I, ELISEO MEDINA, hereby declare:

I have been a farm worker all of my life. For the last ten years, I have been an organizer for the United Farm Workers, working in Florida, Illinois, and throughout California. I am presently a member of the Executive Board of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and am in charge of contract negotiations and administration.

It is the position of the United Farm Workers that if farm workers in California are to be guaranteed the right to organize, labor organizations must have means to communicate with the workers. In order to reach all farm workers, labor organizations must have access to workers at the work site, and meaningful access to workers at home, which would require an accurate list of the names and addresses of a grower's farm worker employees some time before the election at that ranch. The combination of field access and pre-petition lists is necessary because of the peculiar characteristics of California agriculture and the unavailability of alternative means of communicating with farm workers.

Based on my years organizing with the United Farm Workers and my experience as a farm worker before I began with the UFW, I think that the following are accurate general observations on the farm labor workforce in California:

Migratory: The vast majority of harvesting and pre-harvest cultivation work done in California agriculture is done by migrant workers. Each year thousands of farm workers come to California from Texas (and Nueva Leon, Mexico), from the interior of Mexico, and from the border Mexican states of Baja California (Mexicali, Tijuana) and Sonora (San Luis), as

well as Arizona and New Mexico. Each year, thousands of immigrants arrive from the Phillipines, India, and Yemen. In certain crops and certain parts of California, there is a fairly steady, if not large, influx of workers from Puerto Rico. Even among California farm workers, there is a great deal of seasonal migration. Coachella residents will follow the grape harvest north from July (Arvin and Lamont) until October (Lodi tokay harvest) or will head to Stockton and Yolo/Sutter for the tomatoe harvest. Salinas residents will follow the lettuce harvest in September to the San Joaquin Valley, in December to the Imperial Valley, and in March or April back to Salinas. Delano residents may go north to Stockton for the asparagus harvest in early Spring when there is no work in Delano's grapes. Farm work is seasonal, and the work force tends to follow the harvests from one Valley to another.

Relatively high turn-over: For a variety of reasons, there is a fairly-high turn-over rate among farm workers, more so in some cross and areas than others. The use of contractors, the availability of jobs in other parts of the state, the lack of job security, and the abuses workers suffer at the hands of contractors and growers all contribute to the relatively high turn-over rate.

Labor contractors dominate farm labor in many areas.

Thinning of lettuce and sugar beets, harvesting citrus, picking melons, raisin grapes, and picking wine grapes are all activities which traditionally use labor contractors. A drive down Imperial Avenue in Calexico at three o'clock any December morning will convince anyone that labor contractors

play an extensive role in Imperial Valley agriculture.

The <u>crew system</u> previals throughout the industry. The crews range from the highly organized crew (a lettuce ground crew or Filipino grape crew, for examples) to the <u>de facto</u> contractor crews slapped together each morning at "el Hoyo" ("The Hole") in Calexico. In almost any crew situation, the crew foreman has absolute power over the crew, and is usually surrounded by a nucleus of relatives and close friends.

Many nationalities make up the California farm labor force. Besides Mexicans and Filipinos (at least three major dialects), there are sizeable groups of Arabians (North and South Yemenese, with great cultural and political differences between the two, reflecting in part the political differences of their homelands), Portuguese, Punjabis, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, blacks, and some whites.

The work force is not universally well-informed about unionization or the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. By now the workers of the Bruce Church company, who have lived under Teamster contract for six years, struck twice to be represented by the United Farm Workers, and been through four (4) ALRB-conducted representation elections, might be considered a sophisticated work force by industrial standards. However, they are the exception, not the rule. The vast majority of farm workers in California have still not been educated as to their rights under the ALRA, and while it is safe to say that almost all farm workers in California have heard of Cesar Chavez and have some feeling for what he has done, workers from those areas and crops which have not been the focus point of the UFW's 14 years of organizing have very little idea of what unionization

entails, both in terms of responsibilities and benefits.

Taking these general observations, I think that consideration of the various possible means of communicating with farm workers will show that only a combination of effective home visits (made possible by employee lists) and field access will guarantee that all farm workers are reached by union organizers and hear the union side of the story.

RADIO: There are several major drawbacks with using radio to communicate with farm workers. To start with the obvious, not all farm workers carry radios or own radios. The thousands of workers, mostly illegal aliens, living in the fields, orchards, and vineyards around Lost Hills, Fresno, Corona, Oxnard, and throughout the State obviously don't have radios in their irrigation pipe or cardboard shack homes. Furthermoe, the cost of radio advertising drains an organizing campaign, especially considering impersonal nature of a radio spot, which cannot be responsive to individual problems and questions. No matter how clever a thirty-second radio spot, it alone cannot convince a worker to sign an authorization card.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to radio advertising in a

union organization drive is the language problem. Only the

small minority of farm workers who understand English and listen

to English-speaking stations can be reached by English broadcasts.

In areas where there are Spanish broadcasts, the radio stations often cover only a small town's area, and won't carry into the

countryside where the workers live and work. In some areas there are brief broadcasts aimed at Filipinos, but these are generally

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in Tagalog, which is unintelligble to the thousands of workers who speak another dialect, such as Ilocano or Visayan. From our investigation, it appears that there are no stations in rural areas broadcasting in either Punjabi or Arabic.

TELEVISION. All of the problems of radio advertisement are magnified in television. The cost is greater, the viewing audience smaller, and the number of farm workers owning or bringing with them from home a television almost miniscule. A family leaving McCallen, Texas in April to follow the grape harvest in California until October, stopping in three or four towns between Coachella and Lodi, is not going to bring a television with it. A family coming from Michoacan to work in the tomatoes in Stockton and then Yolo is not going to bring a television with it. A group of single men who follow the lettuce from valley to valley in California and Arizona, living in company camps, is not going to bring a television with it.

NEWSPAPERS: Besides the cost and impersonality of newspapers as a means of communicating with farm workers, there is a fairly large minority of farm workers who are illiterate and could not be reached by a newspaper add in any circumstances. There are few newspapers which would reach even those farm workers who can read. Farm workers don't read the Los Angeles Times or Bakersfield Californian. There are several newspapers read by Mexicans in California. La Opinion is Los Angeles based, and is aimed at urban

Mexican-Americans, not Mexican farm workers. La Voz de la Frontera is read only in the Imperial Valley, and because it is published in Mexico is subject to that country's censorship rules (a prohibition on saying anything bad about anybody). The few Filipino newspapers published in California are strictly urban publications, and are in Tagalog, so not directed at workers who speak dialects besides Tagalog. There are no Arabian or Punjabi newspapers at all.

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MAILINGS are not a pratical means of communication and we have never, in the history of our Union, been able to rely on mailings to organize farm workers. First, many, many farm workers cannot read. Second, the mailing addresses which me might gather for workers are not reliable for speedy mailing purposes. Workers often give as a mailing address their permanent address is Texas or Mexico, where they pick up their mail at the end of the harvest season in California. Often, large groups of workers will use the same post office box address while in an area, checking the box when they pass through town. Other workers have their mail sent to a relative somewhere in California, who can be counted on to hold onto the letters until the worker can pick them up. Given the time context of fast elections and the seasonal nature of agriculture, mail is not an effective means of reaching migratory farm workers.

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TELEPHONES are additionally useless. In the industrial sector, steadily employed workers may have telephones, but among farm workers telephones are not at all common. Norkers

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who don't stay in one town all year don't have telephones, and neither do the tens of thousands of workers who live in camps or in the fields, vineyards, and orchards.

RALLIES: The United Farm Workers has made great use of large worker rallies from time to time, in order to celebrate victories or holidays, launch a campaign, or to update workers on the latest events. While rallies are good for the spirits, they are not that effective for discussing individual problems. It is hard to explain to each worker or even a crew from a ranch what the Union can do for that crew at that ranch while there is a rally with three, five, or ten thousand workers going on.

<u>UNION MEETINGS</u> are the backbone of a democratic Union, and the United Farm Workers conducts many such meetings each week throughout California. However, they are usually quite large and subject to the same limitations as rallies, discussed above.

LEAFLETS have the limited usefulness of notifying workers about an upcoming event, announcing a news item, or making a single, information point. But how are workers to get even leaflets without an access rule? It is impossible to wait for workers in the fields, for a company's farm labor work force is like a big factory which moves through a Valley, changing location each day. Organizers cannot anticipate where a crew or grower is going to be picking grapes on a given

day. It would be an exercise in futility to hope that you could guess which of Giumarra's 14,000 acres of grapes was going to be picked on a certain day in August, or which of Andco's 11,000 acres of tomatoes was going to be harvested. By lunch organizers can locate crews and with an access rule can talk to crews and pass out leaflets, but the chances of finding a crew before they get into a field are miniscule.

There is the added problem that workers often arrive in company or contractor buses or in car caravans led by a contractor or foreman from the company. The company access roads are often as big as the county roads in the area, and cars would not naturally slow down entering the grower's property. A labor contractor or foreman would never stop, and workers in a caravan would be unlikely to do so.

PICK-UP POINTS. In certain areas, farm workers gather to be hired in the morning. An example is Calexico, where any winter morning will find thousands of workers seeking jobs along Imperial Avenue, at different alleys, and at the State-run "Hole". It is difficult to communicate with workers at such locations, because all jobs are strictly on a day-to-day basis, and a worker is concerned primarily with being hired and earning fifteen dollars to feed his family that night. There is the ever-present labor contractor or foreman, and the fact that it is cold out, early in the morning, and the worker might have been awake for three hours already (at three in the morning), walking from his home in Mexicali to the border and then finding work. Communication is difficult, given the time of morning, the weather, and the fear of not getting a job or of getting

fired.

LABOR CAMPS are vanishing in many areas of the state.

The San Joaquin Valley, once dotted with farm labor camps, in recent years has lost many camps as employers decided against spending additional money for housing migrant workers. In the Imperial Valley, where there is the nearby Mexican border, there is only one labor camp, and if it weren't for the ALRA and the desire of some employers to bring in workers from Delano and Texas who had never heard of the ALRA I don't think that even that single camp would be operating. The one camp had serious problems with different Imperial County health authorities last year, and next winter might see no camps at all in the Imperial Valley. The Salinas Valley, on the other hand, has a fair number of camps still, for Mexicali or San Luis residents working in Salinas for the summer.

Where there are camps, they are usually run by supervisors or labor contractors who, despite California Supreme Court decisions, feel that the camps are their property which they can declare off limits for organizers. Many camps are surrounded by barbed wires, and armed guards and attack dogs are not uncommon. In some camps, nobody other than "authorized" prostitutes and gamblers can get into the camp without seriously risking their lives.

In a limited number of situations, camp access can be helpful and effective. It cannot be ignored, but it certainly cannot be counted on to reach anything more than a very small percentage of the State's farm workers.

TOWN VISITING (Door to door) could be helpful, though incredibly time consuming, in only a very limited way.

First, not all workers live in a "town" even during the harvest season. You could walk every block of every town in the Fresno area and miss thousands of workers who live in the fields. In ten minutes you could knock every door in Lost Hills, California, but you wouldn't reach one percent of the thousands of workers who are now working in the southwest corner of the San Joaquin Valley, recently planted in hundreds and thousands of acres of grapes, tree fruit, and olives.

Second, even if you spent several years visiting every house in every town in the San Joaquin Valley, you would touch only the hard core of workers who live in the area all year round You would miss the thousands of workers who come from Texas, Mexico, Coachella, and northern California for the grape harvesti Even in the year-round agricultural operations, where the turn-over is lower than the seasonal operations (but still very high compared to industry), you would have to visit all the towns in a hundred mile radius of the ranch in order to find the workers working there.

By only talking to a worker at his home, you might never learn the worker's employer. The worker might know that his foreman's name is "Jose", nicknamed "El prieto", that each day they pick raisins at a couple of different properties, and that each day they are paid in cash (or the contractor's check). Is this worker an employee of each ranch where he picks raisins? Is this worker an employee of Jose? Is this worker an employee of a hiring association? Is this worker an employee of a packing house? Without field access and, more importantly in this

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situation, without a pre-petition list from the ranch or from Jose or from the packing house, you would never know who the worker was working for.

HOUSE VISITS. The one viable means of organizing farm workers, along with field access, is house meetings. House meetings afford an opportunity for private, detailed discussion in the privacy of the workers' home. They afford a chance for workers to rationally consider how they want to resolve their own problems, and set the foundation for democracy in a Union where everyone's participation is sought in the decision-making process.

The first problem, though, is how you get the workers' address.

A grower with a sense of humor might suggest that we follow workers home from work and get their addresses that way. How are we to follow 400 workers leaving one field in the middle of the San Joaquin Valley home in the evening, home to every little town between Fresno and Bakersfield? How are we to follow 6,000 workers home into Mexicali each evening in the Imperial Valley?

It is similarly impossible to get addresses from workers as they come to work. The same problems exist as for leafletting - there is no way to know where workers will arrive, the access roads are as big as the county roads so the workers don't slow down, and the workers usually arrive in contractor-led caravans or company/contractor buses.

Employer-designated meeting places are not effective for even getting worker addresses. Workers must do something

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out of the ordinary, go to a certain place, and this means de facto interrogation. While telling workers that they can meet UFW organizers at a certain location after the worker, a grower might as well add, "All of you who want to talk with Chavez go to the equipment shop and then report to the payroll office for your last check."

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Field access is essential, along with pre-petition lists of workers, if workers are to be reached. Where we had no field access this winter (several rose companies in the McFarland area), we had no elections. Pre-petition lists and field access compliment each other, and much come together. Home visits are ideal for detailed discussions, but have their weaknesses as well. Home vists are impossible in the context of a large company (Bud Antle has approximately 1700 employees during peak) or a short season (for three weeks in June there are 10,000 cherry pickers in Lodi). field access is necessary to counter employer campaigning. If an employer makes an anti-union speech to a group of 300 employees, how can the Union reach the 300 workers without field access? By 300 home visits? A leaflet can't balance the effect of a twenty-minute employer speech - only access to the whole crew can.

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Field access and pre-petition lists must be seen as two columns, together supporting a building. Alone, neither column supports the building. Together, the building stands.

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Executed at Keene, California, on September 12, 1976.

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I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is

true and correct.

Elisso Medina