling RFK. I believe that inexperience was also the reason that ranch committees and contract enforcers had trouble communicating effectively with the growers, who themselves weren't masters of effective communication. Cesar also was new to office management, training, negotiations, financial management--at least he studied up on these things while the rest of us muddled through. One blazing truth in our communications now is that it's a miracle ANYthing happened given how wet behind the ears we were in the situations with which we were working.

Susan

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/4/04 (2)

RE: "organizational models"

Glenn,

You raise the question of policies and strategic/tactical differences..... I agree that these are the areas of assessment and analysis that can be instructive for future organizing efforts. Mass movements and the institutionalization of political gains that result in structural changes vis a vis power centers is a dynamic process. When it involves a poor and unempowered workers living on the fringes it is doubly complex to establish a structure. The life of the Union became its contracts. I have questions where the boycott as an economic pressure tactic fits in all this. My thoughts are that the organizational model we adopted was borrowed from business/ governmental structures a la Crosby Milne (remember SAMS =strategic, attainable and measurable) and then later Peter Drucker's notions of MBO's / Management by Objectives. The model of the organizer was replaced with the model of the manager. We spent countless man hours defining a mission statement and then the cascading ideas on goals, objectives, and strategies. This was a huge shift from how we approached fighting the growers. What was perplexing was that until Sister Florence arrived and in her matter of fact manner provided training and leadership in the most significant area of getting a grip on the state of the Union's financial affairs. I often had the feeling that the reams of butcher paper used to come up with plans became obsolete when a new campaign was announced or personnel were reassigned. I marveled at the paper castles we were inventing at the North Unit.

In thinking about a document Cesar prepared that was an Organizational Treatise (can't remember its name) the notion of centralized decision making (the Board) and decentralized control was possibly a glitch that precluded the effective exercise of leadership at local levels/ field offices. We had the image of a triangle which represented an hierarchical downward flow of the implementation of policy from the top. Another thing I recall was a real sense of frustration from staff at La Paz who felt overwhelmed by the needs & demands of the membership. It set up a we/ they attitude. There was possibly something fundamentally flawed in the organizational model that was selected based on a business/ or government entity. The entire process of making this model work became highly charged and politicized. We did so many things so well. I keep thinking about how smoothly the Credit Union ran. Maybe the comparison is strange, but is there a clue?

Cesar had a picture in his head of how it should work. The dynamics and the varying levels of interests and power did not seem to fit into that scheme. .

Like you, I would hope to have this discussion from those who are in a position to talk about it minus the animus of blame. How could a future unempowered and unorganized labor force using what the UFW did so well., organize ,maintain a momentum beyond what was achieved, and not fall into the pitfalls of an internal meltdown.

Kathy Murguia (1965-1983)

Doug Adair, 6/4/04 (2)

RE: Jose Luna at Almaden

In a message dated 6/4/04 . . . [Abby Flores Rivera] writes:

Jose Luna, bless his heart, was an organizer as down to earth and honest as they come, y "un Chavista de hueso Colorado."

Jose Luna showed up at the Malcriado office at some point in 1966, after the March to Sacramento, I think, and asked for a bundle of Malcriados to sell. Folks from barrios all over the state were coming in at that point, a ripple effect from the March, under the radar of the growers... We continued to send him bundles, in Spanish and even a few in English, and a few subscriptions from Hollister trickled in. Then he showed up in Delano, unscheduled and unexpected, as I remember, with a stack of authorization cards for Almaden Vineyards workers. The rumor was that he had signed up the entire ranch, 100%, including the Anglo irrigators and tractor drivers, all on his own initiative. I'm not sure anyone from Delano ever went up to help him out before that. When Pancho Botello and I worked there in the pruning in 1973, he and the committee ran the dispatches, handled the grievances, really did all the work of the union with minimum demands on and assistance from Delano. This was our ideal of how the union could work.

Of course the Almaden workers got help from Delano in negotiating the contract. And of course it was the power of the boycott, the success of the Schenley boycott, that brought Almaden to the table.

"Mr. Moon" was totally unmemorable in appearance, maybe couldn't read or write, Spanish or English, didn't give emotional speeches, just low key, one on one, teaching fellow workers the power and possibility of the union.

Doug Adair (1965-77)

Ellen Eggers, 6/4/04 (1)

RE: Jose Luna at Almaden

Dear Doug ... what an amazing and wonderful story. That's the kind of story that I will be so happy to pass on to my children and grandchildren... Thanks... Keep 'em coming! Ellen Eggers

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/4/04 (2)

Yes, Mr. Moon was incredible with a wonderful sense of humor as well. His reading skills may have been limited but he knew the *power* of the written word. The Almaden workers went on to join the Credit Union, too, and became perhaps our strongest members. We got to know many of them well because they often traveled to Delano on Credit Union business or to meetings. We have Jose to thank for that.

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/4/04 (1)

RE: from Susan Drake

Hi Susan

I plead guilty to being Hope Lopez, if you remember, Cesar assigned me to work with you in Adm. after the huelga in Coachella. You assigned me the task of answering letters, while you tripped off to help on the Lamont and Bakersfield picket line. Granted that's where the action was.

I soon got bored with answering letters in that office that was brimming over with documents, paperwork, letters and debris, not to mention the headache that followed with the disorder. I snuck out of that office, rolled the typewriter out of there and squatted in Linda LeGerrete's office, she was very nice about it. I was able to think in her office. No one missed me. Everyone was too busy giving La Causa CPR.

Thanks for remaining supportive to Cesar's memory.

hope – 1966-1974

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/4/04 (2)

RE: cancer

Hola Chavistas – pro and con

Roberto [Bustos] – Yes to the health fair, one coming up in Hanford on Sunday 6/13.

Que to parecen estos güeros malcriados? Tan quejumbrosos, parecen primadotas.

I know, I know, many of you guys speak better Spanish than either Roberto or I do.

Con cariño,

I for one, respected and admired the fact that you kids were willing to emulate the campesinos.

Muy agradecida for all the support I received in Philadelphia. That cannot be replaced.

hope – 1966-1974

Nick Jones, 6/4/04

RE: NEWS FROM NICK JONES

Hello to the thousands of sisters and brothers who helped build the United Farm Workers Union. Thanks to Leroy for providing a way for us to connect again and document some important history for future generations.

Since resigning from the UFW I have worked twenty eight years in four other AFL-CIO unions. I worked seventeen years with Local 250, Health Care Workers Union (SEIU) in the bay area until retirement in 2001. I continue to work on short range projects with Local 250 . . .

Leroy – This essay project is extremely important for coming generations and struggles ahead. Many of your coworkers have wanted something like this project to happen for years. After reading just a few essays, its clear that together, they will provide a rich history and paint as complete a picture of the union as has been documented to date. Thanks again.

Nick Jones

Jose Gomez, 6/4/04

RE: External Factors

Since the issue of the loss of the grape contracts in 1973 has arisen in the midst of discussion over internal administrative problems in the union, I think it is important to understand that those contracts would have been lost even if the Union had had the best administration in the world. Almost all of the grape growers went to the Forty Acres on their knees to sign contracts. They signed the contracts to stay in business rather than go bankrupt. It was a humiliating defeat for them, and the very day they signed those contracts they began to conspire over how to get rid of the contracts and the UFW. The Teamsters were their salvation from the radical Union of brown workers who dared to seek a share of power and a say in how things should be run. The more efficient or competent the Union administration, the more threatening it would have been to the grape growers, who had no desire whatsoever to see the Union survive. Instead, they conspired to replace the UFW with the Teamsters Union just as soon as they could, i.e. when the contracts expired.

(An aside: In the spring of 1973, we got reports of Teamster organizers in the vineyards. Al Rojas called from the field to confirm this. I was in Cesar's office when he called up John Giumarra, Jr., to ask why he had invited Teamster organizers into the vineyards. That day I learned that Cesar had a firm command of many of the choicest words in the Dictionary of Unconventional English!)

My main intent here is to bring up the issue of external factors that had a significant bearing on how smoothly the Union machinery ran or could run. Unless I missed it in the many postings, no one has thrown external factors into the balance. There is a lot of finger pointing to internal problems only. Believe me, every organization has internal problems. Every organization has controversies over leadership and management styles. There are some major differences between most organizations and the UFW. The UFW in the 1970's and early 1980's was a union of the poorest, most powerless workers struggling to organize. The UFW's rival was the most the largest, most powerful and richest employer in the nation: California agribusiness. The UFW's rival had the backing of national and state political forces. Remember the President Nixon (from California), Governor Reagan, Senator George "Tap Dance" Murphy troika in the early 70's? What about the 16 ALRB years under Republican governors who did everything under the sun to destroy the Union?

I'm not saying that internal factors were not important. They were, but they need to be analyzed in context and kept in perspective. External factors are part of the context. There are two parties to a labor contract: the employer and the union. To make the contractual relationship succeed, it takes a genuine effort by both. Can we say that we had that genuine effort (or even a half-assed effort) from the growers (some rare Freedmanian exceptions aside)?

The reality is that external factors aimed at destroying the Union were relentless from pre-contract days, through contract times, and to the present. After protracted strikes or other strife, most labor unions have considerable opportunity to recover and to consolidate their gains. For the UFW, external factors ensured that there was no chance for such consolidation (one exception, perhaps: the first eight ALRB years, when the Union made considerable gains on some level). It is very

difficult, if not impossible, for any organization to mature and develop (administratively or otherwise) when it is constantly under fire. In that context, as well as that of the declining fortunes of labor unions generally, it seems to me harsh and unconscionable to indict the UFW for not yet having fulfilled its dream of becoming a national union. The unproven and questionable assumption in that indictment is that the UFW would be a national union today if only it had taken the path not taken.

I think that a major reason that Cesar was successful in organizing a union of farm workers where many before him failed was his strategy of relentless, unyielding, and even obdurate focus and tenacity. Part of that strategy was the loyalty that he demanded from everyone--not a loyalty to him, but rather a loyalty to the poor and powerless. Another part was the amazing trust he placed in people to do their part. We know that the trust was so empowering that he had people doing things that they had never imagined they could do. Yet another part of the strategy was the sacrifice that he made and expected from everyone else. Dissent? I have a lot to say about the issue of dissent within this strategy and Cesar's view of it, but that's another topic, though related in many ways. It's too complex for this already-long message, and in any case it will have to wait until the end of evaluation week here at Evergreen (We give narrative evaluations, not grades, and evaluation week is a grueling seven days of evaluation writing and conferencing with students--and almost no sleep!. This posting was an act of procrastination to put off digging into the first student portfolio.)

Jose Gomez

1970 to near the end of 1975: Portland, NJ, DC and NY Boycotts; La Paz (A.A. to Cesar)

Ellen Eggers, 6/4/04 (2)

RE: External Factors

Well stated, Jose. There is certainly much truth in what you say also. Just proves the point of this project... that every voice speaks with their truth. But you have reminded us all of things that I think everyone can pretty much relate to! Ellen Eggers 72-87 (almost)

Andy Imutan, 6/5/04

RE: Well said!

I agree with your analysis of what happened. I am sure that no one could have prevented the Teamsters from coming in to destroy the UFW's hold in Delano. You are absolutely right, even the best union administrator in the world could not have done anything to stop that disaster.

Andy Imutan 1965-73 Delano, Coachella, Baltimore, New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

Tom Dalzell, 6/5/04 (1)

RE: Loyalty & Criticism

In the summer of 1973, a friend working in Cesar's office gave me a copy of the letter that Susan Drake wrote Cesar, the letter that she mentioned in a post here a few weeks ago as having led to her termination. I kept that letter in my desk, first in La Paz and then in Salinas when the legal department moved there in 1974. Every so often I would take it out, read it, think about it, and then put it away.

I don't know what happened to my copy, but when Susan mentioned the letter in her earlier post I asked her for a copy. I read it again, and again, and many more times again. I am struck now, as I was then, by how caring and truly loyal the letter was. In my opinion, she was very right, very early. She was - and is - in spite of her persistent analytical examination of Cesar and the Union, the epitome of loyalty to both. This letter shows me that there is such thing as loyal criticism.

NOTE: The following is excerpted from the unpublished narrative version of my memoir, before I switched to and published the poetic version (Fields of Courage: Remembering César Chávez & the People Whose Labor Feeds Us, Many Names Press, 1999). [Bracketed words added after letter submitted to Cesar.] Please remember these are the

words of a 35-year-old. I hope I am somewhat more diplomatic these days. I have given Tom Dalzell permission to send this out with his comments. Susan Drake (Cesar's secretary 1971-73)

July 28, 1973

Confidential:

Dear Cesar,

This is the most important letter I will ever write you I think, so please read it when it can have your most open heart and patient mind.

A couple of times last winter, you told me that you rarely get close to people in a way that you share personal thoughts. That was a compliment, and now I feel I have a responsibility because you said you could talk with me--hopefully you still feel that way. You also have told me a few times before that I have protected you from things you should know.

What I am about to say, I say: 1) Because I care about you personally; 2) I care about your leadership; 3) I care about the survival of this Union; 4) No one else seems to feel close enough to you to be honest with you about this facet of your personality.

Over the past few months, many people have talked to me about your inability to listen to critical thought. Some of these people, as you will note later in the list, have been your friends for more years than I have, and others have just known you and worked with you two or three years. They are mostly people with responsibility in the Union, so their remarks come because they are frustrated as well as worried. **NONE OF THEM QUESTIONS YOUR LEADERSHIP--NOT ONE!!!** But over the past two years, and more recently with strength since April and now with the real fear these past few days of negotiations with Giumarra, the fear is that you will make the continuance of this Union impossible. When I have suggested that these people talk to you directly, these are some of the remarks I've received: "He won't listen; I've tried." "As long as he's in charge, we have to put up with his way of doing things." **WELL, I DON'T BELIEVE IT!!!**

I think you **WILL** listen. Maybe you have a harder time with people like Richard, Dolores, Sister Pearl or me who get involved emotionally in trying to explain things, but you are too great a leader to **NOT** listen if you know how serious the situation is. Verdad? And if all these friends are sitting around wringing their hands, moaning that we are about to lose the union, and they are too chicken to talk to you, then I guess little old me is the only one who will do it.

People all over the country are talking about letting Coachella go because we didn't change [personnel change I prefer not to name now]. So there **ARE** specific examples where many, many people know that you were given the word and **OUT OF HEART** rather than head, let the situation become very bad. Experienced union people have told me that it is crucial to the life of any business or union that there be a leader, like yourself; and that right next to the leader, there be a solid administrator. With Jim Drake and now with Jose [Gomez], you've been lucky to have that situation, I think. LeRoy and Jack [Quigley] are also responsible people whom I think you trust.

OK, at this point you can be absolutely stark raving mad and not read any more. I know you will think that people must think you are a fool. That isn't it at all. But they will think so if you don't open the avenues for communication soon. Remember about 18 months ago, I came to you with some ideas that Jim had said and you said, "Wait until he comes to me"? I agreed with you. Now I

realize that your most trusted staff doesn't have the guts or patience--I am not sure which--to come to you.

I would like to suggest, since it seems like face-saving for everyone, that you begin talking with these individuals--either alone or in a group. Let them feel a new responsiveness in you to what they have to say. Sometimes when people have laid their complaints on me, I've simply said, "Cesar is also doing a lot of soul-searching since Coachella. We will all learn from this situation, I think, because we are all in some way responsible for losing there." So people are hopeful.

Once again, the people do not question your leadership. They only question your ability to be practical at crisis points like this point--fearing your big dreams will force us to lose the Delano bunch and thus make it hard to practically carry on the financial life of the Union. The workers are hot to strike; no question. But you and the other leaders are the ones to discuss and weigh the validity of such a decision. I don't have any ambitions about the leadership role I should have in the Union, but I do presume to think that we are friends and that maybe you want to know what I've just told you.

I am not listing everyone I've heard say these things, only those that I am SURE said them and people who have responsibilities and who should be heard. There is no reason for the order in which they are listed; it's just how I remembered them.

David Burciaga [negotiator], Richard Chavez [brother], Dolores Huerta [vice president of UFW], Marion Moses [union nurse], Jim Drake [served Cesar in many roles], Jerry Cohen (we haven't talked about these negotiation sessions, but earlier ones, and he made the remarks to Jim, which I overheard); Jose Gomez [assistant]; Irwin DeShettler and Bill Kircher [AFL-CIO staff]; Jim Horgan and Pearl McGiveny [organizing department staff]; Nick Jones [Cesar's bodyguard]; Chris Hartmire [Director, National Farm Worker Ministry]; Pamela Pedersen (Coachella staff a year ago); Philip Vera Cruz [UFW vice president]; Frank Denison [National Farm Worker Service Center attorney]

I've never heard from Le Roy or Marshall, who (Marshall only) is receiving an unusual amount of criticism lately himself.

Cesar, I know this hurts, but I also hope it helps. With love and hope,

Susanita

What a letter! I had read Susan's essay but did not fully know what happened after she gave Cesar the letter. This is what she wrote in an early draft of her book about what happened when Cesar got the letter:

"On August 1, Cesar called me into his office during one of his quick stops at La Paz. There are no notes about that conversation. I will never need prompting to remember the fog of despair settling into that room. All of the respect and affection we had held for one another were gone. Our eyes filled with simmering disgust--even hatred, I would have to say. Each of our hearts carried an awesome sense of having been let down by someone we had counted as a close friend. In that two or three minutes, which he began with "You should be ashamed of yourself," I tried to convince him I thought I had done him a favor, never intending him to be as hurt as he obviously was. Only years later would he explain his point of view [he accused other leaders of "using" me to get to him; I assured him I'd thought this letter up on my own].

"On August 2, I happened to be sitting across from Jose in the president's office one morning, a few days after I gave that letter to Cesar's traveling assistant, when a call came in for Jose. From Jose's end of the conversation, I knew he was talking to Cesar. Several times, Jose attempted to protest whatever Cesar was saying. Finally, Jose hung up the

heavy old black receiver, crossed his arms across the chest of his blue denim shirt and looked at me. One hand strayed and pushed his heavy-rimmed glasses back up the bridge of his proud nose. "Cesar says you're fired."

"I can't say I was really surprised, but I couldn't catch my breath. I was too angry to cry. If Cesar would only come back to La Paz so I could talk to him in person, I was sure I could straighten everything out. This was no way to treat a friend, someone he'd known for eleven years and worked intimately with for nearly three of those years.

"But maybe he didn't mean it," Jose added. I hardly heard that. Years later Jose recalled, "Cesar said 'Tell Susan to get out of there.' I said, 'Why?' He said, 'She's crazy. Just tell her to get out of there.' You know Cesar wasn't the kind of person where you asked too many questions."

"I talked to Jerry Cohen to find out if I was right in the things I included in my letter to Cesar and to see if I should let Cesar fire me without giving me a good reason. Jerry said I was right (although he said what I now realize--Cesar was under too much pressure to take my advice or that of some others right now) and that I should keep on working quietly, stay out of Cesar's way and press for an honest dealing with the problem if it comes to that. Jose said he couldn't let me go unless he found someone else anyway. Judy Elders, who had been helping me that month, insisted on quitting September 1. Ramon Romero agreed to hang in as another administrative assistant, but convincing him hadn't been easy. Jose said he'd deal with Cesar, and I should just cool it and realize that Cesar didn't consider our friendship as vital as his own problems at that point. "Besides, Susana, you're the only one who knows where things are.?"

Susan worked through the convention in Fresno and then left. Susan's dedication and courage are even remarkable today than they were then. Her letter was prophetic to a degree that we did not realize at the time.

Tom Dalzell

Doug Adair, 6/5/04

RE: The March to Sacramento

In a message dated 6/4/04 . . . [Jose Gomez] writes:

My main intent here is to bring up the issue of external factors that had a significant bearing on how smoothly the Union machinery ran or could run. Unless I missed it in the many postings, no one has thrown external forces into the balance. There is a lot of finger pointing to internal problems only. Believe me, every organization has internal problems. Every organization has controversies over leadership and management styles.

Very well put, Jose. Maybe this is a good time to discuss the March to Sacramento, where our little team came together to pull off an unprecedented achievement: the behind the scenes decision to make the march (and Al Green's rage, forbidding Larry Itliong and the AWOC people to participate); Roberto Bustos, our Captain, and Andy Imutan, folks that walked the whole way (and hopefully some funny stories as well as the heroics!), Hope, Tanis, and others remembering the march as it wound its way up the state, the impact on the local barrios. Maybe Leroy could find and post a copy of the Plan of Delano, which was read at the rallies at the end of each day; and Cesar's speech in Sacramento, when we entered upon the world stage. I'm sure there were mistakes and glitches, some of them pretty funny from this perspective, but it seemed like a time when we were doing everything right, maybe a good discussion topic after all the hard and sometimes painful analysis we've been doing so far. For your thoughts...

I'll include a note from Andy Imutan

Vivas, Doug Adair, 1965-1989

Dear Doug,

Got your response. Thank you again. There were 17 or more of us from AWOC in defiance of Al Greens wishes that joined the march to Sacramento. To name a few, we were: Rudy Reyes, Manuel Vasquez, William King, Richard Flowers, Joseph Reeves, Ernest Delarmente, Felix Ytom, Luming Imutan, Andy Imutan and others. Gilbert Rubio was in charge of the El Malcriado and the photographers were Jon Lewis and John Kouns. Peggy Mc Govern was the nurse.

Richard Cook, 6/5/04

RE: Almaden

One of my earliest assignments in 1972 was to drive Almaden workers to and from Hollister for weekend educational meetings at La Paz. On the longer trips (to Oregon, for example) there would be two drivers. But probably the run to Hollister required only one. I would pick up the passengers in front of the field office on Friday evenings and return them to Hollister on Sunday evenings. I recall those trips as very pleasant interludes, driving thru the night with a bus load of sleeping passengers. One time we left La Paz and the bus had some problem, which I thought was serious enough to fix immediately - a loud noise from the underside? a mushy brake? I don't remember now. I pulled over somewhere near Bakersfield and called La Paz. Cesar took the call and we discussed what to do. I remember insisting both that I did not know what the problem was but that I considered the bus unsafe - whatever it was! By the time I got off the phone, one of the guys told me someone had crawled under the bus and fixed the problem. I gave it a try and all was well. I called Cesar back to report we were on our way. We got there safe and sound.

Richard Cook
NFWM, 1972-84 (more or less)

Angie Fa, 6/5/04

RE: Dolores in Action

For everyone who does not get the San Francisco Chronicle, Dolores Huerta did some incredible work in negotiating an end to a 25 day hunger strike yesterday. This will probably result in West Contra Costa County schools being able to keep school libraries open and school counselors available to students who need the help.

[Reprint of article, Chip Johnson, "Hunger fast for a celebrity," S.F. *Chronicle*, June 4, 2004]

The amazing thing about the impact of the UFW is that it grew beyond this small group of striking farm workers (that Doug just described marching to Sacramento) to a social movement that helped to transform this country's institutions and social movements. I've been trying to rewrite an old dissertation on this topic, and one difficulty is that each day there's some small piece of the world that you can document is better because of the farm worker movement.

Thanks to Susan (and Tom) for sharing your incredible story. Susan Drake's essay for the project was very powerful and I've enjoyed reading the poems in her wonderful book *Fields of Courage: Remembering Cesar Chavez & the People Whose Labor Feeds Us* (Many Names Press), which brings back all the emotions and details of some powerful times.

* * * *

Angie Fa 1976, 1979

Doug Adair, 6/5/04 (2)

RE: The March to Sacramento, and Schenley Boycott..

In a message dated 6/5/04 . . . [Doug Adair] writes:

Very well put, Jose. Maybe this is a good time to discuss the March to Sacramento, when our little team came together to pull off an unprecedented achievement.

And the Schenley Boycott, a chapter offstage, but no less part of the drama of that Spring...

Marcos Munoz's and others' experiences going into a big city where boycotters had never trod before.... working their way up to Bishops and Politicians and Labor Leaders, and asking, "Can you help the farmworkers?" and they sometimes replying "It never occurred to us. Who are you, Commies?"....and then boring into their organizations and mobilizing support, sometimes in spite of the big shots... from our cubbyhole at El Malcriado, we just heard snippets of what was going on, and only snippets of the snippets got into the newspaper... by the time the later boycotts came along, those pioneers had already plowed the fields and planted the seeds...

The essays are so varied, each a different perspective. I would love to hear more...

Doug Adair, 1965-89

Kate Colwell, 6/5/04

RE: organizational models

Hi Kath:

This discussion of organizational model is getting way over my head or level of involvement with the union, but your reiteration of the different strategies made me laugh because I've certainly lived through mission and vision , strategic goals, Drucker et al.... in our county health dept. We plan, plan. plan and then the whole direction changes with a budget crisis or a political crisis or even one person in leadership leaving.....

I have often wondered how much the model is wrong (non profit just needs different models from business) and how much we just don't put adequate resources into implementation. We borrow from business, we put a lot of energy into a new model, and then we fail to implement and we drop the model. Either because of our crisis orientation or lack of resources, repeated I see that ideas chewed on for weeks and months by a central group cannot be transmitted by a sound bite to line staff, but no one can take off of the pressing daily work to do the groundwork that let's staff buy into a vision, especially when it means the hard work of change.

Not to speak ill of the dead, but I have held a funny memory for 30 years. In Spring 1974 Jim Drake hustled into LA to take over the boycott and brought in Mario Savio to a big meeting to inspire us with how everything we had been doing was wrong and how now these experienced organizers would tell us how to do it right. As I remember it, we left the meeting disheartened and quite resistant but we never saw Mario again. There was more than a little vindictive joy when we heard that his psychiatrist had told Mario that the stress of the boycott would be too much for him, so he had left. I can now see it as a typical leadership mistake by people who were trying to cut corners. I'll never know if the 1972 boycott strategies under one administration, the '73 strategies under a different or the '74 strategies under Jim were the best.... but clearly there was a failure to understand how hard it is for people to change and a lack of resources put into bringing people along for the implementation. I couldn't share Jim's vision because I was too caught up in feeling discredited and criticized.... yet in the Union, like the army, I guess, you're supposed to obey without question. I still marvel at how much we did we so little experience and limited resources, but it's very valuable to see what we can learn from all that history.

Kate Colwell

Ellen Eggers, 6/5/04

RE: Dolores in Action

That is an awesome victory! Way to go Dolores!!! I went past the fasters at the Capitol on Thursday and wondered if they would make any progress. Dolores really turned things around for them. Wonderful!!!

Marshall Ganz, 6/5/04

RE: The March to Sacramento, and Schenley Boycott..

Dear All,

While I'm thinking about to respond to some of the more fanciful charges thrown my way recently, since the conversation turned to the March to Sacramento, I thought I'd send along this excerpt from a book I'm completing on the early days of the UFW (1959-1967), putting it in context of earlier attempts to organize California farm workers and comparing it to AWOC and the Teamsters, asking why, if they had so many more resources, they were so much less successful, while the UFW with much fewer resources (but much more resourcefulness), was so much more successful. I published a short version of this in the American Journal of Sociology in 2000 called "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture (1959-1967).

The attached in Word 5.0 has a short version of the march story and a longer, more detailed version. Although the book will hopefully bring out the drama of the story, its main intent is to tell the story in such a way that we can learn lessons from the unique early successes of the UFW (as well as its subsequent failures) of value to students, scholars, and practitioners.

I would welcome any comments offered in that spirit as well as pieces I got wrong, didn't know about, etc. No one has yet written a real history of the UFW, although Paul Henggler and others are working on them, so the sources are very scattered. This is one reason this project of Leroy's could be so valuable.

Marshall

P.S. By the way, there were "external factors" on both sides, not just on one side, as we see in this excerpt in the way the AFL came on the scene.

Nancy Hickey Hughes, 6/5/04

RE: Jose Luna at Almaden

Jose Luna was a wonderful, caring human being with a spirit of innocence about him. He came to Florida in 1971 to help organize the state. I spent time with him & Pancho Botello in Tampa, Ft. Pierce (where I learned to eat tortillas & beans for 3 meals a day) & in Miami. I ended up in the hospital with an appendicitis (from eating donated Spam after which I became a vegetarian) & Jose brought me flowers. In 1973 I went to Ohio to work on the boycott after the grape contracts were lost & did not see Jose again until the first California Convention (1975?). We were so happy & surprised to see each other! I'm saddened to hear he died of cancer.

Nancy Hickey Hughes
UFW 1971-76

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/5/04

RE: organizational models

Thanks for the feedback, Kate. Yeah, I thought I also got in over my head on that post. Your discussion of the organizational make-over found me laughing. * * * *

When I was at Berkeley, I went with Mario and another friend Kathy to hear Amon Henessy (?) at the Peter Maurin House in Oakland. (Catholic Worker). He was so tentative and shy at that point. He rose to the occasion of the Free Speech Movement and really found his voice challenging Clark Kerr on behalf of all of us. The knowledge factory was never the same again. When I was on the boycott in Cleveland I heard he had become an organic farmer and then a short time later learned he had passed away.

Kathy

Carlos LeGerrette, 6/5/04

RE: Paid Reps

What ever happened to Frank Denison?

Frank "Pancho" Denison, is retired, and living the good life in Leucadia, CA., (except during tax season when he absolutely dreads doing our taxes. (Linda and I are always very last-minute). His mother, Naomi, lives in the area and Frank spends much time being a wonderful and caring son.

Carlos LeGerrette
('66-'78, SD Boycott, La Paz, San Ysidro)

Tom Dalzell, 6/5/04 (2)

RE: Organizational Models

Bob Barber from El Malcriado in the mid 1970s left the following quote from Petronius Arbiter (210 BC) on the "Wall of Democracy" bulletin board of the Salinas legal department:

"We trained hard, but it seemed that every time we were beginning to form up into teams, we would be reorganized. I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by reorganizing; and a wonderful method it can be for creating the illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency, and demoralization."

Tom Dalzell

Susan Drake, 6/5/04

RE: The March to Sacramento

I remember the night that Epifanio Camacho was chosen leader of the March, a chaotic time that surely should have forewarned us that he wouldn't last. Don't ask me to remember details right now, but I think I could find them in my old letters. His religious beliefs and temperament differed from how most of us envisioned the March, and while an earnest presence, the Roman Catholics and more even-tempered Roberto Bustos overcame. I saw Epifanio so impassioned that he couldn't see the bigger picture of the March. But let's not forget his role.

Susan

Deborah Vollmer, 6/5/04

RE: Some tough issues

Folks,

Recently, I found some spiral notebooks filled with writing in longhand-a carefully kept journal of my UFW years starting in the fall of 1973, when I worked in La Paz and Delano, in the Legal Department, right after law school. (I had worked a little for the Union earlier, as a student volunteer boycottter at college and law school, on the Boycott in New Jersey, and as a legal assistant one summer with farm workers in Florida, but those experiences are not covered in this set of journals. I don't know whether I also have journals covering those periods; by nature I am a pack rat, so it wouldn't surprise me to find more spiral journal notebooks one day.)

Anyway, the journal that I did find spans a period during which I worked for the Union from the fall of 1973 right after I finished law school into the spring of 1976, and a few years beyond. Most of this time I worked either in La Paz or in Delano, but I sometimes traveled to other locations to handle particular cases.

On the subject of pay scale, it ranged from the room and board and \$5 a week before I passed the Bar, to the retainer of, I believe it was \$600 a month,-to zero-after I had been "fired" from the Legal Department, but continued to work, unpaid, as an organizer! Jerry Cohen had a way of getting me back on staff when I got fired. He had sort of a protective wing. But it was also a kind of tough love-he would get me back on staff, but he could not solve my problems working with people who told me to my face that I was incompetent or worse-it was up to me to solve those problems myself!

It is very interesting to me to read what I wrote nearly thirty years ago, and to see the experiences of an idealistic and inexperienced young female attorney with a somewhat more objective eye than I had when I wrote this journal. This was a formative and very difficult part of my life - it shaped me as a lawyer, and as a political activist. Some of my experiences were quite painful, and some of what I wrote in the journal was written nearly contemporaneously with what I observed and experienced and with great detail. Frankly, I am amazed that I survived, and went on to become a pretty good lawyer in spite of everything.

Early on, I had my competence questioned repeatedly by more experienced Union lawyers. I could name names, but I don't know how productive that would be in terms of the purposes of this listserv. It got worse-perhaps some of you remember a period when there were actually two separately functioning legal departments in Delano? This wasn't my doing-I really wanted to work as a part of a legal team. But the political infighting in Delano was incredible, and this was reflected in the legal department. It didn't help that I was genuinely in love with, and was living with, Philip Vera Cruz. And some folks (should I say who?) were trying to undermine Philip as a leader. It was all quite ugly. I kept getting feedback that some regarded me as an enemy of the Union with some kind of obscure left-wing political agenda, and felt that I was manipulating Philip. Not so - Philip had a mind of his own and would not and could not be manipulated!

Some obvious themes come to mind as I read and reread my journals--sexism within the Union, and racism. When I speak of racism, I am not thinking of brown versus white, although I believe that with some individuals this may have been a factor. I am referring to the fact that Filipinos in the Union were, by some in the leadership at least, treated as second class citizens. One example of this was various instances where Philip was shown disrespect, such as numerous times when he attended, but was not asked to speak at organizing meetings at 40 Acres. This to someone who was an officer of the Union, and who traveled the State and the country speaking to various groups, especially to students, and folks in the cities on the Boycott!

I could name names of folks in the leadership who disrespected Philip, and give some more specific detail as to particular instances. I am just not sure that this would be productive at this point. But I do know that the disrespect shown to Philip was perceived by Filipinos in Delano, and hurt us badly in our efforts to get Filipino workers to join our Union and not the Teamsters. Why did we lose so badly in Delano? Well one factor was that some of the Filipino workers saw how badly Philip was treated internally within the Union and were repelled by that. Also, it sometimes happened that organizing meetings at 40 Acres were carried on almost entirely in Spanish, although there was supposed to be translation. While most Filipino farm workers knew some Spanish, this was not their first language--in addition to their own Filipino dialects, most of these workers were most fluent in English, so coming to a meeting where most of it was conducted in Spanish with little of it interpreted was a real turn-off!

I think I will leave this at that, unless anyone else on this list wants to explore any of these points further. I now have my near contemporaneous notes with detail to refer to in these discussions. But racism in the Union, and sexism, are indeed ugly topics, and perhaps some of you on this list just don't want to go there.

I remain convinced that Cesar was a great leader and did much for the cause of justice for farm workers. But this was in the early days. Cesar did make some serious mistakes-his trip to the Philippines as a guest of the Marcos dictatorship (over Philip's objection) being one of them. And because Cesar did not like criticism and surrounded himself with "yes" people, he did not get the needed feedback which might have kept him on course at some crucial turning points. A great leader, yes, but a human being, and fallible.

I have to say that as painful as it is to reread my journals, it is not all bad. Sprinkled amid the bad are some good memories - even a few really nice brief conversations that I had with Cesar at various points. And there were humorous instances as well--I have a detailed account in my journal of what I call Memomania at La Paz--there was some pretty serious stuff there--but there was also the time Jerry, or perhaps it was Mandy, played a joke, and sent out a memo, purportedly from Cesar, about how everyone was to be known by the number that was their telephone exchange. . . (The scary thing was that some volunteers, if only briefly, really did think this was

from Cesar, and took it seriously, and had questions, for example, if one had two phones on one's desk. . .)

Peace,
Deborah

Deborah Vollmer, 6/6/04 (1)

RE: Paid Reps

Lorraine,

That was quite a run-in you had with Delores. It doesn't seem from your account of it that she was being at all fair with you. I'm curious-did Philip go to bat for you at all when this happened? I know that Philip was very upset with all the firings in general, but he didn't always stand up to Cesar the way he wanted to, and Philip would be the first to admit this.

I never did share your admiration for Ben; that was because of some experiences that Philip and I both had with Ben relating to the power politics being played at that time in Delano.

But if I remember correctly, you and I did see eye to eye on some of the issues in addition to our mutual dedication to the cause of justice for farmworkers. Like disagreeing with Cesar's going to the Philippines as a guest of the dictator Marcos. Weren't you good friends with Polly Parks? Have you stayed in touch with her? Do you remember the local anti-martial law organization that some of us formed-the Delano Coalition for Democracy in the Philippines, and picketing the Marcos people when Cesar brought them to speak at the Delano High School auditorium? I can't remember for sure-did you join the picket line that day?

Deborah

Marshall Ganz, 6/6/04 (1)

RE: Political Paranoia

For those who may be interested, my use of the word "paranoid" was not to call names but to try to accurately describe the kind of behavior that we found our selves in the midst of in the UFW after 1976-77 or so. My colleague, Rod Kramer, who teaches social psychology at Stanford, published an article in "Research in the Sociology of Organizations, Vol. 17, pages 47 -87, 2000" entitled "Political Paranoia in Organizations: Antecedents and Consequences." He draws the data for his article from a variety of sources, but in particular studies of Nixon and Johnson, especially Johnson, during their periods of serious disorientation.

He identifies at least four behaviors that are part this: loss of perceived control, self-consciousness, hypervigilance, and rumination (obsessing on certain things, brooding).

* * * *

He then identifies three cognitive consequences of political paranoia:

First, what is called "sinister attribution error", meaning a tendency for individual to over-attribute hostile intentions and malevolent motives to others' actions.

The second characteristic is what he calls "exaggerated perceptions of conspiracy" - a tendency for an individual to overestimate the extent to which their perceived enemies are engaged in concerted or coordinated actions against them.

And the third characteristic is a "biased punctuation of conflict" - a tendency for individuals involved in conflict to construe interactions with their adversaries in self-serving and other-derogating terms.

He concludes his article with the behavioral consequences of political paranoia. He says the bad effects of "political paranoia become most evident when consideration is afforded as to how they contribute to a leader's self-defeating political behaviors." He argues that paranoid cognition

(above) leads to certain kinds of self-defeating behavior because it leads to bad strategy choices. *
* * *

A second behavioral change is what he calls "perseveration" - unusual rigidity with respect to the persistence of his efforts to convert or defeat his adversaries. * * * *

One reason political paranoia is so problematic is that it feeds upon itself making it increasingly difficult to learn from experience and to generate the kind of data needed to accurately assess others' trustworthiness.

My only point here is to show that the behavior - and the changes - that many of us observed in the latter years of the UFW is not that rare among very powerful leaders who allow themselves to become increasingly isolated, finding themselves to be under great stress, and, unlike the rest of us, can exempt themselves from the normal checks and balances that keep us accountable.

It's no new thing.

It happened to the very first king of the Israelites in the Hebrew Bible, King Saul, who thinks conspirators are after him, when they're not. The Greeks worried about the same thing, their myths full of powerful kings who lose their grip in much the same way. So they invented democracy.

Marshall

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/6/04 (1)

RE: MIDDLE NIGHT POSTING

Middle Night Posting / LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

I thought if I posted in the middle of the night, I might get a word in edgewise.

SUSAN DRAKE'S 1973 LETTER

This is the first I heard of Susan's letter. So much for me "being in the know" in 1973. I presume this letter is not part of the archives at Wayne State University (Detroit) and if that is the case, then it only reinforces my assertion that academics who use only Wayne State as their source are missing out on the role that the volunteers played in building the UFW. (If it turns out that Susan's letter IS at Wayne State, then I will wait for another document to surface to make my point.)

MARCH TO SACRAMENTO.

I had nothing to do with dreaming up or planning the March to Sacramento. It has been my experience in the farmworkers movement that someone will come up with the germ of an idea and others sitting around brainstorming will flesh it out and polish it up and that becomes the ACTION PLAN.

I would like to know who came up with the germ of this idea and who were the ones present that fleshed it out and polished it up?

FLORIDA UFW

I was pleased to see - at last! - a posting from a Florida UFW volunteer about the farmworkers movement there. I was amazed - and pleased - to read so many essays about the UFW farmworkers movement in Florida written by former UFW volunteers. During my stint with the UFW, the Florida contracts seemed so distant and almost like a step-child of the California UFW, but the essays reveal much more: Manuel Chavez, Pancho Botello, Jose Luna, Mack and Dianna Lyons, Eliseo Medina, Robin Jaffee, Richard Gagan, Nancy Hickey Hughes, Jerry Kay, (plus the other Florida volunteers and Migrant Ministry) all played a role. For the sake of the documentation project, I hope we will see more postings from Florida.

DECEASED AWOC STRIKERS

Andy Imutan in one of his postings listed the names of AWOC strikers who participated in the March to Sacramento: Manuel Vazquez, William King, Richard Flowers, Joseph Reeves, Ernest Delarmente, Felix Ytom and Gilbert Rubio (El Malcriado).

On the documentation project master list I have listed all these folks in RED because I have no contact with them. If anyone can confirm who is now deceased from these original AWOC members, I will list them in GREEN, our memorial color.

Marshall Ganz, 6/6/04 (2)

RE: MIDDLE NIGHT POSTING

LeRoy,

Did you read the account of who came up with the gem of the idea in the piece I sent? I thought it was all right there! It grew out of that discussion. Or did I miss something? Marshall

Deborah Vollmer, 6/6/04 (2)

RE: Political Paranoia

[Marshall Ganz] wrote:

For those who may be interested, my use of the word "paranoia" was not to call names but to try to accurately describe the kind of behavior that we found our selves in the midst of in the UFW after 1976-7 or so.

Marshall,

Do you know if anyone has done research to see if the same phenomenon may have occurred with other leaders who many of us would today see as heroes? I'm wondering about such great leaders as Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and John L. Lewis.

Deborah

Jose Gomez, 6/6/04

RE: Political Paranoia

I found Marshall's posting about political paranoia interesting. This is a real phenomenon that we have seen time and again in the White House. We definitely are seeing it right now. I can't say that I saw Cesar exhibit this phenomenon during my time with the Union, at least not beyond a healthy dose of what Roderick Kramer also calls "prudent paranoia". In any case, the dynamics of organizational behavior are too complex to attribute success or failure to anyone phenomenon, whether manifested by leadership or followers.

In my 36-year affiliation with nonprofit organizations, I have observed an additional phenomenon, also not so rare. I don't know what to label it or whether any studies have been done on it. If any of you who have studied organizational behavior know of any such studies, I would appreciate knowing about them.

This phenomenon has to do with the extraordinarily large number of followers or employees who leave an organization under a cloud. Either they are fired or they resign for reasons that they blame the organization's leadership for. Certainly in some (or perhaps most) instances the "blame" that the grieved follower/employee yearns for is found in the leadership or administration of an organization. However, I am referring to the many, many situations where individuals seem to subconsciously engineer themselves into a situation that will get them fired or that will provide them a justification for quitting that is beyond their own control. Being able to point the finger at the executive director or the board of directors or some other leadership entity absolves the aggrieved individual from making a decision that he or she is unable to bring him/ herself to make: to leave, to move on to something else.

I have seen this phenomenon in every single organization I have worked for. The phenomenon seems most pronounced in organizations that represent some "cause," that have a strong mission for social change that followers get very attached to. For some powerful reason (conscience or something like that), the employee/ follower cannot bring her/ himself to make a break from a cause that she or he considers extremely important and for which she or he has invested significant time and energy. I think I did this to myself when I left the Union. I won't go into detail here (and I

have no intention of making myself a case study on this, so don't ask), but many years later when I took a critical and honest look back at the reasons I gave (to myself and others) for leaving the Union, I had to admit that they weren't the real reasons. Yet, at the time I gave the reasons, I sincerely thought they were the real reasons.

Please do not read into this posting any more than is here. I am not offering this as a challenge to anything that has been posted nor as an explanation for anything that happened in the Union, good or bad, particularly when I was no longer affiliated with it. My intent is two-fold. One, I really am interested in hearing about any studies about the phenomenon that I describe (particularly as they may relate to some things that happened in the Union). Two, as I stated above, I want to emphasize that the dynamics of organizational behavior are too complex to attribute success or failure to any one phenomenon. Also, there are many variations, shades and hues of these phenomena. For example, even a certain dose of political paranoia can be healthy: Roderick Kramer, whose study Marshall so ably summarizes, has written a subsequent study about "prudent paranoia" ("When Paranoia Makes Sense," Harvard Business Review, July 1, 2002). I haven't had a chance to read it yet, but the Harvard Business School's website provides this description of the article:

"...The new doubtfulness runs contrary to most management literature, which has traditionally touted trust as an organizational asset. It's an easy case to make. When there are high levels of trust, employees can fully commit themselves to the organization because they can be confident that their efforts will be recognized and rewarded. Trust also means that leaders don't have to worry so much about putting the right spin on things. They can act and speak forthrightly and focus on essentials. In short, trust is an organizational superglue. Nevertheless, two decades of research on trust and cooperation in organizations have convinced social psychologist Roderick Kramer that - despite its costs - distrust can be beneficial in the workplace. Kramer has observed that a moderate form of suspicion, which he calls prudent paranoia, can in many cases prove highly beneficial to the distrustful individual or organization. In this article, he describes situations in which prudent paranoia makes sense and shows how, when properly deployed, it can serve as a powerful morale booster-even a competitive weapon-for organizations." * * * *

Jose Gomez
Portland, NJ, DC & NY Boycotts, La Paz (A.A. to Cesar)

Marshall Ganz, 6/6/04 (3)

RE: Political Paranoia

I'm not sure how widely researched it is, but from what I've read of John L. Lewis, he was a prime candidate in his declining years. From what I know of Gandhi, he had such a commitment to rigorous self-discipline, he seemed to be able to keep himself in perspective. Also, he never lost his sense of humor, a very good indicator. I'm sure King had his issues, but I don't think this was one of them.

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/6/04 (2)

RE: PHILIP VERA CRUZ

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

RE: Philip Vera Cruz.

Philip and I had a warm and cordial relationship but this relationship was limited to the confines of the countless board/ staff meetings that he and I attended together with Cesar and the other board/ staff members. Meetings that extended for many hours and many times carried over to the next day or so. Seemingly endless meetings all designed, in my view, for the purpose of arriving at consensus and getting everyone on the same page. Some of these meetings were feats of human endurance.

During the time of my participation in the UFW, Cesar had no more loyal or supportive board/staff member than Philip. He was attentive, he took notes, he gave his input and sometimes made a speech or two, he listened and he made his opinions known. But he was always very supportive of Cesar's leadership and extremely loyal. His relationship to Larry Itliong during many of these same meetings was quite different. I always felt the tension between the two, although it was civil even during heated discourse except for an exchange of mutterings now and again. (Philip told me he carried a gun in his car in case Larry ever "came after him". I didn't know whether to believe this or not, but I accepted his confidence as true.)

I have no knowledge of Philip's views apart from these UFW board/staff meetings or what leadership role he played among the AWOC strikers or the Filipino workers in general, though I never heard him speak an ill word about Cesar in any public forum in which I was present.

I did not view Philip as an activist or an action-oriented person but more as a mature, thoughtful, self-reliant, quiet and kindly person - and one fiercely loyal to Cesar Chavez.

Susan Drake, 6/6/04 (1)

RE: Susan's letter, C's mental condition

I don't know if my letter is part of the Wayne State archives, probably in my archives at Wayne State instead of Cesar's.

Paul Henggeler told me he first set out to grasp the change in C from his original goals to his behavior toward the end. As LBJ's biographer I wonder what comparisons, if any, he will draw between the two leaders (can't say my breakfast sets well lumping LBJ in same breath with CEC!).

Susan

Daneen Montoya, 6/6/04

RE: Filipinos

Leroy, I very much agree with your assessment of Philip. I would say the same of my dear friend, Pete Velasco. Peter had been a foreman for the grower, Jack Pandol, and said to me (and I am sure many others), "When I heard the message of the picketers, how, could I not join them, Sister? Their message was so pure and true, it could not have been ignored!"

To the day he died, Peter was fiercely loyal to the UFW, the workers and Cesar. He was a powerful spokesperson on behalf of the struggle. He was always a loving, thoughtful, intelligent and kind individual. I will never forget his beautiful smile...whether answering a question from a volunteer or farmworker, speaking with a grower, anti-UFW goons, relating the message of non-violence, or just in his everyday dealing with people in general.

My kids loved him so much that my younger son and his wife spent a few days of his honeymoon with Peter and his equally warm and generous wife Dolores. I still fix for dinner a bulgur wheat and flank steak recipe he and Dolores taught me.

My point is. The Filipino Brothers (including Larry Itliong) welcomed me and my kids with love, with open arms and open minds into their own daily lives. I feel so fortunate and blessed to have known them and fortunate that my children will take with them through their lives the lessons the Brothers taught us by their living example of brotherhood and sisterhood.

Daneen Montoya
San Jose - LaPaz
1968 - 1972/73

Susan Drake, 6/6/04 (2)

RE: Filipinos

Ditto, well-put, Daneen. Whoever said the brothers gave her kids quarters was right; mine benefited too, in spite of my first admonishing them not to take the poor men's money. Hah, how poor of spirit were they? Richer than many other people and look how much pleasure they

received. Mariano Santiago was one of my favorites, also Sebastian Santiago who became close when we shared our duodenal ulcer experiences (his hospitalized him).

Susan
1962-1973

Carlos LeGerrette, 6/6/04

RE: Filipinos

Cathy Murphy has some wonderful photos of the Filipino brothers, including a glorious picture of Bro. George Ibale. Besides Cathy, George Ballis, and possibly Chris Sanchez, are there any other photos of the Filipino brothers?

Carlos LeGerrette
{ '66-'78, SD Boycott, La Paz, San Ysidro }

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/6/04

RE: Jose Luna

Dear Abby and Doug

Thanks for recognizing a great but humble man.

Pancho Botello often remembered Mr Moon. He recalls that Mrs Luna threatened to divorce Jose because he 'cared more for La Causa than he did his own family in Hollister.'

Luna replied that "*mujeres hay muchas, pero Causas hay solo una.*" This is the way he felt about his involvement - 100% o nada.

These anecdotes, on those that made La Causa a success because of their commitment to make it so, are probably more valuable than those who sought to divide and conquer.

To Roberto Bustos – regarding the health fair, make that in Huron, instead of Hanford. These senior moments and memory lapses are catching up.

Hope Lopez – 1966-1974

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/6/04

RE: Dolores in Action

It is a relief to learn of the positive turn of events of the hunger strike and the urgency Dolores and others felt in resolving the matter. Quickly. Reading about Dolores is inspiring. Her tenacity, sense of justice and hard work does not amaze me. She has accomplished many things with great purpose and with a fearless spirit. She is the one key person responsible for bringing unemployment benefits to farm workers. At last, food in winter and a way to pay our bills. Her drive is relentless and she is never one to waste time. While hitching a ride from her one time from La Paz to San Diego, we made many stops along the way to resolve one issue or another yet arrived in good time. It was not uncommon to hear from Dolores in one part of the state In t he morning and from her at an opposite end at night. She did most of the driving herself, unless her car was not working, in which case she would draft someone to take her where she needed to go or she would borrow a car. One of the last times I saw Dolores she stopped at our home really late at night. Even though we insisted she sleep in the master bedroom she turned us down. Instead, she spread out a thin blanket and slept on the floor. My husband's friend, a farm worker from Parlier, came early the next morning on a personal matter and was shocked to find Dolores in our home, kneeling on the floor, ironing her clothes. (The story spread in Parlier and we have never been able to live it down.) She was almost out the door before I awoke and had to insist she drink some juice before heading out. Then, like a whirlwind, she was gone. Sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano

Marshall Ganz, 6/6/04 (4)

RE: March to Sacramento Part I

I'm going to try breaking this into two parts to see if that works.

SHORT VERSION

On Easter Sunday morning, April 10, 1966, Roberto Roman, an immigrant Mexican farm worker, barefoot, bore his heavy wooden cross triumphantly over the Sacramento River Bridge, down the Capitol Mall, and up the steps of the State Capitol of California. He was accompanied by 51 other "originales," striking grape workers who had walked 300 miles in a "peregrinacion" from Delano to Sacramento, where he was met by a crowd of 10,000 farm workers, religious activists, trade unionists, liberals, Chicanos and others from throughout the state who had come to share his unexpected victory.

The breakthrough came just 3 days before, when Cesar Chavez, leader of the fledging National Farm Workers Association, announced that Schenley Industries, a large Delano grape grower, had agreed to recognize the union. For seven months, since September 8, 1965, striking farm workers had endured picket lines, strike breakers, arrests, uncertainty, and, at times, despair. But they had been buoyed by the support of students, civil rights groups, trade unionists, religious organizations, and others who traveled to Delano to bring food, clothing, money and messages of solidarity. And they were hopeful, although skeptical, that boycotting Schenley products by picketing liquor stores across the country might work. As the new grape season approached, NFWA leaders had decided to mobilize fresh support for the strike, call attention to the boycott, and observe Lent by conducting a 300 mile pilgrimage, a peregrinacion, from Delano to Sacramento. The peregrinacion began on March 17, led by farm workers carrying banners of Our Lady of Guadalupe, patroness of Mexico, portraits of campesino leader Emiliano Zapata, and signs that proclaimed "peregrinación, penitencia, revolución": pilgrimage, penance, revolution. They also carried signs calling on supporters to boycott Schenley. Of the 67 strikers selected to march the distance, the oldest, William King, was 63 and the youngest, Augustine Hernandez, was 17 and eighteen were women. The march attracted wide public interest. Televised images of a helmeted police line using clubs to block its departure from Delano as a "parade without a permit" evoked similar images of police lines in Selma, Alabama, the year before. As the marchers progressed from town to town up the valley, public interest grew, especially after more than 1,000 people welcomed them to Fresno at the end of the first week. Who were these people? Would they make it all the way? Would they get what they want? Daily bulletins began to appear in the Bay Area press, stories about who the strikers were, why they would walk 300 miles, what the strike was all about. Roman Catholic and Episcopal bishops urged the faithful to join the pilgrimage and the Northern California Board of Rabbis came to share Passover matzoh. The march articulated not only the farm workers' call for justice, but claims of the Mexican-American community for a new voice in public life as well. At an individual level Chavez described the march as a way of "training ourselves to endure the long, long struggle, which by this time had become evident, would be required. We wanted to be fit not only physically but also spiritually." (Levy, 1975. #90).

Then, on the afternoon of April 3, as the marchers arrived in Stockton, a week away from Sacramento, Chavez got a phone call from Schenley's lawyer. Schenley had little interest in becoming the object of boycott, especially if the arrival of the marchers in Sacramento turned into a national anti-Schenley rally. They wanted to settle. Three days of hurried negotiations produced recognition of the NFWA, immediate improvements in wages and working conditions, and the first real union contract in California farm labor history.

So on Saturday afternoon, April 9, a growing company of marchers began to gather on the grounds of Our Lady of Grace School in West Sacramento, on a hill looking across the Sacramento River to the capitol city they would enter the next morning. After a prayer service of some 2000 people, in which more than one speaker compared the scene to that of the Israelites camped across the River Jordan, Roberto Roman, the farm worker who had carried a 2x4 wooden cross draped in black cloth 300 miles from Delano to Sacramento, stayed up most of the night, carefully redraping it in white and decorating it with spring flowers. The next morning, he carried it, barefoot, into the city.

LONG VERSION

The most important turn in devising strategy to win the strike emerged in early February from a deliberative process to which the NFWA frequently turned when faced with critical choices. Chavez gathered a leadership group at a supporter's home near Santa Barbara to spend three days figuring out what to do. Besides Chavez, the strategy team included Huerta, Drake, Valdez, farm workers Robert Bustos and Tony Mendez, the author, and others. Perhaps the best way to give a sense of the creative process - and the interaction of people and ideas central to it - is to quote from my notes:

As proposals flew around the room, someone suggested we follow the example of the New Mexico miners who had traveled to New York to set up a mining camp in front of the company headquarters on Wall Street. Farm workers could travel to Schenley headquarters in New York, set up a labor camp out front, and maintain a vigil until Schenley signed. Someone else then suggested they go by bus so rallies could be held all across the country, local boycott committees organized, and publicity generated, building momentum for the arrival in New York. Then why not march instead of going by bus, someone else asked, as Dr. King had the previous year. But it's too far from Delano to New York, someone countered. On the other hand, the Schenley headquarters in San Francisco might not be too far - about 280 miles which an army veteran present calculated could be done at the rate of 15 miles a day or in about 20 days. But what if Schenley doesn't respond, Chavez asked. 'Why not march to Sacramento instead and put the heat on Governor Brown to intervene and get negotiations started. He's up for re-election, wants the votes of our supporters, so perhaps we can have more impact if we use him as "leverage." Yes, someone else said, and on the way to Sacramento, the march could pass through most of the farm worker towns. Taking a page from Mao's "long march" we could organize local committees and get pledges not to break the strike signed. Yes, and we could also get them to feed us and house us. And just as Zapata wrote his "Plan de Ayala," Luis Valdez suggested, we can write a "Plan de Delano," read it in each town, ask local farm workers to sign it and to carry it to the next town. Then, Chavez asked, why should it be a "march" at all? It will be Lent soon, a time for reflection, for penance, for asking forgiveness. Perhaps ours should be a pilgrimage, a "peregrinacion," which could arrive at Sacramento on Easter Sunday.

The weaving together of diverse networks of people and ideas that characterized the planning of the march characterized preparations for its kick-off, as well. The NFWA had tried to get Governor Brown to mediate for some time. On January 4, Ronald Reagan had announced his candidacy for governor with a call for a return to the bracero program. He held Brown responsible not only for farm labor shortages, but for the "civil disorder" of Berkeley and Watts. NFWA leaders thought the fact that 1966 was an election year could help them leverage the Governor to use his influence to get talks going with the growers. Chavez, Huerta and others had a history with Brown going back to the CSO, the CDC, the "Viva Kennedy" campaign, Mexican-American politics and, more recently, the bracero program. They had also learned of a California fair trade act that protected the pricing practices of the liquor industry and thought making it a political issue might also encourage Schenley to deal with the union. Brown's approach to the farm labor problem had not been to support unionization but rather to assign \$3.5 million of the \$5.2 million allocated by the OEO for California migrant and seasonal farm worker projects to a "Migrant Master Plan" of setting up ten migrant service centers around the state. Since Gov. Hiram Johnson's California Immigration and Housing Commission in 1912, California political leaders had responded to farm labor strife with proposals for housing. This approach was a way to satisfy urban liberals interested in the poor without antagonizing powerful agribusiness interests. In fact, shifting the cost of farm worker housing to the public subsidized those interests, at the same time redefining farm labor as "social problem" rather than a "labor problem." A dramatic expansion of the poverty program in this way could also mute farm worker advocates by hiring them as social service providers, securely on the state payroll, a danger the CMM noted.

Although the march was to arrive at the Governor's doorstep on April 10, the opportunity to join the issue came sooner. Huerta noted that on February 20 Brown was to appear at the California Democratic Council (CDC) Convention in Bakersfield, just 30 miles from Delano. The CDC, the statewide volunteer political association that rebuilt the California Democratic Party during the 1950s, found itself increasingly at odds with elected officials, such as Assembly Speaker Jesse

Unruh and the Governor. At this meeting, Brown and others were hoping to unseat the incumbent CDC President, Simon Casady, for criticizing President Johnson's Vietnam policy. Although Vietnam divided the delegates, they were united in support of the farm workers, and over \$5,500 was collected in response to an impassioned appeal by the new San Francisco Assemblyman, Willie Brown. But when the Governor arrived, NFWA pickets appeared at the entrances with signs calling on him to mediate the strike. He found his way into the hall through an underground entrance, but delegates echoed the NFWA's demand for action in a unanimous resolution that called for collective bargaining legislation, support of the Schenley boycott, and intervention by the Governor. The next day, however, on February 21, Brown said:

I will probably go to Delano. I sympathize with the problem. But for me to use the weight of my office to ask for negotiations would be to intercede on one side of the dispute. Economic forces must determine the outcome. We have collective bargaining laws to take care of the differences between workers and employers.

Although it is unclear to what collective bargaining laws Brown was referring to justify state inaction, at the national level Sen. Williams had responded to Reuther's request to hold hearings in California on S. 1866, extension of the NLRA to cover farm workers. The hearings would convene on March 14 in Sacramento, March 15 in Visalia, and March 16 in Delano.

For the NFWA, the significance of these hearings was not in their legislative promise, but rather in the timely opportunity they provided to focus national attention on the grape strike, to line up public support, and dramatize their emerging strategy of mobilizing outside allies to hold local growers accountable. To achieve these goals, the NFWA wanted the newest member of the committee, Sen. Robert Kennedy, to attend and, with Reuther's encouragement, he did. Green, however, remained focused on his citrus campaign and saw no particular opportunity in the hearings.

Just as the NFWA had targeted the week of December 12-18 as a way to mobilize for kick off the Schenley boycott, the NFWA targeted the week of March 14-20 as a focal point for mobilization to kick off the march. On the one hand, the hearings provided Fr. James Vizzard of the Catholic Rural Life Conference with an opportunity to organize support for a joint statement by California's seven Roman Catholic bishops supporting inclusion of farm workers under the NLRA. On the other hand, the hearings created a venue in which the growers could be held publicly accountable. The statement of Martin Zaninovich of the South Central Farmers' Committee was predictable: "There is no strike among the Delano farm workers. The so-called strike is pure myth, manufactured out of nothing by outside agitators who are more interested in creating trouble in the United States than in the welfare of farm workers."

But there was a new twist: an organization had asked to testify that claimed to be the "authentic" voice of the farm workers and that corroborated grower claims - the Kern Tulare Independent Farm Workers. But when it turned out, under questioning by Sen. Kennedy, that leaders of the new organization were labor contractors employed by the growers and that its members included the growers themselves, the ploy backfired. The capstone event for many, however, was when Sen. Kennedy suggested Kern County Sheriff LeRoy Gallyen "read the Constitution of the United States" before he continued to arrest strikers whom he thought "might" violate the law.

Finally, the NFWA took advantage of national media in town to cover the March 16 hearings to announce the start of its 280 mile, 28-day march to Sacramento the next morning, March 17. As shown in Map Three, the route of the march took it through the farm worker towns and cities that dotted the agricultural heartland of California. The march targeted three objectives: to win support for the strike by persuading workers along the march route to stay out of Delano in the spring; to pressure Governor Brown to intervene; and to win support for the Schenley boycott by calling public attention to the injustice of the farm workers' plight. Chavez also saw the march as a way of: "training ourselves to endure the long, long struggle, which by this time had become evident, would be required.. We wanted to be fit not only physically but also spiritually, . . . to stress nonviolence even more (and) build confidence."

The march was led by a farm worker carrying a banner of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patroness of Mexico, portraits of campesino leader Emiliano Zapata, and banners proclaiming “peregrinación, penitencia, revolución”: pilgrimage, penance, revolution. Strikers also carried placards calling on supporters to boycott Schenley. Of 67 strikers selected to march the distance, the average age was 31, although the oldest, William King, was 63 and the youngest, Augustine Hernandez, was 17; eighteen were women. AWOC was again invited to participate but Green declined, declaring once again that AWOC was involved in “a trade union dispute, not a civil rights movement or a religious crusade”. Some AWOC members, however, did take part, and NFWA members sagely elected Manuel Vasquez, a Mexican striker active with AWOC, as the march captain. The march attracted wide public attention, particularly when television images of a Delano police line in helmets and holding clubs blocked its departure as a “parade without a permit,” evoked images of the police lines in Selma the year before. The nonviolence of the Delano march also stood in sharp contrast to the second round of Watts riots that had broken out just three days before.

During the first week of the march, a farm worker advance team devised routines for mobilizing local farm worker committees to welcome the marchers, feed them, house them, and organize a rally in the evening, and a mass the next morning. At the rallies, Valdez would proclaim the “Plan de Delano,” calling for the “liberation of the poor farm worker,” modeled on Emiliano Zapata’s Plan de Ayala, his plan for the liberation of the campesinos of Mexico. Each night, farm workers added their signatures to the thousands it would hold when reaching Sacramento. And at the end of mass the next morning, the farm worker who had carried Our Lady of Guadalupe from the previous town would place her in the hands of the farm worker from this town who would carry her to the next.

Meanwhile, in San Francisco and Los Angeles, organizers mobilized supplies, support delegations, and the picketing of Schenley. San Francisco’s Roman Catholic Bishop McGucken authorized Catholics to join the peregrinacion, as did the Episcopal Bishop, and the Northern California Board of Rabbis came to share Passover matzoh with the marchers, “bread of sacrifice” in the Jewish tradition.

One week into the march, on March 23, Governor Brown announced he would “probably” meet with the “dedicated strikers.” On March 26 he said he would “pay his respects,” to which Chavez responded, “We are not interested in respect from the governor, we are interested in action.” The Delano growers also responded at the end of the first week. In a speech to the California Grape and Treefruit League, Zaninovich attacked the California bishops for their statement, threatening the church’s tax-exempt status if it continued to be involved in “politics.”

As the march progressed from town to town up the valley, public interest grew, especially after more than 1,000 people welcomed the marchers to Fresno at the end of the first week. Daily bulletins began to appear in the Bay Area press, stories about who the strikers were, why they would walk 300 miles, what the strike was all about. The march came to symbolize not only the farm workers’ call for justice, but the claims of the Mexican-American community for a new voice in public life as well. For the second spring in a row, California newspaper headlines featured a farm labor story. In 1965, the story had been one of Secretary of Labor Wirtz’s “march” through California. In 1966, the story was one of the farm workers conducting their own march.

During its second week, as the march proceeded from Fresno to Stockton, the new director of organizing for the AFL-CIO, William Kircher, arrived to take a look. Kircher had been recruited by Livingston to take over when he retired in December. Meany told him his first task was to deal with the “AWOC problem”: “Meany told me if we couldn’t translate this into some form of organization, then I had better look around for some union that would be willing to take the effort over and make it a part of its operation.”

One reason Meany gave Kircher for this assignment was his anger with Reuther’s maneuvering. “He [Reuther] was there for one day and got six years of publicity.” Given that Kircher had been among the Reuther opposition and was party to a rivalry with Schrade that went back to a time when he was Livingston’s “man” on the West Coast, Kircher seemed well suited for the task at hand.

William Kircher, 51 in 1966, was white, German-Irish, Roman Catholic, married with 2 children, and Director of Organizing for the AFL-CIO since 1965. Born in Athens, Ohio, one of 11 children, his father was a general contractor. He graduated from Athens High School in 1932 and Ohio University in 1936, with a degree in journalism, inspired by Heywood Braun of the Newspaper Guild. After two years with the La Puente Journal in Los Angeles, for family reasons he returned to Cincinnati in 1938 to become a salesman and marry. In 1940, rejected for military enlistment for a physical disability, he went to work in a General Electric defense plant, becoming a charter member of UAW Local 617 and its full-time education director. By 1943 he became UAW regional education director, but in 1946 was defeated by the Reuther slate in a run for regional director. After returning to the regional staff, he was recruited in 1949 to become West Coast Director of the Aircraft Department, an organizing position under Jack Livingston. In 1951 he followed Livingston to Washington DC as his assistant on the Wage Stabilization Board. And in 1953, he followed Livingston to Detroit, serving as his assistant in the GM Department. In 1955 when Livingston became AFL-CIO Organizing Director, Kircher was invited to assist, but could not move his family. He became AFL-CIO assistant regional director in Cincinnati on the condition, however, he would move to DC to succeed Livingston when he retired. He became active in reform Democratic politics, civil rights work, and counter organizing the Teamsters. In 1964, he moved to Washington as Assistant Organizing Director and, in 1965, became Organizing Director. He was an active Roman Catholic, member of the Knights of Columbus, Catholic Labor Guild, and a liberal Democrat. He wrote "Labor Relations from the Catholic Perspective." (Obituary; Catholic Who's Who; Kircher, Interview).

Kircher got introduced to the farm labor scene through the Senate hearings. "It was obvious Cesar had taken over the strike and that he had a lot of charisma and ability to work. But I didn't get a chance to really see him in action until those Senate hearings Pete Williams held in California." He was especially impressed with how Chavez handled Congressman Hagen's redbaiting. He joined the march.

I got some old clothes, and I figured the best goddam way to find out what was going on was to avoid the experts and live with the people, so I walked with them, and I talked with them.... I happen to be a practicing Catholic and I go to Mass on a daily basis if I can, and here we were, going to Mass every morning, meeting every night, and Cesar began to talk (to me) more... The whole thing had a strong, cultural religious thing, yet it was organizing people. .. Chavez knew... that to approach the organization of these people like an organizer going into an auto plant some place, was ridiculous ... while Chavez directed their attention to their economic needs, he pulled them together through. . .the cultural religious form.

Kircher did turn out to be the right man for the task at hand, but not for reasons Meany may have had in mind. His life experience had given him an understanding of unionism more as a vocation than a job, especially when it combined his Roman Catholic faith with his politics as the NFWA did. Although Livingston's protégé, he had a feisty "love/ hate" relationship with him, not dissimilar from the relationship he was to have with Meany. As a college graduate journalist who worked his way up through the UAW as an education director - and for whom his Catholicism was an important source of commitment to his work - he was himself a "borderlander" between the "bread and butter" unionism of the AFL and the "social reform" unionism of the CIO. Although he had no experience with the farm worker world, the diversity of his organizing experiences in many industries and regions equipped him to pay attention - and to learn. The fact Meany wooed him to accept the position and made solving the "AWOC problem" his top priority also gave him a degree of autonomy his predecessor had not enjoyed. He had already begun a wholesale reorganization of the AWOC staff, hiring younger, more active men who shared his perspective. His leadership was also required to manage a new farm labor task force the CSFL established in February to coordinate AFL-CIO involvement in the strike. And at 51, he was determined to make a mark in his new leadership role.

As Kircher took part in the march, got to know Chavez and the NFWA leaders, and came to see the limitations of Green's leadership of AWOC, he became convinced that if AWOC was to have a future it would be in persuading Chavez to affiliate. "My first judgment was the AWOC was

crazy.... but as I got talking to Green, it was obvious the problem was jealousy. The whole identity of the cause had gone over to Chavez and the NFWA..." As for Green's alliance with the Teamsters, an organization Kircher had fought in Ohio and Pennsylvania, "the Teamsters had organized 8 or 9 citrus packinghouses and had won NLRA elections, but the AWOC seemed to receive no benefits.... All the organizing AWOC had been doing had been done with labor contractors."

The NFWA leaders, however, remained skeptical of affiliation with the AFL-CIO, especially if it would compromise their autonomy. Chavez said, "I just knew that a big organization was not going to let a little organization get it into trouble. They had too many things at stake if we started raising hell with strikes and boycotts." Huerta commented she thought Kircher invited her to go to mass with him to "check her out" and see if she were really a communist. Although Schrade and Kircher had become frequent visitors to the march, Schrade had the advantage in that he represented Reuther, who had recognized the NFWA's independence. Kircher represented Meany, who was responsible for six years of AWOC. Their rivalry, however, as well as that of their principals, gave the NFWA greater leverage to negotiate its position than might otherwise have been the case.

For Kircher, the situation came to a head as the march approached Modesto, Green's home base, and a local paper reported the AFL-CIO would boycott the march when it arrived. Chavez gave Kircher the clipping, asking him how he could invite the NFWA into the AFL-CIO, when this was the AFL-CIO's position. Kircher recalls:

Here I am, director of organizing for the whole goddamn federation, reading in the Turlock paper that the AFL-CIO is boycotting the goddamn march. Not only that, but AFL-CIO leaders are charging the NFWA is not really a union ... that kind of crap. This was Green, it was his line ... so we drove to Stockton...

The next morning Kircher summoned Green to a meeting, reminded him who was in charge, and told him that since Modesto was his home base he would judge his influence in the labor movement by how large a reception he organized for the farm workers. When late that afternoon the march arrived, the reception committee at the side of the road had been joined by an unlikely array of Anglo Modesto union officials who held signs reading: "Glaziers Union Local 79, Viva La Causa!", "Asbestos Workers Local 1215, Viva La Huelga!" Kircher ordered Green to fade into the background, shut down the citrus operation, transferred AWOC's funds to Delano, and gave Larry Itliong direct control over his end of the Delano grape strike.

On the afternoon of April 3, as the marchers rested in St. Mary's Square in Stockton, Chavez received a call at the local CSO office across the street from someone claiming to be a lawyer for Schenley. Thinking it a prank, Chavez refused the call. When he finally took it, the caller turned out to be Sidney Korchak, a Los Angeles labor negotiator. He called to arrange a meeting to discuss recognizing the union and negotiating a contract - the next day!

Schenley was concerned the spotlight of the increasingly visible march would focus on them when it reached Sacramento - a threat underscored by actions of a San Francisco Teamsters local that temporarily refused to load Schenley and Los Angeles Bartenders leader, Hermann "Blackie" Levitt, who circulated a letter threatening a Southland bartenders' boycott. As Schenley Vice President James Woolsey later testified before the California State Senate Subcommittee on Agriculture:

These reprisals and the publicity presented a threat of serious damage to our business on a nationwide scale. Our sales department felt that even more damaging than any decline in our sales was the adverse publicity that accompanied the boycott and the NFWA organizing activities...These were key factors in our later decision to recognize NFWA

Lewis Rosenstiel, 75, the Schenley CEO, had contacted Korchak, an old Chicago associate, to fix the problem. Korchak, 58, the son of a Jewish Chicago businessman, had received his law degree in 1930, defended figures associated with the Chicago mob, and moved to California in the late 1940s where he won a reputation as a "fixer" with labor, the liquor industry, and movies. Korchak invited Levitt, also from Chicago and a "friendly adversary," to join in the discussion. Rosenstiel

proposed selling the Delano property, but Korchak sensed an opportunity to turn the problem into good publicity for Schenley, and suggested recognizing the union instead. Rosenstiel had a long history of good relationships with unions and no stake whatever in the Delano grower community. So he agreed.

Chavez met with the strikers to ask "permission" to leave the march and recruited Hartmire to drive him to Los Angeles. The next morning Chavez, Hartmire, and a few others made their way to Korchak's Beverly Hills mansion to find Korchak, Levitt, Teamster representatives, and Kircher waiting for them. Schenley was prepared to recognize a union, Korchak said, but was skeptical of the NFWA and wanted the AFL-CIO - or Teamsters - to co-sign any agreement. Korchak had invited the Teamsters to the meeting because they had contracts with Schenley, had been involved in the Bay Area work stoppage, and he knew they needed to be on board with any agreement. The Teamsters had decided to try to woo Chavez to join them, so they did not want to antagonize him, but they also wanted to avoid an agreement with the AFL-CIO. Kircher would have preferred that Schenley sign with AWOC, but the NFWA hold the strike certification and was in control of the boycott. The NFWA expected that the recognition agreement would be signed with it, a position the Teamsters supported. The impasse was broken when Korchak suggested a recognition agreement between the NFWA and Schenley, witnessed by Kircher on behalf of the AFL-CIO. Kircher agreed, as did the Teamsters. And although a full contract remained to be negotiated, the agreement also provided an immediate 35¢/ hour wage increase to a new minimum of \$1.75, a union hiring hall to eliminate labor contractors, and a check-off for the credit union.

The dynamics of this meeting were to play out in the course of the farm worker struggle again and again as the NFWA fought to preserve its autonomy by balancing its rivals, one against the other. It could exercise this autonomy, however, only because it had built its own base among farm workers and developed its own allies within the Mexican-American community, churches, civil rights groups, liberal Democrats, and students, as well as new labor movement allies. Perhaps the most unlikely, yet significant, presence at Korchak's house was Hartmire, a witness to the proceedings. It would have been easy for the NFWA to become a chip in a larger game between the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO or Meany and Reuther. That it did not turn out this way shows not only the vigilance with which the NFWA protected its autonomy, but the canniness Chavez had learned. As he liked to say, with the Schenley agreement, they had "killed two birds with one stone, and kept the stone."

On the morning of April 6, Chavez reached the marchers over a mobile phone that had been installed in a Volkswagen "press van" as they passed through Tokay vineyards on the outskirts of Lodi. As they gathered beside the road to hear the report, the "press secretary" on loan from SNCC, Terry Cannon, climbed on top of the van. Shouting over a bullhorn, he announced the NFWA just signed a recognition agreement with Schenley Industries. The new minimum would be \$1.75/ hour and labor contractors were to be eliminated. Negotiations would begin within thirty days for a complete contract covering 500 Delano grape workers. Although Cannon's remarks had to be translated into Spanish, the cheering began while he was still in English. But even as the marchers cheered their victory, they began turning over their "Boycott Schenley" signs to write "Boycott S&W," "Boycott Treesweet" products of the powerful DiGiorgio Corporation that would be their next target.

The reaction of the California Council of Growers was predictable:

While the NFWA and its religious cohorts were righteously preaching democratic processes and marching on Sacramento, the leaders were closeted elsewhere, working out a deal that denies workers any voice in the proceedings...Schenley Industries, whose farm operations are incidental to their basic whiskey-making business, is not representative of California agriculture, where growers steadfastly refuse to sell out their employees and force them into a union which does not represent them.

On the other hand, the next day, Thursday, April 7, DiGiorgio announced it too would recognize a union but only if a secret ballot election among its agricultural workers determined which union they wanted, if any - the NFWA, AWOC, or the Kern Tulare Independent Farm Workers. On

Good Friday, April 8, as the march wound its way along a narrow levee road above the Sacramento River, pausing every so often to observe a station of the cross, Chavez responded. The NFWA would participate in elections, but only if NLRB rules protected workers from unfair labor practices. Until terms were agreed on, the union could suspend neither its strike nor its boycott. And in no case would the NFWA participate in an election in which the Kern Tulare Independent Farm Workers was on the ballot. Kircher expressed AFL-CIO support for the NFWA position, explaining that AWOC declined to participate in recognition of the NFWA's claim to represent DiGiorgio workers. The DiGiorgio boycott would be launched as planned.

On Saturday afternoon, the growing company of marchers - farm workers and supporters - gathered on the grounds of Our Lady of Grace School in West Sacramento, on a hill looking across the Sacramento River to the capitol city they would enter the next morning, a scene more than one speaker compared to that of the Israelites camped across the River Jordan from the Promised Land. To the 2,000 people assembled for a joint Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish prayer service, Chavez introduced his mentor, Fred Ross, and announced he had recruited him to "train another generation" of organizers. After the service, Roberto Roman, a farm worker who had carried a 2x4 wooden cross draped in black cloth 300 miles from Delano to Sacramento, stayed up most of the night red rapping it in white and decorating it with flowers. The next morning, barefoot, he bore his cross triumphantly across the river bridge, down the Capitol mall, and up the

Capitol steps where he was joined by 51 other originals who had completed the entire march and a crowd of 10,000 farm workers and supporters.

Although the speakers included a panoply of religious, labor, political and Mexican-American leaders, they did not include Governor Brown. He had decided to "spend the day with his family" at Frank Sinatra's house in Palm Springs. NFWA leaders called on him to convene a special session of the legislature to deal with collective bargaining rights for farm workers, threatening a general strike if he failed to act. They also launched the DiGiorgio boycott. In all the excitement over Schenley and DiGiorgio, the fact Governor Brown failed to meet with the marchers or respond to their call for a meeting seemed less important. The Mexican-American community, however, took it as a direct affront - a fact that gave the NFWA new bargaining chips with the Governor that would become very important in the subsequent negotiations with DiGiorgio.

Fred Hirsch, 6/6/04

RE: Fred's 1968 analysis - perhaps rant.

Dear Folks,

In 1968, when Ginny and I and most of our daughters left Delano, I submitted - or Ginny and I - submitted a critique of the organization with some thoughts about UFW leadership, both negative and positive as I remember. The paper explained in some detail why we felt we should leave Delano. We copied the paper illegally, but with supervisory permission at the CRLA office. I think the office was in MacFarland, not far from the Dairy King where Ginny and I had an out-of-this-world pastrami sandwich when all our copying and making was done.

The document was carefully distributed to all members of the Executive Board and to nobody else so it would remain strictly internal information. Each copy was subtly marked so that Ginny or I could easily identify the person who might leak the paper - if it was leaked. It was never leaked.

I was glad that it was not leaked, but not so happy that it was never, to my knowledge, seen again nor commented upon. I haven't seen it for 35 years. Has anyone seen that document or does anyone have any idea where it might be found?

Fred Hirsch

Richard Ybarra, 6/6/04 (1)

RE: Political Paranoia

I am not sure how well anyone here knew Mr. Gandhi, but I for one knew Cesar Chavez about as well as anyone here and in a wide variety of settings (with each of you, every stage of my time

with the union and beyond) and whether we call it defending or fending I will add that his disciplined life stayed intact along with his hearty sense of humor which was well indicated to me time after time, no matter the season or the reason....

As Jose Gomez reminds for some of us part of our jobs to some degree were to maintain a healthy level of "prudent paranoia"....

One remembrance....January 1980...Jerry Brown Campaign... Portland, Maine ...Marshall Ganz and I are having a good breakfast and as good a discussion (I enjoyed working with him and appreciated his leadership and guidance most of the time)... After Marshall updated me on where he saw things with the union (nothing horrible just "indicators") I suggested "Marshall, I think it is time for you to leave the union and move on (with your life) It seems to me you really want to be doing politics or other things." My suggestion was that most or all of us come to that point in the farmworkers or any movement and the clear "indications" he gave me in that friendly conversation, prompted me to offer that advice As Barbara Macri stated that departure date came a year and a half later and as Abby stated the nationally televised personal criticism came like 11 years later...

Marshall Ganz, 6/6/04 (5)

RE: Political Paranoia

Your point, Richard?

Richard Ybarra, 6/6/04 (2)

RE: Political Paranoia

Read the indicators. . . .

Marshall Ganz, 6/6/04 (6)

RE: Political Paranoia

Richard, you're too mysterious for me. Do you think you could you be just a little more direct?

Richard Ybarra, 6/7/04 (1)

RE: Political Paranoia

Marshall,

One of the many points to read here is that I am about as direct to you as you are now and were then with Cesar. I was very direct to you the last time we spoke in Delano on April 28, 1993 at the forty acres when we briely discussed your television appearance so many years after your time with the union was done. No more and no less than these simple reads of life. You were and are far too intelligent not to be able to read indicators or between and behind any and all lines... Best,

Richard

Marshall Ganz, 6/7/04

RE: Political Paranoia

So, Richard. am I supposed to understand the fact that you won't give me a direct answer as a liberal or as a Jew? You were pretty direct about that. Marshall

Richard Ybarra, 6/7/04 (2)

RE: Political Paranoia

Marshall,

If I was you I might say nonsense, but I am not you. So, whether you are a bitter former volunteer or a caring researcher now I directly suggest that you should know better than to so readily and

easily attack someone's lifetime achievements and credibility who cannot defend themselves from your "truth."

Viva Cesar Chavez,

Richard

Richard Cook, 6/7/04

RE: Political Paranoia or Racism?

To Richard Ybarra,

Richard,

Your earlier comment about "Jews" as somehow posing a threat to the UFW was one of the most blatant racist statements I have ever seen in print. Apparently, you intended that comment as a private communication to LeRoy, which suggests your statement was one of personal conviction.

In the context of your earlier antisemitic remark, it seems to be a strange and unwelcome gambit for you to return in a recent posting to the subject of staff departures.

In my opinion, you have lost all credibility – unless it is your intention to claim that others (in the UFW leadership?) shared your racist views.

For you to bring up a 24 year old conversation in which you advised a staff member and a Jew to leave the UFW, simply reminds this reader of your earlier remark about the threat you perceived to be posed by "Jews."

If your recollection of that 1980 conversation with Marshall is accurate, your recall of it suggests to me that you felt free at the time to act on your racism.

Richard Cook
NFWM (1972-1984 more or less)

Richard Ybarra, 6/7/04 (3)

RE: Political Paranoia or Racism

Richard,

I suggest you re-read what was stated. There was no historical intent or content. There was though a high disregard for what I felt was a very harsh attack on a man and leader whom I and most of the people here loved, defended, protected and followed. So when I read the veiled viciousness of one white person and another who was not white I said that to LeRoy who is also white as a private descriptor that wonders aloud how a brilliant and wonderful Mexican can be so easily attacked and directly, at times perhaps correctly or not, and at others with quips and whims about his sanity, then I decided to step away from what I felt was becoming a racist forum; which thankfully has not happened because there has been a return to sanity. There were no adjectives. In a private note to another person here who wrote me, I stated that it was a descriptor. So if those are the worst words you ever wrote and if you believe what you said then you can't be the Tocayo I knew. But whether intended or not, those words got beyond LeRoy Chatfield. My apology for that stands, as well as do the blessings.

My lifetime work with all people and my lifetime admiration for good Christians, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists and other faiths speaks for itself.

You might also want to re-read my conversation with Marshall. Nothing about race or threats, it was about an honest and friendly conversation by one guy who had left the union five years prior and one who was contemplating his own future. My advice at that time was to a valued colleague and friend.

Jackie Davis probably offers the best advice here though....

Richard

Graciela Cisneros, 6/7/04

RE: "truth"

This is my truth about Cesar and the union. Cesar brought the issue of social and economic justice for farmworkers to a national audience but failed at running a union. He was human.

In documentation postings we are expressing our experiences with Cesar, the union, and each other. We are discussing our own truths.

We can never learn the truth from true believers.

Graciela Cisneros (chicana)
1971-1973

Nancy Grimley Carleton, 6/7/04

RE: A file on the early days

Dear LeRoy (with copy to the Listserve):

When my mother came up to Berkeley from Palo Alto Friday to visit me, she brought with her a file my brother had discovered in the garage as he went through some old papers of my stepfather, Joe Carleton, who died of cancer in 2000 at the age of 67. I'd shared the essay I'd written for the Documentation Project with my mother recently, and she thought I'd be interested in seeing the material.

The file contained notes, newspaper clippings, flyers, and so forth from Joe's early activism in support of the farmworkers. Items in the file date from 1965 through 1967, and lead up to a four-page speech Joe delivered on April 2, 1967, on the invitation of the Reverend Lou Riley at the First Congregational Church in Palo Alto (which anyone who ever served on the Boycott in Palo Alto will know provided some of the staunchest supporters of union efforts over the years). Joe had written and rewritten the speech a number of times (back in the days of typewriters, when making changes meant you had to retype the whole thing), so he clearly wanted to do justice to the cause -- and on the final copy he'd written reminders to himself on each page to speak slowly.

I was moved to see that you were one of the chief motivators of Joe's support for the union. The opening paragraphs of his speech read:

"This morning I'd like to tell you about one dedicated individual and how he is able to work creatively with others toward a common goal: justice for farm workers. LeRoy Chatfield is now director of the Farm Workers Co-Op in Delano, part of Cesar Chavez's National Farm Workers Organizing Committee of the AFL-CIO. Previously, when he was known as Brother Gilbert, LeRoy was vice-principal of a Christian Brothers school in Bakersfield. But when he discovered that he was more interested in the problems of poor Mexican-American students than in teaching itself, he left the order to devote all his time to working with poor families. He started in Delano.

"On Easter Sunday, 1966, several of us from the church drove to Sacramento to join the grape strikers in the last day of their march on the capitol. A few of the hard core had marched the entire 250 miles from Delano to Sacramento, over some 25 days, and the rest of us were there just for the last five miles. LeRoy Chatfield was there with us."

"A week ago, again on Easter Sunday, my family and I were returning from a vacation trip to the Grand Canyon. We turned off Highway 99 to Delano, hoping to learn of the Co-op's growth through LeRoy's leadership during the last year. I called LeRoy, talked with him over the phone. He told me that the day before they had held a memorial march to the newly purchased land on the outskirts of Delano, where they held a blessing of the site. This was a pilgrimage reminiscent of that in Sacramento the year before. . . ."

[The speech goes on to describe a bit about the Farm Workers Co-Op as well as a dispute over whether Texaco would supply gas to the Co-Op's pumps, then includes the text of a letter written

by Bonnie Chatfield to Joe at your request, which gives a good update on the Coop. Joe ends the speech as follows:]

"Last year the Congregational Foundation, which is an off-shoot of this church, gave 50 percent of its funds from interest to the Farm Workers Co-Op. This is money to provide encouragement and to help them get started and to show them we were supporting them. Individuals in our church have also contributed time and money; some have contributed food and have driven down to Delano. Therefore, I think we in this church can feel that we have had a part in helping one man, LeRoy Chatfield, to help others."

When I'm able, I will retype the entire transcript of both Lou Riley's sermon (which touched on the major topics of the times -- from the Vietnam War to the Civil Rights movement in the South to the farmworker efforts, tying it back to an inspirational story about a woman who died in the Nazi gas chambers) with Joe's part of the sermon talking about the Co-Op. I found the entire combination very moving. We are part of such a long tradition of nonviolent struggle for justice and peace.

So, more than I even realized, LeRoy, we have a connection going back many years, since it was my stepfather and mother who brought me along with them to so many meetings and talks and performances related to the union starting when I was nine years old. I imagine I must have met you back then too.

Nancy Carleton

Boycott Staff, 1975-1976 (San Jose with two months in the San Fernando Valley)

Carlos LeGerrette, 6/7/04

There was a Japanese doctor who worked out of the Delano clinic circa 1973. I'm not sure if his wife also worked with the movement. What were their names and where are they now.

Where is Dr. Cummings?

One of the Delano nurses, Anne Hille, married another volunteer, Daniel Morales. They live in San Diego and Linda and I are God parents to their son, Carlos, who just graduated from Saint Augustine High School.

Other local graduations of note. Jonathan Julio Jourdane, son of Mo Jourdane and Olivia Flores, and founding Chavista of our Chavez Service Club at Point Loma High School (PLHS), has received numerous awards and scholarships will be attending Stanford University in the Fall. Accompanying Jonathan will be another PLHS founding Chavista, Aaron Smith. Both maintained GPA's well above 4.0 and received the most awards from their very competitive class. Both are very well rounded. Jonathan, like Mo, is a surfer. Aaron was the quarterback of the football team.

Please send Jonathan and Aaron congratulations. * * * *

Carlos LeGerrette

('66-'78, SD Boycott, La Paz, San Ysidro)

Jackie (Brown) Davis, 6/7/04

RE: Political Paranoia or Racism?

Richard and Marshall,

Though I can no longer hang up the phones on you at the end of five minutes, and I have much respect for you both in other settings, I have to say that I do not feel served by your personal dissent at this time and would like to suggest that you two take your personal concerns to an off list level.

Ellen Eggers, 6/7/04

RE: Political Paranoia or Racism?

Jackie, I have to respectfully disagree. I know that many people are not comfortable with conflict, but these various opinions and feelings have been rumbling out there and among us for many years. I think this is one of the healthiest interchanges I've been a part of since I began with the union. No one is going to get fired for expressing these views. That's a good thing. This is free speech at its finest and I would really miss being part of the discussion. So, Richard and Marshall, if you do decide to move this discussion somewhere else, please include me. I like both of you a lot, and I would love to see something positive come out of these frank discussions. Maybe just venting your views is all that will happen, but that's probably good too. Ellen

Mary Mocine, 6/7/04

RE: Political Paranoia or Racism?

Once again, the sister speaks my mind.

Mary

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/7/04 (1)

RE: Fred's 1968 analysis – perhaps rant.

I remember talk of the document. Never had a clue of what was in it except I recall some folks were upset with what was written. Fred, do you recall any of what you and Ginny said? Venceremos. Kathy Lynch Murguia (1965-1983)

Deborah Vollmer, 6/7/04

RE: On Cesar, and Gandhi

Folks,

Since I raised this question on the listserv a day or two ago, I did have the occasion to raise this same question with a friend of mine, who is studying the life of, and writing about, Gandhi. She told me that Gandhi, for all of his greatness, very much was a person who had this problem. He could not, according to this researcher, stand criticism, and surrounded himself with "yes" people. I would be very interested to know if anyone else on this listserv knows of other works about Gandhi, which deal with this particular question in connection with Gandhi's personality.

There was something very Gandhi-like about Cesar, which we all know, but perhaps there is something about this personality type, which, while having about it much to admire, also contains seeds for potential self-destruction.

I wonder if it is possible that things would have been different if some of us who loved Cesar and the movement had not been so cowed by him, and had voiced more of that constructive criticism on occasions when it was needed – whether he liked it or not! I'm not suggesting that this would have been at all easy – we all loved the movement so much that we hung in there, always with the fear that if one stepped out of line one would be fired! And as has been repeatedly discussed here, this did happen on many occasions.

It would have taken an awareness by all of us collectively at that time, of just what was happening, combined with a strong collective resolve to voice that needed criticism and not be cowed, to have kept these self-destructive tendencies of Cesar in check. Had we been able to do this – with the love, understanding and respect that Cesar deserved – perhaps we could have helped Cesar to find the right course at various junctures where he really needed some guidance. Cesar was, after all, a human being – and there is no human being on Earth who is totally above criticism and the need for input from other human beings to help see the various alternatives and pitfalls, as one negotiates one's way through the various and complicated choices and decisions in life.

Peace,
Deborah

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/7/04 (2)

RE: "Prudent paranoia"

Jose Gomez wrote:

I found Marshall's posting about political paranoia interesting. This is a real phenomenon that we have seen time and again in the White House. We definitely are seeing it right now. I can't say that I saw Cesar exhibit this phenomenon during my time with the Union, at least not beyond a healthy dose of what Roderick Kramer also calls "prudent paranoia". In any case, the dynamics of organizational behavior are too complex to attribute success or failure to anyone phenomenon, whether manifested by leadership or followers.

I agree re the dynamics of organization behavior being too complex, etc., to define success or failure by any one phenomenon.

Jose's thoughtful description of prudent paranoia reminds me of the whole notion of maintaining a healthy balance between one's personal needs, based on aptitudes, attitudes, experience and values and the choices we make in terms of integrated decisions that connect us to our history and our community through family/ vocation, etc.

In the movement setting that characterized the union, that balance was met by the intense commitment we shared as volunteers. One's perceived worth became fused with the successes of the movement. A sense of self was deferred to the priorities of the organization.. The leadership defined them as one and the same, viewing and judging volunteers on their willingness to be responsive to the Union's needs. Personal needs were overshadowed by the needs of LaCausa. This made sense. But even in the early days this became a method of disciplining and testing the loyalty of the rank and file volunteers.

Any organization evolves and changes if it is going to survive. Yes, there is prudent paranoia from both sides (leaders-followers) of this equation as one seeks to find a healthy balance. But it seems that Cesar pre-empted balancing the equation by firing people before they had made that choice. This went beyond prudent paranoia in my thinking to a place where he appeared to be acting on the basis of unknowns, and at times inferences. He seemed to be vulnerable at this point. To what, for what, we can only speculate. Maybe some on this listserve have some thoughts.

Yes, I was and consider myself a dedicated Chavista. But what I saw happening around me broke my heart. I still think of Cesar and a surge of empathic concern for him and what he symbolizes fills my senses. But I can't deny some things that happened to other people I love and care about. This really doesn't provide feedback on your organizational question of how one can sabotage themselves in an organization when they need to move on. It has been my experience also when I'm ready to leave a situation, I tend to paint it black, fill it with a shadow. But my best experiences are those in which I had a clarity and positive closure. That is one reason I so appreciate what we are doing. Let's be as honest as we can. I remain a true believer that folks who work so darn hard to put food on our tables, along with those who cook and clean and support the luxuries enjoyed by so many in this country deserve economic and social justice on the par of those who graduate from college.

Que Siga la Lucha. Hasta la justicia para todos

Kathy Lynch Murguia (1965-1983) Delano, SF, Oxnard, LA, La Paz, Rio Grande Tejas.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/7/04

RE: "Prudent paranoia"

Kathy,

You bring up some good insights. It has occurred to me, however, that an important factor has been overlooked as to *why* sometimes we might have *perceived Cesar as acting on unknowns*. We need to take a hard look at something that happened quite often. It is farm workers who traveled or phoned La Paz to complain to Cesar directly about staff, the (poor/slow/inadequate) services they were receiving at the field offices, clinics, medical plans, credit union, etc. or those who came to complain about directors, organizers, contract administrators, negotiators or to discuss personal affronts or matters of a delicate nature regarding staff behavior. Workers would

just show up at the gate at La Paz extremely angry and some even irrational. Do some of us recall this? Some of us may never have learned this because security usually helped with the problem right away. How many of us in our time as volunteers witnessed entire delegations coming to La Paz to complain to Cesar about one thing or another? Workers took advantage of trips to La Paz to attend meetings as an opportunity to air complaints, too. What I recall is Cesar taking them to a private room or to his office to listen to them. Cesar would drop everything to give them his complete attention. These were worker initiated meetings with Cesar. *Cesar always made himself available to them, to his great credit.* I know, though, that Cesar also defended staff because I observed him at some of these staff/community meetings being firm with workers. We have to be realistic, though, about the fact that some workers as well as staff had the knack for making pests of themselves with Cesar. Sometimes his staff or security would break in to lead him away from these unusually long conversations. Anyway, to end, some of these worker complaints eventually led to reprimands, firings, or transfers of staff. Cesar did not want to involve workers (to protect the worker(s)?) so it was not mentioned to volunteer staff. It would make sense that staff might then perceive Cesar as acting on unknowns. Thoughts on this anyone? sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano

Deborah Vollmer, 6/8/04 (1)

RE: "Prudent paranoia"

Abby,

These are interesting observations, and would imagine that there must have also been other kinds of situations where Cesar acted on information known to him, but unknown to the rest of us. And I think we would make as much of a mistake to conclude that any decision of his which on the surface seemed arbitrary or unfair to be his mistake, as we would to go to the other extreme, and view him as a saint who could do no wrong. I think the point that a lot of us here are trying to make is that to the extent that Cesar resented criticism and surrounded himself with "yes" people, he was cutting himself off from valuable constructive criticism that on more than one occasion was sorely needed.

Peace,
Deborah

Deborah Vollmer, 6/8/04 (2)

RE: Correcting my own errors [FW: "Prudent paranoia"]

Whoops!

In the previous post, the word "service" should be read "surface." A small correction, but might be confusing if you don't see what I meant. See, this illustrates my point, perhaps. No human being can be above criticism. The point is, when it is someone we love and respect, constructive criticism should always be given with that love and respect in mind. Some of the folks who did criticize Cesar and got fired for it may have forgotten this, in the heat of the conflict.

Deborah

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/8/04 (1)

RE: MIDDLE NIGHT POSTING

Hi LeRoy:

Don't know if anyone has already responded to this—I've been away from e-mail for 2 days and have 45 new messages that I haven't read yet... but Manuel Vasquez is definitely alive (although unfortunately struggling with Alzheimer's.) I saw him in April at the dedication of the National Chavez Center and he was very much enjoying himself being with all the union folks. I will send you his mailing address, he does not have e-mail as far as I know.

Terry Scott
1973-1988

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/8/04 (1)

RE: YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

LEROY CHATFIELD 1963-1973

YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

This idea that Cesar surrounded himself with YES people and cut himself off from constructive criticism has crept into our documentation online discussion as if it were true or at least true enough to be a generally accepted proposition.

I DISAGREE. Some of the strongest personalities I ever met (and tried to deal with) in my entire life were in Delano when I got there. For example, Jim Drake, Marshall Ganz, Jerry Cohen, Marion Moses, Fred Ross and Helen Chavez are forever seared in my mind as independent, confident, secure and tough-minded people. Tread lightly, my friends – and not a YES person in the bunch.

And I could mention a dozen more staffers/ strikers with equally strong personalities, but there is no need, because it seems pretty obvious, at least to me, that if a person is setting everything aside in his/ her life for the sake of working full time to help the farmworkers movement, that person is no shrinking violet and will not be easily denied.

What is amazing to me, even to this day, is how Cesar was able to harness and direct – let alone cope with – so much personnel fire-power. You want criticism? – take note, I don't use the word "constructive" – you want criticism? Sit in Cesar's office for a week or so. You will receive enough criticism to last two lifetimes. And now that you have received so much criticism, what do you do with it? How do you cope? How do you channel and direct it? How do you get everyone moving together (more or less)? THAT, dear friends, was (and is) the genius of Cesar.

Those of you who in years since have taken charge of – or perhaps even founded – organizations know full well what I am talking about. If you attract and surround yourself with weak personality-types, nothing much happens – very difficult to change the world. On the other hand, if you surround yourself with the Marshall Ganz's, the Jerry Cohen's and Marion Moses' of the world, there will be non-stop action, hundreds of decisions to make and highs and lows you can't even imagine. And the stress of it all, even though for a good cause, will be the death of you. Mark my words.

How on earth Cesar coped as well as he did, not only with the likes of us geographically close to him, but with the well-meaning but carping CRITICS from unions, politicians, churches, synagogues and community organizations, I will never understand and can only marvel at.

(In this posting I don't mean to leave anyone "out," but you understand, I'm sure, that these are the folks with whom I worked the closest every single day and many, many nights.

Doug Adair, 6/8/04 (1)

RE: Where are they now? Jim Caswell

In a message dated 6/8/04 . . . [Jake Horwitz] writes:

Malcriado estimado –

I have heard little of several people I met in Coachella and it seemed to me possible that you might know one or more of them.

Tom Kay has been discussed in reference to Jim Caswell?

Jim Caswell died shortly after getting out of Riverside Co. jail for a strike related arrest. The word was the sheriffs had refused him his medications while he was in there, and he never recovered. An early martyr, died in the struggle... The Coachella clinic was named after him, and also for another local youth from a good union family (-- Sanchez, Ampario Larios' son), refused treatment at the local hospital or something. Maybe putting these out there will get a more accurate memory and due tribute in the history...

Doug Adair, Coachella, 1976-89

Doug Adair, 6/8/04 (2)

RE: Where are they now? Eric Schmidt

In a message dated 6/8/04 . . . [Jake Horwitz] writes:

Malcriado estimado –

I have heard little of several people I met in Coachella and it seemed to me possible that you might know one or more of them.

Eric Schmidt (did I dream this name?) came down from Coachella two days before the June 68 strike began -- he said he was ex-GI who now worked for Malcriado (you)?

Where is he now?

One of the early and very competent volunteers. It seems to me he opened boycott offices in Texas and Philly, the pioneer boycotter in those cities (Hope Lopez can tell you how hard Philly was, Italians and The Mob controlling the produce market (wholesale), farmers' markets and local stores, and many unions! The guy from the retail clerks told us to have mattresses ready for the windows, when we took on the Teamsters! Plus our row house on Mascher St. was THE block between the Whites and Blacks, where we and the Puerto Ricans lived. There was a street fight one day that looked like Troy, with all the teenagers with garbage can lids like shields, throwing bricks at each other)... I think it was Eric went in there and really broke the ice...

Doug Adair, Philly boycott, 1970-71

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/8/04

RE: La Union Vive

Graciela Cisneros states that Cesar failed @ running a union.

Graciela, La Union still exists, if it had failed it would not be. It is administered by a different party, but La Union sigue siendo la union de campesinos, still recognized by los campesinos as La Union de Cesar Chavez.

Granted it does not have the exhilaration of the Chavista Daze, pero vive.

Some of you have offered the theory that Cesar was one great organizer, and maybe not so hot in the Administration division, puede ser, but as many others have also posted their opinion that we didn't know shit from shinola about dealing with whatever task was assigned to each of us, from picket captains to keepers of the toilet paper. Cesar didn't show us how to do 'it', he indirectly just let us know que *Si Se Puede*.

If you read Maria Saludado's essay, she is a prime example of one who started with reservations about her own competence, but the trust placed on her by Cesar gave her the *poder*.

We are the one who fail to see that *La Union está vivita y coliando. Si se puede, Mija*.

Hope Lopez – 1966-1974

Andy Imutan, 6/8/04 (1)

RE: YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

LeRoy,

I agree with you that the success of Cesar Chavez was not the "yes" people (I believe there were a few, but, I will not name them), but the strong men and women who were there to help him guide the union in the proper direction such as: LeRoy Chatfield, James Drake, Marshall Ganz, Dolores Huerta, Larry Itliong, Marian Moses, Jerry Cohen, Gilbert Padilla, Eliseo Medina, Helen Chavez to name some.

Sometimes I wonder why we put all the blame on Cesar, I think we should admit that we were also responsible for the failure of the UFW in later years. We can not claim we are a part of it only during the successful years of the union. We helped build the union and we should be responsible for what it became good or bad. We should not wash our hands and say "it was Cesar's fault".

Andy Imutan 1965-1973 Delano, Coachella, Baltimore, New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/8/04 (1)

RE: Correcting my own errors [FW: "Prudent paranoia"]

Deborah,

Thanks for your reply. Over a long period of time, I got a sense of what it was like working around Cesar. It was my gut feeling that "yes" people were not of much help to him and after a while I guess that type must have understood it too because no names come to mind. I did, however, see a lot of people hold their own at meetings when it came to work related issues respectfully I might add although you wouldn't have thought that at some of the meetings they had. Dolores, Eliseo, Richard Chavez are some I remember, but of course, Helen because I worked with her. By the way, I remember Susan Drake, too. She was no wilting flower. There were some who had very congenial personalities i.e. Philip Vera Cruz, Brother Pete, Jim Drake but don't make them angry or take them for granted because you would see a whole other side of them. His staff (Cesar's) worked directly under him and as such had to follow orders as each of us did with our own department heads. I don't really see that as being a "yes" person although perhaps others might. Even in these positions we had great liberty to do things as we wanted. Now there were some, I include myself in that group, who really didn't have any need to be up close and personal with Cesar while we worked. (The "million dollar man" comes to mind/ Ralph Magana, but there were many more.) I only talked to Cesar about work during staff meetings, trainings, etc. That is when my input was needed or when I would make a strong pitch to get my ideas across. (Many of us did the same.) Whether they were accepted was really not my position to criticize, but I felt great satisfaction in having offered them. Outside of work, I only talked to him if he asked me something, otherwise I pretty much left him alone or stayed out of his way. I figured he needed to rest and time to enjoy his family.

sin mas – abby/ richgrove/ delano

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/8/04 (2)

RE: Thoughts on leaving, CC, etc.

Hi All:

Wow – you guys have been busy posting... I've been away from the list for 2 days and it was a lot to catch up on!

Just a couple of random thoughts:

I thought Jose Gomez (whom I did not have the pleasure of knowing personally) had an interesting observation about the difficulties inherent in leaving causes... I have not had experience working with other non-profits, but I've always felt that the union was a very difficult organization to leave. So many of us dedicated so much of ourselves to it, and it was not easy (from both the individual's standpoint or from the union's) when someone made a decision to leave. I think Jose is correct in noting that many find the situation of breaking away so uncomfortable that they end up constructing a "cloud" which makes it feel justified to leave. (Not unlike some marriages/long term relationships that flip from love to hate in the process of the dissolution.) But I also believe that from the union standpoint, there was a genuine feeling of betrayal and hurt-- particularly when someone who had been with the union for a long time or who was in a position of authority decided to leave. The reality was that we were a fairly small group of people and some departures did leave big holes that were not easily filled. I was with the union for almost 15 years, and for me personally, it was hard to leave. Leaving the union was so much more than simply leaving a "job"-- it was leaving your life as you knew it. (I guess the same could be said of joining the

union :-) !) I did manage to leave on good terms-- with Cesar and everyone else. But, over the years, I witnessed the cooling that happened when good people decided to leave (and experienced it myself once I'd officially told Cesar and others of my decision). I also witnessed what I felt was a general mistrust of ex-staff, and I've always thought that was a shame...

One other thought regarding Cesar's inside information vis-a-vis firings, etc. I worked as an A.A. to Cesar for all of 1976 (when I was 19-20 years old), and then afterwards reported directly to him as a department head (Executive Director of the Service Center and various boycott cities) until 1980 when my work took a back seat to child-raising. I was married to a farm worker (Elizer Vasquez) whose oldest brothers (Mike and Manuel) had been friends with Cesar and Richard since their pachuco days in Delano, and who had been union members from the very beginning (and who both went back East to work on the first boycott). As much as anyone, I would say that we were considered loyal "insiders." I don't think that we considered ourselves "Yes" men/women-- and Elizer in particular never hesitated to tell Cesar what he thought. (I was very young and very green at the time, and particularly in my early days with the union, I never felt that I was quite on the same level with Cesar and the rest of the leadership-- both in terms of union experience and general life experience. I think because of this, I tended to be more watchful than outspoken.) What I do remember about the firings was Cesar telling us he had information which he would not disclose the specifics of. He basically drew a line in the sand and said, "I need you to trust me on this." My recollection of the general meeting at La Paz in which the firings took place was similar to watching a tennis match -- lots of accusations and heated emotions flying around the room, but most people sitting there stunned and not knowing what to believe. I think most present found it very painful and confusing. Do I believe that people got caught up in that mess who should not have been? Absolutely. Given the climate of the times, did Cesar have reasonable worries? I honestly don't know-- at the time, I trusted him. (What Abby says about Cesar having his ear open to many sources is true, but most of us in that room never had much information to objectively evaluate things on our own... a lot came down to what you believed given your relationship with the people involved...) In later years, after I'd left the union, people whom I was very close to were fired and I was extremely upset about that and I believe I would have reacted strongly if I'd still be there...

With 30 years' perspective, what I can say with certainty is that Cesar had a strong personality. He was not an easy person to cross. When he'd made his mind up about something, it was hard to change it. He'd gotten as far as he had on his instincts and he trusted himself. I loved the guy, but it was not easy to challenge him and he never made that comfortable. He could give you the responsibility for a job, but the authority and autonomy to get the job done didn't always come along with it. I didn't know Cesar in the early days in Delano, but Elizer did, and I think he would say that Cesar did change and did become more "paranoid" and insulated. He was a great leader, but he was human and fallible. He did so much right, but he also made some very bad decisions. Looking back now, although I was never directly involved in the field office/ contract administration operations, I think that in particular the decisions that resulted in pulling back from the organizing and focusing more on the "internal community building" in La Paz hurt the union long term. But, I also agree with what Andy Imutan said-- We all played a role in what happened and we all bear some responsibility for how things turned out.

Terry (Vasquez) Scott
1973 – 1988 (Boycott, La Paz)

Doug Adair, 6/8/04 (3)

RE: El Malcriado and the March, 1966

(Marshall Ganz on the March to Sacramento, 1966):

Of 67 strikers selected to march the distance, the average age was 31, although the oldest, William King, was 63 and the youngest, Augustine Hernandez, was 17; eighteen were women. AWOC was again invited to participate but Green declined, declaring once again that AWOC was involved in "a trade union dispute, not a civil rights movement or a religious crusade". Some

AWOC members, however, did take part, and NFWA members sagely elected Manuel Vasquez, a Mexican striker active with AWOC, as the march captain.

Hey, Marshall, how can you write about the March to Sacramento without mentioning the heroic contribution of El Malcriado? Actually, we were kind of peripheral, not center stage at all, but we played our part.

We had a staff of four at the time of the March. Bill Esher was editor and did most of the writing and was the brains behind the paper. I was in charge of distribution and circulation, ads, subscriptions, stuff like that, but would sometimes help on the writing. Mary Murphy and Marcia Brooks Sanchez rounded out the staff, bookkeeping and accounting, typing and paste-up, headlines and layout and cartoon ideas and creative concepts. We all brainstormed on things like the cover, pictures to run, what the thrust of the paper should be. Cesar had been the first editor of the paper, and Bill (now Rampujan) had worked closely with him through the spring and summer of 1965, and seemed to be very tuned in on how Cesar wanted to use the paper. Once the strike started, Cesar spent little time with the paper on most issues. Bill had his confidence (and never made the kinds of mistakes I was to make later).

For the March, we had given our subscription list to the advance organizers and I gather it was invaluable in making contacts in the towns and barrios in preparation for the March's arrival. In many towns and barrios, we had more subscribers than we had members. And we scheduled to put out a paper, with a map of the route of the march on the cover, just as the march was leaving Delano. We stayed to write up the Senate hearings and the March leaving town, and then headed up to Fresno for a day at the printers, and then three days distributing the paper up and down the Central Valley (north to Madera) and getting out the mailing.

Bill finally allowed us to spend a day marching, and we caught up with the March in Yettum (how many of you have been there?!), and what an exhilarating experience. There were all the union flags, the Banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the U.S. and Mexican flags, and already a few signs were appearing, "such and such a group supports the farm workers..." In almost every front porch and yard, people had come out to see us, offered water and lemonade, waved -- surely the biggest thing that had ever happened before in Yettum!

Hanging from telephone poles and trees were our photographers, Jon Lewis and George Ballis. Sam Kushner was there, draped in his camera and with his pipe and notebook. (Oh my goodness, Wasn't he a card carrying Commie? and what a dear friend and supporter of the union and a perceptive observer of the evolution of the movement). Sam spent more days with the march than all the Malcriado staff put together. And there were folks from the local press and Fresno Bee. But the March had its own press handlers, so we just got to march and observe.

There were plenty of police (Tulare and Fresno County as we were off the state highways at that point), but the route was also swarming with growers in their pickup trucks, their right hands resting on the guns in their gun racks... so we tried to be friendly with the sheriffs. And Kern County Sheriffs had just gotten such a black eye in the Senate hearings, these counties to the north seemed to be on better behavior.

That evening we came into Parlier. The whole town seemed to have turned out for us, either to join the march or line the streets (many of them unpaved, as I remember) to welcome us to town. As I remember, the women of the barrio had prepared dinner for us, and a rest, and then a candlelight march around the town, the barrio swelled many times its size, everyone participating. Then everyone joined in the rally, indoors at a church or community center, I don't remember, but dark, and then lit by the candles... Though there was a very heavy Catholic orientation, the advance team would try to line up a local evangelical or Protestant minister to participate in the prayers, sit on the stage.

Their congregations often had rebels of the community. The stage would also include local members, a local committee, if there was one, people to thank, especially the cooks and kitchen staff... The Teatro would perform leaving everyone laughing and crying; and then lead in singing. Then Luis would read the Plan of Delano, calling for (non-violent) revolution, and the rafters would be shaking with the Vivas. When Cesar spoke, as in the strike meeting of Sept. 16, 1965,

he would bring the audience back to earth, what needed to be done, the practical steps the audience could start taking to organize within their own communities.

I don't think that those towns we went through were ever the same again.

The Malcriado staff got to march again the final two days of the march, along the levees and into Sacramento. The final day was like a reunion for all the staff, since folks from the Bay Area and L.A. and other areas was allowed to join in the celebration. And we were dizzy with anticipation of negotiating the first contracts with Schenley, and of forcing DiGiorgio to the bargaining table. I don't remember listening to any of the speeches that day, just finding people and hugs and catching up on all the amazing activities that had been going on that helped push Schenley over the brink. That day put us on the national stage, as 10,000 supporters rallied to help us. But the rally in Parlier sticks in my mind, the union connecting with the farm worker community, offering hope in building a new society based on dignity and justice for campesinos.

Doug Adair, El Malcriado, 1965-70

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/8/04 (2)

RE: YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

Andy, do not forget Luming. She was as sharp and tough as they made them. sin mas/ abby/
richgrove/ delano

Deborah Vollmer, 6/8/04 (2)

RE: YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

LeRoy,

Good points. But how many of the people that you mention were with Cesar to the very end? And weren't some of those folks on your list at some point in effect fired?

I think the bad stuff that happened evolved over time. There came a point when even Jerry Cohen (definitely NOT a "Yes" person!) felt he had to leave. Cesar may well have started with good instincts and a balanced view of things. But later, he lost his sense of balance, and only a few strong people managed to stay with him and give him some of that constructive criticism that he really needed to hear more of. And in the end, some of the best of them were either fired, or found themselves in circumstances where they felt compelled to leave.

How do you explain that awful decision of Cesar to go to the Philippines as a guest of the Marcos dictatorship over the strong objections of Union second vice-President and Filipino-American leader Philip Vera Cruz? Cesar couldn't fire Philip--who was an elected officer--but he chose to ignore him. I think that trip to the Philippines cost the Union some, in support of church leaders, students, and others who supported the Union in the cities. And it is my understanding that it was not only Philip who objected to this, but also some of the church leaders, some of whom actually came out to attend a meeting at the Delano High School to which Cesar had brought representatives to speak for the Marcos regime, an event which occurred after a UFW convention at which Cesar showcased some officials from the Marcos government (after Cesar had returned from that infamous trip to the Philippines)! I don't know if you were present at the event at the Delano High School, but there were folks, including some manongs from Agbayani Village, picketing. And it broke their hearts to do it, but they really felt that Cesar had done something terrible, and damaging to the Cause, and to the Union.

Deborah Vollmer

P. S. A footnote – I see that you note as your years with the Union, 1963 to 1973. I *started* as a full-timer in 1973. A lot happened after you had left --

Kate Colwell, 6/8/04 (1)

[Doug Adair wrote:]

Dear Sam! I was a registered Republican when I went to Delano in 1965, so Sam Kushner was the first, live Commie I ever met. He came up to Delano at the end of the first week of the strike, and his article in the People's World was the first to spread the word, statewide, as to what was happening. And his articles on the union never left any doubt as to which side he was on. The L.A. Times owned 150,000 acres in Kern County at the time, supporters of the Bracero Program. They finally ran an article in October, after Helen and about a dozen women were arrested, but their attitude was neutral to hostile...

Vivas, Doug Adair

Seriously Doug: I don't remember you, only your name, but how in heaven's name could a Republican join the union???

Kate Colwell

Kate Colwell, 6/8/04 (2)

RE: march

Doug: I love your memories!

You wrote:

Hanging from telephone poles and trees were our photographers, Jon Lewis and George Ballis. Sam Kushner was there, draped in his camera and with his pipe and notebook. (Oh my goodness, Wasn't he a card carrying Commie? and what a dear friend and supporter of the union and a perceptive observer of the evolution of the movement). Sam spent more days with the march than all the Malcriado staff put together.

Is George still around? I remember seeing an exhibit of his photos 5 or 10 years ago.

Sam? I loved Sam... my first Commie friend (OK, the first out Commie I knew).

So many people helped the Union, coming from such diverse spiritual, political and union positions. Hopefully there's room for all of our perspectives.

Kate Colwell

Andy Imutan, 6/8/04 (2)

RE: Cesar's trip to the Philippines

Hello!

In as much as Deborah has continually mentioned about the trip to the Philippines, I believe I should comment on that because I was with Cesar, Richard and David on that trip. I am the only one who could tell the story and I am doing so in the book I am writing now, I am asking everyone's patience to wait for the publication of the book and read what really happened then.

Richard Chavez had a taped recording of his experiences during our trip to the beautiful Philippine Islands. Wait for it and tell me what you think of it later on after you read it.

Viva la causa!

Andy Imutan 1965-1973 Delano, Coachella, Baltimore, New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

George (Elfie) Ballis, 6/8/04

RE: march

Kate,

George Ballis (Elfie) is still in this reality, now videoing still on the street, building straw bale houses (with \$\$ assistance from UFW) on SunMt land trust and generally still dancing empowerment for all us folks.

* * * *

As I scan all the documentation emails I fade back to that highly charged moment... But quickly pop back to this more highly charged moment where I am working with many hearty souls trying to stop our beloved country's slide into the pit of fascism.

Smiling Seriously,

Maia & Elfie

Tom Dalzell, 6/8/04

RE: Ferdinand Marcos

With all due respect to Andy, there are several things that can be said about Cesar's visit with Marcos.

(1) It was in direct defiance of the wishes of the membership as expressed in the 1973 convention in Fresno. The resolutions condemning the dictatorships of Somoza and Marcos were, if I remember correctly, passed without dissent and with great gusto.

(2) It did not win inroads with Filipino workers, which I assume was Cesar's goal in going. If I remember, Andy's organizing campaign in Santa Maria went absolutely nowhere, even with the Marcos association.

(3) It eroded our external support. Embracing a ruthless dictator like Marcos was hard enough to explain, but then there was the photograph of Cesar on a gunboat hunting communist insurgents which did not jive with anything that the public knew or thought they knew about Cesar.

(4) It demoralized the staff outside of La Paz. Yes, there was the busload of La Paz staff that went to the symposium on the Philippines in Delano to voice their support for the Marcos dictatorship, but outside of La Paz I think that it was viewed as a deeply troubling development.

The official explanation at the time was "You can't understand if you weren't there", and that still seems to hold. I think we can understand.

Tom Dalzell

Deborah Vollmer, 6/8/04 (3)

RE: Ferdinand Marcos

Tom,

Well said.

Deborah

Andy Imutan, 6/8/04 (3)

RE: Ferdinand Marcos

Tom,

My book will tell all. Although, where did you get the idea that Cesar rode on a gunboat to hunt communist insurgents or I failed to organize farmworkers in Sta. Maria? Speculations and misconceptions would be straightened out.

Andy Imutan 1965-1973 Delano, Coachella, Baltimore, New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/8/04 (2)

RE: YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM POST 1973

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM POST 1973

Deborah Vollmer is quite correct to point out that I left the UFW in 1973 (August to be exact) and that much happened after I left. True enough, I have to leave it to others to document what

happened during the last 20 years of Cesar's life, certainly one of the purposes of the documentation project.

BUT even so, I know well and worked closely with (for example) the following volunteers who remained in the UFW some years after I left and there is NOT a YES person in the bunch: Helen Chavez, Jerry Cohen, Marshall Ganz, Margaret Murphy, Nick Jones, Jim Drake, Richard Ybarra, Frank Dennison, Steven Burton, Chris Hartmire, Jessica Govea come readily to mind.

AND I can assure you that these same folks dished out a lot of criticism, constructive and otherwise, during their tenure with the farmworkers movement. TRUE, all but Helen left the UFW at some point in their careers, but that should be expected and for some, I'm sure, it was somewhat overdue. In all movements, there is a time to come and a time to leave – hard enough to do either but harder still to do the latter. Terry Vasquez explains it much better in her posting than can I.

Jose Gomez, 6/8/04

RE: YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

Debbie, you say:

Cesar may well have started with good instincts and a balanced view of things. But later, he lost his sense of balance, and only a few strong people managed to stay with him and give him some of that constructive criticism that he really needed to hear more of. And in the end, some of the best of them were either fired, or found themselves in circumstances where they felt compelled to leave.

It would make for more productive communication if you did not state your opinion as fact. It is not useful to say things like, "But later he lost his sense of balance...." Instead, couch this as it really is: "But later, as I perceived him to have lost his balance..." or "In my view, he lost his balance." Not everyone agrees that "he lost his balance." For those who disagree with you, your statement of opinion as fact really rubs the wrong way (which I don't think you want to happen if you are trying to communicate here.

How do you explain that awful decision of Cesar to go to the Philippines....

I believe that I speak for some others when I plead with you to avoid redundancy as much as possible. There are so [many] messages to read that it is not a good idea to add unnecessarily to our heavy workloads. This is the third or fourth time you have posted about the Philippines trip. I know that this must be important to you, but I think we get your message.

Thanks,

Jose Gomez
1970-1975 (Portland, NJ, NY, DC Boycotts; La Paz)

Kevin Michael Brown, 6/8/04

RE: Where are they now? Jim Caswell

There was a Tom Kay on the Detroit Boycott.... Hijinio Rangel used to call him "Tomas Que Feo" ... heh .. in jest, of course.

Tom was from Lansing and I had just moved in with his parents in January 1969 when I dropped out to also move to Detroit. I don't remember what happened to him.

Kevin Brown, Detroit, Delano Clinic Construction, personal and La Paz Security 1969-1973

Larry Tramutola, 6/8/04

RE: Ferdinand Marcos

Tom, I haven't weighed in yet on the various issues all are debating. As you know, from our many discussions over the years, I share many of your perspectives on the Union and the failings of all of us. However you continually, perhaps deliberately or unconsciously belittle the efforts,

consciousness, motivations and independence of the people who worked in La Paz. In the eleven years I worked in the UFW, two were spent in La Paz.

Yes there were problems, yes there was the GAME (a manifestation of the problem, not the problem), yes, people were isolated in many ways. However rest assured that the vast majority of people who worked in La Paz were not lemmings. My experience was that the people in La Paz worked as hard as anyone in field offices or the boycott, often with a whole lot less reward and recognition.

I look forward with sharing with you and others my perspectives. I really appreciate the thoughtful dialogue you, Marshall, LeRoy (spelled correctly) have forced us to reflect upon. This Is not about "setting the record straight" it is about recording accurately what happened and hopefully learning from it. I for one have a lot of mixed feelings as I am sure anyone does that spent significant time in the union. I learned so much from Cesar, Marshall, Eliseo, Gilbert, Fred and others, each were great teachers and great organizers, yet I also was frustrated with each of them at various times for various reasons.

There is a lot of truth in what you and others are saying. There were huge problems and I think a pattern of not tolerating internal dissent that I suspect pre-dated the UFW or UFWOC. We all, including the aforementioned, tolerated it. Would we do it again?

I think the balanced story to be told by this process is not only why people left but also why people stayed (despite the difficulties and contradictions) and spent so much of their "youth" in this cause. Both sides of the equation are important.

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/8/04

RE: YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

Leroy, what you say is understood. It is an incredible feat of personal power, focus and dedication for Cesar to have dealt with the deluge of questions, decisions criticisms both positive and otherwise, the sheer volume of responsibility in holding the movement and the union together. Yes, many depended on him and the best and the brightest put in their two cents challenging him to clarify and consider options, fighting the good fight to do the best on behalf of the union.. Once a plan was put into action it was expected that there would be a unity of purpose to carry it off. There were adjustments, but it was based on consensus..

Speaking for myself, I would consider myself a "yes" person at a very removed place from the center of power that surrounded Cesar. I once sat with Andy Zermeno who was operating at a dizzying speed after a planning session in La Paz. The leadership that held the center were in no way "Yes" people, and this grouping did shift over time.. Then there was the rank and file volunteers who wanted to do the right thing and believed in La Causa, who didn't want to or couldn't engage in the level of power broking characterized by the people mentioned,. They just wanted to make a difference in the best way they could. I could name so many of those folks. They also came and went. Sometimes it was a good goodbye; sometimes it was not so good.

Personality wise, I just didn't fit the mold of any of the folks you mentioned. But I was there and I did what I could. My relationship with Cesar was so different from what many have talked about here. I never felt I really knew him. I respected him and what he achieved. I was in awe of him. And this was just me and I take responsibility for that. In 1973-1975, I had the chance to work directly with him in the boycott information office. It was a difficult time for me because I felt so much in the middle of the leadership's questions who were out in the boycott cities and Cesar from whom they wanted information and feedback. Like Bill Kircher's line in Fighting for Our Lives, "Did you ask?" became my daily confusion. I don't know when Jose Gomez came on board to be a buffer, but it allowed me to survive something I was not cut out to be or do. Jose was a strong presence and one hell of a administrator. But speaking for myself, I was one of those Yes people. By the way Jim Lynch, no relation to Kathy Lynch came from the Atlanta Boycott to join our Admin team of Jose Gomez, Lynn Anderson, Jim and myself. Jim and I were Boycott Information. As a team we kicked ass and poured out information. Cesar said give them the facts, the stories, and tell them to do what they thought they needed to do. We took daily reports from

the cities and the momentum of knowing each others victories and the declining numbers of shipments and orders of grapes/ lettuce, along with the dumping and sliding prices reinforced what was becoming the "The Great Grape, Lettuce and Gallo Wine Boycott. I was happy to be a yes person. It seemed to work for the good of La Causa.

I believe Cesar valued what we contributed. I can't know if he respected it, because what he resonated to was different. Being who I was at the time, his genius and person was far beyond me.

Viva la Causa. Kathy Lynch Murguia 1965-1983

Chris Schneider, 6/8/04

RE: march

[Kate,]

George [Ballis] is very much alive – He currently creates mini-documentaries. He sends out e-mails on a daily basis with information about various issues he is involved with: the war, the UFW, etc.

Some of his most famous photos of his days with the UFW can be found at:

<http://www.takestockphotos.com/pages/ballis.html>

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/8/04 (3)

RE: march

Awesome pix, Chris. Thanks for sending the link. For those who haven't had time to check them out yet, the photos by George Ballis and Bob Fitch are really spectacular!

Terry (Vasquez) Scott

1973-1988

L.A. Boycott, La Paz (Cesar's staff, SFWSC, Financial Management), Seattle Boycott, St. Louis Boycott, Kansas City Boycott, Detroit Boycott

Tom Dalzell, 6/9/04

RE: La Paz

Larry Tamutola appropriately calls me to task about La Paz staff.

Staff at La Paz worked very hard, with great dedication, and without much recognition. Some of my best friends worked at La Paz. I worked at La Paz.

Early 1977 was the first time that I felt an us-and-them mentality, in my case "us" being those of us who were working outside of La Paz and "them" being those of us who were working at La Paz. I did not feel it coming from those of us working at La Paz, or from those of us working outside of La Paz, but from Cesar. Rereading the President's Newsletters starting in March 1977, I am still struck by the heavy emphasis on La Paz. It seemed that very little else mattered. We were told about "La Paz Community Changes" (the firings, quits and arrest of April 4th), the Padrino Plan, Los Aguilas Dorados, and so on, when what we really cared about was organizing, ALRB certifications, negotiations, and contract administration. Our interactions with La Paz were not positive; the car inspections tours and telephone chit implementation tours come to mind.

La Paz is an isolated and isolating place. It could be very self-referential, and Cesar was a much more important part of daily life in La Paz than he was in the field offices. As a result, it seemed that staff at La Paz were much more vulnerable to the most extreme symptoms of the problems (using Larry's terms) than the field offices. When Cesar said that Synanon was not a cult and that Chuck Dietrich was not those things that Time Magazine said he was, it seemed that the staff at La Paz was much more willing to agree with him than the staff outside La Paz. When Cesar said that Ferdinand Marcos was not the ruthless dictator that the world portrayed him as being, it seemed that the staff at La Paz was much willing to agree with him than the staff outside La Paz.

People that I really like and really respect were among those in La Paz who seemed to buy into some of the most extreme symptoms of the problems. It may a character flaw in me or it may be an awareness that we were all responsible in some way for not having spoken up against the things that we didn't like, but I don't like or respect them any less for their support of Synanon or the Marcos dictatorship.

Tom Dalzell

Doug Adair, 6/9/04

RE: In defense of Republicans (and Reds and Wobblies)

In a message dated 6/8/04, [Kate Colwell] writes:

* * * *

Seriously Doug: I don't remember you, only your name, but how in heaven's name could a Republican join the Union???

In the spring of 1965, I was manning a table in Sproul Plaza at Berkeley, for some mildly "liberal" Republican group, supporting Tom Kuchel against George Murphy for Senator. Marion Moses and Cathy Lynch had the table next to me, Student Committee for Agricultural Labor, opposing the revival of the Bracero Program, which was being phased out (some folks STILL want to revive it). They told me with disgust that Kuchel was for the Bracero Program, and my reaction was, "What's wrong with that?" I was a city boy, totally naive. They began giving me literature, and said I should go to the Central Valley and pick fruit for a summer, so I could know what the real conditions were... the rest is (my) history.

(Like you, Dolores was incredulous. Some people thought I must be a spy, the word got back to me. I finally changed registration for the Bobby Kennedy Campaign. But I'm still pretty down on the Democrats, voted for Clinton in '92 but have voted Green since).

In the early days of the strike, we always had some support from Republicans. We got a donation for Mrs. S. I. Hayakawa (that was before his notoriety at S.F. State). I think (Republican) Mayor Lindsey in New York endorsed the boycott, posed with strikers. Republicans who supported us tended to be deeply Christian Urban Protestants. I bet Chris Hartmire knew quite a few. (And remember, the Catholic Church hierarchy did not endorse the strike, or march, or boycott. In spite of good priests, the official hierarchy was against strikes at harvest time (!), and was hostilely neutral to the union. They endorsed coverage of farm workers under the NLRB, which we pretended was an endorsement of us, but which actually would have been disastrous for our union. One essay, maybe Bonnie's, remembers Cardinal McIntyre of L.A. black listing us, forbidding Catholic Schools to invite huelguistas to speak).

On the Left, there were Communist and Marxist in the fields, and supporters in the cities, few in number, but often hard working and dedicated, opening doors for us among progressives of all stripes. Further to the left, (mostly) students would arrive in Delano to help, "heavy revs" with letters after their name to designate political purity. They were mostly fighting each other, but sometimes took time out to help the boycott. I remember one guy showed up at the Malcriado office with a book, *The Sayings of Enver Hoxja*, and assured us that Albania offered the only path to the workers' paradise. We said he could tell us all about it while stuffing envelopes, or whatever task we assigned him.

And there were old time Wobblies, folks so far to the left they believed signing contracts was a sell out to the system. Eugene Nelson was one, and a great artist in Chicago, (Carlos Cortez?), who allowed us to use his wood cuts. And we borrowed from their Little Red Songbook, rewrote some of the songs for our movement.

And Anarchists, like Ammon Hennesy and the Catholic Worker folk were some of the earliest and most loyal supporters. I had read George Orwell's *Hommage to Catalonia*, which is critical of the Communists from the (Spanish) Anarchist point of view, and it had made a big impression on me, though when I read it, I had no experience with "peasants". When folks who had been to Cuba

(Luis Valdez, Ellie Risco) offered us first hand insight into what was really happening there, I listened with a fairly open mind, but with that critique lingering.

Of course there were antis, anti-Communists, anti-Catholics, anti-Semites, racists against Anglos, Filipinos, Blacks, Mexicans, you name it. George Wallace got more votes from the Almaden workers than did Nixon, when we took the poll for the 1968 endorsement. But if you were for justice for farm workers, the union tended to welcome you on board, find a task you could do, hopefully without stepping on someone else's toes or ruffling someone else's feathers... The political spectrum has shifted so far to the right now, we forget there were so many alternate visions of a possible future....

Viva la Causa,

Doug Adair, El Malcriado, 1965-70

Andy Imutan, 6/9/04

RE: Staff firings

Dear brothers and sisters,

I have been reading a lot about Cesar's change after 1977 from Marshall, Deborah and others. It seems that all of those writing bad about Cesar were fired or asked to leave the union by Cesar. In as much as I was no longer in the union at that time I am interested to know why Cesar fired you in the first place. Maybe, we would be able to comprehend better your bitterness or hard feelings about Cesar if you write an essay why you were fired and explain why you should have not been fired. I am sure those of us who were active during the early days are interested to know that. We will be expecting your version.

Andy Imutan 1965-1973 Delano, Coachella, Baltimore/ Washington D.C., New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/9/04 (1)

RE: RONALD REAGAN ON THE NFWA

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

Ronald Reagan on the NFWA

"The March to Sacramento is the longest Easter egg rolling contest in the history of California."

(Or words to that effect)

Carlos LeGerrette, 6/9/04

RE: RONALD REAGAN ON THE NFWA

Gov. Ronald Reagan and Picket Line Discipline (or loss of):

In 1970, while Ronald Reagan was being praised by republicans inside the posh Hotel del Coronado, outside he was being picketed by some 75 local Chicano and Chicana college students, primarily from San Diego State, over his public dislike of the boycotts, Union, etc. Of course, the signs were from the Union office.

Upon exiting the hotel, Reagan thought the students were waving hello. He in turn asked his driver to drive by the students. The look on the Gov.'s face when the limousine window came down, and his face appeared, only to receive a single-finger salute from every picketer (except me) is one I'll never forget.

R.I.P.

Carlos LeGerrette
('66-'78, SD Boycott, La Paz, San Ysidro)

Roberto Bustos, 6/9/04

RE: RONALD REAGAN ON THE NFWA

besides also saying there is no strike in delano! and eating a bunch of grapes on television! Roberto Bustos (El Capitan, la Marcha), striker, picket captain, organizer, contract enforcer, boycott coordinator kansas city. 1965-1972 the earlier years, and still fighting. gracias.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/9/04 (1)

RE: La Paz

I am aware that I cannot speak for anyone but myself in regards to Synanon. When my family went out on strike we used to meet at the western outskirts of Delano for meals and quick meetings before heading out to the picket lines again. There was an especially happy mood one day and people were looking inside one of the buildings that held donations. I peeked in as others were doing and saw piles of brand new luggage (they looked expensive perhaps Samsonite, sturdy in that way). There was a lot of excitement in the crowd and everyone including me were excited about this generous donation. A few days later, we found out that one of the farm workers had disappeared with all luggage. (Does anyone else remember this story?) We were all shocked and angry. What I never forgot is that the luggage was donated by a group called Synanon; I did not know who they were but because of the luggage incident, I never forgot who they were. Throughout the years they continued to send incredible donations of food, clothing, supplies as did many individuals and groups. Doug Adair speaks of this in his e-mail. When the mention of Synanon came up later at La Paz, I only had good memories of them so it wasn't as though I was "buying" into anything as you state in your e-mail. It was one of those moments when I never stopped to consider that others may not have known who they were. I know now that I assumed the whole community knew of them Synanon. I never heard anyone say any different. I, however, had only a positive impression of them. If I had read the Time article, I probably would have thought little of it. We had many groups that helped us throughout the years and many did not have stellar reputations in the conservative world anyway, many helped us a lot in our strike and boycott. A few others that come to mind is The People's Church (we know what happened there), and Delancey Street. They used to house many of us whenever we had to help out in the Bay Area. I will speak of some of the other things later, Tom. sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/9/04 (2)

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

Abby Rivera's posting about the Synanon donations of Samsonite luggage and other goods for the Delano strike brought back memories of my 1966 visits to Synanon at their ocean front headquarters in Santa Monica to pickup donations of office furniture (and such) for the L.A. boycott and my farmworker office in Santa Monica located on Olympic Blvd just west of the 405 freeway. Because of their support for the farmworkers cause, I always held them in high regard - and, of course, their rehab work with drug addicts was legendary. Years later, I too discounted the public allegations made against them just as I tend to discount most other public allegations made against so-called cults.

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/9/04

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

I've had the privilege and honor of working with many of the people from Synanon, and I find no more compassionate group of lawyers! If this is a cult, then that's the type of cult I want to belong to. Amongst all other attorneys in this area, they are the ones I turn to for pro bono work - nothing 99 percent of the lawyers in this place are willing to do.

Deborah Vollmer, 6/9/04

RE: Staff firings

Andy,

Do you want the long version, or the short version? The long version would truly be a major project; in my case it was not simply a case of being fired or pressured to leave once; there were different occasions, and Jerry Cohen had a knack of getting me back on staff whenever it happened. My history with the Union was indeed complex, and I think that each time I was fired, or was pressured to leave, the causes of the tensions between myself and Cesar and others in the leadership were varied.

I also believe that my situation was complicated by my relationship with Philip Vera Cruz, who some in the leadership were trying to undermine as a leader. I heard from Philip on many occasions that the problem was with Cesar, but I think there were others - Ben Maddock in the Delano field office, for example, who tried to undermine the leadership of Philip. (If you wanted me to, I could give you specific examples of this; I kept a detailed journal at the time, which I still have. I have already referred to instances where Philip would be present at meetings at 40 Acres and not invited to speak, for example. And whether the order came from Cesar, Ben Maddock, or somebody else, there was a period when I worked in Delano when I was isolated within the legal staff. In effect we had two separate legal departments, each with our own caseloads, and I without any secretarial help whatsoever. This was very painful to me, as a young and inexperienced lawyer, who wanted nothing more than guidance and encouragement from more experienced lawyers. What I got was a kind of forced isolation. I think that this was somebody's way [Cesar's? Ben Maddock's?] of trying to get back at Philip, for who knows what. . .)

Like Philip, I ultimately left and did not come back because of certain differences with Cesar over policy-including that trip to the Philippines as a guest of the Marcos dictatorship. I understand that you had a part in orchestrating that, and had a different view of Ferdinand Marcos from that held by Philip, myself, many of the supporters of the Boycott in the cities, and many of the Manongs at Agbayani Village.

Another issue that Philip and I both differed with Cesar on was the policy toward undocumented workers; on occasion Cesar would push to have them deported; Philip would always say that we should not do this, but should organize them.

Another issue where Philip and I differed with Cesar had to do with internal union democracy, both as pertained to the workers, and the staff. I could mention other incidents-my objection early on when I was on the Legal staff at La Paz to a policy that Cesar adopted of having all mail opened centrally-this meant that personal mail sent to volunteers might be opened-and there were serious legal problems with this. I sent a memo to Cesar objecting to this, and he was not at all pleased. Then there was a time that I talked to various Board members concerning what I perceived to be mistreatment of a group of student volunteers from Albuquerque by one Anna P. That also occurred early in my time with the Union at La Paz. My memo regarding the mail policy and my complaints to Board members about the treatment of the New Mexico students precipitated my first firing(s). (As noted before, Jerry Cohen managed to get me rehired, and ultimately I was sent to work in Delano, where I had the experiences noted above.)

But of all these reasons, I think that Cesar's trip to the Philippines as a guest of Ferdinand Marcos was the breaking point for me. After that, I had no desire to come back to the Union. Certainly that was the main reason that Philip left the Union. The fiction was that Philip was getting old and simply chose to retire. The reality was that he still had a lot of fire in him, and the reason he left was that he felt compelled to resign-because of differences with Cesar over policy, especially Cesar's trip to the Philippines as a guest of Ferdinand Marcos. Philip spoke about his reasons for leaving at the last UFW convention that he attended. His message in this last speech to the Convention was clear and forceful.

If you want more detail pertaining to each and every instance when I was either fired or pressured to leave, I could provide that, but it would be truly a major undertaking, and I am not sure how healing it would be, or how informative and educational for people on this listserv.

I must say that with the passage of time, I am feeling a little more charitable toward Cesar than I did at the time. I don't deny that he was a great leader, especially in the early years of the

formation of the UFW. As time went on, in my opinion, Cesar lost his sense of balance and fairness, because he surrounded himself with "yes" people, and refused to listen to constructive criticism. That, in my opinion, was the source of some serious mistakes that he made that hurt the Cause, and the Union. Even Jerry Cohen, who certainly was no "yes" person, was eventually pressured to leave. (That he was pressured, rather than leaving of his own accord, is, of course, my perception of the situation. It would be interesting to hear directly from Jerry concerning the reasons that he left.)

Deborah A. Vollmer ("Debbie")
1973-1976 Legal Department, La Paz and Delano (mostly)

Lorraine Agtang (Mascarinas) Greer, 6/9/04

RE: Cesar's trip to the Philippines

Andy,

I do look forward to reading your book about the infamous trip to the Islands. It was a difficult time to respond to questions the Manongs posed about the trip they did not really want answers, but a forum to speak out. The Manongs were embarrassed in public and angry among friends. Marcos was a dictator murderer of innocent community people, families and children. How could this villain be a role-model to the Filipinos in the Delano. I remember how some of the meek and mild Manongs cursed his name shocked me. Marcos was not their leader the Manongs would say.

I was just learning about Marcos and his corrupt regime it was not until years later had a better understanding of how difficult this time was for the Manongs, my Dad, Uncles as well as local folks.

Lorraine Agtang-Greer Delano Grape Strike 1973, Rodrigo Terronez Clinic, Agbayani Village, Organizer through 1977.

Nancy Grimley Carleton, 6/9/04

RE: Synanon

That people leaving the Synanon fold met with harassment and threats is pretty well documented. That many former members felt the whole experience to be quite destructive is pretty well documented too. Certainly there are plenty of others, particularly former addicts, who felt it saved their lives. But it would be denial to overlook the abuses.

Nancy Carleton
Boycott Staff, 1975-1976 (San Jose and two months in the San Fernando Valley)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/9/04 (2)

RE: La Paz

Tom, (I think I deleted another I wrote; here goes again.)

From an accounting perspective, the savings generated from keeping the telephone and transportation costs down was money that the union was able to shift to **organizing**. **Tremendously important, no?** It might have not have been a "positive experience"/ a real inconvenience, but the savings were substantial. For those of you who do not know about the chit sheet it was a form to track long distance calls. It provided the documentation to hold one accountable for the phone expenses of any given month and to identify/explain excessive costs. It was a simple yet effective method introduced to us by Crosby Milne, a military organizational management expert who also helped with the organizational structure of many of all our union entities (pre-Sister Florence days). With transportation, it was all about preventable maintenance to keep costs down. sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz; accounting

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/9/04 (3)

RE: Synanon

Nancy,

I have just now received information on Synanon which I will read later. I want to add something. I know the group had internal problems later. During the time I was at La Paz we only went up there until the time Chuck decided that all marriages were to be dissolved. It was too bizarre for many of us; too over the hill. My recollection is that we stopped going there after that. However, that does not take away from, for me, the fact that they were extremely helpful to the union with donations of food and clothing from the beginning and I felt no trepidation going there when we did. I thought they did a great job at the time of helping ex-cons lead productive lives. Where would many of these people have gone? Graciela wrote that they continue to help in many valuable ways and that is good to know. I thought they no longer existed. I do plan to read more just to know what has been written on them of late. abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Cynthia Bell, 6/9/04

RE: Andy Imutan/ In response staff firings

Thank you, Andy,

Andy wrote "*for those that were fired, write an essay as to why and explain why you should not have been fired.*"

I would like to add that for those of you that will go down this path, do "tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

This is an opportunity to make things right so much lies and hearsays have caused perceptions among ourselves that we have carried for many years this is the bitterness or hard feelings that Andy mentioned. Some have been cleared up for me, and many have not.

I for one was not fired. I thought I had it all planned out, I took a LEAVE OF ABSENCE, otherwise rumors would fly rampant, this is what I was trying to prevent (it did not work). If I would have known the consequences of me leaving, maybe the situation between Emmy and the union (Cesar) would have never gone as far as it did). This is where my daughter needs to decide if she wants to take this path in telling her story.

This is our story, we lived it, so let us (or at least try) to set the story straight. Because if we don't someone else will.

Also, I would like to say that I have always known Cesar, and only he had the authority to fire it was ultimately his decision.

Cynthia Bell
1969-1988
(break between 78/81)

Cynthia Bell, 6/10/04

RE: Synanon

Hola Graciela, Abby, Nancy,

I agree Graciela, when I worked for OLA Raza, in Visalia they are truly a blessing for pro-bono. I remember talking to Marianne about Synanon, sounds a lot of what's going on now with our discussions. But what wonderful people these organizations turned out!

I want to share my first encounter with Synanon at La Paz. Cesar called a general meeting at the north unit once there Cesar asked us to observe. All of the sudden these baldheaded people (men and women) poured in with their white outfits they worked in silence and in unionism setting up within minutes the sound system/stage Cesar, was smiling and also observing in silence, then they left as quick as they came. I was just sitting there and all these mixed emotions going through my mind trying to figure out what this was leading to, not once did these people make eye-contact with us. "EERIE." After they left Cesar, said did you guys see this? Some of us nodded and some said yes!!

Cesar then said this is how I want you all to be! I must of jolted a good feet up in the air, because some of our staff made loud chuckles, then he started to tell us about Synanon how organized they were, and talked about the game how it would make us stronger and being able to defend ourselves and so on. The meeting ended we started to walk back, most of us in deep thoughts. I can only imagine what was going through their minds (mine was going 100 miles per hour) I walked back with Sister Betty and Sister Asencion. I finally broke the ice by saying "There's no way in hell I'm shaving my head." We laughed all the way back.

Not all of us supported the GAME. I was told that if I didn't play I would be fired. After several months of playing I walked out. I remember Danny Ybarra and Max Avalos being in this game. I was accused of being a bad mother and pimping my daughter with the Filipino brothers - that was it, I walked out. I went straight home about 15 min. later I heard yelling outside my place I opened the door - behold! The GAME came to me! Well this made me angry, I closed the door and turned on the stereo full-blast this went on for about ? hr. then they left.

Don't get me wrong I was scared I thought I would get a visit from Cesar, a memo or whatever but guess what? Nothing happened I never went back to play the GAME, I did not get fired life was good.

Cynthia Bell
1969-1988
(break 1978-81)

Jose Gomez, 6/10/04

RE: Staff firings

Debbie,

You seem to have an endless inventory of grievances. I'm glad you spared us the long version (for the sake of time)! While many ex-volunteers may sympathize with you, I want to tell you why I find it difficult to do so:

- 1) Your accounts are essentially personal "he said, she said" stories that are common in human disagreements and disputes. Human nature being what it is, there is at least another side to the accounts. I have done a lot of mediating in my lifetime, and I have yet to encounter a situation where the "truth" lay squarely on one side or the other. Most of the time, the truth lay somewhere in between.
- 2) To date you have not accepted responsibility for any role (even miniscule) that you may have played in the disagreements or bad situations you describe. Again, from my experience mediating, I must tell you that I have yet to discover a situation where one side was totally blameless and the other side was totally blameworthy.
- 3) You insist that your views regarding union matters are the correct ones. For example, you state that you and Philip differed with Cesar regarding internal union democracy. So? Maybe your view was not the right one. Or maybe it was the right idea but the wrong time. Isn't it just a tad arrogant for anyone to believe they were the bearer of the "truth" regarding internal union democracy and that their view should have prevailed? Another example is your "perception" that Anna P. mistreated some volunteers from New Mexico. I recall that incident, and your "perception" was wrong then, and your recollection is wrong now.
- 4) You admit that you made many of your complaints early in your time with the Union at La Paz. It is usually impolitic at best, unwise at worst, for "new" staff to come into any situation and to start complaining before they understand the full context, culture, history and politics of a workplace. Because you didn't wait, you ended up "shooting from the hip" (sorry for this metaphor, but Ronald Reagan has been on my mind lately). You ended up wasting a lot of my time and that of others who felt obligated to look into your many complaints.
- 5) You take many things out of context seemingly in order to place Cesar in the worst possible light and to paint yourself as a young, innocent volunteer who was martyred for doing

good. One example of this is your account of the practice of opening the mail centrally, which you saw as wrought with "serious legal problems" and that you had to complain about. Since you don't seem to recall the other side of this story, allow me to refresh your memory. There was a serious problem at La Paz with important mail from farm workers going astray because it was addressed to individuals. Sometimes the mail didn't get to the right place in a timely fashion or at all. There were many scenarios. Here's one: Farmworker X sent a medical claim to Volunteer Y, whom the farm worker happened to meet in Delano the previous week. Unfortunately, Volunteer Y, who did not work in the RFK Medical Plan office, was gone from La Paz for two months. Farm worker X's claim sat in Volunteer Y's mailbox all that time. In another scenario, important union mail got forwarded to Connecticut or some other eastern state where the volunteer had retired or gone on the boycott. Most of the mail so addressed was not personal mail. It was not Cesar who adopted the practice of having the mail opened centrally, as you claim, nor was it his idea. He did approve it, but he also wanted assurances that volunteers' privacy was not violated by having their personal mail opened. Staff were asked to have personal correspondents write "Personal and Confidential" on personal mail. None of that mail got opened centrally. There was no legal problem with this practice, except in the mind of a young, naive legal eagle. By the way, it is important to state that the central place for opening the mail was the Correspondence Department (headed up by Avelina Corriel) that was set up to handle the massive amount of incoming and outgoing mail. I need to make that clarification, lest someone get the impression from your version of the story that Cesar set up some central censorship or snooping bureau.

6) You insist on saying that Cesar surrounded himself with "yes" people, even after others on this Listserv have so ably pointed to convincing evidence to the contrary. So, allow me to contribute to the preponderance of evidence that proves you wrong. I suppose that you will find it difficult to believe that Cesar was adamant that people working close to him not be "yes" people. He knew the dangers of this. The entire time I knew him, he welcomed constructive criticism (not to be confused with half-cocked opposition, bickering and whining). When I got to La Paz, Al Rojas was serving a stint as Cesar's administrative assistant. I recall Al being very straightforward with his critique on a number of matters. Cesar listened and expressed his appreciation. If he disagreed, he explained why. In those instances, he usually had unique perspectives that Al and I had overlooked. Ron Taylor's book, *Chavez and the Farm Workers*, gives an account where Cesar backed down from his insistence that I reverse a decision I had made. I held my ground and gave Cesar a choice: "The decision remains as I made it or I leave. The choice is yours." That was not the only time, but it was the only incident that Taylor somehow found out about. Cesar later told me that he respected me for that. When I resigned from the union, he made it a point to come to my office to say, "When you get tired of doing whatever you're going to be doing out there, come back." That doesn't sound like a person who insisted on being surrounded by "yes" people. Perhaps you are confusing this issue with that of some staff being so awed with Cesar that they found it difficult to disappoint him with bad news. That's a different matter.

7) I think that you lost sight of your role in the movement. You were not a farm worker. You went as a volunteer to help empower farm workers. When decisions did not go your way, you should have been willing to give Cesar and the farm workers the benefit of your doubt. Any volunteer who couldn't do that should have left. That doesn't mean that volunteers shouldn't have spoken up if they felt that something unjust or unworkable was coming down. It does mean that a volunteer should have accepted the verdict and allowed the movement to go on, with or without him or her. . . . If you felt that your principles were so seriously compromised, why didn't you quit the union? If you felt so strongly about the disagreements you had, didn't your dignity require that you quit?

Having said all this, I hope that the discussion on this Listserv does not deteriorate into "he said, she said" accounts of personal disputes. In my view, that would be counterproductive. I also think that it is important not to attribute a major decision or action to any one event, incident or tangible piece of evidence. I say this because I have read accounts on this Listserv that imply or state outright (but wrongly in those cases that I know about) that so-and-so was fired because of "x." When someone feels deeply aggrieved, we can expect that he or she will find it difficult to be objective about the reasons, particularly if that person continues to carry around a significant

amount of resentment or bitterness (a very unhealthy thing to do, by the way). It would be inappropriate for me to take issue with an account about a personnel decision and say, "Hey, that's not what got you fired. The real reason that you got fired was x, y and z and a, b and c." I think we need to transcend the personal. But, I'm prepared to be told I'm wrong and that I can easily hit the "delete" button if I don't want to read "he said, she said" stories.

Solidaridad,

Jose Gomez
1970-1975 (Portland, NJ, DC & NY Boycotts; La Paz)

Tom Dalzell, 6/10/04

RE: Staff firings

Jose reminds Debbie that she was not a farm worker and suggests that she should have accepted the decisions of Cesar and the farm workers.

If I remember correctly, the Executive Board at the time was:

Cesar - farm worker
Dolores - not farm worker
Gilbert - not farm worker
Richard - not exactly farm worker
Mack - farm worker
Eliseo - farm worker
Jessica - not farm worker
Marshall - not farm worker
Pete - farm worker

In the years that followed, many who were not farm workers served on the Executive Board. Artie Rodriguez is not / was not a farm worker.

I don't question or challenge the appropriateness of any of the non-farm worker leaders named above. I suggest a different distinction than the distinction between farm worker and non-farm worker.

Tom Dalzell

Deborah Vollmer, 6/10/04 (1)

RE: Staff firings

Tom,

You did leave out one very important member of the Board. Philip Vera Cruz, retired farmworker. Thanks—

Deborah

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/10/04

RE: Staff firings

Tom,

Gilbert Padilla and Richard Chavez had been farm workers in that past. All were elected by farm workers, very different. sin mas abby/ richgrove/ delano

Deborah Vollmer, 6/10/04 (2)

RE: Staff firings

Jose,

I was initially hesitant to send out my last post, knowing that you and some others would react the way you did. But Andy specifically asked for folks to weigh in on why (from each person's respective point of view) they were fired, and in that post he specifically named me. So I felt I should respond (but refrained from giving the long version. :-)

Of course I was a little naive and very inexperienced when I worked for the Union, especially at the very beginning. Yes, in your words, I was indeed a "young, naive legal eagle." Do I acknowledge making some mistakes? Sure. Was I totally blameless? Of course not. I still feel that I was right on the issues I have brought in to this discussion, but as you correctly point out there is no way in any of these situations that I could have all the facts. Why didn't I leave? Well, on occasion, I did, as you know, and then came back. I really did want to play a role in helping to build the farmworkers' union, and although I probably won't be able to convince you of this, I did have a lot of respect and admiration for Cesar. What was my biggest fault? I think some folks are born with a natural ability to be diplomatic in certain situations, but I was not. I had to learn this. And when I first started with the Union, I had a lot of learning ahead of me, indeed.

Peace,
Deborah

Susan Drake, 6/10/04 (1)

RE: Staff firings

Any opinions about whether Cesar accepted differences of opinion better from men than women? I don't have an opinion--yet.

Susan

Marshall Ganz, 6/10/04

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

LeRoy,

I guess you also discount all the accounts of Synanon from people you've known and worked with for many years, as well as Dietrich's prosecution for criminal harassment as well as the difference between Delancey Street, whose founder, John Maher had the good sense to split with Dietrich, pair up with Mimi Silber and continue the work of being of genuine value to addicts, ex cons, and the community at large rather than going down the sick personality cult that Dietrich created, and that he inspired Cesar to try to create as well. This is a disturbing kind of "evenhandedness".

Marshall

Glenn Rothner, 6/10/04

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

When I left the UFW in 1978, the law firm I joined rented some offices to a couple of personal injury lawyers. One of their clients was Paul Marantz, a lawyer who sued Synanon on behalf of some former Synanon members who had been beaten by Chuck Dederich's lieutenants. In a tape recorded message, Dederich said, about Marantz (in light of his success suing Synanon), that he wanted an ear in a jar of alcohol. Dederich and two of his "Imperial Marines" were later convicted of attempting to murder Marantz by putting a rattlesnake in his mailbox. I kid you not. This event and the trial were well covered by the print and broadcast media in Los Angeles.

It would take quite a lot more than wistful memories of donated clothing and food to cause me to rethink my views on Synanon. And for those with short memories, wistful or not, the psychopathology of Synanon was well-documented and widely publicized even before we were all made to play the game.

I'm not sure why this warrants so many postings (including my own), but surely we can agree that the alliance with Synanon, particularly at a time when that organization had proven internally toxic (and externally venomous) was not one of Cesar's finer moments.

Jerry Kay, 6/10/04

RE: YES PEOPLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

From Jerry Kay: 1969-75 (Bay Area, New York, Bay Area, Salinas, Florida – boycotter, field worker, field office administrator and director)

After 2 months wading through the rushing current I'm finally jumping in:

I left working at as an assistant manager at a 'Hollywood' blues, folk and rock club to join the farm workers union. I was too 'revolutionary' to be inspired by the Catholic culture and liberal politics and even non-violence of the union, BUT the ability to bring so many different kinds of people together working for a common goal (though, boy, we had different visions) and the 'family' atmosphere yanked me in. The Teatro Campesino, Philip Vera Cruz and Dolores all 'organized' me-- The Teatro with their songs and 'actos', Philip with his revolutionary words, Dolores with her hell-bent, 24/7 fiery, lusty activism. I soon saw that action and accomplishments were what counted most in volunteers, not words or great visions.

I came to admire Cesar by his charming and powerful personality and his ability to things done. But, having left the entertainment world of LA, I was well aware of how most people who become famous and powerful end up surrounded by people who tell them what they want to hear. Not always. And also, that the great principles espoused covering so many areas of life, love and labor are not always practiced, and give way to expediency.

I quickly saw on my return to California at the end of the Salinas strike of 1970 that how the leadership ordered volunteers to and fro, here and there wasn't pretty. We were at war, sure, but there was sometimes a feeling that 'you had to really suffer' to show your dedication, and 'we're going to test your dedication.'

So I chose to live my six wonderfully challenging, crisis-ridden. most exciting and educational years of my life away from the centers of power. I kept away from Delano and La Paz as much as possible and went where I wanted to work and often ended up directing the show (not in New York).

I followed direction when it came, bitched quietly about not having enough resources, especially when La Paz took away what we organized, but never confronted anyone about the big issues. I figured my job was to organize a farm workers union and had no vision of trying to. When, as field office director in Salinas, they directed us to find and report illegals, I had a lot of other things to do, so I put it at the bottom of my pile.

When Cesar and I talked and he asked me questions, I always told him the truth, but tried to do it in private. In my limited dealings with him, I found him attentive and most supportive--and personally, the most intriguing, beguiling, charismatic person I had ever come across. But I could see from some of his assistants that there was the dark side of the organization, and they, and we all were called upon to do dirty work from time to time, sometimes directed outside, and sometimes inside.

I gave most of my heart and soul to the union and never regretted a minute of it. I was burned out when I left, but not at all disillusioned. Florida showed me what the union could be throughout the nation as a strong union, uniting black, white and brown workers who defended each other (in the South, there). The union worked as the union, not because of Cesar's charisma. He was seen as the union's president. Mack and Diana Lyons had a lot to do with our success among the workers.

Marshall has told me many times that I left just at the right moment when things started to really change. But, do you all remember that one essential thing about the union, that we really did count on accomplishments more than words? That what you produced out of nothing was worth more than all the pretty revolutionary, spiritual, loving-community talk that we all spouted?

I guess I always reserved a part to keep for myself, a part of my soul and heart. It took a woman some years later to break that and it is from that experience I know how many of you feel. Once

upon a time we were all one incredible family made up of so many different kinds of people, allowed to keep our own visions as long as we did not promote our personal agendas. Even then we fought and loved each other and believed we really had something grounded in the wonderful campesino culture and Cesar's belief that there was an incredible energy there to be harnessed capable of changing the world.

I suspect the open wounds still festering among us are because deep in our hearts we know that we 'band of sisters and brothers' might never again see or feel the possibilities we had then. Let's all stop for a minute and reflect on how lucky we all were to have had that.

Well, I didn't mean to ramble about so much; but I'll send this as is.

Susan Drake, 6/10/04 (2)

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

Isn't Synanon an example of the movement being useful with the leader having fallen by the wayside of morality?

Susan

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/10/04 (1)

Susan Drake offers a question –

Isn't Synanon an example of the movement being useful with the leader having fallen by the wayside of morality?

In my opinion Yes. Having visited my German ancestry in Bavaria recently and reflecting on our founding fathers, unchecked power becomes toxic, the possibly amoral; not to be judged by moral criteria./ no moral sense...

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/10/04

RE: SI. SI.

To Whom it may concern:

I was one of the original YES people that followed Cesar Chavez.

I said YES, when I was asked to help out the farm workers.

I said YES when Richard and Manuel asked me to help out on the boycott

I said YES when Cesar asked me to help out with the hiring hall in Parlier

I said YES when Ray Huerta asked me to help out in Coachella with enforcement

I said YES when asked to be the Picket line nurse during the 1973 Huelga

I said a hesitant YES when assigned to La Paz, I hate office work.

I said a very drawn out, dying YES when Cesar asked me to help out in the accounting department, in the basement of all places, what with my claustrophobia.

YES, I was very much a YES person.

Hope Lopez – 1966-1973

I will venture to say, that so were all of you.

Mary Mocine, 6/10/04

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

I want to add my voice to the concerns about Synanon. It surely was a cult for the final years of Dederich's life. He did retreat to Badger when other communities such as Marin County took him

on. He did have his folks try to murder that lawyer that Glenn writes of. I don't think we can just say Synanon donated stuff so we liked them. What about keeping our eyes open?

Something in the exchanges here is disturbing to me. It raises questions about an attitude that if folks supported the union, it didn't matter what else they did. Surely there is a moral obligation to "vet" those who donate, at least in terms of serious wrongs on their part?

It is my understanding that after Dederich died, Synanon went through a process of soul-searching and they tried to really look at what had gone wrong when they gave up so much of their personal power and integrity to Dederich. I guess this touches a nerve because so many folks at the SF Zen Center feel they gave up too much of their own power and integrity to Richard Baker, the abbot who followed Suzuki Roshi, the founder.

I don't doubt that some good people stayed and that they have been helpful to AFSC and OLA Raza etc. Dederich died about 7 years ago, so I don't know if Graciela refers to before that or after or both.

Mary Mocine

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/10/04 (2)

RE: Synanon

Here's my take on Synanon. My experiences and my opinion only. I recall the Nike's, sweat suits and the make-up products. Had an impossible time finding kids' sizes. Then there were the "70's" style paints/ bell bottoms, stripes and all. Somewhere in all this were the dentists (I think) and this was selective on who could go. This was pre-game memories. I also believe there was security from both Synanon and later Delancey Street. I thought, goodness we are doing one hell of a job organizing these folks. They were serious and disciplined. At conventions I usually worked in day care and as a result can't remember how close we could get to the center of things or what color badge we had. It became a problem at times getting to a parent on the floor or getting a message on stage. They held their ground. Right on. Good parameter and excellent boundary patrol. I don't say this lightly since my Dad was a military man, and I felt those inside the parameter were safe. I felt often very frustrated.

If I get any of my facts wrong, please get back to me so I can have a reality check. Anyway, I recall the leadership started talking about playing the Game. I understood it to be a way of managing all the high intensity we had generated in dealing with fighting the growers being dissipated so that we could work in peace and harmony and build community. This made sense because I couldn't figure out why there was so much conflict and chisme floating around La Paz. I did feel it got in the way. Whining gave me a headache, and as my kids know, it only went so far.

So the Games began. The first group- the leadership went off to Badger and spent time and returned. Didn't hear much, but sounded like it was working. Couldn't tell from my work level. I think I was working at Casa with Lupe (Danny Romero's sister") Then the second tier of leadership was identified to go to Badger to learn the Game. They also returned and went again and again with the first group. Then one day I was told I had been selected to go to Badger to be trained. Darn I was curious. We were chauffeured by members of the second tier of leadership.

I learned the group norms of the Game. What was said in the Game stays in the Game; No physical violence; Remember it's only a Game! , what is said was not necessarily so: Ok Once you spoke up you became fair game to be Gamed; And then there were the group techniques and strategies. I had rationalized it as a method of managing interpersonal conflict. I was wrong as I came to see that at times it intensified conflict. People had a tough time remembering it was only a game. Areas of vulnerability were exposed and depending who you were gaming with, in my opinion it had the potential to become psychologically damaging. Another rule was "make it silly", absurd if you will. Exaggerate a miniscule event. Make it a grandiose fluke. There were other tactics---joining with peers in taking on a single peer/ Carom shots- talk to A, but you are really sending a message to B. Seating was important. Refreshments and socializing afterwards was part of the structure of "the Game."

I remember some folks protesting, but playing and some refusing to play.

From my vantage point, I had no idea where this all could be going. My feisty Irish temper was highly controlled by my German moral rudder, and like Vicky, I learned it could be "OK". I thought at times I got the "evil eye" "mad dog" look" for rescuing someone, then turning the game on the person attacking, but generally at the beginning it was not tedious and not toxic I thought.

Then I heard about "dissipation". Whoa, that was big stuff. I think the first two groups had already gone through it. Didn't know exactly what it was, but it sounded like a big deal. Synanon leadership came down to interview us. Won't mention names, but all of the La Paz staff were my peers in terms of level of work responsibility. They asked some very personal question, which I shined them on about. After all, this was a game. I was looking forward to a weekend trip to Badger for being dissipated. But then the night before we were to leave for Badger, Cesar called me into his office. He asked directly if I felt I was ready for this. Well "yes". I could handle whatever shit came my way, I thought.

Later I learned that the "dissipation" had been called off. At first I thought it was only me. Cesar couldn't trust me to not dissipate, and maybe say some things. I had tried to assure him I could. He wasn't going to chance it. He called it off for me and as I recall others in this third tier of gamers.

We continued to game on a weekly basis at La Paz. Sometimes it was ok. Often it was boring and tedious. I heard what happened to some people and tried to follow up with them and talk. What happened to Cynthia was unconscionable. Then the rules changed and the game was only supposed to relate to work issues and NOT personal issues. Recently Tom D. reminded me of the Legal Departments grand entrance to the Game. That's a story only he could tell right.

In reading about how crazy Chuck D. had become, I realize this was a sick strategy to deal with conflict resolution, and community building. My kids use to sneak down to the North Unit and listen to as they recall to "the adults cussing and yelling at each other". They had their own take on it that I hope someday they will share. "Mom, are you really angry with Kent?" No Benito we were just playing a game. "Then why do we get in trouble when we cuss and yell?" Great question.

Please if I ever offended anyone playing the game with me, could we talk about it if you are part of this? I was in denial and rationalized the impact.

Pretty absurd, thinking back. Kathy Murguia 1965-1983

Daneen Montoya, 6/10/04 (1)

RE: "Commies..."

The only card carrying "Commie" I ever met (he actually showed me his membership card!) was a member of the Rail Road Workers Union, named Joe Graham. Joe came out and helped us picket every week in San Jose.

Joe saved my life on the Joey Franco/PW picket line at 15th and Jackson in San Jose...I was crossing the store's driveway with my trusty little picket sign, when Joe tackled me from behind, throwing me clear to the other side of the driveway.

He saved me from becoming a "Sail Picket" (you know, a picket that has been run over so many times you can pick him/her up and sail him/her through the air like a Frisbee). Some anti-UFW fanatic driving a red truck tried to run me and my picket sign down)...so the fact that Joe was a "Commie" really isn't very important to me...I'm eternally grateful to him for saving my life! :)

Daneen Montoya
San Jose/ La Paz
1968 – 1972/73

Daneen Montoya, 6/10/04 (2)

RE: Oops! I forgot a title...Synanon...how's that?

LeRoy...

I remember the Synanon facility on the beach at Santa Monica. They gave me and my family free dental care, as they did other UFW volunteers with dental problems. My experience with them was all good...and even better, as we were leaving the Synanon building one time, "Gypsy Boots" crossed in front of us and ran out on the beach with his tambourine. Within seconds, a flock of kids (including mine) surrounded him and he entertained them and talked with them about loving all people, non-violence and peace in the world...

(For you youngin's, Gypsy Boots was a bearded scraggly character that lived in Griffith Park and visited Venice and the Santa Monica beaches spreading his philosophy of love and merriment and peace. He often brought his tambourine when he appeared as a guest on the Steve Allen and Jack Paar shows. Late '50s - early to mid 60s).

Daneen Montoya
San Jose/ La Paz
1968 - 1972/73

Daneen Montoya, 6/10/04 (3)

RE: Cesar's trip to the Philippines

Re Marcos and Cesar's trip to the Philippines...I recently met a young man from the Philippines who, when my friend tried to tell him of my connection with UFW, interrupted and said, "I know this! Cesar Chavez is a hero! He came to the Philippines to talk with us about work conditions in our fields. He wanted to help us make our lives better! Chavez is a hero!"

This young man must have been a teenager during Cesar's visit. I was so surprised at his reaction. I never guessed he would even know who Cesar or the UFW were. He had nothing but good things to say about Cesar. He wouldn't talk about Marcos...

Daneen Montoya
San Jose/ La Paz
1968 - 1972/73

Ellen Starbird, 6/11/04

RE: POSTING FROM ELLEN STARBIRD

per request for info. on current events/ how I spent my summer vacation after I left the UFW. Please post to list serve.

San Jose, La Paz, Oakland boycott, Salinas, Coachella, Calexico, Arizona, Watsonville field offices 75-79

* * * *

Left UFW during the end of Carter administration and went to work at a photo drive up. Got fired for organizing a strike and affiliating the staff with UFCW. Started a campaign to oppose the draft with the San Jose peace center. San Jose had the highest non-compliance with Carter's draft registration program of any major metropolitan area in the country. Went to college on the government dole. Under the democrats you could get food stamps, Medi-Cal and a couple hundred bucks cash for rent every month while attending college full time. Pell grants paid for my books, and I finished up my AA and BA owing the feds about \$2K all told. Took two years into the process the NLRB awarded me back pay from the photo drive up. Finished the last six units of the BA at SFSU in Social Science minoring in Economics in 1986. Went to work for the Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition. Under the sincerity of Ted Smith and the organizing genius of Patricia Lamborn, now of HERE; it was largely credited with creating the coalition that got then Congressperson Mineta to sponsor and pass the Clean Water Act.

Got active in the Salvadorean solidarity activities in San Jose in the early eighties, then got hired by Peter Cervantes Gautschi to work for the Central Labor Council of Santa Clara County.

Bought myself a very fast Mustang, ran it right off the road the first week. Bought another Mustang.

Helped get the local Labor Councils to convene and transport a delegation to SF for the Jobs Peace and Justice march, and the march on the Democratic convention. Got the locals in Santa Clara to introduce anti apartheid pension language in all their contracts, and San Jose was the third venue to support the anti apartheid boycott with the most austere and complete requirements. Got reconnected with Mark Sharwood in the Mondale campaign after the Labor Council implemented a worker precinct walk operation pretty much copied now all over. Went with some other labor activists to San Salvador with the President of FENASTRAS (the previously illegal but largest labor federation in El Salvador) as kind of a body shield brigade for him during their first public convention the week Benigno Aquino was shot in the Philippines. Went to work for HERE in San Francisco the year before ERISA protections kicked in when the Hotel industry was trying to gut the union's pension fund. We won the campaign to keep the pension & union alive. Finished school. My sister had a niece and nephew getting me off the grand kid hook.

Went to Israel and Palestine as part of a labor delegation, cajoling the Histadrut (Israeli's labor federation) into honoring more of the rights of its Palestinian dues paying members. Went to work for SEIU Justice for Janitors, then the Health Care 250, 616, 1957. Worked for and briefly chaired the Laney College Labor Studies Dept.

Went to Haiti the year Aristide returned to the island after his (first) exile to encourage the Disney workers in the run away garment jobs to go on strike to double their pay. Went back to grad school under Republican Bush the first; "the education president." Couldn't get registered, couldn't get Pell grants, couldn't get welfare, medical nor food stamps. Finished the two year program owing \$30K to the Feds, and shudder to tell how deep the credit card debt was. I may be partly responsible for the banking collapse that happened about then. Sorry. Worked the whole time teaching and 40 hrs a week for the Occupational Health Branch as a researcher: researched low level radiation (it ain't good fer ya) and helped author the violence in the workplace handbook (guns and icky former boyfriends look bad, by and large) with UC LOHP. Wrote my thesis on dual diagnosis; Paranoia has a definition and it is not a contagion shared at the group level, fyi.

Got married to Alan Anzalone about 7 years ago. He's a graphic artist and the sweetest guy in the world. His people are Catholic, so I told Fr. Bill O'Donnell while we were waiting to get arrested for the Teamsters and ILWU during an anti NAFTA showdown that I was supposed to have six weeks of education in the faith according to our closest parish. Bill said he'd help and pronounced me fit to fly that afternoon before the cops got us collared. Bill married us at St. Joseph the Worker Church. Alan bought me a house for my birthday two years ago, when Angie Fa asked me to come work for CAN for a year. I'm currently working on finishing my hours for Licensed Clinical Social Worker, and schlepping to my mother's house every other weekend or so.

My mom's getting old and my niece and nephew are getting big. I grow lemons, herbs and vegetables in the garden out back. Marcia Aronson drops by every year or so and visits me and Stephen Matchett on her way to see Maria Rifo, who lives in Santa Rosa.

Don't mind that I got so old so fast, but I do wish I still had that Mustang.

-Done

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/11/04 (1)

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

I met the Bourdette law group in 1990 and I repeat - personally and professionally they have been nothing but helpful to me. I love them all. They came into my life at a time when my faith in humanity was at a low, and ever since they have been supportive and I am proud and honored to call them my friends. I refuse to judge and condemn - there is someone mightier than I to do that. I can't remember how many times, traveling through this road called life, I have fallen into a gucky hole, and as proof that I have survived whatever life dealt me is that I'm here, writing this today. I'm sure many things will be said about Cesar and the movement as history moves on, good and bad, but the fact remains that those of us caught up in this discussion were touched and moved

in many different ways. Many of us have brought what we learned during that time to the present and are the better for it. I've enjoyed following some of the discussions but am upset when some of us seem bent on "selling" their side of the story, or on attacking the other's. I hope we can all get past this and maybe concentrate on doing something positive to honor our times together. I've never been to a reunion. Is anyone planning one? I'd like to see some of the people I knew from 1965 to about 1971. Maybe we can have a reunion sometime soon, before some of us come to the end of the road.

Marshall Ganz, 6/11/04

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

I thought it was only criminal harassment. Turns out it was attempted murder.

Deborah Vollmer, 6/11/04 (1)

RE: Synanon

Folks,

I remember that Philip Vera Cruz was very much against the Synanon connection, and that he did not approve of the "Game." I do not believe that he ever participated in the "Game" – not voluntarily, anyway. Some of the experiences that he described to me as having had with others on the staff and Board, sounded as if in essence he was being "gamed." These experiences made him very bitter, hurt and angry. Do any of you on this list have any particular memories concerning Philip, and his being "gamed" or of his objecting to the whole Synanon game thing?

Deborah

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/11/04

RE: EVENHANDEDNESS DEFINED

LEROY CHATFIELD 1963-1973

When Marshall Ganz wrote about (in his view) my disturbing kind of "evenhandedness" because I wrote that I tend to discount public allegations against cults, I went to the dictionary to see what he found so disturbing. The synonyms given for evenhandedness are "fair" and "impartial". Honestly, evenhandedness doesn't seem very disturbing to me.

In 1966, I knew two things about Synanon: 1) they saved the lives of hundreds (more likely, thousands) of drug addicts; and 2) they were strong supporters of the farmworkers' cause. I did not know whether they were a cult or not, and truthfully, it would have made little or no difference to me. I admired the work they did to save the lives of addicts and I appreciated their unabashed and generous support of the farmworkers movement.

Now, in 2004, because of the documentation project, I learn that the executive board of the UFW knew a great deal more about Synanon in the late 1970's (than I did a decade earlier) when they visited their headquarters in Badger to learn about Synanon's communication techniques for building community and instilling a sense of responsibility in their members.

The UFW executive board knew there had recently been a forced exodus of many Synanon members, due in large part to new edicts promulgated by their founder. One of the edicts was that all the men were to get vasectomies so they would not father their own children, thereby freeing themselves up to rescue the world's abused children. Another edict decreed that all marriages within Synanon were ordered dissolved so that marriage partners could be reassigned for suitable periods of time. Not meaning to use a loaded word, but I believe it is fair to call this marriage edict a structured form of wife-swapping.

What I find curious, and perhaps disturbing, (I don't know for sure) is that the UFW executive board did not see this latter-day Synanon organization as inimical to the farmworkers movement or that their association with this Badger-based Synanon group might lead the union in directions that might prove to be harmful, hurtful and likely sow confusion among farmworkers themselves

and their supporters. What I do know is that the executive board made regular trips to Badger to learn from their experiences there, and then later brought UFW leadership staff to Badger to also learn and be trained.

This Badger-based Synanon relationship with the UFW would not have been possible without the formal assent and cooperation of the UFW executive board, would it? I think not.

Postscript: In the same communication, Marshall Ganz asks me to acknowledge the qualitative differences between Delancey Street (a good organization, I presume Marshall would say) and Synanon (a bad organization, I presume Marshall would say). I did meet the Delancey Street founder and top leadership during my work as the director of Jerry Brown's Northern California Campaign for Governor. I was very impressed with the rigorous and military-like training methods of their organization and their commitment to help others overcome their addictions and transform themselves into successful entrepreneurs. They were also very strong supporters of the cause of the farmworkers. Some years later, I was especially saddened to learn that in the end, their founder died an alcoholic. Life and all its variables can be quite confusing and humbling: the founder of an organization designed to save the lives of others by overcoming their addictions, cannot himself be saved from his own addiction. Let's not be too confident or sure of ourselves.

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/11/04 (2)

RE: EVENHANDEDNESS DEFINED

Do any of you remember "Operation Harvest"? Somebody had found a "job" for some of the strikers: Document people's names and social security numbers. I don't remember how much we were paid, but was I inflamed when I learned that while several of us walked the streets, talking to people, others were sitting somewhere making up names and social security numbers to put on the forms and receiving huge amounts of money. I have often wondered what those names and social security numbers were for. Anybody remember?

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/11/04

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

I have a very lucid memory I'd like to share with the Listserve. It involves Russ Washburn and something I am really grateful to him for. I know he has passed. The last time I saw him was at the memorial service for Jim Drake in LA. It didn't seem important to mention this at the time.

We were playing the Game somewhere in La Paz. If memory serves me right we were in all places...Casa. Lupe Romero was sitting next to me and we were laughing. Lupe's laugh was infectious. It really was a delight. I started in on something with Lupe and it was a soft touch gaming issue. Somehow I had the impulse to carry it further and into the realm of sarcastic absurdity. Russ caught where I was going, raised his hand slightly and focusing downward shook his head. I caught it and redirected my comment. Russ worked with kids and he had a good eye for vulnerability and taking something too far. His gentle soul's message was clear. Thanks Russ. The game was part of an amoral gestalt process that had its place, but not among friendships we had. For the most part we did not have addiction issues or personality disorders. Those in Synanon. That's why it worked so well for recovery. I respect that. . kathy murguia 1965-1983

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/11/04 (3)

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

Jim Drake passed?

Deborah Vollmer, 6/11/04 (2)

RE: EVENHANDEDNESS DEFINED

LeRoy,

I see references in your last post to the UFW Executive Board, as being supportive of Synanon. Please remember that Philip Vera Cruz was on the Executive Board at the time (Second Vice

President, I believe) and that he never approved of Synanon, or the "Game." And being the only Executive Board member who did not go along with all of this, he was made to suffer for it.

Peace,
Deborah

Jerry Kay, 6/11/04

RE: 1966 Santa Monica Synanon

In a message [Glenn Rothner] writes:

In a tape recorded message, Dederich said, about Marantz (in light of his success suing Synanon), that he wanted an ear in a jar of alcohol. Dederich and two of his "Imperial Marines" were later convicted of attempting to murder Marantz by putting a rattlesnake in his mailbox. I kid you not.

From Jerry Kay:

One of the guys who put the rattlesnake in the mailbox was the son of bandleader, Stan Kenton. I had several friends who joined Synanon; and some wonderful family friends who fully joined with them, mom, dad and kids. He became Synanon's attorney and they all appeared in a Synanon film. The father/attorney had a falling out with Dederich and left with the Mom, but Dederich held sway over their teenage daughters who remained there.

From my encounters, it was a crazy cult, led by a guy who wanted his followers to adhere to his every whim; preying on people seeking something positive to identify with. If chuck cut off all his hair, everyone was supposed to follow; become celibate, everyone; have an affair, etc.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/11/04

RE: "Dissipation"

[Kathy -] In your last e-mail you wrote:

Later I learned that the "dissipation" had been called off. At first I thought it was only me. Cesar couldn't trust me to not dissipate, and maybe say some things. I had tried to assure him I could. He wasn't going to chance it. He called it off for me and as I recall others in this third tier of gamers.

This is what I remember: We were called to a staff meeting with Cesar one afternoon because some staff had told Cesar they did not want to do the "dissipation" game. (A "dissipation game" is an all night game.) Cesar asked each of us to tell him how we felt and the consensus of the group was the same. We didn't feel it was necessary for us to do it. Later, I learned that the game was called off indefinitely. Cesar might have realized that you were not in on the discussion and wanted your perspective. It was not an issue of whether any one of us could be "trusted" to dissipate or not. Personally, I always got the impression that Cesar had a high regard for you and that your opinion meant a lot to him (no holds barred) perhaps that is why he sought you out. From what I recall, we began to distance ourselves from Synanon after that not only because of the "dissipation" game (too extreme for our purposes), but because of other events that began to happen at Badger during that time. We never went back there again. The lesson, I believe, that can be learned from this time in our service to the union is that self-therapy that works for one group may not necessarily be the right one for another. Forgive me ahead of time if this is too simplistic a conclusion for some of you. sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la Paz

Mary Mocine, 6/11/04

RE: EVENHANDEDNESS DEFINED

Dear LeRoy,

I think you discount Marshall's remark too easily. It is not about the dictionary. It is about being willing to look with clear eyes and see harm where harm is happening.

Perhaps you do not recall that the Point Reyes Light newspaper received a Pulitzer Prize for its coverage of Synanon when it was in Marshall on Tomales Bay. The paper investigated and exposed Synanon and the editor was threatened as a result. Their website is www.ptreyeslight.com but I checked and could find no reference other than their calling themselves a Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaper. I think it was too long ago, maybe in the 80's.

I, too, know folks from Synanon and there is no doubt in my mind that it was a cult and that people were seriously hurt. Of course we should not just believe a label from the press or a few disaffected folks. However, there comes a time when the info is clear enough and available enough that one should take a position, should oppose what is harmful. That doesn't mean one need to hate. Nor that an organization cannot change. Delancey did change after John Maher left. Mimi Silbert has steered it and it does not seem to me to be a cult. I believe Maher left Synanon because it tended to manipulate folks to stay rather than prepare them for independence.

At any rate, it doesn't matter what we call it, the organization and Dederich were harmful. I think it is useful to be able to say so. If the UFW Board knew as much as you say and still went ahead with relating to Synanon, I am saddened indeed. What were they thinking? What were we thinking? Forcing men to get vasectomies? Forcing folks to divorce? Not forcing but giving them the "choice" to comply or leave, I imagine. In the context of Synanon that was all the family many of them had, force seems an apt word to me.

yours, Mary

Kathy Murguia, 6/12/04 (1)

LeRoy stated recently

"Another edict decreed that all marriages within Synanon were ordered dissolved so that marriage partners could be reassigned for suitable periods of time. Not meaning to use a loaded word, but I believe it is fair to call this marriage edict a structured form of wife-swapping"

I think Synanon's edict was different from wife swapping in that there was an aspect of coercion from the leadership that this be done. It was an edict and who controlled who from what level and who was exchanged for whom? Did it rest on the whim/or insight of some "higher realist"? Given the hierarchy of power distribution I'm not sure of how decisions in that area were. Also what input, from both sides of the equation of a marriage, would be allowed in all this? The Game was and is a form of subtle or blatant coercion; it is possible to have a positive outcome, but it an exercise of personal and interpersonal power in a group setting. For these reasons, it may in my opinion be considered qualitatively different. Kathy Murguia

Another edict decreed that all marriages within Synanon were ordered dissolved so that marriage partners could be reassigned for suitable periods of time. Not meaning to use a loaded word, but I believe it is fair to call this marriage edict a structured form of wife-swapping.

Tom Dalzell, 6/12/04

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

LeRoy's latest has the unsettling effect of both angering and provoking me.

I am angered by the allowances made for Synanon's excesses. If an outsider were to read some of the posts on how Synanon wasn't really so bad because they gave us neat stuff, they would think that they had tuned into a Holocaust Denial website. After the horror of Jonestown, Charles Garry reflected openly on the Left's tendency to make too many allowances for the clear mistakes of its icons; having represented both Huey Newton and Jim Jones, Garry had some standing on this issue.

Listen - I don't really care what the people in Badger Pass did with and to each other. I do care about what Cesar's turn to Synanon (does anybody remember when it really started? I remember stories of the "Old Man" sending a limo to La Paz to take Cesar up to Badger Pass in the fall of 1976 - does anybody else remember that?) did to the Union. If the Game was such a great idea, why was Marc Grossman denying to the press that the Game was being played at La Paz at a time

when the President's Newsletter was openly and proudly reporting on the number of people playing the Game? I couldn't answer that question when asked by Helen Manning of the Salinas Californian in the summer of 1977; maybe somebody can now.

The provoking question that LeRoy asks is - didn't the Board go along with it? I believe that the following are the facts: Dolores was the only Board member to support the Synanon alliance. Every other member of the Board, along with Jim Drake, Jerry Cohen, Crosby Milne, and Chris Hartmire, objected to the alliance. Cesar never took the alliance with Synanon or the Game to a Board vote, presumably because he knew that he would lose the vote. Marshall and Jerry were the most vocal opponents of Synanon/Game, but in several Board meetings Richard and Gilbert also asked Cesar to stop the Game.

I think that the only Board member who really liked or joined in the game was Dolores; it seems to have fit her style and personality. The inner circle of the Game was not made up of Board members. David Villarino, Kent Winterrowd, Lori Huerta, Emilio Huerta, Babo, Ken Doyle, and a few others not on the Board were the inner circle. It was from start to finish a Cesar idea, and given the hierarchy of power distribution (Kathy Murguia's term), what Cesar wanted, Cesar got.

I think that Larry Tramutola makes a good point when he says that the Game was a symptom of the problem, not the problem. The bigger question is - when Cesar started doing things that seemed like they would destroy the Union (and which in my opinion did destroy the Union), why was there not more opposition? Are not all the members of the Board equally responsible for failing to place brakes on Cesar's bad ideas? Are not we all on some level responsible for letting this bad thing happen to the Union? In my humble opinion, that is the sixty-four-million-dollar question. How did we find ourselves in the position that Cesar could make decisions that would tear apart what had taken so many so long to build?

Tom Dalzell

Doug Adair, 6/12/04

RE: El Malcriado asks about the March, 1966

In a message dated 6/9/04 . . . [Roberto Bustos] writes:

Roberto Bustos (El Capitan, la Marcha), striker, picket captain, organizer, contract enforcer, boycott coordinator kansas city. 1965-1972 the earlier years, and still fighting. gracias.

Estimado Companero Roberto, Saludos, Abrazos, Muchos recuerdos!.....

I sound like a broken record, but I wish we could talk about the March to Sacramento, starting with the meeting where a little group of workers and supporters, including you, came up with the idea that changed the course of history... You were there, at that meeting, maybe the only real representative of the local farm workers that had gone on strike. (As I remember, Tony Mendez was real young, and his dad was a labor contractor, his mom was the Chavista, no?... he later became a consultant to anti-union growers). And how old were you in 1966? And with a new family, a new baby ("Cesar"? -- grown now, and with children of his own?).... And they are asking you, can you make a 300 mile march to Sacramento, Yes? And "eat off the land", have faith that the people will feed you, yes? And house you, yes? What did your wife and parents think, that you were making history? Or that you were crazy! and all for \$5 a week? Would you have ever guessed, that day, that you would be thinking about it 40 years later?

And the start of the March, stopped by the police before we even got out of town? They were mean; did you think they might start using their clubs, or shooting? Had you had training for that?

I'm sorry if I sound like El Malcriado, interviewing you. But as I remember, the union was almost down and out, when 1966 began. And on Easter Sunday, four months later, we were on the world stage, "on the top of the world" as Leonardo de Caprio said, anything possible.... And if we want your grandson (or Antonio Banderas) to play your part in the movie, when Luis Valdez makes it, we have to have more details!....

Just joking, but I really am serious about preserving your memories of the March, starting with that meeting where the idea came up. When Cesar put together a team to come up with a good idea, they sure came up with a good one that time!

Viva la Causa, Doug Adair

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/12/04 (2)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

I can only speak for myself. I had given up listening to my own voice. I wasn't a farmworker. But I loved Cesar and my husband Lupe who had his strengths and very apparent limitations when it came to administrative detail. He had limited writing skills. His judgment was concrete yet transcended the cultural divide of his anglo wife. Our kids speak to the strengths of both of us. And yes I feel like I failed someone, Cesar, my husband, the farmworkers. Like Clark when he turned to the victims of 911, I knew too much to have been a part of what happened. Yes, Tom, we all bear some responsibility. Abby mentioned that she believes "Cesar had a high regard" for my thoughts. Unfortunately at that point I didn't know my own thoughts. I wonder how many others felt the same. There is no blame in this, only what have we learned. I respect the work of Mary McCartney and those who continue on. Lupe nightly watches over La Paz at his age of 74 yrs. My hope is that Cesar has transcended and learned from his former life, and in keeping with an "old soul" will continue the good fight, a search for enlightenment. But let us continue to examine, and learn. This may be our task. Que viva la union de los campesinos.

Kathy Murguia

Lorraine Agtang (Mascarinas) Greer, 6/13/04

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Here's a thought, for years volunteers came and then left doing a good deed for the farm workers and back to reality. The Union lacked the internal expertise and to organize farm workers outside of a campaign. To organize a community it takes vision, committed leadership, trained staff, and appropriate resources to get the job done. There were missing pieces required in building a Union - organizational need's that Cesar could not be responsible alone for providing.

Why didn't Cesar have a team of trusted individuals (be it the Board Members or friends) charged with creating organizational vision and structure? The things I would do different today. But this is what it's all about? Knowledge through growth from opportunity to try ideas, and experiencing success and on, and on. I remember the competition, the differences between volunteers and the farm workers. The only people who possibly could have had an effect to change the Union's direction back then would be the farm workers, me. I as a farm worker did have a genuine stake hold in the future of the Union. I would want to be a part of visioning a mission statement, organizational structure, administration/fiscal and most important organizational values. I would want to help decide how staff respond to members needs, future workers benefits, and how to involve the staff in organizational development.

The Union did not build or grow leadership among the farm workers in any systematic process for the long term. Did the leadership ever discuss the need for long term strategic planning to build a Union Local? There were missing elements needed for the Union's future success. There was no internal force to bring everyone together to share common ground. We all shared our love and compassion for a movement and none of us prepared to move to being a business.

Everyone had needs back then not right or wrong but different. I could see how Cesar must have been overwhelmed by activity around the UFW. As a human maybe Cesar did make mistakes, many of us made mistakes would we fight the same fights back then today? As a farm worker my only goal would be how do we move forward in constructing our Union to protect my future the future of my children?

There were other things good and bad the failures we all share.

Lorraine Agtang-Greer (Lencha)

1973 Grape Strike, Rodrigo Terronez Clinic, Agbayani Village, Farm Worker Elections through August 1977

Richard Ybarra, 6/12/04 (1)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

[Tom -] Seems to me that your offerings suggest or hint you were angry a long time before LeRoy's latest...In a curious sort of way it reminds me of who was one of the very few people that Boycott and Huelga did not like, long before any game that John Maher and Mimi Silbert first introduced to the UFW in 1975, but certainly in their protective game of life.....Lest ye forget, the union still carries on today and lots of people have worked there since our time, doing their best I would suspect (much as each of us here did during our time) and Marc Grossman is still an effective spokesperson for them....humble and \$64 million don't seem to fit well in that or the same sentence...

Richard

Carlos LeGerrette, 6/13/04 (1)

RE: Staff firings

I believed then, and still do today, that the women who worked in the movement could kick anyone's ass in a number of different ways. They could do it then, and I can imagine how creative that ass-kicking would be today. Sexism? I don't think so.

Carlos LeGerrette

Richard Ybarra, 6/12/04 (2)

RE: Staff firings

Carlos,

I thought you said you were going to ask or introduce the "what was your favorite huelga song of all time" notion....you said El Picket Sign, Huelga en General, This Little Light of Mine, Which Side Are You On, We Shall Not Be Moved, Cuu Cuu Roo Cuu Cuu (by Jessica or Joey Rubio), Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round, Solidarity Forever/ Solidaridad pa' Siempre, Deportee, Nosotros Venceremos/ We Shall Overcome..... My vote would be.....hard choice...but I will cast my vote for "When the union's inspiration through the workers blood shall run....todos los trabajadores quieren ya vivir en paz....."....

Richard

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/13/04(1)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

In my thinking it's not about humility or \$, nor about dogs and who they would trust. Just a thought, is everyone helping out this project? Pass the can. On the boycott, that along with putting one's body where your mouth was valued. For my part also Ricardo, Solidaridad was my favorite Huelga song... El las vinas de la uva, luchan por su libertad; Todos los trabajadores quieren ya vivir en paz... nos tenemos que luchar.... Sin Mas Kathy Murguia 1965-1983

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/13/04 (2)

RE: Staff Firings

[Carlos LeGerrette wrote]:

I can imagine how creative that ass-kicking would be today. Sexism? I don't think so.

Well, speaking about ass kicking, Carlos, do we really want to go there? I don't think so. It's my opinion we can agree that kids are special. And teenagers, especially girls can seriously kick ass these days. The question is do they want to? Kathy M.

Carlos LeGerrette, 6/13/04 (2)

RE: Staff firings

Reeeshard..... I don't remember any of what you said I said I was thinking or what I said I was going to do. However, in my state of mind, as soon as I said what I said I probably forgot what I said.

Re YOUR question re favorite song, and being the sentimentalist I am, my vote goes to Jessica Govea and Cuu Cuu Roo Cuu Cuu (your spelling). Jessica could also belt out with the best of them the other songs you listed.

Hasta,

Carlos LeGerrette
'66-'78

Richard Ybarra, 6/13/04 (3)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Kathy,

I agree with you.... That one is the one that still "gets me" whenever I hear it, even when played with the wrong words like "glory, glory hallelujah".... :)

Richard

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/13/04 (1)

RE: Staff firings

One of my all time favorites (I love all of Augie Lira's songs) is the one I used with fingerplay to teach my kids to count in Spanish when they were young: "Como a la una, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco, seis de la mañana, el sol caliente sale y con luz a todos los bana, de estos campos vienen trabajadores campesino, con un destino, con un destino, so campesinos de VERDAD!" (Add you own tildes and accents). Arriba companero, Carlos. sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano

Deborah Vollmer, 6/13/04

For whatever it may be worth, I definitely felt at the time that Cesar accepted differences of opinion better from men than from women. However, to keep all of this in perspective, there was a lot of sexism in society in general back then. . . . I know that there were times when Cesar would be more inclined to accept advice from Jerry Cohen than from me (of course that was also a function of Jerry having a lot more experience than I did). And this wasn't just about lawyers. I think Cesar may well have tried not to be sexist, but he couldn't help to some extent reflecting both his own Mexican-American culture, and the American culture at large. Sexism in American culture then was rampant, as was racism.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/13/04 (2)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Tom, *Tom*, **Tom**, mi amigo, Tom:

How can you mention Synanon denial, holocaust denial and Marc Grossman all in one breath? What were you thinking? You and I both know that the press was denied access to any happening in the union other than the things we chose to report, then and now. As a lawyer, you know better than most of us how certain question and answers are used especially by the press. They are extremely good at taking things out of context. It is not a question of hiding anything. Many organizations are careful with the press. Marc is and always has been a professional and above all an expert at dealing with the media.

sin mas,/ abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Kevin Michael Brown, 6/13/04 (1)

RE: Favorite Songs

I have to go with "Huelga en General!".... does anyone know who wrote it? MY memory is Luis Valdez, but it might have been su hermano, Daniel (aka Danny)???

Yo creo que es por el tipo.... cumbia? Me gusta mucho la musica Mejicana y lo escucho mucho.

I also keep the TV tuned to Univision if I'm not "watching" something.... Being "back" in Michigan, especially central, it is DIFFICULT to find Spanish-speakers to keep my lengua from getting rusty!

Con solidaridad y abrazos a todos,

Kevin Michael Brown, aka Gavino Miguel Moreno
Detroit, Delano, La Paz 69-73

Ellen Eggers, 6/13/04 (1)

RE: Relevant quote on "yes"

Chris Hartmire gave me this about 20 years ago, and it's stayed on my refrigerator ever since:

"A 'no' uttered from deepest conviction is better and greater than a 'yes' merely uttered to please, or what is worse, to avoid trouble." *Mahatma Gandhi*

Something to think about in the context of our friends and co-workers in the Union, over the years, who felt they had to speak up, for whatever reason. In a huge organization full of dedicated, caring people of conscience, but each unique, it's only natural that some would be able to say yes more consistently than others. But, according to Gandhi, those who say no, from a deep conviction, must be honored as well.

Rick Longinotti, 6/13/04

RE: Volunteers & Dissent

The following perspective expressed by Jose Gomez in a letter to Deborah Vollmer was very prevalent within the Union 30 years ago and I believe it contributed to its problems.

Jose wrote, "I think that you lost sight of your role in the movement. You were not a farm worker. You went as a volunteer to help empower farm workers. When decisions did not go your way, you should have been willing to give Cesar and the farm workers the benefit of your doubt. Any volunteer who couldn't do that should have left. That doesn't mean that volunteers shouldn't have spoken up if they felt that something unjust or unworkable was coming down. It does mean that a volunteer should have accepted the verdict and allowed the movement to go on, with or without him or her."

I agree wholeheartedly that farmworkers should be the central actors in making the decisions which affect their lives. I agree that volunteers need to be mindful not to use the relatively greater power that their background gives them to diminish the power of the farmworkers.

I disagree with the idea that equates farmworker self-determination with deferring to Cesar's leadership. (Tell me, Jose, if that's not what you meant.) This online discussion has given me the impression that there are many instances in which self-determination for farmworkers was undermined by Cesar: firing ranch committee presidents who disagreed with him; sticking to an unresponsive hiring hall policy in the early years; the failure to establish locals within the union; and failure to delegate authority (Crosby Milne writes of his amazement in his essay that he "stopped counting at 60" the number of people who reported directly to Cesar.)

Jose, your own story of holding your ground with Cesar over a difference in opinion illustrates to me the difficulty of getting a hearing from Cesar without threatening to resign. Would you agree? The stories shared in this online discussion lead me to doubt that Cesar was any more responsive to dissent by farmworkers than he was by his closest co-workers. Isn't that true?

Jose, you suggest in this context (Deborah's dissent on issues such as deporting aliens and on Cesar's trip to the Philippines) that Deborah should have given Cesar "the benefit of the doubt" or she should have quit. Are you suggesting that her status as a non-farmworker did not give her standing to continue to challenge such policies? If so, I believe that that attitude contributed to a diminished accountability in the UFW leadership, which had tragic results. I'm guessing that you hold such an attitude out of a belief that dissent can be disruptive and demoralizing within an organization. I can empathize with that perspective. Dissent can appear messy. It will appear messy when we don't see the needs behind it. What comes across to me, especially in the example of Susan Drake's letter to Cesar (which I read as a loyal appeal from a friend) is the difficulty Cesar had of hearing the deep and loyal commitment motivating the dissent. With the benefit of hindsight, I don't see how suppression of our (the volunteers) own voice served the self-determination of farmworkers.

I believe that we are all human beings first and our subordinate roles within organizations do not over-ride the value of our dissent. That means that where we perceive tragically misguided policies we need to speak up boldly and persistently. I appreciate hearing of your dissent, Jose, as well as those of Deborah, Susan, and many others.

Rick Longinotti, 75-76 San Francisco, Delano

Ellen Eggers, 6/13/04 (2)

RE: Staff firings

Thanks so much Abby!!! I have that song on the album that Teatro Campesino put out years ago and I loved it, but wasn't sure of all the words. Yay!

Ellen

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/13/04 (3)

RE: Staff firings

Don't go by me. After singing both songs over and over this morning, I realized I was singing some of the lyrics incorrectly... it should have been ninos campesinos and "la raza llena de gloria." Oh, well. Let's pull out the cd instead... and everybody says, "Yes, Abby, please!", see ya'/ abby de richgrove

Kevin Michael Brown, 6/13/04 (2)

RE: Teatro "album"???? heh

I would LOVE to get a copy of that "album (do you know what a 17 year old would say to this? "huh?"

Thanks, Ellen, for letting me know it exists! Does anyone know where I can get a copy? Could someone tape or "burn" me one?

Thanks!

Kevin M. Brown

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/13/04 (4)

RE: Teatro "album"???? heh

The UFW sells it through "taller" (graphics dept.); check @ www.ufw.org. Huelga En General is on the cd, plus a lot of others not necessarily the Lira, D. Valdez songs. Thanks to my grandson, I have a perfectly good but empty cd case. abby/ r/ d/ lp

Jerry Kay, 4/13/04

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

FAVORITE UNION SONG? As a Jew coming from Hollywood Augie Lira's Peregrinacion (sp?) about the March to Sacramento captured me from the first until today. But it was not a song for us to sing together. I was first inspired to look seriously at La Causa through El Teatro. I loved Huelga En General, too, and Yo Soy Campesino. I think the songs that came from La Causa were often the best.

Jerry Kay, 69-73

Richard Ybarra, 6/13/04 (4)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

In a discussion with one of our former colleagues the topic of when the game was introduced came up.

I related the following...

Just after the Coachella strike and before the Gallo march Fred Ross Jr. introduced us to John Maher of Delancey Street. After a picket line in North Beach he came over to visit at Father Bill O'Donnell's home, complete with Irish green colored scarf, his customary cap and a red, black and white checkered blazer. Many of you know of the close working and personal relationships that developed. Over the course of the next year John and Mimi, whom we met later, introduced us to the game at Delancey Street. We watched a few times and John explained it to us as well. He said it was as much about on-going or daily work place issues as it was about therapy for some obvious reasons.

He also explained the rules (no violence, threats of violence and only a grain of truth). During the 1000 mile march in mid 1975 (for those who were not with the union then, Cesar and a handful of folks walked the state to announce or start the ALRA campaigns that were to begin in the fall), we were accompanied by a group of no less than five Delancey Streeters at all times. Sometime between San Luis Obispo and the southern Salinas Valley, and after a particularly grueling 15 mile day that included walking the Cuesta Grade, the Delancey Streeters asked us for and we played the game. It was work day stuff ("Richard, you walk around with that note pad like you have something important there and we get to feed the dogs" is one I remember vividly from Tommy Grapski). We played it a few more times until we got to back into "civilization" and we all pretty much stayed good friends. The players included Cesar, Henry Aguilar and his lady friend Sylvia, Tommy Grapski, Glen and others from Delancey, Paul Hernandez, George Nee (now Rhode Island AFL-CIO Sec-Treas), Mike Ybarra and Panduro, who observed because it was in English.

There was one more game incident in Soledad though. During our march there that day the police chief, Juan Saavedra, gave us the power to deputize 25 people for the day. Of course the Delancey Streeters, and some of our folks, were quite amused at having police power. During that night's game, which was the last, big and very strong Glen _____ demanded that we place Paul Hernandez under arrest, "cuz this afternoon, he stole my soda!"

Richard Y.

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/13/04

RE: Favorite Songs

I always liked "Brown Eyed Children of the Sun" by Daniel Valdez because of its haunting melody and the song's sentiments:

Up to California from Mexico you come
To the Sacramento Valley to toil in the sun
Your wife and seven children are working every one
And what will you be giving to your brown-eyed children of the sun?

Your face is lined and wrinkled and your age is 41
Your back is bent from picking like your dying time has come

Your children's eyes are smiling, their lives have just begun
And what will you be giving to your brown-eyed children of the sun?

You marched on Easter Sunday, to the Capitol you come
To fight for union wages and your fight has just begun
You're a proud man and you're a free man and your heritage is won
And that you can be giving to your brown-eyed children of the sun...

Terry (Vasquez) Scott

1973-1988

Various Boycott cities and various La Paz assignments

Nancy Grimley Carleton, 6/13/04

RE: Favorite Songs

Terry, this has always been one of my favorite farmworker songs too! I still have the Daniel Valdez record with the recording. One of our super supporters, Jeff Richman, and his huelga band made up a songbook of songs we would sing on the picket lines, and this one was a favorite request, along with "Union Maid" and "Huelga en General." I was thinking of typing the words myself and sending them to the list, and I really appreciate you for having done so!

Nancy Carleton

Boycott Staff 1975-1976 (San Jose with two months in the San Fernando Valley)

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/13/04

RE: Permit me

En la ira de las viñas luchan por su libertad
Todos los trabajadores,
Quieren ya vivir en paz.
Y por eso compañeros, nos tenemos que juntar
Con Solidaridad.

Viva la Causa!

hope lopez - '66-74

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/13/04 (5)

RE: Favorite Songs

[Terry] – That's a great one. My husband's favorite is "El Picket Sign" and my son likes "Trilingo":

Trilingo, lingo, lingo. Trilingo lingo la, que bonitas, que bonitas, las Chicanas por aca!

Doug Adair, you probable can sing this stanza to el picket sign:

Un ranchero se murio y otro se hizo abuelo,
El picket sign, el picket sign, lo cargo por todo el dia.
Los rancheros de *Coachella*, se encuentran en un apuro,
Nomás oyen hablar de Chavez le comienza a sudar el
Cubanito soy señores, cubanito muy formal
Cubanito siempre he sido aunque usted lo tome a mal,
el picket sign, el picket sign,
Lo cargo por todo el dia...

abby/ richgrove/ delano

Jeff Richman, 6/13/04

RE: Favorite Songs

Thank you, Nancy, for remembering the "Huelga Band." We first played at Stanford University Memorial Church, on March 1, 1975, immediately before Cesar spoke to supporters. We played at many picket lines in front of Safeway stores, and liquor stores carrying Gallo wines, in and around the Palo Alto area. I remember that we also went to Salinas to play for a gathering of farmworkers at the UFW office on Wood Street, in late November 75. "Huelga en General" was the most requested song in the songbook, which also included several selections by Victor Jara and Bob Dylan, and great illustrations by Mark Sharwood. Singing certainly helped the morale on the picket lines.

I also remember that Jim Hirsch, a wonderfully energetic organizer in Palo Alto, asked me to make red kites with the black UFW eagle, to fly at rallies. I remember taking about a dozen of them to Salinas, Summer 1975. Unfortunately, I'd only test flown the "prototype" kite (made of cloth), which served as a pattern for the others (made of red plastic bags) we took. Many of the kites, flown by excited kids at the Sherwood School that day, circled, entangled and crashed soon after they were launched. I did manage to keep the prototype aloft throughout most of the rally proceedings. I believe Cesar even commented about it when he spoke at the podium.

Jeff Richman
Boycott Staff in SF Bay Area 1975-76

Donna Haber Kornberg, 6/14/04

RE: Some tough issues

I apologize that I am a bit late commenting on this, but I am very far behind on reading all these listserv emails.

OF COURSE there was racism in Delano in the early days of the union -- in any case, when I worked there 1966-68. Racism was endemic throughout the country at that time, and as all of us in Delano were 'ordinary' (as opposed to 'extraordinary,' with the possible exception of Cesar) people, there was inevitably racism among us, including, Marshall, anti-semitism. That is simply reality; I think it literally fantastical to pretend that the community in Delano existed outside the prevailing American norms.

I certainly picked up a disdainful attitude toward the Filipinos. I think that it was a combination of racism (yes, even on Cesar's part -- I worked quite closely with Cesar for a time and he was also human), annoyance that AWOC had begun a strike at an inconvenient time for the NFWA, and disrespect for the AWOC/AFL-CIO organizing efforts.

I felt quite sorry for the single Filipino men, who hadn't been allowed to marry because of Californian miscegenation laws and their financial inability to bring over any Filipino women. I liked Philip and was delighted to hear that he had found happiness with you, Deborah. I never met you, but I wish that I had, and that I had been able to see you and Philip happily married.

Best, to all,

Donna Haber Kornberg (Delano 1966-68, London 1970-74)

Jake Horwitz, 6/14/04

LeRoy,

I am enjoying all this back and forth, but perhaps the sisters and brothers could observe the passing of Ray Charles by getting off the Synanon thing. I think we all understand it was crucial for many, overdone for most, but is it the end of the story or just a spicy chapter?

My own very unimportant impression was that sometimes people in Delano in the '70s were bored and depressed. Having no table tennis equipment, they played The Game. I have no idea whether or not it was important.

I never heard of a healthy grown man with access to medical care to die from one diamondback rattler bite, and diamondbacks are the heavyweights, not those slippety kind you got in California. Sick yes, dead no.

Jake Horwitz (New York, Coachella, 1968-1973; now in Chapel Hill, NC)

Julie Finkelstein Butcher, 6/14/04

RE: Keep Your Eyes on the Prize

I've been feeling like a voyeur but have been waiting for a good time to chime in. I was not a volunteer. Besides following my dad around the supermarket in NJ as he used to pile frozen roasts atop non-union grapes than act shocked when the manager answered that question in the negative, I worked a campaign, much later in 1980 in Hayward, & would have signed up for the (by then) \$10 a week, but apparently someone thought I was "too much a hippie" to "hire" me (can someone actually be hired as a volunteer?)

I've been reluctant to reveal this as I worry that LeRoy would cut me off now that you guys have become a big part of my daily e-mail life.

I don't know but a couple of you'all -- Sharon Delugach & Larry Frank -- I knew Rob Lavis & quite fortunately I got to know Max(imo) Avalos here in LA, where I work for SEIU Local 347. And Pat Bonner from my CISPES days! Hey, Pat! South Gate, huh?

I've used butcher paper throughout my entire organizing career, set goals, done debriefings, house meetings & reminder calls -- all without quite realizing their genesis. (One of my best reminder call stories is about John Brown @ 6 am using two phones & hearing people thank him for calling.) I have organizing theories I've never heard or read, shades of Saul Alinsky, about organizers being invisible. Who knew where it all came from?!

Please know what your work meant, means. The most lasting change is not sudden; it is incremental. Now's the time to look back & recognize how, much you accomplished.

OK. That's long enough.

Now think about this one: where is the next generation of organizers going to come from?

Every **really good** organizer I know learned their trade in or around the Farmworkers union. Directly or indirectly, inadvertently or verterntly - you all trained an entire generation of organizers. And now that for the first time in our lifetimes organizing is a growth industry, who's training organizers?

Just wanted to share my slightly distant observations & encourage you all, regardless how you feel about it, to understand just how much your work w/ the UFW has influenced, that your collective legacy can be glimpsed in the empowering work being done by a union organizer w/ a nose ring who has no idea why s/he is making yet one more reminder call...

Thank you -- all!

Julie Butcher (nee Finkelstein)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/14/04 (1)

RE: Augustine Lira, "Alma"

We have volunteers who traveled touring with the Teatro. This excerpt is from the "Alma" web site:

Lira hooked up with Valdez and the two began writing plays. Using a *commedia dell'arte* style of broad caricature, the troupe staged dramas in the fields that lampooned the growers and ended with the farm workers gaining better pay and living conditions. "The farm workers had never seen these powerful people made fun of before," said Lira. "We showed them they could fight back."

The troupe's actos, or little skits, were a cross between Brecht and Cantinflas that utilized music, melodrama and humor to convey pain and disillusionment. Eventually the troupe left the fields to perform in nearby cities, taking their message about the farm worker's plight to new audiences.

They ended up in New York, staying in borrowed apartments and existing on the \$5 a week paid them by the farm workers' union, the same wage allotted pickets. Their off-Broadway performances were reviewed in Newsweek, the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. The company resurrected the kind of people's theater, that Clifford Odets had used to rally urban factory workers in the 1930s.

sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano

Mary Mocine, 6/14/04 (1)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Dear Richard,

What's with the veiled and not so veiled personal hostility? It ill-becomes you. This is the second time that you have hinted at personal animosity and not been willing to be straight-forward. Please either say what and who you mean or say nothing. I find myself discounting what you say because of your unwillingness to be open about it.

yours, Mary

Doug Adair, 6/14/04 (1)

RE: Augustine Lira, "Alma"

In a message dated 6/13/04 . . . [Abby Flores Rivera] writes:

Doug Adair, you probable can sing this stanza to el picket sign:

*Un rancharo se murio y otro se hizo abuelo,
El picket sign, el picket sign, lo cargo por todo el dia.
Los rancharos de **Coachella**, se encuentran en un apuro,
Nomás oyen hablar de Chavez le comienza a sudar el
Cubanito soy senores, cubanito muy formal
Cubanito siempre he sido aunque usted lo tome a mal,
el picket sign, el picket sign,
Lo cargo por todo el dia... abby/ richgrove/ delano*

My Spanish was never good enough to get all the double entendres, but as I remember, "El Picket Sign" had many x-rated verses that would get sung at parties but not at public rallies. And the actual words written down, the punch lines, were mild, compared the words that came to mind as the farm workers were singing it.

Augie Lira is still singing, has his own Teatro and Cultural Center in Fresno (Gil Padilla is on their board). Their group is called "Alma". I have lost his e-mail and web page but web-savy searchers could post it for us. The last CD I got from them, "Siempre He Estado Aqui", has "La Peregrinacion", his haunting song of the March from 1966; plus tributes to Los Zapatistas and a reworking of "Deportee", the Woody Guthrie/Joan Baez ballad, beautiful music.

Joan Baez gave a concert in Philadelphia in the fall of 1970, after we had signed the grape contracts and were starting the lettuce boycott. Harriett Teller suggested we present her with a box of union harvested grapes, a public thanking to her and all who had helped on the grape boycott. We got through to her managers, and she made arrangements that Juanna Trujillo, a beautiful striker from the Strawberries in Salinas (and later Richie Ross's wife -- he was the first leader of the lettuce boycott in Philly), would walk down the aisle with the box, in the darkened auditorium, 10,000 fans watching with the light on her, and present the box, and some words of thanks, and Joan holding up the box to show the union eagle, and then sang "Deportee", people in the darkened auditorium lighting their cigarette lighters and swaying with the music. It still brings tears to my eyes.

Doug Adair, 1957-1989

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/14/04 (2)

RE: Augustine Lira, "Alma"

Thank you, Doug, for the moving story of Joan Baez and the workers. "Deportee" could make anyone cry. My favorite of hers is "Gracias a la Vida." I used to sing it to my dad. Yes, "El Piquet Sign" could only be sung among friends. The double entendre could come as an unexpected shock to many, especially if it was sung after such pure songs as "De Colores" or "La Peregrinacion"; but it really did "sock-it" to the growers. Their versatility in writing (Augie and others) about our struggle is to their credit. Laughter was important, too. Take care, abby/richgrove/ delano

Sharon Delugach, 6/14/04

RE: Favorite Songs

[Jeff Richman wrote:

Thank you, Nancy, for remembering the "Huelga Band." We first played at Stanford University Memorial Church, on March 1, 1975, immediately before Cesar spoke to supporters. We played at many picket lines in front of Safeway stores, and liquor stores carrying Gallo wines, in and around the Palo Alto area. I remember that we also went to Salinas to play for a gathering of farmworkers at the UFW office on Wood Street, in late November 75. "Huelga en General" was the most requested song in the songbook, which also included several selections by Victor Jara and Bob Dylan, and great illustrations by Mark Sharwood. Singing certainly helped the morale on the picket lines.]

What a lovely story. We used to sing a lot on our Echo Park picket lines and there was almost always a guitar. We also used to raise money (usually to pay off our organizer, Mike Mooring's, parking tickets) by having hootenannies and spaghetti dinners. I learned Spanish (to the extent that I did) through those great songs, and of course picket line Spanish. (I remember something that Jasso – can't remember his last name – taught us: when a Latino crossed the picket line, we would say with despair and derision, "Que pasa con esa 'raza unida'... Echeverria, ven por su gente!")

But back to the songs – it was a source of great pride to be able to sing every verse of Huelga en General without a song sheet! Has anyone mentioned Pastures of Plenty? One of my very favorites.

Kevin Michael Brown, 6/14/04

RE: Augustine Lira, "Alma"

* * * *

* * * I didn't know that [Augustin] Lira had "cofounded" Teatro Campesino con Luis Valdez!

Kevin 69-73

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/14/04 (3)

RE: Augustine Lira, "Alma"

* * * [W]here are you, Patricia [Wells Solorzano]? Perhaps you are out there? Talk to us, mujer. When my sister, Alma (Diaz), attended Northridge (same time you did, Pat) she didn't have the money for one of the books for her Chicano Studies class but aced her exam; it was about the Teatro Campesino and the characters portrayed in the songs. She knew them all from singing the songs and from seeing the "actos"/ skits performed at our picket lines and at our meetings. Nice to be studying your own history, no?

* * * *

sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano

Marshall Ganz, 6/14/04 (1)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Gee, Richard. Who might you be talking about with respect to Boycott and Huelga? Do you only have the courage to say what you think directly in your private emails to Leroy that you accidentally share with the list? Do you think it shows how sly you are? You would better serve yourself if you refrained from your snide remarks about people with whom you disagree, challenging their ideas rather than their dignity. The disrespect you show for others is the kind of behavior that the game legitimated within the union, ultimately dishonoring those who engage in it, rather than their victims. Marshall

Joel Glick, 6/14/04

RE: Remembering Olivia Herrera

Due to responsibilities in contract negotiations for my NEA local as well as end-of-the-year teacher stuff, I'm running about two weeks behind in reading the contributions to the Documentation Project. So I belatedly read the moving tribute to Olivia Herrera posted by Marc Coleman. I lived in and around Long Beach until the very late 70's, and had the pleasure to work with Olivia and her family on the UFW Boycott, the Kraco strike and other community struggles. Olivia was always there to provide her love and solidarity in the fight for social justice and political empowerment. I'm happy to hear that her daughter Amelia is carrying on her mother's fine work.

Joel Glick
(1970-1972)

Richard Ybarra, 6/14/04

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Marshall,

God Bless You too! You are quite the master of the smokescreen. Maybe you learned that from the Game, that you must have played much more than I. So now it seems you are the keeper of courage. Bark up another tree on that one. On barking and bites, I have had a great exchange directly with the someone who was bitten by one of the dogs.

The last time we spoke I remember telling you very directly how I felt and your answer on your ideas as I recall was a rather weak one, just as I did communicate with you quite directly in a much kinder and thoughtful vein in an e mail to you following your personal tragedy, which you chose not to respond to or acknowledge in any form.

It would likewise be good if you might somehow find it in your own heart to take your own advice on snide personal remarks to those living and dead.

Richard

Mary Mocine, 6/14/04 (2)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

I was at La Paz the day the limo came. We were hosting some folks from the Dept of Industrial Relations re jurisdiction on pesticides. We were considering taking or had taken the position that jurisdiction should be with Health and they came to hear our side and to lobby to keep jurisdiction. We were at lunch and the limo came. Cesar said it was the best he could do, that Dederich had wanted to send a helicopter.

Mary

Tom Dalzell, 6/14/04 (1)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Do you remember when that was? t

Jackie (Brown) Davis, 6/14/04

RE: songs

Absolutely not a Union song, but I was first exposed to “La Llorona” (am I spelling it right?) on the picket line and fell in love with the haunting melody long before I understood the words. Whenever I am in a place to make this suggestion, I do and I think of the dusty fields where I first heard it.

Jackie Davis
1971-1974

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/14/04

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Such animosity amongst people who moved on behalf of something they believed in very much – recognition of the importance of and justice for farmworkers not just from the Central Valley, but our movement touched people across the country. There are so many resentments, the thought of getting off this listserve has surfaced several times. Can’t we all agree that there were good times and bad times, and in spite of all, those of us who are still here today didn’t die, so we must be the better for it? It surely sounds as if many of us went on to happy, successful lives. Can’t we all be satisfied that we each of us contributed our own piece of wisdom, or whatever, to the causa, let the past lie like sleeping dogs and work from today on?

Joaquin Murguia, 6/14/04 (1)

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN HANDED

Unfortunately this is exactly the kind of stuff that created such a wide rift within the union and La Paz. Rather than engaging in meaningful exchange it seemed to drift into back biting and immature nonsense.

How sad that even though so much time has passed, the petty attitudes that brought down the union remain.

Joaquin Murguia

Jerry Brown, 6/14/04

RE: EVEN-HANDED SCHMEVEN-HANDED

Dear Graciela,

Thanks for your wisdom.

May I suggest that it is time to stop dwelling in the past and to spend our precious time defeating George Bush in November, so that the farm workers movement, and every other good cause we all care about, will have a future.

Jerry Brown, Miami Beach, Florida
(Delano, Toronto, Miami - '66-'76)

Cathy Adams (Lacinak), 6/14/04

To all - I have been fascinated reading all of the postings for the past several weeks. I have also connected with some folks like the Tramatomas, Chris Schneider, Patty Park from the old Toronto boycott days, who I was very happy to hear from and about. I have seen many names of those I knew peripherally who I am glad to hear news of. I have thought much about what is being said and done here, I think it is a great event that is occurring. But I can't take the sarcasm and pain that is becoming more and more prominent in the postings. I don't know Richard or Abby, but I worked with Marshall, not always on the best terms, in Toronto, and watched where he went in the union later. I know, despite my differences with him, that many if not all of the accusations leveled at him are untrue and hurtful.. and what is the point? Cesar was not a saint, the union was not perfect, the game was destructive and bad things happened to a lot of good people. Purges were real and lots of people suffered. Hopefully somewhere in all that, farm workers benefited. I

am somewhat confident that some good came of all the energy and work that was expended. This is way too complicated to have a true and false side, right and wrong, black and white. The union was a living breathing phenomenon of its own where many of us began to grow up and find our way to Our various life callings, hopefully having been of some service to the farm workers we set out to help. I wish some healing could happen here. Cathy Adams (Lacinak) Toronto 73 to 77, La Paz 77-78

Joaquin Murguia, 6/14/04 (2)

RE: Welcome to the "nfwalero" mailing list

LeRoy,

Thank you for allowing me to participate. I feel compelled to add to the discussion with regard to Synanon as I was one of the original twelve who went to Badger to learn the game.

It was during a game at Synanon that I chose to alter my path from higher education and return to the Financial Management Department to work with Sister Florence Zweber.

Through my experiences both at Synanon and La Paz, I came to understand the power of the game, first as a tool for building community, then as a tool for destroying community.

The community building part came from the equalizing effect that the game had. It gave those who were in less powerful positions a forum in which to voice concerns without fear of retaliation, especially when speaking out against Cesar and the elite in La Paz. The community destruction came about when the retaliation began as the game expanded beyond those who were trained at Synanon.

It is an unfortunate consequence that rapid duplication diminishes quality. Just take a look at any fax that has been re-faxed and faxed again. The quality deteriorates and eventually, the original meaning is lost and becomes useless.

For my part, I stepped away from the game when I began to see this occurring and was labeled by the powerbrokers in La Paz. The label eventually led to my estrangement both within the community and more particularly with Cesar, with the end result being my departure in 1979.

I look back and don't regret my decision to participate in the game. My only regret is that I chose not to fight those who sought to undermine and isolate me and speak more boldly about the destructive path that the game was on.

The game came to be a forum for "power tripping," and unfortunately, the biggest power trippers ended up coming from the first two groups of individuals who were trained at Synanon. It was those, more than any others within the "inner circle" that bare responsibility for the cessation of volunteerism at La Paz and the unions eventual drift into relative obscurity.

Cesar, the power trippers and La Paz eventually become so isolated that, much like the Soviet Union of the 80's, it collapsed under its own weight.

We can sit back and blame Cesar for this or that, but the fact of the matter is that each of us individually was the union. Without us, Cesar would never have been more than another community service worker. We must accept our own responsibility for not challenging the cult of personality that began to surround Cesar in the mid-70's. Though, even if we had, and some did only to be labeled "assholes," myself included, it may not have made the least bit of difference.

There are those that remain and hang on and try to maintain the Cesar Chavez cult of personality rather than focusing on what it takes to be a true labor union. Can anyone imagine what unionism would be today if the UAW had continued to focus on its early leaders rather than the auto worker? The result would have been exactly what we see happened to the UFW.

Joaquin Murguia
1967-1979

Lorraine Agtang (Mascarinas) Greer, 6/14/04 (1)

RE: Some tough issues

I appreciate your sharing history of the Filipino's struggle to be a part of America. All the early Manongs including my Father, uncles and their many friends have all passed away. I was lucky that my Dad met my Mother and married raising seven children. I can say my Father was a happy man until his death (@106 years) proud of his family. This was not true for many of his friends and most of the Filipino's of their era who remained single.

It was sad to see this group of individuals come to the US and become rich instead found posters in public establishments that said, "No Dogs of Filipino's Allowed". Then the Hearst Newspaper showing diagrams validating that Filipino's had tails. My Dad told me stories how he and friends lived in labor camps and that several times a month there would be raids by Anglo men with bats drunk and angry would beat the workers. This first group of Filipinos were children of the WWI my Dad and friends came over in about 1895. These men were the workers many had no education my Dad could barely read and write.

Many of these Manongs lived in labor camps all their lives they would die and their mattresses would be filled with cash since they did not trust the American banking system. The growers and foremen used to open up stores (company stores) in the labor camps selling small items at 2-3 times the actual cost in a store. Items like soap, bread, candy would be sold and a list of the items bought would be used to take money directly from the Manongs pay checks. This was also true in the arrangement for prostitutes as entertainment. My Uncle would tell me how some of the men did not receive a pay check by the end of the week.

Thus, reason the Paulo Agbayani Retirement Village at Forty Acres.

Phillip Vera Cruz was a gentle soul with a warm spirit and the writing skills to paint a picture of the journey he and other Filipino brothers experienced. Phillip wrote this beautiful poem that was in 1973 later put to music.

Profits Enslave the World - By Phillip Vera Cruz

While still across the ocean
I heard of the USA
So thrilled by wild imagination
I left through Manila Bay

Then on my way I thought and wondered
What my future would be
I gambled parental care and love
In search for human liberty

But beautiful bright pictures
Were half of the whole story
Reflections of great wealth and power
In the land of slavery

Minorities in shanty towns
Disgraceful spots for all to see
In the enviable garden of Eden
In the land of affluence and poverty

Since then I was a hungry stray dog
Too busy to keep myself alive
It seems equality and freedom
Can't be where billionaires thrive

A lust for power causes oppression
To rob the poor in senseless greed

The wealthy few's excessive profits
Enslave the world in need

END

(Debbie what was the year it was written?)

I will always remember our Manongs, my uncles and Father.

God Bless, Lorraine (Lorenza/ Lencha)

1973 Grape Strike, Rodrigo Terronez Clinic, Agbayani Village, Farm Worker Elections through August 1977

Lorraine Agtang (Mascarinas) Greer, 6/14/04 (2)

RE: September, 1965

Question: As I recall the story, after the Pilipino farm workers went on strike September 8th it was Cesar who decided to join with the Filipinos. Against those close to Cesar who did not want to join-up with the "Filipinos". Story has it that Cesar told those around him that they could do what they like but that he would join his Filipino Brothers. Other's then joined in with Cesar.

Lorraine

Fred Hirsch, 6/14/04

RE: Reply to Joaquin Murguia

Right on, Joaquin!

"We must accept our own responsibility for not challenging the cult of personality that began to surround Cesar in the mid-70's. Though, even if we had, and some did only to be labeled "assholes," myself included, it may not have made the least bit of difference.

"There are those that remain and hang on and try to maintain the Cesar Chavez cult of personality rather than focusing on what it takes to be a true labor union. Can anyone imagine what unionism would be today if the UAW had continued to focus on its early leaders rather than the auto worker? The result would have been exactly what we see happened to the UFW."

I would have omitted "in the mid-70's." The cult was present in earlier days.

Fred

Doug Adair, 6/14/04 (2)

RE: Thermal salute

Dear Joaquin,

I was very interested to read your contribution to the discussion. I never lived in La Paz, never played the game, kind of tired of so much of the focus being on this period. In a sense, it is almost like we are gaming Cesar now, and he can't defend himself. So many things seemed to go wrong after the move to La Paz.

Anyway, it was great running into you, a while back, and Kathy has promised that when she comes down to visit, she'll try to get us together, but you don't have to wait for her visit to come down and say hello. And if you have a family, we have a pool... It would be great to see you again, talk about the good old days... We're right on old Hwy. 86, about 6 miles south of Coachella.... Doug Adair, Pato

Doug Adair, 6/14/04 (3)

RE: September, 1965

In a message dated 6/14/04 [Lorraine Agtang-Greer] writes:

Question: As I recall the story, after the Filipino farm workers went on strike September 8th it was Cesar who decided to join with the Filipinos. Against those close to Cesar who did not want to join-up with the "Filipinos". Story has it that Cesar told those around him that they could do what they like but that he would join his Filipino Brothers. Other's then joined in with Cesar.

Dear Lorraine,

I think that is a way over-simplification, non-urban legend. As I remember, there were Filipinos in the NFWA (Sergio Tumbaga) and Mexicanos in AWOC (i.e. Manuel Vasquez and his extended family and many others), though yes, the two different organizations were predominantly of the separate groups of workers.

When the (predominantly Filipino) workers of AWOC went out on strike, they made no effort to coordinate with the NFWA, and then demanded that the NFWA members honor their picket lines. The NFWA membership was taken by surprise.

The on -the -scene leadership of the NFWA was Cesar, Gilbert, and Dolores, and all of them knew Larry Itliong, had known him for years, had tremendous respect for him. But they also knew Al Green, Larry's boss, who operated out of Stockton, and they had no confidence in him, feared he might be using the Filipino grape pickers to make a flash in the pan, and would then walk away from the (predictable) defeat. In fact, Al Green did just that, that winter of 1965. He pulled out some of his best organizers, and shifted his budget priorities to a new organizing campaign in the citrus, up around Lindsay and Exeter, and made an alliance with the Teamsters, (who actually benefited from the move, won some elections in some packing sheds). Green had written off the grape strike by early 1966, and forbid his members to participate in the March to Sacramento. That is why Larry did not participate. He was under orders. Andy Imutan and Rudy Reyes and Manuel Vasquez and the others from AWOC who did participate, were doing so against official AFL-CIO policy, as laid down by Al Green.

In addition to the profound distrust of Al Green, the NFWA also had disagreements with the structure of AWOC. The AWOC organizing strategy was to sign up crew foremen and labor contractors, and then these guys would sign up the crews. Much of the leadership of AWOC were foremen, some of them wonderful people, closely attuned to the thinking of their crews. However, the NFWA didn't allow labor contractors, was against the whole top-down system. And the talk over in our office was that the foremen-leaders of AWOC would settle for very limited goals, specifically to try to protect the camps, in which most of the Filipino workers lived, a focus on those companies with camps. And there was always a tension between the crews of local workers and the camp crews. Which crew got laid off first as the season wound down? Which got recalled first in the pruning? One side or the other was going to cry "favoritism." The NFWA was predominantly local families.

The discussion was not whether or not to support the Filipino brothers, but how? And how to protect the interests of our members, which might not be exactly the same as those of the AWOC membership. No one in our office proposed we join AWOC, which is what Al Green might have wanted. And the leadership agreed that the decision should be made by the general membership, so it took time to organize a membership meeting. To the Filipinos on strike, it must have seemed ages between Sept. 8, when they went on strike, and Sept. 16, when the NFWA voted to join the strike (and Sept. 20, when we joined the picket lines). During that time, there was a lot of confusion, NFWA members crossing the AWOC picket lines, honoring their picket lines, going out on strike themselves, wildcatting... The final decision of the membership was to go on strike in solidarity with, but also independent of, the Filipinos and AWOC. Even then, there was no clear understanding of what would happen if a grower did decide to negotiate. With whom? Marshall's discussion of the Schenley negotiations has a lot of information that I didn't know. As I remember, it had been NFWA members who had been certified as strikers at Schenely, but they invited Fred Abad and maybe other Pinoys to participate in the negotiations, just as we invited AWOC member Manuel Vasquez to lead the March -- a symbol of solidarity. "Our" captain, as I remember, elected by our members, was Roberto Bustos.

Of course there was some racism among every ethnic group. But Cesar and all those close to him were unanimous, that any successful union in farm labor had to be multi-ethnic, multi-racial.

Doug Adair, 1965-1987

Angie Fa, 6/14/04

RE: Favorite Songs, Eyes on the Prize

I really love all of the songs that have been mentioned so far, but some of the songs written by later generations of boycott organizers are pretty special too. UFW boycott organizers and folksingers Steve and Pete Jones rewrote the folk song, Crawdad, with these new lyrics to reflect some of these tensions of trying to maintain a romantic relationship while doing demanding union work:

You say you want to see me more honey.
You say you want to see me more babe.
You say you want to see me more,
Then let's go walking door to door (to talk about the grape boycott).
Honey, oh babe, please be mine.

You get posters and I'll get tape honey.
You get posters and I'll get tape babe.
You get posters and I'll get tape,
We'll slap them up and stop them grapes.
Honey, oh babe, please be mine.

Staff could react to some of their problems, like a file card box full of challenging supporters, with laughter, singing another verse from the Jones song re-write:

Some people drive me up the wall honey.
Some people drive me up the wall babe.
Some people drive me up the wall,
and only ninety more to call.

Honey, oh babe, please be mine.

At one point Steve and Pete did a tape and record, is a cd out there too now? They wrote so many good ones like the Gallo song, "If it's from Modesto it's a Gallo wine, you gotta take that bottle back..." I think they also did a song that Peter Paul and Mary did on PBS the other night. Was it "If Dolores Huerta can go to jail, than I can do it too?"

I remember wandering around the 1975 convention with a guitar and hanging out for awhile with some of the older Filipino farm workers and others. People shared music. They also took songs and rewrote them with union lyrics. Like Me and Bobby McGee, "Somewhere near Salinas Lord I let her slip away, working on some Chavez picket line." Or morning has broken, rewritten with a verse about the dawn of Cesar's union day.

But also wanted to respond to the posting earlier today, about keeping our eyes on the prize, about where is the next generation of organizers going to come from? Without the UFW training thousands of organizers, many unions like the union I work for, the California Nurses Association (CNA), have to train their own organizers from scratch. But when the UFW was paying room, board and \$5-10 a week, thousands of organizers could be hired and trained. That was one real advantage of the all volunteer union, people who would not otherwise be given a chance could be hired and some really succeeded beyond expectations and contributed a great deal. But when CNA pays trainees with no previous full time organizing experience \$40,000 a year, and gives them raises every 6 months until they earn \$69,000 a year with 3 years experience, then get regular additional increases on the experienced staff scale, fewer organizers can be hired and trained. But CAN and other unions are always looking for good organizer trainees and put considerable time and effort into developing good organizers. In addition to the AFL-CIO programs, another group that trains organizers, especially young organizers of color is the Center for Third World Organizing. The Movement Activist Apprentice Program that we started in the

1980s is celebrating its 20th reunion this year. There are summer training programs with placements in community and labor jobs for successful graduates. A lot of organizer training opportunities are posted on unionjobs.com or idealist.com. Angie Fa 1976, 1979 (San Francisco, Rhode Island)

Ellen Eggers, 6/14/04

RE: "What Ever Happened To" Column

Barbara Tuttle is alive and well... she stays in regular contact with Bob Thompson, who lives in Sacto. I met Barbara for the first time 2 years ago, when she was visiting Bob. And Lynn Anderson also stays in touch with Bob and I believe is coming for a visit here soon... I saw Lynn at Cesar's funeral. She's in Kansas I think... somewhere in the midwest. Ellen

Kevin Michael Brown, 6/15/04

RE: Welcome to the "nfwalero" mailing list

Hi Joaquin,

I don't know if you remember me, but I was around La Paz for a while when you were about 12?? It was 1972 or thereabouts.

I just read your post and am very happy to see "how well you turned out," heh... sorry if that sounds patronizing, especially to a "40 something?" year old.

I enjoy being around young people and always have. It took me a while to focus that and make it healthy and when I was young, I did and said some things that I am not proud of.

I am trying to make amends to anyone that I might have hurt during that time and hope you aren't one of those.

You have all my respect and I appreciate your post about Synanon.

I don't know if you have read all or most of the posts to the list, but there is some strong animosity being tossed back and forth between Richard Ybarra and Marshall Ganz. I hope your post helps to settle that anger.

Namaste y viva La Causa

Kevin M. Brown

Detroit, Delano, La Paz +/- 69-70

Donna Haber Kornberg, 6/15/04 (1)

RE: Agustin Lira, "Alma"

I offer the following, simply in the interests of truth -- not to criticize anybody or belittle anybody's contributions. EVERYBODY in the Teatro was important to its success.

ALL of the people in the Teatro were volunteers -- some had been farm workers and some had not. I was the first administrator or business manager, or something like that (nobody had any titles, but I handled bookings and organizing performances and a lot of other behind-the-scenes work -- and eventually joined the acting).

Luis Valdez moved from San Jose (where his family lived) to Delano to establish El Teatro Campesino. Luis was one of the most talented people I have ever come across, although I may not be entirely objective here, as he and I fell pretty hard for each other, and lived together for a few years.

Augie was a very talented, and at the time very troubled, young man, who was a great help in organizing the Teatro, but I think it a bit of a stretch to say that he 'co-founded' it. The Teatro would never have happened without Luis. Augie was certainly the main songwriter (although Luis wrote a number of songs also), musician and singer in the early days, and also helped organize rehearsals and performances.

Nobody 'wrote' plays. All of the Teatro's work consisted of actos, devised in impromptu sessions by the members of the Teatro. My memory (which has become less than 100% reliable) tells me that most of the core ideas for the actos came from Luis, but I may be wrong on that. In any case, the actos were always developing, and it was great fun to be part of the buzzing sessions where ideas surfaced and were thrown about, but it was always clear that Luis had the last word about whether or not something would be added to an acto. He was very definitely the equivalent of an artistic manager/director, with Augie being the equivalent of Assistant Director (again, no titles).

The first written play performed by the Teatro was 'The Shrunken Head of Pancho Villa' which Luis had written and produced at San Jose State College, and which the Teatro opened in San Francisco, to great praise. My acting debut was in one of the main roles, so I remember it well.

I wouldn't say that the Teatro 'ended up in New York.' We certainly performed there, as part of a very successful tour of cities of the Northeast and Midwest -- and it is true that we got very good reviews. That tour was organized by a woman named Norma something-or-other, who was much more experienced than I at organizing events. Possibly I have blocked her name because she and Luis had an affair while he was living with me (!).

Best to all,

Donna Haber Kornberg

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/15/04 (1)

RE: Agustin Lira, "Alma"

Thank you, Donna, for your personal insights. The Alma website might want to reconsider how they have written their history of the Teatro. It has been a while, but I do remember you; at first I only recognized your name. The Teatro Campesino added so much spice to our early years. You are correct that a lot of the "actos" were spontaneous productions because some of them were clearly exaggerations of what we had just experienced out in the picket line during the day. It could not have [been] an easy life for Augie, having lost his mother, being alone, that could be unsettling for anyone. Luis and Augie were good together. It seems that history has proven you right. Luis' strength seems to be in teatro while Augie's is in songwriting although they are talented in both areas. All I can say is that we were fortunate to have them together for a time as well as the other folks who made up the Teatro. It was one of the main reasons I didn't mind sitting through long union meetings when I was young. I always looked forward to the teatro. Take care. sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano p.s. I also looked forward to hearing what "hell" Jerry Cohen was giving the growers. He was my hero.

Tom Dalzell, 6/15/04 (1)

RE: Welcome to the "nfwalero" mailing list

Joaquin - You speak from the inside and from the heart - and thus with great credibility and wisdom. I am struck by your fax metaphor. Apparently the Synanon watcher for the game (Matt Rand?) reported to Badger Pass that once it got outside the original group it was an unmitigated disaster. This was reported to Cesar, who insisted on going forward.

Tom Dalzell

Richard Cook, 6/15/04 (1)

RE: Philadelphia in 1970, Juana & Richie

Doug Adair recently posted a note about the Philadelphia boycott in 1970, and mentioned Juana Trujillo and Richie Ross.

In June-August 1970, Barbara & I were living in Camden NJ (just across the river from Philadelphia). We were on the summer staff of a Presbyterian "inner city" mission called the Camden Metropolitan Ministry which (unbelievably) had a staff of three Presbyterian ministers, plus a handful of others. I knew nothing and heard nothing about the farmworkers - until,

beginning in Sept 70 we moved to Vineland NJ and I began running a little church-sponsored migrant services group called the Cumberland Migrant Ministry.

In Vineland, we begin to figure out what was going on in the fields. In the process we discovered Robert Coles' works with Children in Crisis and heard about the UFW. We discovered this California-based union was the only group in the country that was successfully organizing workers themselves to deal with the systemic problems and abuses built into the employment of people moving along the "migrant stream." (One of the ghastly program ideas we heard about - but would have nothing to do with - was the collection of typewriter cases that had somehow gone through a plane crash. The typewriters themselves were useless but the cases were OK, so the plan was to visit labor camps and give these cases out to "migrants," who would use them to carry their belongings from place to place.)

I recall getting in touch with the boycott house in Philadelphia. I was both alarmed and impressed by a discovery I made on a visit there. I saw what food was there in the house: virtually nothing, except a pot of beans that had been on the stove for two or three days. These people were serious! Not well financed, not talking real good care of themselves but serious.

I asked Richie Ross to come to Vineland. Richie and Juana both came (as I remember), and spent the evening talking to us about their work. Their convictions and winning presentation organized us. I now realize they conducted a 'house meeting' with us that night, sometime in late 1970 or early 1971. At this same time we got in touch with Chris Hartmire, who was transforming the California Migrant Ministry into the National Farm Worker Ministry. I recall attending a fledging board meeting in central Florida (Fall 1970?), where votes were taken and commitments to a national budget were solicited and were made. I recall Jim Drake sitting there while all this was being hashed out. At one point, someone asked about the size of the budget and Jim stood up, turned around and said, very loudly, "The budget is what it is because I HAVE TO EAT!"

Barbara and I met with Chris Hartmire in NYC in the late summer of 1971 (as I recall). Whatever hesitations remained after meeting Juana and Richie were erased by Chris. We made plans to move to California, which we did in late December. We arrived in at Paz in early January, 1972, driving up the the guarded entrance in our late-model Volvo with two very young children in the back seat. Matt was not quite three; Sarah was 15 months. We moved into two room in the hospital with a hotplate in a broom closet across the hall as our kitchen. I was assigned to work with Helen at the credit union. Barbara begin to help Kathy Murgia and others put a day care program together and to help process RFK claims and payments.

I have not seen Juana or Richie since the boycott days of 1970-71 in Philadelphia.

Richard Cook
NFWM, 1972-84

Tina Solinas (Mondragon), 6/15/04

RE: Songs and catch-up

Tina Solinas (Mondragon for a while) 1972-1989
Service Center, strike accounting, boycott, etc., etc.
California, Arizona, Chicago

Hi All,

The song that I enjoy the most was made up by the D'Arrigo strikers--2 busloads of whom went out from Calexico to cross the nation on the boycott in '73.

I only remember one verse from it, and the chorus:

Hay viene el chaparrito
El lider de la Union
Haciendo boycot-e-o
Por toda la nacion.

Sigueremos hay, sigueremos hay
sigueremos, sigueremos, sigueremos hay.

Does any one know the other verses?

Amelia, Victor, Esperanza...were among the singers... incredible singers, such animo! and Victor, what a dancer...ballet folklorico....he could fly!

Jose Luna: what a kind-hearted man. Very wise, quiet, seemed to be all seeing and all knowing. I did strike accounting and ran the Union Hall for him for a few months in El Mirage, AZ in '74(?).

The game: we played it a few times in Chicago ('80?) The first was run by Frank Ortiz. Only after he left did I figure out what a fine job he did at leading it. The one game we played after he left was ugly, and manipulated by one of the staff to make everyone look like crap but himself. Frank's game was thoughtful and civil.

Chayo Pelayo: a hard working, long suffering, kind and inspiring woman. She and her daughter helped me through my first pregnancy in Calexico.

Abby, you rock! Guts and gusto.

Ellen Eggers, 6/15/04

RE: September, 1965

Doug (and Marshall) thank you so much for your detailed and SO VERY interesting information about this early period. Hearing these stories makes me so nostalgic for the times when I was first involved, many years later in 1972. In 72 I KNEW I had already missed out on so much history, and wished that I could have been a part of it. Thanks for sharing.

Ellen Eggers
LA Boycott 72-75
La Paz Legal 80-87

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/15/04 (2)

RE: Songs and catch-up

Tina, Have you read Dr. Brooks' essay? He is quite a man. Woodville lost the best thing that ever happened to it when he left. My brother lived there and all his in-laws. The community sure did love "el doctorcito." He and Wendy, too. That is how I met you when you lived in Woodville. I enjoyed reading your essay. Having lived in T.J. it did not surprise me that you were up and down Mexicali trying to find people just by using various landmarks. It was moving hearing about how you moved in to care for the children that had been left alone. I could not see you doing anything differently. Not only are ya' a good free-spirited dancer, you have a GREAT heart! sin mas, tu amiga from Poros. /abby/ richgrove/ delano

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/15/04

RE: Songs and catch-up

Tina from Woodville! We're working with residents from both Woodville Labor Camp on rent issues and Woodville the city on water issues. Woodville is going through the growing pains many a small rural community goes through. While the rent increases and water issues are present-day issues, long-term issues exist such as getting assistance and services to the many long-term undocumented residents that make up these rural communities. There are many issues to promote, such as lack of voter participation, and we're working on that. We also have many young people in these communities that have no or few of the services accessible to young people in larger communities, to allow them to work on activities that will take them into the future. There's many great people in Woodville, movers and shakers, and I'm proud to have this association with many of them. It sounds like you're doing great work. Next time you come to visit this part of the country, I would like nothing better than to meet you.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/15/04 (3)

RE: Songs and catch-up

Great work you guys are doing. Viva Woodville!

Tina will let you know that she no longer lives there. I used to work in the fields in around the Woodville area. I stayed in Woodville during part of the summer to work there with my sister-in-law and her family, the Navarettes. When Doug spoke of the Woodville Labor Camp it brought back many memories because I had friends there. During the summer, that was a place to go to have fun on weekends. Lot of music and dancing. The buildings, like Doug said, were made out of "lamina"/sheet metal. It was unbearable in summer and extremely cold in winter. I still have friends there. Do you know Gloria and Jose Soto from the labor camp? They used to live in La Paz. Very good people. My two brothers no longer live in Woodville but some of the Navarettes still do plus a lot of old timers. sin mas, /abby/ richgrove/ delano

Daneen Montoya, 6/15/04

RE: Jessica...

I remember fondly one night...1:30 in the morning...another long meeting in the administration building at LaPaz had just broken up...and we were standing in the parking lot saying our goodbyes. Alfredo Vasquez began strumming "Guantanamera" and Jessica began singing. There were a zillion stars in the skies, Alfredo's beautiful guitar and Jessica's golden voice...sigh...heaven must be like this...

Daneen Montoya
San Jose – LaPaz
1968 – 1972/73

Doug Adair, 6/15/04

RE: Agustin Lira, "Alma"

In a message dated 6/15/04 . . . [Donna Haber Kornberg] writes:

Augie was a very talented, and at the time very troubled, young man, who was a great help in organizing the Teatro, but I think it a bit of a stretch to say that he 'co-founded' it. The Teatro would never have happened without Luis. Augie was certainly the main songwriter (although Luis wrote a number of songs also), musician and singer in the early days, and also helped organize rehearsals and performances.

Dear Donna, You were certainly more involved in the creative process that became the Teatro Campesino, so I would normally defer to your memories. But I would defend Augie's use of the term, "co-founder". Yes, the Teatro was an idea Luis brought with him to Delano, and certainly he was the main man in putting it together, launching it. But for many in the audience (especially the teenage girls!), Augie's contributions were the high point.... Luis was brilliant in finding and promoting talent, and Augie and Felipe Cantu, (the hilarious comic who played the poor, put-upon farm worker), were the core of the show, sure, they owe their fame to Luis; but Luis owes his fame to them, too. The idea became reality through the contributions of those founding members....

Doug Adair

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/15/04 (4)

RE: Agustin Lira, "Alma"

Okay, Doug, now you blew my cover. I am guilty of being one of those startstruck teeny boppers.
/abby/ richgrove/ delano

Donna Haber Kornberg, 6/15/04 (2)

RE: Agustin Lira, "Alma"

Dear Abby (sounds a bit like an advice column, doesn't it?)

How kind of you to thank me. I would not suggest that Augie change his website. This is what he remembers. I am quite certain he is not entirely correct, but I wouldn't say that to him. As far as I am concerned, he is entitled to his memories. I wrote to set the facts straight – for what? Because I like the truth coming out, I suppose. I was going to say – for history, but that sounds a lot too grandiose.

Yes, I agree. The Teatro was great fun (as well as very good), and certainly balanced the tedium of some of the necessary business of union meetings.

Best,

Donna

Mary Mocine, 6/15/04(1)

RE: Deidrich

I recall it was sunny and that we ate outside [the day the limo came]. Likely the spring. Lackner was head of health and Don Vial of IR as I recall. I'd been working on lobbying re pesticides so I was asked to be there. I think I took the pesticide/onion bucket that little Leticia Galvan used in the Prop 14 recruitment poster to Sacto at some point when I testified at some committee so it seems it was after Prop 14, so maybe the following spring? I don't really recall with any clarity.

M

Deborah Vollmer, 6/15/04

RE: Some tough issues

Lorraine,

Thanks for sharing your knowledge of the Filipino struggle, and also sharing Philip's poem. When Philip and I were together during our years with the Union, I used to travel with Philip to various conferences at universities, where Philip was invited to speak. Sometimes he would be invited by Asian-American student groups to conferences and dramatic events, frequently as a guest of honor. It was always a great joy to us when young students, guitar in hand, sang "Profits Enslave the World." I believe that at some point a recording was also made of this song; I think this recorded version was with the composer of the music (whose name has slipped my mind but I am sure it will come back to me) singing it.

How wonderful that your father lived to 106, and had a good family life! I am sure that he was very proud of you and your accomplishments.

Peace,

Deborah

Mary Mocine, 6/15/04 (2)

RE: Jessica...

I have another memory of Jessica's singing, hauntingly beautiful but not so happy. It was at John Rice-Trujillo's memorial. She sang "Will the circle be unbroken." He disappeared off the coast of Hawaii, as you may recall and was presumed drowned, but no body was ever found. Apparently he loved that song and it seemed particularly appropriate.

Mary

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/15/04 (1)

RE: Welcome to the "nfwaleroy" mailing list

Hi Mijo. Welcome to the discussion. I was glad to see your post. You have so many interesting stories that we could all enjoy and are interested in. I look back fondly at most of our experiences as a family in the Union. I remember your early debuts at accompanying the good padres during

Masses. The one I chuckle every time I recall is a performance after the homily of "Come on Baby Light My Fire." I never asked whether the good Father knew of your pick, but it certainly lit up my pride at what you never lacked... pizzazZ and the willingness to take risks. Love Mom aka Kathy Murguia= 19765-1983..

Barbara Cook, 6/15/04

RE: La Paz

Hi, Joaquin,

Although the Cook Family didn't spend much time living at La Paz, I have always felt close to the Murguia family. Our oldest son, Matt (now 35), was mean to Maria (biting was his offense at age 3) and played constantly with Ricardo. Sarah played regularly with Benito and Kathy and I commiserated frequently about the challenges of raising children while trying to be useful to "Ia causa." Thank you for your thoughtful assessment of "the game."

Richard and I with the children returned to La Paz during the summer of 1978 after my first year in medical school. We played the game during that summer. I was enough removed from the Union to opine that the game was a manipulative maneuver to harass and demean certain identified members of the La Paz community. It was so depressing when there was so much to be done to organize workers. You are right - if the UAW had continued to build a union based on personalities, it never would have made an impact.

I hope that you are well and that your decision not to continue your education has not impacted you in a negative way.

Barbara Cook
1972-1977

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/15/04 (1)

RE: Frijoles y jalapeños

Richard, you mention that you witnessed a molding pot of left over beans in the Philly boycott house.

Number one - the volunteers and the huelgistas were no Martha Stewarts. Chaos and disorder reigned supreme.

Number two -, if you had gone down to the basement you would have found wall to wall shelves of canned food.

During the 1969 Thanksgiving, the UAW, bless them all the way to heaven, donated tons of food. Of course, we Toña and Maria Saludado, Carolina Franco, Lilli Sprintz and my two kids, Val and David, and I pigged out on the favorites, plus our routine staples. When I left in July 1970, there was still cans and cans of food in the basement.

Of course, during that time Gilbert Padilla came with his troops - Doug Adair, Harriet Teller, Tom Dalzell, Lenore, Tony, Evans and his girl, but they could not have eaten all that stuff.

Number three - Lilli Sprintz had collected another ton of clothes that was donated by a cleaning establishment, and there were racks and racks of clean clothes, also in the basement. We used to wear a different dress every day. None of them fit either Doug or Tom.

Number four - Both Doug and Tom used to sleep in the basement with the shelves of cans and the racks of clothes.

Number five- Marie Conklin was the organizer in charge of the boycott in the Cherry Hill area. She was cleaning out those chains like a trouper.

Lorraine Agtang (Mascarinas) Greer, 6/15/04 (1)

RE: September, 1965

Dear Doug,

I thank you for sharing that great history about AWOC and NFWA and the struggle that took place. I smile when I think about the differences between the two groups. The loyalty Filipino workers had towards their Filipino foreman. It is true that the foreman catered to the workers treated them with respect the crew was like family. They spent off hours together families would kill a pig or goat. Great food I remember as a child hanging out at the local camps where chicken fights took place.

The Filipino foremen were in the leadership roles and the workers trusted their counsel and always took care of their needs. The Filipino workers were reactionary which lead to wild cat strikes for a raise and they were united in their cause. Often the strikes worked. But you are right their organizing was for the short term not with the future in mind.

Anyway thanks Doug you are too cool!!!

Lorraine

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/15/04 (2)

RE: members and volunteers

Donna Haber mentioned that she and Luis Valdez were an item until reality sneaked in, snuck in?

Kathy married Lupe.

Tina married Oscar Mondragon.

Were there any other such alliances? Either with farm worker members or with other volunteers falling for each other, and are any marriages still alive?

hope lopez -

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/15/04 (2)

RE: September, 1965

Doug, although you were so much closer to the leadership dynamics at that time, I concur that the NFWA was searching for a way to be in solidarity with AWOC. There was such a dramatic difference in their approaches; AWOC organizing labor contractors and attacking the wage system, while the NFWA was focused on building membership and developing a strong farmworker constituency. After the NFWA workers struck and expanded the strike, their strategies continued to be different. The picket line was the great meeting place. What amazes me is the strategic resilience of the NFWA and how the leadership picked up on every opportunity to make it work in favor of the organizing effort.

Ann Draper admired the NFWA style, but clearly her loyalty was to AWOC. We had some intense conversations about this. Having been active in the antiwar movement and civil rights, I realized she was supportive, but really didn't grasp the notion of community organizing. What a solid dedicated trade unionist she was however.

Marshall writes in "Five Smooth Stones" about strategic capacity. Through the unique leadership styles of the NFWA, La Causa transcended the traditional hang ups in organizing farm workers and synthesized a new approach. What genius. I heard Eliseo on Public Radio tonight talking about the educational cuts to higher education and ed. generally. Was great to hear his voice.

Looking forward to seeing you this summer. Kathy M.

Tom Dalzell, 6/15/04 (2)

RE: Richard Cook's Question

Thirty-six years ago today I arrived in Delano on the Greyhound Bus. I was sixteen. I wore a tie, seersucker jacket, and penny loafers. I didn't have an address for the Union office but I knew it was on Albany Street, that Albany Street was on the west side of the tracks, and that the streets

were in alphabetical order. I started to walk west across the tracks. It was hot. I got there. It was hot. We went to Jim and Susan Drake's house. It was a very good summer.

I am writing answers to some good questions that Richard Cook asked after a posting last week. I am, no doubt, guilty of some dripping sarcasm in what I say. I am sure that I am guilty of presenting opinion as fact. I don't apologize for the sarcasm, but I do apologize if I blur the line of fact and opinion. I am also sure that I may have a fact or two wrong. My basic premise is that the Union failed as a union largely, if not exclusively, because of internal reasons between 1977 and 1981. I am not saying that it failed as a social movement, as a civil rights movement, or as a movement that created icons.

I believe that in early 1977 we had a unique opportunity to succeed.

Thanks to the jurisdictional pact negotiated by Jerry Cohen, Sandy Nathan, Kirsten Zerger, and George Lazar (and thanks to the anti-trust suit dreamed up by Bill Carder), the Teamsters were out of the fields. We had no competition.

We had the best labor law in the country.

We had an overtly pro-worker ALRB.

We had Jerry Brown as Governor for another six years.

We had tens of thousands of workers under contract and certifications waiting to be converted into contracts for tens of thousands more. We had done remarkably well in the Imperial Valley, Salinas, Oxnard, San Diego, and Stockton (and not so well in Delano, Coachella, Hemet and Yolo County).

Texas, Washington, and Florida were knocking on our door.

We had the best organizers in the country.

We had great field office leadership and ranch committee leadership.

We had great negotiators.

We had Jerry Cohen and a great legal department.

We had a window of opportunity.

What could go wrong?

We needed to do several things to take advantage of the opportunity that we had won.

We had to develop a coherent approach to field operations - organizing, contract negotiation, and contract administration. This could be by function, by geography, by industry, or by other criteria, but it had to be done. It almost certainly had to involve the formation of locals. There might be another AFL international union that does not have locals (chapters, lodges, chapels, etc.), but I don't know of one.

We had to develop an efficient administration of the Union. A movement can squeak by with improvised administration, but an institution can't.

I believe that Cesar failed on both counts.

In the field, assignments remained a game of musical chairs, seemingly to prevent anybody from establishing a power base.

In the summer of 1976, Marshall was placed in charge of organizing, Eliseo in charge of contract administration.

In December, 1976, Marshall was pulled off organizing and sent to the Imperial Valley. Eliseo was pulled off contract administration and sent to Coachella.

In January 1978 Eliseo was put in charge of organizing, Gilbert was put in charge of contract administration, and Marshall was given Salinas.

And so on. No consistency, no chance for follow-through.

The field office directors were constantly pleading for help, for support, but they got none, largely because Cesar's focus was almost entirely on La Paz and building a "community" there.

The idea of locals was verboten. There was never a consistent, coherent plan for field operations.

As for administration, Cesar did try. Crosby Milne with MBO and SAM's etc. represented a sincere - if short-lived and faddish - attempt to create a good administration, and probably one of the attractions of Synanon to Cesar was its efficiency. To use a metaphor that my friend Abby Rivera won't like, the trains ran on time at Badger Pass but not at La Paz. Car inspections and Transportation Advisory Councils and phone chats were short-lived stabs at creating an efficient administration, but in retrospect they seem to have been more about the appearance of efficiency than the reality of efficiency. Does anybody honestly think that inspecting our fleet of light blue slant-six Darts and Valiants was the best use of Pete Velasco's talents and time?

Instead of building the Union, what did Cesar do?

He became preoccupied with leftist infiltration of the Union. When describing traitors within the Union, Cesar seemed to use the terms "FBI," "growers", and "communists" interchangeably, but I think that his major preoccupation was with the left. Between the exodus in 1966 of leftist students and 1976, I don't remember any real deep fear of communist infiltration of the Union. That changed in 1976, and many of the firings that took place between 1976 and 1981 were justified on the basis of perceived communist affiliation of those fired. It's no wonder the Soviet Union collapsed - they were too busy trying to take over the United Farm Workers. (Dripping sarcasm, sorry). I don't know all the people who got labeled communists and run out, but I seriously doubt that there was a commie in the bunch. In fact, the only avowed communist that I knew in my whole time with the Union was Sam Kushner, and it seemed to me that Cesar liked and respected Sam as much as anyone.

Public humiliation became a key component of firing people. Instead of just firing someone, there were grueling, terrible public floggings - accusations, denunciations, screaming, personal attacks - terrible. The Monday Night Massacre in La Paz in April 1977, the attacks on volunteers in Delano by Dolores in the summer of 1977, the spectacle at Jenny Padilla's wedding, and, in my mind worst of all the dumping of Maria Rifo - none of these were not necessary, they were not kind, and they were not in keeping with anything that the Union or Cesar stood for.

He focused on mundane matters such as the official UFW prayer (March 25, 1977) at the expense of much more important matters, such as the decision of whether we would focus on the grapes or vegetable industry in the summer of 1977. Cesar completely walked away from the organizing decisions, but had time to work on the prayer. (How did we go 15 years without one?) (Or, was the adoption of the prayer perhaps related to the fact that there was a Synanon prayer?)

He began to articulate a much more Cesar-centric vision of the Union, urging staff to take time to think about him on Founding Day.

He dabbled in faith healing. Richard, I respect the fact that your wife felt better when Cesar passed his tiny hands over her, but to many of us in the Union this was pure messianic crap. I don't think that Cesar's efforts at faith healing or the demonstrations of his aura to staff ever made it to the public, and I think that's a good thing.

He liked tangents more than the basics. For example, a lot of staff and Cesar's time went into the microwave system (announced March 25, 1977). Whether you shared Cesar's vision for "a private telephone system for poor people" or not, the timing was not right. We had a few other things to get done before taking on Mother Bell.

He made the alliance with Synanon, a once-respected organization that had retreated from its original in-the-world base of operations to a mountain compound and in its isolation become a discredited shadow of its former great self. The Game was developed to break down barriers in drug addicts, alcoholics, and persons with character disorders. I'm sure we had a few of those in our midst, but in general we were mildly neurotic at worst. It was used to identify dissidents and

then weed out dissidents. It was a waste of time. Chris Hartmire had done such great work with the Migrant Ministry and was now in La Paz deciding who would game whom about what, who was ready for dissipation, who was ready for the trip, who was ready for the brew - what a waste of his time. It was a major obsession of Cesar's at a time when we needed his attention elsewhere. He tried to hide the game from the public; history will not look at the Game any more kindly than the public would have then.

He preached Silva Mind Control. Instead of teaching the basics of negotiating, he tried to develop negotiators who could harness their alpha waves and become clairvoyants capable of reading the growers' minds.

He went to the Philippines in July 1977. Enough has probably been said about this trip and its effect on public support and the morale of the members and staff.

He demanded that the Board continue with the volunteer system as it existed (which we know was far from purely volunteer) under threat of quitting (June 1978), leading to the dismantling of the Jerry Cohen legal department. Enough said about this?

After a lifetime of swearing that he would never accept government money after the controversy surrounding the OEO money in 1965, Cesar couldn't file grants fast enough when Carter took office - \$500,000 from the Department of Labor to the NFWSC in January 1978, another \$804,786 from the DOL in August 78, \$349,115 from US Community Services Agency for Credit Union in September 78, \$600,00 from Communications Service Administration for micro-wave in 12/78 - I'm sure there were more. Why abandon a long-held principle and take government money? To show that you don't need dues? To show that you don't need a union?

Cesar lost any ability that he had to accept criticism. Susan Drake's firing in 1973 for suggesting to Cesar that he listen to people around him is an indication that he was never all that good at accepting criticism, but in the late 1970s and early 1980s it disappeared.

Loyalty meant nothing. Two of the highest profile supporters of Cesar during the Synanon/ Game/ Dissipation times found themselves accused of disloyalty. Richard - you said that you did your job well and then you got another job. That changed. Gilbert Padilla went to Coachella in 1981 and did a job impossibly well. End of story - Gilbert is thanked and excused. It made no sense.

So that's what I think that Cesar did instead of doing what needed to be done.

Lastly, Richard asks if anyone on the list is trying to say that Cesar was nuts. The only open discussion of this point that I know of was in the President's Newsletter of May 6, 1977, in which Cesar explicitly denied the reports from La Paz that he was "tired, he has been talking to himself, he is going crazy." It is my opinion that by 1977 he had lost his moral compass, his ability to navigate through change, and his ability for innovation and creativity. I don't know if he was nuts or not. I believe that he either did not want to or could not make the change from movement to institution, and that as a result the aging movement and young institution died.

In my opinion, between 1977 and 1981 the Union collapsed, quickly and nearly completely, and was largely ineffective by the time that Deukmejian took office in 1983. Eliseo, Mack, Marshall, Jessica, and Gilbert were off the Board and gone. Jim Drake was gone. Robert Garcia was gone. Jerry Cohen and all but two of the lawyers were gone. Almost all the negotiators were gone. The paid reps had been fired. Organizing and growth had stopped. In 1983, we didn't need a conservative Republican governor to bury us; we had done it ourselves.

So, Richard, those are my answers to your questions. I say all of this because like Marshall I see the Union as a tragedy - Man's Hope followed by Man's Fate.

Tom Dalzell
El Malcriado, Philadelphia Boycott, Legal Department
1968-1980

Joaquin Murguia, 6/15/04 (1)

RE: Welcome to the “nfwalero” mailing list

Tom,

Thank you for your comments. I wasn't sure how they would be received. I do know that Matt was disappointed with the way the game turned. As for how Cesar reacted, I wouldn't know because I had pretty much disconnected.

Frankly, I think the momentum for the game was provided as much by those power tripping in the game as much if not more than Cesar. As I recall, at some point Cesar stopped participating in the games and it moved further away from the original core group.

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/15/04 (2)

RE: Welcome to the “nfwalero” mailing list

Kevin,

Unfortunately, there are some names that I don't recall. It is one of my shortcomings as I move through my 40 somethings.

Thank you for the positive feedback about my comments. I'm hopeful that as someone who was one of the original 12 that I can add some insight to the speculation that I have read.

I find the back and forth between Richard Ybarra and Marshall rather interesting given that I don't recall either of them participating in any of the games of which I was a part. My recollection may be a bit foggy, but I'm almost certain Richard Ybarra had left La Paz by the time the game was in full swing. (Richard, please correct me if I am wrong.)

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/15/04 (3)

RE: Thermal salute

Hi Doug,

Thanks for your comments. I agree that there is a lot of focus on this period, primarily because I believe it was a very hurtful time for all involved who had a love not only for the union and the cause, but the family of people that were brought together in a common struggle.

My children are grown, the youngest just graduated high school, and are moving on to the next phase of their lives but if time permits I will surely keep your invitation in mind.

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/15/04 (4)

RE: Reply to Joaquin Murguia

Fred,

I have to say that I may not have noticed the cult of personality prior to the mid-70's as I was probably too young to recognize it. Keep in mind that I was a teen in the mid-70's and that prior to that, my awareness of such things was clouded by the exuberance of youth.

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/15/04 (5)

RE: Richard Cook's Questions

Tom,

I agree that one of the problems that came to a head in the 70's was that the union needed to become a Union. Unfortunately, it remained a social movement going into a time when the U. S.

as a whole was losing its social consciousness. By the time the 80's arrived, the Me generation and the Reagan era were in full swing, followed by the "greed is good" 90's.

Had there been a labor union, perhaps there would have been a stronger union today. But to ask a country to think beyond their own interests at a time when no one was, doomed "la causa" to fade into relative obscurity.

To touch briefly on the matter of faith healing, I don't know if was faith healing or what it would be called, but I personally benefited from this. I had been laid up for three days unable to move from my bed when Sister Florence asked Cesar to come see me. I remember Cesar talking to me, him clapping his hands together and rubbing them vigorously together and then placing his heated hands on my back. Call it what you will, healing, acupressure... I don't know, all I know is that the injury to my back that I had suffered at an early age was repaired and to this day no longer suffer from the debilitating pain that I experienced throughout my early teen years.

Now, is this something that the President of a labor union should be doing? Probably not, especially considering that the union was at a life or death crossroad.

Perhaps it was Cesar's personal search for spirituality, and none of us can deny him that. However, if the personal journey needed to be taken by him, perhaps the union would have been best served if the administration of the union was left to those like Sister Florence who could have made a difference.

Joaquin Murguia
`967-1979
Delano, San Francisco, Delano, La Paz

Chris Schneider, 6/15/04

RE: Welcome to the "nfwalero" mailing list

Hi Joaquin,

I just finished reading your various "posts" to the list serve. I appreciate your thoughtful approach.

The individual sniping amongst a few of the participants is tiresome.

I don't believe that I ever realized the circumstances under which you left until I read your first post. Since it was '79 I'm guessing that I was either in Calexico, or Salinas. I think I just believe that you and Susan had decided it was time to move on with your lives. Actually, my memory about a lot of things is pretty fuzzy. That's one of the main reasons I haven't joined in a lot of the discussions. It certainly wouldn't help to add faulty memory to the dialogue.

I recall going to Badger to learn the game and I know that at least some of the times, you were in the group. But I really don't think that I was in the first group. Seems funny to ask but do you recall if I was in the first group? It would be surprising to me if I was since I was a fairly new arrival at La Paz. (What I actually recall the most about going to Badger was getting back late to La Paz at like 1:00 AM---and then having to drag myself to the office at 4:00 AM to make the phone calls to the boycott cities).

I got married in La Paz in 1982 to Magdalena Beltran. I completed the apprenticeship program and was licensed to practice law in 1989. We stayed with the Union until 1989. By then we had three children.

From the union I went to work with CRLA in Delano for a couple of years and then to their Madera office. (NFWM sent your dad to work with me for a short while in Delano and Madera a couple of times he was on the outs in La Paz.)

In 1983 I became the Executive Director of Central California Legal Services and have been in Fresno since then.

My son, Alan, is 21 and studying computer animation. (It occurs to me as I write this that I was 21 when I arrived at La Paz.) Jazmin graduated from high school two weeks ago and will start at Fresno City College in the fall. Vanessa will be a senior this fall. Lucero, our youngest, is 9 and starts 4th grade in a couple of months.

Joaquin Murguia, 6/16/04 (1)

RE: Welcome to the "nfwalero" mailing list

Chris...

Wow sounds like the past 25 or so years have kept you very busy. As I recall, you were in the second group of people who went to Synanon.

Susan and I left La Paz in September 1979 after growing tired of the imposed separation when Susan was transferred to Salinas at Dolores Huerta's request.

We married in 1981 and the marriage lasted some 14 years. We had two children, a daughter and a son. They are my pride and joy. . . They take great pride in the role that their father, grandfather and grandmother played in the UFW both when the Murguia family was welcome at La Paz and when it was not.

My best to you and your family,

Joaquin

Tom Dalzell, 6/16/04

RE: Richard Cook's Questions

Joaquin –

Yes, I agree with all that you say, especially about the need to separate Cesar's spiritual path from the Union.

There are a couple of "what ifs" that are interesting – but still what ifs.

What if we had made the transition into a Union – could we have survived 16 years of Republican governors? Probably, especially with pushes in other states – but still a question.

What if we had made the transition into a Union – could we have survived the aging of our generation and the balancing of families and Union? We certainly would have lost some and others would have been different. I saw the Union as my life's work. Would I have been able to balance a family and the Union? Not all could.

Tom

Doug Adair, 6/16/04 (1)

RE: Frijoles y jalapeños

In a message dated 6/15/04 . . . [Hope Lopez Fierro] writes:

Richard, you mention that you witnessed a molding pot of left over beans in the Philly boycott house.

Number one – the volunteers and the huelgistas were no Martha Stewarts. Chaos and disorder reigned supreme.

I thought we ate pretty well while on the boycott in Philly, never went hungry. Harriett Teller, with her breezy style, could come back from the produce terminals, after a morning of picketing, with donations of fresh fruits and vegetables from the very people we had been picketing (she was amazing!). I remember going out with Gil Padilla on his visits to down-town labor leaders (I was usually out in the boondocks in Delaware County), and he did his scheduling so he would end up with someone who would take us to lunch -- "Let's hit the Jewish Labor Committee at about 11:30

-- they are right next door to a great deli with soups and sandwiches, and they always offer to treat!"

I do remember one gourmet dinner at the boycott house on Masher St., when we cooked chicken cacciatore, and Tom Dalzell's parents were visiting from out on the Main Line. The overhead light was out in the dining room, so we ate by candle light. Then we discovered that the light was out because the shower in the bathroom above was leaking and dripping through the light, into the food on the dining room table! The spice of life... Doug Adair, Philly Boycott, 1970-71

Doug Adair, 6/16/04 (2)

RE: members and volunteers

In a message dated 6/15/04 . . . [Hope Lopez Fierro] writes:

Are any marriages still alive?

Doug Adair from the Coachella legal department married Debbie Nelson from the Coachella clinic staff, married bliss in La Causa, 26 years and (hopefully) going strong....

The first union wedding I remember was Augie Lira and Kerry Ohta, at the 40 Acres (Fr. Day?). But La Causa was pretty rough on marriage and families.

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/16/04 (1)

RE: members and volunteers

Marriages..... alive? Lupe and Kathy Murguia are still married after 36 years. Doug, yes, families and marriages did have a struggle. Hay muchas mujeres pero solamente un union may speak to some of the difficulties. Last weekend, viewed a CC [*sic*, CD?] of collected home movies. Most of them were from the 70's and our families' vacationing with my sister's family in Tahoe. Mundo asked "where was Dad?" We had one of my Dad's funeral in San Bruno at the National Cemetery in 78. My brother has this great shot of Lupe arriving, running late. It was good to see Esther and Gilbert and then a brief shot of Cesar. Fr. Boyle was also in it.

By the way, Daneen, if you are anywhere in all this, remember our trips to Tahoe. Berto, Ricky, Daneen, Emmy, all drifted in and out of our family circle. There was always a place at the table and space to sleep for little huelgistas.

The idea of sacrifice could only go so far when it came to the kids. Tried to make it survivable for all of us. Kathy Murguia

Carlos LeGerrette, 6/16/04

RE: members and volunteers

Although we didn't marry in the Union, we took our vows the same year Manuel Chavez and Jim Drake asked Linda and I to donate our summer. That summer lasted a L-O-N-G time. (We do confess our sin of living together prior to our marriage). If my math is correct, we're in 2004, we married in 1966. Is that 38 years? Linda was blessed with a very understanding husband.

Carlos LeGerrette

'66-'78

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/16/04 (1)

RE: members and volunteers

"You know she has a bad temper." To which my now husband replied, "Yes, I know." That is what my father said when Jorge came to ask for my hand in marriage 25 years ago this past January 20th. I sat there, dumbfounded and, of course, I wanted to yell but thought twice about it because I would have proven them both right. It has *helped all these years* that my husband is a negotiator (and good ... looking, too!).

Many marriages did not fare well. That does not indicate that those that have succeeded to-date had some sort of secret formula. It was difficult keeping a marriage and family together in our movement and why some survived is a mystery to me. Being apart for long periods of time can be a real strain on a relationship. Does anyone have any input? I know in my case, humor helped a whole lot.

The best wedding I attended was Annie Camponio's and Larry Tramutola's at La Paz. From the appetizers to the spumoni, it was grand *a la Italiana*. The exchanges of vows were sweet, too. It was endearing seeing Larry work on special touches to make the wedding special for he and Annie. sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/16/04 (1)

RE: members and volunteers

I met Dick Herron in Delano in 1965. He was a friend of Norma Redmond's and was staying in an old hayloft on the property that held the trailer where Norma and Bill Esher lived. I first fell in love with his blue eyes and the beautiful music he could make with his Martin. We never got married, but we did follow each other around the country until 1973. By then we had three children, and it was then that we went our separate ways, not seeing each other until 1993, in a surprise visit to Goshen, where we lived at the time. He was/ is a master guitar player and used to entertain us along with Augie and Luis Valdez. He could have gone professional but the road was always beckoning. He now lives either in Florida or New Mexico; he liked these better than other places. He was playing at local bars (he always used to entertain us at People's Bar) and to whoever will listen. His trusty Martin guitar is probably a collector's item by now and worth thousands. Maybe someday, somewhere, someone will run into Dick and recognize him. If so, let him know I never stopped loving him and that the treasures he left in my care have multiplied. We are now grandparents of three, but he has missed out on that beautiful experience. If any of you should see him (he's about 69 now), please tell him his grandchildren would love to see him.

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/16/04 (2)

RE: Richard Cook's Questions

Never received Richard's questions, but did Tom's comments. The focus and perspective and the priorities did shift to issues not relevant to building a national union. I do believe (my opinion only) that the leadership style of the Union contributed to this. Cesar worked with a tight knit group. The scope of his comfortability rested on his being involved with this inner circle...like part of an extended family. Joaquin brought up the metaphor of the "fax machine", which may have been true about the game. But it was also true for the various tiers of communications within the union which extended to the field offices, (potential locals). Eyes on, hands on communications were important. Diluted message were problematic.

I was struck by the comments of various folks when "The Godfather" came out. It was more than jest when many identified with the leadership and communication style of the Corleone family. It may be admired, romantically touching, but it involved the dark side of what we are about. Transparency??? It was not a model to build an organization. It worked at one point...well.
Kathy Murguia

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/16/04 (2)

RE: Richard Cook's Questions

Hi Tom. What was Richard's (Cook?) question? Are these "like" your closing arguments? Should I wait for more? It *is* better spelled out for me than your previous e-mails which really got me going, if you will remember. abby/ richgrove/ delano

Marco Lopez, 6/16/04

RE: Hello!

Hey, Doug, you're too much carnal!

...you've got me in stitches! It has been great hearing from the veterans of the movement, and all I can say is that it was a great ride. With all the good, the bad, and the ugly! We all joined in the good fight, fought hard, and did even beyond what we were called to do. Now, perhaps the best we can do is not so much dwell in the legacy, but pass the torch to the young, for there is so much of the good fight yet to carry on. Then, when it's our time, we too can fade into the sunset like the good soldiers that we were.

All my best,

Marco

P.S. Hey Doug, what about those migrant sweeps in Southern California? What do you say we revive El Malcriado and go after those s.o.b's!?

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/16/04 (2)

RE: Hello!

This morning I received news that the migra sweeps have extended into the Valley. Several reports of them hitting Fresno, but they haven't been confirmed, so if anybody knows anything, let me know, and if a movement is begun around these atrocities of persecuting people who commit no crime other than to look for a better way of life, let me know, I'll join!!

Jackie (Brown) Davis, 6/16/04

RE: Hello!

Marco wrote, "*dwell in the legacy*," and I wondered if this effort is not our true legacy now?? We have repeatedly said that the best organizers were trained through our UFW commitment, but then things broke down. As I think about our analysis of what happened that we are working through on this listserve, it occurs to me that the legacy to another generation that we leave (maybe yet to be born) is not simply the organizing tactics, but the cautionary tale that we are telling. The history here that someone else can take up in the future is about our organizational missteps, as well as our incredible success as we organized around the promise of justice in the fields. We add to the pot of historical gold when we can illustrate the dark turns. This has helped me immensely, even though I was not part of the "game," etc., and I continually thank everyone of you for your writings.

Jackie Davis
1971-1974

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/16/04

RE: PLEASE REMIND ME

LEROY CHATFIELD 1963-1973

Please remind me not to ask Tom Dalzell to write my eulogy because it will be out of one of those Man's Hope-Man's Fate kind of tragedies.

1973, he could have . . . 1976, why didn't he . . . 1979, he should have . . . 1986, if he would have.

P.S. On the subject of marriage and the farmworkers movement: Is it OK to count the years spent in marriage counseling?

Marshall Ganz, 6/16/04

RE: PLEASE REMIND ME

LeRoy,

It is a pity you choose to respond to Tom's very thoughtful analysis of the twists and turns in the UFW – something very useful to those who wish to learn from the movement, not simply cherish their memories of it – by mocking him. Why weren't you as direct with Richard and his comments about liberals and Jews? And surely you don't mean to confound the religious order in

which you served with Synanon, Jonestown and the like . . . Do you really think there is no distinction between a religious tradition and a cult? Marshall

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/16/04 (3)

RE: Richard Cook's Questions

LeRoy... that's what we are hoping for... this is not a eulogy of the farmworkers union; only checking out how to move on with what was learned. Hey marriage counseling was a good thing, so good I decided from what I learned, I could do it myself. Licensed in 1991 as a Marriage Family Therapist. Tom, I thought it was awesome. Of course my eulogy will be very simple I think. Kathy Murguia

Glenn Rothner, 6/16/04

RE: PLEASE REMIND ME

I am puzzled. Earlier today, I read a posting from Jackie Davis, whom I don't know, making a simple, elegant point about using this forum to supplement the UFW's legacy of recruiting and training good organizers with a cautionary account of the dark turns.

Then this afternoon I read your posting, Leroy, sarcastically dismissing a recent posting from Tom Dalzell in which he offers his detailed, historic view concerning those dark turns.

As the postings reveal, many participants would agree that it is unfortunate, indeed tragic, that the UFW's promise as a trade union went unfulfilled. So if, in addition to reminiscing about lyrics from our favorite movement standards and the difficulties of raising children and staying married in the movement, can't we do what Jackie suggests: use our collective experiences, talents, and dedication to social justice to bestow some collective wisdom on those who follow after us?

If I have overreacted to, or misinterpreted, your posting, please let me know. I don't begrudge you your personal views, but, in my view, you have an obligation, as the "list master," not to set a dismissive tone when it comes to topics many of us deem worthwhile.

Gary Brown, 6/16/04

To all:

It is interesting to observe, and I have observed, listened, to the emails for sometime now. I did this, when after stepping away for a few days I had 172 emails to go through. But thank goodness. I was forced to sit back and read, to in effect not participate in the discussion but just to listen. A couple of my observations. I have seen a need for some to defend Cesar from the criticism of others. I note that the defense of Cesar has rested on so many of his qualities that had attracted many of us to the Union or led us to stay for as long as we did. I also feel in those defending Cesar their love for him and respect for him.

In others I have witnessed the deep frustration and hurt they express in their comments. The pain of a failed Union when there was so much promise, so much sacrifice.

I wonder how far apart those people really are. Are not those that love Cesar so much and come to his defense not also able to admit to themselves that, as Tom Dalzell expressed, that the Cesar (do you mean, the Union?) failed? And to those that point out Cesar's failing not able to admit his quality and character that brought the movement to the forefront.

For my part, I remain a great admirer of Cesar and all that I remember of him. Yes, my involvement was pre-1976 (there is a certain line of demarcation between those who came before and those who came or stayed after 1976) but I also see clearly from the writings of those after that date that something was terribly wrong and leadership was the focal point of that breakdown. It is not enough to say the Union still exists, and is still organizing. That is not the measure. The Game was dehumanizing, the purges unnecessary, the gains of the early 70's slipped away. This is as real as Cesar was charismatic, a visionary, a giver of hope.

I see no conflict in seeing on one hand the Union as a tragedy to the extent that it lost its momentum and promise to the farm worker and on the other hand that the legacy of Cesar Chavez is and will remain great. I believe, though I do [*sic*, not?] desire to speak for Tom or Marshall or others, is that part of the pain they feel is that the blame they set at Cesar's feet, is at the feet of a man they cared for and loved as well.

Gary Brown 1969-1974 San Diego, La Paz, Napa, LA

Ramon Romero, 6/16/04

RE: PLEASE REMIND ME

LeRoy,

I have read Tom Dalzell's e-mails and they have not surprised me one bit. He was a very dedicated and caring supporter of the farm workers movement. I think his remarks reflect his dedication to the union and his anger and frustration with what eventually happened to it. I was not there when many of the events that he describes occurred and I may not agree with everything he has to say, but I respect his views and don't think that they need to be belittled. LeRoy, I don't know you, but your "PLEASE REMIND ME" comments really surprised me. I am sorry Tom feels the way that he does, but he could very well be mostly right in his analysis of how the union failed.

I left the union in the Fall of 1974 after 3 ½ years of service. From what I have been reading, I left at a good time. It doesn't surprise me to see Cesar attacked. He was a leader and that is part of the price of leadership. However, it genuinely surprises me to see Tom Dalzell, Marshall Ganz, and some of the other non-farm worker volunteers attacked by their fellow volunteers. There were plenty of things wrong with the union when I was a volunteer, but personal attacks weren't that common in my experience. Maybe its just the way my memory works, but overall the good things far outweighed the bad. I have very positive memories of my UFW experiences. I simply left when I couldn't stand living in La Paz anymore. As a single volunteer, I was housed in the hospital and warm meals were few and far between. Rather than complain too loudly, I left. I wanted to go to law school anyway so I made a selfish choice in the Fall of 1974, after 3 1/2 years of service. Wow, did I ever make the right choice! Things got weird.

For those of you who continued on with the union through the rest of the 70's and 80's, I commend you. However, try to imagine how bizarre some the events you have described seem to earlier volunteers. I heard bits and pieces over the years, but some of the details I am learning now truly shock and disappoint me.

What surprises me the most by the dialogue is the apparent absence of interest in the current state of the UFW. I realize that this process is intended to focus more on history, but I hope someone suggests a way to harness all these pent up feelings for the good of the UFW's current efforts. That's all I have to say.

Ramon Romero
Kansas City, Washington, D.C., La Paz (1971-74)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/16/04 (3)

RE: Welcome to the "nfwalero" mailing list

Hello Joaquin,

I was looking forward to talking to you and had even inquired about you to Kathy. I never knew you had all the strong feelings you expressed. I worked with you in Accounting toward the end of my time at La Paz and never knew you were going through the emotional turmoil you describe. Of course, there was no need for you to share them with me. I am surprised I did not notice them, I guess, since we worked so closely. I have a few question and comments. How did you know Matt was disappointed with the way the game turned with those not trained outside Synanon? Also, you seemed to know quite a bit about Cesar and made some profound statements as though you were in the "know" of things even to be aware of Matt's comment. How could you have been

disconnected so quickly? Was Matt's comment made at one point in time and a long period of time elapsed before Cesar "reacted"? I cannot follow the logic?

"Without us, Cesar would never have been more than another community service worker" saddens me because without Cesar there never would have been an "us". I would never have known or had the privilege to work with you or many of the other volunteers on this listserv. Do not forget, at the point in time that Cesar left CSO, he was not just "another community service worker. Even then, he had already made a name for himself, and we probably would be reading about his accomplishments on behalf of our people in hispanic heritage history books.

The "inner circle" you claim were those who participated in the first, second and third round of the training of which you were one, so was Kathy, and me. I never felt I was in the "inner circle" or special in any way. "Power-tripping"? I knew a lot of people who "power tripped" way before the game ever came around, and I would not be surprised that those people exist today, too, in the union. They exist in all unions/organizations. What I recall about Cesar, is that if you had a problem, he was willing to listen to you but he insisted (dare I say demanded?) that you also come with a few ways to solve the problem. This applied to those in La Paz as well as those working outside. The reason I remember this well is because when I left the union, at every place I ever worked, I remembered what Cesar taught me. I never went to my supervisors/ managers/ employers with a problem(s) that I did not come prepared with solutions to resolve them. Cesar allowed us that, I cannot look unkindly at him. Whether we want to give him credit for teaching us, that is a different matter. He was teaching us even when we could not see it. Paz, Joaquin. sin mas, /abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Joaquin Murguia, 6/16/04 (2)

RE: Welcome to the "nfwaleroy" mailing list

Hello Abby,

To get right to your questions, just because I was disconnected, didn't mean that I was oblivious to all that was going on at La Paz. And, contrary to some of the statements made by others regarding the game, I did develop a friendship as a result of the game with people at Synanon with whom I gamed.

Two of the people I became friends with were Matt and Susan Rand. I did not just stop playing the game. I gamed about the game and during the game, on at least one occasion, Matt Rand mentioned his concerns. When I saw that it was pointless, I stopped playing. I lost contact with Matt and Susan after the shake up at Synanon when everyone was "remarrying."

Frankly, being "in the know" was as much about being aware of what was going on around me as it was about being at the center of what was happening. I never really considered myself an "insider" at La Paz and was really taken completely by surprise when I was invited to participate in the first group that went to Badger.

My comments were not so much about Cesar the man but more about Cesar and the tendency toward mythology. Granted Cesar had a history and of course was a charismatic leader, however, had it not been for the volunteers that came from all walks of life and all parts of the country, the union would not have moved beyond its infancy. It was the volunteers who made the day to day happen, hence my statement.

When I used the term "power tripping," I was using in the context of the game. There will always be people in any organization that seek their own advantage, and the union and the community at La Paz were no different.

I too have taken what I learned at La Paz and applied them to my life. I am proud of the time I spent in service to the union and the skills that I learned. I took those skills acquired under Florence's tutelage and made a career. I took what I learned about an employer's responsibility to its workers and used my position as the Controller of a major agricultural company in the Coachella Valley to make a difference in the lives of the farm workers in our company. Under my direction, the company began a pension plan, provided paid vacations, instituted medical

insurance for any employee who worked more than 60 hours in a month with service both in the US and Mexico, and had some of the best salaries in the valley, which became a sore point for other growers in the valley.

Joaquin

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/16/04 (4)

RE: Welcome to the "nfwalero" mailing list

Well, Joaquin, I guess I am more confused now than what I was before, but that is my *problemita*. Thanks for your reply to my questions and comments. Continued happiness in life; welcome to the listserv (I forgot to say that earlier). Paz, sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/16/04 (5)

RE: PLEASE REMIND ME

I kid you not, EVERYBODY, but I actually know a song entitled: "Did he, would he, could he, should he," but I am not going to suggest it be sung at anybody's funeral but my own. sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/16/04 (6)

RE: Collective wisdom

Glenn writes:

"... in addition to reminiscing about lyrics from our favorite movement standards and the difficulties of raising children and staying married in the movement, can't we do what Jackie suggests: use our collective experiences, talents, and dedication to social justice to bestow some collective wisdom on those who follow after us?"

Glenn. How do you propose we do this? If Cesar couldn't get us to agree on anything, how do you propose doing it? Do you have a format or a questionnaire we can all fill out? We *all* are what Cesar had to deal with on a day in and day out basis. Imagine that. We couldn't agree on anything then, what makes you believe we will now?

Some may find music, marriage, and children extremely important in the struggle for social justice and might feel that is the most important feature to pass on to future generations which is why they feel the need to document it now. If you have a format that we can follow, please, bring it on so we can begin. However, I thought that is what we were doing here. /abby

Joel Glick, 6/16/04

RE: Favorite Songs

In 1974 I visited Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade. After working for eight weeks on a construction project, we toured the country from one end to the other. I recall hearing a band perform "Huelga en General" somewhere out in the Cuban countryside. At first I assumed that that someone with ties to the UFW had taught it to the Cuban band, but then someone told me that it was originally a Cuban song that Luis Valdez had adapted. Perhaps someone knows something about the song's history.

Joel Glick

1970-1973, on and off

Joaquin Murguia, 6/16/04 (3)

RE: La Paz

Barbara,

Please forgive my lack of memory. It sounds as though you know my family well, I just don't recall. Dam I hate getting old!

I am quite comfortable of the decisions I have made not to continue on with higher education. I truly believe that the education I received at La Paz both as an accountant and dealing with a wide and varied arrangement of personalities helped contribute to my successes in the business world.

Besides the game, I took one other thing with me from Synanon... a saying that Chuck Dederich shared. "A learning man is alive, a learned man is dead." So I take what I learn on a daily basis, temper it with past experience and hopefully will graduate successfully from the school of life.

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/16/04 (4)

RE: Richard Cook's Questions

Tom...

The what if's will always be that is the reality of hind sight. The challenge for us is to not get hung up on the what if's and instead acknowledge the successes and learn from the failures.

Many times we get ourselves stuck on asking "why." Sometimes there aren't answers, sometimes there are answers we don't like.

Regardless, we must keep moving forward without allowing ourselves to indulge in the what ifs.

Joaquin

Barry Winograd, 6/16/04

RE: PLEASE REMIND ME

Colleagues:

Anything Tom Dalzell wants to write is worth reading, especially since he is a distinguished author and wordsmith in his own right. And to compare him to Andre Malraux is a bonus. LeRoy didn't mean it as a favorable comment, but Malraux's insightful political works are admired the world over, no less by true revolutionaries. Perhaps if we turned this mailist into a book club to study Man's Hope and Man's Fate we might be getting somewhere. Keep going, Tom. Some prefer to disregard the message, and to shoot the messenger instead.

Barry Winograd
UFW Legal, 1973-1977

Ellen Starbird, 6/16/04

RE: Richard Cook's Questions

It is, I think worth noting that the conflagration of the labor movement in the seventies coincided with the loss of revenue for the UFW from the auto union and the meat packers. Cesar's decision to take government money, and other silly fundraising ventures should be noted in that context in all fairness I think. -Ellen Starbird

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/17/04

RE: MY LAST POSTING REVISITED

LeRoy Chatfield 1963 - 1973

Several of you, with good reason, have objected to my latest response to some of Tom Dalzell's observations. My ill-advised posting is a classic case of failed humor and any effort to try and explain it, render it even more so. I am certainly old enough to know how to write a more appropriate response, but in this instance I lacked the wisdom and the discipline to do so.

Please accept this posting as my public apology for the unfortunate response I made to Tom's observations.

I very much appreciate Tom's participation in our discussion and I remain hopeful that he will contribute an essay to the documentation project, which will include an account of his work in the movement, his observations, and any conclusions he wishes to make.

Thank you for your consideration.

Barry Winograd, 6/17/04

RE: MY LAST POSTING REVISITED

LeRoy,

Your comment is appreciated on this end. Thanks for your efforts thus far, and for your most recent thoughts.

Barry Winograd
UFW Legal, 1973-1977

Deborah Vollmer, 6/17/04

RE: PLEASE REMIND ME

Hello, Barry,

You and I haven't talked for a long time, and when we did speak some nearly thirty years ago, it was with intense acrimony. Remember how we had two separate functioning legal departments in Delano, you with lawyers and staff, and me by myself with only occasional help from anybody (except I did, of course, do some consulting by phone with Jerry)? And we shared the law library, but every time I came in for a file or a law book, I was regarded with suspicion? And I was stuck typing interrogatories and answers to interrogatories when you had staff with time on their hands, and you wouldn't let me borrow anyone to help with the typing?

I was a very young and inexperienced lawyer then, and craved both encouragement and guidance from the more experienced lawyers, and from you I got none. I have my own theories about how this state of affairs evolved; I think it had a lot to do with power politics in Delano, but to what extent Cesar may have been involved I do not know.

Your isolation of me made me feel terrible at the time. I don't know if you have ever had second thoughts about what was going on and your role in it. If you would like to discuss this-either on the list or privately, I would be interested in knowing your thoughts today about what was going on in the legal department in Delano in those days. Did you really think that I was incompetent and manipulative to a point that I was somebody you couldn't work with? Or do you think all of us on the legal staff were pawns in somebody's political power game?

Anyway, I did want to let you know that despite our old differences, I do appreciate your latest post to this list, and agree with you in your support of Tom Dalzell's evaluation.

Peace,
Deborah

Carlos LeGerrette, 6/17/04

RE: MY LAST POSTING REVISITED

Brother LeRoy..... In my state of mind, I immediately got it (your humor) in your posting to Tom. I can easily understand how it was understood. I believe your apology is an example to all of us that we can be, and we're definitely getting better, of being more sensitive to each other. Equally, I thought Tom Dalzell framed his posting in a manner that was far more appreciative than some of his earlier emails.

Although some of the listserve, including moi, may not agree or like what we read, we still must respect the opinions expressed. Hell, Linda and I have been married for some thirty-eight years and we still don't agree on everything.

Carlos LeGerrette

'66-'78

Richard Cook, 6/17/04 (1)

RE: MY LAST POSTING REVISITED

LeRoy,

Thanks for 'revisiting' your last posting – the response to Tom Dalzell.

We can all stand to “revisit” something or other.

One problem with email is that the reader always must supply the inflection and usually only guess at the context.

We all know of at least one weapon of mass destruction: the SEND button. So it is nice to know one can take back a little bomb once in a while and replace it with a little bouquet.

One of the positives of your earlier posting was the number of thoughtful and (to me) helpful responses.

Richard Cook

Doug Adair, 6/17/04 (1)

RE: Other unions' losses

In a message dated 6/16/04 . . . [Ellen Starbird] writes:

It is, I think, worth noting that the conflagration of the labor movement in the seventies ... should be noted in that context in all fairness I think. – Ellen Starbird

And unions more powerful than ours were devastated in the 1980's... the destruction of the Air Traffic Controllers by Reagan set the tone. I have neighbors who fled Arizona after Phelps Dodge destroyed the copper workers union, the old Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (absorbed by the Steelworkers).

I am pretty sure that under the UFW contracts, we grape pickers were in the top 1% of the top 1% of farm workers anywhere in the world, in wages and benefits and working conditions. But the globalization promoted by the Democratic and Republican Parties says we have to be competitive with ---- Chile? Starting with the White River Farms strike in 1972, the growers and agribusiness began their counter attack, and with the help of the governments, Demos and Republicans, could be expected to win. But I agree with Tom that there was a window of opportunity, and playing the game did not seem to organize any farm workers, and seemed to do more harm than good for the administrative team up there in La Paz..

Doug Adair (Tenneco/ Ducor, 1971-73; David Freedman Co., 1978-79)

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/17/04 (1)

RE: Other unions' losses

Ellen what were the details of the loss of funds from the meatcutters and auto workers? The flow of cash from the grants went into the movement's infrastructure, and became part of the distraction that did include the game. It also became a source of petty bickering. Who got a diesel operated rabbit? Does anyone else get the sense of who jumps on this project in early am, and late pm and who uses breaks at work and who catches up on weekends? Just interesting. Kathy Murguia

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/17/04 (1)

RE: Other unions' losses

Or, who jumps in and out while paying bills on-line, typing reports, or carrying a sick grandbaby late at night that wakes if you lay him down? Yep! I have noticed a pattern. So who finally got the diesel rabbits? I know Delores did because that was one of the stops to check on repairs we made traveling south one time. sin mas/ abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Richard Cook, 6/17/04 (2)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

Joaquin Murguia, your comments confirming Cesar's healing activities in your personal case prompts this posting from me.

The interesting notion that Cesar was about something other than building a trade union requires a factual record. Your comments help to provide that.

In some important sense, I believe Cesar was a mystic. I believe he experimented with what he understood to be elemental forces that are not subject to rational analysis. In my opinion, these experiments ought not be referred as "faith healing" because this term carries a negative and limiting connotation in our culture.

I wonder how many others who are part of this discussion were 'healed' by Cesar.

I wonder how many might have information about how and why Cesar got into this kind of activity.

Richard Cook

Cathy Adams (Lacinak), 6/17/04

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

Richard – I don't tell this story much. When we lived in La Paz, our son Jeremy was 3 to 4 years old. He had an ear problem which required a trip to the dr. We were told that he had a large deposit of wax deep inside his ear that would have to be worked on with injections of warm water into the ear for a week or so to soften up and get rid of it. The situation was causing Jeremy pain. Michael mentioned it to Cesar when we got back from the doctor. Cesar came to the trailer, did his thing with rubbing his hands together and meditating. I stood close by while he held his hands close to Jeremy's ears. I could feel the heat emanating from his hands. As soon as he left, Jeremy said it was not hurting anymore. I injected a little water into his ear, not much because it hurt him when I had to do it, and a very large chunk of wax came out. End of story and end of ear problem.

Somewhat pedestrian, I guess, and lots of other plausible reasons, but frankly, despite all my conflicting feelings about Cesar, La Paz and the turmoil within the union, I agree with you that Cesar developed abilities to heal, or whatever you want to call it. Calling him a mystic kind of gives me the creeps, but I know what you mean.

If nothing else, this listserv is addictively interesting. Cathy Adams (lacinak) Toronto Boycott 1973-77; La Paz 1977-78

Marco Lopez, 6/17/04

RE: Mystic Monks

Richard, and brothers and sisters all,

I for one can say I shared in Cesar's interest of the mystical life. Those that know me well know very well that I am far from being "monastic" in any sense or by any stretch of the term. My interest in this area predated my work in the Union and it continues to date. Recently in my talks regarding Cesar I have had fond recollections of discussions I had with Cesar regarding this subject. I also recall "gaming" him on it, in one of the department head games we had in La Paz, circa 1979? Anyway, I remember my asking Cesar with some feigned exasperation: "What would you like us to be anyway, union organizers or monks?!" As I recall, it turned out to be a humorous game and whether or not I made a "point" I'll never know. I do know however, that Cesar got a kick out of it and did not take it personally.

Cesar, I know, was often torn between being a labor leader and the head of a movement. He was torn by requests of a myriad type, from the cities, from the rural areas, from the civil rights movement, the Chicano movement, and many others as well. He struggled to define the work, ours as well as his, and sought to define the Union's "purpose". His own search took him wide, from the

teachings of Buddha to the MBO theories of the corporate gurus. Likewise, I sensed he struggled with his human and spiritual natures as well. And in that struggle also he was a true and fearless warrior.

I am concerned, as many of us may be, that with the passage of time those non-knowing may be inclined to want to canonize Cesar, and rob him of the human nature we all came to know. In my recent commemorative talks around March 31st, I point out that to do so would be a travesty. It would elevate him to a state beyond the reach of those very people he dedicated his life to help. Viewed as a man, I believe his work will continue through those unfearful to emulate him, in the good that he did.

So, to answer your question Richard, I never asked Cesar to heal me, but like you I also think he was mystical in nature. I think in it he found solace and refuge from the world we are all born to live in.

Saludes, Marco

Marco E. Lopez, '70, '73-'75, '77-'81 (Salinas & La Paz)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/17/04 (2)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

Hello Richard,

In regards to Cesar, and the healing "activity", I know that he was a vegetarian and at the end of his life followed a macrobiotic diet. As I see it, it is logical that his interest in health and nutrition would lead him to read about some of the practices in these areas at the time. According to Cesar, while researching on these topics he discovered Silva. The Silva Mind Control gives one the impression of the mind control we read about in the book 1984 with Big Brother, but in fact, it had to do (at that point in time/I do not know what is taught today) with the self-healing potential of the mind that humans possess but normally do not use. Imagine your illness, focus on it and sweep it away, as I recall. This method of self-healing, from what I have read, has been used by some cancer patients who have given testimonies of its success. Cesar was the leader of a union but also an individual with diverse interests and hobbies i.e. reading, handball, yoga, etc. He was excited about the potential of the mind to heal itself. When he shared what he had learned with us at La Paz, it was taken seriously by some who began to request Cesar help alleviate their pain. It seemed to work. In the Mexican culture, the ability to heal someone does not appear strange because it is part of our Mexican/Indian way of life. For those not used to it, it may appear strange. I do not hold to this type of healing, although I am a strong believer on the medicinal value of herbs, plants, bark, roots etc. However, the belief system I adhere to may appear just as strange to others -- the power of prayer and the Holy Spirit. Therefore, as much as I did witness the successes, (I was present at some), I never had Cesar heal me. I am deeply respectful of his beliefs as he was of mine. sin mas, abby/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/17/04 (3)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

I did not mean to say: "the ability of the mind to heal itself" in my previous e-mail. What I meant to say was "the ability of the mind to heal one's body." So much for writing during breaks. /abby

Joaquin Murguia, 6/17/04 (1)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

Abby,

Right on with your assessment. No one would think twice of a Hispanic person seeking out the services of a curandera (not sure that's spelled right). There is more to healing than Western medicine would have us believe.

Joaquin

P. S. If you can specify your confusion over my previous response to your inquiry about my ending time in La Paz, please do so and I will do my best to try and clear up any confusion, misconceptions or misunderstandings.

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/17/04 (2)

RE: CESAR THE MYSTIC and HEALER

Joaquin –

Mijo, it's spelled curandera. I too was taken by Cesar's venture into the art of alternative healing practices. Keeping in step with his Mom, he did have an interest in the healing arts. Ricardo was born a "pujon". He had colic, serious colic. His stomach juices soured his milk and heated up his tiny body. He would make the strangest sounds, especially when he slept. Juana (Cesar's Mom) told me to bring him to Sally and Richard's house early in the morning during a visit. I watched her work. I was mystified. (not to be confused with being a mystic). She told me to bring him back the following day. I did so for three straight days, and Voila, a Pujon he was no more. I maintained an interest in alternative cures. Most of all I recognized an energy source from a type of personality that was unique. I sensed it.

Cesar came by his interest in healing honestly as we say in my business. He picked up on Mom's skills and what she did. I have become familiar with the psychological side of this since coming to mental health. I'm trained in medical hypnosis and understand some of the stuff Cesar was into. Today it is widely used. (Reiki)

I'd be the last person to say there was anything mystical about it. It can work. There is a subtle receptivity that is required by the person being worked on. As for Cesar being a mystic...I will reserve this for later comments. I do agree with Marco Lopez that it would be a disservice to Cesar's memory to attempt to canonize him. A saint he was not. . . . Kathy Murguia 1965-1983

Joaquin Murguia, 6/17/04 (2)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

Mom,

Thank you for the insight on Cesar's mother. I never knew about this aspect of her life. I never really had the honor or pleasure of knowing her.

Joaquin

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/17/04

RE: MY LAST POSTING REVISITED

LeRoy: Good apology.

Tom: Good post. I thought you had a lot of valid points...

One of the things I wanted to address that Tom brought up was the whole issue of government grant money. In 1978, I was Executive Director of the Service Center. Cesar had the grants initially applied for in the Service Center's name because it was a non-profit and, hence, eligible to apply. There was a lot of scrambling to legally set up a separate entity called "FIELD"-- Farmworker Institute for Education and Leadership Development-- and the plan was for the grant funding/administration to be transferred to FIELD once it was incorporated and could legally receive the money. Ramona Holguin did the bulk of the writing of the grant proposals, and we both went back to Washington D.C. to negotiate for the initial Department of Labor grant.

I would say that the whole thing was a disaster. Ramona had experience with writing grant proposals at least; I had zero: I was 21 years old and had been put in charge of a staff of 25 people. The Service Center ended up being a catch-all for whatever projects didn't fit anywhere else. We had Property Management/Maintenance & Repair of the aging facilities at La Paz and some 15 other properties that the movement owned, administration of Agbayani Village, running the garden at La Paz (and for a short while the Co-Op Store which never really got off the ground),

and the microwave communications network-- which basically operated independently since Ken Doyle refused to report to anyone other than Cesar. The grants were definitely a pie-in-the-sky endeavor. We were nowhere near having the infrastructure to make these things happen within the timeframes specified in the grants. In my opinion, we did all this brainstorming about what would be wonderful things to do in a perfect world (train farmworkers to be auto mechanics and carpenters, have a language school to teach English, train people to set up and maintain communications towers, etc.) but we never made more than cursory adjustments in the staffing to get these things done. We did hire some teachers, but almost all of the "students" came from already existing staff-- which did create some complications and hard feelings.

The grants did provide funds to enhance things we were already doing-- new tools for the mechanic's shop, etc., but this was a LONG WAY from accomplishing what we said we were going to do with the money. It just was not a priority at the time and, in my opinion, was a classic example of overreaching. And the fallout was not good as a result. Does anyone remember the 60 Minutes program?

So why did we do it? I don't really know. I wasn't around for the '65 OEO controversy that Tom referred to in his post. I do know that there is a shadow side to the "Si Se Puede" attitude-- There is a need to balance the vision with follow-through, and there was a serious lack of focus and consistency during a lot of my time in the union. It's good to feel like you can accomplish anything, but in order to actually do something, you've got to focus in on priorities and stick with things. And these grants were a good example of the "tangents" that Tom referred to. So, as a cautionary tale, I would say to future generations, there are a lot of downsides to taking someone else's money, and the strings that come with it should never be underestimated.

Terry (Vasquez) Scout
1973-1988

Joaquin Murguia, 6/17/04 (3)

RE : MY LAST POSTING REVISITED

Terry,

Good to see your name again. I do recall that you were at the center of some pretty spirited games as it relates to the Service Center.

As for the duties that were thrust upon you, I can only say that you handled them better than I certainly could have. There is a certain value in learning by doing, but the Ned Dunphy concept of "sink or drown" was not the best use of your time or your talents.

That is, however, the consequence of an organization that had not yet grown up or perhaps was forced to grow up too quickly. It was almost like somebody came to the realization that "gee, we have all these contracts, now what do we do?" Unfortunately, the strikes of 1973 and the Teamsters created a certain amount of chaos at a time when the movement could have best been using its efforts to transition to a union. Something, by the way, that probably should have occurred at the culmination of the first grape strike rather than moving on to the next target.

That is the luxury of hindsight. The lesson to be learned may be controlled growth, focused, with attainable goals and objectives, management of resources and people and a clear idea of that the next step is when the goal has been reached.

Joaquin

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/17/04 (4)

Terry in your last post you write:

"There is a need to balance the vision with follow-through, and there was a serious lack of focus and consistency during a lot of my time in the union. It's good to feel like you can accomplish anything, but in order to actually do something, you've got to focus in on priorities and stick with things."

Of all I have read to-date, the one you describe has got be the saddest situation of all. Why, Terry, given the futility of what you found yourself in, did you not pick yourself and your family up and leave? Why would anyone want to stay and work where there was no focus, no priorities, no consistency, no "stick with things", and a dark shade to "Si Se Puede". The door was as wide when you came in as it was for you to exit. It makes me believe that you either loved the pain or else you had this image of "oh, the poor starving farmworkers; what will they do without me if I leave"? After reading your posting, my hats off to all those who left when they didn't like what was going on in the union. I cannot understand your suffering through all this. sin mas, abby/ LA PAZ

Joaquin Murguia, 6/17/04 (4)

Abby,

The unfortunate part about this post is that when people did leave, they were labeled assholes and what not. Very, very few ever left La Paz with a good reputation. It almost seemed that it was necessary to find some fault with anyone who left because no one who was truly a good volunteer would up and leave unless there was something wrong with THEM.

This was the case when I left. What I had done, all that I attempted to do was gone almost from the moment I left La Paz. So much so that when I returned to La Paz a year latter to secure my parents home and belongings that had been vandalized, I was given the third degree at the gate and did not receive as much as a hello from the few people who happened by to see what was going on at the Murguia house. Then to add insult to injury, I was escorted out the gate and to the top of the hill at La Paz. As a result of that little visit, I have only returned to La Paz once in the last 25 years, with my dad, to pay respects to Helen.

This experience was not unique to me. Others have commented here about the Murguia family falling in and out of favor with La Paz. Can you imagine? My dad questioned about his loyalty? This is a man who dedicated most of his adult life to the union and continues to do so at every turn, no matter what the request. There is something completely wrong with that picture.

Is it any wonder that someone would think twice about leaving?

Joaquin

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/17/04 (3)

Abby--What is it? You write such good stuff then, and this is my opinion only WHAM. That was a low blow to my comadre Terry. . . . There was the time I felt I wanted to scream over the ignorance of the security guard who wouldn't let my Dad into La Paz. He had traveled four hundred miles to visit us. (Security didn't have my new work location). My Dad waited and waited then returned to Escondido. The next time I saw him he was in a casket. And there were the moments I felt I couldn't go on with the craziness of what was happening at La Paz. BUT, I didn't leave the Church, I and I didn't leave La Paz. There is something called commitment that had nothing to do with being there for... I can't believe you said it...."the poor starving farmworkers", and yet... YES it did have to do with that.

And there was a lot of pain. Physical pain of being beat up by the Teamsters and psychic painBut that doesn't mean you quit. And my comadre wasn't a quitter, nor was she naive enough to believe that what was happening wasn't the dark side of a Si Se Puede mind set. A lot of folks could have said No se puede, and maybe we could have been a tad realistic.

My thoughts only; and Abbie I too agree...You do rock! In a "no se puede attitude" don't mess with my sister.

(smile) Kathy Murguia 1965-1983

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/17/04 (5)

Do you think it could be all of Tom's musing L that got to her and made her say all the stuff at the end of her e-mail? I thought I was reading something from a stranger. That was not the Terry I

thought I knew. Thus my remarks. I thought that if she was wise enough to see the signs that she described, she should have been wise enough to see the writing on the wall and bow out. I guess I have never taken kindly to long-suffering not in the union or anywhere for that matter; I never thought it was a requirement for commitment either.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/17/04 (6)

Hello Joaquin. If you leave, what do you care what anyone says. You can't hear it anyway. No one owns you. However, I doubt that would be a concern of Terry's. As for what happened to your family, I really regret it happened. Unfortunately, La Paz is not only a place of business, it is a residence. When I have returned there (you would be surprised how few the times that I have returned), the moment I pass the gate, I treat the place as if is someone else's home. If they called out all the guards and all the dogs in the neighborhood, well so be it. (There are always guards, by the way, for safety reasons and I understand that.) I can do the same in my home when people visit me if I choose, and I do have three mean dogs. What my husband and I say, goes. Funny you should talk about vandalizing. That was what happened to me before I got to La Paz. I sent my personal things ahead the night before, I came loaded down with desks, filing cabinets, chairs, and records the following day. When I finally made it to my room, (at that time it was at Norma's little house where Pete and Dolores lived) well, imagine my surprise. Ransacked! What a welcome to La Paz I received. I later spotted my very rare bottle of perfume sitting right in front of a girl working at a desk (you may not want to know who she was). I just reached over, told her it had been stolen from me, and took it; she didn't say anything but wasn't happy either. I never found my high school graduation watch. So I guess La Paz must have a long history of vandalizing. Paz,
/abby

Joaquin Murguia, 6/17/04 (5)

Abby,

I really didn't care about what was said about me. The only reason I cares was because my family heard. My father, my mother, my brothers and sisters. It was especially difficult for my brothers and sisters. They couldn't understand why it was necessary for anyone to say anything bad when as far as they were concerned, I chose to move on with my life.

Yes, unfortunately, there was a history of vandalism at La Paz along with theft. Most of it perpetrated by those in La Paz, much of it perpetrated by people who would sneak through the back entrance to La Paz. Who the girl was is probably irrelevant at this point especially without knowing how she came into possession of your perfume.

Thank you for your point of view mi hermana.

Joaquin

Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Jerry Kay, 6/17/04

RE: MY LAST POSTING REVISITED

From Jerry Kay, -69-75 (Boycotts, field worker, field office adminis & director):

Perhaps the one thing, the most successful thing Cesar and we all did, was the original grape boycott. Maybe it was the right strategy at the right time. It projected the plight of the farm workers across the world with a charismatic leader at a time when people were paying attention and wanted to help. As much as i value Fred Ross's and Cesar's community organizing attempts, it set fire but would not have worked alone just with the farm workers without the boycott. Once we won the contracts we were plunged back into crisis with the Teamsters, Nixon, growers etc. but we never really got the contract administration down with enough resources and talent. This is a huge generalization and I even argue with myself about it. My years in Salinas seem to refute it as well as what we had going in Florida. The clinics and Service center work were true wonderful assets to win farm workers in Salinas. That was/could have been amazing.

But still, I'm thinking--the one goose that laid the golden egg was not our great ability to wage strikes, administer contracts to win farm worker adherents or even get votes out for politicians. I think it was the massive army we put together, no, I didn't put it together, you originals got me into it--and I followed your lead--til we won in 1970. So maybe it was not necessarily the 1977 events, but the failure to be able to transform the grape boycott really into the next step. Of course we were immediately beset with everything to kill us, sometimes literally. And perhaps always running the show like it was a life or death situation, always crisis-oriented had a lot to do with it. But, I imagine back to that year when campesinos, manongs and volunteers fanned out across the country and brought that one simple message, 'boycott grapes,' and hammered it relentlessly--that was our golden-egged goose. Maybe after that the outside forces yanked us around so that we had to always respond to their tactics. Okay, enough.

Jerry Kay

Ruben Montoya and Clair Walter Montoya, 6/17/04

Ruben Montoya San Jose 1968-71, La Paz 1971-74 El Malcriado & print shop

Claire (Walter) Montoya La Paz 1972-74 Child care for Virginia and Nick Jones & accounting office

Hope – I don't know if you remember us or not from La Paz, but we were married in the newly renovated conference room there in March of 1974. You are in the pictures. Glen Pearcy served as the minister, Pedro Baird played the guitar, Mary Sheehan made my dress. We got our wedding cake for free because we consented to have the Union eagle on all three layers. We are still married,

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/17/04

RE: Tom

I found Tom's contribution quite interesting and enlightening, it didn't raise my hackles. As a matter of fact I printed out the whole shebang so I could read it with an open mind.

Tom - your question re: Eddie in Philly. His name is Eddie Howarth, he was the business rep for the Retail Clerks, I believe it was Local 1377.

Doug Adair, 6/17/04 (2)

RE: Tom

He's the guy that suggested we have mattresses for the windows if we were going to take on the Teamsters AND the produce terminal in Philly... and he wasn't joking!

Agustin Lira and Patricia Wells Solorzano, 6/17/04

RE: Agustin Lira/ Patricia W. Solorzano

Dear Abby,

This is Agustin Lira writing. Patricia is out doing some work and will return later today. All of the music that is being discussed with your group is available on our CDs. We've continued working in our communities over the years teaching Teatro and musica. Yes, we're still in Fresno.

In Solidarity,

Agustin Lira and Patricia Wells Solorzano

Doug Adair, 6/17/04 (3)

RE: Plan of Delano

In a message dated 6/6/04 . . . [Marshall Ganz] writes:

Yes, some one else said, and on the way to Sacramento, the march could pass through most of the farm worker towns. Taking a page from Mao's "long march" we could organize local committees

and get pledges not to break the strike signed. Yes, and we could also get them to feed us and house us. And just as Zapata wrote his "Plan de Ayala," Luis Valdez suggested, we can write a "Plan de Delano," read it in each town, ask local farm workers to sign it and to carry it to the next town. Then, Chavez asked, why should it be a "march" at all? It will be Lent soon, a time for reflection, for penance, for asking forgiveness. Perhaps ours should be a pilgrimage, a "peregrinacion," which could arrive in Sacramento on Easter Sunday.

The Plan of Delano

Plan for the liberation of the Farm Workers associated with the Delano Grape Strike in the State of California, seeking social justice in farm labor with those reforms that they believe necessary for their well-being as workers in these United States.

We, the undersigned, gathered in Pilgrimage to the capital of the State in Sacramento in penance for all the failings of Farm Workers as free and sovereign men, do solemnly declare before the civilized world which judges our actions, and before the nation to which we belong, the propositions we have formulated to end the injustice that oppresses us.

We are conscious of the historical significance of our Pilgrimage. It is clearly evident that our path travels through a valley well known to all Mexican farm workers. We know all of these towns of Delano, Madera, Fresno, Modesto, Stockton, and Sacramento, because along this very same road, in this very same valley, the Mexican race has sacrificed itself for the last hundred years. Our sweat and our blood have fallen on this land to make other men rich. This Pilgrimage is a witness to the suffering we have seen for generations.

The Penance we accept symbolizes the suffering we shall have in order to bring justice to these same towns, to this same valley. The Pilgrimage we make symbolizes the long historical road we have traveled in this valley alone, and the long road we have yet to travel, with much penance, in order to bring about the Revolution we need, and of which we present the propositions in the following PLAN:

1. This is the beginning of a social movement in fact and not in pronouncements. We seek our basic, God-given rights as human beings. Because we have suffered—and are not afraid to suffer—in order to survive, we are ready to give up everything, even our lives, in our fight for social justice. We shall do it without violence because that is our destiny. To the ranchers, and to all those who oppose us, we say, in the words of Benito Juarez: "EL RESPETO AL DERECHO AJENO ES LA PAZ."
2. We seek the support of all political groups and protection of the government, which is also our government, in our struggle. For too many years we have been treated like the lowest of the low. Our wages and working conditions have been determined from above, because irresponsible legislators who could have helped us, have supported the rancher's argument that the plight of the Farm Worker was a "special case." They saw the obvious effects of an unjust system, starvation wages, contractors, day hauls, forced migration, sickness, illiteracy, camps and sub-human living conditions, and acted as if they were irremediable causes. The farm worker has been abandoned to his own fate—without representation, without power—subject to mercy and caprice of the rancher. We are tired of words, of betrayals, or indifference. To the politicians we say that the years are gone when the farm worker said nothing and did nothing to help himself. From this movement shall spring leaders who shall understand us, lead us, be faithful to us, and we shall elect them to represent us. WE SHALL BE HEARD.
3. We seek, and have, the support of the Church in what we do. At the head of the Pilgrimage we carry LA VIRGIN DE GUADALUPE because she is ours, Patroness of the Mexican people. We also carry the Sacred Cross and the Star of David because we are not sectarians, and because we ask the help and prayers of all religions. All men are brothers, sons of the same God; that is why we say to all men of good will, in the words of Pope Leo XIII, "Everyone's first duty is to protect the workers from the greed of speculators who use human beings as instruments to provide themselves with money. It is neither just nor human to oppress men with excessive work to the point where their minds become enfeebled and their bodies worn out." GOD SHALL NOT ABANDON US.

4. We are suffering. We have suffered, and we are not afraid to suffer in order to win our cause. We have suffered unnumbered ills and crimes in the name of the Law of the Land. Our men, women, and children have suffered not only the basic brutality of stoop labor, and the most obvious injustices of the system; they have also suffered the desperation of knowing that the system caters to the greed of callous men and not to our needs. Now we will suffer for the purpose of ending the poverty, the misery, and the injustices, with the hope that our children will not be exploited as we have been. They have imposed hungers on us, and now we hunger for justice. We draw our strength from the very despair in which we have been forced to live. WE SHALL ENDURE.

5. We shall unite. We have learned the meaning of UNITY. We know why these United States are just that—united. The strength of the poor is also in union. We know that the poverty of the Mexican or Filipino worker in California is the same as that of all farm workers across the country, the Negroes and poor whites, the Puerto Ricans, Japanese, and Arabians; in short, all of the races that comprise the oppressed minorities of the United States. The majority of the people on our Pilgrimage are of Mexican descent, but the triumph of our race depends on a national association of all farm workers. The ranchers want to keep us divided in order to keep us weak. Many of us have signed individual "work contracts" with the ranchers or contractors, contracts in which they had all the power. These contracts were farces, one more cynical joke at our impotence. That is why we must get together and bargain collectively. We must use the only strength that we have, the force of our numbers. The ranchers are few; we are many. UNITED WE SHALL STAND.

6. We shall strike. We shall pursue the REVOLUTION we have proposed. We are sons of the Mexican Revolution, a revolution of the poor seeking bread and justice. Our revolution will not be armed, but we want the existing social order to dissolve; we want a new social order. We are poor, we are humble, and our only choice is to Strike in those ranches where we are not treated with the respect we deserve as working men, where our rights as free and sovereign men are not recognized. We do not want the paternalism of the rancher; we do not want the contractor; we do not want charity at the price of our dignity. We want to be equal with all the working men in the nation; we want a just wage, better working conditions, a decent future for our children. To those who oppose us, be they ranchers, police, politicians, or speculators, we say that we are going to continue fighting until we die, or we win. WE SHALL OVERCOME.

Across the San Joaquin Valley, across California, across the entire Southwest of the United States, wherever there are Mexican people, wherever there are farm workers, our movement is spreading like flames across a dry plain. Our PILGRIMAGE is the MATCH that will light our cause for all farm workers to see what is happening here, so that they may do as we have done. The time has come for the liberation of the poor farm worker.

History is on our side.

MAY THE STRIKE GO ON! VIVA LA CAUSA!

Doug Adair, 6/17/04 (4)

RE: El Malcriado asks about the March, 1966

From the Plan of Delano:

6. We shall strike. We shall pursue the REVOLUTION we have proposed. We are sons of the Mexican Revolution, a revolution of the poor seeking bread and justice. Our revolution will not be armed, but we want the existing social order to dissolve; we want a new social order.

Doug Adair writes:

I keep trying to get some analysis going on the March to Sacramento. By separate mail I'm sending the whole "Plan of Delano," which I understood was originally written in Spanish, and had a beautiful poetry and cadence as Luis Valdez read it at the rallies as we went from Barrio to Barrio up the Valley in 1966. It is my understanding that Luis wrote most of it, in consultation with Cesar. At that point, no one in the leadership was afraid of such ideas.

The criticism of the Plan, at least in People's Cafe, was that it was too Catholic, that it would alienate Protestant members, who in many barrios were some of our strongest members. (And in fact, some did not want to march behind the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe).

And there were also many Mexicano nationalists (I think of Tony Orendain as my teacher in this viewpoint) who might be nominal Catholics, but who pointed to the 500 year history of the Church, entering Mexico with the invaders, the torturers, the enslavers; always backing the landlords and against the people; the Church that tried Fr. Hidalgo for Heresy and banished him to the parish of Dolores so he couldn't cause trouble; the Church against Independence on Sept. 16; the Church on the side of the French invaders and against the people and Mexican independence on Cinco de Mayo; totally against Benito Juarez and everything he stood for; against Madero and in favor of Huerta and the coup that overthrew and executed Madero; against Zapata and Villa and all the leaders of the Revolution; and in living memory, the Church that backed the fascist-like Christeros terrorists who murdered school teachers in the 1930's...

Was our vision in 1966 really coming out of the Mexican Revolutionary tradition, or was it a vision much more closely tied to the Catholic Church? Or was it, could it be both? Did the Church eventually absorb and emasculate the Union and its vision? Was it naive to think that in the USA of 1966, "the land, like the water and the air, should belong to the people?"

(There, I probably stepped on some toes with that one. I have to confess I am a Protestant Episcopal, the church of my grandmothers).

Doug Adair, El Malcriado, 1965-70
1965-89

Nancy Grimley Carleton, 6/18/04

RE: Plan of Delano

Thanks so much for sharing this powerful statement! This is the statement of a movement (not just a union) -- and to my ear it echoes the intertwining of religious imagery and conviction for social justice of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the civil rights movement in the South. (At some point, I do want to type up the Lou Riley sermon I mentioned earlier, with the bit my stepfather Joe Carleton added about LeRoy and the farmworker co-op, because its reference to the civil rights movement in the South, the war in Vietnam, and the farmworkers' struggle helps place all of these in the larger context of what was happening in this country in the mid-1960s. What a pivotal time! I've written it here before in an earlier post: My sense is that the greatest legacy of Cesar and the farmworker movement of the 1960s and 1970s will lie in the civil rights arena.

Nancy Carleton
Boycott Staff, 1975-1976 (San Jose with two months in the San Fernando Valley)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/18/04 (1)

Joaquin: You're right. Nobody has the right to talk about you to family. I hope it wasn't to the little ones. That is wrong. You're right; you had moved on. About the perfume, I should have just told you that it was the guards trying to get in good with the girl...That is why it seems funny. Don't forget, I took care of it myself. Things could get taken care of personally, it didn't have to require the entire community or parents or Cesar. If more people would have tried that approach, we wouldn't have had to have the CS Committee. I wish your family would have had the same opportunity I did because what happened was not right. Paz, sin mas/ abby

Ellen Eggers, 6/18/04

Abby, you wrote to Terry:

Why, Terry, given the futility of what you found yourself in, did you not pick yourself and your family up and leave?

In my opinion, Abby, your sarcastic remarks are over the top. I really wish you'd knock it off. People are not going to want to participate in this if they feel like doing so might subject them to

one of your attacks. Expressing your opinions about the union is fair game, but just attacking the volunteers who express them should be off limits. You are turning insult-hurling into a spectator sport that we're all being forced to watch, at least if we want to be part of this project. Maybe it's just me, but I don't appreciate it. And, as a matter of fact, I think Terry's comments were well-founded; since she was directly involved in the administration of the grants, she obviously was in a position to know. --

Ellen Eggers
LA Boycott 72-75
La Paz Legal 80-87

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/18/04 (1)

RE: Si Se Puede, etc.

Well, I'm one of those people who is more active in reading and responding to posts in the morning, so I'm getting to this a little later than I probably should have, but I think it's worth pursuing.

Abby, I don't think you "got" what I was saying. Joaquin, Kathy, and I'm sure some others did. My understanding of the purpose of this listserv is to take a look at both what we did well and what we did not do well so that others who weren't there can have the possibility of learning from our experiences. I personally do not think taking a "UFW: Love it or Leave it" approach serves the purposes of this list.

Cesar was a great visionary, and one of the things that most drew me to the union was the "Si Se Puede" attitude. I don't believe there is anyone on this list who wasn't empowered by the strong belief that we could do anything we set our minds to. During my time in the union, I always tried to approach whatever assignment I was given in a positive spirit of openness and being willing to give it my best shot (This included things like The Game, by the way, not just job assignments).

But, in my opinion, and having the benefit of 30 years' experience with which to reflect on it, there is a shadow side to the Si Se Puede attitude. The union operated in a state of near constant crisis. Granted, some of this was driven by outside forces, but a lot of it was just how we did things. For me personally-- hey, I'm a Gemini :-)-- it fits my personality to jump from one thing to the next. It's exciting! But as an organizational model, it leaves a lot to be desired. Other people on this list have talked about the difficulty inherent in transitioning from a movement to an institution/ union/ whatever you want to call it. I think the fact that we were so willing to drop everything to run over to the next "whatever" was not a good thing in the long run. And, very often, we just operated out of instinct and didn't talk much about whether we ought to really be doing the "next thing" and instead just jumped right into brainstorming about how to do it. I thought the grants were a good example of this, and I weighed in on it because I was directly involved in it. I found it interesting in Tom's post that there had been a bad experience with an OEO grant in '65. I know that one of the key points in our house meeting rap on the boycott was that "Cesar wanted the union to be owned by the farmworkers. They should pay for it themselves, hence the initial \$2 membership fee... blah, blah, blah..." To take government money was a big policy change, and I don't remember too much discussion about this aspect of it. (Maybe others who were on the Union Board then were privy to conversations that I was not; and if so, can perhaps shed more light on it. I was on the FIELD Board and I don't remember that being an issue... although my memory after 30 years is admittedly a bit fuzzy.)

I think most of us were accustomed to always being on the verge of "drowning"-- that was just the way things were and you did the best you could. We all had too many balls in the air, and you kept your fingers crossed that you didn't drop a really important one. I don't know about the rest of you, but I was literally shocked when I found out that LeRoy had collected only 800 names of union volunteers. Over a 20 year period, that is not really a very big number. I think it's amazing that we accomplished what we did with so few people. But I also think it's important to recognize that great visions need to be supported with follow-through, especially if you plan to be around for the long haul.

Abby, it's interesting to me that one of the most successful projects the union ever did (again, in my opinion) was the Credit Union. That is something that you were directly involved in. It took great vision to recognize the need for it, and get it started. But the reason it was such a success was because Helen had the follow-through to make it work. That was her baby, and somehow she managed to stay above the "dash around, willy nilly" approach that was more the norm for the rest of us. Sr. Florence was another example of someone who had the focus to stick with one project; and I give Cesar credit for trusting her with that. Her death was a huge loss because she came at a time when the union was trying to transition to something more than a movement, and she had a big role to play in that.

The reason I brought up the grants was because I thought it was a good example of this issue. In most cases, the fallout from our management style of hopping around from one thing to the next was primarily felt internally-- by the staff and by the union membership. With the grants, we were all of a sudden accountable to somebody "outside" and the end result was not pretty. Sometimes your biggest strength can be your weakness. Having a big vision and the guts to go for it in a big way is what it took to get the union started, but the environment we all created by our willingness to operate in crisis mode all the time was not conducive to transitioning to an institution. The simple fact was that there was just never time to catch our breath and we were more disposed to jumping into projects than stepping back to think about whether or not to take on another project. We also all had a big tolerance for balls getting dropped...

So, hey, no offense meant to anybody. I didn't submit my initial post in "poor me, whiny" kind of way. I only offer my opinion because I think it could be instructive.

Terry (Vasquez) Scott
1973-1988

Ellen Eggers, 6/18/04 (2)

RE: Si Se Puede, etc.

Eloquently, and brilliantly, put Ms. Vasquez! No wonder Cesar entrusted you with SO much when you were SO young!! No doubt about one thing...Cesar knew talent when he saw it! I am proud to call you my friend. Ellen

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/18/04 (3)

My apologies to Terry. The discussion might have been better served if Terry would have spoken more in depth about the failings of some of the grant endeavors. Calling them "tangents" is putting an entirely different spin on them. Just as people do not appreciate being called certain names, I, too do not appreciate having ideas referred to in such a cavalier fashion. Joaquin stated in an earlier message, being around what was going on gave you a sense of what was happening. Many of us were not only around we were also involved in much of the planning of many of these projects. Terry was also my liaison to the President, too, by the way. The Co-op never got off the ground because the inventory disappeared faster than the money collected and then, some of that money disappeared as well. It had been a great idea having a convenience store on the premises but who could have predicted our human own failings. We may as well have given the inventory away. The garden which was to have provided fresh, organic vegetables for our kitchens, another disaster that started out great at the beginning and fell apart because people complained about some that did not come out to work on Saturdays. Why do we have to do it and they don't etc. A farmworker family, at the end, took care of the garden. I am reminded of the story of the Little Red Hen. Everyone stood in line to collect of the harvest, but everyone complained about seeding, planting, and harvesting. The various schools where only a handful of teachers were hired and the students were from staff which created bickering...same thing. Opposition from within (in La Paz and out). Terry hit on something at the beginning and should have *followed-thru* on that specific point. The grant writer, Ramona Holguin, who I admired right up there with Dolores Huerta, and one of the most intelligent women I have ever had the pleasure/honor of knowing, left. So, my mistake, again, because (I have made it before on this listserv) I keep forgetting that

many of you are not aware of some of these situations. There are a lot of other things I can speak of on this subject but it would follow the same pattern. last of all, I never knew any volunteer who served in the union that was intimidated by anything. The union can pride itself in having had the most fearless volunteers and I doubt seriously that I could stop anyone from sharing their point-of-view. sin mas, abby/ la paz

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/18/04 (2)

Terry, My deepest apologies. I just read your e-mail below probably at the same time you received mine. So we are both doing the same in the early morn. As you will read in my e-mail, it is the language used that got to me especially in the last paragraph. Too bad we can't just write some of this history without attaching it to another person's work. Amazing that I accept what you have written, expanding on it the way you have, better than what I did before. In your previous post it threw me off and alii could think was that this is not the Terry I knew. Many people enjoyed working from crisis in the union, ie. boycott, field offices, picket lines, etc. The strange thing was, that when Cesar began implementing a structure, work procedures etc. many felt the fun of it was all gone. Many left. It was too much like working in the outside, if you will. I think we all enjoyed working with that type of energy, it was more exciting, but you are right, sometimes it hindered and blinded us from taking stock of things. Sin mas, your Nina, /abby

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/18/04 (2)

Thanks, Abby. No hard feelings.

Terry

Ellen Eggers, 6/18/04 (3)

Thanks Abby for saying what you did to Terry. Smile smile...you are back on my "what a good gal" list!!! Terry really WAS one of the original troopers, in every sense of the word. I so admire her for her brains, and especially her calm demeanor. She was such an asset to the union and Cesar knew it.

Ellen Eggers
LA Boycott 72-75
La Paz Legal 80-87

Jackie (Brown) Davis, 6/18/04

RE: Si Se Puede, etc.

Terry Scott wrote "*I think most of us were accustomed to always being on the verge of "drowning"*--

In my youth, though I had heard of the words "burn out" I never gave another thought to it and in fact, would have considered it a wimpy excuse to sit on the sidelines. After Gary and I left the UFW, he went to school (and did many other things as well) but I continued a feverish pace with justice work in various settings. A few years later I discovered first hand how debilitating burn out can be. I am forever impaired from doing community organizational and political work because I am simply fried in that area. And it is such a loss to me because I know how to do it and enjoyed it.

I've had to focus my passion for justice for the voiceless in ways that are more one-on-one. I volunteered for San Diego Hospice for 9 years working with dying people and their families which I could do, and watched carefully my own sense of energy and ability. I was able to know when it was time to stop.

Though we are not exactly focusing on personal consequences, the daily crisis atmosphere certainly affected our marriage, my larger family relationship and how I transitioned out of the UFW and into the world where my regular cry for social change was met with an attitude of the young woman who cried wolf.

Life was at a crisis pitch for the UFW for a long time, and immediate responses to fires/needs had its important place, but not ever knowing how to balance this with other requirements (personal and organization) did not help us transition into the business of a union and set me up for not quite knowing how to live a normal life in my ensuing years.

Jackie Davis
1971-1974

P.S. - Though I know the value of serenity and taking deep breaths today, I still enjoy the occasional crisis and adrenaline rush. :)

Gary Brown, 6/18/04

Some time early on in this LeRoy asked the question something like did Cesar think of Union as something other than the traditional Union. I replied that I thought that was certainly true because Cesar had said so himself on several occasions. Actually, I was quite amazed that it was even a question. The possibility that Cesar was a mystic, a faith healer, a movement leader, a civil rights leader, a community organizer, a union leader, an inspiration to others, a teacher and on and on is not surprising at all. He was all of that and I do not see any of it hidden or obscured. Pretty obvious that Cesar exemplified the life of a monk. (LeRoy?) Gandhi or Siddhartha all seemed at play. Cesar spoke so often of things that had nothing to do with UNION, AFL-CIO. There were so many times you could catch him contemplating ideas, that had nothing to do with unionism. I think that to not see him as a mystic or a spiritualist might be to see the fasting or the humble sacrificing life as mere publicity. Do we think that the \$5.00 a week and room and board was about cheap labor? I think Cesar thought of himself in these terms long before he started faith healing. Can anybody shed any light on this aspect of his life before, say, 1970?

Gary Brown

Anne Rosenzweig, 6/18/04

RE: Lessons learned

I wrote an essay for the Documentation Project, but this is the first time I write to the listserve. I have been amazed by the volume of e-mail and have been frequently tempted to unsubscribe due to information overload. However, I have not done so, as I continue to find people's comments interesting, thought-provoking, and occasionally outrageous. Since most of you spent more time with the union than I did, I have also learned a great deal from your comments about what happened internally long after I left.

I know that for most of us our work with the Union was an intense and often life changing experience. I doubt I would have gone to law school, much less become a labor lawyer, had it not been for the work I did in Salinas and on the Montreal lettuce boycott. It saddens me to learn how painful the experience became for many of you who worked for the union during the Game and during "purges".

As we continue our dialogue, I hope we can try to focus on the lessons we learned both personally & professionally from our work with the union, as well as what we would like to pass on to the next generation of organizers, so they don't have to re-invent the wheel. Young organizers can learn from both our successes and our failures.

Dolores Huerta continues to be a role model for me. Through her foundation she and Wendy Greenfield are continuing to share some of the union's legacy by conducting house meetings this spring and summer in Gilroy. I continue to share some of the organizing skills I learned by serving as a mentor to the Immigrant Leadership Forum in Santa Clara county, training leaders in various immigrant communities how organize their communities to have an Impact on the policies that affect them at the local, state, and federal levels. By networking with each other and sharing information about current struggles we can continue to empower ourselves and others to bring about some of the changes still so desperately needed both in this country and in the rest of the world.

Si se puede, todavia y siempre.

Anne Rosenzweig
1970-1971, Salinas and Montreal

Richard Cook, 6/18/04

RE: FOUR QUESTIONS

NOTE: I MEANT TO POST THIS ON JUNE 13 BUT DID NOT, SENDING IT ONLY TO TOM, I THINK. SO HERE IT IS, WITH APOLOGIES FOR ANY CONFUSION.

Tom Dalzell, you ask four questions (at least) in a recent posting:

1. *"When Cesar started doing things that seemed like they would destroy the Union [. . .] why was there not more opposition?"*

In my opinion, the question is too general to be answered, except in the most varied, individual way - and first assumes Cesar was doing "things" that were "destructive" - If this is the case, what specifically, were these destructive things? Is the Synanon GAME going to carry all the weight? That does not feel historically accurate to me.

So, permit me to ask a question of my own: Just what "things" was CEC doing that are viewed now (and apparently should have been viewed in 1976?) as so tragically destructive?

2. *"Are not all the members of the Board equally responsible for failing to place brakes on Cesar's bad ideas?"*

In my opinion, the pyramidal structure of your typical international labor union suggests the answer here is, no. I would expect that most UFW board members, like most board members of other unions, have their own special area of concern, be it geographical or occupational or something else, and, if that area of concern is not perceived to be directly threatened by some specific decision of the Pres, a particular board member may voice objection but not organize against the Pres among the rest of the board to 'put the brakes' on such a decision. I would think that, if you tried that, even once - and failed - you would be gone immediately.

3. *"Are not we all on some level responsible for letting this bad thing happen to the Union?"*

In my opinion, this question cannot be satisfactorily answered because it is just too mushy to be answered at all. Just who is "We"? What is "some level" of responsibility? Just what is "this bad thing" that "we" let happen?

Personally, I cannot conclude (on this discussion) that Synanon is the cause of the demise of the original, dynamic, aggressive and successful UFW of the late 60's and early 70's. Some in this discussion have referred (if I remember correctly) to the UFW Synanon connection (if it can even be referred to in this loose way) as a symptom. But of what? And I am serious: a symptom of what?

I remember Cesar as a great risk taker with people. I recall thinking years ago that Cesar was not a trade unionist so much as an experimenter with people - just exactly what can or should people do? . . . be asked to do? What are their capacities? I recall Cesar interested in mind control and practicing it with success on Barbara (not exactly a credulous subject) when she was suffering from joint pain in her hand. (I was present. The lights were turned down in his office, a kind of throbbing music was turned on and Cesar moved his own tiny hands over and under Barbara's - who reported feeling a warm sensation and a relief from pain.) The kind of mental energy Cesar devoted to such activities had very little to do with contract administration or RFK efficiencies - or did it?

I recall being entrusted with responsibility in a particular situation and expected to take care of business. To drive across the San Joaquin to collect back debts for the credit union, to safely deliver workers to La Paz for week end conferences, to run a strike in Arizona, to go to a distant city and kick ass on the boycott, to drive boycott staff from one end of the country to another.

If you took on an assignment and did it, well, that is what you did. Next assignment. Or, if you were tired or had enough, so long, and we will miss you. But I do not think there was something inherently present in these assignments or introduced into them by Cesar or into the dynamics of the work to be done that was "bad." I DO think Cesar asked a hell a lot of you and also wanted to run everything close to him. . . . to create everything anew - so he could run the new thing. I recall thinking that Cesar would probably be happiest on the moon, with no one around except anyone who might show up, whom he could then enlist to make a brand new society.

The cross-country bus gambit was dangerous as hell, in my opinion - in shitty and probably unsafe used ex-Greyhound buses, that I heard Cesar insisted on buying. Jim Drake and I checked out some used buses that, once purchased for thousands of dollars, each, and driven cross country, sat forever after in the upper parking lot at La Paz, as a sort of testimony right in front of the admin building to Cesar's decision-making process. He owned 'em but had no good use to put them to (as I recall) after the one great crossing in 75.

Are some on this list trying to say that Cesar was nuts, but that this was only gradually manifested? That he suffered from a paranoia that is related to the exercise of power? Is the partial answer to this that Cesar's will was a unique force, a great overmatching determination that drove him and that also pushed the rest of us, who could not in any way push back (board member or no), partly because we didn't want to at all and partly because we knew we just could not, anyway? The Board's vote on salaries (in '78?) seems like an example. If a decision went against him, Cesar would have left. I recall hearing about that at the time. It was his way or no way at all.

And yet . . . several postings have mentioned Nick Jones' firing and an even earlier firing at El Malcriado as indications of something ominous or irrational that should have been resisted. . . . a portent of evils to come . . . in the form of Synanon and the GAME. What are the specifics of the earlier firings? Can those on this list be heard from, who were personally involved with these decisions or with the individuals affected? Can the individuals themselves make a statement? Can we pin this down chronologically? And, what specifically could have or should have been done to counter Cesar on these occasions?

A recent posting (by Jerry Kay, I think) has helpfully reminded us that there was a big difference between working in Florida and in La Paz (or even in California). Maybe more can be said about the geography, which can shed some light on Cesar's style or influence, as it was felt the closer to him one worked. I know, from St. Louis, that Cesar did not control or run or even closely manage our work in St. Louis. We did that 100% ourselves. When there were dozens of arrests, I never heard Cesar or anyone on the Board had found fault with our strategies or activities.

But some have talked about micro-management by Cesar at La Paz. Was La Paz a problem? Was La Paz THE problem?

Tom, you lay special emphasis on a fourth question:

4. *"How did we find ourselves in the position that Cesar could make decisions that would tear apart what had taken so many so long to build?"*

What specifically were those decisions, Tom? What was "torn apart"? When did the "tearing apart" happen?

Tom, you state as fact, *"Cesar never took the alliance with Synanon or the Game to a Board vote."* I do not disbelieve you but can you cite a source for this statement? Or can a former Board member on this list confirm or clarify this assertion?

Perhaps I should add, this forum is not best used to interrogate people who contribute and so, we should just listen to people say what each wants to say and let it go at that. But I am curious to follow up now and again and ask direct questions but only to get more details, not ever to suggest someone mis-remembers something.

Thanks,

Richard Cook
NFWM, 1972-84

Ellen Eggers, 6/18/04 (4)

RE: Si Se Puede, etc.

Jackie...I don't THINK I remember you, possibly Gary, but not sure...but I HOPE we get to meet someday...I am finding that you express so much of my own feelings. I represent guys on death row these days, and do several "cause" related projects...and I feel the burn out too. Interesting phenomenon...hope we can talk some day. Ellen

Joaquin Murguia, 6/18/04

RE: Si Se Puede, etc.

Jackie,

One of the saying that always stuck with me was the "sink or drown" pace associated with La Paz. I really didn't realize how fast pace things were until I left La Paz in 1979.

For what seemed like the first two weeks after I left and settled into my new home in the Palm Springs area, I did nothing but sleep and eat. The magnitude of the shear mental and physical exhaustion was a complete surprise to me.

I know there were times when things had to be done. Two instances that come to mind:

I left La Paz early one morning drove all the way to Sacramento, spent the day working with other volunteers visiting state offices then turned around and drove all the way back to La Paz. I slept for a few hours and it was into the Financial Management Department at 8:00.

The second was during one of the conventions in Fresno. I was assigned to the kitchen. A group of us left La Paz at 4:00 in the morning on a Thursday and I finally feel a sleep on a hotel room floor the following Sunday at about 8:00 p. m. My roommates said I just stopped mid-sentence and feel asleep.

Now at the ripe age of 45, I can't even imagine working at that level of intensity, so it is no wonder that the "burn out" occurred.

It seems that so much that was going on was management by crisis that I think it was inevitable that somewhere something would fall through the cracks.

There may be a great deal to be learned but one surely would be pick your battles carefully and focus.

Joaquin

Agustin Lira, 6/18/04

Dear Abby and Huelguistas,

I have been reading some of the emails going back and forth among you, and trying to stay out of the conversation because it didn't pertain to me specifically, however yesterday I read Donna Haber's emails talking about me and members of the Teatro Campesino. I have already emailed Donna on a personal level, however, since her emails went to all of you, I feel the need to reply in this open forum.

Some of you know me personally and some don't. Some of you know the history of Teatro Campesino because you were there in 1965. Donna Haber was not and therefore missed those early years of formation, missing also the march to Sacramento, where Campesino played such an important role. Donna however states that I'm not the cofounder of Teatro Campesino and that I was relegated to the position of assistant director by Luis Valdez. She also states that I was a 'troubled' individual and therefore unable to create or focus on our goals.

From the beginning our Teatro was a collective where all our ideas and views were gathered to form the actos based on the experiences of the picket line and other union realities. Had this not been so, I would never have been a part of something I didn't own. All of us, as members, Felipe

Cantu, and many others, had stories to tell, and these worked their way into actos. Luis Valdez didn't come in every day with a new script for us to learn. It didn't happen like that.

I would suggest to Donna to read the book, *The Fight in the Fields*, and to view the films produced in the early days of our strike, which captured our movement in full swing. And, I would tell her to speak with people who were there from the beginning, such as Lori Huerta, Carolina Franco, and many others, original members of the Teatro Campesino.

I did not join the UFW, nor did I join with Luis to form our theater company to aggrandize myself, to make a name, or to impress anyone. My background is campesino and I still carry the humiliating memories of my family being degraded in front of my eyes; not only in the fields but in all areas of society. Though my family contributed to this country in many ways, they were discriminated upon, and this burns like fire in my chest today. The union provided the opportunity for me to fight back, my sole reason for being involved.

I apologize for sending blank messages, I'm not very computer literate, and although I could go on and on about the Teatro, I won't. Most of our efforts as a whole are now history, and yet conditions are worse than ever for farmworkers. A lot needs to be done.

Viva la Causa! Viva la Huelga! Vivan los Huelguistas!

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/18/04 (1)

RE: your wedding

Hi Ruben and Claire – Felicidades, some of you huelgistas are really die hards on the marriage sector.

I remember I attended your wedding.

I remember that Bernice Rincon married a Mr Florez @ La paz. We organized a choir to sing @ the event.

¿Does anyone know the whereabouts of Bernice?

hope lopez

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/18/04 (2)

RE: Eddie

Hi Doug.

Eddie was a real sweetheart with a wolf exterior.

He was assigned to help us out with the Philly boycott.

He also tended to be protective of us. One time he came and chewed me out for not informing him that Marie Conklin, N.J, organizer, had organized a picket line against one of the chains in Jersey. I believe it was a 4th of July weekend, we went to give Marie a hand, and we cleaned out the parking lot in a couple of hours. People in Philly don't cross picket lines, which Thank God was to our advantage.

Eddie blew his stack and informed me with a few - "you stupid broads" that we had been picketing a front for the Mafia. Oh My.

I later learned from another source that actually the Mafia couldn't care less if Cesar Chavez brought the California growers to their knees. Another thing in our favor. There was evidently some vendetta and/or bone to pick with CA agribusiness keeping La Familia out of our sunny state.

¿Any theories for or against on that?

hope lopez - '66-'74

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/18/04 (3)

RE: analyzing Cesar

¿ Why are you people trying to pick Cesar to pieces?

Cesar was neither saint, or monk. He was canonized by the same groups who are presently edifying and canonizing Ronald Reagan == The Media. Except there is no comparison.

Cesar Chavez was a simple Chicano, a farm worker with a bone to pick, he served his country, he loved his wife and his family. His upbringing was motive enough for his mission - to help the farm workers, to help them get organized. Above all Cesar Chavez was a DETERMINED man without brakes.

hope lopez - '66-'74

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/18/04 (3)

RE: Cooking Up a Storm

Hi Joaquin!

I remember that kitchen duty for the convention-- it was a superhuman effort!!! As I recall, I was in charge of it, and we had such a great crew of people... You were definitely an inspiration and approached it with such a good attitude. Your willingness to go above and beyond (with a smile on your face, no less) did a lot to make that job easier.

For those who weren't there, we were feeding 2,000 people three hot meals a day for 3 days, and everything had to run on time or the convention schedule would be thrown off. I can't remember the specifics anymore, but I do recall that we had to ask people to keep working around the clock and I know we certainly didn't plan for it to be that way. There was a very emotional meeting in the kitchen with the full crew about midway through the weekend. Everyone was exhausted, but to a person, they all rose to the occasion and did what it took to get the job done. Enos (Abby's brother) was the head chef, and we were lucky to have his professional cooking expertise. He was not on staff but volunteered his time and his talents for the convention. I remember one major complication was the meal with the baked chicken. We had figured it would work OK based on oven space, but there was a problem with the ovens not heating up quickly enough. It was also really hard for the people who had the unfortunate job of chopping all the jalapenos we needed-- their fingers were burning and a few unfortunate souls made the mistake of accidentally rubbing their eyes! We had planned meticulously for all the food items that we needed to buy (as well as what the field office staff and the delegates could bring in from their ranches.) It seemed like we'd done a pretty thorough job until about midnight on Day 2 of the convention when we realized that we forgot to buy hominy for the next morning's menudo! Several of us fanned out in cars and I think we hit just about every 24-hour grocery store that existed in Fresno-- and completely cleaned out their shelves of hominy. Unfortunately, the normal grocery stores only carried 16 oz. cans and it took several people a couple of hours just to get the damn cans opened. (I think we even bought extra manual can openers.) What a relief it was to finally get that last kitchen meal served and breathe a collective sigh because Richard Chavez's crew was overseeing the final meal of the convention which was the barbacoa-- and it was being slow cooked in a huge pit somewhere else. Richard sure knew how to do tasty barbacoa, didn't he? Those were the days... :-). But you're right that now, at age 48, I definitely can't imagine having the stamina to pull something like that off.

Terry (Vasquez) Scott
1973-1988

Joaquin Murguia, 6/19/04

RE: Cooking Up a Storm

Terry,

So you were the one who assigned me to peel and dice 100 pounds of onions?!? My hands hurt for days and my clothes had to be tossed in the trash. Still, it was a great example of determination and camaraderie that I will never forget.

I think it was those moments that kept people in the fray despite the stumbling blocks that seemed to pop up all too often.

Joaquin Murguia
Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/19/04 (1)

RE: A. Lira and Teatro Campesino

Augie, I am glad you had a chance to talk to Donna. I did not know what went on inside the group etc. I did copy some of your website info. for others to read and listed your website address, too. That was the best I could do as far as letting others know of your history. What I did know about the Teatro came from my own personal experiences in the early days of the strike in Delano. I mentioned in one of my e-mails, as you did in yours, that the actos reflected what we did in the picket line on any given day. It was like watching a homemade video. You guys made it hilarious and fun. Yes, Felipe Cantu, Lori Huerta, Carolina Franco, and others were in the teatro. It was evident to me that you guys were team players and were supportive of each other. *All for one and one for all*. Your own experiences of life are reflected in your actos and in your music. We are able to identify with you completely and that is what gives your "obras" universal appeal. You, Luis and the rest were "bien de aquellas" at a time when we needed to laugh, sing, get back at the growers/contratistas/esquirols and to look forward to a brighter future. It is good to know you continue with your good work because as you say "a lot needs to be done". Adelante! /abby

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/19/04 (2)

RE: Cooking Up a Storm

Hello you guys. Joaquin the onion peeler and Terry the red, hot chile pepper! J Yep! My brother, too, *sure could cook!* Thanks for remembering. He was a food administrator for the prison system (that's why Terry didn't let up on you guys), then set up all the soup kitchens for CCC under? LeRoy? Davis? Not sure. He loved working at conventions. He looked forward to them. I think, like you guys, he loved torture! Or was it torturing? Anyway, he had some interesting places where he has cooked. Like in the rat (giant ones) infested canyons of San Diego (El Diablo) during an organizing drive. I just love my brother. He can cook on a rock. Now that is doing things union style. The rats were so bad, the workers slept high off the ground. Joaquin, you went *a long ol' time without sleeping*. I never would have lasted. sin mas, /abby

Ellen Eggers, 6/19/04

RE: Cesar, Before 1970

The only thing I remember him telling me, that I thought was so interesting, was that he became a vegetarian when he was in his 20's, in the 1950's. I was shocked to know that because it told me that even as a very young man, just out of the service, not much education, etc. he was really marching to a different drummer. How many young men, esp Mexican men, would have even considered becoming a vegetarian? He was certainly a thinker, and quite unique.

Ellen Eggers
LA Boycott 72-75
La Paz Legal 80-87

Andy Imutan, 6/19/04

I agree with you that Cesar was a man marching to a different drummer, but I want to set one thing straight about his being a vegetarian. He did not become a vegetarian until after his first fast while in the union. As a matter of fact he introduced me to eat the famous Mexican menudo. He may

have been a vegetarian during his early twenties, but this I don't know. What I do know is this. He loved our famous Filipino adobo before he began his fast just as I learn to love the menudo.

Andy Imutan 1975-1973 Delano, Coachella, Baltimore, Maryland, New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/19/04 (1)

For a different take on it, I had always heard that Cesar decided to become a vegetarian after he got the dogs and developed such a close relationship with them...

Terry (Vasquez) Scott
1973-1988

Tina Solinas (Mondragon), 6/19/04 (1)

RE: Diesels

Oscar got one of those diesels.

We were so thankful. Finally he had a car he could trust while he was traveling up and down the state, coming home only on Sundays. The La Paz mechanics kept those rabbits going like the energizer bunny the organizers, board members, etc., ran those cars into the ground and the mechanics resurrected them time and time again.

Tina '72-'89 strikes/ service center/ boycott and La Paz

Tina Solinas (Mondragon), 6/19/04 (2)

RE: songs again

Replying to music stuff from the thread days ago..... Time flies on this listserve.

The incredible power of songs

The music from the Teatro--fun, powerful, resonating deep inside, even to me, who had no history of working in the fields, (hey, very little history of even working! at my age then) did keep you going, out there in those dusty fields, so long ago. and of course their productions spoke right to the heart of the issues!

Have you been to the Teatro Campesino's Christmas presentations at the mission in San Juan Bautista? Truly creative and worth seeing every year. And of course you need to see their plays in their own theater there!

Alfredo Figueroa's rousing music and intensely up-beat personality on the street corners of L.A. during the proposition campaigns raised morale, got a lot of attention, and --I'm sure -- affected voting citizens in our favor. Every single one of the songs mentioned were sung and danced to on those streetcorners. He influenced many a young volunteer, myself included.

Graciela: the most beautiful song I have EVER heard was De Colores, sung by Ernesto and his daughters and nieces to his lovely wife on Mother's Day (or her birthday?) in the wee hours of the morning in the Woodville Labor Camp. The voices of the girls and young women, some high, some mature, harmonized in an awesome way ...their music blended with the pre-dawn sky, the early heat of the day, the joy on their faces, like nightingales in a desert. I had never heard De Colores before. Ernesto was one powerful human being. Cesar wanted him to join the Union, but he would not leave the work he was doing with the American Friends Service Committee and the people in the camps and the valley. But his last name escapes me.

I did live in Woodville for 3 years or so... '68-'71 ? Worked with Dr. David Brooks, Wendy and staff of local white folk and Mexicans in his clinic for the poor of the Valley that he financed on his own by working in the Emergency room at the Tulare County Hospital. The patients/clients were mostly members of the UFW. It was those same workers and families that supported me in joining the Union.

Graciela, What you write about in Woodville is inspiring. And the love you hold in your heart for Dick is also inspiring. Thanks for writing. (Woodville is a City???? it did have a school, a popular Italian restaurant, a garage a liquor store and the old whore house on the corner of 168 and 168 that David bought to turn into the clinic plus lots and lots of tumble weed in the middle of millions of acres of fields)

- Cheers to you'all, tina

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/19/04 (2)

RE: Augie Lira/ Teatro Campesino

Hi Augie:

* * * *

You don't know me, but I was married to Elizer Vasquez for ten years (he's the youngest brother of Mike and Manuel Vasquez, and brother-in-law to Carolina Franco. By the way, Elizer's Dad and one of his sons are named Agustin.) I never had the pleasure of seeing you perform live-- I have only heard your singing on recordings-- but I just wanted to say that I've always thought you have a beautiful voice. The music you created in the movement was such an inspiration to me and to so many others-- so thank you for that! Music is so powerful and reaches out people in such a unique way, and all the singing was definitely one of the things that I liked best about the union. I've been writing songs myself now for the last ten years or so (and am about half way through recording a CD of my original songs) so music is something that is very dear to my heart. It's great to hear that you are well and still creating.

All the best,
Terry (Vasquez) Scott
1973-1988

Mary Mecartney, 6/19/04

RE: Volunteer list and 1986

An intriguing part for me of this documentation project is also hearing what volunteers went on to do with their lives after working full time for the movement. However, I noticed MANY full-time volunteers missing from the master list on the documentation CD we received earlier this year. I started making a list of names of folks I remembered who should be on that list and kept adding to it as the weeks went by. To refresh my memory, I also looked through back issues of "El Malcriado" and "Food & Justice" published from late 1984- early 1989. In the October 1986 issue of "Food and Justice" on page 12 I noticed an article which reads:

"UFW Alumni Alert " "La Causa" is Coming!

For the past several years, UFW President Cesar Chavez has dreamed of developing a publication to keep in contact with the thousands "no exaggeration"the thousands of volunteers who worked for "La Causa" since the early 1960s.

But for almost the same number of years, the fulfillment of that dream had to be postponed for reasons former UFW volunteers will easily (and often humorously) remember --- a variety of lacks and a continuum of crises!

Even though not every obstacle has been overcome, the union now possesses the writing staff and modern printing equipment to fulfill that dream. And so the UFW will soon begin publishing "La Causa." A modest little monthly just for former full-time volunteers"folks of all ages who worked a year or more for board and room, few benefits, and \$5 a week.

In other words, "La Causa: will be for the volunteer alumni of "The University of Farm Workers" who can't make it back to California every year for homecoming but who constantly ask about the union, former co-workers, current staff, and, of course, the usual question: What are WE boycotting now?"

If you are a former volunteer and would like the inside scoop on the UFW each month, fill out the tear-off below and send it (along with the names and addresses of other former volunteers you might know) to: Cesar Chavez, La Paz, CA 93570."

Did this project get beyond this article? Or was this another of those ideas before its time? (remember in the later part of the 70s Cesar talking about someday organizers would have phones in their cars and the movement would operate its communication system via satellite?)

P.S. Those who want to keep up to date on what we are boycotting and legislation we are pushing, should sign up for the UFW listserv, instructions are at www.ufw.org.

Mary Mecartney, 1975-1993

Kevin Michael Brown, 6/19/04

RE: Cesar, vegetarian

When I lived with Cesar, he was already into macrobiotics... I learned how to prepare it, as his "chief cook & bottle washer". I think (grin?) I remember him saying that ONE of the reasons he became vegetarian was after looking at all the DOG FOOD for Max, Boycott & Huelga. I enjoyed being the one to take charge of and work with Huelga when I was with Cesar and was very proud that he trusted me to do so. Does anyone remember "Red"? He was a "crazy dog" per Cesar and more than once I had to separate him and one of the others, mouths at throats.... one time, Red didn't have a choke chain on. That was fun.... I was young (and stupid? :-)

Kevin Michael Brown, Detroit, Delano, La Paz 69-73 +/-

Chris Schneider, 6/19/04

RE: Singing in Hominy

Terry,

I don't know how many times I have told the hominy story over the years

I had forgotten that you were charge of the overall operation, but I know I had been assigned "procurement." Enos has sent me a list of all the items he needed for each and every meal plus snacks that we served to the delegates and public in general during the course of the convention. As items were delivered I had to check them off the list, store them until needed, and then know where to find them when Enos needed them.

Very late Saturday night Enos came to me and asked "Where's the hominy?" By this time, most of the kitchen crew had been going since very early Thursday morning when we left La Paz. I don't think anyone had had any sleep. I asked "What hominy?" He said he needed it for the menudo. I pulled out the list that he had sent me and showed him that hominy wasn't on the list. He and asked me, somewhat exasperated, how I could expect him to make menudo without hominy--everyone knows you need hominy. My reply was something to the effect of I was a white boy from the mid-west who had never had menudo, and never had a soup with all the other ingredients that were on the list and had no way of knowing that hominy was supposed to be in it.

We called some restaurants and sent teams to the store. I remember being at the Ventura Market filling a basket with every can of hominy (white and yellow) the store had. And then asking the clerk if there was anymore in the back. He interest was piqued and he asked why I wanted so much hominy I told him "What do you think I want it for--I'm cooking menudo."

At the check out counter there was a couple, both of them wearing credential badges from the convention. They asked me why I was buying so much hominy and I told them I worked with the union and the hominy was for their menudo the next day.

Once we were back at the convention center, somebody told us we should go get a little bit of sleep over at the park where staff and delegates were sleeping. We were instructed to be back before anyone else, though, since we had to set up and serve.

At the park I threw my sleeping bag amidst all the others and fell promptly to sleep. When I awoke, the park was completely empty except for me and my sleeping bag. I thought, oh shit, I'm really late. I jumped up, grabbed my bag and noticed it was drenched with water. I hurried towards the gym that we had to exit through. Inside, I saw the gym floor full of people sleeping.-- a few from the kitchen crew were up. I think it was Ned Dunphy who asked me where I had been and I said I had been sleeping. I asked why everyone was in the gym. He asked incredulously--- "You mean you slept through the sprinklers coming on?!" I had been so exhausted I slept through the sprinkler system coming on in the very early morning and everyone else getting up and running for cover. (I have to admit I was a little ticked that no one tried to wake me).

The menudo was served on time that morning. There were hundreds of boycott volunteers at the convention that year. Apparently I was not the only boycott staff member who had never had menudo. When we served menudo at the next meal an amazing number of the anglo volunteers claimed to be vegetarians!

We survived the convention. Enos came back to cook for the next convention and I was again in charge of procurement. I believe we had leftover hominy that year. :)

Tina Solinas (Mondragon), 6/19/04 (3)

RE: songs again

Yes!

Ernesto Loreda and Pablo Espinosa.....he had his radio station for so many years! The precursor to the UFW station. Does anyone remember it? Doug, you have quite the memory. So cool.

Tina
'72-'89

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/19/04 (3)

RE: Singing in Hominy

Chris,

Oh Boy! Am I going to have a field day with Enos over the hominy, for two reasons.

- He messed up royally for forgetting to include that very important ingredient in the procurement list,
- *Palanca* is what it is called in Spanish. He should have talked to little sister; she could have gotten it for him FAST-all from one place in the middle of the night, by the gallons.

I think I'll call him up right now and make his life miserable. Thanks you guys :) sin mas/ abby

Susan Drake, 6/19/04

RE: Volunteer list and 1986

Cesar asked me, in the early 80's (before 1985), to develop this publication and I can't remember why I said No. He knew I had a huge list from the 1982 reunion. He very much wanted to do what Mary describes.

Susan

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/20/04 (1)

RE: Singing in Hominy

Chris, Enos busted out laughing when I got to the part about a "white boy from the mid-west"! He said his memory is hazy but recalls that you guys were "incredible"! He remembers everyone having to cut the tripe with dull knives. He had his own good ones but the rest who help went through torture with thier's. He said Linda and Carlos LeGrette did an outstanding job with the serving lines. I was responsible for a disaster at the next convention after that one. I thought all

the signs for the delegates were already pre-printed by the Print Shop. When I got them the night before the Convention was to begin, they were the old ones from the previous Convention. I had to turn some inside out to make new ones, hussle to get materials for new ranches, etc. A real mess. The day of the convention, some of the delegates noticed the writing in the inside and started turning them inside out creating a lot of confusion.&n bsp; Kent Winterrowd had a heart attack with me. So, moral of the story, I shouldn't laugh at my brother/ or it runs in the family? sin mas, abby/ don't assign me to conventions, please/ La Paz

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/20/04 (1)

RE: UFW convention

Some of you have been discussing a convention. May I remind you that the Union has conducted hundreds of conventions. ¿What year are you talking about?

The first Convention in Sept 1973 was coordinated by Jose Gomez, and I was assigned to help in the food division, Plan 1, was to use the kitchen @ the Fresno Convention Ctr, the glitch was that the Jehovah's Witness had scheduled their convention for the same weekend, Plan 2 was to cater the food; the glitch there were some 6,000 delegates, and a few thousand members, and that many more volunteers, Plan 3 was to find an outside kitchen and do it ourselves, so I had to go for Plan 3.

This was the type of Crisis, mentioned by some of you, that made the volunteers more eager to find a Plan that worked.

hope lopez - '66-74

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/20/04 (1)

RE: UFW convention

I hope my memory serves, but I believe it was the 1977 Convention in Fresno. (Joaquin and Chris-- I'm bad with dates! Does this sound right to you?) Hope, we did end up using the kitchen facilities at the Convention Center for this one that we've been talking about...

Terry (Vasquez) Scott
1973-1988

Susan Drake, 6/20/04 (1)

RE: El Malcriado asks about the March, 1966

[Doug Adair] wrote:

From the Plan of Delano

6. We shall strike. We shall pursue the REVOLUTION we have proposed. We are sons of the Mexican Revolution, a revolution of the poor seeking bread and justice. Our revolution will not be armed, but we want the existing social order to dissolve; we want a new social order.

Accurately or not, I always sensed the farm workers movement was fueled by Mexican history and the liberal Catholic ideals Cesar followed.

Susan Drake (1962-1973. Delano, La Paz, boycotts in NY, NJ & Ohio)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/20/04 (2)

RE: UFW convention

Hope, then it must have been the 1977 Convention. That was the year of my disaster with the delegate signs for the ranches. I would never had made them on time if it hadn't been for this young man and his girlfriend from the boycott who were accountants; I wish I could remember their names. Great people! They laid out a grid, etc. and it helped us do the work quickly. Even though we had gone through some extensive training on how to delegate authority. it came down to how we perceive, communicate and do our own follow-thru. I was ultimately responsible for

the name plates and I gringe when I remember the campesinos turning them inside out waving them around at each other, laughing, and carrying on. What a sense of humor, que no?

Yes, all our conventions were difficult because of the large numbers we had to feed. I am certain we were easy to spot, though, and there was no confusion between us and the Jehovah Witness nearby. We were on the ones with the buttons filling every space on our hats, up and down our vests, our purses, and we were the ones carrying the very bright red flags. Also, we could be identified by our constant yelling of "Si Se Puede", "Viva Chavez", "Arriba Los Trabajadores Campesinos". As a matter of fact, I think the only thing missing, and too bad we didn't have it then was a A FARM WORKER' PRAYER to fill the need of our spirtual side for us. That would have made it PERFECT. Sin mas/ abby/ again, think twice about asking me to help at a convention/ richgrove/ delano/ la paz

Joaquin Murguia, 6/20/04 (1)

RE: UFW convention

Terry,

I believe you are correct, it was 1977.

Joaquin

Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Tina Solinas (Mondragon), 6/20/04 (1)

RE: Mercedes?

???????

Please tell me that's a joke or I've really !!! forgotten something. I had

a). no car

b). one of those infamous Union Plymouths with no (really) brakes;

b). tiny yellow Toyota....ancient but running that Eulogia's husband the La Paz mechanic (Castillo) kept going unbelievably.

Into that little yellow Toyota, before seat belts and laws we'd stuff 4-5- and one time 10 kids to take from La Paz to Tehachapi soccer practices. Good thing kids were small. Those same kids today are HUGE: Fernando, Rosio, Angelo, Tona, Anja, Isidro, Day-day, and ???????

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/20/04 (3)

RE: UFW convention

The mystery of the plan that you finally used for '73 Convention: Didn't it turn out that the farm workers were given a sack lunch and wasn't there a meal and celebration at a park somewhere after the event? I went to so many union marches and rallies they all blend together. Helen did a lot of the cooking and I joined her up and down the state along with Richard Chavez and his infamous pit barbacoa . I was the run-for-it girl. Run for this, run for that, whatever we needed, I would run-for-it to get it for them. I was also the official salt taster. We could plan like crazy and someone would always throw us a curve. sin mas, /abby

Carlos and Linda LeGerrette, 6/20/04

RE: Where Are You?

Besides very diverse opinions, this group also lives in many different cities and countries. It would be very interesting to know where we all live. For those who haven't yet jumped in, this is the entre you've been waiting. Just your name, (movement years), and where one lives.

Carlos & Linda LeGerrette (1966-1978)
San Diego, California

Susan Drake, 6/20/04 (2)

RE: Where Are You?

Susan Drake
(1962-1973)
Soquel (nr. Santa Cruz) CA

Kevin Michael Brown, 6/20/04

RE: Where Are You?

Kevin Michael Brown, 69-73
Now back in Owosso, Michigan, after 15 years in San Diego and another 10 scattered around the country, and world (US Navy, Japan, Okinawa)

Tina Solinas (Mondragon), 6/20/04 (2)

RE: Where Are You?

Tina Solinas ('72-'89)
Aptos (near Santa Cruz), CA

Nancy Grimley Carleton, 6/20/04

RE: Where Are You?

Happy to have found my home in Berkeley, California.
Nancy Carleton
Boycott Staff, 1975-1976 (San Jose with two months in the San Fernando Valley)

John Gardner, 6/20/04

RE: Fred Ross

Anyone know if anyone ever wrote a bio of Fred Ross Sr.?
John Gardner 1974-77
Thanks

Angie Fa, 6/20/04

RE: Fred Ross

It has been awhile since I looked, but what I remember finding was chapters and pages here and there. In at least one of the first 2 Alinsky biographies, Fred believed that the account that appeared was accurate, the author had interviewed him in writing the book, but I remember wishing there were more pages and credit given to Fred in that work. One of the best sources on Fred and the CSO was Carl Tjerandsen's Education for Citizenship, published by the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation in 1980. There is a very detailed chapter that contains information on the CSO. The Foundation provided funding for the CSO, IAF, and the Highlander Folk School, plus I think some of the migrant ministries in different parts of the country.

Does anyone else know of any other good source material on Fred and the CSO? There is a website that mentions a CSO history project which Scott Washburn might have worked on; does anyone know whether this CSO history project was eventually accomplished? Angie Fa, 1976, 1979, San Francisco

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/20/04 (1)

RE: It's More Than Once a Year, But

TO YOU WHO HAVE SOMEONE WHO CALLS YOU PADRE, POP, DAD, PA, DADDY, PAPA, FATHER, OR MAYBE SOMETHING MORE DESCRIPTIVE THAT MAY JUST BE

YOUR NAME, OR YOU MAY BE SOMEONE WHO GETS CALLED FATHER ALL THE TIME BY EVERYONE LIKE FATHER KEN-- HAPPY DAY!!!!

BEAT THAT DRUM, OR GIVE A TOAST. ALL OF YOU, EVEN IF YOU'RE NOT A DAD, SOMEONE LOOKED UP TO YOU AND THAT IS SPECIAL. ALSO IT KEEPS MAMA BELL AND THE CARD MAKERS HAPPY===== CHEERS ===== THE MURGUIA FAMILY.

Jose Gomez, 6/20/04

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Hope, may I add that at that First Constitutional Convention (September 21-23, 1973), your organizing skills and dedication shined! I remember that we all were amazed at how smoothly things went with the food. That was your credit. That was one of the things that we all worried would be a problem, but all of the meals at that convention were doled out efficiently. Hope, didn't you leave behind your food organizing notebook for future convention food managers?

You just made me remember when Cesar put me in charge of organizing the First Constitutional Convention after two other staff bowed out because they didn't have time to do it (as if I did!). I had less than a month to do this in, immediately following the violent strikes of that summer. I walked around day and night with a loose-leaf notebook in which the number of dividers grew to 50 or more, each labeled with a major area of organizing for the convention: from writing the Convention Call to getting the delegates elected to setting up registration procedures, to arranging for simultaneous interpretation in four languages, etc. Each section also had its long "To Do" list. That's when I learned how to delegate.

I got the inspiration for this organizing from Cesar. We walked around La Paz, I with legal pad in hand, as he brainstormed. I was always amazed at how Cesar did his best thinking when he did these walking brainstorms. The ideas came fast and furiously. It was my job to give them coherence and to follow through. Now, when I reread the Convention Call, I marvel at how well written it is. I say that not to pat myself on the back, but to praise Cesar's unique ability to inspire. Even though the words flowed from my pen, it is clear to me that I was merely the medium for Cesar's rhetoric, ideas and inspiration. They were his words. Without his inspiration, I couldn't have come even close to writing that way.

The real challenge, though, was when Cesar told me that I had to translate the proposed constitution into Spanish. He and Frank Denison had been holed up in the North Unit for about two weeks writing it. Cesar's request for the translation came four days before the convention itself, at the most crucial stage of planning. I told Cesar that he should find someone else for this major task as my hands would be full nailing down the final details of the convention. Cesar replied, "There's no one else who can do it. You have to do it. Delegate everything else." If you have seen the book-length of the UFW constitution, you will understand that this was no minor task. The only way I was able to get this done and still do the hundreds of things that I could not delegate was to work virtually non-stop for several days and nights, dictating the translation for Maria Rifo to transcribe, and for Lynn Anderson and Judy Elders to type up (in Spanish and English) on special duplicating "plates" (the "technology" of those days") for the print shop.

The night before the convention, we were at the Selland Arena, setting up everything. Carlos Almaraz was putting up the massive mural he had painted for the convention backdrop. Richard Ybarra and others were busy planning the complex security that would be needed. Lynn Anderson, Maria Rifo, Judy Elders and others were busy with lots of administrative detail. Ken Doyle was busy setting up the radio transmitter he had made for the simultaneous interpreting, and testing the cheap transistor radios we had bought. I was running around checking to make sure everything would be ready. Finally, about 2:00 a.m. on the first day of the convention (September 21, 1973), some of us fashioned some make-shift "beds" with chairs on the stage to try to get some rest. Worried that no delegates would show up for the convention, I had a hard time getting to sleep. For that first convention, we had had great difficulty figuring out the number of delegates from each ranch, especially since some growers had acreage in more than one geographic location. We had elected delegates, but we had no actual confirmation that anyone would attend.

At about 7:00 a.m. or so, I woke up and saw that Ramon Romero was already up and about. "Take a look outside," he said to me. I rushed from the stage to the front entrance of the arena. To my relief, elation and surprise, there were already hundreds of farmworkers milling around at the entrance. Yes! The convention would happen! The convention programs arrived from the printer half an hour before the convention began! There was an amazing array of speakers: Sen. Edward Kennedy, John Henning (California Labor Federation), Leonard Woodcock (UAW president), Paul Hall (Seafarers union president), Bishop Donnelly (president of the Catholic Bishops' Committee on Farm Labor), Sterling Cary (president of the National Council of Churches), Jimmy Herman (ILWU). Joan Baez sang "Solidaridad" and other songs.

Fortunately, there was some amazing talent that made that first convention a success: Ramon Romero (organization and oversight efficient delegate registration procedures), Lynn Anderson, Maria Rifo, Judy Elders and Gloria Pascarríos (administrative support of all kinds), Hope (Lopez) Fierro (food), Frank Denison (helped untangle the delegate snafus), Richard Ybarra and staff from Sen. Edward Kennedy's office (security), Glen Percy and Cres Fraley (video recording of the convention), Rick Tejada Flores and Gayanne Feitinghoff (audio recording), Jim Cassell (cultural presentations), Ken Doyle (technical wizard), Ruth Miller of the UMWA (delegate signs), Jack Quigley (financial matters and election committee), Ruben Montoya and Brad Washburn (spent three days and nights printing the proposed constitution and Ruben later printed a beautiful pocket-size edition of the constitution), Jim and Michaline (sp?) Nicoli (day care), Carlos Almaraz and Mike Byron (decorations and mural), folks from the Sanger clinic (first-aid), Bob Maxwell and staff from the Taller Grafico (sales of buttons, stickers, etc.), Jacques Levy (press relations), Marshall Ganz and others (election of delegates), Fr. Eugene Boyle (Mass).

There were many others. Many of these I recall only because my memory has been refreshed by reading the constitution's proceedings, another Herculean printing task that Ruben and Brad successfully undertook. Of course, there was the able leadership of Cesar, Dolores and the executive board. Poor Dolores took the heat for the last-minute printing of the constitution! The very first resolution gave her an undeserved censure for "not having a draft of the new Constitution prepared prior to the Convention, allowing sufficient time for the membership to discuss or draw up resolutions."

The First Constitutional Convention was a momentous event in farm worker history. From every ounce of exhaustion flowed a ton of inspiration. I will never forget it. I will never regret any part of it.

Much has been said on this Listserv about the crisis management of the union. This was one of those times, but it, like so many others, was unavoidable. Some here have stated that the Union should have done a better job of picking its battles. Certainly they have forgotten that most of the battles came to us. Most of the time we did not have the luxury of picking our battles. Nor did we have a respite for recovery and consolidation between battles. The battles were many, and they overlapped.

I reject unconditionally the suggestion of some participants in this discussion that the union failed. From the discussion so far, I have yet to be convinced that the Union did not emerge a winner in the "ninth round" after being punched and pummeled by agribusiness, the Farm Bureau, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, the John Birch Society, the growers, the anti-union climate that was decimating well-established unions, the NLRB attack, the pro-grower law enforcement and "justice" system, the right-wing takeover of the political arena, etc., etc.

For at least a couple of reasons, I am particularly skeptical of the "if onlys." One, this hand wringing is coming primarily from some who clearly continue to carry major resentment and bitterness and seem incapable (understandably, to a certain extent) of balancing the mistakes with the successes, the bad with the ugly. The dark and bad side of anything can be accentuated and even manipulated at the expense of the bright and positive. Two, there is no certainty that the Union would be in a better state today if it had pursued the "if only" options that are being urged by some. What I do know is that Cesar, using strategies and chutzpah that established unions considered unconventional since the very beginning in 1962, was the first leader who succeeded in organizing California farm workers, despite the immense odds against such an outcome. It was

Cesar's leadership that even John Steinbeck would admit moved things beyond the Grapes of Wrath.

Yes, there were mistakes. My God, of course there were! After all, the Union was not divinely inspired, and Cesar certainly was not infallible. Some mistakes were major, some were minor. Was Cesar's experimentation with Synanon tactics a mistake? Was his support of Israel in 1973 a mistake? Was his trip to the Philippines and meeting with Dictator Marcos a mistake? Some of us seem to believe that the answers are clear cut. Others believe that the issues and motivations are complex. Perhaps with the benefit of hindsight we can come to one conclusion or another. If I were to place myself in the moment of the late 1970's and the early 1980's, I'm not certain that I could have said that the Philippines trip or the Synanon game were mistakes. I'm not certain because I wasn't there, but also because I'm quite certain that Cesar was searching for ways (however ill-conceived they may have turned out to be) to create a more effective union.

I was there when Cesar issued the Israel statement (written by the not-yet-elected politician and friend Art Torres). I questioned the draft written by Art (particularly its reference to "U.S. material support," which I knew was a catchword for military aid), but I saw the pressures and complexities when prominent New York rabbis chewed me out on the telephone. I had been on the New York boycott and knew these rabbis. They had provided us crucial support at critical moments, and they were now expecting us to reciprocate. They were angry that I would bring up the Palestinian question. I still think that the statement as written by Art was mistake, but I don't view it as yet another symptom of Cesar's bad administration or leadership. After one of the rabbis complained to Cesar about me, Cesar told me he was glad that I had brought up the Palestinian issue because it made the rabbis realize that we were not unmindful of the oppression going on. I still thought that the statement was a mistake, but the decision was not mine to make. I kept going, knowing that reasonable minds could differ, under the circumstances, just as they had differed about the decision to affiliate with the AFL-CIO.

Some of you wish that the UFW had become just another union with the usual administrative hierarchy. That wasn't Cesar's vision. In my view, Cesar gave us a lot to think about. He inspired; he caused pain. He motivated; he demoralized. He was benevolent; he was ruthless. Those are the qualities that made him great. Cesar was impatient with "business as usual." Thus, he experimented. He had to. He wanted to explore alternatives to the stagnated labor movement that had lost sight of its rank-and-file origins. He was convinced that if only the unions had remained loyal to their "social movement" impetus rather than become part of the "establishment," they would have remained powerful, thriving entities, expanding rather than languishing. More than one long-established union got the message and appreciated it. I, for one, am grateful to Cesar for that vision. It did not come without costs and setbacks or without pain and suffering, but I believe that the UFW is better off for it--and still very much alive.

Jose

1970-1975 (Portland, NJ, DC, NY Boycotts; La Paz)

Tina Solinas (Mondragon), 6/20/04 (3)

RE: Agbayani Village

From Tina Solinas '72-'89

One day at the 40 Acres, Pete Velasco asked me if I knew any contractors (of the housing type not the farm labor type) who would like to come work for the Union. I immediately thought of my uncle who had worked with Self Help Housing and the AFSC (Quakers) in Visalia, who had built and rebuilt houses for himself and his brothers' families, etc. and who was adventurous, having taken his family to Hawaii for a year and to Mexico for a different year (and has since been to Nicaragua many times, building, bringing medical supplies....). I called my uncle, and the rest is family history. My aunt Rita still hasn't quite forgiven me.:):) although later she did come on staff as an organizer....loved it.

George Solinas, my uncle, was in charge of building the Village. My dad, Sal Solinas, put in the kitchen.

George had the architect's blue prints and his staff were volunteers to whom he taught the various disciplines needed: carpentry, electronics, plumbing, etc. Several people signed on for 2 years, unions and other groups sent down weekend work crews, people came and went. The Manongs were ever present support and workers. I would go down and pick up a hammer on an occasional day off, very occasional. Anyway, that's how I remember it.

Don't we have anyone on the list who was part of that crew? Chris Braga, Dave, Herb, Polly, those are the only names I remember, Danny Morales. Time to see if they'll come on the list and write.....a remarkable story.

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/20/04 (2)

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

My goodness you titled this one food. Jose it was so much more than food. What an accomplishment. I recall the feverish pace, and some of the last minute tying up of loose ends. You were so key to the whole thing coming together. Cesar put out the ideas, but you made it happen.

I recall in Boycott Information that we published a little booklet on the Grape Boycott demonstrating the financial impact it was having on the growers. We had shipments charted from past years; # of piggy backs rolling without a consigned destination and price per lug of grapes as compared to the time frame from previous years. The upshot of the data was that we were killing them financially. We even projected the loss of profit for the "73" harvest. Would be nice if any of those booklets were still around. Then there was this little booklet on the violence in the fields with pictures from the teamsters wielding chains and the goon squads attacking the picket line at Kovachevitch (?).

That was a great year Jose. The First Constitutional Convention was such a success as a result of all of our great efforts. Lynn where are you? I got a wonderful e-mail from you some time ago. Join in. Your stories would be another piece of the history. The picture you sent me of your kids was special.

Kathy Murguia 1965-1983

Ellen Eggers, 6/21/04

RE: Robert's Rules

Anyone remember from the first Convention (73) when it was announced that the convention would be run according to Robert's Rules of Order....and one of the delegates got up to the microphone, pretty indignant, and wanted to know who this guy Robert was, and why we had to follow HIS rules!?

Ellen Eggers 72-87

Jackie (Brown) Davis, 6/21/04

RE: Robert's Rules

Yes! I've never forgotten it because it illuminated some cultural assumptions better than almost any of our collective experiences.

And to answer another string – I live in San Diego and I love it here.

Jackie Davis

Doug Adair, 6/21/04

RE: Agbayani Village (Carol Schoenbrunn)

Dear Carol (Schoenbrunn Lambiase),

I don't know if you're aware of LeRoy Chatfield's listserv discussion group on the UFW. Most of the discussion has been on the La Paz years, but there has also been some very interesting (to

me) discussion on mobilizing the volunteer staff to build the union, and the need at key points to have paid professionals, and how to blend the two to get the job done... I got the impression that building the Village was one of those high points (actually, one of many, many), where an amazing and diversified team came together, under inspired leadership, with real respect for the time and labor of the workers (and "bosses"), an on-going communal effort to work out grievances as the job got done... resulting in a truly beautiful building to house the manongs, an incomparable "give back" to the workers who had had the courage to begin the strike in Delano...

I don't know where you are in life at this moment, but I always loved hearing your stories of building the Village, and think this project would appreciate any time you could put into reflections on your time there....

And greetings to Ali and abrazos,

Viva la Causa...

Doug Adair

Mary Mecartney, 6/21/04

RE: Prayer

From Mary Mecartney: 1975-1993

In one of the emails I skimmed last week I received the impression the author was scoffing at Cesar spending time in the later part of the 70s writing a prayer. Update: That prayer is used to start all worker meetings, all staff meetings, and all dinners at La Paz. How it works: reader reads the first line then folks join in repeating the first line. And so it goes on. Many current farm workers and new staff never met Cesar. I find this prayer a decent summary/reflection of what the farm workers movement is about. Here's the English version. For the Spanish just contact any UFW Field Office.

PRAYER OF THE FARM WORKERS' STRUGGLE

Show me the suffering of the most miserable;
So I will know my people's plight.

Free me to pray for others;
For you are present in every person.

Help me take responsibility for my own life;
So that I can be free at last.

Grant me courage to serve others;
For in service there is true life.

Give me honesty and patience;
So that I can work with other workers.

Bring forth song and celebration;
So that the Spirit will be alive among us.

Let the Spirit flourish and grow;
So that we will never tire of the struggle.

Let us remember those who have died for justice;
For they have given us life.

Help us love even those who hate us;
So we can change the world.

Amen

Roberto Bustos, 6/21/04

RE: MY LAST POSING REVISITED

* * * * Hey everyone its over! , lets move on, theres more workers out there that need our help or maybe other movements we can join? Roberto Bustos 1965-1972

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/21/04

RE: El Plan de Ayala

Doug - Thank you for the Plan.

Susan - In response to your "sense" of history and religion, yes, of course. The poor have only their faith to keep going.

The Mexican 'Plan de Ayala' was reportedly, based on Scripture. Story has it that Emiliano Zapata asked for the Scriptures to formulate el Plan. He was inspired by Leviticus, 25:23-24.

On the UFW convention - thank you for your responses.

hope lopez – Clovis - '66-74

Ramón Romero, 6/21/04

RE: Agbayani Village – Helmut Zingsman

Do any of you remember Helmut Zingssem? He was a volunteer at La Paz, the Agbayani Village, and various boycott offices. He was a carpenter from Berlin who volunteered through a German human rights group. He is now married with three beautiful daughters and lives in a small town in the countryside outside of Berlin. I visited him in October of 2002 and we ran the Berlin Marathon to celebrate his 50th birthday. He has six boxes of photo slides from his UFW days. If you would like to contact him, please let me know. I think he would really enjoy hearing from anyone who knew him in his UFW days.

Ramón Romero

Nancy Grimley Carleton, 6/21/04 (1)

RE: Agbayani Village – Helmut Zingsman

Is this the same Helmut who worked in Palo Alto out of the San Jose boycott office in 1975 (around the time of the March to Modesto)? If so, I remember him fondly. I was a high school student supporter (in the months before I joined the union full-time) and took a sanctioned week off school to walk the whole way to Modesto.

Nancy Carleton

Boycott Staff 1975-1976 (San Jose with two months in the San Fernando Valley)

Barbara Pruett, 6/21/04 (1)

RE: Where Are You?

Barbara Pruett (La Paz, 1972-1975)

Have lived in Washington, DC from 1975 to the present.

Was a Librarian for many years. I'm now an author and photographer (nature photos)

I get back to California a couple of times a year.

Barbara

Barbara Pruett, 6/21/04 (2)

RE: Where Are You?

I've just received 3 emails from people asking what I did at La Paz, so I will give a quick answer.

I was responsible for conducting a lot of research for the UFW during that period, set up a regular library for staff use, and was the liasion with the Wayne State Labor Archives. Most of my work was seeing that as many union files got to Wayne State as possible. I originally met with both Phil Mason from Wayne State and Cesar in order to plan the transfer of files. I will say that Cesar was

absolutely adamant that ALL union files be transferred in order to assure UFW history. And he NEVER once censored the files in any way, never once refused to send anything, and never asked to see any of the files before they were sent.

I think I worked well with Cesar in part because I brought a professional background with me and was there to do a specific job. I may not have been paid more than the standard \$5 but I approached the job in the same way I approached all other Library jobs I've ever had. And I had a clear and well-written job description that allowed me to work pretty much on my own so that I didn't need to bother him much. Part of the time I lived in the basement of the hospital in a room next to Jose Gomez and could ask him questions if need be. I remember that people knocked on his door all night long every night, sometimes on my door by mistake. I've always admired Jose for his determination and strength to do his job well.

One more note regarding the files.... please don't ask me what was in them. To begin with, it's been 30 years since I did the work and I don't remember. I gave the union a list of the files that had been sent but never kept a copy for myself. And because I handled the files directly, I am professionally obligated to not talk about them in any way. Anyone who wants information about the files should contact Wayne State directly.

Barbara Pruett (La Paz, 1972-1975)

Polly Parks, 6/21/04

RE: a poem

LA PAZ

Speeding over the Grapevine
gently spread with spring poppies
standing vigil for the millennium.
Sliding down the once torturous twisted vine
now smoothed, leveled, widened
in the hope the Big One misses
the layered plates thrust skyward.
Down into the San Joaquin,
fecund belly bowl of the nation.
Past the warning of severe dust storms next 60 miles.
Past scraggly windbreaks, down into heat boiling from the earth.
Past tractors limping onto salt-crusted ground cracked
like the skin of a dehydrated child.
Past bent backs and broken dreams, bitter melon
popped into the mouth at childbirth.
Dust to dust, life to death
in a bowl of yellow choking dust thrown up
from land raw from abuse. A lifetime of verdant green
shot up from deserts fed by water stolen
from the Colorado etching its masterpiece in variegated sandstone,
siphoned from wild rivers running through old growth forests,
white water tamed to concrete conduits.
Water painting the vermillion roses of McFarland,
green lettuce in Salinas and the Imperial Valley,
brown crunchy almonds in Modesto, Merced, Madera, and Taft,
black walnuts in Visalia, purple artichokes in Watsonville,
white garlic in Gilroy, broccoli blossoms, brussels sprouts,
creamy white cauliflower and antiseptic fungi in cool coastal valleys, red
tomatoes and thrusting bluegreen asparagus by Stockton bayous,
row upon row of yellow citrus, pistachio, kiwi, and knotted olive marching
up the Sierra foothills, bee kissed melon in Manteca,
miles of grains, beans, okra, peas, cabbage, potatoes and carrots, rainbows

of peppers with onions red, yellow, green and white,
peaches, figs, apples, plums, and nectarines on every spare acre,
sweet dates signalling the briny inland Salton Sea,
and the snaking grapevines of Delano
stretching south to Coachella,
north to Sonoma,
west to the Pacific
and east to the Sierra;
tendrils stretched to cover the nation, now sliding
down to choke the old Spanish empire with growth
so profuse, it seems we can feed the world,
if not those who toil the fields.

All it took was a little water,
a little bit of human manure,
to make this whole Valley bloom
with red flags and cries of "La Huelga!"
Heading up Highway 99 to Delano, to the Forty Acres,
to that spot across the road
from the Voice of America towers beaming freedom to the world,
to lay him to rest in the town
where, it is said, the high school principal,
to make the point that it had never happened,
tore out the pages of the history books
that told of the farmworkers struggle.
It was easy to believe that nothing
had ever changed, that, as NPR said:
wages were worse, conditions the same;
that all our hard labor at room and board and five dollars a week
just gave us a bit of moral superiority.
Had he thought that selfishly in the seconds
between wakefulness and sleep
as his body gave him signals that he could not read.
Did he remember the comfort of his story retold
on dead trees etched with ink and water.
Every idea he encountered was devoured,
each new shoot caressed with the care
his ancestors lavished on the ear of corn,
taking centuries to cultivate
the essential grain that would feed their seed.
Did he remember being sustained by the taste
of each life he touched.
He had a gift, you see.
The ability to take other people's lives,
ripen them,
warm what had been frozen in some cold storage,
the molecules atrophied, the taste sucked out;
though that could happen, did happen at times,
but that was later; better left unsaid, today.
He had the ability,
always,
to make others listen to their heart.

Songs break through the clouds of dust
kicked up by 50,000 feet
sliding over hot, melting asphalt;
only the bird calls and spring woken crickets,

only the hot rustle of the Valley fever sweeping
like a delirium, of hearts stopped beating
for that one moment when one heard
he was after all only a man
born, suckled, slapped around and
woken to manhood, married, sire of children,
oh yes, he sired many children, he lived to watch them
sire their own and another generation.
That was his life; he even loved the woman
who stood strong and endured the pain
of each childbirth, the taming of eight wild ones
knowing each time he would eventually come home,
walk into the house alone;
would respect her wish that the guards be left outside,
though sometimes he tried to get around her
by having his son-in-laws or nephews, even his sons
be his shield. Then he died, peaceful, in his sleep.
He didn't even need those damn guards, she thinks
as she walks alone, dignified, behind the coffin,
in front of their children holding hands,
followed by their children in jeans, shorts,
low-rider outfits, an occasional dress,
but mostly t-shirts clumped together like pachucos
sent down to work on the farm. Children
who know their grandfather only in brief visits
between the strikes that faded into memory
and each boycott, fast, direct mail appeal, and lawsuit
that seemed to stretch into infinity.
That was his personal life. No one ever
really got in there, because even for his familia
he was another man, a singular man, a romantic notion
that no one could live up to.
He became tended by a myth more powerful than money.

His simplicity was not a pose,
it was birthed from a childhood
surrounded by desert beauty, raw, dry,
when mountains, just the trees and clear running water,
promised relief, promised no verdant fields
filled with the bent backs and broken lives
of those who sow and weed and prune and reap;
those who drink from water poisoned
to make tomatoes square
so that more will fit into a box;
a better profit to be made that way.
Is it any wonder that he retreated
from the lives pressing down, discing the fields
of his imagination, breaking his solitude of calm seasons
with demands on his attention.
It was his cloistered faith
honed by honeylaced tea
he sought to recreate in the mountain air.
Retreat, the stream would gurgle as the mountain snowfield melted;
retreat, the wind would whistle through the budding mountain oak;
the chaparral threatened each summer to burst into flame,
always jeopardizing

peaceful
 equilibrium
 of service to the greater good.
 It was a difficult life to live,
 with so many obligations, so many expectations.
 Before the rosary was read, a martyrs widow
 named him a saint,
 and maybe it was so
 on that unseasonably hot spring day his body was laid to rest
 in a simple pine coffin hewn by his brother,
 his body carried hand to hand
 midst fields of fluttering red and white flags
 emblazoned with black Atzlan eagles straining to fly free
 over the fine yellow dust of prime acreage laid to ruin
 swirling through the memories of thousands.
 Hundreds of children lined the school fences
 and yelled Viva Cesar Chavez!
 And the people answered, Viva los ninos!

 At the cross streets stood Highway Patrolmen, sheriff deputies,
 local police, all of the law that had fought,
 sometimes hand to hand,
 to keep the union off the land.
 There stood men and women in uniform,
 their arms at half mast
 with hats held over their hearts.
 Overhead the helicopters swirled and cameramen and anchors
 leaned out and choked on the whirligigs of fine powder
 that the throng threw up as it surged down Garces Highway
 to its epilogue, to the end of his being;
 running to catch our own lives.

Polly Parks
 April 1993

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/21/04 (1)

RE: My son's poetry

Polly, thank you for sharing your poem. Sharing a poem is like share part of your soul. My son wrote the following poem in high school about five years ago as a tribute to our family:

The Blazing Sun Burns Deep In My Skin but Does Not Set It On Fire

The blazing sun burns deep in my skin,
 But does not set it on fire.
 My broken back leans over, but I do not fall.
 I crawl to get a better grasp of this fruit.
 Using leaves and poisoned water to keep clean,
 In times of need.
 My motivation is my family.
 A living wage is all I ask.
 Hope is what drives me
 And death is not my only salvation.
 Aztec warrior blood runs deep in my veins,
 And pumps strong in my heart.
 Though the blazing sun burns deep into my skin,
 It does not set me on fire.

- Jorge Abram Rivera

Joaquin Murguia, 6/21/04

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Jose,

I don't think anyone argues that the union had its successes and its set backs. However, in my opinion, the movement was at a cross roads in the mid 70's and whether it was lack of direction from Cesar or from the executive board, the union never matured. Granted, the social movement aspect is what initially built the union. But once contracts were signed, there was an obligation to the workers to create an infrastructure under which they as members could deal with their union.

Yes, there were better wages, better benefits and some might argue job security, but without the infrastructure to provide these benefits, all the benefits in the world are for not. It is argued here that the movement might have gone the way of labor unions in general. Correct me if I'm wrong but aren't other unions still organizing and striking? It's more than can be said for the UFW. I have lived in the Coachella Valley for nearly 25 years and during that entire time, I can only recall one campaign.

It was directed at Robert Carian Farms. To my knowledge, it never resulted in anything more than passing press coverage. The union approached workers in my company, but did not make any inroads as the union had nothing to offer that we as employer weren't already offering and they received it without having to pay dues. The union made a minor effort by filing 13 unfair labor practice charges, all of which were found to be baseless. The union also took up the case of a worker whom I terminated for threatening his supervisor with a shovel. Upon a complete investigation by the ALRB, the case was closed as being a justifiable termination.

I understand that there are some contracts in Northern California, however, I am not aware of any in the Coachella Valley which is the second largest agricultural producing area in dollar volume in California. Forgive me, but it doesn't seem as though the union is "alive and well."

It appears to me that the union is currently surviving by hanging on to the legacy of Cesar rather than being an active labor union that is organizing workers, holding elections, signing contracts and having them properly administered.

Just one person's opinion.

Joaquin Murguia

Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Landers, Yucca Valley, Palm Springs, Cathedral City, Palm Desert 1979-Present

Kate Colwell, 6/21/04

RE: Where is everyone?

Boy, some of these long analyses and memories are fantastic! My thanks to everyone who is writing so generously.

Agbayani Village crew- Clyde Golden lives outside of Bakersfield. Ray Grott lives/works in San Francisco. Edie ? was a teacher last I heard. Martha?

Tina: Are Rita and George still in Santa Barbara? may have mentioned, bu I haven't sorted through a week of messages while on vacation. Please give them my love.

Where are all the clinic folks? Rosemary Occhiogrosso is in LA, Carolyn Kristensen in Mountain View CA. Catherine McDonough and Tom Lambert in Montana.

Annie and Daniel are you out there? Margaret Murphy? Dan Murphy are you still in Iowa? Monica Sheehan (Hughie)Teague where are you?

Food and the First Convention 1973- I don't mean to complain (it's little late),but there was no food for veggies. I ate a balony sandwich and got sick.

Does anyone remember the security to get Sen. Kennedy in there?? It was WILD, as the Feds (FBI or secret service?) scouted out every angle in the building from which he could be shot.

Kate Colwell
now in Kensington (Berkeley), CA
(1973-1976 LA Boycott, Delano, Sanger, Calexico clinics)

Tom Dalzell, 6/21/04

RE: Failure's no success at all

Jose Gomez argues that while mistakes were made, he does not think that the Union was a failure. Before addressing the success or no success point, let me say that I think that there were many successes:

- * The early door-to-door organizing by Cesar.
- * The scrambling that kept us alive in the early days, 1965 to 1970. We scrambled daily for money and visibility and pressure points. We found them all.
- * The March to Sacramento - brilliant in every way. It mobilized farm workers up and down the valley, got press, made the Union a political force to be reckoned with in California, and from what I am told got us out of an internal funk and loss of direction.
- * The 1968 fast. Ditto - mobilized and inspired farm workers, got press, increased Union's political profile.
- * The DiGiorgio election. In the midst of the chaotic mobilization of the grape strike and early boycott, we had to do some serious organizing. We did, and - we won. Marshall has written extensively about the campaign.
- * The work that we did in cities in support of RFK in the democratic primary of 1968. We came to the cities, reversing the normal flow of using the cities to help in the fields. In so doing, we increased our political visibility.
- * The original grape boycott. The idea. The implementation. Yes, truly brilliant. Gilbert Padilla and Hope Fierro in one city - the supermarkets did not have a chance.
- * The Teatro Campesino - a creative and inspiring element that you don't find in many unions. Their presence at Friday night meetings, the picket line, and rallies was special.
- * Worker rallies, especially strike rallies. Nobody did it better.
- * A lasting respect for the basics of organizing. Fred Ross Sr.
- * Cesar's trust in Jerry Cohen and Jerry's genius.
- * The ability to attract and for a while to retain dedicated, hardworking talent at all levels of the organization. The work ethic was frightening and ran counter to the times. Looking back, it amazes, both the talent and the hard work.
- * El Malcriado. It lived up to its name.
- * The alliances with organized religion. Chris Hartmire.
- * The community that formed organically based on common purpose and common experience, not engineering from above.
- * Avoiding the nationalism that ate up the civil rights movement. If there was white-liberal-bashing, it was at a minimum. This was no accident.
- * Our ability to survive the disaster of 1973. I can't think of many other organizations that could have absorbed the body blows that we took in 1973.
- * Manuel Chavez. When he worked a blitz strike with a perishable crop, there was nobody better. Mobilize, cripple, declare victory with wage concessions, move on. If he got bogged

down as was the case in Yuma 1974 he was not so effective, but for 10 years his blitz strikes were a wonder to behold. Plus, he kept Cesar real.

* The ranch committees. Many were textbook examples of workers taking control of their own work lives.

* The discipline of non-violence in strikes. I'm no Pollyanna and we all know of slight deviations from the doctrine of non-violence, but overall the commitment to non-violence, which is counter-instinctive in strikes, was a success.

* The defeat of Proposition 22 in a year when Nixon won the state. Yes, a 'no' vote is easier than a 'yes' vote, but it was a great success.

* The 1975 March on Gallo. Fred Ross Jr. completely changed the momentum in Sacramento with the march.

* Negotiation of the ALRA. You don't get the best labor law in the US by good luck. A combination of Jerry Cohen's talents, pressure on the Governor and other Democrats by Fred Ross Jr. and the boycott, and Manuel's strikes keeping the need for a law in the public view, gave us a great law. We had a friend in the Governor and a better friend working for the Governor, but it was no walk in the park to end up with the law we ended up with.

* The 1976 Brown for President Campaign. At the time, Brown's late surge against Carter attracted a lot of national attention and we were given credit for much of the success of the late surge.

* In many areas, we made the transition from mobilizing to organizing when the ALRA went into effect in 1975. We showed that we could do a better job with traditional representation-election organizing than anybody thought possible.

These successes, and others that I am sure I have forgotten, are what for me make the later failings all the more difficult.

Jose writes about unions as if they are bad things, about administrative hierarchies as if they were the goal. We didn't want a union or administrative hierarchies for the sake of having a union with administrative hierarchies. We wanted a union to make better lives for farm workers, and we didn't know any better way to make better lives for farm workers than to build a strong union.

Yes, certainly, Cesar had other interests. In 1977-1978, it seems from the posted stories of people who were in La Paz and in a much better position to observe him than I was in the field, that he was much more interested in Silva Mind Control, faith healing, the Synanon Game/Brew/Trip/Dissipation, a grant-funded telephone system for poor people, and perhaps some other issues than he was in building a trade union for farm workers. Even if you accept these other pursuits as important, my point is that we could have used his focus on Union matters in 1977 and 1978, a critical time for the Union. As proven by the early successes of the Union, Cesar was a brilliant strategist and at times a brilliant tactician. If he no longer wanted to be completely involved in the building of the Union, he had certainly earned the right to step back and let others take over while he pursued spiritual matters. We could have used his thinking and leadership, but we didn't need it. Eliseo was there, a promising heir apparent if there ever was one. Marshall, Jessica, Mack, Richard, Gilbert, Jim Drake, and other leaders had shown that they could adapt to the new ways of doing things under the ALRA. There was a class of field office directors and local rank and file leadership, suggesting a local union structure. It seems that while Cesar didn't want to build a union, he didn't want to let go either.

I believe that his failure to either lead the Union from movement to institution, or to let others do it, led to our ultimately failing as a union. I know of the danger of near-sighted thinking, but I honestly can't see how you can argue that the Union was not in the end a failure as a trade union. I don't know of any way to judge a union's success other than its contracts, its membership, its organizing, and its effect on the wages, hours, and working conditions of those employed in the industry it seeks to organize. On all scores, the Union had ceased to be a major factor - as a union

- by the early 1980s. A powerful, thriving entity? Not in the fields. Not with workers. Somewhere else, maybe, but not where it was once.

Jose points to tactical mistakes made all along the way. I am not talking about these mistakes, but to the complete collapse of leadership that ended the Union as an effective trade union several years after Jose left, between 1977 and 1981. I know that there are criteria other than mine (the Union as a trade union) by which the Union might be judged a success. As a union, though, I just can't see the argument that the Union was a success in the end.

Tom Dalzell
1968-1980
El Malcriado, Philadelphia boycott, Legal department

Fr. Ken Irrgang, 6/21/04

RE: It's More Than Once a Year, But

Hi Kathy!

How kind of you to think of me on Father's Day! Thank you for every rat-a-tat followed by a dry, dry martini raised in a toast to my honor. You made my day!

Peace!

Father Ken, Padre Ken, Padrecito, and so on, and so on

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/21/04 (1)

RE: Fr. Ken

Some may remember the Padre, who upon arriving at La Paz was assigned to work with me on creating the kids' playground behind the row of houses at the bottom of the hill that leads to the water towers. Yes, the good father took off his collar and lifted a shovel and dug the trench where all the tires were placed to form a barrier. A realist and a priest, this witty man of the cloth provided a point of clarity at times when there was none. His humor was constant and his homilies were based on solid teachings. I'm forwarding his response to my little tribute to fathers.

Kathy Murguia 1965-1983. By the way I'm working in San Jose, CA, but still live in Tehachapi with my husband Lupe when I can make it there.

Nancy Grimley Carleton, 6/21/04 (2)

RE: What Happened to Marta Rodriguez?

Pertinent OpEd in today's Chronicle. It ends with a question asking about Marta Rodriguez. Anyone know anything about where she is today?

Nancy Carleton
Boycott Staff 1975-1976 (San Jose with two months in the San Fernando Valley)

[Reprint of article, "Images from the field," by Louis Freedberg, *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 21, 2004].

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/21/04 (2)

RE: Poetry

Polly, Abby. Glad to know the Muses are alive and well. I believe I was really awful as an organizer. I just had difficulty dealing with details. I also wasn't a very good administrator. I only survived because I was married to Lupe. Also I was a fairly good pusher of paper and follower of directions. What kept me partially sane during troubled times was writing and observing. Anyway wanted to share something I wrote when I heard the cries of Rufino's son at his funeral. I'd like to hear what other folks may have written in the tiny moments we had to think.

Rufino Our Brother

gentle, kind, quiet was he.

dear god this man has ceased to be
with us, among us, what destiny...

that Rosa is widowed,
her children, their father, a memory.

is it with cause this man walks no more
was it justice this pain is for
hearts, minds, anguished and sore
facing what we cannot ignore

that Rufino, our bother is dead- 1974.

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/21/04 (3)

RE: Poetry

A thought... maybe we could collect an anthology of movement poetry from La Causa. Maybe.
Kathy Murguia

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/21/04 (2)

RE: Poetry

Kathy, thank you for sharing your poem with us. When you wrote that anecdote of the day you went to the hospital with Mrs. Rufino it made me so sad for her and her family. Your poem captures that sadness, too. s/m /abby

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/21/04 (3)

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Joaquin, what happened to the workers who filed the thirteen ULPs at "your" company? In twenty five years, only thirteen ULPs filed and those only when there was a bit of organizing at your company. How interesting. Were any of the ULPs for sexual harrasement against women? sin mas/ abby

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/22/04 (1)

RE: UFWA

Tom,

Cesar did many good things, you are right. He constantly visited workers; visited them when ever and where ever he traveled. That is one thing I know for certain Cesar did constantly. He stopped to talk to workers in the fields, in their homes, or at meetings. He got a strong sense of what they wanted from him, but just as important, it created continued trust and confidence in him and his vision for them. I liked what Jose said about Cesar, walking, dictating, his mind racing a mile a minute. He knew full well what direction he was going. Contract Administration Schools, Collective Bargaining Schools, and Organizing Schools. Cesar wanted trained farm worker leadership but he died before his was able to fully realize his total vision for the UFWA. Some former farm workers who were trained are working in other labor unions today. Many received training that no other institution has been able to provide. Tom, in reading your last posting, (similar to the one before), I am reminded about what Gilbert Padilla wrote in his essay. He said that Cesar wanted people whose minds "were not corrupted". Had we gotten to the point where Cesar was tired of all our murmurings? Did we create such a negative atmosphere that we became more of a burden than an asset to the union we had come to serve and to love? It seems that way to me. Please, since I have heard from some of you, no need to come back with the response that "it is a sign of a true leader to be able to blah, blah, blah". Cesar could handle a lot plus more on his plate just fine. I recall an incident at one of our meetings/meals at La Paz. I remember, with the exception of maybe a few, the rest of the Legal Department standing up, on cue, to dance and

carry on in front of Cesar, in my opinion, to mock him. You speak of Cesar losing his moral compass, what compass were all of you following? I recall that Jerry did not join you guys, thank goodness. Why did you do it? If you wanted Cesar to listen to your points of view, in my opinion, you lost a lot of credibility that day. As I see it now, you guys danced yourselves right out of good standing and out of a job. I get the feeling you are hurt because Cesar had a long road to travel but did not invite you along for the ride. sin mas, /abby/r/d/lp

Joaquin Murguia, 6/22/04

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Abby,

The 13 workers returned to Blythe as I recall. They were on a watermelon crew for about a week. After they filed the ULP's, they did not return to work. It was the only time in my 10 years with "the" company.

None of the ULP's were for sexual harassment though I did have two crew foreman terminated for harassing women on their crews. The company had a zero tolerance policy when it came to sexual harassment, work place violence or on the job drug and alcohol use.

Those are the only incidents. The company was very proactive when it came to field employees. Within my first two years there, the company had established a health plan with vision, dental, major medical and prescription with coverage in the US and Mexico that included, well man, well woman and well child care, including immunizations to age 5. We established a paid vacation plan and a pension plan, both profit sharing and 401k with matching contributions and paid vacations. The company also provided life insurance at three times annual earnings. They were quality programs. As an example, one of our workers wives delivered by C-section, his total out of pocket was approximately \$500 for a weeks stay at JFK in Indio. During my tenure, we paid out one life insurance claim for a young man who had worked one month for the company. Although it could never replace the young man, the \$10,000 death benefit was very much appreciated by his family.

The company worked very closely with medical providers to be sure workers comp cases were handled quickly. It wasn't always easy, but we managed to get most patients P & S within 18 months. For those who were able, we provided light duty until full medical release was provided. The company also paid, I believe, the highest wages in the valley. Most of our field workers were paid \$10 dollars or more per hour on average, piece workers where hitting \$15 per hour. The irrigation crews who were year round were paid around the same, plus provided housing with all appliances at below market rents, plus vehicles and gas for deminimus personal use.

I did what I could to take what I learned from the Union about an employer's responsibility and apply it at the company where I worked. As the Controller and CFO, I was fortunate enough to be in a position to make things happen.

Hope that clears things up,

Joaquin

Jackie (Brown) Davis, 6/22/04

RE: Poetry

I think that this might be a good chapter in our book, or maybe break up the chapters – poetry from volunteers.

Jackie Davis
1971-1974

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/22/04

RE: Sexual harrassment

Abby, you brought up sexual harassment and ULP's that went on with female field workers. Any thoughts about sexual harassment while working as a volunteer? I have heard some pretty sad stories. Sin Mas Kathy Murguia

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/22/04

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Ola, Friends! I wish I had more time to participate in the discussions that have been taking place. Unfortunately, many of the things under discussion/debate happened after I left. When I left I had a few sour tastes in my mouth, but mainly because of things in which I exercised my right to choose, and did I choose! What a life I've led, and underlying all that, and burning just as brightly as ever is my desire that true justice and equality be brought to those who help put our food on the table. There is still so much work to be done, it is my most sincere desire that we all continue to share the same desire. Farmworkers at the present time still need our collective work. I hear rumors that because of the economic crisis Section 8 is up for consideration of removal. Can you imagine what this would do to thousands of the lowest-paid workers? Already we have double and perhaps triple the amounts of rent increases in some of the labor camps around here. That, and the continued oppression felt under local law enforcement, the "gang" issue where our children are pitted against other "groups" of children and have the corbata (tie) of "gang member" hung on their innocent necks. Immigrants continue being the scapegoat of those who like cheap, good labor. Packing houses around the area are pushing workers to their limits, and if one doesn't make the grade because of age, less than perfect health, or just simply because someone doesn't like the way one smiles, it's easy to dispose of a permanent worker and resupply through the new farm labor contractors - the "temporary" agencies, which keep "temporary" workers on their payroll for years at a time, thereby obviating the need of the rancher or the farm labor contractor to get insurances, licenses, etc., not to mention taking away the right to organize or even complain about working conditions. What about our kids? Talk about an identity crisis! And we don't make it any easier with laws that belie everything we've been taught - straighten up your sapling before it gets strong and set in its ways. Discipline has been redefined - it's been taken away and we're losing and have lost control of our children. And then, instead of helping people understand the laws we break up entire families and punish them for not understanding.....

What we need is a new movement, or a resurgence of the old one, which sometimes feels like it's asleep. Let me invite you all to join us in October when we go to San Ysidro and ask the government to remove the "Gatekeeper" program which has cost untold numbers of lives, disrupted thousands of families. sigh.....it's so much and the burden is so heavy. I hope many of us react to these things, and instead of bashing each other try to find ways how to reconcile oneself with what one has. We need to move forward, make sure that those ideals we all spent a good portion of our lives struggling for are not lost by digging up the past. It really makes my day when I read positive notes - and we all have contributed many positives to this discussion. I thank God for having known those of you whom I knew and worked with at the old green house and then the 40 acres. By the time the move to La Paz was made, we (Dick and I) were on the verge of moving on with our lives. We attended what I think was the inauguration, back in 1971, was it? Now when I hear from people near and dear to me from that era, it carries me throughout the day: Doug, Augie, Cynthia, all those who worked at the 40 acres in the early days - all of you brought so much more meaning to my life, made my little effort totally worthwhile. It's not the memory of Cesar I cherish because he didn't make the movement on his own, we made it with him, and all of us deserve the honor and glory of having taken part in a great effort.

Okay - gotta run. Thank God I have the ability to type 100+ words a minute - still - so I can whip this up in no time flat! No time to edit, however, and I hope I haven't stepped on anybody's toes. I love you all, God bless each and every one of you, y QUE VIVA LA CAUSA!! QUE VIVA NUESTRA UNION! Graciela (Grace Herron) Martinez, 1965-1971(?) Delano, 40 Acres, San Francisco Safeway Boycott, Legal Office - BEAUTIFUL TIMES!!!

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/22/04 (2)

RE: Sexual harassment

None occurred with me. However, I doubt that anyone would ever have dared. You kinda' get a sense of my personality right away. Pity the poor guy(s). I wouldn't have waited to file a report, if you know what I mean. I got a lot of harassment working in the fields, though. It wasn't too pretty once my brothers got wind of it. I guess if it happened to others while they were volunteers, now is the time to talk about it.

I do have an interesting story about an incident that happened. It involves women as organizers. I was working in Delano in 1975, (Credit Union) and all the staff was told we had to go out and organize for an upcoming election. Do you remember the young Arab volunteer named Shariff? He used to come and translate for me at the Credit Union once in a while. He came into my office and when he found out I was going to go to the Arab labor camp, he begged me not to go. I told him I had to. It was a directive from La Paz. He was flustered and began pacing back and forth in the office. He brought me one of his long sleeved shirts and told me to wear it. He said that the Arabs think badly of women especially if they come out to the labor camps. I got the point. I usually wore long pants but I knew some of the women wore cut-offs and tank tops. I let them know that they should change but they chose to ignore me and off we went. Shariff told me to stand behind him and only to hand out the leaflets when he asked me to. When I did hand them out, the Arab men put their heads down and turned them to the side and held out their hands for me to hand them the leaflets. Later I learned he had told them I was a nice person and his friend and that I was going to give them something important they should read. In the meantime, some of the women organizers were screaming and chanting, doing a great job, really. Just the way we normally do things. One of the Arab men said something under his breath and the rest busted up laughing. Shariff turned around and grabbed me by the elbow and yanked me all the way to the car. He was so angry as we sat in the backseat. Everyone else came back at that point. I tried to get Shariff to tell me what they had said, but all he said was, "I can't tell you. It is bad. Only the men should have come here." I actually felt sorry for him. I am glad the union felt women made good organizers because we had some great ones, but perhaps we should have had some training on cultural issues so we could have done a better job. By the way, we won that election and I covered myself up pretty good when we went to await the result because I knew there would be a lot of Arab brothers there. From this experience I learned why the Arab brothers never looked at me when they came to the Credit Union window, not because they didn't understand what I said but because that would have been considered improper. I used Shariff's translating skills less and less after that. sin mas, /abby

Roberto Bustos, 6/22/04

RE: Sexual harrassment

The brothers didn't mind when they were visited by the ladies of the night! They looked up and down! Roberto Bustos 1965-1972

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/22/04 (3)

RE: Sexual harrassment

My point exactly. Our fellow organizer and friend wanted to protect us from the looks you just described. sin mas, /abby

Gary Brown, 6/22/04 (1)

Dear Jose and all:

A quick comment concerning the latter part of the letter regarding Union failure. In my observation those who hold that the union failed comment on the Union's failure to take advantage of its favorable position as of 1976-77. I do not think I have heard that the Union is a failure. Yes, it exists and it exists because of all that you say Cesar was and did. There has been acknowledgement of the opposition the Union faced.

Yet you yourself admit that there were mistakes. It is the exploration of those mistakes that has been a part of this project. "If onlys" I suppose are part of the formula of examination but I do not

believe that it has been the primary basis for the positions put forth by those who believe the Union lost its momentum and focus.

I do not believe they are hand wringing nor is it resentment that drives their argument. For myself, I admire Cesar and his vision. Yet I share the disappointment that for whatever reason, and it is those reasons I want explored, the Union did not, AS YET, attain representation for the majority of farmworkers, its primary goal. I want to know why? And if that why is internal or external it is to be examined. Since you admit there were mistakes do not suppose it is mere resentment that fuels the argument. Perhaps, it is disappointment, sorrow. Remember each of these people dedicated themselves, their lives to the goal of freeing farmworkers from their plight.

I think you are exactly right that Cesar did want “to explore alternatives to the stagnated labor movement that had lost sight of its rank-and-file origins. He was convinced that if only the unions had remained loyal to their “social movement” impetus rather than become part of the “establishment,” they would have remained powerful, thriving entities, expanding rather than languishing.”

Was that at the expense of the development of basic union representation? It is one thing to imagine, to vision what you desire to create, it is another thing to actually implement it.

On another string thanks for the info on the First Convention. I was a delegate representing San Diego. That brought up a memory that I have wrestled with. At the time I was the senior Union member of the full time boycott staff in San Diego. Another member had recently come from Seattle. He had a bit more full time Union involvement than I did so the choice was do we go with the most San Diego history or the most Union history. The staff sent me and though I was grateful I had wished that both of us could have attended. I wonder how other boycott cities handled their elections of delegates. And yes the First Convention was a momentous event. I thought that Ellen’s recollections of the Roberts Rules of Order story was only a dream but now that she mentioned it I think that she might be right. There was also a debate over a “shall” vs. a “may” just as the constitution was to be adopted. Anyway great job for all those who put it together. One of the successes.

Gary Brown 1969-1974 San Diego, LA, Napa, La Paz – Still in San Diego

Gary Brown, 6/22/04 (2)

Dear Kathy and all:

Kevin worked in security and I worked in RFK at the same time. No need to apologize for the confusion. I had a couple of thoughts over the weekend, but first a reply to your letter. I do not intend to imply anything sinister. I believe Cesar to have been many things to many people nor do I mean to limit the descriptions. I was trying to to explore the nature of the man. I think of Cesar fondly, with respect and admiration.

Now a couple of more thoughts. I got to thinking that the structure of the Union in many respects is not unlike the Catholic Church. Like priests and nuns and monks we lived a Spartan life. Each part of the Union acted pretty much like parishes ran supporting themselves, like each boycott city. Hierarchy was not much different and control was pretty much the same. Hence rules came from on top, and were to be followed without dissent. Even the Union’s executive board seemed to function more like an advisory panel to the Bishop than an actual Board. I’ll stop here with the comparisons. Food for thought. Perhaps we need not look at deficiencies in character but cultural influences.

The other thought started with Richard Ybarra’s comments on the dogs Huelga and Boycott. I am not sure if they bit Marshall but I am pretty sure one of the dogs, perhaps Red, yest I remember Red, or Max bit Larry Itliong. Maybe, Richard, every volunteer could have had an interview with the dogs first. This might have saved us from the purges later on. Really! This did not add to the discussion. Your feud with Marshall has not served the list serve. I have known you a long time and I know you have more to offer. Frankly this goes for Marshall too. Other than the tit for tat and a couple of comments in defense, neither of you have provided much insight and this comes

from arguably the two most influential - and closest to Cesar – people on the list serve. Perhaps we can wait for the books.

Another point. It is exactly the fact that Cesar is dead that we can talk of him more openly. It is not a defense to state that he cannot defend himself, no more than it is a reason that we cannot talk of Ronald Reagan's failures. After a week of deifying him maybe we can have someone talk about the real man. No different.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/22/04 (4)

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Joaquin, I am sorry the workers never returned to ask for work. Perhaps they must have known it would have been futile to try. I certainly hope the worker's continued with their good fortune after you left and someone with a different philosophy came in. What you describe to me about what is being done for workers is happening in many companies. Once growers got ahold of what the union was doing for its members, they moved to accommodate their workers so there would be no need to join a union; and therefore, no need for workers to decide for themselves what they wanted in the workplace under contract. No protection, no one to go to in the event they feel someone or something in the workplace is unfair. Where I work, I am offered everything, it seems just as the workers in your company plus more. I am represented by a union that works to protect us during the good or lean years. It is a comfort to me to know that I and my fellow workers can speak up on anything without fear and that we were the ones who put many of the protections in place through our union. We hold the power. Well, you know how all that works. I know I do not need to sing to the choir. sin mas /abby

p.s. I am glad to hear the women in the company where you worked were safe from sexual harassment. The reason I asked is because even with laws to protect women against it, many still find themselves working under intolerable conditions and many aren't called back to work when they complain. Some, for fear of losing their jobs, won't bother to complain and suffer in silence. They become the trouble makers no one needs to have around. Women still have a long way to go in the fields, trust me. We are far behind the times in that area of work. Take care, talk to you soon.

Olgha Sierra Sandman, 6/22/04

RE: Let the Eagle Fly

I am Olgha Sierra Sandman, member of the National Farm Worker Ministry Board since 1971 to present.

For those of you in and around the Chicago area, you may want to attend the Musical Drama titled **Let The Eagle Fly**, a professionally done concert based on the life and work of Cesar that will be given one time only on Sunday, July 18 at 5:00 PM at the Owen Theater, 170 N. Dearborn St., Chicago.

The sponsorship is by the Latino Festival, the Latino Labor Council and the Goodman Theater. *
* * *

Olgha Sierra Sandman

Anne Rosenzweig, 6/22/04

RE: Bay Area reunion?

Tom Dalzell & I have discussed the possibility of having an SF Bay Area reunion of listserv members. My suggestion would be to have a potluck afternoon picnic either in Golden Gate Park or Tilden Park (Berkeley) to which we could bring our families. * * * *

* * * *

Anne Rosenzweig
Morgan Hill (but I'm in Berkeley often as my parents still live there).

Jerry Kay, 6/22/04

RE: What happened to Marta Rodriguez?

From Jerry Kay, (69-70 NY & Bay Area boycott, 71-73 Salinas, 74-75 Florida)

This much I know: Marta Rodriguez came with us to Florida in '73 to work on the grape, lettuce, gallo boycott in Miami. She came with her parents and--if I remember-- a younger brother or sister(?) They worked very hard and she was quite effective speaking to Cuban and Puerto Rican families in Spanish. The Anglos also considered her heroic since we had the photos of her being beaten. What became of her after 1975 I do not know.

Mary Mocine, 6/22/04 (1)

RE: UFW convention

and the lawyers served the menudo.

mary mocine, legal 1975-1978

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/22/04

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

Tom Dalzell writes: *"Before addressing the success or no success point, let me say that I think that there were many successes."*

I agree. I would add these items to Tom's list of successes and perhaps others would also add to his list. (My successes are limited to my years of service, 1963-1973).

- The incorporation into the core being of the early NFWA, the community organizing work in the Central Valley of the ministers associated with the California Migrant Ministry. The organizing work of Sandy Clark Sample, David Havens, Phil Farnham and Jim Drake were indispensable in the early years of the farmworker movement.
- The acceptance by the UFW and its organizing/striking/submarine/boycott coordination with the worker-priest program begun by Chris Hartmire and the National Farm Worker Ministry.
- Cesar's insistence on living in - and his commitment to - voluntary poverty and by extension requiring all farmworker strikers and volunteers to live in subsistence poverty. Not only did voluntary poverty propel the farmworker movement forward without the organization having money in the bank but it created in each striker/volunteer a sense of "calling" and not of "job".
- Adopting the symbol of the black Aztec eagle on the red flag at the 1962 founding NFWA convention. This flag ultimately became a worldwide symbol of the farmworker movement and their struggle for justice.
- The creation of the Delano farmworker clinic by Peggy McGivern and Marion Moses. The clinic (and subsequently the Farmworkers Health Group) with its emphasis on the practice of preventative medicine, personalized outpatient care and maternity benefits rather than the traditional union hospitalization or catastrophic benefits, was on the cutting edge of progressive medical reform in the 1960's.
- Purchase of the 40-Acres as the union headquarters even though there was no money to do so.
- Cesar's policy of not permitting farmworker staff volunteers from publicly bad mouthing those groups whom he called, "our natural friends" because of their lack of public support for the movement. Such groups as the Catholic Church, Chicano groups, the executive AFL-CIO and many international labor unions.
- The ability of the UFW to attract hundreds of young volunteers to the cause of farmworkers and despite their youth and inexperience, create roles and assignments that empowered them, held them accountable and rewarded them with additional responsibilities.

- Creating the National Farm Worker Service Center to be the service-side handmaiden of the farmworker union movement.
- Establishing the farmworker credit union and the death benefit program as the primary tangible benefits in the early organizing years of the movement.
- Organizing farmworker movement retreats several times each year to develop action plans, develop consensus and provide motivation for nearly unattainable goals.
- Somewhat tentatively, I would add the 1972 Arizona Fast and the subsequent year of the Arizona governor recall campaign. In my view, this campaign was a long-term investment not only in Arizona-based farmworkers but it served as a haven for Chicano political activists to organize and assert themselves in a very conservative state. (I would like to hear more from others about the effect of the Fast on Arizona politics).
- Lastly, and despite the fact that I was not present, I would have to characterize the first farmworker convention (1973) as an unqualified success. During the 1960's, such a union convention (with a thousand or more farmworkers in attendance) was not even imaginable, not even a dream.

I do hope that others will add or subtract from the "successes" lists of Tom and myself.

Andy Imutan, 6/22/04

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

How about the merger of the NFWA and the AWOC in 1966 to become UFWOC?

Andy Imutan 1965-1973

Delano, Coachella, Baltimore, Washington, New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/22/04 (5)

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

from abby: Another success to add to Tom's list:

- **El Taller Grafico** and all the great buttons, posters, pins, and flags; lots.lots.more. Something for every organizing/boycott campaign, proposition, GOTV/election. Go! Taller!
- **Preservation of UFWA historical materials** at Wayne State for present and future generations!

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/22/04

RE: Tom's list

DOLORES HUERTA - D is for daring

DOLORES HUERTA - H is for hutzpah, OK so its chutzpah

DOLORES HUERTA - for her tenacity, endurance, huevos, concha, not to mention a brilliant mind.

hope lopez – Clovis - '66-74

Mary Mocine, 6/22/04 (2)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

[On 6/17/04, Abby Flores Rivera wrote: "I did not mean to say: 'the ability of the mind to heal itself' in my previous e-mail. What I meant to say was 'the ability of the mind to heal one's body.' So much for writing during breaks. /abby

What's the difference?

M

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/22/04 (6)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

Brains. /abby

Mary Mocine, 6/22/04 (3)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

Dear Abby,

From my perspective, the mind is not simply the brain. I think you were making a joke but am not sure. I just couldn't resist responding. Sorry for the distraction.

yours, Mary

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/22/04 (7)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

Oh, gottcha'. Guess both our jokes fell flat J Yes, you are right. But it had to do more with grammar in this case. My mind (brains: nope) sometimes runs faster than I can type... /abby

Mary Mocine, 6/22/04 (4)

RE: e-mailing process as process

[On 6/19/04 Tina Solinas (Mondragon) wrote: "*The process of the e-mailing seems to be positive because of those very people who answer so often.*"]

Hey Tina,

I agree and would include Marshall and Tom in the list. I am so grateful that everyone is hanging in even with the difficulty and occasional hostility etc. Thanks to all of you.

yours, Mary

Legal 75-78

Alfredo Santos, 6/22/04

RE: Watsonville Field Office

Alfredo Santos
Labor Organizer
Watsonville Field Office
1974-1976

This is my first time signing on to the group. My name is Alfredo Santos. I came to work full time for the UFW in 1974. I had signed up in Salinas, California and Roberto Garcia sent me to Watsonville to help get the field office underway. Jose Perez and Carlos Ruiz were the other two organizers assigned to the area at the time. Prior to Watsonville, I worked as a volunteer while going to school in Stockton for two years (70-72) and in Berkeley for two years (72-74). I would be interested in hearing from people who I may have worked with during this time or who have knowledge of the UFW activities in these areas during this time.

From what I can recall, there was a guy we called the birdman who came to help us in the Morgan Hill Steakmate Mushroom Strike in September of 1974. He was called birdman porque comia sunflower seeds todo el tiempo. You could actually look down the picket line and see a trail of sunflower seeds. I don't remember his name, only that he was sent up from Oxnard to help us.

I would also be interested in finding out if anyone has contact with Jose Reneteria or Pedro Gonzales. Both were from the Watsonville area and Chavistas to the max! I lost contact with Pedro in the early 90s. He is now probably in his late 60s.

I believe this documentation project is a very good idea. There are still so many things that have not been said about the farm worker movement which many of us were a part of at one time or another. When I think back to the early 70s, it was such a fast time. But for me it was indeed a time of tremendous growth. I will forever be thankful for having had the opportunity to participate with so many interesting people in helping to build the union.

Some years ago, my mother who is now in her late 70s, said to me one day when we were talking about Cesar Chavez, that she was a little disappointed with me. I asked her, Que pasó ama? Why are you disappointed? She said, she is not disappointed anymore but that when I graduated from college in 1974, she thought that when I signed up to work for the United Farm Workers Union that I had gotten a good job. And now I was going to be able to send money home again as did when I worked in the fields years past. When I explained to her that this new job didn't pay very much she was silent. Then when I told it paid five bucks a week and ten for food she became unsilent (sic). What do you mean five dollars a week? Es todo lo que paga? I said yeah, five dollars a week. . . . that's it. She asked, well why did you go to college then? You could have made more money working up in Minnesota in the sugar beets! I said yes, that is true, but there is something special going on here and I need to stay in California. (I had spent the summer of 1969 working sugar beets in Moorhead, Minnesota and was able to send home one hundred dollars a week.)

I finally returned to Texas in 1977 and like I said earlier in this posting, siempre voy agradecer la amistad y las oportunidades que tuve cuando andaba alla con ustedes y Cesar Chavez en California. Lo que aprendi siempre lo guardo en mi corazon y mente y puedo decir que el espiritu de la cause todavia esta vivo en el pueblo donde ahora vivo.

Gracias,

Alfredo Santos, c/s
Uvalde, Texas

Chris Schneider, 6/22/04

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

I would add to the list of successes one in which Tom was very much involved-----the legal apprenticeship program. Tom was the first person in the movement to finish the program and to be admitted to practice law without going to law school. At least five others followed in Tom's footsteps--thus creating lawyers for the movement.

Doug Adair, 6/23/04

RE: Favorite Song: Which Side Are You On?

Dear brothers and sisters, comrades!

One of my favorite songs of the early days, was "Which Side Are You On?" We had many verses, some not sung in public, often identifying a grower or foreman or labor contractor, and then a worker who had gone out on strike, often funny and or dirty, party singing or for boring picket lines...

The question that the Filipino workers asked us on Sept. 8, was that very question. And the answer was never in doubt. The "Leadership" of our union was four people, Cesar, Gilbert, Dolores, and Helen. The feeling was that over 500 workers, mostly Filipino, perhaps leading and perhaps being led by Larry Itliong and the pro-AWOC foremen, had gone on strike, the biggest walkout in a generation. The feeling seemed to be some resentment, that we were not warned, not included, in something that so tremendously affected our membership. We didn't trust Al Green and the AFL-CIO, and we didn't trust the foremen. But morally, we had to be on their side, if the Mexicano and Filipino farm workers were ever to win anything. The question was, "How?"

And once the NFWA membership voted to join the strike, we turned around and began asking the same question, not only to other farm workers, but to American society. And this was the legacy of the grape pickers striking in Delano, led by Cesar and Gilbert and Dolores*... why should the

labor of farm workers be devalued and humiliated? We are the people who feed you. Will you help us? Which side are you on?

*(Helen seemed to be saying, "Whatever you decide to do, I'm not going to let you fuck up the Credit Union!")

I would strongly disagree with the proposition that the Catholic Church or the AFL-CIO (or Democratic Party) were our "natural allies". I think LeRoy suggested Cesar or someone suggested this truth to him, and admonished him that we must not attack such natural allies. I never heard such a suggestion mentioned in the Malcriado office. (I'm embarrassed to say I erased LeRoy's message. I should reread it and do him justice, apologize in advance if I have misrepresented you; can someone send me a copy?).

Before the strike, two newspapers were delivered to El Malcriado's offices, one of which was the Catholic Worker. Bill Esher mentioned it (and a radical, oft banned paper out of Ensenada, "La Comadre de la Coutoura") as kind of role models that Cesar liked, when he was first envisioning the paper. (And yes, El Malcriado was Cesar's idea, one of his pet projects that he had more or less handed off to Bill Esher by the time I arrived).

When the strike started, I was given a list of the 5 priests, THE FIVE PRIESTS IN THE WHOLE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, who we knew would be on our side. And there was Msgr. Higgins and Fr. Saladini in Washington. That's SEVEN. In the United States of America... And we asked them to help, and they did... And their job was to convert and organize within the Church, to subvert and undermine the authority of The Catholic Church, the Bishops and Archbishops and Cardinals who had never once shed a tear for farm workers, in this country or any other, for 2000 years...

And there was a Pope, John XXIII, in recent memory, who had lighted a candle of hope within the Church. But within the Barrios of California, the Catholic Church was interested in fighting Protestants, #1, and Communists, #2 (or do I have it reversed), and didn't even want to allow a priest in Delano that wasn't "neutral"... that wasn't good enough for us. Fr. Day has the wonderful story in his essay of the good ladies of the huelga going and shaming the Bishop in Fresno. And Bishop Willinger gave in not because he thought the Church should stand with the poor, but rather because he was afraid of bad publicity if he had Helen and Rachel and Fina arrested...

We had a fight with the Christian Brothers Winery at one point, maybe in negotiations. The Malcriado ran a cover (stolen from Ramparts magazine, we didn't pay much attention to copyrights but we figured they wouldn't care -- they were on our side), showing Pope John weeping, a tear coming out of his eye, with a below-the-belt headline, "Christian Brothers, listen to your Popes!". The word got back to us that someone in the hierarchy at Christian Brothers, was outraged and complained to the Cardinal or whoever who called LeRoy who told Cesar we at El Malcriado had "Gone over the line". But most everyone, Catholic and non-Catholic alike, thought it was right on, a great cover, (maybe Cesar too, in those days.) But Catholic Workers were our natural allies and every parish had people open to the idea of standing on the side of the farm workers... If Cardinal McIntyre forbid anyone to speak in behalf of farm workers in the L.A. Catholic Schools, well, we would sneak in the back doors and tell the folks that Catholics should be supporting us in spite of him...

I would also suggest that the AFL was no natural ally. In 1965, Meany and the leadership of the AFL were obsessed with fighting #1 the UAW and #2 Communism (or do I have it wrong again). Read Elaine's story of the hostility and total lack of help she got from the AFL in London. And after Reuther (of the UAW) came to Delano, and said he was on our side, Meany tried to pull the rug out from under the strike in the grapes, and shift attention to a new campaign in the citrus -- walk away from the strikers the way the AFL had always done in the past. But we wouldn't go away. So he sent Bill Kircher, who convinced us that he, if not Meany, was on our side.

Our natural allies were individual workers (sometimes Communist! oh horrors!) and individual locals (who had sometimes rebelled against the regional AFL), and it was they who began to drag their national unions over to take a stand with us. And way before the mighty AFL took any

interest, little independent unions like UE and the Mine/Mill workers and the Longshoremen began helping us.

The heavy revs in People's Cafe would argue that it was in the interests of the workers in Detroit and Pittsburgh and Moscow and Havana to have cheap food-- these workers may be natural allies but their unions had other priorities. We had to bore from withing, keep demanding, "Which side are you on?"

If we joined the AFL (and I was for the merger, but some couldn't stomach it, Ben Gines and Filipinos on the right, who didn't want to be part of a social movement such as we envisioned; and folks on the left, who felt it was too great a compromise), part of the deal was to go along with the Democrats. And Gov. Brown was no "natural ally." Wendy mentions in her essay Cesar publically stating he planned to vote for Regan, we were so disgusted with Brown. We eventually went along with Brown, a payoff to city people who had helped us, but I think we were pretty honest with the membership, that the endorsement was only because Regan and the Republicans were so much worse.

We lived in the real world, you had to make compromises with these institutions, but it was their members who we sought to join us. Their hierarchies were part of that currupt social order and, in the words of the Plan of Delano, "we want the existing social order to dissolve."

Doug Adair, El Malcriado, 1965-70

Tom Dalzell, 6/23/04

RE: Dancing Lawyers

I'm going to be away from my computer for a week and so will not wait a decent interval since my last posting to speak again. Pure documentation this time, no opinion.

Abby talked about the lawyers dancing in La Paz. She's half right. It was on April 15, 1978. Yes, we danced, but Larry Tramutola made us do it.

In April 1978 Jerry called a meeting of the legal department in Salinas and told us that as a condition of our continued employment with the Union we would have to go to La Paz for six consecutive Saturdays to learn how to play the Game. He said he wasn't ready to quit and that as much as he thought the Game was wrong, he thought we should go and do the six Saturdays.

Somebody whose opinion I value very highly said that the Game was a cancer on the Union.

Somebody else said that we shouldn't say that anything was a cancer on anything because that was a phrase used by the right to describe the left.

Nobody - nobody - nobody - wanted to play the Game. We did a quick inventory - no alcoholics, no drug addicts, and no personality disorders - why the Game? Why us? We had been excluded from the All-Union softball game in La Paz the previous October, so why couldn't we get a pass on the Game? And so on.

We decided to go, but to do so in a way that nobody would miss our resistance to the idea. There was a small but vocal faction that advocated showing up at La Paz dressed and acting like Synanon's Imperial Marines - shaved heads, coveralls, shotguns, and chants of Dederich's to-the-point "Don't Fuck With Synanon!" Despite the zeal for the idea from its advocates, it never really had a chance, if only because none of the men were keen on the forced vasectomy idea.

Instead - we all dressed in short-sleeved white shirts and skinny dark ties, a loose approximation of Mormon missionaries or LaRouche droids at the airport. We drove to La Paz in three or four rented white vans and parked near the administration building. Charlie Ataliano drew upon his USMC boot camp experiences and shouted out a call-and-response marching cadence ("I don't know but I've been told" / "I don't know but I've been told..." etc.) as we marched in formation out to the north unit for Our Game Training, 25 or 30 strong.

Charlie was pretty loud and, by God, so were we. Many faces were plastered to the windows of the north unit as we approached. We entered the training room singing "When the Saints Go

Marching In" with all the passion that we could muster. For anybody who has missed the point, we were suggesting a certain cultishness in the embrace of Synanon while at the same time mocking ourselves as self-annointed saints.

As we entered the room, Larry Tramutola reacted with what I thought was a stroke of absolute genius, but which Abby might find offensive. He stood up, joined us in singing, and formed a conga line behind us with La Paz volunteers, weaving through the room, singing along with us. He pranked us! All we had left in our arsenal were copies of Time Magazine, which Cesar said should be boycotted because it had published "a twisted article smearing Synanon and its leaders".

I don't know if Cesar was in the room or not, and I never heard him say that he thought that we had mocked him. We had two meetings between the legal department and Cesar that summer in which he fired all of us (easily giving us the prize, I think, for the biggest group fired at once), and I remember those meetings as civil, respectful, and sad.

Tom Dalzell
1968-1980
El Malcriado, Philadelphia boycott, Legal Department

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/23/04

RE: CESAR'S "NATURAL FRIENDS"

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

I offer this clarification to Doug Adair regarding Cesar's view of our "natural friends."

In the early years of the NFWA, and later with UFWOC, the Catholic Church, organized labor and the traditional Mexican-American community organizations did NOT support the farmworkers union; at best they were neutral or indifferent. Theoretically, at least, each of these groups should have been among the very first to come to the support for the cause of farmworkers - the Catholic Church because they preached social justice, organized labor because they represented working people and MAPA and LULAC because they sought to raise the societal status of Mexican-Americans.

Yet, Cesar would not tolerate or permit any staff members to attack these groups for their lack of support either in interviews with the media or in speaking engagements on behalf of the farmworkers. In fact, if we said anything about these groups, it was supposed to be positive. Cesar insisted these groups were our "natural friends" and if we did not embarrass them publicly with our critical remarks or paint them into a public relations corner, some day they would support us. And he reminded us time and again, they were not the enemy we were fighting.

And so it came to pass. The Catholic Church officially endorsed the boycott and served as national mediators with the growers. Organized labor spent millions of dollars to support the strikers and the organizing activities of the UFW.

Jackie (Brown) Davis, 6/23/04

RE: Dancing Lawyers

That is such a great story, Tom. But it's hard to imagine such theater was necessary from within.

I obtained the article "The Social Development of the Synanon Cult" by Richard Ofshe that Marshall had suggested to us and have been reading it to fill in the gaps. I was not part of the gaming years and had only a vague recollection of Synanon. It's really an excellent reference for anyone who could use a context for understanding what our compadres and madres went through.

Jackie Davis
1971-1974

Mary Mocine, 6/23/04

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

Let us remember Albert Escalante's great leaflets in Imperial and Yolo and elsewhere. M

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/23/04

RE: Dancing Lawyers

Tom, next please write and tell us your point of view of the "All Union" softball game. First you get upset for *being INCLUDED*, then you get upset for *being EXCLUDED*. So, what is it? Are we damned if we do or damned if we don't? I can wait for your reply when you return to learn your answer.

I was surprised about the all the lawyers being fired as a group but since all of you were marching to the same "drummer" (excuse me: "sargent") now I get the picture. Thank you for sharing with me. Let me rephrase my last e-mail. You "marched" yourselves out of a job. sin mas, abby

p.s. Leave it to Tramatoia; he always was quick on his feet.

Ramón Romero, 6/23/04

RE: Dancing Lawyers

Thank you to Tom Dalzell for continuing to enlighten those of us who were not around for what was called "The Game." After 27 years in the labor movement, I cannot conceive of any possible justification for its use. There are enough senseless political games played in unions without institutionalizing one particular variety. From the reaction Tom keeps getting from some of the people who were there and apparently did not object, I can see why things went over the edge, into the bizarre. I only worked with Tom briefly in my UFW days and have not had any contact with him in more than 20 years, but I can see that he and his colleagues in the legal department tried valiantly to keep things sane. Too bad they apparently did not succeed.

Gary Brown, 6/23/04 (1)

RE: CESAR'S "NATURAL FRIENDS"

I agree wholeheartedly with LeRoy's analysis of the church as "natural friends." It seemed to me that the Church was a "natural friend" not so much in that it gave unqualified support to the Union but that its message of a friend of the poor could not allow it to be our enemy. Eventually over time the Church began to live up to its natural law and it did, as LeRoy states, endorse the boycott and serve as mediators. The church was very careful and deliberate in its approach to supporting the Union. It would not take a position that alienated its membership, hence donations, remember its membership included growers. Bishops Mahoney and Manning were pragmatic. They were not liberation theologians and I am sure they frustrated most of us Huelgistas for their lukewarm support. I think we expected the church to take a more dynamic leadership role. Instead they opted more for the tacit support and mediation roles.

Which brings me to a small story. Fr. Salandini who had been with Cesar early on and was present when Cesar was arrested in Borrego Springs at the DiGiorgio ranch, I think this was 66. Anyway, Fr. Salandini was on hand when farmworkers struck the tomato fields in San Ysidro in 1971. He started saying mass in the fields and began using corn tortillas for communion. Jackie Davis and I attended a prayer service where the local priest prayed for Fr. Salandini to, I guess, mend his ways. Fr. Salandini got a lot of heat from the Bishop in San Diego to stop using corn, about the only way the local Bishop could be induced to get involved with the farmworker problem.

Gary Brown San Diego, La Paz, Napa, LA

Gary Brown, 6/23/04 (2)

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

After a review of Tom and LeRoy's list of Union successes, I note the absence of, so I must include in the list the obvious.

The signing of Union contracts and the Union representation of farm workers throughout California, Arizona and Florida.

GARY BROWN

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/23/04

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

Shucks - I missed out on being "grandfathered" into the legal profession, but being a paralegal for years actually made me realize how lucky I was to not be an attorney. At some point it appears that all attorneys have a mind shift and start thinking alike, which is probably a necessary tool for survival. Anyway, it's good to know I have friends in "high places". There was a time when I wanted nothing better – but I'm glad that desire went away within 10 years of leaving the UFW. Now what I'm interested in is common law, and if it's true that when we go into a courtroom, past the "gate", we're being tried under maritime law, hence the flag with the gold fringe (the war flag, isn't it?) in courtrooms.

Charlie Atilano. 6/23/04

RE: Dancing Lawyers

As a guard and driver of Cesar I heard many of his comments that he made, but you know I don't need to chismear any of those things I heard. A guard was a position that required trust, and I will try to take those memories to my grave as they were stated in confidence.

However, with regard to topic of Dancing Lawyers – I remember that day and what transpired prior to the legal department going up to La Paz for "The Game." I remember we were forced to participate with the threat of being terminated from being a volunteer – isn't that an irony – being fired as a volunteer.

Anyway, the game was used in La Paz to get everyone to be honest and motivate people. Now here's another irony, we have people who are putting in 60+ hours a week in the legal department having to be motivated . . . go figure.

If I sound cynical, well yes I am, and it's primarily because we (the legal department) were individuals that protested being subjected to draconian treatment, and when we spoke against having to participate all the La Pazians were like insulted – it was like they were in some hypnotic trance, i.e., zombies. I remember going back to visit La Paz and man it was like going to Stepford and seeing everyone acting like the wives . . . the game was being forced on us, but because we loved the "movement" so much we begrudgingly obliged.

We wene there and my recollection was not that we danced, but did walk in lockstep to the cadence that I was trained in during my stint in the Marine Corps (Vietnam vet 68-71). Yes, the La Pazians were angered in that we (legal department) voiced our objections with the humor of a protester like Abby Hoffman or that of an anti war protester a la Teatro. I mean we learned to protest from the best of them, Cesar. I'm grateful that I was a participant.

Alfredo Santos, 6/23/04

RE: The Watsonville Field Office

Alfredo Santos
Organizer
Watsonville Field Office
1974-76

I just joined this site a few days ago and I have been reading the postings with great interest. Reading everyone's comments is like putting pieces of a puzzle together.

While I was working in the Watsonville Field Office, I would only hear bits and pieces of the internal workings of the union. Sometimes I or the other staffers would hear a little more at the staff meetings in Salinas or at the legal office when we stopped by to say hello to Jerry Cohen,

Sandy Nanthan or Tom Dalzell. But for the most part, we really didn't know about all the internal affairs, that, from the numerous postings, were taking place.

Sometimes we felt a little isolated in Watsonville but we did our best to participate in all the union activities that we could. (Chino Vasquez in Gilroy would often lend us his bus to make our trips to La Paz or Sacramento) I also know that when *El Malcriado* was delivered to us in Watsonville, we were thrilled to read about the activities of the other field offices and the news from La Paz. Almost without exception, the lobby area of our little office on Porter Dr. would go silent as 10 or 15 people sat around and read the newspaper from cover to cover. Of course we were always looking for our photos or stories in the paper but those were few and far between.

Looking back I would say that even though we were on the margin of things at times in Watsonville, we were very proud that we were part of a larger movement that was going on around the state and for that matter around the country. One could sense in the farm workers who had come in from other places, that they knew the union was their best hope for a better tomorrow. And even those farm workers who stayed in Watsonville year around knew that some day the UFW would have contracts which they could work under.

I still vividly recall an older farm worker, her name was Maria, she was maybe 62 or 63 years of age. She would make it a point to stop by the field office at least once a week to give us "her report" of what was going on when she was working in the strawberries. One time she came in with tears flowing down her cheeks. "¿Que te pasa Maria?" one of the organizers in the office asked her. I went to get her a glass of water. When I returned she was telling Carlos (Ruiz) that all day she had been harrassed by a new foreman where she had been working. He had "caught her talking" and told her to forget the idea of a union. Forget Cesar Chavez helping her and to forget wearing that little UFW button that he had seen inside her jacket when he sneaked his own little peek. Each time she went out to dump her trays of strawberries he would tell her something. She said that by the end of the day she couldn't take it anymore and in front of several men and women she said, "*Just wait cabron, porque cuando llega Cesar Chavez y su gente, a ti se te va llevar la chingada!*" (You just wait son of a bitch, when Cesar Chavez and his people arrive, you are going to be in for a hell of time.) (polite translation) She said that not only did she shock herself with that outburst but that the others who were standing around almost fell to the ground in utter disbelief that an old woman like her could crank it up like that.

Maria said that the foreman was also taken aback and didn't know what to say so he just turned around and walked away. After another drink of water Carlos asked her, "*Pues, Maria, si usted le dijo eso al mayordomo, porque esta llorando ahorita?*" (Well Maria, if you told that to the foreman, why are you crying now?) She put the glass of water down and looked Carlos straight in the eyes and said, "*Porque mañana voy a sacar mi boton y lo voy poner en frente para que todos pueden ver con quien ando. Estas lagrimas son lagrimas de gusto porque yo ya no voy andar de rodillas.*" (Because tomorrow I am going to take my button out and put it on in front so everyone can see who I'm with. These tears you see are tears of joy because I am no longer going to be on my knees.)

Despite her age and the need to work, Maria was always willing to participate in union activities and take off from work. On more than one occasion she would take off from work and go with us to meetings. She went with us to Modesto and she joined us for at least 3 of the five Mondays in May of 1975 when we went to Sacramento to lobby for the ALRA law. Maria was a Chavista to the max!

Those tears that Maria brought into the office that day always served to remind Carlos and I that the five dollars a week we were paid by the union was far too much compensation for what we were learning about the spirit of people who believed that one day their time to stand up would come. When Carlos and I were out and about in town or in the fields, we always made it a point to look for the faces with the tears. Because if we could find the tears, we would find another Maria.

Sin más,

Alfredo Santos c/s
Watsonville and now

Uvalde, Texas

Ellen Eggers, 6/23/04

RE: The Watsonville Field Office

Beautiful story Alfredo!! Thank you so much for sharing it with us. Ellen

Lorraine Agtang (Mascarinas) Greer, 6/23/04

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

Do not forget Agbayani Village built by volunteers many of you. The success of the first Filipino retirement facility to house retired workers who often died in the fields and labor camps where they worked for their lives. Notably, housing the infamous Manongs the first strikers giving them a home to be proud of. God bless their souls.

Lorraine Delano 1973-1978 grape strike, Rodrigo Terronez Clinic, manager – Agbayani Village, farm worker elections

Joaquin Murguia, 6/23/04

RE : UFW convention : FOOD !

Abby,

I don't know why the workers didn't return to work. They were not terminated. As to what they knew, I would not presume to speculate. An impartial investigation was completed by my staff to determine the merits of their claims. When I asked Gustavo at the Coachella field office for his assistance in the investigation, he refused. I presented my findings to the ALRB, the union presented nothing and the charges were dismissed.

There seems to be an implication that the workers feared retaliation. I refute this completely. Had the company not had an effective grievance procedure, the two women who were assisted with their sexual harassment claim against their immediate supervisors, would never have made their concerns known. Our grievance procedure was very clear on how to address concerns and if the employee still felt uncomfortable, we had available a third party employee assistance program.

What employers are learning is that they must provide a reasonable compensation package for their employees. If the employer does that, then, in my opinion there is very little need for a union. If an employer does not, then there are plenty of avenues available, including seeking union representation, available.

I don't know that an employee is better off simply because they are part of a union. I know of a number of instances in the building trades, the industry in which I am currently employed, where union members who were working on non-union jobs were told to leave by union stewards even though the union had no union jobs available for their members. How is this beneficial to the union member? As with any issue, there are pluses and minuses, and ultimately it is up to the employees to determine how to best have themselves represented.

If I learned anything from the union, it is that people can be empowered. And if they are, they can accomplish what they set out to do. I didn't learn that in every instances having a union was better than not having a union. In my opinion, a union doesn't necessarily grant an individual more power. Frankly, whether or not a union is present, it is up to the employee to decide if they want to continue to work for their current employer. I don't know anyone who would stay in a company where they are not happy. When I was no longer happy at La Paz, I left. It's that simple.

In a number of emails, there seems to be sense that people are helpless or worse, entitled to something. Again, I reject this argument. We are not entitled to anything. We have an expectation of fair compensation for our labor, but it certainly isn't an entitlement. There is nothing that requires an employer to be anything but fair and often, fair is determined by economic conditions. In periods of high unemployment wages drop, in tight labor markets, wages rise. Simple economics. The problem is that the average American worker has developed a sense of

entitlement to a certain level of pay, however, an individual is only worth what the market will bare. Frankly, I see no point in pricing oneself out of job and pushing a company to a point were it collapses because economic conditions do not provide the operating capital to keep a business profitable.

I've had to good fortune to be on both sides of the issue and it has provided me with some interesting insights. I've learned that there are no absolutes in labor relations. There are perceptions and there are realities. As an example, when I was young, I had the perception that all growers were wealthy beyond imagination. The reality that I learned was that growers are business men. Sometimes they have profitable years, sometimes the have unprofitable years. One year a company can make a million dollars, the next it can lose a million dollars. But regardless of what type of year the company had, the employees get paid. Usually when a company is profitable it employees benefit in some manner, when its not, employees don't benefit as much. That's business, that's economics.

Thanks for your feedback,

Joaquin

Anne Rosenzweig, 6/23/04

RE: Bay Area Reunion Update

There has been a tremendous response so far to the suggestion of a Bay Area reunion. Predictably there is a wide range of opinion as to the preferred date/ month for a picnic. I will await Tom's return to discuss dates further. There is more consensus about location, with a clear majority preferring Tilden over Golden Gate Park. There were also a couple of people who suggested that the picnic be held further south to be more accessible to those in Santa Cruz and Monterey counties. One person even suggested that we try to draw Central & even Southern California folks by holding the picnic in Fresno.

I don't feel like organizing a Fresno picnic, but if someone else wants to do so, I might attend. I know of a good large group picnic site in Tilden Park where I attended a retirement picnic for my high school biology teacher last year. (Imagine spending 40 years teaching biology at Berkeley "Berzerkly" High School!!) Next week when I'm in Berkeley, I'll check into the site's availability over the next few months. I am also willing to look into sites in Gilroy or Salinas if enough people express an interest in having a picnic further south. Perhaps we could have a Tilden picnic in July and a September picnic in Gilroy or Salinas. Would people come to one or both?

People have suggested that the picnic include music & singing, as well as a short program: some "structured" reminiscing as well as possible discussion of how we could continue to work together on social justice issues. Please continue to send your suggestions and preferences * * *. Gracias y que seguimos luchando y cantando!

Anne Rosenzweig
now in Morgan Hill, CA
1970-71, Salinas and Montreal

Doug Adair, 6/24/04 (1)

RE: Watsonville Field Office

In a message dated 6/22/04 . . . [Alfredo Santos] writes:

This is my first time signing on to the group. My name is Alfredo Santos. I came to work full time for the UFW in 1974. I had signed up in Salinas, California and Roberto Garcia sent me to Watsonville to help get the field office underway. Jose Perez and Carlos Ruiz were the other two organizers assigned to the area at the time. Prior to Watsonville, I worked as a volunteer while going to school in Stockton for two years (70-72) and in Berkeley for two years (72-74). I would be interested in hearing from people who I may have worked with during this time or who have knowledge of the UFW activities in these areas during this time.

Dear Alfredo,

Welcome to the discussion. Sorry I butted in and cut you off, we interrupt each other hear, it's a pretty open mike...

I didn't know you, but I think Jose Perez was the striker who came with his (pregant?) wife and baby son to Philly, when the lettuce boycott started in the fall of 1970. They were our "family", and what beautiful people. Their area (and I think with Juanna Trujillo) was the "Main Line", an area of the wealthiest suburbs outside of Philadelphia, Bryn Mawr, Ardwyn, Welsh names, and we knew which store each of the supermarket CEO's shopped at, driving through the picket lines in their Lincolns and Town Cars. At one point, Juana got so enraged at insensitive shoppers at one store, she began picketing in the snow, barefoot. That got attention!

Later, Jose's supporters out there gave a party for the staff, champaign, a fundraiser, and collected winter clothes, my goodness, overcoats with fur collars, Italian leather gloves, silk scarves, the schlock from Saks.

I liked your story of your mother's reaction to your volunteering. But for the folks like me, who wanted to do farm labor, or who stayed in farm labor, contributions from people like you put millions and millions of dollars into their pockets and dignity into their lives. Thanks...

Doug Adair, Philadelphia boycott, 1970-71
grape picker under UFW contract, 1971-73, 1977-89

Mary Mocine, 6/24/04 (1)

RE: Escalante's leaflets

The organizers from Imperial could tell you better. I saw very few of them and don't recall the ones I did see except that they were funny and topical and strong. M

Mary Mocine, 6/24/04 (2)

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

Dear Graciela,

I detect some veiled hostility in your posting but I think I may be overreacting. After all, those apprentice lawyers include both Tom and Barbara. I don't think they think alike. I thin maybe you're referring to the lawyers who were in the legal dept of the Union under Jerry. Ouch. I know we did not all think alike.

If you speak of all lawyers, then I certainly don't agree with you. I lead meditation retreats and a meditation/discussion group for lawyers and correspond with lawyers all over the country who write in response to articles I've done for legal magazines. They do not think alike. Many lawyers are beginning to question the ethic of being a "hired gun" zealous advocate for whoever pays the most. Certainly none of us who worked for the legal dept were interested in money and we would never have worked for growers nor other managment. Most of us continued to represent labor even after we left the union.

Please let me know if I'm overreacting to your posting. I am hurting and losing patience with the legal-dept bashing that goes on. It is so easy to take cheap shots at lawyers.

thanks, Mary

Doug Adair, 6/24/04 (2)

RE: Farm workers and our "natural friends"

In a message dated 6/23/04 . . . [LeRoy Chatfield] writes:

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

I offer this clarification to Doug Adair regarding Cesar's view of our "natural friends."

In the early years of the NFWA, and later with UFWOC, the Catholic Church, organized labor and the traditional Mexican-American community organizations did NOT support the farmworkers union; at best they were neutral or indifferent. Theoretically, at least, each of these groups should have been among the very first to come to the support for the cause of farmworkers - the Catholic Church because they preached social justice, organized labor because they represented working people and MAPA and LULAC because they sought to raise the societal status of Mexican-Americans.

Yet, Cesar would not tolerate or permit any staff members to attack these groups for their lack of support either in interviews with the media or in speaking engagements on behalf of the farmworkers. In fact, if we said anything about these groups, it was supposed to be positive. Cesar insisted these groups were our "natural friends" and if we did not embarrass them publicly with our critical remarks or paint them into a public relations corner, some day they would support us. And he reminded us time and again, they were not the enemy we were fighting.

And so it came to pass. The Catholic Church officially endorsed the boycott and served as national mediators with the growers. Organized labor spent millions of dollars to support the strikers and the organizing activities of the UFW.

I offer this clarification to LeRoy Chatfield regarding views within the Union of who might or might not be our "natural friends," and how to deal with them...

Apologies, I did misinterpret your earlier comments:

Cesar's policy of not permitting farmworker staff volunteers from publicly bad mouthing those groups whom he called, "our natural friends."

I saw this as suggesting that Cesar banned criticism of these groups (I'll focus on the Church). Of course there was vigorous debate going on, in Filipino Hall and where ever we met for meals; on the picket lines and in the offices, and especially at Peoples' Cafe, where the sinners in the movement met for rest and recreation and rejuvenation. And there were many views expressed as to what our relationship should be to some of these powerful institutions of the Establishment... they could do so much to help or hurt us, and each had an interest in using us (once it was clear we were not going to disappear), for their own institutional interests...

I was pretty naive, 22, listening and learning, but I guess I was tending to the sort of Christian/ Protestant/ Catholic Worker point of view, that there was and should be a spiritual side of the union and movement; that it was appropriate to recognize it, in part, through the majority religion and its traditions and cultures, and that that was (Mexican/Mexican American) Catholicism. And as it happened, our best organizer, our #1 brother, our founder and leader, happened to be a very devout Catholic, in fact almost a poster child of what a good (as of 1965) Catholic should be -- once -married, devoted loyal husband and father, went to mass regularly, prayed daily, lots of kids....

But to tell the truth, there were not really very many of those in Delano in 1965, as far as I could tell...

Among our other leaders, there was Dolores Huerta, an oft married single mom, with kids here and there... an inspiration to so many of us, but we joked that they would burn her at the state if the Catholic Bishops ever got their hands on her, talk about an "Uppity Woman," what we loved about her was the epitome of what the Bishops condemned!...

And Gil Padilla, our #2 brother, (#1 for me, since it was he that organized me), another great organizer and inspiration to many of us, who appeared to be a sinner like the rest of us...

And our membership was..... mostly? overwhelmingly? nominally? Catholic.

As I remember, a view among many Filipinos, nominal Catholics, (like Phillip Vera Cruz, Rudy Reyes?) was that THE CHURCH came in with the invaders and enslavers and was always on the side of the landlords. I assume that there were also devout Catholics who also supported the strike and the workers.

Among many of our Mexicano members, the Mexican Revolution, its history and lessons and its ideals, were recent and still alive in many hearts and souls (including, I think, Cesar Chavez). And there was no doubt where THE CHURCH stood in those struggles, and it was not on the side of the peasants... some viewed with alarm the supposed attempt of THE CHURCH to take over the movement. LeRoy was the Mole, the Savanarola, sent to make the union more Catholic. These folks argued that it was absurd to think the Bishops would ever really be on our side, especially if we ever demanded "the land." And in 1965, that was a legitimate demand in the minds of more than a few workers. If President Kennedy could preach "land reform" in Latin America, why not in the Central Valley of California?

To me, the great strength of our leadership was bringing this diversity of political and religious views together in the common struggle. The proof that we were building a democratic movement was the respect we showed for these minority opinions. I was not put off by the banners of the Virgin and the plaster statues and votive candles and plastic flowers... I found singing "De Colores" moving. But there were also good union members (Epifanio Camacho? Abby's dad?) who objected, on just as strongly held religious and moral grounds, that they could not participate in the masses, and in marches behind the Virgin.

I think the leadership in Delano steered a pretty good course with respect to these views. I remember "the policy" as does LeRoy, as not publically criticising the high Mucky-Mucks of the AFL or THE CHURCH. And maybe Cesar and LeRoy honestly thought we could eventually win these officials over to our side. But other union members viewed them as part of the problem, and favored a policy of organizing from below, within their memberships, undermining their authority, so that a new AFL and a new Catholic Church could be born out of the farm worker struggle. As several have mentioned, our legacy is, in part, all the first rate organizers out there, many moving into leadership positions in their unions, who came out of our struggle; and how many priests (though I don't know how many made it up in the hierarchy) are now out there, awakened by our movement, who are really, without equivocation, on the side of the poor and hungry and powerless... there's a tremendous legacy to be proud of...

Doug Adair,
El Malcriado, 1965-1970

(P.S. We always publicly suggested that THE CHURCH supported us, and we twisted every word and statement of the Bishops to imply endorsement. But I thought that to the very end, THE CHURCH took the official position of mediator and honest broker, a valuable service to us, without a doubt. As I remember, the Bishops could never quite bring themselves to saying "Boycott Grapes!" Their pronouncements were in favor of legislation and some vague "justice." I'll have to read my history books (or someone out there has it down in writing). I don't remember any Bishop threatening to refuse communion to any grower for abusing his workers.)

Mary Mocine, 6/24/04 (3)

RE: Dancing Lawyers

Abby - Ouch. Ouch. Ouch. What has Tom; what have I; what has the legal dept done to you to warrant such hostility? Ouch. Ouch. Ouch.

Please stop before you send and reconsider when it is so mean-spirited as this one is. Ouch again.

yours, Mary

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/24/04 (1)

RE: Dancing Lawyers,

Hi, Mary,

I will follow your advice although I thought I was being blunt never mean-spirited. Now I am wondering if I should reconsider before sending this out...okay J sin mas, /abby

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/24/04 (1)

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

Of course you're right Mary - not all lawyers are the same. I have many wonderful lawyer friends who have helped out in many a situation. No veiled hostility. That the opportunity to become an attorney did not reach my hands was due in large part to my own inaction. My mother certainly couldn't afford that type of education for me, and I guess the road looked too difficult and bumpy to try on my own - my loss. I have the utmost of respect for anybody who succeeded at whatever they set out to accomplish. I do make reference to unethical attorneys (too many of them), but who fortunately are in the minority. I'm sorry to have caused anybody any grief, that was certainly not my intent.

As for Jerry - I don't know what happened after I left, but to me, Jerry, Mandy (are they still together?) were mentors and friends, and I hold them always in the best of light. What came later will be judged in its own appropriate time by the proper judge. As for all those apprentice attorneys - what a wonderful way to learn the law, by starting as someone who throws out the trash. Don't tell me your education was not as expensive as he who had the money to go to Harvard, or Yale? I know it was not easy. And to all of us - let's keep this moving along and continue the discussion about a reunion. I would like to see something a bit closer to "home." Maybe something around Delano - Cesar Chavez Park, maybe? Not under the auspices of the UFW, (unless they want to rent a hall, feed and entertain us all) but under our own steam. I'm sure amongst all of us we can rent a decent place for a great get-together, beautiful lunch, and perhaps some dancing later on, or just visiting.....

Ellen Eggers, 6/24/04

Oh man...I really learned how to "dumpster dive" in my Safeway days...we got some really good stuff out of the trash! Can we keep this among ourselves though? heh, heh!

Ellen Eggers
LA Boycott 72-75
La Paz Legal 80-87

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/24/04 (2)

RE: Farm workers and our "natural friends"

Doug and LeRoy,

When Cesar spoke of "our natural enemies," I looked upon it as a comment almost of pity. They cannot see themselves, they cannot understand, they have blinders that prevent them from seeing the truth, to understand what we are doing. I loved the way Cesar brought it down to a simple level for us to understand. Bad mouthing the Church, or groups like LULAC, Mexican American GI Forum, etc. would serve no purpose. The best way I can describe it is from my own personal experience at the time. Many of us attended school in Delano with the children of the adults who belonged to some of these organizations. The Mexican-American organization's main concern, right in the middle of our strike, was getting a queen elected for the 16th of September parade. That would have been fine if they would have also made some proclamation recognizing and supporting our people who were in the middle of an important struggle. That would have been too radical a move. That wasn't possible because, well, the growers controlled the town. Our town/school became divided. The strikers vs. non-strikers. At school, we got bashed all the time or we were avoided like the plague. Some were good at putting up a fight, others were not. Teachers were just as bad as some of the students. What I saw, as the years passed, and many of the kids I went to school with went off to college, was how many returned and embraced what was happening in Delano. Many others who never left town came to understand it and also joined us. It was an eye-opener to me. The same kids that laughed at us, shunned us, or did not want to talk about anything embarrassing like Cesar and the farm workers who also did not even want anyone to know they were farm workers (ironic since no matter what our parents did for a living, if we were Mexican, we were seen as farm workers to the rest of the world) are the ones who came up to me later all gung ho about "La Raza" and Cesar. I accepted them as *friends*, no longer just *natural friends*, but *friends* who had *woken up from a deep sleep*. That is how I interpreted it

then and now what Cesar meant when he spoke about the Church and cultural organizations, others and treating them as natural friends. sin mas, /abby/r/d/lp

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/24/04 (2)

Hey, dumpster diving has saved many a day, so don't knock it, and be proud of it! We were the original "recyclers". Before the law went into effect that prohibits or punishes people for dumpster diving, my kids and I would go to Carl's Jr. at 10:30. It was then they threw away what hadn't been used in the past three hours (or some such). Boxes and boxes of hamburger patties, buns, frozen fries -- pies! -- went into the dumpster, and as soon as the employee left, we dived in. This was before the law. We knew other needy people, and loved to share. Any of you ever go to the dumps of yesteryear, where you could literally furnish an entire home? Ah, the "good" old days. When hunger only hit those too given to inertia or embarrassment to scramble with the rest of us. What about the shoe places!! After a big sale, the trash cans were full of NEW shoes, no longer in style. Somebody ought to erect a monument of a dumpster, with a woman and several kids spilling in and out of it. MANY of us can relate to that.

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/24/04 (3)

Talking about yard sales - I was cleaning out my garage a while back, anticipating a garage sale (I ultimately gave a lot away, only selling some artwork my daughter Jenny did). Anyway, I found amongst all my stuff some pins. One says "Non-violence is our strength", with a young Cesar's face and the Huelga eagle in a black and white background; another is a blue one that says "uvas no", a third one is red, with the Huelga eagle "VOTE" and "UFW" on the face; the third is about the size of a nickel, white background that includes the eagle, and says "Rancho Freedman, UFW-AFL-CIO". This includes a red emblem that I've never been able to decipher. Does anybody have a collection of the pins from those days?

Susan Drake, 6/24/04

Does anybody NOT have a collection of pins from those days? Susan Drake (1962-1973)

Doug Adair, 6/24/04 (3)

In a message dated 7/24/04 . . . [Mary Mocine] writes:

The organizers from Imperial could tell you better. I saw very few of them and don't recall the ones I did see except that they were funny and topical and strong. M

Mary - We (actually, Debbie) have a set (maybe a complete set, we'll have to track it down) of Albert Escalante's leaflets used in the Coachella campaign. Debbie and Jeri Archibald saved it, as they printed up leaflets (and I may have saved the earlier ones from the Imperial Valley campaign (1977). We'll bring it to the reunion in Delano next September, 05, the 40th anniversary of the strike. (But we should have it at the 40 acres, maybe separate and/or annexed to the official celebration, since some would want to go to both and others might not.). Debbie and we are open to giving it to Wayne State (or more probably Northridge, closer) or the union, it should be preserved, and Thermal is not good for paper.

and from Gracie [Martinez],

the third is about the size of a nickel, white background that includes the eagle, and says "Rancho Freedman, UFW-AFL-CIO". This includes a red emblem that I've never been able to decipher. Does anybody have a collection of the pins from those days?

And for those of you cleaning out those closets, buttons and stuff are already appearing on e-bay, I think. At one point, the rarest was the Texas strike button, an oblong Statue of Liberty, (1966) holding a huelga sign, a 500 printing, never reprinted. Helen had one, plus those of us who were in Texas...

Dear Gracie, the Freedman button I have is green and white with a little tiny bunch of red grapes in the middle (Cardinals or Flames!). Our button collection may be in the top 20 for those early

years (pre-1978), but there were some, maybe Helen's, near complete. Of course, individual boycott groups printed their own buttons, so who knows what was out there.... cockroaches, scorpions, "Organisenze, Raza!"

We also have union flags I made, from my crew at Tenneco (with little U.S., Filipino, Arab and Mexican flags going down the side, the four faces of our crew, "Tenneco/Ducor, Camp #1); and a big eagle and all the crew signatures, "Sammy Rodriguez Crew, David Freedman Company" -- plus Rudy Reyes' flag, with his button collection (and is Rudy the last of the original strikers from Sept. 8?)..... where to donate this stuff? Or make it available to collectors and the public?

Doug Adair, 1965-1989

Susan Drake, 6/24/04 (2)

RE: Bay Area Reunion Update

Golden Gate Park, someone bring name-tags, everyone bring own food, should be a cinch. The embellishments of music and a program would be wonderful if someone organizes those. August is my vote. I wouldn't want to miss East Bay people, but offer Santa Cruz (my garden in Soquel could accommodate 60-75).

Susan Drake (1962-1973)

Jane Yett (Kiely), 6/24/04

RE: Bay Area Reunion Update

After August 25 works for me. If in Santa Cruz, my home and yard are also available, with a big picnic area and little creek. A private yard has some advantages of privacy and control over our circumstances, plus amenities, and shelter if there is weather. But a park seems just fine, anywhere in the Bay Area.

If we wait until school starts, might more people be around?

Janie Yett (Kiely)

Safeway study, 1972-1973

Gary Brown, 6/24/04

Dear All:

I meant to share a story about Boycott food. When on the LA Boycott I got the idea that we could gather information from the Safeway trash cans. Pre-shredding days. So I gathered up a lot of records and we groomed them for information concerning sales. Well in one of these searched trash cans we found boxes of still cold Philadelphia cream cheese. CHEESE CAKEI about the only time we had donated dessert from our opponents.

GARY BROWN

P.S. you cannot make a birthday cake from an all commodity food recipe. You can only make something that looks like cake. You can make a retaining wall.

Chris Schneider, 6/24/04

So you were the one responsible for that? I recall on my first day at the Harvard House in LA I saw Safeway bread on the kitchen table. I had just traveled half-way across the country to boycott Safeway. I asked Andy Cae why the Safeway products were there. The response was something like I didn't really want to know and that I would find out soon enough. After a few days I was sent dumpster diving at Safeway, instructed to find helpful information and edible food.

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/24/04 (1)

I like that idea, a memorial to dumpster diving. Unfortunately it is not a memorial; it continues as we speak. I have a client who is a "soul keeper" of abandoned animals. His path is blessed by his

kindness to the least.... It is his redemption for having randomly taken the lives of two souls he never knew. kathy murguia

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/24/04 (2)

Talk about buttons and Malcriados. I have a wall full of buttons and many old editions of el malcriado that I treasure. kathy murguia

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/24/04 (1)

RE: need a union?

Joaquin, bless your heart.

You speak of a fair employer, I'm sure they exist. You state that where there is fairness, there is no need of a union.

Maybe this is the case in your generation, your English speaking, tech saavy generation, in the legalese know how generation.

However, the farm worker still needs a spokesperson, in and out of the labor market, because s/he is none of the above.

You also stated that the farm worker is not being represented, nor is there any organizing or contracts, I am no longer a physical volunteer for the farm workers, but I do get frequent e-mail from ufwofamer@aol.com, and I am usually asked to continue supporting the union, in varied forms as they continue to try to Roll This Union On. All I have to do is volunteer my TAKE ACTION click.

Los campesinos te necesitan Joaquin.

hope lopez – Clovis - '66-'74

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/24/04 (2)

RE: huelga pins

Graciela

I had a whole collection of pins, pinned on to the poster of Cesar with all the little figures, and Dolores in his eyeball. They are all collectors' items, since they date back to NFWA TIMES. Just this past March, I was asked to speak @ the Cesar Chavez Adult school, in commemoration of Cesar. I took my poster and donated it to the school. The director promised to hang it in a choice spot, I have to go back and find out what the choice spot is.

hope lopez – clovis – 66-74

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/24/04 (3)

RE: Need a union?

Si Hope,... si necesitan la ayuda de este hijo. Siempre su corazon esta con los que luchan. Pero la question es porque abandono los sueños de su papa? El se preparo de seguir con una lucha que el comenzo desde muy chiquillo. La casa de este higo era el mente de su papa. Pero la realidad es que algo paso. Perdio fe, perdio confianza. Seguro. que tiene que venir otra vez a su casa. Si lo necesitamos.. Pero tenemos que entender su corazon. No creas que era dificil para su papa de ver su camino. Pero con respecto, tambien vino entendimiento, y como dijo Augie desde Delano voy.....los derechos a pelear. Quizas hasta la gloria, hasta la muerte. Con mucho respecto Kathy Murguia.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/25/04 (1)

RE: Need a union?

Kata, eres una madre dulce y comprensiva. Una vez cuando le comente a Cesar de un problema que tenia con mi hermana, me aconsejo "nunca cierras las puertas; siempre dejalas abiertas para

que pueda regresar". Fue una buena leccion para mi porque con el tiempo las cosas se arreglaron y ella tuvo la confianza de poder regresar. sin mas, /abby

Fred Hirsch, 6/25/04

RE: Chuck Gardiniere was there

Hey dear Folks,

I haven't been able to even try to keep up with the outpouring of volunteer theory, story, herstory and history.

Has anyone mentioned the role of Chuck Gardiniere, Red Mountain and Bruno Dispoto?

George Ballis, if he would, could probably fill us in better than anyone.

Fred Hirsch

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/24/04 (4)

RE: Rhythms

Rhythms

There was a rhythm and pulse to our life as volunteers. As the weekend approaches and the work, the intense work of organizing is moving to a letting down, letting go of the efforts to convince, persuade, explain and teach why we were about our work, there came that time to let go and to enjoy. In the early days it was the times at People's. The presence of Ann and Mocha, their comradery and quiet support. The free pitchers of beer of those bought by fellow admireres of our work. The afl-cio organizers who always had money to treat those of us who survived on the 5\$. We came to People's to find solace, comfort and comradery. The pool tables, the music..it all blended into a life of meaning and purpose. We were changing the world. We were taking on the growers and they had no idea of who we were. But they would come to know us. This ragtag group of volunteers,, who believed...in justice, in the ideals of the rights of the working man and woman to receive a living wage for an honest days work. It was basic then and it is basic now. How we get there is the question.

Que viva la revolucion.... Kathy Murguia

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/25/04 (2)

Kathy, I gave soooo many of my buttons to Helen. I knew if anyone could take better care of them is was she. The few I have at home my grandkids play with and grandpa has a fit. My favorite one is "Grapes, Pass Them By"; early button. I take it out before giving the rest to my little ones. They love the black eagle. sin mas, /abby p.s. Did Helen ever talk you out of any of your buttons or did you hide them from her? :)

Doug Adair, 6/25/04 (1)

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

In a message dated 6/23/04 . . . [Joaquin Murguia] writes:

What employers are learning is that they must provide a reasonable compensation package for their employees. If the employer does that, then, in my opinion there is very little need for a union. If an employer does not, then there are plenty of avenues available, including seeking union representation, available.

Dear Joaquin,

I surely disagree with you on this one, and more so than Hope. Farm workers no less than teachers with PhD's need a union if they are to work together to improve their working conditions and increase their own control over their own lives. In freeing their own minds, they need to be

able to sit down with the employer (or whoever) as equals to negotiate the conditions of employment and life.

One of my criticisms of you guys in La Paz was that you never worked things out through a grievance procedure. You all make fun of the Chicken Shit Committee, but if it was elected, I gather that that was a small step (the only one?) towards taking responsibility for some of the stuff going on. Cesar Chavez was the greatest organizer of farm workers to come along in 100 years, the hope of campesinos all over North America. You guys had him deciding which union cars got new tires and which got retreads? What a waste of time and talent.

Doug Adair, 1965-89

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/25/04 (2)

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Doug. Cesar did not know when to stop organizing. Yes, he was the greatest organizer etc. But it wasn't the guys in La Paz, it was CC who would come down like an ax if something happened that he wasn't made aware of. The chain of command and the lines of communication were the triangle. He tried to build a circle to embrace the concept of community; that's what the pruge was all about. To have only those who could be trusted. But then that too became problematic. Cesar in my opinion operated well within a small group (6-7) folks he had organized and had trust and confidence in. That circle shifted over time. But transitioning that to a larger grouping was difficult and to an institutional structure ????? Sin Mas

Kathy Murguia 1965-1983

Charlie Atilano, 6/25/04

RE: UFW Convention: FOOD!

Joaquin, isn't your response a bit cavalier? C'mon, employees just like employers deserve the respect of raising concerns related to the workplace. But it has been my experience employers are not going to listen to the worker knowing that they are under no legal obligation to do so, unless of course the workers rights are being violated. Yes, it's true there are workers out there that only see their weekly paycheck as the remedy to all their daily needs. But what about the future? I know there are few employers out there that provide a compensation package which address the long term needs of the worker, i.e., medical coverage after retirement, along with a package that allows the retiree to live comfortably. But, it's just that - a few. Moreover, in that package there must be language for redress (grievance and arbitration) of concerns of the workers wherein they the worker does not feel intimidated to speak up. So, the bottom line is without a union those items are not going to come from the generosity of the employer because it's all about profit. You speak of many avenues available to seek redress, well that's another issue that maybe this forum could look at. In the vernacular of Abby - sin mas. Paz y salud. Charlie Atilano

Mary Mocine, 6/25/04 (1)

RE: ADDING TO TOM DALZELL'S SUCCESSES LIST

Dear Graciela,

Thanks for your gracious reply. I think you probably ended up with more important work than lawyering. I know a bit about the AFSC here in the bay area from peace work etc and because Wilson Riles Jr is a friend and mentor to me from our days in Oakland politics ages ago. I can tell from your descriptions of your work now that you are doing useful work.

One of the reasons I went to law school was because I saw lawyers as very powerful, able to make change for example anti-death penalty work and keeping folks out of jail who were protesting the war in Vietnam. What I learned when I began to work for the union was that change was not going to come from lawyers but, instead, from people banding together to take care of business. I was deeply moved by the workers I met, particularly in Yolo County and in Coachella, who had made

the decision to do what was necessary to better their lives and their children's lives, no matter the risk. Those folks are my heroes.

Thanks again for your thoughtful response.

yours, Mary

Mary Mocine, 6/25/04 (2)

RE: Dancing Lawyers

[Abby -] ho ho. thanks. I liked your piece about growing up in Delano and waiting for your friends to come around.

yours, Mary

Doug Adair, 6/25/04 (2)

RE: Bishops opposed boycott endorsement

In a message dated 6/23/04 . . . [LeRoy Chatfield] writes:

I offer this clarification of Doug Adair regarding Cesar's view of our natural friends.

* * * *

And so it came to pass. The Catholic Church officially endorsed the boycott and served as national mediators with the growers.

Dear LeRoy,

I was pretty sure you were wrong on this one. In the Jaques Levy book, Cesar Chavez, p. 304-305, Msgr George Higgins (a true friend of the farm workers, no doubt on which side he was on), notes that at the Catholic Bishops' Conference in November, 1969, he proposed a resolution with "a specific reference supporting the boycott" But that proposal was derailed by Bishop Hugh Donohoe of Fresno and Archbishop Timothy Manning of Los Angeles, the result being that a committee was appointed, led by Bishop Donnelly of Connecticut and the California Bishops and others, to "look into it" and see if the Church could help bring the parties together.

The California Bishops urged that the issue be left in their hands, "let's not rush in" (p. 304, hadn't the strike had been going for 5 years?) but when Higgins checked back in with them in January, they had done nothing except block any Church action or help. "Well, that's all I need to know. I didn't want to move in unless these two California bishops weren't going to do anything," Donnelly told Higgins.

In urging the growers to negotiate, Donnelly and Higgins took the position, "We believe in trade unionism, and we believe in collective bargaining. We're not neutral in that sense..." Not quite a statement of unconditional solidarity, but the best we could hope for...

And their help was important, and maybe critical, and of course we should be grateful; in such a situation, an honest broker might have been more important than one more endorsement. The Malcriado may have promoted it as THE CHURCH supporting the grape strike and boycott, and maybe you believed what you thought you read in El Malcriado. Many (Protestant) Churches did endorse the grape boycott as I remember -- Chris Heartmire could refresh our memories; and Jewish organizations (and even Republicans!) officially endorsed the grape boycott. But the Catholic Bishops and Archbishops could never quite bring themselves to "officially endorse the boycott", and only came as close to supporting us as they did, thanks to the pushing and prodding of courageous priests like Msgr. Higgins.

Doug Adair

El Malcriado, 1965-1970

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/25/04 (3)

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Hey Charlie, (also Joaquin at the end),

I think I lost your last e-mail; running out of space. So I am latching on I got a kick out of your last e-mail. I about fell off my chair laughing. Welcome to the listserv. Yes, I remember you from security. I didn't know you led the march. Good job! I couldn't believe you guys contemplated shaving your heads. You know what that would have meant? We would have done it, too. Then what would the world have thought about us? Amityville instead of Stepford? Depending on how tolerant society is, the GAME for some when they read our history will find it acceptable and will wonder what all the fuss is about. If we do not have a tolerant society, well, they will not understand why we did it. I guess, it will depend on which way the wind is blowing. I am not making light of it; I'm trying to be realistic. Maybe this is too simplistic but that is how I see it. You take care Charley. I am married to Jorge Rivera and he was in Security with you, I believe. sin mas, /abby /r/d/lp

p.s. Joaquin, do you recall making Cesar do anything? Tires, retreads? *First it is said that we did not stand up to Cesar at La Paz and now it seems we are telling Cesar what to do.* He cannot get us to do anything so he has to do the deciding about the "tires"; the best organizer in 100 years? The hits just keep on coming! Gotta' love you, Doug! Thanks everyone for giving La Pazians so much credit and then, oh man, yanking it from under us. You guys, La Paz was no different than being out in a Field Office. Trust me, I worked in both. bye

Donna Haber Kornberg, 6/25/04

RE: Farm workers and our "natural friends"

Were not many growers also Catholic?

Donna Haber Kornberg (Oakland, 1965, Delano, 1966-68, London, 1970-74/75)

Stephen Rivers, 6/25/04

RE: Bishops/ boycott

I seem to remember that Catholic Bishops conference endorsing the grape boycott in the Fall of 1973. I remember (hopefully correctly) the headline "Bishops Back Boycott" or something very close to that in El Malcriado. I was in college in Conn. at the time and joined the boycott in Dec. 1973, and Bishop Donnelly (who was the auxiliary bishop of Hartford but lived in New Haven) was helpful to us on the boycott locally, e.g. doing a briefing for other priests in advance of Farm Worker Sunday, etc.

Joaquin Murguia, 6/25/04 (1)

RE: Need a union?

Hope,

Yes, fair employers do exist. In the past 25 years, I have worked for a number of them. And yes, if employers are dealing fairly with their employees the need for unions is diminished. Let's not forget that the whole impetus for the labor movement was the poor treatment of workers by the industrialists at the beginning of the industrial revolution.

As for my generation, may I remind you, that I am the first generation of Murguias not born in Mexico. I learned Spanish as my first language, I lived and spent my early years on farms in Ventura County. During those years, I worked in oranges, lemons and tomatoes. Some of my earliest recollections from childhood involves my playing in the dirt while my mother picked tomatoes. Later it was sitting on the hill above the orange orchards watching "La Migra," or chalking boxes after my uncle filled them with oranges for the the foreman's count, or sitting behind a D4 caterpillar covered in dust trying to carefully place tomato plants so they would grow.

So to imply that I somehow am of a different generation than farmworkers my same age is incorrect. Who I am and what I have chosen to do with my life is more a reflection of the choices I have made along the way rather than where or when I was born. I know what I know because I

chose to learn, I chose to not let a system that tried to pigeon-hole me convince me that I should join the military because "you people do well in a structured environment."

I speak English, because I learned it, I'm tech savvy because I chose to make sure I had the tools to be successful, I know the legalese of today's business world because I made it a point to avail myself of the opportunities presented, which I might add are no different than opportunities offered to many others my age. The problem is that people, and I realize this is a generalization, will only rise to the level of which they are challenged. And one thing I learned from my dad Lupe, my mother Kathy and from Cesar, is to challenge not only myself, but everything. A major problem is that in the past 30 years or so, people have developed a sense of entitlement rather than realizing that is we, the individual, who make our lives what we chose it to be.

As for my statement that farmworkers are not being represented, my comment was directed toward activities in the Coachella Valley. Frankly, I haven't heard anything from the Union in recent memory that would constitute an active and growing entity. The most recent news I have heard usually is about Dolores Huerta picketing and get arrested at one of the local casinos that the hotel workers are trying to organize.

As for the farmworkers needing me, when the need existed, I believe I made a contribution. Not of just time, not of just money, but in a manner that made an impact, by encouraging and representing fairly and in a balanced manner the needs of my employer and the needs of the employees.

Joaquin Murguia
Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Joaquin Murguia, 6/25/04 (2)

RE: Rhythms

Mom,

One of my favorite recollections of "letting down" was the trips to Lake Woolomes. I remember the laughing, the bar-b-que, all the homemade food placed on blankets and tables. The kids screaming like, how did Helen Chavez put it, "salvages." People singing, telling stories of picket line happenings, etc.

Joaquin

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/25/04 (3)

RE: Rhythms

Mi hijo, talk about your memories. Living with Martha Schaeffer, doing the Thanksgiving dishes, being the first second groundskeeper of La Paz (Your Dad was the first.) Learning the irrigation system. Operating the County's out modeled machine of a grass cutter. My Bookkeeper when I did the Health Group and then the transition into Financial Management. Sister Florence had such confidence in you. When she asked if she could ask you to quit school and work full time, this was not only a Sister, but a true friend, who was concerned about the support you would need for such a decision. It ran counter to what I thought would be your best interest. But it was your choice. You did choose to work as a volunteer full time and you were gifted with computers and accounting. Joaquin, tell your story for the volunteer project. It is a great tale. Love Mom

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/25/04 (1)

RE: Joaquin

Joaquin, I have no doubt in my mind that the reason you are the great person you are, is in great part due to the great parents who spawned you.

I am not questioning your upbringing, It's just that you do come across as no longer caring for that same group that you once supported.

I am referring to the millions, yes millions of farm workers, who are daily being exploited, used, lied to, abused, etc, etc, back to square one. These are not the same workers that worked under contract. This is a whole new group, now fondly referred to as 'undocumented'. This group are in no way milking the government tit.

¿ Can we really afford to put on our "I pulled myself up by the bootstraps" mentality and hide behind our past history of "been there, done that?"

It is my belief that, you the Staff Brats of the Chavistas, are the perfect leaders of today, to take up the Escudo, once again to the rescue.

No pierdas la fe Joaquin.

Yo ya no puedo con el Escudo Joaquin

Los campesinos te necesitan Joaquin.

I think I just coined the beginnings of a song for Agustin Lira. ¿Does anyone want to add a line to my song?

hope lopez - '66-74

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/25/04 (2)

RE: on lawyers and growers

To Mary Mocine –

RE - lawyers in the union. I found that the farm workers accepted the student lawyers more readily than they did the other volunteers, in spite of their white skin. The student lawyers, talked to the workers, they asked pertinent questions that related to their present personal concern, not in general, a statement was taken and that person's name was dignified with his/her signature. This made a big difference.

I'm wondering how many of those students are using that experience to continue helping those out their in the fields, I don't mean making money in the big city @ the expense of the Spanish speaking client.

RE - question by Donna Haber on Catholic growers.

The conflict stemmed from the fact that the growers had money and the farm worker did not. The more money that grower had, yes he was catholic, the more sins were absolved. Whereas the poor farm worker with his nickels and dimes will never make it to heaven, especially after a Saturday night binge.

The church has always been notorious in supporting and if you will excuse the expression, ass kissing of the moneyed lot, the land holder, los hacendados, Los Cristeros in Mexico come to mind,

hope lopez – 66-74

Mark Sharwood, 6/25/04

RE: What happened to Marta Rodriguez?

In a message dated 6/22/04 . . . [Jerry Kay] writes:

This much I know: Marta Rodriguez came with us to Florida in '73 to work on the grape, lettuce, gallo boycott in Miami. She came with her parents and – if I remember – a younger brother or sister (?) They worked very hard and she was quite effective speaking to Cuban and Puerto Rican families in Spanish. The Anglos also considered her heroic since we had the photos of her being beaten. What became of her after 1975 I don't know.

She must have returned to the Lamont-Arvin area after being in Florida. I met her once or twice while working in the Lamont Field Office in 1977. I remember being struck by how young and small-statured she was... what a contrast to the burly Kern County sheriffs who dragged her away!

* * * *

Mark Sharwood
Prop 14 – Field Office – La Paz – Boycott 1976-1982

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/25/04 (4)

RE: Entitlement

Joaquin, you stated in your previous e-mail:

" A major problem is that in the past 30 years or so, people have developed a sense of entitlement rather than realizing that is we, the individual, who make our lives what we chose it to be."

Many of the workers (in the farms and in the cities) who are being *exploited* have no past history in America. They know nothing about so called "entitlement" nor are they here for a free ride. However, they *are* taxpayers and therefore *contributors* who qualify for benefits when the need arises. For those who have lived here for generations, the same applies. Therefore, it is my belief, that those who speak of "entitlement" are perpetuating a myth. They want the world to believe that people are lazy and unwilling to work. There are those who will pull out a newspaper, like Reagan, and read the want ads to stress the point that there are so many jobs but people *do not want* to work. The truth is jobs are scarce, people are unemployed. I see it everyday. Most want to work but there are no jobs. Therefore, when we do get a job, we want to hold on to it. That is where a union helps us to make certain there is fair play in all areas of our work and that we are not at the mercy of the employer. Joaquin, with all due respect, it is not necessary to have this type of exchange because we are at opposite ends on this issue. I just wanted to express my point of view on this because, frankly, I don't like the word "entitlement". I would love to hear about the work you did in the movement, though. sin mas, /abby/ r/d/lp

Doug Adair, 6/25/04 (3)

RE: Need a union?

In a message dated 6/25/04 . . . [Joaquin Murguia] writes:

As for the farmworkers needing me, when the need existed, I believe I made a contribution. Not of just time, not of just money, but in a manner that made an impact.

Thanks, Joaquin, I thought well said. And your contribution to someone like me and the folks I know under UFW contract at HMS, was a part of the effort that made, makes our benefits possible. And I can't thank you enough, and everyone else on this list who contributed, for your efforts. And regardless of how you left the union, there are people who are grateful, who know the union made a difference in their lives... and you can be proud of those hours, days, years spent. Hope Lopez is guilt tripping you, my mom was in to that, not a healthy way of winning hearts and minds, but fun to do -- are we are electronically gaming each other?

The office in Coachella is usually closed when I go by, no hours posted, an answering machine with a recorded message... but there are contracts out there, and many Freedman workers, who haven't worked under union contract in 15 years, are getting pensions, and every now and then, for someone who forgot to apply, a very substantial check for back benefits, tens of thousands of dollars. I signed up early (55) for my pension and got back all my nickles/an/hour back in two years. One year they gave every worker/ pensioner a \$1000 bonus, more than I get in a year in regular benefits. And for all the pain and hurt we have felt at one time or another (or have given!), to our union family, we're still grateful, Thanks again.

Doug Adair, Coachella Valley
David Freedman Co. 1978-89

(P.S. I was teasing you about your saying there was no need for a union for your current workers, when what you folks really needed in La Paz was a grievance procedure. And don't tell me the Employer would never have granted it. They always say that. It was the workers' responsibility to figure out how to get it).

Joaquin Murguia, 6/25/04 (3)

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

Abby,

I don't recall Cesar ever making us do things. I do recall that he challenged me on a number of occasions to better myself. It was his insistence during a game at Synanon at Badger, that Cesar gamed me on choosing to go to Bakersfield College rather than working in the Financial Management. After the game, and further discussions away from the game, I chose to leave Bakersfield College and join the department.

Biggest step in self improvement I ever made.

Joaquin

Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/25/04 (5)

RE: UFW convention: FOOD!

J: Yep! Been there, done that. Wouldn't have traded it for the world. I could always return to school but the years with u, well, could never re-do them quite the same way again. sin mas, /abby/ UFW School of Higher Learning

Richard Cook, 6/25/04 (1)

RE: IAF & CSO, Fred & Cesar in the 50's

Angie Fa, recently posted the following comment:

"One of the best sources on Fred and the CSO was Carl Tjerandsen's Education for Citizenship, published by the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation in 1980."

In my opinion, the book Education for Citizenship is essential for the 1950's and probably for putting into high relief some of the decisions and directions taken in the '60's and '70's by the UFW. The author, Carl Tjerandsen had access to reports and interviews from grant recipients, many of whom have by now passed from the scene.

Saul Alinsky and the IAF were involved in training Migrant Ministry staff, who had become aware of IAF and CSO work by the mid fifties. The impetus for this training was from the California Migrant Ministry, where the CSO and Fred Ross' organizing offered an exciting example of community participation. In the late '50's the California Migrant Ministry got a grant from the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation. IAF training was provided in 1958 and again in 1963. Trainees included Doug Still (1958), Jim Drake and Dave Havens (both in 1963).

There are dozens of references to Fred and Cesar in this book whose salient statements are sprinkled throughout.

Here are a couple of examples:

A comment (p 94) Fred Ross reportedly made to Cesar in the CSO days in San Jose - when Cesar asked why Fred was not interested in signing up the barrio "hotshots" (doctors, lawyers and businessmen) for the CSO:

"They're the last ones I'm looking for. What I want are just the plain, ordinary working people who've been pushed around all their lives--like you have. While I'm around with them, I know that somewhere along the line they'll lead me to the second thing I'm always on the lookout for--the man among men--the guy people look up to and trust. A guy who'll really bear down and work and stand up and fight."

So, why did Cesar leave the CSO? He "got the bug," he said, to organize workers, while the CSO became focused on "middle class" issues and would meet only in "the best motel in town, very expensive, it cut off all the farm workers who couldn't afford to be there." Cesar left because (p 92) "In most cases, the leadership had more to lose than the workers. They'd say, 'We should

fight, but we should be moderate." Carl Tjerandsen concluded (about CSO, p 95) "the better educated the chapter leaders, the less active the chapter was."

In 1959, by way of a grant from the United Packing House Workers to IAF, Cesar was sent to Oxnard by the CSO, where in the course of a year, as IAF reported to the UPHW, Cesar set up semi-monthly meetings with 450 average attendance, recruited 950 new CSO members (who paid \$4 each), conducted semi-weekly "citizenship" classes for 650, organized a credit union, operated a continuous rummage sale netting \$200 a month, maintained a service center open 18 hours a day, seven days a week, registered 300 new voters and conducted a GOTV. Cesar also "conducted an organizing program among field workers which resulted in replacement by local workers of hundreds of Mexican nationals." (p 100) This last activity was aided in part by Cesar investigating grower hiring practices and "proving collusion" between growers and the state farm placement service.

Richard Cook
NFWM 1972-84

Richard Cook, 6/25/04 (2)

RE: Como era, Dios mia, como era?

Como era, Dios mío, como era?
Era como el pasaje de la brisa?
Imprecisa como sonrisa . . .

Qué loco fué tu carnaval, qué triste!

Todo tu cambier trocóse en nada-
memoria, ciega abeja de amargura!-
No sé como eras, yo que sé que fuiste!

What was it like, My God, What was it like?
Was it like the passing of the wind?
As imprecise as a smile . . .

How wild your celebration, how sad!

All of your changes ended up in nothing-
Memory, blind bee of bitterness!-
I don't know what you were like, I know only that you were!

From "Retorno Fugaz"
Juan Ramón Jimenez (1881-1954)

Richard Cook
NFWM, 72-84

Joaquin Murguia, 6/25/04 (4)

RE: Rhythms

Mom,

I remember those times as well. I find it found quite humorous that dad said that there are 3 people doing the maintenance that I used to do alone. I always told him it was too much for one person!

My experience with Florence was one the highlights of my time at La Paz. When I give credit to women who have made a difference in my life, Florence is right there behind you. With your care and support, I made that choice that ended up being the single most important decision of my teen years.

The experience I gathered while working with Florence, set me on the road to self confidence previously unknown to me. Through the learning and challenges she laid before me, and the whisper she spoke in so I HAD to listen, provided me with tools and skills that have proven valuable to this day.

Thank you for all you have done and all that you continue to do.

All my love,

Joaquin

Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Joaquin Murguia, 6/25/04 (5)

RE: Joaquin

Hope,

Yes, my parents definitely are great people and they did a remarkable job given the challenges of raising children in the union.

Believe me, I care, tremendously. It is why I have worked so hard to be where I am. It is why when I became the Controller and CFO of an agricultural company I set about to make a difference in the lives of the people that worked for that company. Granted, from that position, I could not help everyone, but it did manage to set an example for other agricultural employers in the valley and I believe it did make a difference.

I understand that exploitation of workers does continue. However, I still believe that an individual has a responsibility to themselves to make choices in their lives that put themselves in the best possible position to succeed. And as unpopular as this next statement will be, I don't see how entering a country illegally does that. Call it undocumented, call it illegal immigration, the fact of the matter is that by breaking the law, an individual removes for themselves the opportunity to do something better, be it by crossing a border illegally or robbing a bank. Both are seeking to improve their situation, but is it right?

However, if the U.S. continues with its ridiculous immigration policy, undocumented workers will continue to have to contend with operating under the radar and there will be people willing to take advantage of the situation.

It is exactly because I remember where I came from that I do what I can to help where I can. However, if I am going to try to make a difference, I would prefer that my energies be spent where they will make a difference and not with an organization that is on the verge of becoming ineffective.

As for the Staff brats, it is my understanding that some of them remain at La Paz. I'm not certain that this has brought the union any greater success. And frankly, I would rather help someone to stand that to simply rescue them. I haven't lost the faith, I just happen to believe that unions are not the only means by which individuals can make a better life for themselves.

Joaquin Murguia

Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Chris Schneider, 6/24/04

RE : Joaquin

Wow. I can see that all our in boxes will be full tomorrow.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/25/04 (6)

RE: Joaquin

Dios moi, *Joaquin*, I just rolled over and died! /abby

Joaquin Murguia, 6/25/04 (6)

RE: Entitlement

Abby,

I understand exploitation. And no I have no doubt in my mind that people who work are contributors. Further more I know that jobs are not abundant, especially in the current economy.

My view of entitlements relates to what a person expects to receive in exchange for their labor. I believe people must be compensated fairly. However, others here have implied that by virtue of the fact that a person has spent time working for a company, that company somehow assumes the obligation of caring for that individual even after they are no longer working.

Believe me, I understand that when people have a job they want to hold on to it. I have been unemployed and underemployed. It isn't any fun. However, I understand the economic realities of why I was laid off when I was. Even if there had been a union at my place of employment, I would not have fought the lay off because I knew that with my departure, other workers down the ladder could remain. As I said, it wasn't any fun, but it was an economic reality. The company simply couldn't afford to continue to pay the salary I was accustomed to after suffering enormous losses due to the slumping economy. Perhaps a union would have chosen to fight anyway, but at what cost? The company filing bankruptcy or going out of business? Sometimes the needs of the many outweigh the needs of the few or in this case the one.

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/25/04 (7)

RE: Need a union?

Doug,

Thank you for your acknowledgement. During my years in the Coachella Valley, I had a number of occasions to have contact with David Freedman Co before Lionel Steinberg's death first working at the CPA firm that did their annual tax accounting and then working with their Controller on joint agricultural ventures. I think Lionel was an good example of an employer who was concerned about the well being of his employee and an example to the rest of the agricultural community.

I don't think Hope was trying to guilt trip me, maybe she was and as you say, maybe she was gaming me! Her passion is obvious and I certainly can't fault here for that.

One last thing, your very last statement sums up quite well what I have been trying to convey.

Joaquin

Susan Drake, 6/26/04 (1)

RE: undocumented

Re: Joaquin's comments on undocs: I have a dream that one day we will have no border between here and Mexico and that industry and culture will flow freely. Mexicans who want to can stay home with their families and not risk their lives to earn a decent living. We environmentalists would ban our nasty toxins from being dumped in Mexico. Banning the border for a 3-year trial would be cool. No, I haven't flipped out. It just seems sensible to me if not likely!

I'm so grateful, Joaquin, for your strong and, to me realistic, opinions. Some unions are screwing their members as badly as corporations. Those who make unions generally, or UFW specifically, sound holy need to take a more thorough look. Some power corrupts, sadly. Constant cycle of organizing is all we can count on.

Susan Drake (1962-1973, Delano, Porterville, Keene, boycotts in NJ, NY, OH)

Susan Drake, 6/26/04 (2)

RE: union marriages

I'm way behind; sorry. On union marriages: I remember Jim Drake performing Kerry Ohta's wedding, but I might be wrong. I do remember that Jim performed 3 or 4 for union volunteers, none of which survived. Nor did ours, although we stuck together longer than we might have if we had not shared the commitment to UFW. Jim was more married to Cesar than to me. :-)
Although Jim's absences (he was home 3 months of one year) played a big part in our divorce, we were doomed for other reasons from the beginning, and I don't blame the union or Cesar.

Susan Drake (1962-1973, Goshen, Porterville, Delano, Keene, boycotts in NJ, NY, OH)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/26/04 (1)

RE: undocumented

Hi Susan,

I didn't understand what you meant by "banning the border for a 3-year trial would be good"? Do you mean banning the traffic heading south? If you mean those trying to come north, well, we know the the ban has existed for a long time yet hundreds continue to cross. Employers continue to "break the law" (right up there like those robbing banks like Joaquin says) by knowingly hiring undocumented workers. However, the workers are the criminals not the employer. How tidy. Maybe those who make unions sound holy or are corrupted by power; therefore, we should ban unions, too. That would completely eliminate the problem. In which case, Joaquin is right on target in his observations. No need to organize, by the way, unions aren't any good, so why bother? sin mas/ abby/ r/d/lp

Susan Drake, 6/26/04 (3)

RE: undocumented

I meant without a protected border, WITH free-flow of persons and goods, everyone might benefit. Sneaking people and stuff thru the US-Mexican border is good for only la migra employees, in my opinion.

Susan Drake (1962-73)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/26/04 (2)

RE: undocumented

I guess I'm not up to snuff with the lingo. It does, however, have a Catch 22 flavor to it. What I wish we would do is have a 3-year ban (real ban) on NAFTA. sin mas, /abby/ r/d/lp

Joaquin Murguia, 6/26/04 (1)

RE: undocumented

Abby,

Yes employers continue to break the law, especially as regards undocumented workers. The difficulty of course is dealing with the INS and now the Department of Homeland Defense. Both sides end up being criminals. If an employer hires someone who is undocumented, he is fined. If he refuses to hire someone even though there is sufficient evidence the individual is undocumented, it's discrimination and the employer can be fined. However, if the employer does hire the individual despite obviously fake documents, the employer is fined. How can anyone come out ahead with such a screwed up approach?

It is unfortunate that the US has such a screwed up immigration policy. It seems to be driven by a certain amount of "Latino phobia." I recently was reading a magazine that caught my eye called the Foreign Policy Advisor. The cover story was "The Browning of America." It was such total garbage about how the browning of America was destroying the Anglo culture and tradition.

Abby, mi hermana, I don't believe I have ever said that unions are no good. I have only stated that there are alternatives to unionization, that a union is not the end all and be all for employees to receive fair treatment.

Yes, there are corrupt unions. One has only to look at the Teamsters. But I certainly wouldn't condemn all unions. It might surprise you, but I did not cross a picket line during the entire time the UFCW were on strike. Though I didn't necessarily agree with their position, I honored their picket line. They made a choice, I supported it. Unfortunately, in the long run, they ended up with what was originally offered.

Joaquin
Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Joaquin Murguia, 6/26/04 (2)

RE: undocumented

Susan,

It would be great if the US and Mexico could establish a policy that would truly benefit both countries. Unfortunately, I don't see that happening any time soon.

Thank you for your kind words of encouragement. I have been fortunate to have had a wide variety of experiences in my life that sometimes provides opinions that can be unpopular.

As for the sanctity of unions, unions are made up of people and of course we all see on a daily the imperfections. I haven't given up, I just realize that I have to take an honest assessment of all things.

Joaquin
Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Joaquin Murguia, 6/26/04 (3)

RE: undocumented

Abby,

Educate me. Why ban NAFTA? From what I have read and seen, NAFTA has resulted in quite a few benefits in terms of opening the border to the flow of goods. In my frequent trips to Mexico during the 90's, I saw the many benefits to the Mexican economy. In my opinion, if the Mexican economy improves, then we don't have people dying in the desert or in the trucks of coyotes, trying to enter the US to seek a better living. People would not be forced to leave their homes and their families to try to make ends meet.

The Catch 22 here is that if the Mexican economy expands due to jobs created there, the US economy falters because those jobs were exported to Mexico. Who do we choose to have suffer, Mexican workers or US workers?

Joaquin

P. S. I recently saw "The Day After Tomorrow." One of the more humorous scenes was when Mexico closed its border with the US and the resultant influx of illegal immigrants into Mexico. Talk about divine justice! I have to admit most of the chuckles in the theater were nervous chuckles because what goes around comes around.

Chris Hartmire, 6/26/04

RE: IAF & CSO, Fred & Cesar in the 50's

to add to Richard Cook's comments: the training for Calif Migrant Ministry staff was primarily with Fred & Cesar & the CSO & it was continuous from 1958-1962. ALL Migrant Ministry staff spent 4-6 weeks with Fred & Cesar as they organized new CSO chapters & as they visited existing chapters--mostly in the San Joaquin Valley. Jim & Dave got special training in Chicago, probably in 1963, in an IAF project there. Needless to say, this CSO training was key to the MM's decision to support Cesar's NFWA organizing from the beginning..... Chris Hartmire

Cynthia Bell, 6/26/04 (1)

RE: UNIONS

Hola Joaquin,

I would like to correct your statement on the UFCW strike. You stated we “ended up with what was originally offered.” That is totally not true, but because of supporters like you that did not cross the line we would have. The bottom line it was all about corporate greed!

I should know I work for UFCW, we are in negotiations in the Puget Sound area, and it's not about Market share! It's all GREED no ifs or but's.

Joaquin, there is no alternative to UNIONIZATION, it's all about UNIONS....

ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE!

Abrazos,

Cynthia Bell

1969-1988 (break in between)

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/26/04

RE: YOUR MODERATOR SPEAKING . . .

THIS IS YOUR MODERATOR SPEAKING . . .

I believe the discussion during the past several days has entered into a very narrow range and seems somewhat removed from the purposes of the listserve discussion group, which is to document the farmworker movement, 1962 – 1993. Perhaps this is the reason why only a few participants are responding. I don't know.

But whatever the reason, I ask you to direct the discussion back to the movement itself.

As moderator, I have no desire to lead the discussion or specify the topics, but permit me to suggest some topics that, in my view, need documentation for future readers:

1. Reasons for the closure of the health clinics. During my time with the UFW, there was never a time when we did not have a clinic in operation. Clinic services for farmworkers was one of Cesar's fondest hopes. After I left in 1973, clinics were open (and thriving?) in Delano, Salinas, Coachella and Calexico and elsewhere? Why were they closed a few years later? Too expensive? Underutilized? What?
2. Cesar invested a great deal of time and energy in promoting a statewide microwave telephone communication system for the UFW. Did it ever materialize? Did it work? How long did it last? Was anyone besides Ken Doyle involved? (Does anyone know how I can get in touch with Ken?)
3. We have spent a great deal of time talking about the period, 1977 - 1980. We have barely discussed the work of the UFW in the 1980's. I know a little bit about Cesar's Fast in the late 80's because Father Ken Irrgang and Richard Steven Street write about it in their essays. What were some of the major UFW campaigns in the 1980's - organizing, strikes, boycotts, political, educational, etc.? Were they effective?
4. When did the UFW acquire radio stations? And for what purpose? Who was in charge of this program? Who raised the money for the acquisition? Were they financially self-supporting? Were they helpful to the UFW? How so?
5. We all understand the promise of the ALRA when it was passed in 1975 and the 40,000 farmworkers that voted in secret ballot elections that summer, but how did the ALRA work out in practice for the UFW in the 1980's? Please explain.

. . . . AND SO FORTH

Cynthia Bell, 6/26/04 (2)

RE: YOUR MODERATOR SPEAKING . . .

Thank you Leroy, for putting me back on track,

I will gladly talk about Radio Campesina, but first I would like Vicky Lopez to start off on how the process started (funding, licensing) I came in when all that was already done then I can pickup from there on. I have so much wonderful stories on this subject.

Vicky, are you ready?

Cynthia Bell
1969-1988

Mary Mecartney, 6/26/04 (1)

RE: CESAR THE HEALER and MYSTIC

From Mary Mecartney 1975-“1993”

Due to hearing about it from Cesar, I bought the Silva Mind Control book in the (late 70s or early 80s) and read it. I was too undisciplined to use it. So I gave the book to my father who is a huge fan of Cesar. All his life my father suffered from hayfever allergies. He used the Silva mind control method and to date, over twenty years later, he has not had any more problems with allergies. So I give Cesar credit for curing my Dad’s allergies (Though I don’t think Cesar ever know about this.)

Mary Mecartney, 6/26/04 (2)

RE: Grants and lessons

From Mary Mecartney 1975-“1993”

Emails the week of June 14th about grants struck a chord. First, I have to make sure it is clear that those government grants in the late 70s did NOT go to the UFW (the Union) but to the NFWSC (National Farm Workers Service Center). After receiving the grants the organization FIELD (Farm Worker Institute for Education and Leadership Development) was created so all the special administrative issues and govt requirements (i.e. strings) that accompanied those govt grants would be the responsibility of that organization. Unfortunately, all the paperwork was not done to transfer all those grants to FIELD. After Ronald Reagan became president, the Farm Bureau was successful in convincing the government agencies to investigate the grants.

One of my favorite times living in La Paz was in 1979 when there were a lot of farm worker trainees, many of them ranch committee leadership and their families. The focus of those training programs was producing results. The Carter administration folks that came out to monitor how the programs were doing were reportedly impressed with the way the money was stretched to do more than many mainstream agencies were able to do with their grant money. But there were a lot of changes in the staff administering the grants and the paperwork was not the tightest. (This was evident in the 60 minutes piece I watched from New York boycott house that winter. I felt that piece was more embarrassing than anything else.) After the programs were over and the Republicans were in control in Washington, our staff in the legal dept had to spend time defending the “harassment” suits/investigations about those grants.

I got the end of it around 1989, a decade after the grants were issued. At that time I was a paralegal assigned to the “corporate division.” I spent many tedious weeks systemically searching for old documents in numerous storerooms in La Paz. (Although keeping paper work organized was not one of the movement’s strengths, there was the system (policy?) to never throw any documents away). I found most of the documentation the DOL investigators claimed was missing. With the help of supporters in Washington D.C., Dolores Huerta organized the law firm of Hogan & Hartson to help us probono with the legal work negotiating and settling with the DOL. It was a pleasure working with those two experienced attorneys in that special area of law. What I learned compensated for all those hours looking for old files. A couple years after the cases were settled, I noticed several more FIELD files in a basement gutter room of the North Unit behind old refrigerators which I assumed contained the rest of the missing documents. (But the boxes were too creepy to open and the case was over so any additional evidence was meaningless).

Ever since, when I hear new staff talking about getting grant money like it is something easy, I'll hop on my soapbox warning about the importance of budgeting and allocating resources and respect for the administration, reporting and follow-up. I use our experience with those grants as the example how organizations associated with the UFW have to be extra diligent with the paperwork because of the politics which can bring them under closer scrutiny than "mainstream" agencies.

Another downside to grants is you can't "switch horses midstream". Since a key strength of the UFW is the ability to quickly mobilize when new opportunities arise, it makes sense that the programs funded by grants are generally administered by the other organizations in the movement and not the UFW. This may seem like a simple concept, but it took me years to understand it.

Mark Sharwood, 6/26/04

RE: What happened to Marta Rodriguez?

Doug, thanks for writing, and say Hi to Debbie. I remember both of you well from Coachella. You have a good memory, there was an incident with one of the ex-Teamster organizers that involved my shirt getting torn in a restaurant when we tried to serve a ULP charge. I wrote about it in the essay that I sent to LeRoy earlier this year.

On the ice pick, that was a different incident that didn't involve me personally, but on one leaflet Escalante did a parody of the IUAW logo (there were two IUAWs -- this was the one that had "Marta" and "Oscar" as organizers) showing the ice pick in Marta's (?) head. . .

Albert signed his leaflets "Escalante" and I signed mine simply "MS". In Coachella I was still an apprentice and hadn't developed my style yet... I did better work later in Imperial Valley and other areas for Arturo Rodriguez's organizing team. I scanned a few leaflets and wanted to send them with my essay, but LeRoy said graphics would have to be added later. Wayne State has all of my graphic work somewhere, as well as Escalante's from those campaigns where I worked with him (notably, Coachella and Giumarra).

Thanks again for writing, Doug. Hope your dates are growing well. I think you have been making some of the most insightful contributions in this discussion group, in which I haven't been able to participate much due to lack of time.

Mark Sharwood
1976-1982

Charlie Atilano, 6/27/04

RE: YOUR MODERATOR SPEAKING . . .

LeRoy Chatfield . . . wrote:

* * * *

5. *We all understand the promise of the ALRA when it was passed in 1975 and the 40,000 farmworkers that voted in secret ballot elections that summer, but how did the ALRA work out in practice for the UFW in the 1980's? Please explain.*

* * * *

LeRoy, in response to #5. I worked for the ALRB from 81-89, and during the period when there was a Democratic administration more elections were held, and the UFW was victorious in the majority of them. Moreover, the elections were certified which led to negotiations. In regard to ULP several hundred were filed and investigated with them being upheld and workers were made whole with back wages as well as reinstatement.

However, when the administration changed to a Republican administration many things changed, and it was much more difficult to investigate cases, it was like the bar was raised to establish a prima facie case. It got to the point that working there was just coming into work knowing that

nothing would get accomplished. I eventually left and have been working with Labor Commissioner since 1989.

I know the law works, unfortunately the lobbyists have been able to keep it in check with limited funding and just not enforcing the law.

Joaquin Murguia, 6/27/04 (1)

RE: UNIONS

Cynthia,

I can't speak to what goes on in Puget Sound, but the workers in the local union were greatly dissatisfied with the results of the 4 month walkout.

There are always alternatives, no one solution is the end on and be all. It is a very narrow view of labor relations to think that all matters can be solved by simply brining a union in to the mix. There are many ways to organize people that don't necessarily involve a union. And limiting myself to just one approach short changes those who would seek my help.

Good to see your name again,

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/27/04 (2)

RE: An apology

LeRoy,

I apologize for going in a different direction than what the stated purpose is. I do, however, believe that all are interrelated as they all touch on the legacy that is the history of the UFW. Whether it be directly about the union, illegal immigration, religion or politics, the basis for my thinking begins with the questions I was taught to ask as a volunteer with the union.

Furthermore, all the areas mentioned have been affected by the UFW in one way or another. I will make a determined effort to remain on topic and limit myself to the experiences of 1967 through 1979.

I appreciate the efforts you are making with this project.

Joaquin

Doug Adair, 6/27/04

RE: ALRA, good or bad? . . .

In a message dated 6/26/04 . . . [Charlie Atilano] writes:

I know the law works, unfortunately the lobbyists have been able to keep it in check with limited funding and just not enforcing the law.

Charlie - Let's be honest, isn't that why the growers signed on to the law? The purpose of the law was not to bring justice to farm workers, but rather to channel our energy away from strikes and boycotts, and into the hearing rooms. The life and death decisions affecting the workers and our union would be made by well fed lawyers and hearing officers, in suits and ties, deliberating in air conditions rooms, totally removed from the suffering in the fields.

I think the growers were stunned when our team of young lawyers in jackets from Goodwill beat their pants off in the fall of 1975. They killed the law right quick. (Hey, Joaquin, when the law is inconvenient for those in power, their lawyers help them ignore it or kill it). And they only reinstated it under the pressure of Prop. 14. And as soon as that threat was over, they went back to their "natural friends" in the Democratic and Republican Parties, and began doing everything they could to emasculate it. Once they had a Republican governor, they were home free. We could still organize, but in some ways, it was harder, not easier...

I had a hearing with Tenneco West (and Cal Date) demanding a single unit for the election in the Coachella Valley. Eliseo knew we would win the citrus workers (labor contractor checks), hoped we could win in the grapes (Ten/West) and dreamed of getting the dates too (Cal Date) as part of one election. (yes, we won). Tenneco had a local lawyer, one from Bakersfield, and another from Houston, three \$1000 an hour lawyers, and they lost. Our (brilliant) legal team had trained me (and Nancy Jarvis) to go to the workers, find the irrigator who did from Cal Date who also did the field of grapes next door; the tractor driver who used his rig here and also there, the equipment "loaned" from one entity to another. All the city lawyers could do was argue that the different bookkeepers and different colored checks proved they were separate companies.

That proves the law "can work"? But how about the farm workers in Hemet or Yuba City that didn't have a union office anywhere near; the workers depending on a lawyer with 20 or 30 cases backlogged, the really brilliant union lawyer traveling 100 miles or so to an office to do a hearing, and finding his witnesses have gone back to Texas. In the reality of farm labor, the "playing field" was tremendous tilted in favor of the entity with the best lawyers on their side, not the entity with justice on its side.

Passing the law in 1975 seemed like our best, perhaps our only option. I used to know it front and back. And it has some good clauses. I think the workers can go on strike and stay on strike until the election is held and the grower recognized the union. But as long as the grower says publicly that he is willing to negotiate in good faith, I think the workers have to go back to work. Then he has years to undermine the majority, delay, finally call for a decert. And finally the wus Democrat governor gives us binding arbitration! for what, 6 months? and only for so many cases? The one thing Davis did for us in 6 years? (Oh, and seat belts on vans).

It was a roll of the dice, like the March to Sacramento, like the merger with the AFL-CIO, like the Fast, and linking the Union to the Catholic Church, and the Democratic Party, like the grape boycott.... all with good and bad results. The union leadership had to negotiate the best deal they could get, once we began playing with the big boys. And they did pretty well. And the ALRA was probably the best law farm workers had any where in the world -- but no surprise, when people with power feel threatened, the use their lawyers, the best money can buy, to tie it up in the courts...

Doug Adair, 1965-1989

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/27/04

RE: THE BOYCOTT & THE ALRA 1975

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

First, thanks to Doug Adair for correcting me about writing that the Catholic Church "officially endorsed" the boycott. Doug is correct, they did not endorse the boycott. Rather because of the effectiveness of the boycott, they appointed a national Bishops Committee to serve as mediators between the UFW and the growers. At the time we considered this a major victory and viewed it as a sign of their support and their willingness to use their leverage to bring about union recognition. This public announcement by the Catholic Bishops also served to provide institutional cover, and create more freedom for more progressive bishops, nuns and priests to take a more public role in the boycott.

Second, I follow up on Doug's comments regarding the passage of the ALRA in 1975. During this time I served as one of Governor Jerry Brown's assistants and worked closely with him to secure the passage of farmworker labor legislation. A great deal of my time was spent organizing delegations - church, community, labor, growers, etc. - to meet with Jerry in roundtable discussions and hash out (and build support) for farmworker legislation. In addition, I served as Jerry Brown's liaison and sounding board with Jerry Cohen (and his UFW legal staff) and the other players within the Brown Administration, viz., Rose Bird and her legal team proposing alternative legislation and then Assemblyman Howard Berman's involvement on behalf of supportive legislators. (Sometimes there were so many levels of intrigue at play that you needed a scorecard to keep track all the vying interests and their unspoken agendas.)

During this critical period, I attended perhaps as many as a dozen private meetings with the governor and the representatives of the growers. Some of these meetings were large round table give-and-take sessions in his conference room, some were very small meetings in the governor's private office and many others were speaker phone meetings with grower representatives calling from different parts of the United States. What struck me about each of these meetings was the influence of the BOYCOTT. The primary reason the growers wanted legislation was to undermine the power of the boycott. There was never any mention of farmworker strikes, marches, or picket lines; it was all about the boycott.

The grower representatives (mostly large management-side law firms and high powered lobbyists) knew that only Jerry Brown could convince Cesar to accept farmworker legislation. He would never accept it from them! And they knew that Jerry needed to push a law that was sympathetic to the rights of farmworkers to organize otherwise he would not be able to sell it to Cesar. (As I wrote in my essay, the ALRA was definitely a playing field tilted in favor of farmworkers and in fact did not even outlaw the boycott, but the growers figured that in time and with enough money, the mother's milk of politics, they could tilt this legislation and its enforcement back towards them - and they did!)

THE BOYCOTT. I do not mean to minimize the farmworker strikes, the marches, the huelga flags flying, the Fasts, etc. but if it were not for the boycott, there would have been no ALRA, I assure you. (YES, I appreciate the fact that without the strikes and marches, etc. there might not have been such an effective boycott.) And yet, I find it almost impossible to get the story of the boycott - and its significance to the cause of the farmworkers - adequately told through the process of the documentation project. I suppose this often happens in the writing of history - most of the pages are devoted to the flash and dash, to the human drama and to the high profile characters AND not to the seven-days-a-week humdrum, boring and hard work over a long period of time, by thousands of volunteers in supermarket parking lots and at produce terminals throughout the United States and Canada. Very difficult, perhaps impossible to tell that story, but in my view, it is the real story of the farmworkers movement.

I would appreciate your feedback.

Joaquin Murguia, 6/27/04 (3)

RE: The illegal issue

LeRoy,

I would be interested in reviewing this issue in the list serve. I recall seeing an email that discussed Cesar and Fred Ross working during the years with the CSO to remove illegals from the local ranches. The comment in the email was that workers were able to get jobs because the CSO had exposed the growers and state who were in collusion.

If I'm not mistaken, and after being 25 years passing I could be, I seem to recall Cesar making a trip during the mid 70's to Mexico for a visit with President Salinas regarding illegals and the Unions efforts.

What were the Union's policies toward illegals? What were Cesar's thoughts? How has the Union's view on the matter evolved through the years and what is the current position? What factors came into play that in formulating the Union's position?

Joaquin

Buck Coe, 6/27/04

RE: YOUR MODERATOR SPEAKING...

The question of the moderator about radio stations and the UFW in the 1980s brings vividly to mind one adventure I had while working for the NFWM in 1983 or 1984. A radio station was to be dedicated in the general area of Visalia and I was assigned the task of transporting Father Luis Oliveras of Our Lady Queen of Angels to the site for the dedication. I picked him up at 6:00 A. M. and delivered him in time and was present for the ceremony. He had been promised a plane

reservation back so that he could attend an event at his church at 3:00 P.M.; unfortunately no such reservation had been made. He was understandably distressed by that so I suggested instead of wasting time trying to make arrangements for a flight we get in my eight year old Toyota Corolla with 150,000 miles on it and do the best we could to get back to Los Angeles as quickly as possible. It was a wild ride. We broke all speed limits. Fortunately Father Luis slept the whole way, I am glad to say, and he was back for his meeting at 3:15 P.M.

This provides no information about radio stations and the UFW in the 80s, except that there was at least one and that it was dedicated or consecrated by Father Oliveras.

Buck Coe
NFWM 1982-1985

Rick Longinotti, 6//27/04

RE: undocumented

Joaquin,

You asked about NAFTA (and, I think, its influence on illegal immigration). In a Dollars and Sense article from Nov. 2003, Timothy Wise writes of the resistance to NAFTA among corn and grain farmers whose organization, ANEC includes "over 180,000 mostly small and medium scale landowners working 25 acres or less and selling the majority of their produce in local and regional markets". There is also strong resistance among the 30,000 producers of CEPCO, the Coffee Producers of Oaxaca.

The reason for this resistance is the free trade policy which allowed imports that, in the case of corn, reduced its price by 50%. Rather than support and stabilize the rural population of small farmers, the free trade policy of the last 20 years has reduced rural population. Urban jobs have not presented an attractive alternative. The real minimum wage has declined 23% since NAFTA was introduced. Poverty is up 80% since 1984.

You might look for Wise's book, *Confronting Globalization: Economic Integration and Popular Resistance in Mexico*.

Best,

Rick

Andy Imutan, 6/27/04

RE: THE BOYCOTT & THE ALRA 1975

Dear LeRoy,

I agree with you that the boycott was the most effective pressure used against the growers and without that I doubt if we could have won our strike.

Andy Imutan, 1965-1973 Delano, Coachella, Baltimore/ Washington, D.C., New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

Richard Ybarra, 6/27/04

RE: The illegal issue

I was present dozens if not hundreds of times when Cesar stated to any individual or audience, big or small..." If someone is breaking our strike I must be against them. Legal, illegal it does not matter. Some of you have no constituency, I do. Our members and strikers who are undocumented themselves are against strike breakers. If my own mother crossed our picket line to break our strike, I would be against her." Often times over the years Latino lefties and others, who did not like Cesar for whatever reasons, have repeated only parts of this quote.... the real and qualitative difference.... strikebreakers/scabs

In January 1982 in an all day personalized organizational management session with management guru and expert Peter Drucker two issues came up - organizational management and immigration. One of the exchanges was....

Cesar asking, "Peter, in management or organizational terms, do we have to admit that in a sense we are parasites, because we depend on the work of others?" Drucker answered, "Cesar, in most cases I would say yes. However, in yours I cannot." Over the next 25 to 40 years immigration will be a big issue in our country. You are and will continue to be the voice of those immigrants, legal and undocumented. (Some years later Drucker, an immigrant, resigned from a Governor Pete Wilson commission due to his harsh stands against Mexican immigrants)

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/27/04 (1)

RE: undocumented

Joaquin:

You're right that speaking up against the undocumented worker identifies one as not being farm worker friendly. I know, you could care less. That being said, I respect your right to your opinion. At least we know you're not a MugWump. It seems that a Mugwump sits on the fence, has his Mug facing one way and his Wump faces the other.

In some of the past postings, some of you have mentioned that Cesar himself, was often undecided between the members trying to form a union, and the - in those days - Los Mojados, keeping the wages down, and there were times when the members themselves called La Migra. Many of them did it, but their heart was not in it.

Personally, I view the farm worker as a person, with or without papers, if that person needs help, that person will receive my help, his residential status does not make him any less human. El hambre es canija, and this hunger drives people to take the risks you have mentioned.

Doug: Thank you for comparing me to your mom. I'm flattered, but on the other hand, I don't play Games. I'm dead serious.

hope lopez – 66-74

Hope Lopez Fierro, 6/27/04 (2)

RE: non related chismes

Mr. Moderator

thank you for getting us back on track – I think. I promise not to take anything out of context and get dramatic and "passionate" about it, unless it pertains to organizing, the boycott, the huelga, enforcement, marches, and trips to Sacramento. Oh yes, and yesterday's members and today's farm workers.

hope lopez – 66-74

Deborah Vollmer, 6/27/04

RE: The illegal issue

Joaquin Murguia wrote:

LeRoy, I would be interested in reviewing this issue in the list serve. I recall seeing an email that discussed Cesar and Fred Ross working during the years with the CSO to remove illegals from the local ranches.

Folks,

As I recall, there were definitely times when Cesar favored deporting undocumented workers who were breaking the strike. This was one of the major differences that Philip Vera Cruz had with Cesar. Philip's position was that even though this was a difficult thing to do, the appropriate

response to undocumented workers breaking the strike was to have UFW organizers go out and organize them!

Deborah

Deborah Vollmer

Legal Department, La Paz and Delano mostly, 1973-1976

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/27/04 (1)

RE: The illegal issue

"Conquering Goliath," Fred Ross' book, describes Cesar's organizing successes in the Oxnard, Ventura County area. I have a copy for your review and discussion. It describes in detail the dialogue between Fred and Cesar, and Cesar's conversations re: the Braceros with the locals. The thrust of the organizing effort sought to address what the growers maintained i.e. that no domestic farm workers (locals) would want to work a farm labor job, and that's why the Braceros were needed to continue. It was part of an effort to end the Bracero program and empower/ teach the locals to start thinking about organizing/ acting in concert.

Remember your Dad jumped his contract as a Bracero when he was in the Yuba City area in 1957, and worked illegally for some years until he was sponsored by the rice farmer in Firebaugh. There are the policy issues and always the personal experiences of individuals and groups of workers. Hank Anderson wrote his PhD thesis on the Braceros entitled "The Harvest of Loneliness". I think what drove the UFW's position was as Richard said the issue of strikebreakers. What drove the grower's position was the availability of cheap labor. They also viewed the Braceros as docile and easily controllable. Lots of statements in the early 60" from Farm Bureau representatives refer to this as a rationale for continuing.... Love ya Mom

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/27/04 (2)

RE: NFWG Health Group

[LeRoy Chatfield wrote:]

1. *Reasons for the closure of the health clinics. During my time with the UFW, there was never a time when we did not have a clinic in operation. Clinic services for farmworkers was one of Cesar's fondest hopes. After I left in 1973, clinics were open (and thriving?) in Delano, Salinas, Coachella and Calexico and elsewhere? Why were they closed a few years later? Too expensive? Underutilized? What?*

Thanks LeRoy for the refocus.

I hope others jump in on this one. I was the Director for a year (1975 I think). At the time the clinics were alive and well. If I get any of this wrong, please correct, but this is what my experience was. We did have clinics in the above areas. The farmworker clinic up in Tulare, while not officially part of the NFWHG was looked at as a resource for members having their health care needs met. The clinics functioned fairly independently when it came to the medical care. Also they were financially self-sustaining. I believe the service billing was done by each of the clinics and they relied on MediCal and the RFK Plan/ and other insurances to pay expenses/ rent, pharmacy items, medical equipment, upkeep and maintenance. . Each clinic did their own purchasing and was accountable to the Board to report on the internal operations of the local clinic.

As I recall personnel (what we would call human resources today) was managed from La Paz. Also the weekly budget information from the clinic would be pulled together for the board for review on a monthly basis. During my tenure, recruitment was a major focus. Applications would come into La Paz and I would field them with the various clinic directors. I recall doing checks with the California Medical Board on the professional applications. There was one Doc who we thought would be great, but a background check revealed he was being investigated for MediCal fraud in Arizona.

The task of timely payment from insurance billing was a concern. I recall talking with the clinic directors about this and making efforts to work with them in a public relations role. By far though, sifting through the volunteer applications and follow-up for recruitment and placement was a big part of my job. I mention in my essay, finding Sister Florence's application buried in the paperwork that I sorted through when I first started.

Her background in working with major hospitals in reorganizing their institutional structures and creating a new culture based on new technologies associated with computers and information processing struck me as the answer to getting a better handle on coordinating the Health Group as an entity, and the local clinics as providers. We had several conversations and even though it had been a year since she sent her application, she agreed to talk. We had several discussions over the next several months. I sent her information about the health group, the clinics etc. She was a tough negotiator even down to the curtains she wanted in her small house in Keene. Alas, the time came to run it by Cesar. When he reviewed her background, he explained that he would consider what I had in mind, but also noted she could possibly be helpful in other areas, and indeed she was. They talked and her responsibility focused on implementing what had been talked about in the areas of managing the various entities of the movement and implementing an information system based on the need to make sound managerial decisions.

Back to the Health Group. I would really hope some of the staff would join in this discussion. I have more thoughts on the changing environment in terms of MediCal reimbursements, but there was a lot of stuff going on. Jessica Govea replaced me after a year. Que viva Las Clinicas. Kathy Murguia 1965-1983

Elaine Elinson, 6/27/04

RE: Undocumented workers and UFW music

I think I first learned about who really owned the land we were living and working on in Califas from Augie Lira's song "Qui hubo, raza!" (That may not be the real title of the song, but it's the opening line.) And my memory is not too great, but a few other lines go something like this: "En mil ochocientos cuarenta y ocho, pos, fue firmado el gran tratado de Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Prometiendo tierra y libertad. Tierra y terreno, pa' gente indigena! Pos, hombre, te digo, que mentirosos, cuando firmaron el tratado, los americanos!"

That song was a great teacher. I looked up the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and learned what I never learned in public high school in Chicago or New Jersey. And ever since then it has always amazed me that our newspapers, our Governors and the general public can refer to gente indigena as "illegals," and everyone just accepts that as a given truth. Que mentirosos. Even in the pitched battle against Prop. 187, the argument that "the land was theirs before they were the land's" was always pushed to the background. Okay, I can understand that from trying to win a statewide initiative campaign, and needing to hone the public message for the widest possible electoral support -- but among the ranks of the UFW? And other progressive unions?

No human being is illegal. Time to revive the song!

Elaine (European boycott England, Sweden, Ireland, Delano 1968-69; 1974-76)

Joaquin Murguia, 6/27/04 (4)

RE: undocumented

Hope,

I honestly don't see how speaking out against illegal immigration identifies someone as not being farm worker friendly. Would you have me believe from that statement that all farm workers are illegals? My own experiences tell me that isn't so.

And if I could care less, why has so much of my life been devoted to farm workers, not just in the context of the union, but also in the context of assisting the employees of the agricultural company where I worked?

No, Hope, I am not a MugWump, nor am I lemming that will follow the crowd. It is important to analyze a situation, gather the best information available, and develop an informed opinion. In doing so, one does not always come to the popular or politically correct opinion.

Yes farm workers are people. The trouble is, some have broken the law and others haven't. Why should someone who has chosen to break the law benefit at the expense of those who chose to follow the law. And if the law is not to your liking, then go change the law rather than criticize those who respect the law.

I know there are times where civil disobedience is required. I have participated in this form of action often. However, I don't think entering a country illegally falls under that arena. If I'm wrong, present me with a reasonable argument on which I can form a new opinion or at least modify an existing one rather than casting me aside with an " I know you couldn't care less."

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/27/04 (5)

RE: The illegal issue

Mom,

Dad's history is very present in my mind and perhaps one of the reasons I feel strongly on this issue. When I read about people dying in the desert, people dying in the back of trucks or being shot and killed along the border, I have to ask myself, where should I stand on this issue.

To date I haven't found an answer that fits every instance. I know the laws need to be changed and perhaps amnesty is a solution, but at the same time, I wouldn't say that encouraging illegal immigration is the best answer either.

Yes, I understand the need to seek a better living, that is why Dad came here. I also know that Mexico, where an even larger part of my family remains, is enduring ongoing labor shortages, primarily because of urbanization.

I find it difficult to reconcile the two. I have my cousin Maria de Jesus, who went through the entire process to obtain an employment authorization to work in the states. It wasn't the most expedient way for her, but it ensured her that she wouldn't be crossing a desert in the middle of the night or being hauled like cattle in the back of a truck by a coyote.

I know that I may not always voice the popular or politically correct view point, but I am always open to argument, debate and if necessary, a new opinion.

Love you,

Joaquin

Theresa and Blase Bonpane, 6/27/04

RE: The illegal issue

hello kathy and joaquin, your dialogue is so meaningful to me, first of all because it so reminds me of ways my son and I talk over things – it was very moving to me. secondly, the topic itself is one that I have gone over many many times in my life as my friends work on the water project in Arizona, and blase and I support the project. I have been reading many of the e-mails and have barely responded since most of them are for the times after blase and I worked for ufw, and we did a lot of our work in the san fernando valley after we left la paz, but it's good to see familiar names... theresa and blase bonpane.

Alfredo Santos, 6/27/04

RE: Watsonville Field Office and the Boycott

Alfredo Santos c/s
Watsonville Field Office
1974-76

In response to your request for more data, insight or feed back on the UFW boycotts, I can only contribute the following:

1970-1972

From 1970 to 1972, I was living in Stockton, California, going to the community college and volunteering with the UFW. Andy Imutan and then Pete Velasco were the individuals in charge of the Stockton Field Office at different times. I recall, that many occasions we, most MECHA students, would go over the UFW field office and get boycott signs to carry in front of the Safeway store on Charter Way. Like others, we held up the signs and passed out leaflets. (I realize that in a sense this is just a small tidbit in the history of the farmworkers movement but in Stockton there were people actively participating.)

I also remember in 1971, that there was a huge rally at the Civic Center in downtown Stockton. (This was the building across from city hall and the public library.) Inside the place was packed and it was loud. This was the first time I ever saw Cesar Chavez in person. I was surprised by how short he was but like many of the people in the auditorium, I was excited to be there. The Chicano Movement was in full swing in Stockton at the time and I would say that the United Farm Workers enjoyed a lot of support there. Richard Lopez, a popular community activist was big time supporter of Cesar and union and of course Dolores Huerta was from Stockton. Like a lot of folks at the time, I did not develop a great appreciation for Dolores or her contributions at the time. Mostly because we knew very little about her. In retrospect, a lot of the attention was on Cesar. As I recall, I don't think I even knew that Dolores was from Stockton. Later I would learn from an uncle who still lives in Stockton, that he knew Dolores and her family from back in the 1950s. (They are about the same age now)

It was during this time period that I also began working with a local community based newspaper called La Voz de La Raza. One of the editors of the paper, a priest named Father Killeen was a very big supporter of the union and in fact would join the students at the Safeway Stores for picket line duty. He also made it a point to include plenty of farm worker news in each issue of the newspaper.

1972 - 1974

In 1972, I moved to Berkeley to go to school. There was a student farm worker support committee on campus and we regularly spent Saturday mornings in front of Safeway Stores doing picket line duty. I also recall there was a boycott house in Oakland. I don't remember where, I only went there a couple of times. I believe someone by the name of Bill _____ was in charge.

In 1973, the farm worker support committee at UC Berkeley helped to organize a big rally. We invited Pete Velasco to come from Stockton to be one of the guest speakers. If I am not mistaken, the rally was at the Greek Theater. I know that some how we bought these 12 foot in diameter balloons and filled them with helium. We attached Boycott Lettuce banners and had them a hundred feet in the air. It was a very successful rally.

1974- 1976

I had joined the union full time in 1974 as a labor organizer in Watsonville. In September we were running the apple strikes. Our biggest target was the William Buak Apple Company. Roberto Garcia and the staff from Salinas came over to help launch it. In October the strike ended but people in Watsonville were excited about all the activity that was going on. We asked Robert for permission to begin local boycott activity in Watsonville and he said yes. The Watsonville Organizing Committee (about 12 members) decided to take on the Gallo boycott as opposed to the lettuce boycott. (I'll have to recall later exactly why. I saved all my notes from that time period). The committee went out and counted every store in Watsonville and every store that carried Gallo wine. We prioritized the list as to which stores we felt were the most vulnerable. Our thinking at the time, was that since we had received so much publicity during the apple strikes, that we need to keep it up by targeting stores that would be the most likely to take the wine off the shelves. We felt at the time that publicizing those stores that had removed the Gallo wine would be morale boosters in Watsonville.

Initially we convinced 10 or 12 stores to go along with us. A couple of those stores only agreed to cover up the Gallo wine with butcher paper and said that if a customer wanted to reach in and buy the wine they could. We decided to go along with this "compromise." But the other stores in Watsonville (maybe 30 or 35), we decided to go a head and spend the winter months picketing. We chose to or three stores at a time and rotated our picket lines. Most of this activity was late afternoon work (3PM to 9PM) I believe that over time, we were able to get another dozen or so stores to remove the Gallo wine after they saw the pickett lines were driving away their customers. To make the evening picket lines more interesting one several ocassions we would drive over to San Jose and check out some of the old UFW movies from the public library. (Decision at Delano, Huelga and another I can't remember right now) One of the local community social service agencies that was friendly to the union would let us borrow a movie projector and we show the movies on the walls of buildings next to where we were picketting. (We had a power inverter that allowed us to run the projector off a car battery) As a size of the crowd grew to watch the "outdoor movie," it created a mass that probably intimidated regular shoppers from coming into the parking lot and thus we were able to cause creative headaches for the store managers.

I want to share with the group a "confession of sorts" about an incident that took place during the boycott in Watsonville. The Watsonville Field Office was actually located in Pajaro, California. Pajaro is right next to the actual city limit signs of Watsonville. Next to the office, across the street was the Catholice Church. One day a wino, his name was Joe, staggered into the office. He was incoherent and without a doubt, andaba bien pedo. He said he was looking for somebody. After a minute or so, I decided that who ever he was looking for was not to be found in this office I got him to leave by pointing to the door through which he came in.

Several days later Joe comes through the front door again. He is intoxicated and smells bad. Again, in slurred speech, slightly off balance and reeking of wine, he informs me thta he looking for someone. ¿A quien andas buscando? I asked him. He looked at me cross eyes and smiled one of those dumb smiles a drunk will flash you every now and then. He says he is looking for and then he stops. He looks down at the floor and then admits that he forgot the name of the person he was looking for. I am embarrassed because there are other people in the office that we are working with. (In the Watsonville Field Office we also ran the service center) Again, I show Joe the door only this time with a little more force. I apologize to the people in the office and go back to helping with the forms they had brought in.

The third time this guy Joe shows his face at the office it is before noon and he his drunk. This time there is no one else in the office besides us. I was mad and proceed to cuss this guy and shove him out the front door. Salte de aqui hijo de su ching . . . madre. (You know the words.) Well, as I am cussing this guy out and pushing him out the front door it suddenly occurs to me to stop. I don't know what hit me but I got a flash that if this guy Joe was indeed a wino, then he must be drinking wine! I stopped myself and calmed down, took a deep breath and looked this guy in the eye for a moment. His eyes were glazed over so I really don't know if he could see me, but instead of pushing him out the front door, I decided that maybe Joe was an asset.

I brought him back to a chair and decided to talk to him, find out he was and where he lived. We didn't very far because he was drunk but I did make sure that he was welcome to come back when he wasn't drinking. About two days later he showed up and he wasn't drunk. There were some tacos in the office and I offered him one. We talked and I learned that he lived in the back of someones house, he worked once in a while and that yes he like to drink wine. I also learned from him that he knew all the other winos in town. When I asked him what kind of why he drank he stared naming all the Gallo brands. So it ocured to me that what if Joe could be convinced not to buy Gallo wines? Buy the other brands (Almaden, etc.) What if Joe could convince his wino friends to not buy the Gallo brands? That would certainly be a contribution toward helping the boycott.

So several members of the Watsonville Organizing Committee, (Pedro Gonzales, Elias Fernandez and others) went with Joe to visit his buddies and explain to them what the UFW was doing with the Gallo wine company. They also explained that why it was important. Pedro told me later that he had asked Joe and his friends where they threw their empty wine bottles. They showed him a

spot and it full of the Gallo brands. I don't recall all of the details of what the committee told Joe and his buddies, but I do know that Joe would still show up from time to time drunk as hell and I would "politely" let him sit and rest a while. The reason I stopped cussing at him and chasing him out of the office is because Pedro was reporting back that his periodical checks of the spots where the winos threw their bottles now contained piles of the other brands. And our checks of the stores that continued to sell wine, revealed that the Gallo brand wasn't moving as fast as it used to.

Again, I don't know what Pedro and the others told Joe and his friends, but I do know that the winos in Watsonville played a role in the United Farm Workers Union of America boycott against Gallo.

Muchas gracias,

Alfredo Santos c/s
Watsonville Field Office 74-76
now living in Uvalde, Texas

P.S. Mr. Chatfield, I still have photos from this time period of our activities in Watsonville if you should need them for this documentation project.

Mary Mecartney, 6/27/04

RE: Radio Campesina

Submitted by Mary Mecartney 1975-"1993"

A partial response to LeRoy's questions

4. *When did the UFW acquire radio stations? And for what purpose? Who was in charge of this program? Who raised the money for the acquisition? Were they financially self-supporting? Were they helpful to the UFW? How so?*

1. The predecessor to Radio Campesina was the radio station in La Paz, produced by Vicky Lopez.
2. Around 10am Wednesday, June 23, 2004, UFW Field Office staff began organizing a Salinas Valley Peregrination that starts at 8:00am on Tuesday, June 29, 2004 in King City. For up-to-date details, tune into the Salinas Radio Campesina station 107.9 FM.
3. KUFW went on the air in the spring of 1983. My husband, Marshall Fernandez, was working with the NFWSC La Paz crew finishing the radio station building in Woodlake when I went into labor several days sooner than expected. He arrived at the hospital in Lancaster ten minutes after Maria Elizabeth came into this world. (My husband did get to use the childbirth preparation classes helping with the birth of our second daughter, Erica.) I had agreed that Marshall should go back to Woodlake that week because though I knew my time was getting close, I was sure the baby would arrive late and I wanted his work at the station to be finished before the baby came.
4. April 22, 1993. Yuma, Arizona. Mid afternoon, we're standing the sidewalk in the middle of the block, Cesar comes back after talking with Birdie on a payphone. He tells us it's the tenth anniversary of KUFW, and the news of progress on more radio stations. (by that time in 1993 the Radio Campesina station in Phoenix had already been on the air for several years.) I don't remember all the details, just that it was very good news and Cesar was very pleased and excited-- that the dream of the farm worker radio stations was well on its way to reality. (I mentioned to Cesar that the radio was personally special to me because of Maria Elizabeth's contribution of having her father work on the radio station instead of being present at her birth.)
5. Here's what is posted on the NFWSC home webpage about the radio stations (www.nfwsc.org): NFWSC also builds community through the airwaves by operating the very popular Radio Campesina Network. It brings news and educational programming on a wide variety of topical issues critical to the day-to-day lives of its Spanish-speaking, mostly immigrant listeners. Through nine Spanish-language stations with a strong presence in markets totaling about 2 million Latino listeners in Arizona, California and Washington state, Radio Campesina extends the promise and mission of public radio to an underserved largely immigrant population. Its satellite

programming, state-of-the-art digital technology and centralized network operations boost the popularity of Radio Campesina's cultural service, which plays authentic regional music close to the hearts of its immigrant listeners. That, in turn, helps deliver a wide audience to its lively and engaging news and educational programs, giving voice to the disadvantaged.

6. Here's a recent feature article from the Arizona Republic about the Arizona station: [Reprint of article, "Activist Radio: Cesar Chavez's Sons Get His Message Out on the Airwaves," by Angela Cara Pancrazio, *Arizona Republic*, p. 1B, April 4, 2004].

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/27/04 (3)

LeRoy is interested in what happened to the NFWHG in the late 70's. I hope others can give input into this discussion. I'm speaking only for myself. I felt a certain level of tension between the board members and some members of the professional medical staff. Like most movement services including those delivered by the Health Group, health services were viewed as an adjunct to the organizing effort and the goal of building a strong Union. Some medical staff looked at this differently. Those who showed up sick deserved to be treated whether they were a scab or not, union member or not. I was a buffer in this along with the clinic administrators. This was also a time when we were being flooded with new members under the contracts many of whom had been scabs. Also the information coordination was less than perfect regarding union status. There was no easy answer to this one, but over time a negative attitude toward the medical staff who weren't directable in this area emerged. Then the whole question of holistic healing raised the efficacy of traditional medicine. These were undercurrent while I was around.

I have no idea what happened later. Having worked for the Tehachapi Hospital, I witnessed a funding crisis when there was a federal shift under Reagan in MediCal and Medicare policy. Instead of reimbursements for care delivered, caps were placed on what the feds would pay for care and it was based on diagnostic related groups(DRG's), This could have impacted the financial viability in delivering care to areas where we had lost contracts and therefore weren't getting RFF insurance payments for care provided, and relying on MediCal/ Medicare. Steve Schilling at the Sierra Vista Clinic in Lamont weathered this crisis by writing and being awarded grant moneys. Federal grants come with all kinds restrictions, and the idea of the clinics being an organizing tool would not have gone over well in the mid 80's. Health care to the poor was under assault during the Reagan years. Anyone else have any ideas?

Kathy Murguia 1965-1983

Kathy Olguin Smoot, 6/27/04

RE: Songs...Poems...Pictures

Kathy Olguin Smoot, EBay Boycott '69-'70; Salinas '70; La Paz '70-'74 (late May)

Hello Everyone,

I, too, have really enjoyed hearing about the times before and after I was with the Union. Thank you for the excellent tributes on Memorial Day, the comments upon Rayguns death (feel free to send more of those, but just to me personally, it's my private war), and sharing poetry, and reminding me of all the songs that were deep in my memory bank.

The one song that I hold dearest is Las Mananitas, as it was sung by the La Paz community in early November, 71, to welcome the newest member, Javier Ivan Olguin. I, being culturally deprived, did not expect it, nor did I know that we should have been prepared to offer refreshments, but I loved it nonetheless. I know mis suegros were blown away by it all.

Alas, I have no poetry to share, but someone, I'm sorry, I forget who, gave me an idea for a "sub-site," it should be called something like "Movement Raggamuffins." My daughter, Lucha Olguin, will be joining me in this "project" as we scan several boxes of pictures, negatives/ transparencies, and slides that I have stored. Some of you may have already started on this and ideas would be appreciated.

I checked in with Anne Rosenzweig re the reunion and hope to see many of you there. The discussion is great, even the digressions, and hey, Joaquin, YOU rock!

Susan, I don't think I have a single button, bumper sticker, poster or El Malcriado, sad but true. It would be a real treat to see everyone's collections. I do have an autographed copy of Sam Kushner's Road to Delano, that I treasure, and lots and lots of pictures. Peace, Kat

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/27/04

RE: Naming UFWA

Regarding the Radio Station:

Maybe some of you remember the time (1977?, 1978?) when Cesar asked us at a meeting in the Conference Room at La Paz to submit suggestions for the call letters for the radio station. We all wrote our them on slips of paper and one by one Cesar read them aloud. I suggested KAUS (for Cause) and Cesar pronounced it in Spanish. The pronunciation came out like the word "Chaos" translated into Spanish. Hadn't thought about how poorly it would sound in Spanish. Boo! Everybody hated it and me, too! There were good ideas submitted but when KUFW came up, everybody including Cesar loved it. We voted unanimously for KUFW. By the way, more than one person came up with KUFW. sin mas abby/ r/d/lp

Charlie Atilano, 6/28/04 (1)

RE: ALRA, good or bad?...

[Doug Adair] wrote:

Dear Charlie,

Let's be honest, isn't that why the growers signed on to the law? The purpose of the law was not to bring justice to farm workers, but rather to channel our energy away from strikes and boycotts, and into the hearing rooms.

Doug, sure what you say is true and spoken like an attorney (too many words, just kidding!). The fact of the matter is the law did work, and when the field investigators completed a case through compliance the end results were quite rewarding. I remember many a late night meeting with the workers to get statements, holding house meetings so that we could prosecute the cases. It was just like working for the UFW! (but we got paid a whole lot more!) Our hard work culminated in the distribution of wages earned by the farmworker. Or make whole from bad faith bargaining. Literally millions of dollars were paid to workers during the time myself and other dedicated individuals worked for the ALRB. But, when Dukemajian ala Dave Stirling came into power, this all changed. The law is still on the books, but I suspect the activity is no where near what it was in the 70's and 80's.

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/28/04

RE: YOUR MODERATOR SPEAKING...

Hi LeRoy:

I'm a little late on this thread because I've been out of town, but... the microwave system was successfully built. The main people involved were Ken & Gloria Doyle, and Anthony (Birdie) Chavez and Emilio Huerta, who were both being trained by Ken as communications technicians. I believe that Birdie is still involved in Radio Campesina and Emilio provides legal support as an attorney, and I'm sure they could give a much more detailed record of the development of the project. Ken did all the engineering and there were several relay stations set up on various mountain tops throughout California. The very first one was on Breckenridge Mountain, just north of La Paz. The initial goal was to have the system serve for phone connections between the field offices and La Paz, and within La Paz itself. (This was set up so that every phone had 3 digit number and calls could be made from one person to another by simply dialing this internal 3-digit number. The system went on line in 1977, and eventually stretched from Calexico up to Salinas.)

The radio station system was implemented a bit later-- in the early 80's. Ken and Birdie also hooked up a satellite connection for cable TV within La Paz.

I heard that Ken passed away several years ago-- I believe there was a boating accident where he was lost at sea and his body was never found. Maybe someone else recalls this more clearly than me? Anybody?

Terry (Vasquez) Scott
1973-1988

Doug Adair, 6/28/04

RE: winos en la lucha

Dear Alfredo,

I loved your story on the winos. The list serve is heavily oriented towards people who came out of the churches, the Chavistas as Christian warriors. The real world and no less the farm worker community is mostly sinners. Cesar and Gilbert did a lot of their best organizing, not in the Church, but in People's Bar and the cantinas of the barrios. Cesar could take on the wildest looking vato loco in the place, all covered with tatoos and scars and track marks, and beat him in pool (as often as not, and always give him a good game), and then sit down with him, as a brother, and organize him, maybe not to walk the picket line, but organize his mind, his heart. Hard to get some of them walking in a straight line, hard to get them to participate, but no less ready to give their lives for Cesar or Dolores. "Rafis", a dear friend of Dolores and Lori and mine (and who supplied the smokers in Delano with home grown) was one. There were thousands of such people who were "on our side", without reservation, brothers in a way no archbishop or cardinal ever was...

Viva la Causa,

Doug Adair, 1965-1989

Tina Solinas (Mondragon), 6/28/04

RE: Mexicali Clinic

We also had a clinic in Mexicali in '73. Manuel Chavez helped set it up. Very busy, good Doc. I think there were others (Tijauana? San Luis Rio Colorado, Mexico?, never visited those.)

Tina Solinas '72-'89

Theresa Bonpane, 6/28/04

RE: Songs...Poems...Pictures

hi kathy, we too were privileged to have cesar and our friends at la paz come to our trailer to sing las mananitas when our son, blase martin was born on june 26, 1972; he still proudly tells people ab out this wonderful start to his life. he is a person very committed to the farm workers and to all of our other causes. we also have pictures of him helping us to sort out our monthly maililngs of el malcriado each month when he w as 9 months old. and a picture of our daughter , colleen, holding a bumper sticker saying "no on 22" while at a rally at cal state northridge. we have lots of memories and family pictures of that time. best to all, theresa bonpane

Alfredo Santos, 6/28/04

RE: Stockton, California and the Texas Connection

Message sent to Doug Adair. It is about Stockton, California so I thought I would share with everyone.

Alfredo Santos c/s

Mi Estimado Doug,

Regarding La Raza Unida, I was living in Uvalde, Texas from 1965 to 1970. The Chicano Movement hit town in 1967 and like I said earlier, we went from our little gangs to one big gang. Prior to moving to Uvalde in 1965, I had been living in Stockton. When I left in 1965, I was only 13 years old. I did not hear anything about the farm workers movement back then. What I do know is that I would go with my grandparents to pick cherries. My grandfather would also get little jobs shaking walnut trees and I would gather them up in burlap sacks. I think we got a dollar a bag. There was a Catholic Church in downtown Stockton called St. Marys. (I believe that is correct) I remember my grandparents would sometimes take me to church there. Most of the time we went to a church called St. Lukes over by Oak Park (where the baseball stadium was on West Lane)

My grand parents seemed to know a lot of people at St. Marys. Later I learned it may have been because the use to live on San Joaquin Street. Before settling in Stockton in 1948, my grand father was a capitan in the sheep shearing business. He lived in Uvalde and starting in the 1920s, started taking hundreds of people up to Wyoming, Utah and Colorado to shear sheep. In those times Uvalde was one of the centers of the sheep shearing industry. One day I was playing in the garage and I found an old bag tied with a leather strap. I opened up and found what I thought was gold coins. Upon closer inspection I saw that they were tokens. They were engraved and said "Good for One Sheep." Juan V. Santos. I took the bag inside to ask my grandfather what the tokens were for and he began to tell me the story of his past and how people survived back in the 1920s and 30s. (My grand father was born in 1886) He told me that when a man finished shearing a sheep he was given a token (ficha) and at the end of the day they would settle up with the guy who was doing the booking (accounting). He ran sheep shearing crews until the 1950s according to my uncle who still lives in Stockton. My grandfather passed away in 1969. (He was a great fan of Reies Lopez Tijerina from New Mexico.)

I asked my grandmother many years later how we got to Stockton from Uvalde, Texas. She said that during World War II, a lot of people in the San Joaquin Valley took off to go work in the ship yards in the bay area for war effort. The canneries, Libbys, Del Monte, etc., needed workers and made contact with my grandfather in Uvalde. They asked him if he could bring workers to Stockton. He said yes and they asked him to bring 75 men and 25 women. There was not much going on in Uvalde during the war, so it was not difficult to round up a hundred people. He took them in trucks to Stockton and when they arrived they lived in tent cities that had been set up.

The companies then asked him to go back and bring another 100 people. I think he did this 3 or four times. My grandparents began to like Stockton and bought a house on San Joaquin Street. One of the sons, my uncle wanted to graduate from Uvalde High School, so he convinced them to come back to Texas for a year so he could graduate. He did so in 1947. After the graduation party they came back to Stockton and only came to visit to visit. This is the uncle who still lives in Stockton. In fact, this uncle never came back to Uvalde until 1997 when his high school class had its 50th year anniversary. He was gone for 50 years.

Before I went back to Stockton in 1970, our Mexican American Youth Organization Chapter in Uvalde would often go to Crystal City to help them with picket lines especially during their school walkout. When we had our school walkout in Uvalde in 1970, the students in Crystal City returned the favor and came to help us. Although we did not "win" like they did, we appreciated very much all their help and support.

Regarding Jose Angel Gutierrez, I was seven years younger than him so I really didn't hang out with him very much. Later in life we became friends and I am proud to report that he is alive and as active as ever. He received his Ph.D from UT Austin and then went on to earn his law degree after much struggle and sacrifice in 1988. He now practices law in Dallas and is an Associate Professor at the University of Texas at Arlington. Last year we began meeting state wide to reignite La Raza Unida. Not so much as a political party but as an aggressive state wide organization.

Regarding Tony Orendian, he is still remembered here in Texas. I knew his son in the early 1980s when he was going to law school in Houston.

In one sense I was fortunate in that I got to see and participate in the Chicano Movement in both California and Texas. It seemed to me that in Texas the movement was more political than in California. In California, the CM seemed to be more cultural with people wanting to learn how to speak Spanish, participate in Ballet Folkloricos, etc.

I would be interesting in hearing other people view comparing the CM in Texas and California.

Hablamos mas

Alfredo Santos c/s
Watsonville 74-76
Now in Uvalde hasta el fin

P.S. I was going to tell you that several years ago, one of our elected officials here in Uvalde got a street named after Cesar. I know it is a small gesture on our part, but people should know that even in a little town like ours in Texas, the memory and story of Cesar Chavez will never die. Many of the community activists here in Uvalde both those who were able to meet him, march with him or work for him and the union are very proud of his contribution. I think that more than anything, he really did teach us how not to be afraid.

Patty Teufel, 6/28/04

RE: Please unsubscribe till further notice!!!

Hi LeRoy,

* * * *

I would like to add, however, that in Ohio here, FLOC has been active and making progress with Olive and Pickle Growers. Many teenagers are getting involved with the help and encouragement of the Flock staff here. There is still good, effective work going on for the Migrant Farm Workers working in Ohio fields. All is not lost, nor have many socially conscious folks lost Hope in helping the farm workers.

If I could, I would join that reunion being planned – but it's a bit too far away for us – here in Perrysburg, Ohio!! Maybe on 4th of July, we could all raise our glasses and offer a heartfelt toast to all of us – who had the awareness and enlightenment to care about something outside our own personal lives!! Viva La Causa!!! Long live loving and courageous people like ourselves who know when to bare their teeth to protect what we love and care about!!!

Hope to join in later on – Please keep me informed of anything I ought to be aware of!!! Thanks, LeRoy, for your enduring efforts!!!

Peace!

Patty Teufel Ohio Boycotts, 1974-76

Susan Drake, 6/28/04 (1)

RE: Please unsubscribe till further notice!!!

In addition to FLOC, Farm Labor Organizing Committee, there's PCUN in Oregon (Pineros something-something) which Nat'l Farm Worker Ministry also is engaged with. PCUN, with what I knew at least a few years ago about them, took the best of UFW ideas and made 'em work. Site: pcun.org. Verne & Rosie Cooperrider, long-time farm worker movement supporters and worked at La Paz a year or so, support PCUN strongly. (Verne passed last year).

Susan Drake (1962-1973)

Gary Brown, 6/28/04 (1)

RE: THE BOYCOTT

Yes Leroy THE BOYCOTT. not just the refusal to buy a certain product or enter a certain store but that unbelievable coordinated machine that could send hundreds of people to stand in front of

stores and talk about farmworker issues and get people not to shop. Or register voters and get turnouts for elections or dramatically provide a vehicle for information to the general public.

The Unions story about organizing farmworkers, strikes, marches, fields, and union operations are significant but The Boycott is a subject altogether. In one of my first contributions I wondered out loud how the Union could watch as this apparatus came undone. Today, in a sort of mini-reunion I discussed your talk that you gave in LA just before we launched the Safeway boycott. It was well remembered. You told us to take time for ourselves a few days. Visit our families. I said you told us to go tell our mothers we loved them and give our fathers a kiss goodbye. While those were not your actual words the meaning of your words were not much different. You were about to send an army out to do battle with Safeway and you wanted a total commitment from all of the volunteers. You got that. I am not sure in the 1970's there was another movement or organization that had that capability, that kind of organization, and I am including the peace movement. It is no wonder the growers were afraid of the THE BOYCOTT. I sometimes feel that the relationship of this political/ militant wing of the Farmworkers union to the success of the Union was not as appreciated as it should have been.

GARY BROWN 69-74 LA PAZ< SAN DIEGO< LA< NAPA

Charlie Atilano, 6/28/04 (2)

RE: Stockton, California and the Texas Connection

Alfredo, in your comments you mentioned the Chicano movement. First off all let me set the record straight. California, is the capitol of Atzlan, it's really where the movimiento started.

You wrote: *It seemed to me that in Texas the movement was more political than in California. In California, the CM seemed to be more cultural with people wanting to learn how to speak Spanish, participate in Ballet Folkloricos, etc.*

I recall working with the Royal Chicano Airforce (RCAF), which were a group of artist, which organized and painted the murals under the bridge in San Diego by Chicano park. I guess this is the cultura you're talking about... (71-72)

We weren't trying to learn Spanish, ya pudiamos hablarlo. Nor learning ballet folkloricos...hell, hay nomas echavamos el sapato when the guitaras were brought out. No, ese, we were picketing the local Safeway, and organizing a group of loco Chicanos to go build a green house and garden for Cesar.

Tambien in 68 when I was in Vietnam, myself and a bunch of other Chicano's from Califas, organized a grape boycott in Danang, and caught holy hell from the commanding officer because we wouldn't eat the grapes. When we told him there was blood on them grapes because of the suffering farmworkers. We ended up giving boxes and boxes of Nixon bailout grapes to the mamasons, and papasons Vietnamese, they were much appreciative. So, you see we California Chicanos took the boycott internationally.

llevalo suave carnal.

c/s

Gary Brown, 6/28/04 (2)

Dear All,

During Jerry Browns administration he had a department in the state that actively sought out to enforce labor laws, especially where many of the workers were undocumented. It was not their job to enforce the immigration laws only the labor laws. This group enforced the law, fined the employers and provided restitution to the harmed workers. The undocumented worker is not just paid low wages they are paid illegal wages. They work not just in bad working conditions they work in illegal working conditions. Enforcing the present labor laws and ensuring that labor laws are current and meaningful has always been the proper response to the undocumented problem. The fact that the labor laws are not vigorously enforced in certain industries is due to a lack of

will. Take the economic incentive away from the employer to hire the undocumented worker and such hiring will diminish and at the same time make the job more attractive to the legal worker.

As for the Unions response to the undocumented I remember it as mixed. I can recall Cesar stating that the undocumented were taken advantage of and were used to break the strikes and other times I remember a more sympathetic approach. Nevertheless, if Cesar had said organize them on the bus back to wherever, I would have understood. They were a weapon used against the Union and that could not have been tolerated.

Gary Brown

Roberto Bustos, 6/28/04 (2)

RE: THE BOYCOTT

I remember the Boycott very well, months before we left to our assigned cities ie: Kansas City, Kansas. I overheard a funny conversation from a group of farmworkers outside the Filipino hall after Cesar explain to the membership at our general meeting about the new weapon the Union was going to implement. they were saying how is it possible to bring in the Boy Scouts, to join the union and send them all over the world, to fight the growers? I started laughing out loud, and afterwards had to tell what Cesar, really meant! "I thought that was funny" Roberto Bustos (el capitan) 1965-1972.

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/28/04 (1)

RE: THE BOYCOTT

Roberto: I remember thinking, that I didn't know what we were going to *Boycott* but whatever it was it was going to be *GREAT*. (I was thinking in terms of the "Great Depression".) It wasn't until I saw a handwritten sign on the righthandside wall up on the platform in the Filipino Hall listing the boycott cities where people were going, that I realized we were going to boycott *GRAPES*. (It read: Grape Boycott Cities). Therefore, I cannot laugh at people that thought it was the *Boy Scouts*. :) sin mas, /abby/ r/d/lp

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/28/04 (2)

RE: Stockton, California and the Texas Connection

I wrote to Alfredo off-line, in which I mentioned to him the different levels of need, expression, involvement in the Chicano Movement. My great concern was education and bringing our men home from Viet Nam and stopping others from going in other words. ending the war. My brother went to Viet Nam and he told me when he was there in 1966; "Abby, it would be as though we marched into Richgrove and started shooting farm workers. We have no business here." Well, that got me going against the war; that plus the fact that Blacks and Chicanos were the highest numbers being drafted; Chicanos the highest number being killed. Why? We weren't able to afford to go to college. No deferments for us. Anyway, we know the whole tortilla. I think, perhaps what Alfredo witnessed may have been perhaps what he observed where he was living. I can't say. Alii can truly say, is that we were all in the same boat no matter what part of the country we came from or lived. What happened to one of us, happened to all. sin mas/ abby p.s. By the way, I got to go quite often to Chicano Park to enjoy the murals when it was still a work in progress and got to enjoy some of Allurista while I was at it. Viva La Raza

Joaquin Murguia, 6/28/04 (1)

RE: THE BOYCOTT & THE ALRA 1975

I agree the boycott was an amazingly effective tool. It's biggest contribution was the education that it provided to those who would have little or no knowledge of what takes place in the various corners of CA. I recall during the summer of 1975 I was working in San Francisco and we had a showing of "Fighting For Our Lives." Even at this time, there were people present that were shocked by what they saw. I remember one woman commenting, "How did you get the police to

cooperate in filming those sequences?" She couldn't believe that those sort of things were happening in her state.

It is amazing to me that people who live and work in the Coachella Valley are barely aware that it is the second largest agricultural producing area in the state.

The first grape boycott was certainly the most effective. The irony is that it became less effective after the signing of the contracts because we had to narrow our focus from "Boycott Grapes" to "Pass the Word, Buy the Bird."

I think the other tool from the boycott that was effective was the Union's decision to also go after the retailers, not just the growers. In my opinion the secondary boycott, which we would not have been able to use had the Union been subject to the NLRB, was a coup. In drying up the demand for the product, the growers had no place to send their product. The growers could use all the strike breakers they wanted to harvest their grapes but would end up having to dump them, literally, or sell at a price below cost. I'm not clear on this, though the ALRA retained our right to boycott, did it limit the Union's ability to use the secondary boycott?

Joaquin

Delano 1967-1968, 1969-1970, San Francisco 1968-1969, 1975, La Paz 1970-1979

Jean Eilers, 6/28/04

RE: PCUN

Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN) works closely with the UFW.(Oregon grows lots of Christmas -pine-trees) They were very successful with their GardenBurger/ NORPAC boycott - effectively gaining support from College cafeterias. They were so successful that the Oregon growers started proposing collective bargaining proposals - of course their legislation would ban the boycott, strikes during harvest etc. However, they have been able to negotiate much closer and most recently the Governor has announced (to the Agriculture Council) that he is supportive of the Federal legislation -Employee Free Choice Act - to reform the NLRB in such a way as to provide for card check, mediation and arbitration for first contracts and increased penalties for violations and he supports these principles for any state legislation as well as neutrality. His support is a victory for PCUN and the AFL-CIO here. PCUN has a few contracts with organic blueberry growers.

On the issue of boycotts. It is always so inspiring to see the depth of awareness and the variety of people who participated and count it an important contribution of their lives. Yesterday, in a forum at a Catholic Church in Portland, OR about the church and it's message and unions, the speaker, a Theology professor at the University of Portland, began by recalling her boycotting of grapes - which was a common touchstone for the audience. She went on to speak of that simple support and how we are called upon to be supportive in even more complex ways today.

I always think that the genius of the boycott or any of the other activities was the ability to invite people's participation in such a way that it was truly valued and people felt it's significance. The relationship of the farmworkers appreciation for the support kept the ownership of the movement with the farmworkers, but the welcomed involvement of others gave those people a real sense of making a significant contribution. Today's leaders tell us what they will do for us -- rarely are we asked to do significant things.

Jean Eilers – 1975 to 1981, Delano, Coachella, San Ysidro, La Paz

Joaquin Murguia, 6/28/04 (2)

Mom,

My involvement with the NFWHG was in the capacity of keeping the books. I was assigned by Sharon _____(?) as my first full official task in the financial management department during my Junior year in high school. I recall we had some lively discussions around the dinner table.

From the accounting side, the clinics were all pretty much self sustaining. I do recall that there was at least one "unofficial" clinic in Salinas. To my recollection, the first clinic to close was the Clinic in Coachella that was located next to the field office on Sixth Street.

I don't recall the particulars of the closing, but I know it was closed by the summer of 1973. That was where I slept when I was in Coachella working on the Karahadian strike.

Most of the rest of the clinics, I believe, closed after my departure in 1979. Although, I don't recall specifically who was responsible for the accounting by that time, I'm fairly certain that most were still operating at that time.

Joaquin Murguia
Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Joaquin Murguia, 6/28/04 (3)

RE: Naming UFWA

Abby,

I remember the meeting in the conference room. The first radio station was set up in the little room of the dining room in the kitchen. As I recall, its first broadcasts were done in 1977 maybe 1978.

When it was initially being tested, I was asked to do a sports show. Anyone remember J's Jock Talk?!? My first and only venture into radio. Though I have not ever tuned into Radio Campesino, haven't been able to find it in the local area, I imagine it can be quite an effective tool as workers listen to their radios in the fields.

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/28/04 (4)

RE: YOUR MODERATOR SPEAKING...

Terry,

I recall Birdie and Emilio heading off to the mountains to help Ken Doyle with this. The Service Center, I think, bought a couple of show mobiles for them to get to some of the mountain tops during the winter.

By the way, the snow mobiles are still parked at my parents house if anyone is looking for them. Don't ask me how they got there.

Joaquin

Joaquin Murguia, 6/28/04 (5)

RE: THE BOYCOTT

Abby,

I remember that meeting at the Filipino Hall. It was packed and there was a buzz of excitement because everyone was wondering were they would be sent. Our family was sent to San Francisco. The roll call during the first convention had very much the same excitement and buzz.

What a phenomenal time that was. Heck we were all just kids, but we all knew the importance of what we were doing. I don't recall having seen it yet, where did your family end up for the first boycott?

Joaquin
Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Susan Drake, 6/28/04 (2)

RE: Radio Campesina

Radio Campesina is big on the Monterey Peninsula. No idea who listens to it besides me occasionally, but it is one of the prominent (heard in wide range) stations, based in Salinas I think.

Susan Drake (1962-73)

Joaquin Murguia, 6/28/04 (6)

RE: The Rise and Fall of Volunteerism

It has been touched on here in a number of different threads, but what year were the first paid "volunteers" in La Paz. It seems to me that it coincided with the creation of FIELD, sometime in 1978(?). It is my understanding that most if not all the people at La Paz are now paid.

It was a pretty dramatic step as I recall and was a cause of concern. It was almost as hotly debated as when the stipend was raised from \$5 dollars per week to \$10 dollars per week.

What impact did this have in the field offices? How was this reconciled with the earlier departure of practically the entire legal department because of their refusal to become volunteers?

The times have certainly changed to be sure. From Cesar getting \$5 per week plus room and board to the current president's salary raising from approximately \$30,000 in 2001 to over \$70,000 in 2003.

Joaquin Murguia

Delano, San Francisco, La Paz 1967-1979

Nancy Grimley Carleton, 6/28/04

RE: THE BOYCOTT & THE ALRA 1975

Yes, one of the things the union gave up in supporting the passage of the ALRA was the secondary boycott (long illegal for other unions covered by the NLRA).

Losing the secondary boycott had an immediate effect on our picketing of local stores, rendering it less effective (though we had some supporters so well trained by that point that they wouldn't cross a picket line in any case, and we sometimes managed to encourage folks to shop elsewhere with indirect hints rather than direct slogans, and stores still weren't pleased when we showed up)!

Nancy Carleton

Boycott Staff, 1975-1976 (San Jose with two months in the San Fernando Valley)

Jerry Brown, 6/28/04 (1)

RE: Maybe we need a new listserv for this

* * * * I would like to share with you my experience tonight of attending an on-line meeting with Fahrenheit 9/11 producer Michael Moore, that had an attendance of 30,000 people nation wide, and drew together 350 people into the teachers union hall in Miami, Florida - people of every age, creed and color - something I have never seen in over 30 years in Miami.

I have not felt anything like the energy surging in that room, since my early days in Delano at the Filipino Hall, which packed with farm workers and volunteers would reverberate with applause for each speaker who stood up to tell what they were doing for the grape boycott. This is the energy that will take back America for the people.

I invite you to visit at MoveOn.org and Michaelmoore.com, and see this incredible application of Internet technology to grassroots organizing. Watching this unfold - and seeing MoveOn sign up nearly 10,000 people, instantaneously, online within a matter of minutes for voter registration - makes me wonder if, with the Internet, we could have won the Delano grape boycott in 5 months instead of in 5 years.

I also couldn't help reflecting on how Cesar taught us that there are two things that an organizer must do: turn people on and give them something to do that will build power for their cause. It is wonderful to see a democratic grassroots organization like MoveOn doing that so effectively.

Viva la causa en la historia,

Jerry Brown, Miami Beach, Florida(Delano, Toronto, Miami, 1966-1976)

Roberto Bustos, 6/28/04

hola, amigo Jerald, well said. I agree, I said it before, I'll say it again, its over. let's move on!

Roberto Bustos 1965-1972

Chris Schneider, 6/28/04

RE: The ALRA did not give up the secondary boycott

Actually, through the brilliant work of Jerry Cohen, et. al. the ALRA, in one paragraph, gave up the secondary boycott. In the following paragraphs it restored the right to secondary boycotts. The growers apparently didn't read the language closely enough.

The UFW used the secondary boycott up through at least 1989 when I left. The union combined the secondary boycott with direct mail campaign and termed it a "high tech boycott." Bruce Church, Inc. (BCI) sued the UFW for using the secondary boycott/high tech boycott. BCI, a California based company, brought the suit against the California based UFW for boycott activity occuring entirely outside of Arizona for allegedly violating the anti-secondary boycott statute of Arizonz. This Farm Bureau sponsored law had been signed into law in 1972 by Gov. Williams and percipitated Cesar's fast in Arizona.

Jerry and Salinas legal challenged the statute as unconstitutional and took the case to the United States Supreme Court. The Court decliend to rule on the constitutionality of the lawsince the law, in their view, was only being challenged in theory---there was no ongoing or enjoined secondary boycott activity---and not an actual "case or controversy." However, the court warned that if the type of broad prohibition the UFW argued would occur, did indeed occur, then they constitutionality of the law would be suspect.

According the BCI the UFW violated Arizona law by mailing a "Boycott Jewel" message from La Paz to residents in Chicago. Their interpretation of the law seemed to be even broader than what we had anticipated.

The case was, until that time, the longest civil trial in the history of Yuma County, Arizona. It became quite clear that the judge was against us. He instructed us that our witnessed could not mention California law and that the ALRA permitted the type of activity that we were engaged in.

I told Cesar that we would lose the case in the trial court, but because of the work of Jerry and the others years before, we would win on appeal. The judge directed the jury to find that the UFW violated Arizona law and to assess damages. The jury returned a \$5.4 million verdict against the UFW---this was more than the total worth of the UFW and the jury was aware of that. (Imagine my thoughts in calling Cesar to give him the news!). (For a more detailed account see Food and Justice April 1988.)

One of my last tasks with the union in 1989 was working with Dianna Lyons on the BCI appeal brief. I was gone by the time for oral arguments so I didn't have the opportunity to join Dianna for that. Dianna won. As we had predicted, the case was thrown out and was remanded for a new trial.

The new trial began in April 1993. Cesar had been on the witness stand all day and was set to return to the stand the following day when he passed in his sleep. Cesar died while defending workers' right to the secondary boycott.

Jerry Brown, 6/28/04 (2)

Dear Nancy,

Amen to your comments to Joaquin. As an early American organizer, Thomas Paine, said in 1776, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love

and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph.”

I remember a farm worker asking Cesar at a boycott meeting what was this “paciencia”? Cesar swept his hand downward in a symbol of calm, of peace, and then touched his fingers to his temple, to represent “science.” “‘Paz’ ciencia: the science of peace,” he replied.

We will all need a great deal of “paciencia” in the coming months: to strive to understand each other, to embrace and respect the differences of opinion expressed by the participants in this discussion, and to draw on the incredible lessons of Cesar and the farm workers movement to guide us through the coming storm.

In solidarity,

Jerry Brown, Miami Beach (Delano, Toronto, Miami, 1966-1976)

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/28/04 (3)

RE: THE BOYCOTT

My family did not go on the boycott because my father did not want to go for religious reasons. My dad stayed and picketed at Caratan and other packing sheds day-in and day-out with some of the Filipino brothers. I worked in the Credit Union and my sister in RFD when we could; my aunt, Edwina Castillo, worked in Accounting. During that time, my boycotting was limited to weekend trips to L.A. and in town when we picketed the grocery stores there. Later, I helped in the Seattle boycott while at school and in Spokane for a short period during the summer; we set up human billboarding at the World’s Fair in 1974. sin mas/ abby/ r/d/lp

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/29/04 (1)

RE: Stockton, California and the Texas Connection

Hey, Charlie, I forgot to tell you que bien de aquellas that you took the boycott of grapes to the international level. I loved that! No matter what, when it came to grapes, “we passed them by” even in Nam. That is what you call organizing the organizer. Viva. sin mas, abby/ r/d/lp

Cynthia Bell, 6/29/04

RE: Radio Campesina

Hello Everyone,

I wanted to make sure that what I wrote would be of significant Historical purpose for this documentation and to make sure that credit is given for those of us that are not able to come forward and tell their story. The idea of UFW having a radio station goes back to the 70's when a radio station in McFarland allowed us to go on the air and give information to the farm workers Pablo Espinoza somehow managed to be a guest quite frequently I also remember that Tony Banuelos and myself also got on the show from time to time. Cesar would say, that someday we would have our own and be able to say what we wanted.

LeRoy is right we need Ken Doyle (Microwave was a start) he played a very instrumental part in the Licensing of the radio station and if I recall Vicky Lopez, Terry also gives credit to Ken, Anthony and Emilio for building the system the 2nd largest microwave system in the state of California the 1st was owned by the state of California. (At least that's what was told to me back in 81.)

Right before I left (1978) Ken Doyle had been working into applying for the radio station. During the 2 year + that I was gone Ken Doyle and Dolores Huerta, kept in touch with me and visited me several times in San Pedro, Ca. They always told me to come back and help them with the building of the station. When I returned sometime in 1981 the License was pretty much done. I don't recall when Ken and his wife Gloria left. Cesar then hired Julio Guerrero to help complete the process, we started to build the recording studio downstairs in the morgue. Julio taught us how to edit and record, I should also mention that El Malcraido staff was merged into the radio station

Victor Aleman was in charge of El Malcriado at that time other staffs Osvaldo Jauretche, Armando Garcia, mostly from central America what a bunch. Cesar and Julio had some kind of misunderstanding and Cesar, called me in his office to tell me that I was going to be the station manager and that I better start reading up. I couldn't sleep for weeks here I had a bunch real machos working under me, then Cesar assigned Araceli Garcia, what a blessing, loyalty until the end and dedicated to la Causa like no other (I hope she joins us.) I had to deal with the FCC (crash course) and deal with an Engineer, all the ins and outs of the equipment. We had one minor flaw the License was for Woodlake, California and Cesar wanted us to broadcast from La Paz, If I recall we were allowed only a few hours a day the rest had to be broadcast from Woodlake. Not having enough manpower to operate in Woodlake we had to go with automation this brought up our cost to build. We then hired Carlos Cuadra, from Visalia to be at the Woodlake station, we rented a building in Woodlake and the crew from La Paz started to build with the direction of our Engineer David Whitehead, Marshall, Mario and sometimes Richard Chavez (more were involved I don't remember names). At the same time we were finishing up our studio at La Paz and preparing for our grand airing which I believe was on May 1, 1983. Cesar planned a march in Huron/Coalinga (not sure) followed by a big fiesta afterwards (also broadcasted live) which was very successful.

Our routine at La Paz, was to produce the News, record reels and reels of music and then drive down to Woodlake. We all had a special hour of music that had to be produced weekly mine was "Serenata," romantic music I remember Cesar, saying that when he first heard me while driving down I-5, he couldn't believe it was me and asked me how was it that my voice sounded so sexy. I remember telling him that I would come down with some wine and begin recording until it came out just right. Cesar, thought that was funny and laughed. After doing this for about 1 year It was decided that we should all move to Woodlake, our jobs become somewhat easier, but still very challenging long hours and still learning. Plus we had to teach the Campesinos (volunteers) how to run the station. Our broadcast hours started at 4 am to 12 midnight 7 days a week. I remember that the growers had said that the radio station will "provoke and agitate" the workers. The station radius, which runs from Grapevine north to Merced and from Coalinga east to the Sierra.

PROGRAMMING

We brought Pablo Espinoza with his program "Despierta ya Campesino" and what a show! Boy did we have fun with the contractors and growers! Some mornings we would have whole crews that did work stoppage because of unsafe working condition, we would have these farm workers on the air to make these charges. We even received threats from growers and contractors that they would sue us. We played the song "SACAREMOS ESE BUEY DE LA BARRANCA," this was a theme song that workers started to dedicate to contractors and growers, there was no end. I remember that in Yakima Wa. Radio Cadena had a way to announce over the radio that if you needed help with immigration or had any questions you could find them at Ave. 13 , etc., this would tip off our undocumented workers not to get close to that particular area. I mentioned this to Cesar and asked him if we could do the same, he said yes. We were on our way, this went on for many months, workers would call us to tell us of any MIGRA sightings then we would announce over the air where they needed to go for help. Until Cesar got a call from someone from the INS that threaten to sue. Cesar told us to back off so we did. Sad moment for all of us, we were having so much fun with this one.

The funding was primarily from the MLK. I remember that I had to prepare the budget for the entire year and make presentation to the board for approval. Some of the money that we raised through many fundraisers and a Padrino and Madrina subscription. We had fundraising committees throughout the valley Huron, Fresno, Woodlake, Coalinga, Parlier, etc. and they planned their own fiestas to raise money. They were always trying to outdo one another. Another way we raised money was on our Anniversaries, we had big fiestas and brought in well known Mexican singers. We also had on the air sponsorship. All this was done by the staff and Campesinos. Total cost to build the radio station was close to 500,000. We educated our members thru UFW history, gave our news, messages from Cesar, union events our message to the farm workers every top of the hour "La informacion es poder," we went on /off the air with the farm workers prayer.

THE Following ARE SOME COVERAGE THAT RADIO CAMPESINA BROADCASTED LIVE:

UFW 25th anniversary 1987

UFW First live broadcast 1984 Convention

When Dolores Huerta was beaten in San Francisco I think winter of 85?

Feed directly from when Rene Lopez was killed Sikkema Dairy (interviews from his co-workers)

March from Cutler to Lindsay in 1985

Pesticides accidents live coverage (interviews from affected workers)

And Cesar's fast August 1988. I remember sitting there at the Agbayani Village with my tape recorder and Cesar would send messages thru out the valley to the Campesinos what a brilliant man, until he got to weak to speak. Then of course the ending of his fast live coverage throughout the Valley of San Joaquin. Priceless.

My God the list goes on, I would not dare write any more. In my eyes this was one goes on the top of the list of Cesar's major successes. I left in Nov. of 1988 and plans were being made on having the Radio Station in Arizona. As you can see by the newspaper clipping that Mary McCarthy sent need I say more?

And for those of you that might not know, I named the radio "Radio Campesina." During a meeting after the call letters had been decided Cesar asked "what do we call our station?" the men had names like El Rayo, La Fuerza, etc. Cesar, looked at me and said "mija y tu?" I looked at him very firm and said "Radio Campesina" I was ready for a debate, then I saw that twinkle, you all know that look. I knew there was to be no debate.

Viva! Las Mujeres del Movimiento!

Cynthia Bell

1969-1988 (break in between)

Barbara Macri-Ortiz, 6/29/04 (1)

RE: Prayer

Mary [Mecartney on 6/21/04] is correct. All the meetings with the Pictsweet workers that I attended during the last three years were started with one of the workers leading us in the Farm Worker Prayer. I always appreciated the ability of those few well chosen words to give us the proper perspective on the task at hand.

Barbara Macri-Ortiz (1969-1990)

Barbara Macri-Ortiz, 6/29/04 (2)

RE: Radio Campesina

Right on, Cynthia! Radio Campesina was a great vehicle for educating workers about the union and their rights in general, and organizing workers all over the state. It was definitely one of the Union's successes, and I always enjoyed both the talk shows and the music when I traveled up and down the valley. A lot of workers' concerns were addressed over the years. The radio network is another example of Cesar's vision.

Barbara Macri-Ortiz (1969-1990)

Terry Carruthers (Vasquez) Scott, 6/29/04

RE: Radio Campesina

Great post, Cynthia!

Terry (Vasquez) Scott

1973-1988

Doug Adair, 6/29/04 (1)

RE: Contract wages?

In a message dated 6/28/04 . . . [Joaquin Murguia] writes:

The thought popped into my head today as there was a news story about the number of union leaders who were now making six figure salaries. This of course doesn't compare to the millions of dollars paid to CEOs. But certainly food for thought when thinking of the role of union as union or social movement.

Dear Joaquin and all,

The discussion I remember among the workers was that the staff and leadership would eventually be paid whatever was the (lowest? highest?) minimum wage in the contracts, plus all the bennies. I don't remember anyone having any problem with that in either the later period, 1980's, when I worked at Freedman, or in the '71-73 period, when I worked at Tenneco. I think workers didn't care whether the staff was paid or not, but it was politically/ psychologically tremendously powerful, valuable, to be able to say, "I get the same as Cesar Chavez" or "The head of the field office gets the same as the irrigator so & so..." That's what made us part of that Mexican Revolutionary tradition, of the Catholic Worker tradition, of the world revolutionary tradition....

Yours for the Revolution

Doug Adair, 1965-1989

Doug Adair, 6/29/04 (2)

RE: Coachella clinic

In a message dated 6/28/04 . . . [Joaquin Murguia] writes:

To my recollection, the first clinic to close was the Clinic in Coachella that was located next to the field office on Sixth Street.

I don't recall the particulars of the closing, but I know it was closed by the summer of 1973. That was where I slept when I was in Coachella working on the Karahadian strike.

Dear All,

The Coachella Clinic was alive and well when I was in Coachella, 1976-84(?), not sure when it closed. I think it was revived as a satellite of Calexico, c. 1975, with Dr. Tom Lambert's name on the door (Tom & Kathy McDonough are another long lasting union marriage, now in Billings, Mont)... and with Karen Jacobsen and Beth Garry (nice essays in the collection; now doctors) as nurses, and Bonnie Peitch who eventually married Greg Thomas (now doctor and nurse, another union marriage, now in San Luis Obispo); and Kirsten and Sister Noreen and my beloved Debbie Nelson.... and dear Dr. Pat Dowling (now in Long Beach?) taking over full time during the campaign in 1977; and later Dr. Dennis Markovitz (now in Mass?) when Gilbert Padilla was down here.... Karen explains the recruitment of doctors (my favorite was the Bagel Doctor from L.A., can't remember his name, but he always brought bagels and donuts, and staff from the field office would sneak over when he?she? was there). Both our daughters were home births (Rosa with Dr. Pat cutting the cord; Carol with Dr. Dennis), though actually Debbie and Karen and Beth did most of the work (and a mid-wife with Rosa).

After Debbie was fired "for being married to the traitor, Pato" (someone named Jose Duarte (does that name ring a bell?) came down from La Paz to give the order), maybe before, there was a Dr. Cella, quite wealthy, may have enriched himself from medicare fraude, on probation, came down and gave community service, everybody liked him; and at the end, a local doctor that had hired someone to kill his wife, kind of a moral step down. But the Coachella Clinic was always a tremendous organizing tool for the union. Eliseo and Ruth Shy both took advantage of the 98% positive appeal of the clinic to help on organizing. The only controversy I remember was that the

Board didn't want to allow the nurses to advise families on birth control. The clinic staff felt the members should have had that option, to make the decision themselves, not someone in La Paz.

Doug Adair, Coachella, 1976-89

Julie Kerksick, 6/29/04

RE: sharing some sad news

Companeros y Companeras:

I'm writing the listserv participants to share some very sad news about a former UFW volunteer, Mike Savage. Mike passed away last week while on a trip to Alaska. I've attached a copy of the obituary from the Chicago Sun-Times. Mike worked on the St. Louis boycott, recruited while a student at St. Louis University by Richard and Barbara Cook. He also worked out in LA on the boycott. If you knew him, you know what a huge loss this is to our world.

Peace,

Julie Kerksick

UFW years 1973-77

St. Louis boycott, NYC boycott, Coachella Field Office (1975-76)

Andy Imutan, 6/29/04

RE: Radio Campesina

Dear Cynthia,

Nice presentation. A dream come true. A positive accomplishment. That is the kind of posting I want to read. I observe from some of the contributions to the documentation project that the bitterness for Cesar and criticism of him were between 1975- 1979. Maybe we should ask people to tell about the activities and accomplishments of the union from 1980 to 1992 and from 1992-to the present. I believe the union is doing so many activities favorable to the farmworkers and we should know what they are and we should be involved in it if we could. Our hopes for the farmworkers should still be in us and not ended when we left the union.

I think there are so many different ways we could help the farmworkers. Organizing a union for them is just one solution, but to maintain a favorable contract with the growers may be a difficult undertaking and a continuous hustle with the growers and their people.

There are so many other ways to help farmworkers:

(a) good laws to cover wages, health care, working conditions, minors or children in the fields, education, housing, control and restrictions on the use of pesticides, etc. We could use legislation to make life better for the farmworkers. The laws must have strong enforcement, prohibition and implementation clauses.

(b) radio stations and other media to inform and educate the farmworkers of their rights under the law.

(c) organize the farmworkers to be vigilant and to participate in community activities and projects.

(d) establish service centers to help farmworkers with their immigration problems, education of their children, citizenship, caring for other people and to meet their many other needs.

(e) etc, etc.

Andy Imutan 1965-1973 Delano, Coachella, Baltimore/ Washington D.C., New York, Delano, Stockton, Delano

Roberto Bustos, 6/29/04

RE: Radio Campesina

Right on brother, that's what I been saying all along! 100% behind you! Roberto Bustos 1965-1972

Fran Smith, 6/29/04

RE: hello from a former volunteer now volunteering in Mexico

Joaquin Murguia, I remember Kathy well and some of you from my stint in La Paz and with the farmworker movement between 1975 and 1979. If you want a contact in Mexico, one who works with folks trying to help farmworkers here, you have it!

I have seen many farmworkers forced to leave their fields since NAFTA and find work in the north (USA). The maquiladores, also, are closing or underpaying.

Hope to be in contact with those who remember our days together. Expect you'll all help jog my memory so the good times are remembered, along with the difficult.

Fran Smith

Abby Flores Rivera, 6/29/04 (2)

RE: Radio Campesina

Cindy, I knew it woman! What were you waiting for? Thanks for letting us know about the Farm Worker Prayer; how appropriate. Who were some of our sponsors? We need to give them a plug. Café Combate ever sign on? They were always around in my growing up getting ready for school/work days. Viva Radio Campesina! By the way, you forgot to mention that you got that husky, sexy voice drinking *Union* wine. sin mas, /abby

LeRoy Chatfield, 6/29/04

RE: A BOYCOTT STORY

LeRoy Chatfield 1963-1973

A boycott story.

I have no recollection of having told anyone this boycott story, but please stop me if you heard it before.

During my tenure (1972-1973) as the boycott director in Los Angeles, my office was located in a five-story office building on West Olympic Blvd. In fact, I sublet office space from Chris Hartmire and his National Farm Worker Ministry. The California State Employees had a field office on the same floor in the same building as did a California Assemblyman, whose last name might have been Warren, but I am not sure. And there were many other tenants on different floors, but those are the ones I remember.

Compared to my offices in Delano (first, next to the Pink House, then later in Filipino Hall) and then in the former morgue at La Paz, I found this Los Angeles office building to be the lap of luxury.

One day, late in the morning, we received notice to immediately evacuate the building because a gas leak in the building had been detected and the Los Angeles Fire Department had been called. As we gathered ourselves up to leave, the hook and ladder fire truck and several other emergency vehicles pulled up outside the building with red lights flashing and their sirens winding down. As we exited out the hallway and down the stairwell, I could smell the gas odor.

For more than an hour, all of the people who worked in the various offices of the building, milled around on the street waiting for the emergency fire personnel to complete their investigation. They examined the heating and air conditioning systems, all the hot water heaters, but despite the obvious smell of gas, they could not find the source of the leak. They brought in half-dozen large fans to draw the air out of the stairwells and the hallways. Finally, they pronounced the building "safe". Everyone returned to work.

When I had settled back into my office, Ken Doyle, one of our boycott staff members came in and said he needed to talk to me but wanted me to go outside with him. I walked with him down the hall and he took me into the five-story stairwell. When I closed the door, he mumbled something apologetic saying it was only an experiment and assured me he had only used three drops.

You may not know this; I certainly did not. Natural gas is odorless and an "odor agent" (my word for it) is added to natural gas to give it its distinctive odor. Ken had found a commercial source for this additive, purchased some, and conducted an experiment. He had released three drops at the bottom of this five-story stairwell and it was these drops that caused the emergency evacuation order.

I will leave the rest of the story to your boycott imagination.

Kathy Lynch Murguia, 6/29/04

RE: A Boycott Story

This sounds similar to a skunk story from S.F. Boycott days. I won't mention names. Animal control was confused also. Kathy Murguia S.WS Boycott 1968/69

Graciela Martinez (Herron), 6/29/04

RE: A BOYCOTT STORY

As the human race, we are so very smart. How some of us can dream up stuff others would have trouble even thinking about is a mystery to me. Recently at a peace rally several of us had gathered quietly, with our signs. Some individuals going by in a car threw raw eggs at the group. Had they been bombs, two of us would be dead, four of us would be less a leg or an arm, and several others less seriously maimed and wounded. I heard things about the UFW in the mid-70's and later that has left no doubt in my mind that as much as Cesar liked to say non-violence, this struggle, like so many others in our history, were not achieved without strife and struggle. Positively, though, the farm workers movement did better the lives of thousands. What we need now is a resurgence of the determination and willingness to sacrifice of those early farmworkers and friends who knew if things were to change in the fields, they would have to bring those changes about, and we did - all of us together, no matter if we were there from minute one up to the present. I'm very happy that my efforts were put into something that had a positive outcome, but the struggle is not over. At the present time there's still much work to be done to organize people around other issues, such as the new "farm labor contractors", or the "temporary agencies" that I think I spoke about already, those places that keep a person blind and gagged and handcuffed as far as their rights are concerned. So I'm saying to those of us who worked long and hard that we need to continue to see that justice is done.

Barbara Macri-Ortiz, 6/30/04

RE: - Buttons

Graciela, Cleaning does have its rewards. The other day I uncovered a neon green "Nixon Eats Lettuce" button. Remember that one?

Barbara Macri-Ortiz
(1969-1990)

Doug Adair, 6/30/04

RE: ALRA, good or bad? . . .

In a message dated 6/27/04 . . . [Charlie Atilano] writes:

Doug, sure what you say is true and spoken like an attorney (too many words, just kidding!). The fact of the matter is the law did work, and when the field investigators completed a case through compliance the end results were quite rewarding. I remember many a late night meeting with the workers to get statements, holding house meetings so that we could prosecute the cases. It was just

like working for the UFW! (but we got paid a whole lot more!) Our hard work culminated in the distribution of wages earned by the farmworker.

(And my apologies to all for "too many words"... When it gets to 105 down here (which is every day now) I figure it's time to go inside and check my e-mail and start mouthing off again.)

I agree that the law did open many doors and lead to some, maybe many contracts. The UFW members I know best work for HMS, a ranch management firm that was organized by Nancy Elliot and Ruth Shy in 1975, and the workers are still renegotiating their contracts, enjoying union benefits after 25 years. I also remember settling cases, \$150 for a worker and each of his kids, all fired right before the election (at the end of the season)... they were happy with their "make whole," but in fact it was a cheap way for the employer to make a point. There was only one firing at Karahadian, our most outspoken supporter. Six month later, she was vindicated, got her back pay. And it cost the grower the legal costs plus the settlement. But we lost a fairly close election (Artie Rodriguez was the organizer, really did a good job in a difficult situation). That firing was a cheap way to prevent a union victory.

Of course, workers got fired for union activity before the law. With the protection of the law, we assured the workers, you can't get fired for supporting the union... When it happened anyway, it was extra demoralizing...

The law also offered a good structure for workers who organized themselves (like the Almaden workers with Jose Luna in 1966-67, though of course they did it without the law, back then). They could make contact with the union, pick up cards, and then come back with them signed.

And leaving the option of the secondary boycott available was a critical benefit.

For 1975, the time and place in history, it seemed the best (only) option to move the struggle forward, and the elections did create a new momentum. But there were downsides too. My verdict would be "good and bad"...

Doug Adair
Legal Department, 1975-77

Jackie (Brown) Davis, 6/30/04

RE: IAF & CSO, Fred & Cesar in the 50's

If you are interested in reading this book that Richard references, you will be able to find it and many other papers on community organizing at: <http://comm-org.utoledo.edu/papers.htm#1995>

Jackie Davis
1971-1974

Charlie Atilano, 6/30/04

RE: ALRA, good or bad? . . .

Doug, so well spoken, and I think a good analogy is the toothless person trying to eat corn. The law was lost it's teeth after the Brown administration. Especially when secondary boycott was not an option. Most people thought after there was one box of grapes that was delivered with the eagle, that the boycott was over, and everything was hunky dory for the farmworker. It's funny how the media can control the public's mind...wait a minute, didn't that happen with the Vietnam war? Gracias Doug por todo lo que has hecho y tambien por la justicia que estas tratando de ganar hoy.

Dan Willett, 6/30/04 (1)

RE: Favorite Songs, Eyes on the Prize

Angie,

Thank you for your memories of reworked song lyrics. On "Me and Bobby McGee," Kris Kristofferson, the writer, thought a lot of the UFW and credited it with focusing his life. I heard him perform it with that line on some kind of late night TV program of a concert.

Los Lobos is coming to Milwaukee in a couple of days. I am thinking of writing "Huelga en General" (one of my favorites) on the back of a \$20 bill and finding a roadie to put it in the tip jar. What do you think? Will they do it?

Dan Willett
Los Angeles, St. Louis Boycott, 1976-77

Dan Willett, 6/30/04 (2)

RE: sharing some sad news

Julie,

I am so sorry to hear the news about Mike [Savage]. My most lasting memory of Mike is from the Gallo boycott. We were campaigning against the independent liquor stores and they got an injunction to force us out to the street. Ted's and Nancy's Liquors, our little store in north St. Louis County, was in a strip mall. The injunction had the effect of putting us away from the store, and out where the cars whip in to the strip mall from the street, with their windows up because it was winter. Mike was ready to break the injunction, dressed in a pea coat, wool cap, and with a book critical of the CIA to read while he was in jail.

Mike was a fun person to be with. He had this quality of making it attractive to be a dissident. He could polarize an argument to us vs. them, and you wanted to be an "us" with him.

I would like to add to his obit that he organized community organizations in St. Louis in the late 1970s and was part of a federation of them called SLACO. They consulted with Tom Gaudette, an Alinsky-trained organizer.

Dan Willett
Los Angeles, St. Louis Boycott, 1976-77