THE FARM WORKER IN THE 1970'S:
Review of the Past.... Hopes for the Future...
EDITORIAL THE 1970’S: THE CHALLENGE

The 1970’s open with most farm workers throughout the nation still living in the same basic poverty that has afflicted us for the past 50 years; still suffering from malnutrition and hunger, even starvation; still suffering from the worst housing in the nation; still suffering from racial, social, and economic injustices surpassing those of any other segment of the population. The prosperity of the 1950’s and 1960’s has eluded us. Affluent America seems to have turned its back on us and forgotten us, while taking for granted the food that we grow and harvest for this nation and much of the rest of the world.

But things this January are different from January, 1960, or January, 1950, or January, 1940. For the first time since American agriculture began the shift to big corporation farming, farm workers have high hopes that things can be changed, that the seemingly endless cycle of poverty can be broken.

For the first time in this century, we have a growing union, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, and a dedicated and sacrificing leader, Cesar Chavez. Our union is of, by, and for farm workers, with no outside control, but with close ties of brotherhood and friendship with the great international family of other AFL-CIO unions, the Auto Workers, Teamsters, Longshoremen, and other independent unions, and with support from thousands of other working men and women throughout the nation and the world.

For the first time in the continental U.S., farm workers have working contracts with a dozen ranches, contracts which include the highest wages received by farm workers anywhere in the world, contracts which provide decent working conditions; contracts which protect the workers and consumers from the pesticide poisoning, unsanitary conditions, and faulty equipment which are the rule, rather than the exception, in most of farm labor. True, the contracts cover only a few thousand of America’s farm workers. But they are a beginning.

And we are beginning to construct a blueprint for building a new society for farm workers, a society that values the worker as a human being, that respects and rewards his labors, that guarantees him and his family some medical attention when illness or injury strike, that will provide for his leisure, and begin to guarantee him a retirement with adequate incomes to live out his later years in dignity. Some of these things are still dreams for farm workers, but we have begun to make these dreams into reality.

We can look back over the last ten years and see what progress has been made. The union which began the California grape strike, the old Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, was founded in 1959, and Cesar Chavez held the founding meeting of the National Farm Workers Association in 1962. The two Unions joined together in the grape strike in September, 1965, and merged in 1966.

In 1966, farm workers won a precedent-shattering contract from Schenley Industries covering workers in their 4,000 acres of vineyards. Also in 1966, the union won overwhelmingly in a democratically and impartially supervised election with Di Giorgio Fruit Company. No table grape grower has since

Itliong to Lead Grape Boycott

UFWOC Assistant Director Larry Itliong has been appointed as the new international coordinator of the Union’s table grape boycott and pledged an all-out campaign to prevent the sale of over 6 million boxes of grapes left over from the 1969 harvest which remain unsold in cold storage.

“I will do my utmost to stop the sale of these grapes, and to shut off remaining markets for the 1970 harvest,” Itliong stated. “I have

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THE GRAPE BOYCOTT AFTER TWO YEARS STRUGGLE:

Grape growers began 1970 with over 6,000,000 boxes of unsold grapes remaining from the 1969 harvest, and with indications that the grape boycott is continuing to grow stronger and more effective, in spite of the growers’ multi-million dollar publicity campaign against the Union. Grapes in cold storage in the last week of December were up 2,000,000 boxes (at 22 lbs. a box), an increase of over 30%, over December, 1968, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. UFWOC grape boycott coordinator Larry Itliong estimated that, three months after the end of the harvest and six months after the harvest peak, over 20% of the harvest remained unsold in cold storage.

"The growers argue that in spite of the statistics, the boycott was ineffective in 1968 because the lower shipments, prices, and sales merely reflected a smaller harvest," noted Itliong. "This year the harvest is 25% above last year, and comparable to 1966, the last normal harvest. While the harvest is greater than 1968, growers are shipping fewer grapes, have more

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grapes in cold storage, and are still getting lower prices than last year."

Itilong pointed to figures released by the U.S. Department of Agriculture comparing 1969 shipments to 1966 shipments as further indication of where the boycott is strong, and where it is not yet effective. "Of the 41 top grape consuming cities in the U.S. and Canada, 31 had lower grape sales in 1969 than in 1966," noted Itilong. "If we discount the unusually small harvest of 1967, and the slightly below average harvest of 1968, and look only at the pre-boycott harvest of 1966 and the harvest of 1969, harvests of equal production, we can see how much sales have declined. Overall carlot shipments were down 3,294 carlots from 1966, a decline of 22% in sales in those 41 major cities. Those cities accounted for 75% of the total grape market in 1966."

Of the top ten grape consuming cities, only Montreal consumed more grapes (up 2%) in 1969 than in 1966. Other cities which have increased sales included Miami, Houston, Ft. Worth, Dallas, Louisville, Denver, Winnipeg, Cincinnati, and Ottawa, all fairly low-ranked in grape consumption. Every other major U.S. and Canadian city had declining grape sales.

The boycott had its biggest punch in the following cities: Los Angeles, down from 2161 carlots of grapes in 1966 to 1807 in 1969, a drop of 354 carlots or 16%; New York, down from 2294 to 1525 carlots, a drop of 769 carlots or 34%; Chicago, down from 1084 carlots to 636, off 448 carlots or 41%; Toronto, down from 582 to 451, down 131 carlots or 23%; San Francisco, down from 671 to 706, a drop of 156 carlots or 23%; Philadelphia, down from 682 to 526, a drop of 156 carlots or 23%; Detroit, down from 627 carlots to 424, a drop of 203 carlots or 32%; Boston, down from 630 to 367, a drop of 263 carlots or 42%; Pittsburgh, down from 582 to 234, a drop of 348 carlots or 31%; and Baltimore, down from 682 to 526, a drop of 156 carlots or 23%.

Itilong noted that prices on grapes are almost as important as the quality shipped. "Emperors, the main variety of grapes left in cold storage, and are selling at $2.50 a lug, a drop of 38¢ from the price at this time last year. Ribiers are selling at $2.50 a lug, a drop of $1.25. Calmerias are selling at $2.38, a drop of $1.50. All these prices have been declining. When they try to unload the 4,300,000 boxes of unsold Emperors, 700,000 boxes of unsold Ribiers, and 600,000 boxes of unsold Calmerias on the market, those prices will drop even further. They are in real trouble."

But those unsold grapes are the big reason why we have to keep pushing on the boycott, right through the whole year, Itilong stressed. "If we can block the sale of these grapes, and shut off more markets to the 1970 harvest which begins in May, then the growers will simply have to sit down at the table and work out an agreement with their workers to end the boycott. It would save everybody a lot of headaches if they would sit down now, well in advance of the season, so we could have the contracts finished before the picking starts. Then the workers and growers could work together to make the grape industry the most healthy and prosperous in American agriculture."

Mr. Grower, that phone number to call is 725-9703 in Delano. Ask for Mr. Chavez or Mr. Itilong. You will be amazed to find how many people want to buy grapes after you sign those contracts!
In September, 1965, over 4,000 grape pickers in the vineyards around Delano, California went on strike, when their employers refused to pay a living wage, sign a written contract, or recognize the workers' union. Since then, over 18,000 workers have joined in that strike. For four long years, these farm workers, led by Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, have struggled nonviolently for social and economic justice. Here is our story:
FARM WORKERS IN AMERICA: PROFILE OF

Human dignity and the right of farm workers to organize are the basic issues of the California and Arizona grape strikes.

Farm workers are striking for the right to build a community union of their own, which can provide social and economic justice through the proven procedures of collective bargaining.

For decades, farm workers have been denied the rights of collective bargaining and Union representation elections guaranteed other workers under Federal law. As a result, farm workers have never been able to build a Union or gain those benefits enjoyed by workers in most other American industries. California grape workers earn an average of less than $2000 a year. Most are Mexican - Americans, Filipinos, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans who face segregation and discrimination in the fields and rural communities where they live and work.

Grape pickers are seasonal migrant workers, who receive no unemployment insurance for those months when they are unemployed. Migrant families often live in crowded barrack-type labor camps which are fenced off to visitors and surrounded by NO TRESSPASSING signs.

Locked in a cycle of migrancy and poverty, over half of all farm worker children never get past eighth grade in school.

Farm workers' infant and maternal mortality rates are 125% higher than the national average, and incidence of infectious disease, including TB, is 300% higher than the national average. Direct exposure to pesticide poisons contributes to an occupational disease rate among farm workers twice that of other industries. The average life expectancy for migrant workers is only 49 years, compared to a 70-year life span for the average American.

Politicians have excluded farm workers from most protective labor legislation passed over the last 30 years. But even the few existing health, safety, sanitation, and labor laws are openly violated by the growers, who know that pro-Agri-Agrribusiness officials will not enforce them. Child labor is common in the vineyards. Ignoring sanitation laws, growers create a public health hazzard by subjecting men and

"Chavez has made an effort on behalf of people who suffer so tremendously in this country, namely, so many of our farm workers, particularly the Mexican-Americans and others of minority groups who have not had the protection of the laws as exist in so many other elements of society."

Robert F. Kennedy, 3/10/68
POVERTY

women to the indignity of working in fields without toilets or handwashing facilities. Labor contractors frequently pocket social security payments, preparing a bleak future for elderly workers.

Powerless, farm workers must endure inhuman and exploitive working conditions. Table grape workers do not have contracts. Company stores cheat them of their meager earnings. There are no holidays or vacations with pay, only the lay-off when the harvest is done, when the worker is discarded like a used and no longer needed piece of equipment. Workers do not have health or pension plans, unemployment insurance, or (except in a handful of states) even workmen's compensation for accidents. Safety precautions, especially for workers exposed to poisonous pesticides, are nonexistent. Cool drinking water is rarely provided, although summer harvest temperatures often top 105°F. Work speed-ups and abusive supervision are common. Workers can be fired at any time without explanation.

In the past, because laws have been unenforced or are designed to be unenforceable, legislation has failed to lighten the heavy burden of injustices heaped upon farm workers. Only a strong union and written contracts can guarantee that these abuses will be ended and that employers will deal with their workers with fairness and respect. Contracts signed by wine grape growers have successfully solved almost all these problems at the ranches under contract. The Union is asking for similar contracts with grape growers and hopes someday to extend these protections to other farm workers.

There is no attempt or intention to "control" or "dominate" agriculture or any segment of agriculture, as some anti-union propagandists have charged. We are seeking those basic rights, benefits, and protections which most other American workers have enjoyed for 20 years or more.

ABOVE: Women and children work in the fields, to supplement the meager earnings of their husbands.

LEFT: Farm workers are herded, transported like cattle, to and from work.
Agriculture is California's largest and richest industry, producing over $5 billion gross income in 1969. The trend is toward bigger and richer farms. Only 7% of all farm owners possess 79% of the land and employ 75% of all farm labor. In Kern County, where Delano is located, the average farm has 2,279 acres (U.S. average is 351 acres) and is valued at $590,000, according to the 1964 U.S. Census of Agriculture. The trend towards fewer and larger farms has increased rapidly since then.

Corporate conglomerates like Tenneco's Kern County Land Co. (348,026 acres in California alone), J.O. Boswell Co. (70,000 acres), Giumarra Fruit Corp (12,000 acres) and Bank of America's front-organization, the Agri-Business Investment Corporation dominate the table grape industry. The table grape industry centers around 30 grower-packer-shippers who handle 85% of all production.

California - Arizona growers have a virtual market monopoly over table grape production, raising 98% of the U.S. supply; imports account for less than 1% of total sales. From 1956 to 1966, table grape yields, productions and profits increased steadily, all signs of a dynamic industry which can afford to pay living wages.

Many growers are absentee landlords with holdings throughout the Southwest, who are expanding steadily as federally subsidized irrigation water becomes available. Meanwhile, the vast agribusiness lobby perpetuates the myth of the "family farmer" to maintain taxpayer-paid privileges, such as free labor recruitment through the Farm Labor Service, state university research and technical assistance, and over $4 billion annually in federal farm subsidies. In 1967, J.O. Boswell, who is a grape grower and sits on the Board of Directors of Safeway Stores, topped the handout list with $4 million. Seven Delano table grape growers receive
over $645,000 worth of this "welfare for the rich" every year, mostly for agreeing not to grow cotton that year.

While other industries pay living wages and unemployment insurance, it is the taxpayer who bears the burden of rural poverty, agribusiness' main by-product, by paying for federal and state health and meager subsistence to impoverished farm workers. Welfare and charity are not the answers for America's agricultural working poor. Growers can afford to pay decent wages. The growers have been able to avoid this social responsibility in the past only by successfully defeating all attempts by farm workers to form a union and bargain collectively.

WHAT ABOUT THE SMALL FARMER?

As a man who works the land, the small farmer is also the victim of agribusiness power. The low wages paid by the corporate farms with whom small farmers must compete depress the value of the small farmers' labors. The welfare and survival of small producers is not dependent on keeping farm laborers poor, but on organizing -- as workers are doing -- to bargain for a fair price for their products in the market place.

However, it must be remembered that even the small farmer is not in the same desperate economic position as the impoverished farm worker. The 1964 Census of Agriculture reports that 90% of all California farms of 10 acres or less in size are valued at $10,000 or more. Thus even the small farmer has savings and credit at the bank, and an established place in the community. As California Migrant Ministry Director, the Reverend Wayne C. Hartmire, reminds us, "Humanly speaking, the plight of the workers still demands priority attention."

ABOVE: Cadillacs lined up at Bianco Fruit Co. Packing shed in Delano.

LEFT: Tulare County Cop calmly watches as children work as strike-breakers. Rural Police protect the growers' society from the law.
Farm workers have made many attempts to organize. However, over the past half century, agricultural unions were crushed in rural courts by injunctions and by jailings, and broken in the fields by the mass importation of strikebreakers from other areas or even other countries. Excluded from the protection of labor laws passed in the 1930's, farm workers have never been able to build unions, bargain collectively, and gain those benefits enjoyed by most other American workers.

In 1962, California farm workers under the leadership of Cesar Chavez founded a self-help community union, the National Farm Workers Association. They established the first farm workers credit union, death insurance program, and newspaper. The NFWA was largely composed of Mexican and Mexican-American farm workers. At the same time, an increasing number of Filipino-American workers were joining the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, founded in 1959.

The grape strike began in September, 1965, led by AWOC, and spread rapidly throughout the vineyards around Delano, as growers refused to meet with their workers to discuss union representation elections or improvements in wages and conditions. Thousands of farm workers walked out of the fields in support of the strike, only to be replaced rapidly by imported scabs.

The grape industry retaliated by beating and arresting those strikers and their families from their homes in the labor camps. Delano city officials, police, and courts openly allied themselves with the growers by harassing strikers and arresting workers for shouting “Huelga,” (“strike” in Spanish) on the picket lines. Soon other unions, churches, students and ethnic groups throughout the country rallied in support of the farm workers struggle.

The growers’ extensive use of foreign strikebreakers forced the union to seek economic power through consumer boycotts, and, after two years of struggle, the pressure from these boycotts or threats of boycotts brought ten major wine grape growers to the bargaining table with UFWOC. The result was contracts with the growers covering several thousand farm workers at such ranches as Schenley, Gallo, Almaden, and Franzia Bros. These wine grape contracts provide the best wages and working conditions in American agriculture.

Farm workers, who suffered and sacrificed for the right to organize, demonstrated their overwhelming support of the Union, in every election and impartially supervised election procedure agreed to by the growers.

During the wine grape campaign, UFWOC continued to organize workers in the table grape industry throughout California’s Coachella and San Joaquin Valleys and Arizona. The vast majority of table grape workers have signed cards authorizing UFWOC to represent...
FOR JUSTICE

Strike

them in negotiations with the growers.

In early 1968, UFWOC notified all California table grape growers that it represented their workers, and called for elections and negotiations. Similar telegrams were sent to Arizona growers in May 1969. NOT ONE GROWER RESPONDED TO THESE REQUESTS BY THE FARM WORKERS FOR ELECTIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS.

Only after trying to reach a peaceful negotiated settlement did grape pickers turn to the strike and boycott. Rather than negotiate, the growers fired union members, formed company unions and are using illegal foreign strikebreakers from Mexico to pick the grapes. While the Justice Department closes its eyes to the open violation of the letter and intent of the immigration laws, the growers ruthlessly pit brother against brother, the poor of Mexico against the poor of the United States, to undermine the farm workers movement.

Faced with the repeated importation of foreign strike-breakers, farm workers were forced to extend their picket lines from the fields to the cities and call for an International Table Grape Boycott to gain union recognition and just contracts.

ABOVE: Cars of workers leave the fields to join the strike, Coachella grape strike, June, 1969. BELOW: Workers picketing and calling on others to join the strike, Coachella grape strike, June 1969. OPPOSITE: Delano grape strike, September, 1967.
THE GRAPE BOYCOTT:
CONSUMER POWER STRIKES A BLOW FOR JUSTICE

The grape boycott is a consumer boycott. Striking farm workers are asking consumers not to buy grapes and not to shop at stores that sell grapes.

Since the days of the Boston Tea Party, Americans have used their legal right to boycott as a legitimate, non-violent means of achieving social justice. Today, housewives boycott supermarkets to protest skyrocketing food prices and black Americans boycott bigoted merchants who refuse to employ minorities.

The boycott is supported by civic and religious groups, trade unions, political leaders, students and consumers all over the world. The World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and enthusiastic Catholic bishops endorse the boycott. The entire AFL-CIO, the United Automobile Workers, the Canadian Labour Congress, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions are all standing behind their brothers in the fields.

Political leaders and legitimate consumer groups, including the Consumer Federation of America and the National Consumers League, have reaffirmed the consumer's right "not to buy" by endorsing the grape boycott. Small farmers, like those within the National Farmers Union, also support it. America's family farmers share a common interest with field workers in fighting agribusiness control of the nation's food supply.

The moral decisions by millions of concerned Americans NOT TO EAT GRAPES has made the boycott increasingly successful. U.S. Department of Agriculture reports show that grape shipments to major markets, including New York, Chicago and Toronto, have dropped 30 to 50% since the boycott began.

However, the Defense Department, in helping growers counter consumer support for farm workers by providing a scab grape market of last resort. The military, acting as strikebreaker, has doubled its table grape purchases and is increasing grape shipments to Vietnam by 800%.

Drawing financial support from the right-wing, the grape industry has hired the arch-conservative public relations firm of Whitaker & Baxter, which stopped Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign. While in turn, has set up the phony Consumers' Rights Committee to break the boycott with a multi-million dollar publicity campaign. Under the guidance of Senator George Murphy's so-called "Consumers' Food Protection Act"—drafted by Whitaker & Baxter—agribusiness in seeking to take away the farm workers' non-violent weapons through repressive, anti-consumer legislation which would outlaw farm labor strikes, peaceful picketing and boycott.
Pesticides: The Growing Unrestricted Use of Poisons Threatens Consumers, the Environment

The increasingly successful grape boycott brought 10 grape growers to the bargaining table with UFWOC in June of 1969, but the negotiations broke down over the issue of pesticides. Grape growers rejected all union proposed protections for workers and consumers.

UFWOC first became concerned about pesticides as grape workers suffering from injuries caused by them began seeking treatment at the union clinic. A 1969 California Public Health Dept. survey, conducted primarily among grape pickers, found that 80% of the workers investigated suffered from symptoms of pesticide poisoning, including rashes, loss of hair and fingernails, vision impairment and convulsions. Farm worker children, too, are victims of this "pesticide epidemic" according to clinical evidence collected by Dr. Lee Mizrahi Tulare County, the nation's major grape growing region.

Laboratory analyses conducted on table grapes being sold in supermarkets around the country have consistently revealed significant DDT, Aldrin, Parathion and other chemical residues. Pesticide residues can often be seen on grapes in the stores. Since they penetrate the fruit, pesticides cannot be washed off or cooked out. They are stored in the body tissues. Solid medical evidence links pesticides with birth deformities, sex organ disorders, DDT-laced mothers milk, leukemia and cancer. Food and Drug Administration statistics show that 1,000 Americans are killed and 90,000 injured each year by agricultural chemicals.

Public outrage by injured farm workers and concerned consumers has forced California to prohibit the use of DDT on grapes after March 1970. Merely banning DDT,
Menace

Workers,

however, does not afford protection from the wide variety of more toxic-pesticides used on grapes.

Cesar Chavez spoke for all Americans concerned with pesticide pollution of the environment when he warned grape growers, "We will not tolerate the systematic poisoning of our people." UFWOC is demanding that table grape growers sign contracts containing health and safety protections similar to those in the union's wine grape contract with Perelli-Minetti. This contract provides for a joint worker-employer safety committee, prohibits the use of "hard" chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides such as DDT, Aldrin and Dieldrin, and strictly controls the application of organo phosphate

Through the grape boycott, farm workers and consumers can join together in a practical step to stop the misuse of pesticides on table grapes, and eventually throughout agriculture. Union contracts are the only sure way to secure safe job conditions for workers and pure food for consumers.

RIGHT: Fields, orchards, and vineyards, sprayed with parathion, can be deadly to farm workers for weeks after the spraying.

LEFT: Advertisements for chemical poisons applied to your food.
HE MAY BE A GROWER HIMSELF!

YOUR GROCER PROMOTES POVERTY
BY SELLING GRAPES

Stores that sell grapes -- a luxury, seasonal item of no importance to their profits -- are helping the growers perpetuate rural poverty among the families who harvest the nation's crops.

For this reason, any store that buys grapes from the growers for sale or display is not "neutral", as store managers sometimes claim, but directly assisting the growers.

Some stores will take into consideration the views of their customers, and will stop buying grapes after receiving appeals and petitions from consumers. Other stores refuse to listen to appeals from their customers and continue to buy grapes. Some buy more grapes than they can possibly sell, even at discount prices, as a political act of solidarity with the rich growers. And some big supermarket chains are so deeply involved in agribusiness as to become part of the agribusiness power structure.

Safeway Stores, the country's major grape buyer and the largest supermarket chain in the West, is a prime example of the field-to-table corporate control of the food supply that has taken over American agriculture. Safeway directors control conglomerates which own over 1,000,000 acres of prime farm land and which received more than $6 million in federal farm subsidies last year for NOT GROWING food and fiber.

One of the Directors of Safeway, J. G. Boswell, is also president and director of J. G. Boswell, Inc., one of the largest cotton growers in California and the largest grape grower in Arizona. Last year Boswell received $4,091,818 from the Federal Government for NOT growing cotton, the largest subsidy paid to any rancher in the nation.

The Chairman of the Board of Safeway, Robert Magowan, is a director of J. G. Boswell, which owns more than 135,000 acres of prime California land.

Ernest C. Arbuckle, another director of Safeway, is also a director of the Kern County Land Co., with 350,000 acres in California, $838,000 in cotton subsidies, and thousands of acres of grapes. Arbuckle also has interests in Ewa Plantation Co., Waialua Agricultural Co. Ltd (Dole products), Kohula Sugar Co., and other agribusiness firms.

Another Director of Safeway, Charles de Bretteville, is president-director of Spreckles Sugar Co., which with one or two other giant sugar companies, has a near-monopoly on the sugar industry.

Another director of Safeway, Norman Chandler, is Vice President and director of the Tejon Ranch, a 168,000 acre spread which will soon be irrigated by the billion-dollar federal-state "Westlands Water Project." Taxpayers will foot the entire cost of this irrigation scheme, which will almost exclusively benefit the huge corporate ranches on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley.

While Safeway claims it is "neutral" in the grape strike, Safeway President Quentin Reynolds, director of the California Chamber of Commerce, had the Chamber send out anti-UFWOC kits to 80,000 businessmen urging them to fight the farm workers' union.

While over 200,000 Safeway consumers have signed a petition asking Safeway to stop handling grapes, Safeway continues to subsidize the growers by buying more grapes than they can sell. Safeway alone pays grape growers $1 to $5 million a year, helping them to fight the Union.

To date, millions of Americans have stopped eating the Grapes of Wrath, and responsible, community-minded chain store managers have stopped handling grapes in response to their consumers' requests. At this time, Safeway and other stores handling grapes are acting against the farm workers and against the struggle for human dignity and a living wage in the fields and orchards of America. This is why we ask you to boycott Safeway and other stores handling grapes.

"We've got a good thing going, boy, and we just can't afford to let you in on it..."
NEEDED:
LAWS TO HELP US BUILD

In 1935, Congress passed the Wagner Act and other progressive labor legislation which enabled industrial workers to build unions. Farm workers were specifically excluded from that legislation because of the political power of the big agri-business interests. For the last thirty years, farm workers have pleaded in vain for legislation which would enable them to build a union, protect workers from unfair labor practices, and provide a framework for constructive collective bargaining.

Now agri-business interests are uniting behind national legislation which would not only ignore these basic problems but which would also outlaw strikes and boycotts. This legislation, introduced by Senator George Murphy (R-Ga.), would take away the only non-violent weapons the farm workers have left, and would in effect outlaw the Union.

The Union has repeatedly stated its legislative position. UFWOC is in favor of extending the original Wagner Act, the "Bill of Rights" for labor, to include farm workers. "For 35 years, we have been denied those rights other workers enjoy, and now we want those protections and benefits which enabled them to build their unions," stated UFWOC legislative counsel Bob McMillan.

Another key law which at present excludes farm workers, The Occupational Health and Safety Act, should be extended to cover farm workers. Farm labor is one of the most dangerous and hazardous of all occupations in the U.S., yet there are almost no laws protecting the workers.

"As part of this legislation, we want special provisions dealing with pesticides and economic poisons," stated UFWOC Director Cesar Chavez in recent testimony before Congress. "We must put an end to the systematic poisoning of farm workers by the misuse of these chemicals," he said.

The Union has also stated repeatedly that the first responsibility of Congress is to enforce regulations making it illegal to hire as strike-breakers illegal entrants (wetbacks) or residents of foreign countries who enter the U.S. under "Green Card" immigration permits. Such regulations should be made a part of the law, with financial and legal penalties for growers convicted of such illegal hiring. Such hiring should be made an unfair labor practice.

At present there are no penalties for the employer who illegally hires such workers, and the laws are completely unenforced.

"Our experience in the past has been that what little legislation has been passed to aid farm workers is unenforced, or has no teeth," stated one union spokesman. "Consequently, we are putting our main energy into winning the boycott, into winning contracts through economic pressure on the growers. We feel a strong Union and written contracts between growers will solve the problems of the farm workers. We support legislation that will favor that end."

THE SAD LESSON
OF WISCONSIN

The cucumber (pickle) harvest in Wisconsin lasts little more than the month of August, but feelings among farm workers in favor of the union was so strong in 1967, that they prevailed upon the state of Wisconsin to set up a representation election for the workers on August 31, 1967. The employer, Libby, McNeill, and Libby, had steadfastly refused to recognize the Union, bargain with the workers, or hold elections. The vote among the cucumber pickers at Libby's was 405 in favor of the Union, and 8 opposed, a 98% majority.

But such an election merely proves what we and the growers already know, that the workers want a Union. When union representatives sat down with Libby officials in the fall of 1967 to write a contract, Libby pointed out that the election was not legally binding, that the harvest was now over, and that the Union had no power with which to enforce its demands. Libby refused to sign a contract and broke off negotiations almost as soon as they had begun. The workers were by then back in Texas or other areas, and no boycott with which to exert pressure on the company.

The lesson to be learned is that election victories are hollow if there are no procedures to guarantee collective bargaining, and if the union has no muscle or economic power with which to back up its demands. We won't let that happen again.

OUR COMMITMENT TO NON-VIOLENCE

UFWOC is committed to the principles of non-violent change espoused by Ghandi and Martin Luther King. Despite the beatings and provocations inflicted upon farm workers by growers and their agents the workers have maintained their pledge of non-violence throughout four years of struggle.

In March 1968, Cesar Chavez undertook a 25-day fast to reaffirm the Union's commitment to non-violence. Upon breaking this fast, Cesar spoke to a mass attended by 10,000 farm workers and supporters:

"Our struggle is not easy. Those who oppose our cause are rich and powerful and they have many allies in high places. We are poor. Our allies are few. But we have something the rich do not own. We have our bodies and spirits and the justice of our cause as our weapons.

"I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness, is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice.

"To be a man is to suffer for others.

"God help us to be men!"
THE UNION CONTRACT WITH MINETTI:

IS THIS ASKING SO MUCH?

Growers have claimed that the Union has a "rule-or-ruin" policy against the grape industry. Nothing could be further from the truth. UFWOC is hopeful that once contracts are signed, the Union and growers will be able to work together to make the grape industry the healthiest and most prosperous, for growers and workers alike, in all agriculture.

What UFWOC is asking from table grape growers is basically what has already been agreed to by wine grape growers over the last two years, in contracts which were gained without strikes, major disruptions or work stoppages, boycotts, or lockouts. The contract with Perelli-Minetti and Sons Vineyards, signed on September 18, 1969, after numerous sessions of quiet and orderly discussions, negotiations, and smooth collective bargaining between workers and growers, is typical. Here are some of its provisions.

NO STRIKE, NO LOCK OUT: The Union and P-M agree that there will be no strikes or lockouts and no boycotts of any kind during the term of this agreement.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY: P-M agrees that it will not illegally discriminate in the hiring of employees, or in their training, promotion, transfer, discipline, discharge or otherwise, on the basis of race, creed, national origin, sex, or religion.

HIRING: Whenever P-M requires new employees to perform any work covered by this Agreement, it shall notify the Union stating the number of employees needed, the type of work to be performed, the starting date of the work and the approximate duration of the job or jobs. If the Union does not furnish the requested number of qualified employees within 48 hours, or on the date of the beginning of the work (whichever date is later), P-M shall be free to procure needed workers not furnished by the Union from any other source.

VACATIONS: P-M will pay four percent (4%) of the total yearly earnings for regular full time employees after two years employment, with a qualifying period of 1600 hours per year, as vacation pay. All other employees will receive vacation allowance of two percent (2%) of the total yearly earnings after a qualifying period of 15 working days per year.

SPECIAL BENEFITS FUND: P-M agrees to contribute to the Union’s Special Benefits Fund 10¢ per hour for each hour worked by all employees covered by this agreement. (Benefits include some of the following, to help meet the cost of medical expenses: $5 for each visit to the doctor by the worker or any member of his family; $100 for X-Rays and lab tests; $15 per quarter for medicines; $300 per year for maternity expenses; and $200 a year for hospital expenses. The worker and his entire family are covered by the program.)

WAGES: Wages include a $2.00 minimum wage for all labor (with all rates going up 15% after May 1, 1970). Grape pickers are paid on a piece rate basis, by the ton, on a rate of $7.80 to $11 a ton. The average picker makes an average wage of $4.70 per hour, for the 6-week harvest in the wine grapes. (The Union has offered to modify its demand of $2 an hour, and 25¢ a box for picking table grapes). Over time is paid after 9 hours of work.

There are many other clauses dealing with grievance procedures, working conditions, health and safety, and other items. In key clause, Minetti agrees not to use chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides, and to use other pesticides only after consultation with the union and with strict observance of health and safety precautions, to protect workers and consumers.

This is a contract that recognizes the rights of the grower, and facilitates the smooth operation of his ranch, while at the same time giving the workers the basic rights and benefits we seek. Any grape grower could afford these wages, could afford to bring his working conditions up to standards set forth in the wine grape contracts. Is this really asking so much?
How You Can Help Farm Workers

Don't Buy Grapes --
Don't Eat Grapes

Ask Your Store Manager

Not to Handle Grapes

Form a Boycott Committee--
Leaflet Your Neighborhood Store--
Involve Your Organization

Write Your Congressmen

Protesting Increasing Military Grape Purchases

Contribute to UFWOC, Box 130,
Delano, Ca. 93215

for further information, contact:
Boycott Coordinator
United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO
Box 130, Delano, Ca 93215
(805) 725-9703

FILL OUT THIS CARD AND SEND IT WITH $3.50 TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS FOR A ONE-YEAR SUBSCRIPTION TO EL MALCRIADO, SENT TO YOUR HOME EVERY TWO WEEKS FOR ONE YEAR.
ROTTEN DECISIONS...

JUDGE PROTECTS PESTICIDE SECRECY

RIVERSIDE, December 18 -- Farm workers of Riverside County do not have the right to know what pesticides they are exposed to in their daily work, according to that County's Superior Court Judge, John Neblett. In a decision handed down on December 18th, the judge denied UFWOC member Amalia Uribe's petition for a writ of mandate to force the Agricultural Commissioner of Riverside County to give her access to the Commissioner's records on commercial pesticide applications.

"I have suffered blurred vision and nausea while picking grapes," says Miss Uribe. "My mother and my brother have also been injured in the fields. I wanted to see the records so that I could know with what pesticides and how recently fields had been sprayed before I went to work in them."

Pesticide applicators are required to keep records and to submit them to the county commissioner of agriculture. UFWOC attorney Charles Farnsworth argued that his client should have access to the pesticide files because they are, by nature, government records. Under California law, except in special circumstances, all government records must be open to public inspection.

The Attorney General of the State of California agreed with Miss Uribe's contention and intervened in the case on behalf of the people of the state. Arguing that the people of the state have a constitutional right to see the records, the Attorney General asked for a court injunction requiring the Commissioner to open the files to the public for inspection.

A group of commercial pesticide applicators disagreed with the Attorney General and intervened in the case against Miss Uribe. These businessmen claimed that the records she wished to see contained valuable trade secrets, market reports, and investigative findings, and that the Commissioner of Agriculture should be enjoined from ever opening them to the public.

The Judge, choosing to protect the profits of the applicators rather than the health of the people, swallowed the pesticide applicator's argument; he denied both Miss Uribe's petition and the injunction request by the State Attorney General. In his decision, Judge Neblett stated that the pesticide records were not public and therefore not open to public inspection. Even if they were public, the judge allowed, they contained trade secrets and would not be affected by the California Government Records Act.

"The decision is a step backwards into the dark ages of governmental secrecy," commented Farnsworth.

JUDGE IGNORES GROWERS' FRAUD

DELANO, December 16 -- Judge John Jelletich of Bakersfield announced today that UFWOC's $10 million suit filed last March against the Agricultural Workers Freedom to Work Association did not have a legal basis under California labor law. The suit was filed after AWFWA, a group which claimed to offer agricultural workers an alternative to UFWOC, was organized in July, 1968, by a group of growers, including the Giannaros brothers and Jack Pandol.

California state law prohibits employers' sponsorship of any organization which claims to represent workers.

UFWOC general counsel, Jerry Cohen filed the claim for $10 million in damages against several AWFWA leaders and 50 growers, whom he claimed had conspired illegally to form the rival AWFWA. Cohen, in an interview, pointed out that two officers of AWFWA themselves had reported to the U.S. Dept. of Labor that AWFWA was founded by growers, not workers, and that it proposed specifically to sabotage UFWOC's organizing efforts in California grape fields.

As soon as UFWOC filed the suit, AWFWA was dissolved, according to Cohen. Then the growers' lawyers argued that UFWOC did not have a claim against them, because the AWFWA had never collectively bargained with the employers. After five separate hearings on this question, Judge Jelletich agreed with the growers.

"The decision is absolutely absurd," said Cohen. "It means that employers can secretly organize an association which claims to represent workers, use that association for propaganda purposes, dissolve it when the public discovers the truth, and still be free from liability or prosecution, even though California law prohibits such action. In fact, the relevant section of the California Labor Code does not prohibit only an employer-sponsored group that has bargained collectively. We shall appeal!"
Juanita Brown joined Itliong in expressing confidence that the boycott would bring growers to the negotiating table this year. Mrs. Brown is taking a leave of absence from the strike for a few months to finish work on a masters' thesis.

"There will be some changes in the boycott in 1970," stated Itliong, "We have learned lessons from 1969's successes and difficulties. We hope to stress more person-to-person confrontation, where the boycotters meet the consumer at the store and explain to him why we must strike and boycott. Our real battle will be won or lost right there in front of those stores. If we can convince people not to buy grapes, and get people to convince their stores not to handle grapes, then we will win. Waving flags, marches, and demonstrations and other things are good and give publicity to the strike, but are no substitute for convincing people, one by one, not to buy scab grapes. And stores that buy grapes, that directly and financially help the growers, have taken their stand against us, and must be considered our opponents. They are the targets of this boycott, as well as the grapes they buy."

Itliong also noted that the national labor movement, especially the AFL-CIO leadership, is beginning to reassess and recognize the power and value of a well organized and supported consumer boycott. "The Unions are now really mobilizing behind the GE boycott," said Itliong, "It is a beautiful thing to see the whole labor movement working so hard for brother unions. We are sure that the GE boycott will help bring GE to a more reasonable position at the bargaining table."

"We hope that the Unions will be able to use this really massive support that they have generated in behalf of GE and also put it to work in behalf of the farm workers. If we can get really massive labor support and solidarity, I am sure that we can bring both GE and the grape growers to the bargaining table in the near future."

The Tragic Loss of Two Young Friends

The farm workers movement lost two young supporters in 1969, and EL MALCRIADO would like to take this opportunity to offer on behalf of the Union our regrets to the families who suffered the unexpected tragedies.

Killed in an automobile accident was Ann Weinberg, 21, of Lawrence, New York, who had been working almost full time on the grape boycott in New York and Brooklyn. "She had worked tirelessly, taking a part-time job at night so that she could spend her days working for the boycott," wrote her parents, Gloria and Arthur Weinberg. "She spoke at schools and churches where she obtained pledges from the congregation to refuse to buy in stores that carried grapes... Her life was dedicated to peace and justice."

And from Illinois came news of the kidnapping and brutal murder of Lisa Levering, who, though only 14, had already opened her heart and mind to the sufferings and hunger for justice of her fellow man. Lisa had joined in the historic farm workers march to Sacramento and her parents, Dave and Cricket Levering, had been staunch supporters of La Huelga from its earliest days.

"When we moved to Illinois," wrote Cricket, "one of the first things Lisa did in our new house was to put up a "DON'T EAT GRAPES" poster. The Leverings have established the Lisa Levering Memorial Fund in Delano to further aid in that struggle in which Lisa had such an interest. "We are convinced that she would find no memorial more fitting than that her friends should take new interest in and make new commitment to the struggle of California grape strikers," wrote her parents.

These tragic deaths remind us of how much young people have done to help sustain our struggle. Even when our own people grow weary, and look with despair at the horrors of violence and injustice which surround us, the young refresh us with their continuing enthusiasm and hope and dedication. How tragically short, yet how meaningful, these two lives have been in making this world a more decent and better place in which to live. Their spirit continues in our struggle.

Viva la Causa Y El Progreso

Courtesy of a Mexican-American Attorney

Fresno, California

The Dirt on California

From an EL MALCRIADO review, Jan. 1, 69:
"The evidence, presented in carefully documented and annotated prose by the authors, both long-time friends of the United Farm Workers, shows that the University has prostituted itself time and again for the growers, issuing false and misleading reports..." WRITE El Interna tional Socialists. Box 590, Berkeley, Calif. 94701
Please send payment with mailing address: 1 copy, 50¢; 3 copies, $1; 10 copies for $3.
Apologies for Those Slow-Moving Calendars!

Dear Friends,

We apologize for the long delay in filling your order for calendars this year. The Union had them printed in Ohio this year, and was then unable to get an adequate supply of them here in California to send out to those of you who ordered them through the mail. Please forgive us for the mix-up and thank you again for your order and for your support for our cause.

VIVA LA CAUSA,

Pete G. Vallesco
Chairman, Defense Fund, UFWOC

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