

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield

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Dedication

To my wife,
Bonnie Burns Chatfield.
How she managed us all with such grace and equanimity
is beyond all telling.

Thank You

To Kathleen Schmeling
of the Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University,
for her archival assistance.
I never met a librarian yet that I did not like.

Regrets

Yes, I regret having written some critical,
even harsh, comments about friends and colleagues.
Please put them in the context of the heat of battle
and the frustrations of the day.

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield
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Introduction

May 22, 1993

I have no clear recollection of having kept a journal during 1968 and 1969, but I did. I found it because Cesar Chavez died and was buried last month.

After I returned to Sacramento from the funeral, I kept thinking about a farmworker poster that I had seen at La Paz, because it reminded me of a photograph that Cesar Chavez had taken of Sarah, my second daughter, when he was recuperating in the Tucson area after his Arizona Fast in 1972. I rummaged around in the den closet flipping through some of our family photo albums but then it occurred to me the picture was oversized, it wouldn't have fit in one these albums. Then I remembered having seen some old photos in one of the desk drawers a few months ago, or was it years? There, at the very bottom of the third drawer, I found a folder entitled, "Personal Memorabilia". There was no picture of Sarah, but I found my journal.

It isn't surprising to me that I kept a journal in 1968 because I kept one in my senior year of high school (Mont La Salle, 1952) and again when I taught at Sacred Heart High School (San Francisco, 1960), and again during my summer sojourn in Mexico City (1961). As a senior high school English teacher, I required my students to keep weekly journals, which I collected and graded, if you can believe that. I was such an advocate about the need for students to write journals, it is surprising – and disappointing, I might add - that over the years I did not practice more of what I had preached.

But there it was - written in long hand, and unread for 24 years. The file also contained some photos of Cesar Chavez that have never been published, a few newspaper clippings from my farmworker days, and my Open Letter (1965) to friends explaining my resignation from the Christian Brothers in order to work with Cesar Chavez and his farmworker movement. But the most important document, and the most personal, was a touching letter sent to me by my wife, Bonnie, in 1968, when I was away from home tending to Cesar's medical care and therapy for his lower back pain.

Cesar's sudden death, my week at La Paz to help with the funeral arrangements, and now these relics from my years with the farmworker movement - quite overwhelming!

I share them with you, not edited, except to try and catch the spelling and add names in parenthesis to better identify the players. This manuscript, which I call "Cesar 1968" is private and for non-commercial use only. I consider it to be in the same category of the handmade, carefully-crafted pine casket built by Richard Chavez to bury his brother, but because I possess no wood working skills, I have to construct my Cesar Chavez burial box with words. I know Richard's masterpiece cannot be reduplicated but every effort, including my own, should count for something.

Chapter I chronicles my resignation, after 15 years of service, from the Christian Brothers, a Catholic religious teaching order, in order to join Cesar Chavez and his National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). Even though my decision to resign was not made to protest the refusal of the Christian Brothers to recognize the farmworkers union as the representative of their vineyard workers, Father James Vizzard, S.J., Executive Director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, fed this story to a newspaper reporter in St. Louis. In his interview with Brother Jerome West, the director of the Christian Brothers California Province, Brother Jerome put a completely untruthful "spin" about my resignation.

I was reluctant to be interviewed. I did not have bitter feelings against the Christian Brothers, in fact, I was grateful for the training and opportunities I had been given, but when the reporter pressed me and repeated some of the untruthful comments Brother Jerome had made, I opened up a little and managed to generate a few negative remarks.

The issue of the Christian Brothers refusal to recognize the union wouldn't go away because some of the 60's emerging liberal Catholic activists, including some of the younger Christian Brothers, wouldn't let it go. After the March to Sacramento in Easter of 1966, and the farmworker union contract with Schenley Liquors, the Christian Brothers winery came under tremendous public pressure. At first they tried to play it cute and finesse the situation as if they were just a typical corporate agricultural employer, but they paid a horrible public relations price. They deserved it. I gasped aloud, even 26 years later, as I reread Brother Jerome's personal letter to the Christian Brothers in the California Province telling them, in effect, that the winery was standing up for integrity because Bishop Hugh Donohoe, Chairman of the California Bishops Committee on Social Justice, had written to ask him not to "sign an under-the-table contract".

As you will read for yourself, what Bishop Donohoe really told him was the Christian Brothers were on the verge of becoming a national scandal for the Church, and he ordered Brother Jerome to come to his office in Stockton for a meeting to put an end to this unfortunate, and very public, controversy. Poor bastard, Brother Jerome didn't even know what hit him. Religious words are not religious deeds.

Chapter II and III is the journal itself, 1968 and 1969. It will be easier to understand some of my comments and concerns of that time and place, if you keep in mind that a major war, i.e., the grape boycott, was being waged in the major cities of the United States and Canada.

Farmworker board members, leaders and organizers had been out of Delano for many months, or more, taking the fight for union recognition to the supermarkets and wholesalers. Such union players as Gilbert Padilla, Fred Ross, Eliseo Medina, Marshall Ganz, Marcos Munoz, Richard Chavez, Chris Hartmire (California Migrant Ministry), Joe Serda, Dolores Huerta, Marion Moses, Julio Hernandez, Jessica Govea, etc., were all out on the grape boycott leaving behind a skeleton crew back home to carry on the strike, raise the money, provide the legal defense, and run the union bureaucracy.

The journal records that in the month of August (1968) alone, I received 1,350 newspaper clippings having to do with the union and the boycott. I am confident in remembering that farmworker movement had a major, full-time boycott presence in 25 cities.

You should also have in mind that Cesar had completed his first fast, 25 days in length, which he called his "Fast For Non-Violence". Senator Robert Kennedy had come to Delano (with many thousands of farmworkers and supporters) to be with Cesar Chavez when he broke his fast, all but announced his candidacy for presidency from the top of a car in Delano's Memorial Park after the event, and then a few months later was assassinated at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles while many of us who had worked on his East Los Angeles campaign were waiting for him to make a victory speech from the ballroom stage. Martin Luther King had been assassinated earlier that same year.

And during this time, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee had farmworker union contracts with the DiGiorgio Corporation and some of California's largest wineries: Christian Brothers, Paul Masson, Almaden, Gallo, Perelli-Minetti, Franzia and Schenley Industries.

It is fair to say that by 1968, Cesar Chavez was already a national/international news celebrity. The grape boycott was constantly in the newspapers, on radio and TV, and the press, especially AP and UPI, were in close touch, sometimes daily, with the union in Delano asking for comment and background information as the controversy developed and boiled over between the growers and the union.

Chapter II also includes some tedious material about the National Farm Workers Service Center. It is interesting to me because my Chavez-assigned mission when I came to Delano to work fulltime was to develop the Co-Op movement to provide consumer services for farmworkers and their families. A credit union had already been established - operated with meticulous care by Helen Chavez - and I proceeded to organize and build a Co-Op gas station, open a farmworkers one-stop social services center, raise and administer funds for staff and legal support, purchase and develop the first union headquarters in Delano (FORTY ACRES), followed several years later by the purchase of La Paz in the Tehachapi mountains for the location of the United Farm Workers national center. I also administered the on-again/off-again farmworker union medical clinic in Delano.

Also included in Chapter II is an account of my development of the Farm Workers Health Plan which we later named: The Robert F. Kennedy Farm Workers Medical Plan. This is one of the very few tangible - and hopefully lasting - contributions I might have made to the farmworker movement. As it turns out, 25 years ago, we were on the cutting edge of medical care reform by putting our meager ten cents-an-hour employer health and welfare contribution called for under the union contract into a self-insured preventative health care plan stressing out-patient care, full maternity care, medicine, short-term hospitalization, and term insurance. This happened because Cesar Chavez was determined that we would not give the money over to insurance companies to provide the usual union-type health plans with all their emphasis on long-term hospitalization and medical benefits available primarily through in-patient care.

Chapter IV, May 1991, marks the first time since August of 1973 that I wrote or spoke publicly about Cesar and the farm workers movement. I had been asked many times to speak about the United Farm Workers - especially in the late 70's and early 80's but I never felt it was my place to do so. But this time it seemed different. I was asked to speak about Cesar, not the union, and it was part of an art exhibition in the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and I love art, so why not?

I wrote everything from memory - I wish I had known about my journal - and I let you be the judge of whether - or how much - the two relate.

I end Chapter IV with Cesar's eulogy. I had come full circle in just 30 years. Here I was working with Polly, Cesar's oldest son, helping him to decide what to say, how to say it and what to watch out for. I was so proud of him when he did so well at the funeral service speaking from the stage above Cesar's casket looking out over thousands and thousands of mourners. He is a much better public speaker than was his dad.

During Cesar's wake, in the tent set up on the 40 ACRES which held 10,000 seats, a reporter from the Riverside paper (or was it San Bernadino?) asked me why I had left the union in 1973? There were four reasons, I said: 1) My oldest daughter (of four at that time, now of five) was just getting ready to start 1st grade and that meant we needed to decide where to anchor ourselves. 2) My father had died in 1970 and my mother was by herself in Sacramento. And I had been away from "home" since I was 15 years old. 3) My wife was from San Francisco and she missed Northern California. And 4) I had been asked by Gilbert Padilla of the Union Board if I would stand for the position of Secretary Treasurer at the first convention of this newly approved AFL-CIO International Union. This request while tempting (and should I admit, flattering) helped me to realize that it was time to leave because I had come to Delano, at Cesar's request, only to help out, not to spend the rest of my life there. If I now decided to become a union officer that meant I was making a long-term commitment.

I could tell the reporter was disappointed because he was working on an angle. "Well", he said, "what did you learn from Cesar?" I answered, "How to organize". He was blank. I tried to spruce it up for him. "Cesar taught me how to make something out of nothing. He taught me how to take something that does not exist and make it exist." He wrote it down.

What I did not tell this young reporter was that to this day, May 23, 1993, I remember a conversation that Cesar and I had in my LA office in November 1972, the evening before the voters of California were to decide the fate of the farm workers union through a ballot proposition, Proposition 22. California agribusiness had paid more than \$500,000 to qualify this proposition for the November ballot, which, in effect, would have made farm worker unions in California illegal. It was a blunt dagger aimed directly at the heart of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO. Cesar had put me in charge of the union's statewide campaign to defeat Proposition 22.

As you can imagine Cesar - and all of us - were very uptight as Election Day approached. I had developed a campaign tactic, which we called "human billboards". Hundreds of union campaign volunteers were organized into squads of 50 or so, each carrying a placard approximately 2' x 3' in dimension and all were identical - white block lettering on black - except for the message. These stark looking "billboards" carried such messages as: "LA Times Says No On 22", "AFL-CIO Says NO on 22", "Council of Churches Says No on 22" and on and on.

We started the human billboards in the last two weeks of the campaign. Our squads were deployed in the early morning (6:30 AM - 8:30 AM) to the major feeder freeway entrances in San Fernando Valley, Santa Monica, San Gabriel Valley, etc. and by placing each human billboard ten yards apart we were able to cover 3 or 4 city blocks on both sides of the street which led to the major freeway entrances. And then in the afternoon (3:30 PM - 5:30 PM) we reversed the process by deploying our forces at major entrances from Central Los Angeles to catch the commuters leaving work at the end of the day to drive back to the suburbs. The goal of each human billboard was to make friendly eye and hand contact with the driver of the car and point to his/her billboard.

The effect was sensational! Commuters were honking their horns and waving their approval. The radio and TV traffic helicopters and planes picked it up and rolled it on the air during the morning and evening drive times, updating the commuters where the farm worker human billboards were located and why they were out there on the streets waving and "talking" to the commuters. Those of you who are not familiar with California campaigns have to appreciate that the LA Media market reaches 54% of the state vote. This meant that the farm worker human billboards were reaching an audience from Santa Barbara on the north to San Bernardino and Riverside on the south. Millions of dollars of free - and sympathetic - advertising.

One Sunday right before the election we brought all the billboard squads together and completely surrounded (10 yards apart) the Memorial Coliseum up to three hours before the

LA Rams football game, which probably drew 80,000 spectators. By this time almost all of the football fans in LA knew what these human billboards were and why they were there. This time, however, our human billboards were to remain silent. It had a powerful and sobering effect on the thousands of people who had to pass through these billboard lines. Once again, the media picked it up and rolled it out.

So there we were, just Cesar and I, sitting in the big open room of our "No on 22" campaign headquarters looking out onto Olympic Boulevard five stories below. It was very late in the evening, every one had gone home or back to our farm worker encampment at Lincoln Park to get some rest for another early morning of billboarding and our "Get Out The Vote" drive. Cesar was tired and very nervous about the upcoming election. I was very uptight myself and was wondering if there was any last minute campaigning that we could do. Just a few days before with some of our Hollywood media contacts I had been able to arrange for a 30 second "Cesar 'No on 22' spot" to be aired on the Archie Bunker show. It was very expensive (I forget how much) but all the experts said it was worth it and a "coup" to even break into the show. I remember being afraid to blink for fear I would miss it.

Cesar spoke very softly and with a friendly but nervous edge to his voice. He simply explained to me that if we lost the election tomorrow, I would have to take the blame. I couldn't answer. I was totally silenced by the harsh reality of what he had said. I was completely helpless. My closest friend, almost nine years now, had just explained the political facts of life to me. I had worked on this "life and death" campaign full time since July, barely had any time to even see Bonnie and my daughters, unless she was in the office working. I worked late into the nights on the telephone plotting strategy with my staff directors in other California cities and then worrying half-to-death about everything because of the stakes involved for Cesar and the union. And now, to top it all off, I had been reduced to a fall guy. I didn't answer Cesar. I just nodded and gave sort of a shrug of the shoulders.

The union won! Proposition 22 was defeated 58% to 42%. (Nixon beat McGovern 54% to 40%). I did not feel like coming to the Victory Celebration because I am very uncomfortable at those kinds of events, but I did make an appearance at the tail end of the party but everyone was pretty drunk by that time and thank God all of the speeches were over! I didn't have to stay long.

Cesar tried to make it up to me. The union had a big "Welcome Home/ Thank You" dinner party in my honor for all the staff and their families at La Paz. There was a banner in the dining room that called me a "Giant Killer" and Cesar made a big to-do about my work in the campaign and how I saved the union from the power of the growers.

If the truth be known it was really Bonnie Burns Chatfield who was responsible for the defeat of Proposition 22 because it was she who discovered the thousands of fraudulent signatures used to qualify the proposition when she was examining the original documents in the Los Angeles County Voter Registrar's Office. It was she who tracked down some of these "signers" who said, under oath, that they had never signed such a petition and would not

have signed it if had been presented to them and that this was not their signature. It was she who found other "legitimate" signers who swore that they signed the petition only because they were told it would lower food prices and that there was sign over the text of the initiative that read "Lower Food Prices".

It was Bonnie's information that led me to call then Secretary of State, Jerry Brown, the only statewide elected Democrat at the time, to ask him to officially investigate this voter fraud. We met and developed this scenario: The union would call on him through the Los Angeles media to investigate this fraudulent voter activity. He, in turn, would accept our evidence and announce through the media his intention to open up an investigation. Then he would announce, through the media again, that he was calling on the District Attorney of Los Angeles, Joe Busch, (a Republican up for reelection in a tight race) to investigate this voter fraud in LA County and issue indictments if his investigation warranted them.

For his part, Joe Busch told the media that he would open up such an investigation and take whatever action was necessary. A few days before the election, the headlines of the Los Angeles Times screamed out that the DA had issued 7 indictments in the Prop. 22 case. The sub-headline referred to voter fraud used to qualify the proposition. Proposition 22 was defeated because it was smeared in the media. (I learned much later in life that political propositions in California rarely ever pass because all the opponents have to do is "smear it" or raise confusing and doomsday-type questions about its results for citizens. A "no" vote is the safest course for the voter.)

I can't pretend that my Proposition 22 experience was my reason for leaving the union in August of 1973 but I can tell you it imbued me with a new sense of reality about my relationship with Cesar and the union. And ten months later I left Cesar to start all over again.

You ask how much was my life influenced by Cesar Chavez? Let me give you some practical examples. It was because of Cesar that I left religious life. Because of him I met Bonnie and got married. (June 1966). We had 4 daughters born in the farm worker movement - Clare and Sarah in a Bakersfield hospital, Kate at the UCLA Medical Center and Amy at the Community Hospital in Tehachapi.

It was because of Cesar that after we were married we lived in a trailer park in Torrance, in a mobile home in an open field next to a farm labor camp in Delano, in a custom farm house next to the rose fields between McFarland and Delano, in a Delano tract home across from the high school ball field (2 separate times), in a one-room apartment in Silver Lake (LA), in a custom built home in the Hollywood Hills, in a two-story Berkeley-type house in a black ghetto of Central Los Angeles that had been closed up for up for more than ten years, in a parsonage under the LAX flight pattern, in a two-room house in Guadalupe (Arizona) and in a three-room, 500 square foot duplex at La Paz with four small children. That's only 11 moves in 7 years, so I might have missed a few.

Because of Cesar Chavez I met Jerry Brown. But that's another story.

Chapter V contains my prophecy about the future of Cesar Chavez and his farmworker movement.

Appendix I contains Cesar's manifesto on non-violence in his "Open Letter" to E.L. Barr, President of the California Grape and Tree Fruit League. I include it for several reasons. First, because I wrote it. It was one of the very few times in my life when I felt inspired to write. The ideas, of course, were Cesar's but not in the sense that he dictated them because he didn't have to. His ideas about non-violence and its use as a strategic weapon developed gradually throughout the course of his career as an organizer. He read Gandhi's works, thought carefully about his ideas and talked about them. He admired Dr. King and his commitment to non-violence. But most of all, I think, he felt that the practice of the Gospel required it. He and I - and many others - often talked about non-violence.

I remember reading aloud to him a dozen times or more drafts of the "Open Letter" as I worked on it. He offered suggestions here and there but I could tell he really liked it. I hoped it would come off worthy enough to be compared to Martin Luther King's Letter From Birmingham Jail and would have a life of its own. It didn't. We put it out, primarily through our church network, and in a few weeks it vanished, forever.

But the grower's "Response to an Open Letter on the Grape Boycott " is precious. If you read nothing else you must read that. It contains all the elements of the grower's public relations theme-strategy to defeat the farm workers movement:

Cesar is a hypocrite because he can read and write. His union receives big money from big labor. Dolores Huerta knows how to dress up for fund raising parties. Cesar only wants to build a union to collect the dues. Cesar is a hypocrite!

Cesar is destroying the family farmer.

Cesar is supported by the ACLU, SNNC, CRLA and many other "new left" groups. You know what that means.

Table grape workers are the highest paid farm workers in California. Farm workers in California are the highest paid in the nation. Go pick on some other state and help some really poor farm workers.

The secondary boycott of grapes intimidates housewives and store clerks.

Cesar Chavez does not have the support of my workers.

The growers support national collective bargaining legislation for farm workers, as long as there are no strikes at harvest time or boycotts later on. Cesar does not.

Cesar does not want a union, he wants social revolution.

Saul Alinsky was a mentor of Cesar's and you know what that means.

These snide, condescending and flag-waving smears were always the same. I heard them first in Berkeley in 1965 when I debated a public relations agent representing a grower's association and then like a drum beat that carried on incessantly until the grape strike was won in 1970. I have always been surprised that California agribusiness could not have purchased better propaganda. Sometimes it seemed to me like an unfair fight.

Appendix II is a "human interest" feature about Jim Drake and me written for the St. Louis Post Dispatch by Jack Rice. I suppose the reason why I kept it all these years is because I'm the one that is "featured". But aside from that, it provides some interesting insights about Cesar Chavez and his movement.

Cesar never wanted to have employees in the union, only volunteers. He had seen too many examples from other organizations (not only unions, either) how employees became interested only in the "job" and not the cause. His solution was to give every volunteer \$5 a week spending money, provide them with room and board and pay their necessary bills (car payment, college loan, house payment, utilities, etc.) Not only did this approach save a lot of precious money but it was a daily reminder to the staff person why he/she was part of the movement and it also insured that the less committed left sooner rather than too late. This approach also honed the survival skills of staff workers who were assigned to boycott cities. They were expected to "live off the land". Housing, food, automobiles, office space, medical care, etc. -- all had to be hustled.

There were exceptions made to this policy but as few as possible. I was one, Jerry Cohen, Fred Ross, the attorneys and some others. Some staff members were assigned to the union but were on other organizations' payrolls; Chris Hartmire is an example that comes to mind. In Cesar's mind this arrangement did not contravene his policy. (For some, Cesar used the rationale that they worked for the National Farm Workers Service Center and not the union.) Not, mind you, that any of the exceptions were paid more than a stipend, but we were given that lump sum of money once a month and had to make do. As you can imagine there were times when these exceptions caused internal friction but somehow Cesar was always able to finesse these situations. But he never wavered from the general rule. Wouldn't even consider it! The other side of the coin is that some volunteers convinced themselves that they were not really being paid and were not that productive. And it becomes difficult and messy to fire "volunteers".

Even as early as 1968 Cesar Chavez talked to me about finding a union headquarters outside of Delano. His ideal was to find a place that could also serve as a vacation area for farm worker families, especially those members of the union who were elected to Ranch Committees. I found a place in Santa Barbara - one of Cesar's favorite places in the world -

and we went to look at. It was on a hill overlooking the city and the ocean but it was too fancy a neighborhood for our needs. Then there was a few hundred acres I found on the side of a hill overlooking the ocean but the terrain was quite steep and it was bare ground. I looked around in the area of Mission San Antonio because Cesar loved to come there for some of our retreat meetings - it was quiet and secluded. I could find nothing. I found La Paz in Keene, California a few miles down the mountain from Tehachapi and Cesar wanted it. Frank Denison, our Service Center attorney at that time, structured the deal with movie producer Edie Lewis who bought it at auction from Kern County on behalf of the National Farm Worker's Service Center.

It suited Cesar's purposes. There was a wide range of housing (duplexes, hospital rooms, single family homes, etc.), there were offices, there was a central kitchen and dining facility, it had acreage, it was in the mountains and was off the beaten track. I take whatever credit is appropriate for the purchase of this property for the headquarters of the union and I was a most loyal supporter but I still wonder if our relocation from Delano to Keene (renamed by Cesar: La Paz) was wise. I think a case could have been made that this headquarters isolated us from the farm workers dirt and changed our orientation. But now that it is Cesar's burial place it will serve a purpose in history that outstrips any second-guessing about what was best for the farm worker union movement. Cesar has the last word, again.

Finally, the article in the St. Louis Post Dispatch about Cesar's fast in Arizona gives you a glimpse of the power of his fasts. Delegations of workers and Native American tribes from all over Arizona came to St. Rita's Center to spend a few minutes visiting with Cesar in his "monastic" cell. Celebrities, politicians and media reporters from all over North American came to pay their respect. Cesar's fasting became an organizing tool par excellence. I say now that Cesar's farm workers movement would have long since died without his periodic and public fasts.

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield

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Chapter I

November 12, 1965

My dear friends,

This is rather a difficult letter to write but one that I feel obligated to send because of your interest and kindness to me in the past.

Very simply put: I am withdrawing (voluntarily) from the Christian Brothers in order to work full time for the National Farm Workers Association - a grass roots movement begun in Delano, California by Cesar Chavez to organize farm worker families in California. (For my non-Catholic friends): my withdrawing from the Christian Brothers does not mean that I have to leave or that I intend to leave the Catholic Church. I will once again assume the position proper to that of a "layman", i.e., a member of the Church but without the religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

My reasons for such a decision are really not very profound or complex. I just feel that I can no longer work on behalf of social justice at the level of abstraction that my life as a religious teaching Brother seems to indicate. Then too, my ever increasing involvement and identification with the poor only continues to widen the gap between my obedience to religious authority and my own understanding of what my life as a Christian must entail. Actually, the decision to make a decision was probably the most difficult part.

I must emphasize that it is not with an attitude of bitterness or hostility that I leave the Brothers. Quite the contrary! I will always be most grateful to them for the opportunities that I had to work with young men and women - that experience alone has been worth a lifetime to me. Then too, many of my closest friends are Brothers and will continue to remain so. In short, whatever "levels of consciousness" I have attained is due in large measure to my having been a Christian Brother.

As I have indicated, I will be working for the NFWA at a salary of \$20 a month. I will serve as the Director of Co-Op Development. Our idea is to build a complex of Co-Op's (clinic, pharmacy, credit union, garage, etc.) somewhere in the Valley - but this complex would be owned and controlled by farm workers themselves. Since almost all of these families make less than \$3,000 a year, this idea presents some unique difficulties that must be overcome. My job - as I see it - is to attempt to organize these Co-Op's by setting up their over-all economic and legal structures and to recruit professional men and women (doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, accountants, teachers, etc.) who will give us one or two years of their lives to

work for the poor through the Co-Op at prices that farm workers can honestly afford to pay. We look upon this as a prerequisite for serious grass roots organizing.

I estimate that it will take two years to organize such a Co-Op - granting of course that it can be done! Since at the age of thirty-one I begin from "scratch" without financial resources, I will have to live in a kind of voluntary poverty for the next two years at least. By voluntary poverty I mean that I will have to live on \$100 a month and buy (and support) a Volkswagen. Since the NFWA can only afford to salary me at \$20 a month at this time, I am going to have to be dependent upon friends who believe in me enough to pledge, let's say, \$5 a month for a year to support my efforts at organizing.

Honestly! This is not a letter of appeal. God knows you have received enough of them from me in the past. I don't want you to do anything for me or for the cause I believe in unless you really want to. I realize that what I propose to do will strike some of you as "crazy" or "naive" or "nuts" and maybe in two years time I will agree with you. But right now I am convinced that Cesar Chavez and the NFWA represents a true anti-poverty program that respects the dignity and integrity of the people involved.

For the first year (at least until June 1966) I expect to be operating mostly in San Francisco and Los Angeles. I have two "contact" offices:

San Francisco Area:

LeRoy Chatfield
c/o Bonnie Burns
700 Church St. Apt 205
San Francisco, California
(Phone: MA 6-2281 - Evenings)

Delano Office:

LeRoy Chatfield
c/o National Farm Workers Association
Box 894
Delano, California
(Phone: 8661)

For those of you who want to know what you can do, consider the following:

1. Keep me free to organize by contributing small amounts each month for my support.
2. Make a small contribution towards the purchase and support of a VW.
3. Let me know if I am welcome to stay with you for a day or two when I am in your area. Believe me, I won't overstay.

4. Put me in contact with professional persons or persons with specialized talents who might want to work in a CO-OP situation at the grass roots level. Warning: this work will entail a kind of voluntary poverty and the living conditions will be very basic.
5. Arrange for me to speak to potentially interested groups about the NFWA and our CO-OP movement.
6. Refer me to existing Co-op's that you are personally acquainted with so that I can visit and learn more about them.

Thank you, thank you, for all you have done for me in the past I hope that you will look with understanding on what I feel that I have to do to close one chapter in my life and begin another.

Love,

LeRoy Chatfield
(Formerly: Brother Gilbert, FSC)

P.S. I suspect that my San Francisco address will be the fastest way to contact me - at least for the time being.

February 4, 1966

Article from St. Louis Review
Dateline: Delano, California

"Brother Quits Order, Joins Delano Strike"
"Leaves After Union, Christian Brothers Fail in Negotiations"

A Christian Brother who attempted to bring about negotiations between the Christian Brothers Winery in Central California and the National Farm Workers Association, quit the Brothers after negotiations failed and joined the association as a union organizer.

LeRoy Chatfield, 31, who joined the order in 1949 and took his robe and the name Brother Gilbert, F.S.C., in 1952 is now Mr. Chatfield again after receiving dispensation from his vows last November.

In October, Brother Gilbert arranged for a meeting between Cesar Chavez, head of the National Farm Workers Association and leader of the vineyard strike in Kern and Tulare Counties in California and Brother T. Jerome, F.S.C. provincial of the San Francisco province of the Christian Brothers.

Although the Christian Brothers vineyards are not being struck, for what one person close to the situation called "political reasons" the workers there receive the same pay as workers

in the struck vineyards. The strike is over pay increases and union representation. The growers now refuse to recognize a union for the workers.

Chatfield, as Brother Gilbert, had been interested in social work for some time and three years ago, while vice principal of a high school in Bakersfield, Calif., met Chavez, who was working in Delano, 30 miles north of Bakersfield, the center of the present strike.

According to Brother Jerome, Brother Gilbert's difficulties with the order began at this time when many of the brothers felt that as vice principal of the high school he was spending too little time at the school and too much in social action work in Delano.

Brother Jerome told the St. Louis Review that he had met with Cesar Chavez at the urging of Brother Gilbert but "nothing came of it because Chavez wanted exclusive permission to represent workers in our vineyards who are working in an area which by Chavez' own admission, he is not yet involved in."

Brother Jerome explained that the Christian Brothers vineyards are approximately 75 miles from Delano and the current strike area, at the closest point. The Christian Brothers take the position that since they are not involved in the strike area in any way, there is no decision for them to make yet on unionization. The Christian Brothers Winery is in the Napa Valley, 300 miles north of Delano, Brother Jerome said. It was the first winery in its area to be unionized, he said.

"The winery is our major operation in this field," he said. "Our vineyards are comparatively small. We buy most of our grapes from the growers."

Chatfield told the Review that since the Christian Brothers' Winery was one of the largest in California, he was "very concerned".

"They do not seem to be any more socially conscious than anyone else," he said, referring to the Christian Brothers. "Their pay is no better and no worse.

An irony of the situation, he said, is that the Christian Brothers Winery - which he said produces the largest selling brandy in the country - was started to support the Christian Brothers work with poor children.

"I left the order because I could no longer work at the abstract level of teaching social science on a campus," he said.

"When the National Farm Workers Association wrote the Christian Brothers asking for a meeting between the workers and the provincial to talk about union representation, the response we got was worse than the one from the growers. I had left the order between the time we sent our request and the time we got an answer." He said that the Christian Brothers would be treated as any other grower would.

February 21, 1967

Copy of Letter from Bishop Hugh A. Donohoe, Chairman of the California Bishops Committee for Social Justice to Brother T. Jerome West, F.S.C., Provincial of the Christian Brothers, California Province

Brother T. Jerome West, F.S.C., Provincial
99 Devin Drive
Rheem Valley, California 94570

Dear Brother Jerome:

After returning from the East last Thursday, I learned that negotiations had broken down between Mont La Salle Vineyards and the National Farm Workers Organizing Committee. It is my hope that the leaders of both groups will soon resume negotiations in good faith and avoid what could well become a national scandal.

At this time I wish to offer my services to you and the members of your staff to assist you and the NFWOC in returning to a peaceful and reasonable negotiations procedure. I would be happy to meet with you and the Mont La Salle Vineyards executives as well as with NFWOC leadership, in hopes of resuming negotiations in an orderly fashion. At such a meeting, Brother Jerome, I would consider it rather important that you be present together with the Brothers in charge of the Vineyards and their legal counsel.

We are all aware of the difficulties in conducting a fair election. We would not want you to sign an under-the-table contract, but lacking a National Labor Relations Act for agriculture, good faith is necessary on both sides to determine a fair election.

It is not necessary for me to emphasize that the Church is very much concerned in this matter. It is not sufficient to proclaim the principles of social justice. We must also, as opportunity presents itself, make clear that these principles can be applied. In this instance we are presented with an opportunity, and with God's help and a measure of good will on both sides, we should be able to find a solution that will be in accord with justice and possibly serve as a model for other growers, who may be seeking some leadership in this important matter.

Hoping to hear from you by return mail, since time is so important in this matter, I remain

Sincerely in Christ,

Most Reverend Hugh A. Donohoe, D.D.
Bishop of Stockton

February 21, 1967

Copy of Night Letter from Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Southern California-Arizona Conference of the Methodist Church

Sent to:

Brother Bertrand Leo Kirby
La Salle Provincialate
330 Riverside Drive
New York City, New York

Brother Jerome West
99 Devin Drive
Rheem Valley, California

Deplore latest activity of Christian Brothers against National Farm Workers Association at Napa and Reedley. Urge in Christian conscience you live up to your earlier agreements with NFWA and bargain in good faith now.

Ken Watson, Chairman

Frank M. Gray, Executive Secretary

Board of Christian Social Concerns
Southern California-Arizona Conference
The Methodist Church

February 27, 1967

Copy of Letter from Brother Jerome West, F.S.C., Provincial of the Christian Brothers, California Province to all Christian Brothers in California.

Dear Brothers:

This is an unusual letter from me to you, but these are, to say the least, unusual times. I want to write a few lines to you about the current "dispute" between Mont La Salle Vineyards and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC).

Undoubtedly most of you have seen and read the article in the National Catholic Reporter (February 22, 1967) by A.V. Krebs Jr., on the dispute between MLSV and UFWOC. I know that this article must be disturbing to you even though you are confident that the Brothers who direct Mont La Salle Vineyards are men of integrity and deeply concerned about their workers.

I take this opportunity to assure you that all of us who are involved in this matter are dedicated to the principles of social justice so often and so clearly enunciated by the Church. We realize, further, that it is not sufficient to proclaim these principles but that they must be applied even at great sacrifice and even under great pressures from one side or another. I can assure you personally though my close contact with the problem over the past year or more that Mont La Salle Vineyards and its spokesmen have acted in complete good faith in dealing with Mr. Chavez and the UFWOC despite the insinuations, half-truths, quotations-out-of-context that appear in the article in the National Catholic Reporter and elsewhere.

The current problem stems from the fact that Mr. Chavez "pulled out" of a scheduled election approximately one hour before the voting was to begin. The election procedures as well as the election itself was under the supervision of the California State Conciliation Service. This abrupt decision on the part of Mr. Chavez occurred despite the fact that Brother Gregory had spoken to the UFWOC leader only the evening before and had been assured that the election would be held as scheduled.

The Brothers, very briefly, are being blamed for "intimidation and coercion" of employees. I am confident that Mr. Chavez himself does not believe this. I am sure that the UFWOC knows this is untrue. I think the article in the San Francisco Examiner of February 15, clearly states the problem:

"Farm labor contractors, facing extinction with the growth of unions in agriculture, have fouled up the AFL-CIO relations with the Christian Brothers' Mont La Salle Vineyards, union organizer Cesar Chavez said today. Chavez told The Examiner that AFL-CIO United Farm Workers decided to pull out of a scheduled union representation election because of 'the coercion and intimidation' exercised by farm labor contractors."

The farm labor contractor is not an employee of Mont La Salle Vineyards and Mr. Chavez knows this. The words of Mr. Chavez quoted in The Examiner are considerably different from the insinuations in the article by Mr. Krebs in the NCR one: "the intimidation of the Christian Brother workers continued at an accelerated pace by company foremen."

Bishop Hugh A. Donohoe of Stockton, Chairman of the California Bishops Committee for Social Justice, has written to me indicating that we should not "sign an under-the-table

contract" with any union. This we also believe. On the other hand, Mr. Chavez wants Mont La Salle Vineyards to recognize his union without any election at all. We are most anxious to proceed to a fair election so that our workers may select representatives of their own choosing. This has been our objective in all our dealings with UFWOC. We are even now continuing negotiations so that an election may be held as soon as possible.

We all know that there are times when we must stand up in the face of opposition and manifest to all our integrity and the justice of our cause. Those of you who have seen the movie "Man For All Seasons" will realize very well what I mean. Possibly, this is one of those times. It is for this reason I write to you to assure you that the Brothers directing Mont La Salle Vineyards have acted prudently with courage and with a deep concern for the principles of social justice. If there has been any fault to find I think it has been with our failure to communicate to you and the public in general the integrity of our position in this difficult matter.

I do ask for your prayers for a swift and happy conclusion to this problem.

Cordially in Christ,

Brother Jerome West, F.S.C.
Visitor

March 13, 1967

Report on Cross-Check Election
State of California, Department of Industrial Relations
Conciliation Service

Employer: Mont La Salle Vineyards (Christian Bros.), Napa and St. Helena

Union: United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO

The results of a Cross-Check Election conducted by the undersigned on March 13, 1967 at State Conciliation Service, 4073 State Bldg., Fresno, Calif. are as follows:

Number of Eligible Employees35

Number of membership records or authorization cards submitted
by the union29

Number of signatures verified with Employer's Eligibility Records 29

Number of signatures rejected 0

I hereby find that the above named Union has been designated and selected as the exclusive representative of the employees in the unit designated in the Cross-Check Election Agreement executed on Tuesday, March 7, 1967.

Ralph Duncan
Conciliator

April 3, 1967

Letter to LeRoy from Al Krebs

Dear LeRoy

Just thought you might like to see
some of the crap I am having to put up with as fallout
from the Christian Brother caper.

The letter I think is self-explanatory.
Needless to say, my byline will not be on the article. I
may send it down when published, especially if the "Jurisdictional
Dispute" clause is added, and ask that Cesar write a letter
to the editor. We'll see.

Got a great note from Tom Loomer the
other day concerning this whole mess. He evidently also
received a copy of Brother Jerome's letter to "Dear
Brothers . . ." It's nice to have friends.

Also enclosed is a clipping I thought
you people might be interested in.

Keep in touch.

Viva!

A.V. Krebs, Jr.
San Francisco, California

April 3, 1967

Rev. Francis Maurovich, Editor
The Catholic Voice
2918 Lakeshore Avenue
Oakland, California 94610

Dear Father Maurovich,

You will excuse me if I seem to belabor the point but I am still left with an uneasiness about this whole matter of my strike stories for The Catholic Voice. I realize that our phone conversation was not the best way to discuss this important matter and for that reason I am taking the liberty of writing this letter to you in an effort to make my point as clear as possible.

First, I realize that you have to answer to the editorial board concerning the paper's policies but I fail to understand where one person (with admittedly vested interests) on the board can exert so much pressure that future stories of mine are now also to be read by the paper's business manager.

I realize fully that you think I am reading into this episode far more than is there but I am afraid there is no other way it can be read.

An advertiser, whose representative sits on the editorial board, has complained that his firm, which advertises frequently in the paper, was handled "unfairly" in a story which appeared in the paper's news columns.

The Christian Brothers made their rebuttal in a letter to the paper, addressed not to the editor as is customary, but to the business manager which to me smacks of intimidation.

The Voice ran that letter in full and wisely consented to let me, as the journalist in question, respond. It would seem to me that if the Order was still unsatisfied with the treatment they had received they could

demand a retraction. To date, to the best of my knowledge, they have taken no such action.

What they have done in this matter I am afraid closely parallels one of the very things I reported in my article concerning their role in the union recognition elections and to which they objected.

I am speaking of Brother Gregory's "pep talks" to the workers about all the "glories" of working for the Christian Brothers as opposed to the "restrictions" which they would face as union members.

Say for the sake of argument, that Brother Gregory wasn't trying to be anti-union how else, as Bishop Donohoe reminded him in their Stockton meeting, were his remarks going to be interpreted by the workers?

Given this background how else am I to interpret Mr. John Broad's letter to Donald Woods, your business manager; the results of the charges made by the paper's Christian Brother editorial board member, and Mr. Wood's subsequent inspection of my copy?

The second point I want to make is to question the type of thinking which would allow Mr. Wood to even suggest that the A. Perelli-Minetti affair is a "jurisdictional dispute." I don't see how anyone could make such an assertion after reading my recent Assumption Abbey article with its carefully detailed chronology of the dispute unless they were prepared to take a decided pro-management position.

When could we get together in the near future to clarify the position of my professional integrity on the staff of The Catholic Voice?

In Christ,

A.V. Krebs, Jr.

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield

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Chapter II - 1968

September 9, (1968)

Today we left Cesar ill in the hospital. Last night he ate half a box of peanut butter brittle and his system was unable to digest it, leaving him constipated and with a splitting headache. To complete the comedy of errors he had a terrible case of the hiccups. As I left the room, Doctor (Jerry) Lackner had just given him pills for the hiccups and an orderly was preparing to give him an enema. Two very old nuns were stationed at the door keeping guard; their combined ages most certainly exceeded 150 years but they still seemed up to frightening off friendly visitors. Cesar was completely dazed and so filled with sleep and pills that he could only grunt "yes" or "no".

We arrived home safely in Delano about 3:45 PM. There was a call from Associated Press waiting so I phoned and gave them a news release about Cesar's general condition, revealed the name of the hospital and the name of the two specialists involved. The gist of the release was that he was responding to traction and the medication and that physical therapy would begin on Tuesday. The reporter, of course, was searching for an angle but I really didn't have one for him; giving the name of the hospital and the name of the specialists should have been of some help.

Paul Fusco of Look magazine called. I think he got the word from Zimmerman that we are a little upset about Look not running the article and yet they keep coming to Delano to gather more pictures. Paul sounded a little sheepish about asking to come back and get some pictures of the Schenley workers or perhaps he is just more sensitive than most photographers and journalists. I suspect that Schenley Industries were responsible for killing the last story; perhaps the editors hope to placate them this time by giving them a boost.

We have orders from Cesar to corner Larry (Itliong) so that he can feel the real pressure of responsibility. Guess Jim (Drake) and Jerry (Cohen) did a good job the first day because Larry was at the office when Bonnie (Chatfield) and I came and then he returned again in the evening.

September 10

Doctor (Jerry) Lackner must be in his element. Taking care of Cesar also means determining more or less who gets in to see him. Bill Kircher, who is going to pay the bill, was told "no". Fred Ross (Sr.) was given permission if he would go in the same time I did. I can imagine

Jerry really digging all this arranging and re-arranging. Actually, it is better for Cesar to have only a few - a very few - visitors. People mean well but they can surely wear you out. Congressman Don Edwards called today from Washington to say hello, to ask about Cesar and to give him his regards. A nice gesture but I had the impression his secretary had just given him his daily list of important persons who were sick for him to call.

Paul Fusco of Look was here today doing some shooting. He picked a gondola of grapes at Schenley just to see what it was like. He seemed genuinely impressed about how hard the work was and how fast the people had to work. He didn't seem to be aware of what the latest developments were with respect to the story or that Cesar had been asked to write an article for Look . I brought him up to date and asked him to tip us off when the article was going to appear, if it does, so we would have the opportunity to "key off" the story. He said he would.

Seemed pretty quiet today on the boycott front, at least not much was reported that I heard about. During the month of August our clipping service sent us about 1,350 newspaper clippings regarding the boycott. Clippings from all over the U.S. but especially from Minnesota, New York, Michigan and California. The boycott has really become a national issue and it seems to be generating even more tension.

September 12

Bill Kircher came to Delano from Washington to ride up to San Francisco with me. Bill has accepted, I think, the role of a campaign director in California in the Humphrey Presidential Campaign. He talked at great length about some of his misgivings with the labor hierarchy and others and about what kind of a job it should be, etc. Then too, I think Bill is wondering if he really could cope or even understand the issues in California. The young radicals or anarchists or whatever seem not only to annoy him by what they do and say but because he feels helpless to deal effectively with them. And after 20 years or more of what he terms liberal activity, he sounds rather bitter that instead of being rewarded by being listened to, he is really an outcast and considered part of the establishment and power structure that he has confronted. It is really a harsh time for older activists and liberals of another era. Especially if they need recognition and praise for their past accomplishments.

We stopped by the hospital to see Cesar. What a difference enforced rest makes. He looks ever so much better. Fred Ross was there too. Then Fathers McDonald, Garcia and Corty came in unexpected and unannounced. Rules in Catholic hospitals don't apply to priests. Father McDonald is an old "radical" or "turk" who was exiled many years ago over the issue of organizing farm workers. Since then he has spent time in Japan and South America. A very bright person, I am told, but now only a shadow of what he was or what people thought him to be. He strikes me as paternalistic, presumptuous, self-centered and out of touch. He made over Cesar last night like a wise old man talking with a child. He recited the Our Father, Hail Mary, Glory Be and Apostles Creed in such a way that all seven of us had to participate. He is one of those priests ever conscious of his priestly caste, a person set aside from other

men and whether he means it or not or knows it or not, he looks "down" on others. He cannot lead because he insists others must follow. That posture is so foreign in today's world. I fear he will die a broken and forgotten man.

September 13

The Fresno Bee had a good editorial on the boycott calling on both the union and the growers to negotiate and to be willing to accept a third party mediator. I can't imagine the Bee being so forthright if they didn't expect the inevitable, i.e., some talks to begin. As long as we won union recognition, I think we would be satisfied with any decent mediation.

Talked with Cesar at length yesterday on my way back from San Francisco to Delano via San Jose. He was very relaxed, in good humor and without that tired look he has carried for so long. We discussed the possible "cessation" of the boycott -- a planned and prearranged show of responsibility and morality. We don't want to ruin the industry, etc. We also discussed how to get O'Connor Hospital to remove the grapes from their menu. Cesar gave me the gist of a letter to the Sister Superior which I wrote and had hand delivered through one of the nurses. Today I found out from Doctor Lackner that Father (Eugene) Boyle called the Archdiocesan priest in charge of hospitals and put it to him. He in turn called the Administrator of O'Connor and suggested they not purchase grapes. One of the nuns came by Cesar's room tonight to say that all the grapes were gone and that all the hospitals in the Archdiocese were getting rid of theirs too.

Doctor Lackner called at 3:30 AM this morning to tell me of a phone call that the hospital had received from a woman who said she was a nurse for a doctor who was to make an examination on Cesar the next day and could she please have Cesar's room number. The girl at the switchboard gave the number but then had the sense to let Doctor Lackner know what had happened. He immediately had Cesar transferred to another floor and notified the Chief of Police of San Jose. The Chief conferred with the Administrator today and they agreed to assign a policeman outside of Cesar's door from 12 midnight to 6 AM for the remainder of his stay in the hospital.

I guess I'm not one for meetings. Tonight was the Friday night meeting and I decided to go. For one thing Cesar was away and I didn't want Tony (Orendain) and Larry (Itliong) to jump to the conclusion that I don't respect their leadership, or more properly put, their positions. So I went. But at 7:55 PM the meeting still hadn't started and then I saw some visitors who came from out of town and who would trap me after the meeting to talk to me about working here in Delano, so I split.

September 14

Doctor (Jerry) Lackner called a few hours ago to say that a reporter discovered the fact that Cesar had police protection. And though it is only from 12 PM to 6AM, it is newsworthy. But when the reporter called for confirmation, Jerry begged him not to report it. Well, you can imagine what happened.

My father phoned a few minutes ago to tell me he heard on the news that an attempt had been made on Cesar's life by a person disguised as a doctor and that 2 policemen were assigned to guard Cesar around the clock.

My inclination is to let the matter drop with a "no comment". The whole affair is now so confused and garbled that any attempt at clarifying it is impossible because no reporter is going to accept the truth, that there isn't something that is being left unsaid. And so the most effective and truthful publicity is to decline comment. The reporters will naturally think we are trying to hide something but if they report anything it will be the product of their own imagination and sense of prophesy.

God, will O'Connor Hospital be glad when Cesar leaves. Jerry also said that Ethel (Kennedy) and Ted Kennedy called Cesar. I hope that is true. We can hardly wait until we get to work for Ted Kennedy. Father (Roger) Mahony called to say that the Bishop is definitely coming back to Fresno on Sunday. And that he will be meeting with (John) Kovacevich and (John) Guimarra on Monday afternoon. He promised to call me immediately after the meeting.

I was reminded when mowing the lawn of some of the ideas that Cesar touched upon in his speech before he began his Fast for Non-Violence last February.

-- Building a union is not worth a single life of a grower or his child or a farm worker or his child.

--How could we be so concerned about the taking of life in Vietnam and yet have so little reverence for life here in the U.S.

--I do this because I love you.

--When we resort to violence, we lack the will to win.

--Resorting to violence is really an admission of our lack of creativity and imagination.

I was so struck with Cesar's reaction when he heard that Bonnie (Chatfield) was pregnant. His eyes lighted up and he spoke excitedly with genuine happiness. When I sort of shrugged and cautioned him that it was unofficial, he refused to be daunted and said "I really like these sort of things".

September 15

Cesar is creating a crisis for the leadership of the Union. Better said, the officership. He is using the threat on his life, which has been blown up by the press, to force the officers to make a decision about whether they are going to see that Cesar is protected or not. He claims that they have to decide so that he can psychologically prepare himself. But it has the makings

of a trap too, because if they do nothing - and they probably won't - then when the membership asks how come, the blame can be laid where it belongs. This whole affair leaves me emotionally frustrated because I have been trying to get Cesar to accept some kind of security measures and he has resisted and now that he is pushing for a decision about such matters I cannot help but feel remiss. Obviously the protection should come from the membership and I'm sure that we could recruit enough young men to cover the day.

I didn't go to the office today, Sunday, but I just don't relax either. My mind is constantly dwelling on what should be done. And I feel guilty about not doing more. But this is going to have to change because if I don't relax at least one day a week it is going to affect my whole week. Especially during these times when there is so much tension and when we have such lazy people to work through.

I have decided to take up again the study of Spanish. It is so easy not to learn it but so foolish for failing to do so.

September 16

Bishop (Timothy) Manning and Monsignor (Roger) Mahony met today with (John) Kovacevich, (John) Giumarra, Jr, Bergand and Frank and Paul Deaner. The growers hope for legislation and are attempting to get the Bishop in position to support them.

A bomb threat today on Cesar's house. Larry (Ithiong) is finally getting the picture and Jose Luna, Philip Vera Cruz and Tony Armington have been dispatched to San Jose to serve as security for Cesar. Little by little, I guess. (George) Zenovich from Fresno is trying to arrange a meeting with Caric and Setrakian about the Union. He is concerned about the threats against Cesar's life and the possible reaction. What we need are a few threats against some of the growers in order to bring them to their senses.

Spent most of the day identifying the towns that most of the membership who will be covered by the Health & Welfare Plan live in. Ron Taylor of the Fresno Bee came by. He is thinking about doing an article on the illegal trade of wetbacks. But I soon got the impression he was after something else. Perhaps this was his excuse to get down here and was hopeful that he might come up with something unexpected. Not a word about Cesar's threat was mentioned.

September 17

Marion (Moses) and Manuel (Chavez) came back from New York. Picked them up at the airport about 5:15. Marion came over for dinner and was full of tales about the boycott in New York. By getting the community involved and really taking on those stores I guess they have really raised hell. Whole sections of the poverty areas are completely free of grapes; the managers are sick of the hassle it is causing them.

We had a sick meeting at noon of the pickets, office people and the officers. Larry (Itliong) reported about the two threats to Cesar's life, one in San Jose and the other here and told the group what steps had been taken: 1) he called Joe Luna but couldn't talk to him very well because Joe doesn't understand English. 2) He had Sally DeWitt talk to him. 3) He asked Philip Vera Cruz (who was sitting in the audience) to go to San Jose with Bob Armington. 4) He volunteered Manuel Uranday and Joe Reeves to go to San Jose too. Then he asked if anyone had any objections to his course of action or if there were any suggestions. Candy said that whoever was assigned there should stand right by the door and not let anyone in who was not a member of the Union and should even taste Cesar's food. Another man volunteered to go. Guarjado said that whoever went should be familiar with people who have business with Cesar so that an assassin would not get in. The observations of these three were obviously sincere and they were genuinely concerned. Larry ran the meeting in a half-joking, half-apologetic manner and it was quite clear that he did not give all that much weight to the problem. Larry also mentioned that he called Dolores (Huerta) and Julio (Hernandez). I made the suggestion that perhaps it was the proper time to discuss what security policy the Union should have when Cesar returns to Delano as it is a week from today that he will be released. Larry responded by saying that we have another week to give it some thought and besides there were only three Board Members left in Delano and we had decided upon this course of action for this week. As far as I am concerned Larry has had it. Both he and Tony (Orendain) instinctively react against the fact that Cesar is the famous man he is and they simply refuse to "let go", accept their limitations and work from there. Larry just doesn't work, except when it benefits himself. How Cesar can tolerate a wooden Indian like that is beyond me.

September 19

Yesterday, Marion (Moses) and I traveled to Palo Alto where I spoke to the Ministerial Association about the boycott. We spent part of the afternoon with Cesar. Bill Kircher was there. He is in California trying to build support for Humphrey. Of course it is nearly an impossible job and he is frustrated at not being able to get Cesar to give it any priority. And Bill reduces everything to a personal level, e.g., I've done this and this for you, why aren't you going to help me? But he just grunts and groans and whines his displeasure. Or he pouts and won't speak.

I complained bitterly to Cesar about Larry (Itliong), Tony (Orendain) and Bill Widman. Larry and Tony are very insecure people and are so afraid that Cesar is playing God. Then Larry is concerned almost solely with himself and fancies himself a lover, a playboy. At least Tony works and works hard! Bill Widman is a two-faced politician who tries to say what he thinks you want to hear. He hates Delano and is here because Kircher ordered him here. He'll be leaving in December for the promised land, which is anywhere but Delano.

Cesar responded to my bitterness by saying that sooner or later he was going to leave the Union and he decided that it was going to be sooner. That he would like to organize a team

to go from place to place organizing workers and once they were organized, to move on. Not to get involved with the politics that develop or to have to deal with officers day after day who don't want to move. Some of it is wishful thinking as the press of leadership will force him to remain in charge and in control. On the other hand, I wouldn't be surprised to see him resign very abruptly some day when the Union least expects it.

September 21

Last night at the Friday night meeting we discussed the issue of security for Cesar. Tony (Orendain) must have felt the pressure because he opened the meeting by calling on me to discuss the problem that Cesar is having. I played dumb and merely gave a report on Cesar's health. Then he called on Manuel (Chavez) to give his view and Manuel gave quite a talk about the need for Cesar to have protection. Mac Lyons stood up and recommended that we do something about this problem and it was the responsibility of the Executive Board to make a decision. Tony said that the Executive Board had already decided that something had to be done and that LeRoy was supposed to make some recommendations. So I reported on my conversations with (Bill) Kircher and (Jack) Conway, the gist of which was that someone should be assigned to be with him at all times and a short summary of the steps that the UAW had taken to protect (Walter) Reuther. I further elaborated about the kinds of threats Cesar had received, and Helen (Chavez) too, and that providing such protection was going to cost money and that money alone was not going to buy certain kinds of protection and therefore we needed volunteers from the membership who really understood what the Union was all about, etc.,etc. Joe Serda stood and made a very strong statement to the effect that if nothing was done, then the boycott staff in L.A. would have to return home. Tony kept interjecting that the Board had authorized action and would someone make a motion. Manuel Chavez made a motion to appoint Mac and myself to implement some concrete action regarding security. Jerry (Cohen) then spoke about some of the kinds of threats and the need for a unanimous approval in order to make Cesar understand what we wanted. I asked that Joe be included on the Committee. The motion was passed unanimously.

Tony managed to shift the responsibility for taking the action to Manuel, Jerry and myself. But how short sighted! Had he begun with a long exposition of the problem, how he was convinced that action was needed, etc., then he would have taken on the guise of a leader. But no.

September 22

Today Bonnie (Chatfield) and I went to Morro Bay. The first time in three years and after we had talked about it so many times. Very warm on the beach, almost too much so for Clare (Chatfield), so we rode around the bay and looked at houses and the scenery. Then a short nap and back we came. Two things were uppermost in my mind: 1) Tony's (Orendain) foolishness. He says he is going to check up on me every 24 hours to see what I do about Cesar's security and that way if anything happens, he will be in the clear. How stupid! I'm not the enemy. What a waste of time and energy. And by the time he recites my "record",

he will have been stoned by the membership. 2) Elections. We are going to be forced into elections therefore we should call the bluff of the growers who say that we do not represent the workers by calling ourselves for state elections in the table grape industry. If the growers refuse then they are caught again publicly in their propaganda and the moral weight of the Church and the conscience of men of good will bears down on them. If they accept, then we organize every town in the Valley. It is a good investment. My idea would be to hold the elections in memory of Bobby Kennedy. Not only would that make them more appealing but it would serve to organize for Ted Kennedy in 1972. Tomorrow I will propose this to Cesar.

September 23

Security for Cesar. That is my concern today. Everyone wants security but the thought, or should I say the realization that it costs money is difficult to accept. I instructed Doctor (Jerry) Lackner to hire professional policemen in San Jose to begin 24 hour-a-day security at Cesar's room at the hospital. When he computed the cost he was shocked and yet he has been one of the most adamant about security. Presently we have assigned four men from the Union to the hospital. Two of them are older and while all mean well, they have no training, are not secure in what is expected of them and by the this time I'm sure they are bored to tears. But if we allow that to pass for security then Cesar will be able to overturn the vote of the membership who voted to pay for his security. We simply have to face up to it: good security will cost money. Now, is it worth it or not?

I had a good idea about getting some black body guards from Los Angeles and so I called Althea Alexander for some help in recruiting some men. My thinking is that Cesar will kind of "dig it" and will be reluctant to criticize their activities though he would not have the slightest hesitation about criticizing "chicanos", however good and professional they might be. We'll see what happens. When it is all said and done, Cesar will slip out of it somehow and someday we will live to regret it.

September 25

Cesar is still resisting security measures. Doctor (Jerry) Lackner was supposed to assign an off duty security guard to Cesar around the clock in San Jose but Cesar wouldn't hear of it. He phoned Jim (Drake) and ranted and raved and said "over my dead body". When I called him he was meek and very much like a lamb. So characteristic! He said that he was afraid it would hurt the feelings of those who had come over from Delano to help with hospital security. But really he is afraid to cross the line that allows real security. What will the press say? What will others say? He said that he has had a hard time with the nurses there because they refer to his bodyguards and he complains that they are not really bodyguards but friends who have come to help him out. He completely nixed the idea of using Blacks because it would be "fantastical" and cause a stir. And once again he said, "how will I explain it?" My point was that the membership would do the explaining. He said he was not opposed to our own people being trained but when I continued to press the urgency, his comeback was that

they had waited for two years before they became concerned and that he guessed a few more days wouldn't hurt. My concern is that he will delay and delay until our sense of urgency is spent and no security will be the result. Perhaps he isn't convinced that the Board, the membership and even myself are really serious about this. I couldn't even move Cesar to agree to a night security patrol. I was doing pretty well until I mentioned the possibility of deputizing the patrol, then Cesar chocked it off.

September 25

Today we met with Don O'Brien, State Representative for Humphrey's Campaign. We had representation from the Ranch Committees at Arvin, Delano, Fresno, Livingston and Hollister in addition to three Union officers, Jim (Drake), Jerry (Cohen) and myself. O'Brien ran Kennedy's Campaign in Nebraska and was a pretty cool guy. He listened bravely as we hammered away at him but then again he didn't waste much time defending Humphrey. He took notes and asked questions and gave the impression that certain decisions had already been made upstairs. We'll see.

Some of my observations were that Humphrey should assign a man to Delano full time to work for us. This would immediately make us beholden to him especially if the guy produced and because he was on the inside he would be able "to key off" our propaganda and strategy. I also reminded him of Bobby Kennedy's strategy of always leaving his office open to us and some effort was always made on our behalf. There was always follow-through. We had quite an exchange about how things really got done in Washington and that so often it is a question of who you know and who calls, i.e., the use of power to bluff or to authorize. The reason for this exchange was because he attributed this kind of authority to himself when he worked for Kennedy as a U.S. Attorney but minimized this kind of authority with respect to Humphrey. He finally admitted that Humphrey could do similar things if he had the will.

Poor Cesar. I got the impression from Doctor (Jerry) Lackner that (Bill) Kircher was practically living at the hospital with Cesar.

September 26

When your days are guided by events and not the reverse it can be very frustrating. Your thrust, your work has no direction, no goal. You are always on the defensive. These have been my kind of days for quite some time. Instead of building something, it seems that I am only responding. Very little satisfaction because there is little challenge. Theoretically I could be busy about many things: Clinic, Co-Op, 40 Acres, etc. but practically speaking all these take meetings of officers including their time and attention. But with all our attention focussed on the boycott, all of our expectations are centered there. The other union details and matters that come up are handled in such a way as to slide by them.

September 27

A full day. Mack and I went to Los Angeles to meet with Chuck Mosley, a man seemingly dedicated for many years to helping others remain safe from harm. A hulk of a man and yet gentle too. His knowledge of judo and karate seems natural and he demonstrated on Mack and myself but very gently. I was impressed, even moved, by his remarks and his sincerity. We made arrangements for him to come Sunday at 10:00 AM to meet with us here in Delano.

Cesar is at home but all is not well. He refuses to obey Helen and can't rest because of the kids, TV, etc. To be very honest he is demanding on those close to him and tends to be impatient. With others it is just the reverse: he is tolerant, patient and submits to all kinds of demands. So he is going to move out to the 40 Acres and set up his convalescence there. He has also asked Peggy (McGivern) to come back to Delano to take care of him. That is real trouble, if you ask me, and I will end up paying for it.

Tonight at the meeting I gave a report on our activities with respect to training security men. I recommended that for the time being Phillip (Vera Cruz) remain in charge of Cesar's security and we use volunteers as best we could. But it is getting into gear by fits and starts. There are six men there now tonight but they are so self-motivated they don't want to take orders or admit anyone is in charge. Well, little by little. And Bonnie is mad at me for inviting Marion (Moses) along with us to L.A.

September 30

Strange day. Bonnie left at 4 AM for San Francisco to testify against a TRO aimed at prohibiting our picketing. A trip that wasn't really necessary because the judge decided that a Federal Court didn't have jurisdiction in a labor dispute. Then shortly before I got up, there was an automobile collision at our corner with at least seven people involved. One car overturned and the other was badly smashed on its side. A lady had her leg broken and another was bleeding profusely. I called the ambulance and the highway patrol. It seemed like hours before they arrived even though it was only 10 minutes or so. I was pretty shook up mostly because I felt so helpless.

Cesar called a meeting with Bill Widman and Tony Orendain and myself to inform us that Tony had to have more responsibility and was in effect to be the treasurer for the Service Center, CCAP, the Co-Op, etc. That he and Tony would sign the checks and I would be phasing out of the Center's operation and be going to the Health & Welfare Plan exclusively. This is a two pronged program to confront Tony with responsibilities that he cannot shoulder to see what happens, to let me off the hook from my own "power", and my wheeling and dealing in the past, and to create room for Pete Garcia who will be taking my place some day soon. Not that Cesar mentioned any of these reasons aloud but that's my guess.

Jerry (Cohen) told me tonight that the Teamsters are going to close down Mayfair and maybe even Safeway because of the grapes. My guess is that the UAW and the Teamsters are making

a grandstand play for us and if they in fact keep that type of help forthcoming, then we will have to respond to their overtures.

October 3, 1968

Health & Welfare Plan - Report of Visit to Hollister Area

1. Interview with Dr. Fisk Brooks (471 4th St., Hollister)

I was surprised that so many of the Almaden workers went to Dr. Brooks or wrote down his name as the doctor they would go to. But in Hollister, all but two of the doctors have their offices out of town near the Hazel Hawkins Memorial Hospital. Dr. Brooks has his office next door to the Welfare Department and the rest of the County Offices including the jail. I think it is reasonable to assume that most of the workers who manage to get a welfare card for their children or during the off-seasons would go to him because he is downtown and very convenient.

Dr. Brooks seems like a nice person but really dumb. He has a difficult time focussing on what you are saying and tends to repeat himself over and over again as if he really doesn't have any more to say or a least anything different. His position is that the Health & Welfare Plan should cover hospitalization because the people can always manage with the normal illnesses though of course maternity is a big problem. He estimates that it costs \$390 to have a baby.

Dr. Brooks charges \$6 for an office visit and \$5.50 for a Workman's Compensation case. (All of the Hollister doctors use the \$6 Relative Value Schedule). He extends credit to the patients and says that they are no better or no worse for paying than anyone else.

2. Interview with Dr. Roderick Yip (891 Sunset Dr., Hollister)

Dr. Yip is a very young looking man, rather volatile and nervous. I got the impression that he specialized in surgery or did a lot of hospital work because his examples of illness were of a serious nature and had to do with surgery.

Yip also felt that hospitalization was the most important benefit for a worker; he kept referring to the catastrophic illness that wipes a person out, financially speaking. He kept assuming that maternity care would be included in a hospitalization plan, automatically. He referred to or characterized office calls as dealing with patients who have colds or a sore throat and of course that is so common and inexpensive why should a Health & Welfare Plan with a limited amount of money be concerned about it.

Dr. Yip acknowledged that collections were a problem but what are you going to do about it? I used the opening to suggest that perhaps a \$4 cash visit was preferable to a \$6 unpaid

visit and maybe if the patient were given a choice between cash and credit he might choose to pay on the spot if it were less. At first Yip didn't see anything wrong about that but then he began to suspect that the other doctors would interpret that as "price cutting" and therefore it would be unethical.

At some point Yip began to lecture me about Medicare. How he hoped the Democrats would be turned out of office because of their programs of "socialized medicine". He claims that the Democrats say that Medicare is really insurance and that Social Security is also, but really it was taking money from his pocket and mine to pay for those who really could not support themselves. He tried to make it clear he was not opposed to medical care for the aged who could not afford it; but the idea of paying for everyone over 65 was ridiculous.

Since I had heard that some of the doctors had taken care of the Braceros on a contract basis with the growers I asked him if he knew anything about it. This prompted a small explosion. Several years ago he took a doctor's place in Watsonville who treated Braceros. He said that it encouraged the practice of inferior medicine and that most of the men who came did not really need to see a doctor. That they used to come in buses late in the afternoon and all stood in line to see the doctor. It had been the practice of the regular doctor to give them all shots whether there was anything wrong or not; and so when Yip told a bracero that there was nothing wrong, the worker in turn asked for his shot and became rather indignant when he didn't get it. Of course Yip was convinced that the men were just goldbricking. (I guess it never occurred to him that by 3 or 4 PM the men were not working and they had to come together in buses and all at one time because they didn't have their own transportation.)

3. Interview with Mrs. Hegg (Nurse for Dr. John J. Haruff, 961 Sunset Dr., Hollister)

Dr. Haruff is on vacation in India. Mrs. Hegg told me that he had been one of the doctors who had contracted with the growers to take care of the Braceros. That he would never do it again because it encouraged goldbricking and it was a financial loss for the doctor. Mrs. Hegg thought it likely that Dr. Haruff carried more people on his books than any other doctor in town. She almost gave the impression that she thought he was much too generous in this regard, though I think she was also trying to indicate how generous she thought Dr. Haruff was. She also felt that Dr. Haruff would be most willing to serve on a panel of doctors serving eligible workers.

4. Interview with Dr. Telfer, County Medical Doctor

Dr. Telfer has been in Hollister only one month and thus was not too well informed about the medical scene. The County has a general clinic every Wednesday morning and to be admitted you must have a referral from the Welfare Department. On Mondays there is a pre-natal clinic and on Thursdays a Planned Parenthood clinic. Then of course there are the usual inoculation programs. The doctor is on call 5 days a week for emergency hospital care for the medically indigent; local doctors cover the other two days. If he delivers a baby there is no charge to the patient for his services though there is the usual hospital charge. Though

rather reluctant to commit himself he felt that much more could and should be done for the medically indigent with respect to outpatient care. He was not clear just how a person received clearance to come to the County Clinic except that they brought a card from the Welfare Department.

5. Interview with Supervisor of the Welfare Department

For those persons who do not qualify for a Medi-Cal card but who are judged medically indigent they are given a permit to use the County Doctor next door. Determining who is medically indigent is rather hard to pin down but there are the usual detailed questionnaires to be filled out and then if a person does not have more than \$500 in convertible assets he is considered medically indigent, I think. If they receive a pass to use the pre-natal clinic then they will automatically be admitted to Hazel Hawkins Hospital when delivery time comes and the County Doctor will deliver the baby. The County then reimburses the hospital and in turn bills the patient for the hospital care (no charge for the doctor) and in fact the County has now set up a special department complete with a field investigator to insure the fact that the family pays back month by month what they owe. The indigent are also billed for ambulance and x-rays taken at the hospital.

6. Interview with Mrs. Yockey, Director of the County Collection Agency

Mrs. Yockey said that before her department was established it was the practice of the Welfare Department to bill the medically indigent who used the hospital but they never sent the bills because of their work load, etc. Or if bills were sent, they were ignored and thus people were used to "free" medical care. Mrs Yockey said that her department was not going to be "rough" on anyone but these people had to be educated to pay something each month towards the cost of their hospital care.

7. Interview with Fred Evanchak, Owner of Physicians Clinical Laboratory

Mr. Evanchak reacted very strongly when I told him some of the doctors were advocating hospitalization as the basis of the Health & Welfare Plan. He said that every doctor was carrying thousands of dollars on the books and that the collection problems were severe. His lab bills the patients directly except when there is insurance involved then he adds his bill to the doctor's but the insurance company never reimburses him directly but indirectly through the patient. In practice this means he still has to put pressure on the patient for his money.

His price structure is:

Blood Count \$ 6.50
Blood Chem 5.50
Pre-Natal Work-Up 12.50
Urine 3.00

Cultures 12.50
Chest X-Ray 12.50
Wrist X-Ray 12.50
PBI (Thyroid Tests) 7.50

Fred was very open to the idea of working out a special schedule of prices for the Health & Welfare Plan especially if payment was guaranteed.

8. Interview with Mrs. Jose Luna

Mrs. Luna says she likes Dr. Kirch and Dr. Quinn. Not many people like Dr. Brooks and she definitely doesn't like Dr. Yip. Her sister was operated on by Dr. Yip and it was OK but there is something about him; well, she just doesn't like him. (It should be noted that most of the workers indicated that Dr. Brooks was the doctor they went to.) She thought that Dr. Quinn and Dr. Kirch were the most popular.

9. General Notes

1. Hollister does not have a County Hospital as such. There are three hospitals with different kinds of services, viz., short term, long term and continuing illnesses. The medically indigent are sent to one of the three depending on their illness and the County reimburses the hospital and then collects from the patient.

2. There are seven doctors in Hollister. I still have to visit Doctors Jone, Currie, Quinn and Kirch.

3. A clerk in the Welfare Department and one in the Health Department said they thought Almaden Winery had a hospitalization plan before the Union came, then the company dropped it. (One of the women referred to the Union as "the Mexican Union".) George Morrison from Almaden says he doesn't know about any plan but he will check for me.

10. Some Things to Think About:

1. Women have very strong feelings about this doctor or that doctor; perhaps a panel of doctors will cause fewer headaches than the choice of only one doctor.

2. Are the doctors unrealistic about hospitalization? Their position is that even if it covers something, it is better than nothing. I'm still not convinced of that point of view. While I was standing in Dr. Quinn's office waiting for him to return from surgery, a nurse from the hospital came in to pay on her bill and was complaining that Blue Cross only paid \$21 of the \$100 for this particular test or medical procedure and she was upset about it.

3. Perhaps it is possible to insure the workers for what is called a "major-medical". A major-medical is a relatively inexpensive insurance against the long-term illness generally resulting

from an operation and requires extensive hospitalization. The patient has to pay a cash deductible, e.g., \$100 and the insurance company pays 70 or 80% over and above the deductible up to \$10,000.

4. I think that when doctors talk about hospitalization they automatically include maternity care. Almost all of them made reference to the expense involved in having a baby. In other words they considered it "catastrophic".

5. Perhaps a panel of doctors in the Hollister area would accept a scheme whereby the patient pays \$1 for an office visit and the Plan pays 3.50 or 4 dollars. Such a scheme would protect the Plan from over utilization and at the same time stretch the dollars available to the Plan.

October 6

Several days have elapsed since I wrote anything. The days seemed to have been full of activity and work and thus the need for setting down something on paper wasn't there. Writing stems from frustration, at least for me. It is a kind of activity that makes up for my "lack" of activity. I mean I write only as a way to try and do at least one meaningful thing for the day.

Cesar has pretty well escaped having to consent to accept security men. While he is convalescing at home there are two men outside providing security. But he nixed our plan to select some members for special training in Los Angeles. He countered by insisting that he wanted to select some strikers first. I give up. We have tried! The only thing that will work is when some of the members just attach themselves to him and do it!

Doctor Joe Okimoto visited on Friday afternoon and on Saturday. Cesar really tried to discourage him by painting a realistic picture of what the problems will be and how the Union can give no backing at this time to the Clinic. My guess is that Joe will be bitten with the challenge and will want to come and try his hand. I think he will do very well. He's a good man.

Today I loafed. Watched the World Series and the Raider's football game. Later in the afternoon we took a ride to Glenville. There is a possibility that I will be going to Los Angeles later in the month to work on the Humphrey Campaign.

October 12

Very tired. Just a few random notes.

1. Cesar is cool to the idea of getting a doctor because some day he wants Doctor Brooks to come back.
2. Gil Rubio has been neutralized by Cesar getting Jerry (Cohen) to defend him -and some of our people - against the police.
3. Manuel (Chavez) and I will be working in East Los Angeles for the presidential campaign by organizing people there to help us and then bringing in our own workers.
4. Cesar is feeling much better and was in a very good mood today. Very crabby and irritable day before yesterday.
5. Manuel (Chavez) and I hit the UAW up for 10 thousand for the ELA campaign.
6. (Alan) Cranston came to see Cesar for endorsement and to get his picture taken, etc. on Thursday.
7. Mac Lyons is picking up the ball to push the security for Cesar through - with or without Cesar's approval.
8. I spent Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in bed with a bad cold.
9. Just impossible to juggle all of the things we have cooking. Seems like we just transfer them and or put them off until we simply have to act. Spread very thin.

November 19

Seems like ages since I have written anything and how many times have I resolved to do so. A diary is like a piece of old furniture, it can't help but grow more valuable if not for its quality at least for its sentimental value. Bonnie, Clare and I spent four weeks in East Los Angeles working on the Humphrey Campaign. I found it very exhilarating. The long hours, the excitement of trying to build an organization. I guess it was kind of a relief to get away from Delano. It seems that when Cesar is away from Delano or out of the center of activity, Delano closes in on me. Petty differences, struggles for authority that don't mean anything, jealousies - all of these things seem to rage when Cesar is away. Perhaps it is because his presence is powerful enough to protect those of us who work around him and who become the butt for this activity.

Bonnie, Clare and I went to Santa Barbara on Sunday to spend the afternoon visiting with Cesar and Helen. Cesar and I talked about (Ben) Berkov and the Health and Welfare Plan, some of the internal problems of the Union, the Bishop's Statement, and about the money for the political education fund. Cesar bounced two ideas against me: how to use the ideas and techniques from the Liturgy of the Mass to enliven the Union meetings, e.g., singing, a

few rituals, scrolls on the wall with sayings, etc. The other thing was a retirement center for the Filipinos, a kind of Co-Op living where each one could raise chickens or a garden, where meals could be in common. You can tell Cesar is much better and his morale is good when he talks about things like this. I think he deliberately does this to stimulate us. He tries to have something for everyone. This forces us out of the doldrums and gives us hope and a spirit of achieving.

November 20

Yesterday I made the final arrangements with Ann (Israel) and Peter (Matthiessen) to finance the heating of David's (Averbuck) pool so that Cesar can continue his therapy when he returns from Santa Barbara. I stressed to David the pre-condition, that is, the water must be heated to 97 degrees. If Cesar returns and the water at Delano says 95 degrees, he'll comment that the water in Santa Barbara was 97 degrees and he felt so much better there. The whole cost is expected to come to \$900 and I have sworn Ann and Peter to secrecy. We'll see.

Today there was a news release that DiGiorgio was selling his 6,100 acres in Arvin and Lamont and that without a union successor clause the union would be without a membership there. Building this Union has certainly been a series of setbacks. I guess that is how unions are born and built.

Have it in mind to see if Aetna Insurance Company sponsors awards for agents who work with minority groups. Ken Leap, an agent for Aetna from Fresno, has done a terrific job for us. He is honest and has performed a remarkable service for us. He comes to Delano each week to service us and the membership. I'm sure he makes money at it too but no one seems to begrudge him that. He came to East Los Angeles and worked in the campaign with us for a weekend. He parked cars for the day when Bobby Kennedy came to break bread with Cesar. He has also made himself useful in a variety of ways.

Tonight I put up a flood light in our backyard area. I guess we have been a little uneasy since some one fired a pellet gun through our front window last week and since our house was burglarized. Kind of shakes you up, at least for a while.

The folks were here for the weekend and then came back Tuesday night on their way back from L.A. to Sacramento.

November 21

Spent most of today lining up appointments with doctors from Kingsburg to Sanger tomorrow. My hope is to get them to cooperate a little with their fees but really there is no hope of that, at least until we can build our own clinics or hire our own doctors. Some of these guys really flinched when I mentioned farm workers or union. They just don't know!

Jerry (Cohen) announced a primary boycott of Bank of America today at a press conference in San Francisco because of their refusal to talk with the Union about negotiating a contract. Jerry said that Larry (Itliong) came to the point of endorsing the student riots and lectured the press for 15 minutes. That's all we need at this point, a call to violence!

Have begun to look for a Political Action Center in East Los Angeles. An abandoned church or synagogue or something along those lines. We need a place where we can build a base of operation, not only for the boycott but for political activity as well. I would hope some day to get involved in that kind of organizing. Time will tell.

Talked with Rudy Ahumada in Montreal. He seemed forlorn and I hated to bring up the subject of money or how Cesar jumped me about paying Rudy and the boycott also meeting his expenses but I felt I had to, at least to warn him.

Hope to get Aetna Insurance Company to give an award to Ken Leap for his work on our behalf.

Bonnie ran out of money for the month today. We discussed it at length. The question of buying. What and how much. But looks like we'll have to take money out of the Credit Union to make it through Christmas. And then we have the coming baby. We owe \$100 more to the doctor and we will owe the hospital \$150 at least. We still owe \$340 to my folks for the furniture we bought but if the insurance money comes through for our stolen stuff we will use it to pay them off. That still leaves our big bill with Sears for our washing machine and the one we bought Helen (Chavez).

November 23

I understood last night why I am having a difficult time with the Health and Welfare Plan. My work there has been halting, tentative and generally working around the fringes. The reason, quite simply, is I don't know what I'm doing. I don't know what to do. The terminology is different and I don't feel comfortable talking about things I have to learn at the same time. Then too, I have been visiting doctors but with no specific purpose. I already have the answers to the questions I ask them. But little by little I am evolving a course of action.

1. Plan to talk with a few doctors in depth about a plan for preventative medicine. For example: Doctors Freedman, Brooks, Wolohan and Quinn.
2. Try to make a bold move in the field of lab testing. If we contract with a medical lab we can control the prices, the tests and collect invaluable data about the workers.
3. Think in terms of using the Plan to conduct a series of medical tests through our Mobile Health Unit.

If I stick with it, do some reading, and keep out of tangential union activities maybe we will get to the administrative part of the Health and Welfare Plan where I feel more comfortable.

November 27

Thanksgiving is tomorrow. Gen (Burns) is here and my folks arrived tonight. So it is with marriage and beginning a family: holidays take on more meaning and family tends to come together. This afternoon I met with Doctor Freedman and his elderly father who was visiting from New York in Shafter. Because of Thanksgiving, I presume.

At last I am beginning to come up with some pretty concrete ideas regarding the Health and Welfare Plan. Automated lab diagnostic testing, mail order drug services are two ideas for cutting costs.

Yesterday I drove over 600 miles in one day. Left at 4:45 AM and returned at 10:00 PM. I'm exhausted.

November 30

Harriett, Linda and Susan were arrested last night in L.A. on a felony charge, conspiracy to commit property damage.

Manuel (Chavez) calls me for the bail, six grand. Of course I couldn't do anything late last night but Gary (Bellow) tried to get the bondsman to accept pink slips as collateral. No decision reached last night. Today the bondsman said he would be out of his mind not to demand cash collateral. Manuel sent two guys to pick up a check for \$6,500. Gary and I agreed he would not use it unless he heard from me.

I headed to Santa Barbara to visit Cesar but had to turn back at Gorman because of the fog. I called Cesar and he said "absolutely not". We could not put up six grand for bail for people we don't really know but to talk to David (Averbuck) about it. I called David and he says Cesar said that we should do "anything" and "go the limit" if necessary to get them out. Cesar had said not to use my check from the legal fund, that the money was going to come from the treasury. David said we would use my check. My guess is a good as yours. Cesar was protecting himself (and me) by placing the burden of decision in the hands of the attorneys, the legal office, because if there was any internal kickback, "well, the attorneys thought it was best, etc. etc.". Otherwise I am confused.

The end result was that Gary got the bail reduced to \$500 each and perhaps the charges reduced to a misdemeanor. Gary used the money I sent him, only in the amount set by the judge, of course, and I guess we live happily ever after. I don't know whose idea it was for the girls to help the boycott in this way at that location but it sounds pretty screwed up to me. Anglo girls working a Chicano area Safeway store, if that's really what happened.

December 5

Peter Matthiessen was here today. He's finished his article for the New Yorker and has enough for a book, which he is turning over to Random House for publication. Now he is off to Africa for six months to do a series on game preservation, again for the New Yorker. He brought \$900 for the pool, discussed how he might buy and donate Cesar's birthplace and finally he wanted to donate a large oak tree to be planted at the 40 Acres. The perfect symbol for the Union.

All in all we spent about three hours talking. He's a great guy and terribly perceptive. I got the impression that his book cuts sometimes to the bone. At one point he said Cesar told him, "it hurts but it's true!"

Manuel (Chavez) is headlong trying to buy the property near Yuma, Arizona. I'm sure he is going to get it all goofed up - that's because he's lost his cool about it. He's headlong! - the only description.

Tomorrow I go to Santa Barbara to take Cesar to the doctor in San Jose. We have made arrangements to stop to see a chiropractor in Carmel, a Doctor Lockwood who fixed a girl's back here in Delano eight years ago.

The Co-Op has taken a turn for the worse; for the second month in a row we have lost money. Fred (Dresser) and I spent several hours discussing the matter and some reforms are being implemented. I think he resents somewhat my telling him what I think should be done. One of the problems is that he is too kind hearted and doesn't like to give orders. I'm sure its a kind of over reaction to his former life as a businessman as contrasted with his present one as a minister.

We'll see what happens. Fred would like to hire Fats (Sanchez) as a supervisor and I think he has a good point.

Marion's (Moses) benefit in New York was held last night in Carnegie Hall and it was two-thirds filled. She thinks she cleared \$13,000. That's not nearly what she had hoped for but I think it is very good and only a person who has tried to put off a big benefit could possibly know what is involved and the heartaches.

December, 1968

Special Delivery Letter from Bonnie Burns Chatfield

LeRoy Chatfield
c/o El Castell Motel
2102 Fremont St. Room #41

Monterey, California

Monday 11:30 PM

Babe,

Just couldn't get to sleep so I got up and took 2 of your Librium & made myself a cup of hot chocolate & put 1/2 a shot of whiskey in it. Maybe that will do the trick. I feel better already but that's because I'm writing to you. It's been a long time since we wrote - in fact I think I only wrote you once - maybe more. The one letter I remember was to tell you "what a good friend you were - but nothing more". At least that's what I thought I was writing. I know now that I never believed that.

Babe, I'm still sorry about the way I acted the other night. Sometimes I become so small and selfish and thoughtless. And you are always so patient and kind and understanding. I know, too, Babe, that so many times you do little things just to please me or make me happy - things that maybe you don't really want to do, or don't care about doing. And I never say anything at those times - to thank you or show you I appreciate it. I do, though.

It seems that now, Babe, I have everything that I ever really wanted or dreamed of having - a good and loving husband, a healthy baby & the prospect of more. I know that nothing else is important as long as there's us, Babe - together. At least for me I know, too, that "us together" has to mean that I accept the fact that you have to do what you have to do. And just to love you & trust you & always be here for you. And that's all I want to do & be - I just pray that I can be good enough & strong enough for you, Babe. I do love you, so much, and I do trust you.

It's funny how little things, trivial things, can seem so important, so vital to our happiness - I just mean "our" in general - when we know that they are only stupid & insignificant. I always said to myself that I wouldn't get that way, that I wouldn't fall into such a trap. But I know I do sometimes - and sometimes often. You never seem to though, Babe. You are so committed to what is really good and important - and I am committed only through you. Which is fine, I think, as long as I can stay strong & "with you".

One thing for sure - I guess I'm not intellectual any more - or don't even make a pretense at it. I wandered around the Fresno State bookstore today & looked at all the enlightening material - then bought "Rachel, Rachel". Looks sexy, anyway.

I think Clare misses you, too. She always seems so expectant when she's eating dinner at night & turns to the back door if I say "where's Daddy?" I decided I shouldn't say that because then she gets disappointed.

Did Marion call you? She called here person to person & sounded urgent - she always does. I gave the operator the number - figured she'd call & hound me if I didn't.

It seems that there was more I wanted to tell you - mostly about how I love you so much & how I will try to show it instead of just say it. I miss you Babe - but now it is Tuesday & so one day is gone, and it is one day closer to when I'll see you. We haven't been apart this long since before we were married. It is the same - the way I count the days and finally the hours. Only now I am more spoiled & miss you even more.

I think that the Librium & the whiskey are working & I feel relaxed & sleepy.

I love you.

B

Tuesday 9 AM

I'm just sitting here eating breakfast with Clare. Helen (Chavez) called to see if I was still here. She said she woke at 1:30 & was going to call. I told her I would still have been awake. Sylvia (Chavez) wouldn't stay here & I wouldn't want her. She'd scream every time she heard a frog jump outside. I know. That's why I think it's best if I just force myself to get over it.

I tried to fix the basin yesterday & got the elbow off after about 1/2 hour. There was nothing but a bobby pin there. I couldn't get it back on tight, but tight enough to run the water & see that it's still stopped up. I'll ask Mike (Kratkow) if he can come when he has some free time.

Have to hang the wash now.

Love,

B

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield

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Chapter III - 1969

January 1, 1969

Decided to start the New Year with an entry. For the first two weeks of December I took care of Cesar while he was at Carmel trying to get his back straightened out by a chiropractor. What a waste! Not only was Cesar in worse shape when he left but he was charged \$176 in the process. He was certainly miserable - a cold, not able to swim, terrific pain. I was a kind of nurse, chauffeur, housekeeper and general errand boy. What ever had to be done. It was the first time that I had been away from Bonnie for any length of time and I found it extremely difficult. Especially when I went to bed.

I had forgotten how beautiful Carmel and Monterey were. The smell of pine and ocean and how stormy it gets. Someday I would like to hide away there for a short vacation.

David Averbuck had his pool converted to "heat" (thanks to Peter Matthiessen) and we were hoping to have it at exactly the same temperature that Cesar had his therapy pool at Santa Barbara otherwise he would be convinced that it wouldn't do him the same amount of good. But as luck would have it, one thing after another has gone wrong, and the temperature is 85 degrees instead of the hoped for 97 degrees. For four days it was 103 degrees and of course Cesar thought it was just terrific and he felt better.

Peter Matthiessen sent the first \$1,500 that he received from his article in the New Yorker to the Service Center. I think it fantastic the amount of money he is paid for a story but grateful that he sent it to us. What a great guy he is!

Marion (Moses) is back from New York with the 15 grand that she raised in the Benefit Concert. She will now work with me in the Health and Welfare Plan area.

For the Christmas holidays we went to Bonnie's mother's for Christmas Eve, then to my parents for 2 and 1/2 days then back to Bonnie's mother for 2 more. Boy, was I sick of relatives and in fact I had been feeling sick for several days. For the most part I just keep drinking and as a result couldn't tell whether it was the flu or the effects of the liquor consumed. In truth, I am most anxious to get back to work and get my teeth into something.

Clare is such a delight for me. Learning to walk and talk and how to persuade us to let her do what she wants: crying, cajoling, etc. Just a great experience watching her grow up. I'm sure the next one will be so different. I hope we can make the necessary adjustments to be

able to treat the next one with all of the attention it deserves. I mean not to expect it to be like Clare or to spend time comparing it to Clare.

January 3, 1969

Once again, today was spent in discussing the Health & Welfare Plan with Cesar. He is a stickler for details - constantly probing and asking questions - many of which I have to answer with an educated guess. He is very concerned about translating what the alternatives are to the membership and making them understand - forcing them to understand. Cesar maintains that the union health & welfare plans are one of the major reasons why union members hate their union. Too often they accumulate millions of dollars in reserves and act like investment companies. Our latest idea is to put all the alternatives on colored cards and to let the leadership deal their own plan -- limited of course by the restriction of what amount of money is available per month per worker. In this way they will realize the variables involved and the costs of medical care -- which are fantastic!!

Cesar seems to be regaining his strength and his buoyancy. He swims twice a day in David's pool -- the temperature of the water is 96 degrees -- psychologically perfect!

Fred Ross (Sr.) was visiting today on his way back to L.A. I guess he is staying on only a month more. Hopefully Peter Matthiessen will be able to find a publisher for Fred's book. I think it would be great if someone wrote it for him. Cesar indicated that Richard (Chavez) would be the new director of the Service Center - taking my place - and I move over to the Health & Welfare Plan. If that does happen, what a load off of my back. I think one of the things nagging me is the responsibility for spending so much money knowing full well that I will be damned for my decisions by every half-ass would-be enemy. Richard has quite a shock in store for him when he realizes what is involved.

Little by little I am regaining my enthusiasm and capacity for work.

Date Uncertain, 1969

Memo to Cesar Chavez

To: Cesar Chavez

From: LeRoy Chatfield

Re: National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc.

Introduction

I am in complete agreement concerning the need for a new Executive Director of the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. There was never a time that I did not feel a tremendous responsibility in trying to cope with the duties of that job. The freedom to act was challenging, even exhilarating, but at the same time carried the grave responsibility of making hundreds of decisions knowing full well that the future would require a complete accounting of any one of them individually or all of them collectively. Theoretically, of course, it would have been easier on me had there been the opportunity weekly or even monthly to present to the Board the alternatives that had to be decided upon at any given time. But a movement in motion doesn't operate according to theory, but according to the immediacy of the things to be done and contingencies that arise which may even affect its very existence. This is not to say that I do not believe that there should be an orderly process and procedure for making decisions by the Director of the Service Center and to have them properly reviewed on a regular basis. I am simply saying that I undertook to fulfill the responsibilities of the job knowing that I was trusted and I attempted to make decisions -- especially those concerning money -- in accordance with that trust. But a man too long without leash or check can become spoiled and careless. So I, for one, welcome the change and the purpose of this report is simply to provide you with a few notes concerning the Service Center.

Service Center Umbrella

The National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. is a 501 (c) (3) tax exempt organization. The development of the 40 Acres or the building fund is legally one and the same with the NFWSC, Inc., however, for purposes of bookkeeping there is a separate account for the building fund. The same is true for the training program, more commonly known as CCAP. It has its own separate checking account in order to keep the record clear and so that our reports to Washington do not have to include other financial information about the Service Center. The training program cannot be a separate legal entity, otherwise it could not receive monies which have to go to an organization which has a tax-exempt status. Other organizations, rather other separate legal entities which the Service Center oversees and in a certain way has direct charge of, are not one and the same with the Service Center. For example, The Farm Workers Cooperative, Inc. is an incorporated entity under the laws of the State of California. Similarly, the Rodrigo Terronez Memorial Clinic is a separate legal entity. The United Farm Workers Death Benefit Fund is also a legal separate entity. Legally these distinctions are very important and in order to preserve our tax-exempt status they must constantly be treated separately and sometimes differently.

Banking

When I first started with the Service Center I soon discovered that our banking relationships here in Delano were not treated confidentially. That is, our sources of income and how much money we might have in the bank at any particular time could be obtained by anyone in the community with status. So I transferred all of our accounts to the Crocker Citizens

National Bank in Fresno and any new accounts that we have opened have also been placed with Crocker Citizens in Fresno.

First of all, there is the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. checking account and the savings account. Next, there is the checking account for the training project. This account is also under the name of the NFWSC, Inc. but it is called Account No. 5. The building fund also has its checking account -- it does not have a savings account - at Crocker Citizens. The Cooperative has its checking account in the Fresno Bank. So also does the United Farm Workers Death Benefit Fund. The Death Benefit Fund has a savings account also. There is only one account at the Security Pacific National Bank in Delano and that is what we call a deposit account for the Farm Workers Cooperative, Inc. All monies taken in at the service station are deposited each day into the Security Bank in Delano and then transferred by check later to the bank in Fresno.

Some of the advantages of having our accounts in Fresno are as follows: 1) No service charge for any of our accounts; 2) No charge for having checks printed; 3) there is one person assigned by the bank in Fresno to handle anything to do with our accounts. That means in practice that any question we have about any transaction will be given immediate attention; 4) No information can be given to anyone with respect to any of our accounts unless it has my written authorization. (As you probably know, it is a routine matter for many firms or groups to request information from a bank about the status of one's account, and this information is routinely given out by the bank to those bona fide firms or organizations. Not even this routine information can be given out by the bank about our accounts.)

Just to give you some idea of the size of the different accounts: the Service Center Savings Account has nearly \$95,000 in it: the Building Fund Account as about \$20,000; the Co-Op account has about \$2,000; and the Death Benefit Fund in its account has a little more than \$37,000. The Service Center has \$1,000 deposited in the Farm Workers Credit Union, and the Farm Workers Cooperative, Inc. has \$4,000 deposited there. The Rodrigo Terronez Memorial Clinic has its checking account at the Security Pacific National Bank in Bakersfield. I inherited that situation more than a year ago and I never undertook to change it since the money was deposited outside of Delano. I think there is about \$2,000 in that checking account.

Service Center Funds

The checking account and the savings account of the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. are subdivided:

General Fund -- This fund represents the general contributions that come into the Service Center and are not earmarked for any particular use.

Legal Fund -- This fund receives money from outside sources, primarily the Roger Baldwin Foundation, to finance the legal department of the Service Center.

Food Fund -- This fund receives those contributions that come to Delano specifically earmarked for food, generally checks are made out to what is called the Delano Food Fund.

Clinic Fund -- This fund receives those monies that have been contributed to be used for building a clinic or used to pay a doctor or for some other medical use.

Insurance

The National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. has the following kinds of insurance:

Workman's Compensation -- This insurance covers anyone on the Service Center payroll or the CCAP payroll. In point of fact, everyone is on the CCAP payroll, therefore the Workman's Compensation is paid by the CCAP program.

Fire Insurance -- This policy covers the two buildings at the Forty Acres and the well.

Office Equipment, Fire & Theft -- This policy covers the office equipment, files and furniture at the Service Center office.

Performance Bond -- This policy insures the fact that we will complete the necessary repairs on the welfare building that will be moved to the Forty Acres. This bond is in lieu of a cash deposit that we would have had to put in escrow with Kern County.

Comprehensive Liability -- This policy covers the Service Center in the event that anyone is hurt on the premises, that is, in the office or at the Forty Acres. This policy also covers all of the automobiles owned by the Service Center. In order for an automobile to be covered under this insurance policy, the pink slip must have the name of the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. as its legal owner. Actually the Service Center doesn't own the automobiles that are insured. For example, the Union owns probably twenty-five to thirty automobiles that are covered by the Service Center Comprehensive Liability Policy.

The Farm Workers Cooperative, Inc. has the following kinds of insurance policies:

Workman's Compensation -- This policy covers the employees at the gas station.

Fire, Vandalism and Liability -- This policy protects the Co-Op against suits from the general public for injury or if their cars have been stolen or vandalized.

The Rodrigo Terronez Memorial Clinic has the following insurance policies:

Liability -- This policy protects the Clinic against persons who might be injured on the Clinic premises.

Fire Insurance -- This policy covers the equipment, trailers, and any other Clinic properties.

Our insurance agent is Ken Leap from Fresno and all of our policies are with the Aetna Insurance Company. We had a very difficult time finding a company who was willing to insure the Service Center and its activities. The reason is that we are so closely related to the Union and insurance companies rarely insure unions. "To insure a Union is like insuring an army." The district manager of the Aetna Co. in Fresno tried to cancel our policies about a year ago but he was overruled by the Home Office due to the pressure of the United Auto Workers and (Bill) Kircher's office. The result was that the district manager in Fresno cannot rule negatively about any of our policies unless he has the authorization from Hartford, Conn.

Grace (Vallejo) is the one who takes care of all of the files relating to our insurance policies. As you can imagine, the most difficult policy to keep up with is the fleet insurance because of the number of cars that are constantly being added and deleted by the Union. To my knowledge, there is one outstanding bill relating to the Workers Compensation for last year, that is, from August 1967 to August 1968 wherein we had to insure all of the trainees in the CCAP program. The district manager in Fresno is maintaining that our premium should be in the neighborhood of \$4,000 for that year. Ken Leap has taken the position that the premium is fifty percent less than that, and he retained an independent auditor to check our records of the CCAP trainees, the kinds of work they did, and the nature of their employment, and his audit shows that we owe less than 50% of that premium. It has been several weeks now and we have heard nothing from the manager, but if he persists in trying to charge us a higher premium, then I was prepared to fight him legally and politically.

Legal

The National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. has retained from its very beginning, Bill Richert, an attorney from Fresno to serve as its general counsel. For this service we pay Bill \$100 per month. At the present time, \$50 of this amount is paid by the CCAP training program and \$50 by the Service Center. After our own legal department, namely Jerry (Cohen) and Dave (Averbuck), came on the scene, we were at the point of turning over all of the legal work to them, but they felt (especially Jerry) that it would be better to have Bill do this kind of work since it is the practice of a different kind of law. Also, Jerry felt that our legal department would not have the kind of time that might be necessary in representing the Service Center from time to time. Most recently, Bill was able to get an extension from the California Commissioner of Corporations to extend our permit that would enable the Co-Op to sell shares. This extension is until June 20, 1969.

Presently, Bill is engaged in suing the Volkswagen Agency in Fresno on behalf of the Service Center for a refund on repairs made to my VW station wagon that should not have been needed on a new car. The suit technically had to be brought in the name of the Service Center because the Service Center is considered by the insurance company to be the owner of the car. Of course, the Service Center will be the recipient of any monies received as a

result of this suit since it was the Service Center, or more specifically, the CCAP training program that paid for the repairs.

Service Center Personnel

Accurately speaking, it can be said that the following persons work for the Service Center:

Edwina Castillo -- In charge of all routine bookkeeping with respect to all accounts of the Service Center and such related accounts as the Co-Op, the Death Benefit Fund, etc.

Grace Vallejo -- She is in charge of performing the day-to-day social work done at the Service Center. She also takes care of the office, the claim work for the death benefit, the insurance policies and detail work for the Service Center, Co-Op, etc.

Flor Agbayani -- She does the statistical work for the Death Benefit Fund, and is in charge of organizing and posting the clippings that come in every week from the news clipping service.

There are other persons, especially on the CCAP payroll, who could technically be said to work for the Service Center but in point of fact they are responsible to others. For example: David Averbuck, Idalia, Rachel (Orendain), Fred Ross, (Sr.) etc.

Sources Of Funds for the Service Center

There have been many sources of funds for the Service Center. There are the general contributions that come into the Union every day and every week made out to the National Farm Workers Service Center, Inc. for the purpose of gaining a tax exemption for the contribution to the Union movement. There are foundations, for example, the Roger Baldwin Foundation, which provides a sum of money each year for the legal department. There are the training programs, for example, CCAP and the Social Development Corporation medical training program that we had at the Clinic. Then there are the specific fund raising projects, for example, like the one we had in Beverly Hills two years ago, the Joan Baez Concert, Marion's (Moses) benefit in New York, etc.

CCAP Training Program

The money for the CCAP (Citizens Crusade Against Poverty) comes originally from the Ford Foundation. The money in turn was given to the Service Center for the purpose of training people to work in the different aspects of the Service Center and also, incidentally, as Union organizers. We have negotiated with CCAP a mutually agreeable budget with the understanding that monies received from Washington will be spent against that budget. Budget items include the following:

Training Program Director

Assistant Director
Bookkeeper
Administrative Overhead
Staff Travel & Expenses
Trainee Salaries
Trainee Travel
Telephone
Office Equipment
Office Supplies
Rent & Utilities
Postage & Printing
Legal
Accounting
Insurance
Consultants, etc.

Presently we receive from Washington about \$10,000 per month to be spent against the approved budget. At the end of each month we give an accounting of what was spent and the vouchers to justify the expenditures. Then we receive the amount of money that we spent the previous month. Or frequently, since the two are very close, they will simply send the full \$10,000.

In the last two months there has been a change in the structure of CCAP in Washington. Jack Conway has started a new group called Center for Community Change and this new organization has absorbed the old Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. For the time being, and I expect that to mean the next two or three months, everything will remain the same. That is, we will receive the money as usual from Washington to be spent against the budget. But before long I would expect that Jack will come to visit Cesar and negotiate a new contract for Delano. I think it is important to know that the Center for Community Change has received more than 3 million dollars from the Ford Foundation, and an unspecified amount from the newly formed Kennedy Foundation on which Cesar sits as one of the directors and overseers.

I have the impression that Jack will suggest a straight, "no strings attached" grant to Delano of perhaps 40 to 50 thousand dollars a year; this money to be used in developing whatever programs we think pertinent to the development of the Service Center. Over and above that, I think that Jack will want to negotiate the terms and conditions for any other money that is forthcoming.

January 20, 1969

Richard Nixon was inaugurated today. Say it isn't so. Just doesn't seem possible. What a feeling of ennui overcomes me when I think about it.

As a person grows older, or perhaps it is because I have seen power at work and what prompts it to work, he loses respect and his fear for authority. How I used to think in awe of the Pope, for example, until I realized what forces were at work to make him Pope and why he said certain things and in a certain way. The personality, e.g., JFK or RFK, of a man can command respect and speak with authority while those around him are still aware of the "humanness" of his position.

Something like that occurred to me a few days ago. Reading a few excerpts from Ghandi made me glow all over. What he said was great and it should have been said and its purpose was a kind of propaganda calculated to appeal to my idealism and to win me over to the justice of his cause. Cesar is frequently the same way. He will teach and preach and really turn people on but knowing well enough that it is the ideal he is expounding and something not attainable, even for himself. I wonder if Jesus was the same way? I'm sure he was.

I realized, too, - vividly - that Jesus never wrote anything himself. That the writers of the Gospels could be as "free" and as "loose" as they wished about what Jesus said and did. I can imagine some of us who will be writing about Cesar some day. We will overstate that which was appealing to us and that which we want to drive home to others.

I also realized that movements have to have leaders and be embodied in personalities. In some of the student movements there is a deliberate attempt to keep the leadership anonymous and in the background. While a certain kind of self-effacement and humility is powerful, people must have a person to identify and relate to. They will idolize and "blow up" that person but they need someone. And he has, therefore, to be willing to meet the press and give his views and explain what's happening. Event and acts do not magnetize and lead people. A person creating events and acting, can.

Of late I have been having nightmares, killing and being killed. Perhaps it represents the turmoil in my life. Though, from time to time, I catch myself fearing for Bonnie and Clare, fear of something-tragic happening.

January 22, 1969

And we have the case of the red VW station wagon. My moral dilemma. A year ago July, I purchased the VW station wagon with Service Center Funds but gave in exchange our mobile home and our 1966 VW, about an equal exchange in value. I never really thought much about it and I was never really accountable to anyone on the Board. Theoretically yes, practically speaking, no. But now that I am winding up my connection with the Service Center, it is very much on my mind. I want the situation to be clarified and arrive at an understanding with the Board. If necessary, the car will have to be theirs and I'll just have to chalk it up to an expensive mistake or misjudgment. I going to get it straight though. Will speak to Cesar about it on Friday to get his feeling and advice.

But what an emotional dilemma? I feel guilty but I don't really. The car has been used 95% for the work of the Union but yet, maybe it is selfish on my part. I didn't check with anyone but I didn't check about anything else either. You can be sure I will avoid this kind of entanglement in the future.

January 23, 1969

Am on the plane back home. Marion (Moses) drove and talked all the way to San Francisco. We covered the whole range of traditional staff gossip:

Where would the Union be if Cesar were killed? We agreed that the AFL-CIO would step in, take it over, and proceed to war with other unions about organizing farm workers.

Cesar's fault for being too kind hearted and his tolerating Larry (Itliong), Tony (Orendain), etc.

Tony's (Orendain) problems are related to his relationship to Cesar and is of long standing.

The need for a clinic.

What should happen to the Service Center.

Our meeting with Ben (Berkov) and Merle (Arlen) was very enlightening. Ben is so articulate that he unnerves me. Self-contained, measured, unshaken, soft spoken but never misses an alternative position. By and large he was pleased with what we came up with but pinpointed beautifully the hang-ups, the hidden traps. We taped the interview and it should prove very helpful in studying it at home.

The job that remains now is to apply our eligibility standards to the payroll records, multiply by the premium attached to the benefits and see if it comes close to the total amount of money available.

January 27, 1969

I am amazed. Just finished reading 5 or 6 union health and welfare plans and was horribly disappointed in what they offered. I remember reading the same plans a year ago and being terribly impressed with what they offered. Why my change of attitude? For one thing, I now know how much (approximately) each benefit costs and how much is available per hour to spend for the worker. And believe me, the worker isn't getting it all. Consultants, insurance companies and administrators are eating a fair share.

Our plan, on paper, deals almost exclusively with outpatient care and those benefits are more substantial than other union plans. What is upsetting to me about these plans is that they pay

a lot of "half-things": 1/2 maternity, 1/3 hospital, 1/3 doctor visit and don't pay completely the usual, every day medical costs.

Aside from pride of authorship we have the making of a solid, well thought out, master plan for family health care. Of course since we are placing our premium costs (educated guesses) so close to our income, we will probably go broke! But what the hell! At least we will never have millions in reserve used in real estate or in the stock market.

Have also figured out just how I want to present my report and recommendations to the inner circle. Will put the whole of my thinking in outline form on big charts mounted on a 7-foot aluminum easel and then flip page by page through the presentation. And everyone will be given a set of cards with all the options - all of the benefit choices - and let them construct their own plan. They can then compare theirs with mine and may the best plan win.

February 11, 1969

Cesar is beginning to squeeze out the water in the Union. I mean the screws are beginning to tighten. I'm sure that is why Richard (Chavez) was named as Executive Director of the Service Center. He will be kind of a hatchet man and carry out the plans. For once, I am convinced that Cesar means to reform: he is taking a far tougher stance with people than ever before. It has affected his personality too: short-tempered, more given to expletives, etc. Still very patient and long suffering but now more prone to act and carry out decisions.

He has figured out a way to relieve the burden of the elderly Filipinos. He plans to start a retirement village where they can have a small plot of land for raising their own fruits and vegetables. This has become a major problem for the Union. The Filipinos are on a small pension, have no families and are far too old to be expected to organize. The morale and the cost to the Union have been very great. Retiring the men and giving them the opportunity to cultivate land is not only humane but solves a growing political problem.

We are meeting with the Ranch Committees to explain the Health & Welfare Plan. Cesar really digs these meetings. He lectures, he preaches, he gives homey examples and he definitely responds - elated is the word - to their enthusiasm and delight at the proposed program. Sometimes I think he forgets about his back when he gets all wound up. But these meetings are too strenuous and he will have to stop going. Last night at the Pirelli Minetti Winery meeting the workers were shell shocked about the benefits. One of the workers said, "a year ago I had nothing and now you ask me if I like these benefits. They're great!"

February 12

I remember a talk that Cesar gave in the winter of 1966 at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco to a labor convention. Larry (Itliong) was also there as a speaker, representing AWOC. Larry gave his usual, "I'm not educated but..." then used all kinds of flowery phrases

and cliches. A typical labor speech, middle class, etc. Cesar completely won over the group with his straight, simple and hard-hitting talk. A collection was taken and people gave generously. As soon as the formal program was over, Cesar motioned to me and whispered, "try to find out what happened to the money". As I recall the chairman of the program told me that it would be split in half: NFWA and AWOC. Later in the car Cesar was furious that AWOC should so capitalize on our work and resolved never to be on a program again with Larry. I learned from that time on that when Cesar talked, we should have complete control or have an understanding beforehand about the money raised. Several times we have been burned, especially by the ACLU raising money at our expense, but not if I had anything to do with it.

I remember the night that Luis Valdez met Cesar. Luis was selling copies of "Progressive Labor" at one of a series of meetings that Cesar was speaking at early in 1966 or late 1965 to raise money for the strike. Luis was capitalizing on our crowds and even asked us for a ride to Cesar's next speech so he could sell more papers. Some one did give him a ride, because he was there when we got there. After the meeting Cesar talked with him. In fact, I believe we gave him a ride back to San Francisco from our meeting at the Franciscan church in Oakland. Cesar explained to him some of his ideas about using theatre and songs to communicate. Luis was very turned on and the next time I saw him was in Delano starting El Teatro Campesino. If memory serves me correctly the last remark that Cesar made to Luis that night was "You, I like. Your friends I don't!" (Referring to the other Progressive Labor guys.)

February 13, 1969

What a day! Driving for hours while Cesar talked to Edie and Millie Lewis about "100" different varieties of kibbutz. I was in the middle in the back seat and was my rear end sore. After a while I became unusually impatient because I had been through it so many times before and I was ready for action. And Cesar can really go far out, though he rarely believes his own propaganda. At one point he told Edie that he had two consultants for farming and raising cattle: Gil Flores and Katy Peake, I could hardly keep a straight face.

I remember once driving Cesar to a meeting in Oakland across the Bay Bridge and Jack Weintraub, a Teamster official, was in the car with us. Weintraub was explaining to Cesar how to identify the trucks and possible ways to mark them. Weintraub talked and talked and talked and Cesar listened and listened. I was ready to burst because Weintraub was so condescending and talking about things so simple that I was hoping Cesar would put him in his place. But no, Cesar just listened. Afterwards I started to commiserate with him about what he had to put up with but he simply shrugged it off as necessary. This happened in the winter of 1966 or late 1965.

I remember taking Cesar to speak at San Francisco State in 1966. Only a few people showed up, maybe 15 to 20. But faces that were new to me then I came to see for years after, involved in some way or other. You can never tell from the size of the group about its quality. And

some people always show up to get involved long before it is fashionable to do so. Of course they tend to drift away first to something else but that's only natural, I suppose.

February 15, 1969

Cesar fell asleep on me. I left his house at 2 AM this morning and there were already 4 guards for the 12 midnight to 6AM shift and Cesar was still awake. He had a meeting at 9 AM with the officers and then an audit committee meeting at 10 AM. It must have been an exhausting meeting because when I arrived at 12:30 PM he was dizzy but still trying to focus on Jerry (Cohen) and I. But he fell sound asleep. That happened a few weeks ago too when we were having a Service Center meeting. He told me he fell asleep talking to Ann Israel, too. The strain of decisions and problems must really drain him. I notice too that he does far more talking than before. He carries the ball more and his vocabulary continues to grow by leaps and bounds. He begins to savor phrases and examples. Some of us have also remarked about how repetitious he has become: same stories, same examples. But that probably is the result of having so many separate and sub-divided meetings that it is almost impossible to keep track of what you told to whom.

When I was at the house this morning, I felt so sorry for Helen. Not able to go to bed, so little privacy day after day after day. And I mean I could really feel how difficult it was for her. I said, "How are you doing, Helen?" She said, somewhat wistfully, "Oh, fine." I said, "I'll bet!"

March 1, 1969

Cesar never ceases to amaze me. Yesterday I was urging upon him the necessity of permitting the Union to celebrate the anniversary of his Fast for Non-Violence. He didn't say no but at the same time he said I would have to know what other things he had in mind. He talked about his proposed "Blessing of the Families Festival Day" and the victory celebration when the strike was over. He then revealed to me that on one of these occasions he was going to adopt the use pajama-like clothing similar to that used in Latin America and in Asia. Wearing this clothing would be an act of "sacrifice" until farm workers had a Union. Once again, a bold stab of genius. An act that cuts across all cultures, all ideologies and creatively uses something as common as "dress" to communicate. And not mind you, the garb of the militaristic revolutionary but of the poor peasant. Clothes without pretensions but a powerful symbol of revolution.

Got the impression today that Cesar was under a lot of pressure from having kept the officers in the dark about the Service Center and now is trying to fend off their criticism by having elaborate educational meetings about bookkeeping, income, expenditures, etc.

Bonnie said tonight that she wished we were leaving Delano, that it was time. I probably have passed on to her my "blueness" about some of the internal bitching that has been going

on inside the Union. Or perhaps it is her intuition. At any rate I'm not ready to go yet, nor do I think it is "time". I am a firm believer of one phase leading into another.

March 2, 1969

As I see history made here in Delano and participate in decision making that affects tens of thousands of people, I realize that written history is so shallow and misleading. The study of history or the explanation of the whys of an event are such a distillation and abstraction of the flesh and blood of the real happening that it is no wonder a college education is confusing and irrelevant.

Take the fact of the Fast of Cesar a year ago. How fearful he was that it would not be received by the public correctly. How many times did he bounce the idea against me? How fearful he was that he couldn't do it. How he would dictate our next move with a nod, a wink, a phrase. When I began late in the Fast to plead with him to end it on Wednesday, he simply said, "you won't be able to get the people until Sunday." How necessary the Fast was to prevent the court hearing which could have exposed union violence and marred our image. The fact that it was Lent, that the time of the year was slow and people did not have much work and could be organized. A very complex, sputtering, organized, plotted and accidental event and yet history will neatly report the fact and the reason and the result. Will it also record the impalement of John Duggan, Fred Hirsch and Tony Orendain by its point? Probably not but yet in some ways they were the real ones responsible for his Fast.

Now when I read about events perhaps I will also see between, behind and underneath.

March 7, 1969

Bonnie is better and I too. This time the whole family came down but Bonnie is worst of all: no voice, coughing, not able to sleep, sore throat and all this late in the pregnancy. It could be dangerous.

Last night Marion (Moses) came by to look after us and bring us some pills. I fixed her a drink. She looked ghostly pale. Tired and frustrated was my diagnosis. And we began to talk of Cesar's illness. She said Jim (Drake) seemed of the opinion that Cesar needed it. Her opinion was that it was definitely psychosomatic, at least at this stage. My view is that Cesar is experimenting with it. He knows he can get well because his Santa Barbara convalescence taught him that. He knows there is no quick and magic cure because our Carmel stay taught him that too. So he is using it to probe the people, to unify us, to force us to act more because he is helpless. There is a certain kind of power that can emanate from a "crippled" man when he speaks and acts with authority. I think there is a certain expectation among people that a great man should be physically handicapped - not deformed - but one who suffers and who has to overcome pain in order to accomplish something.

I'm all tensed up. I guess I'm afraid Cesar really wants me to stop being paid a salary, such as it is, and have my bills paid by the Union or the Service Center. I'm hopeful that he will permit me to try and find someone else's payroll to get on. Some group outside of Delano. I fear the bill paying route because of the friction that will develop with Bonnie over each and every bill and because as a Christian Brother I had to live that way for 15 years and I've had enough of that double standard that almost invariably develops in a person when he thinks he isn't paid. Then the feeling of dependency and the attendant guilt feelings interfere with one's freedom to move. It also enables very small people to dominate, inhibit and harass others. Political considerations outweigh common sense decisions, I tell myself and I think it is true. I'm not afraid of doing with less, though I would because of my pride and my guilt about asking for anything, but I'm really afraid of being all caught up in the internal machinations of an organization.

March 15, 1969

General Security Program

Description	Monthly	One-Time Cost
1. Alarm system at house		\$ 200
2. Fire Extinguishers at house & office (4)		160
3. Window Shutters		100
4. Profession Training - General Security, Physical Fitness, Karate, etc.		1,500
5. Training Equipment		1,500
6. Training Supplies		500
7. Walkie Talkies (2)		200
8. Car Radios (3)		
Installation -	\$35 ea	
Rental	37.50 ea	
Silent channel	3.50	
Tax	4.00	
	45.00	\$ 135

9. Eight Men - Family Allowance & Support @ 500	4,000	
10. Three late model 4-Door cars with air & automatic & heavy duty tires	300	
11. Mileage - Avg 2,000 miles @ 10c x three cars	600	
12. Travel Expenses - food, lodging, air, car	500	
	\$ 5535	4265

March 23, 1969

Sunday night. We are all moved in. Very comfortable. Folks came Thursday night and left today at noon. They gave Bonnie money for a clothes dryer. Paul Schrade and Doctor Janet Travell came to see Cesar today. Met with Fred (Ross) yesterday and today to be taped about the Fast. So much has blurred in a year but still remember some of the feelings I had at that time: uselessness and hostility and impatience toward those opposed. How sensitive I am. Too sensitive!

I have been mentally pacing for the past few days. My mind gallops and flits from point to point. My only outlet is work or sloth and thus far I have chosen sloth. Moping, sitting, puttering, watching TV, I just can't break out of it. Moving on Wednesday and Thursday was very helpful because the work was cut out and waiting and all I had to do was meet it. But now and for weeks past I seem to be in a situation where I have to create work, to marshal events in such a way as to accomplish something, but at the same time sensing that perhaps whatever it is I'm trying to create is useless and a waste of time. There is no direction or plan, or at least I'm unable to see through the maze. The employers are balking about the Health & Welfare Plan, Dolores (Huerta) is completely and totally disorganized, Coachella is opening up and I am confused!

And my mind begins to race. I have doubts about my worth and my confidence wavers. I need more love and affection than I'm willing to give to others. To break out is simple: take one firm step and then a second. A form of overcompensation is trying to over achieve. The only way to accomplish anything is to start now and with something tangible. Stop juggling 100 things, pick one.

March 27, 1969

Today I am giving a hand to Marion (Moses) with Cesar's correspondence. Some of these letters received date back to September. Depending upon my mood, I write a letter that tries to say something and of course strikes a humble tone that befits Cesar. I much prefer doing this than writing an innocuous and bland response that could be used time and time again.

To give you an idea of the kinds of letters received:

Ethel Kennedy
Congressman John Tunney
Senator Ralph Yarborough
Archbishop Lucey
Hubert Humphrey
Leslie Dunbar

but sprinkle these with a few attorneys, professors, students and a woman who writes from Texas asking for table grape cuttings for her garden.

I suppose Cesar gets a kick reading these letters and then reading "his" responses through Marion, Jim (Drake) or in this case, myself. I have done this for Cesar many times before but only with those letters in which I had a stake and felt that certain things should be said or not said. This is different as I attend to each letter with a kind of dispassionate attention. I admit I sometimes get carried away and no doubt Cesar will kick them back to be toned down.

Dolores (Huerta) said she met with Brothers Frederick and Justin regarding me being named as the Administrator of the Health & Welfare Plan. "We have nothing personal against LeRoy but our information is that these plans are administered by someone neutral..." Maybe that's not exactly what they said but I'm not surprised if they took that attitude. I was good enough to work my ass off for them (in the Christian Brothers) and to be entrusted with positions of authority but now they can never forgive my change of allegiance, I guess.

March 25, 1969

Spent all of today and most of yesterday rummaging through closets in the Pink House trying to find "old" clippings, correspondence, pictures, etc. I found 3 station wagons full. I am now in the process of going through piece by piece, sorting into very general categories and of course throwing away the scraps, the duplicates, and the junk. It faintly occurs to me that this actually might well be a waste of my time but on the other hand this material should go to the archives before its gets destroyed and no one seems terribly concerned that I have "nothing" to do. I am determined to keep myself busy otherwise I am unfit to live with.

Jerry (Cohen) said he got a report from Coachella that one of the Filipino crew pushers opposed to the Union, is organizing other Filipinos against the Union. What a joke or tragedy

or both! Here we have in Delano the alleged leader of the Filipinos, Larry (Itliong), sitting on his ass behind a desk talking to his "business" cronies on the phone. I suspect now that is why he resisted going to Coachella in the first place. He is not convinced he can get those Filipino workers to respond. Perhaps this is unduly harsh but we had best stop pretending that the Filipinos are an integral part of the Union movement and they could well be!

One of the oldest letters I found in the boxes was one to me from Cesar in August (or July) 1965 about meeting with the Christian Brothers Provincial, Brother Jerome.

When Dolores (Huerta) saw me cleaning out the closets, she began to become very solicitous of all of her stuff. Stuff that she didn't even know existed until I started pulling it out. She asked me to let her go through the contract stuff first before I did anything with it. I didn't say anything, just dropped a few boxes at her house to give her something to look at and brought the rest of the stuff home.

It never fails. At the bottom of the junkiest box filled with papers of marginal value (at best) I found Cesar's telephone record book for November and December of 1965 and January and February of 1966. That will some day be a real collector's item.

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield

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Chapter IV – 1991-1993

May 9, 1991

Notes for Panel Discussion and Speech at San Francisco Museum of Modern Art Delivered August 15, 1991.

Twenty –eight years ago next month, I traveled from Bakersfield to Boston to attend the National Catholic Social Action Convention and there at one of the sessions I heard a panel speaker Father Phil Berrigan, if I am not mistaken, mentioned the work of Cesar Chavez who was organizing farm workers in Delano, California. I was dumbfounded that I had to travel 3000 miles to learn about something as important as this just 30 miles from where I lived.

When I returned to Bakersfield in September I tried to get in touch with Cesar but he was not listed in the phone book and none of my circle --fellow high school teachers and Bakersfield activists-- had ever heard of him. I finally had to track down the convention panelist and ask him how to get in touch with him. All he could tell me was that he had a brother by the name of Richard whom he thought lived in Delano and maybe that would help me. But he assured me that Cesar was organizing farm workers in the fields around the Delano area. There was a Richard Chavez listed in the Delano telephone directory. I called him and he said he would get a message to Cesar. Several weeks passed but Cesar finally called back. I introduced myself and told him I was interested in his work and that I would like to learn more and could I come and meet him?

Cesar was very soft-spoken and sounded a little cautious and asked me some questions about my interest and how I knew about him, but he did finally invite me to come and gave me directions. That is how I found my way to 102 Albany St., the headquarters of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA).

It was located, literally, on the last southwest corner of Delano. There were open fields to the west and to the south and very desolate looking fields, as I remember them, with little agricultural value because of the lack of irrigation water on the west side of the valley.

The little office had once been a small church which Cesar had painted and remodeled on the inside so that when you walked into the building, his office was behind a counter to the left and straight ahead was another counter that was made to look a little bit like a bank teller's window. Behind that counter was a sort of all purpose work area and a small closet-like office that a few years later would become the offices of the El Malcriado, Cesar's organizing newspaper, which by the way, I strongly recommend to you. It was Cesar's pride

and joy! There was a toilet at the rear of the building and another store room as I recall. Aside from the building on this very small lot, not a piece of landscaping could be found. It was quite barren. I had never realized how desolate the Central Valley could be until I found the West Side of Highway 99.

Cesar was very friendly and greeted me. We talked for a long time and he told me what he was doing. He had moved to Delano because he had a brother there, a carpenter and his wife, Helen, had a sister and many relatives and friends. This would give them and their eight children the support base they needed. And besides, it was all he could afford. He knew that if he was going to do this kind of work he would earn almost nothing, so at least with so many relatives in the area that he figured they would not starve to death. He was building what he called the National Farm Workers Association. He did not dare call it a union because given the hostility of powerful agricultural interests and their control of the surrounding towns, McFarland, Richgrove, Earlimart, Shafter, Wasco and Corcoran, he'd be run out of the area. His cover was that he was a well-meaning, Mexican-American "do gooder" who was, "helping his own people." (I'm pretty sure that my memory is correct about this: in 1963 we were Mexican-American, it wasn't until a few years later that we became Chicanos and then later still we became Hispanics and now some of us might be Latinos. Though it is possible that at that point in 1963 we were still just Mexicans.)

Who was eligible to join the National Farm Workers Association? The basic requirement was that you had to be a farm worker. This was later amended to include such fellow travelers as myself. And what benefits did farm workers receive as a result of their membership? There were four I think: 1st, you received a wallet-sized card that certified that you were a member in good standing. This card had a red band at the top with a thunderbird eagle reversed in white and was signed by Cesar E. Chavez, General Director and Anthony Orendain, Secretary -Treasurer. 2nd, you paid monthly dues which I believe were about \$3.50 a month. 3rd, you received a small death benefit when you died, perhaps as much as \$500. This would insure that your burial expenses would not be a burden on your family. And 4th, and the most important, you invested in the dream that some day, perhaps not in your life time, but in the lifetime of your children, you would belong to a union that would be strong enough to meet with the growers and successfully negotiate better wages, access to bathrooms in the fields, drinking water available on the job, rest breaks, an end to stoop labor with the short handle hoe, medical, pension and unemployment benefits. (You must remember that since the 1930's, farm workers were by law and by name excluded from all labor legislation including coverage under the National Labor Relations Act. The Act that protected all other workers in this country.)

I told Cesar that as a teacher I thought education was the answer to improving the lives of farm workers. He disagreed. He said that he himself had attended 28 elementary schools because he had to work in the fields and follow the harvest of the crops to help support the family. Farm worker families, he said, had to have some stability before their children could take advantage of education. He maintained that a farm workers union was the first step in this process. The fact is, this corresponded with my own teaching experience in San

Francisco where I taught for many years. Most of my students did come from families whose fathers were members of unions, longshoremen, building trades, teamsters, retail clerks and firefighters.

I asked him why he didn't have a telephone in his office. First of all he said, he couldn't afford it and secondly who would call him? Farm workers didn't have telephones either. And if some one else wanted to speak to him, they would find him. After all, hadn't I found him and wasn't I here in his office talking with him.

The scene now changes to October 1965. The Filipino table grape workers, members of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, had walked out on strike in late September and a few days later, Cesar announced that his National Farm Workers Association would join their strike. This was the beginning of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement as far as California farm workers were concerned. Cesar called me at U.S.C. where I was studying for my Ph.D. and asked me if I would come to Delano to help raise funds and supplies to support the families on strike. I agreed. I left my chosen career to join the strike.

Over the years, I have asked myself many times why I was so attracted to Cesar and his cause? Why did I drop everything to join this rag-tag farm workers movement? It is hard to know for sure, but here are at least some of my reasons. Cesar was for real. He did not preach one thing and practice another. He lived in voluntary poverty for the sake of trying to help others. He was charismatic and gentle. A very low-key person and not bombastic in speech or a firebrand though he was somewhat more adept at that when he spoke in Spanish to the workers than when he spoke in English.

He was a marvelous organizer. He spent time with each staff person or each volunteer explaining the issues, answering questions, helping each one to feel comfortable with what they being charged to do. There were days and months at a time when I would touch base with Cesar at least half a dozen times a day or more to seek his advice, to give him input, to plot strategy. Never, ever did he manifest impatience. He gave me his full attention as if I was the only person he had to deal with that day. He was a true teacher. This, in turn, put tremendous pressure on all of us who had joined the movement to do our best and to be successful.

He was a doer, not a talker. He always had a plan of action. He was never at a loss for "what to do". He told me that if I ever wanted to know what the next step was, just "go out to the people and listen, they will tell you". Every meeting, and there were enough to fill two life times, was geared to create action.

He was a realist. He often told me that I should not romanticize farm workers just because they were poor. That they were people just like you and me. And told me that if some of the workers were growers, they would be worse than the growers. (I remembered how chagrined he was when he heard that my expensive London Fog trench coat was lifted from a closet

where I was conducting a boycott training meeting with some Delano farm workers in San Francisco).

He was a consummate politician. As frustrated and as tempted as I know he was, he never lashed out against the Churches for their reluctance in supporting the rights of farm workers to organize their own union or their hesitation in supporting the grape boycott. He never publicly criticized those whom he called "our natural friends", the AFL-CIO unions, the ILWU, national church bodies, university student leaders, national liberal democratic leaders, Mexican-American service and political action groups, civil rights organizations, nor would he permit any of us to criticize them.

He had wonderful common sense. Time and time again he told me to follow the Mexican proverb which said, "never ride a horse you don't own". In other words, if you are not in charge of your own turf, your own agenda, your own parade, then don't try to piggy back a ride on that of others, because you will only be "bucked off". You do your thing and let them do theirs; there is enough room for everyone.

And finally, the most compelling reason of all for me was the fact that Cesar practiced and preached non-violence. He practiced and preached and even undertook month long fasts to promote non-violence in the farm workers movement.

I have to stop. History will record that Cesar Chavez is one of the greatest indigenous leaders in the history of this country. This art exhibit here tonight attests to his influence.

Thank you.

April 13, 1993

Vienna 8:51 AM

Last evening I dreamed twice about events - dream events - that involved Cesar Chavez. Isn't that strange? Maybe I really am finally on a vacation. In one event Bonnie and I were moving to Williams, California to buy a ranch-style house with a big back lot and the seller was very mysterious in the manner in which he divulged to us the price. He finally flashed an official looking document with the price of \$234,000 contained in the text of this official looking document. It was quite a spacious house and a good buy for us by selling our Sacramento house but the first night when I went to close the front door, it came right off the hinges. Cesar figured into this dream because somehow my moving to Williams put me into his "territory" or sphere of influence and how would he react to that?

Later in another dream event, I visited Cesar at his palace-like center of operations and there was much speculation by Jerry Cohen about how the visit would go. But Cesar was so gracious and friendly and took time to greet me even though I didn't have an appointment, etc. He asked me to come back and see him the next morning at 8 AM and while I had not planned to stay overnight I agreed to come back. I remember how clean and picked-up everything was. The grounds especially seemed fixed up and in good order. When I came to see him at his office the next morning, there was a High Mass going on and a Bishop with all his red regalia was presiding. I could see that my 8 AM appointment had been replaced by this clerical intervention.

(It is especially poignant, and a little eerie, that I type up these notes on April 24 the day after Cesar died in his sleep at the age of 66 in San Luis, Arizona. I wonder if Cesar was in some way thinking of me on April 12 or 13th?)

April 29, 1993

Eulogy of Cesar E. Chavez
Given By Fernando Chavez

On behalf of my mother, my brothers and sisters, all the grandchildren, my aunts and uncles and all of our family, I want to say "Thank You" for being here with us today on this very sad occasion.

All of you gathered here know that my dad dedicated his entire life to help farm workers in their struggle for justice, for equality, for dignity. And I am proud to say that my mother and our entire family supported dad's commitment in every way we could and sometimes, as you can imagine, at great personal sacrifice. I hope and pray that we did our best.

My father chose to live a life of voluntary poverty and yet I believe that his legacy will be rich. His legacy to our family, his legacy to all of you here and to the whole country a legacy of non-violence. A legacy in the tradition and spirit of Ghandi, Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy.

My dad's life has proven to me that his non-violent struggle for the rights of farm workers was a true manifestation of his faith in God and his practice of the teachings of the Gospel.

Some people might say that my father was "a famous man" or that he was "a VIP". Perhaps he was. But for all of us who knew him, including all of you here, I can attest to the fact that he was never, ever too busy to give his complete and undivided attention and interest to each and every person with whom he spoke. Be that person a field worker, a store clerk, a student, a grieving parent or a complete stranger. He was that kind of man.

My mother and our family understand that dad's life is finished. But we also understand that each one of you must carry on his spirit of non-violence and continue his struggle for justice for farm workers.

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield

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Chapter IV

Afterward – My Prophecy

Cesar is dead and buried. So what does the future hold for his farmworker movement?

It's very simple, really. What Cesar was unable to accomplish during his lifetime, i.e., building a national farm worker's union, will be accomplished over a period of decades through his death. But, in my opinion, this larger victory will be won from the "outside-in", just as the table grape contracts were won through consumer boycotts waged thousands of miles from Delano. It will not come about not because of any strike or boycott activities planned by the current union leadership but because Cesar's life, through his death, will take on proportions that far exceed anyone's expectation and certainly far, far beyond the bounds of the union.

This will be threatening and confusing to the union leadership, especially because the "public" and the media will expect Cesar's wife, Helen, and the other children, to speak in Cesar's stead. To attend memorials, participate in dedications, open ceremonies, etc. The union, which after all has declined in recent years, will recede further into the background. It will become more like the stage backdrop behind the development of Cesar's larger-than-life image. Their first, and understandable reaction, will be to bottle the genie Cesar up so that he can be let out as needed.

It is a paradox. Cesar's mystique will grow exponentially larger and larger in the public consciousness - not only in North America but throughout the entire world - and the union's will grow smaller and smaller. And as Cesar's public legacy grows in public opinion centers of urban areas, outside the agricultural hinterlands, it will set the stage for farmworkers themselves to light the matches which will cause wave after wave of crippling agricultural strikes to protest their oppressive working conditions and to manifest their determination to have their own union. It is precisely at these flash points that the farmworkers union must be prepared to intervene and provide leadership, support, direction and the know-how to represent these workers.

I compare this readiness of farmworkers to act spontaneously with the John F. Kennedy aura in East Los Angeles in May of 1968 during Bobby Kennedy's campaign for president. Our presence for "Robert Kennedy For President" in these barrio neighborhoods was all that was needed for people - poor people, working class people - to join our campaign to work and vote for Kennedy. It was almost impossible for us to find enough campaign work for people to do. As for, "get out the vote", forget it! Many precincts had almost 100%

turnouts. It wasn't any special campaign activity that "we" concocted that made the difference. It was simply the fact that people at this level were responding to the Kennedy brother of their slain hero. They wanted to be part of that special mystique.

How much more so with Cesar! A person who spent his lifetime working on behalf of farmworkers who were defenseless and without a voice. A person who sacrificed all his material possessions, lived in voluntary poverty, and disciplined himself and his movement with month-long fasts - a person who preached with his deeds.

For those who think I exaggerate or find this far-fetched, consider this: Cesar has not even been buried yet 30 days and already his life and death are taking on a life of their own in California.

High school students at Fremont High School in Oakland have turned in 1,400 signatures to the school board to change the name of their high school to "Cesar E. Chavez High". Parents in Union City are lobbying to name their middle school after Cesar. An Oakland City councilman wants to rename a major city street after Cesar. San Jose officials want to rename Plaza Park. And the city and county of Los Angeles are just beginning to get into the "street-naming" act. All of this is in addition to a bill introduced in the California legislature by Senator Art Torres and Assemblyman Richard Polanco to declare March 31, Cesar's birthday, a state holiday. This is only the beginning.

The pilgrimages to La Paz to visit Cesar's grave have already begun. It won't be long before the union bureaucracy will have to relocate, leaving others behind to give the tours, to tell Cesar's story and sell the books, videos and other mementos associated with these kinds of activities. But this outpouring of homage and respect will not, in my judgment, advance any particular boycott or strike activity on the present union's agenda. But if packaged thoughtfully, it will create, over a period of time, an historical mystique about Cesar's life and work which will lay the groundwork that will prompt a wave of agricultural strikes and farmworker union activities throughout the country that will resonate well with national public opinion.

Even the growers, true to form, are doing their best to throw gasoline on the flickering fire. The San Francisco Chronicle (May 25, 1993) quotes one Bruce Burkdoll, president of the Central California Farmers Association, "I'm not at all in favor of renaming schools and streets, and a holiday is completely ridiculous. He (Cesar) was a labor organizer and a poor one. I don't see anything heroic about it..." Deja vu! This is the same off-the-wall anti-Mexican rhetoric that enabled us in the early days of the Delano grape strike to ratchet up the national debate over the rights of farmworkers. We could always count on the growers and their public relations firms to make our best case.

Do you think students care about the niceties raised by the school board over the renaming of a school for Cesar? That it will cost money to have new stationery printed and to have new listings in the telephone directory? Do you think thousands of Oakland residents,

Hispanic and Blacks, care that it will cost the city money to replace street signs that say Cesar Chavez instead of East 14th St.? And a March 31 California holiday honoring Cesar's birthday is already a foregone conclusion. Not this year or the next but you can bet it will be an issue in the next California governor's election – or the one after that.

Cesar confided to me many times that he thought it would take 20 years before the first union contracts were won. They actually came in less than two. (In retrospect, a case could be made that it might have been better for the union if it had taken longer, because a hundred-fold growth was not possible to digest. But since there are no choices in these matters, the point is academic.)

Cesar Chavez was completely resigned to the fact that it would take a lifetime to build a national farm worker's union - and now he gets a fresh start!

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield
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Appendix I – Letter from Delano & the Grower's Response

Good Friday, 1969

Letter to E.L. Barr, Jr. President, California Grape and Tree Fruit League From Cesar E. Chavez.

E.L. Barr, Jr., President
California Grape and Tree Fruit League
717 Market Street
San Francisco, California 94103

Dear Mr. Barr:

I am sad to hear about your accusations in the Press that our union movement and table grape boycott have been successful because we have used violence and terror tactics. If what you say is true, I have been a failure and should withdraw from the struggle; but you are left with the awesome moral responsibility, before God and man, to come forward with whatever information you have so that corrective action can begin at once. If for any reason you fail to come forth to substantiate your charges then you must be held responsible for committing violence against us, albeit violence of the tongue. I am convinced that you as a human being did not mean what you said but rather acted hastily under pressure from the public relations firm that has been hired to try to counteract the tremendous moral force of our movement. How many times we ourselves have felt the need to lash out in anger and bitterness.

Today on Good Friday 1969, we remember the life and the sacrifice of Martin Luther King, Jr., who gave himself totally to the non-violent struggle for peace and justice. In his Letter from Birmingham Jail, Dr. King describes better than I could our hopes for the strike and boycott: "injustice must be exposed, with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured." For our part I admit that we have seized upon every tactic and strategy consistent with the morality of our cause to expose that injustice and thus to heighten the sensitivity of the American conscience so that farm workers will have without bloodshed their own union and the dignity of bargaining with their agribusiness employers. By lying about the nature of our movement, Mr. Barr, you are working against non-violent social change. Unwittingly perhaps, you may unleash that other force that our union by discipline and deed, censure and education has sought to avoid; that panacean short cut: that senseless violence that honors no color, class or neighborhood.

You must understand - I must make you understand - that our membership and the hopes and aspirations of the hundreds of thousands of the poor and the dispossessed that have been raised on our account are above all human beings, no better no worse than any other cross section of human society; we are not saints because we are poor but by the same measure neither are we immoral. We are men and women who have suffered and endured much and not only because of our abject poverty but because we have been kept poor. The colors of our skins, the languages of our cultural and native origins, the lack of formal education, the exclusion from the democratic process, the numbers of our slain in recent wars - all these burdens generation after generation have sought to demoralize us, to break our human spirit. But God knows that we are not beasts of burden, we are not agricultural implements or rented slaves, we are men. And mark this well, Mr. Barr, we are men locked in a death struggle against man's inhumanity to man in the industry that you represent. And this struggle itself gives meaning to our life and ennobles our dying.

As your industry has experienced, our strikers here in Delano and those who represent us throughout the world are well trained for this struggle. They have been under the gun, they have been kicked and beaten and herded by dogs, they have been cursed and ridiculed, they have been stripped and chained and jailed, they have been sprayed with the poisons used in the vineyards; but they have been taught not to lie down and die or to flee in shame, but to resist with every ounce of human endurance and spirit. To resist not with retaliation in kind but to overcome with love and compassion, with ingenuity and creativity, with hard work and longer hours, with stamina and patient tenacity, with politics and law, and with prayer and fasting. They were not trained in a month or even a year; after all, this new harvest season will mark our fourth full year of strike and even now we continue to plan and prepare for the years to come. Time accomplishes for the poor what money does for the rich.

This is not to pretend that we have everywhere been successful or that we have not made mistakes. And while we do not belittle or underestimate our adversaries, for they are the rich and the powerful and possess the land, we are not afraid or cringe from the confrontation. We welcome it! We have planned for it. We know that our cause is just, that history is a story of social revolution, and that the poor shall inherit the land.

Once again, I appeal to you as the representative of your industry and as a man. I ask you to recognize and bargain with our union before the economic pressure of the boycott and strike takes an irrevocable toll; but if not, I ask you to at least sit down with us to discuss the safeguards necessary to keep our historical struggle free of violence. I make this appeal because as one of the leaders of our non-violent movement, I know and accept my responsibility of preventing, if possible, the destruction of human life and property. For these reasons and knowing of Ghandi's admonition that fasting is the last resort in place of the sword, during a most critical time in our movement last February 1968 I undertook a twenty-five day fast. I repeat to you the principle enunciated to the membership at the start of the fast: if to build our union required the deliberate taking of life, either the life or a

grower or his child, or the life of a farm worker or his child, then I choose not to see the union built.

Mr. Barr, let me be painfully honest with you. You must understand these things. We advocate militant non-violence as our means for social revolution and to achieve justice for our people, but we are not blind or deaf to desperate and moody winds of human frustration, impatience and rage that blow among us. Ghandi himself admitted that if his only choice were cowardice or violence, he would choose violence. Men are not angels and the time and tides wait for no man. Precisely because of these powerful human emotions, we have tried to involve masses of people in their own struggle. Participation and self-determination remain the best experience of freedom; and free men instinctively prefer democratic change and even protect the rights guaranteed to seek it. Only the enslaved in despair have need of violent overthrow.

This letter does not express all that is in my heart, Mr. Barr. But if it says nothing else it says that we do not hate you or rejoice to see your industry destroyed; we hate the agribusiness system that seeks to keep us enslaved and we shall overcome and change it not by retaliation or bloodshed but by a determined non-violent struggle carried on by those masses of farm workers who intend to be free and human.

Sincerely yours,

Cesar E. Chavez

In Reply To Cesar Chavez

TO THE EDITORS:

The April, 1969 issues of Christian Century and National Catholic Reporter (April 23), carried an open letter from Cesar Chavez to the president of the California Grape and Tree Fruit league, captioned "Manifesto from a friend."

We would appreciate it if Christian Century and National Catholic Reporter would publish our reply, which follows:

RESPONSE TO AN 'OPEN LETTER' ON THE GRAPE BOYCOTT

How are mere mortals to attempt to reply to the charismatic leader of the United Farm Workers Organizing committee, who writes in flawless prose of his devotion to non-violence, calls attention to his miraculous and marvelously publicized 25-day fast, and draws a comparison of himself to Ghandi.

How does one cope with an adversary so determinedly bucking for sainthood? With some trepidation, we try.

First, we must dispute Cesar's contention, explicit throughout his open letter, that UFWOC versus California grape growers is a struggle of the "poor" against the "rich".

The California Grape and Tree Fruit league represents growers large and small, many of whom employ no labor other than the members of their own families.

Writing on the grape boycott in the Washington Post, Congressman B.F. Fisk, an organizer of the liberal House Democratic Study Group, pointed out that "small growers as well as large are being attacked in an indiscriminate campaign that is the very antithesis of the justice which the Farm Workers union purports to seek."

Poor Cesar has few followers among farm workers, but he is blessed with many rich and powerful friends. The AFL-CIO by its own report, has contributed \$2,000,000 to Chavez's UFWOC and predecessor organizational groups. Chavez is a member of the board of California Rural Legal Assistance, established by a \$1,276,000 grant of federal taxpayers funds. The Roger Baldwin Memorial foundation of the American Civil Liberties union has contributed \$85,000 in tax free funds to the Chavez cause.

Recently, the New York Times featured a picture of a fashionably dressed Dolores Huerta, Chavez' chief lieutenant, conversing with her host George Plimpton of the best-seller Paper Tiger fame, at a party in Plimpton's spectacular East River Drive duplex described by the Times as "The Place To Be."

"The Plimpton reception," the Times reported "was the last part of a \$25-a person benefit" for "Cesar Chavez' striking grape pickers, a favorite cause of the New Left branch of New York society."

As to "non-violence".

Despite its name, the Students Non-Violent Coordinating committee - one of the many New Left groups with which Chavez actively cooperates - is not noted for its non-violent approach. And despite Chavez's pious disclaimers, the UFWOC sponsored strikes and boycott are violent operations.

Farm workers who have been subjected to obscenities from Chavez' pickets and threats upon the lives of their children because they choose to stay on their jobs find Chavez' non-violent philosophy hard to understand.

Housewives who have been intimidated as they attempted to get out of their cars to enter supermarkets picketed by boycotters do not understand it either. Nor do store owners and

managers who have been persuaded to remove grapes from their shelves because of fear for the safety of their employees and customers.

It would be hard to explain the non-violent philosophy to the two New York grocery clerks who were seriously burned when fire bombs were tossed into the store in which they were working. New York's fire marshal reported that the one fact that linked five stores subjected to firebombing was "that they all sold California grapes, they all have been picketed, and they all have been asked to join the boycott."

Chavez may disclaim responsibility for these violent actions, but the fact remains that the boycott is sponsored by UFWOC, not the Campfire Girls, and the head of UFWOC is Cesar Chavez, not Mary Margaret McBride.

Non-violence is hard to define, but a valiant attempt was made recently by the Reverend James Drake of the California Migrant Ministry and an active member of the UFWOC staff, in an affidavit seeking revocation of a restraining order against picketing activities by the United Farm Workers Organizing committee in the Coachella Valley.

In his affidavit, the Reverend Drake declares:

"That I am a devoted believer in the philosophy of non-violence and that it is the credo of our UFWOC. That human life and safety is held by the organizers of UFWOC to be of more importance than all other values except our rights which give us meaning in our society: the rights to organize, work, and exercise free speech to communicate our beliefs."

By this definition, the rights of Cesar Chavez' UFWOC to organize, work and communicate come first - before secondary considerations as human .. and the safety of others.

A recent issue of El Malcriado, a UFWOC publication, features a cartoon of a giant hand labeled "Big City Mayors, Labor Unions, Political Organizations, Religious Leaders" and others grasping a giant screw labeled "Boycott" plunged squarely through a dying farmers middle. Hardly a sterling example of non-violent Christian charity.

With the pronouncements of concern for the workers welfare, we wonder why Mr. Chavez devotes his efforts toward table grape growers' employees who, according to Department of Labor figures are among the best paid in continental United States, and who are not on strike and who have not seen fit to join Chavez' union and who are covered by more protective legislation than farm workers in any other state. Could it be that the real prize in this effort is the union dues that could be collected from the workers? This would account for an emphasis on organizing the Delano farm workers - among the most stable of the California farm worker groups. If the real concern is for the workers welfare why not try to help the poorest paid workers rather than the highest paid workers?

From the standpoint of comparative wages and working conditions there is less justification for a boycott of California table grapes than for a boycott of any crop grown anywhere in the United States. Contrary to Chavez' propaganda, the easily verifiable facts are that farm wage rates in California are the highest in the continental United States; rates for vineyard workers are higher than the California average; and farm workers are covered by more protective legislation in California than any other state.

The California Grape & Tree Fruit league supports national collective bargaining legislation for farm workers that guarantees secret balloting in union recognition elections, and insures that the free flow of food to the American public will not be impeded.

Chavez does not. His goal, as his open letter states, is "social revolution" - the same goal as that of his early mentor the professional radical Saul Alinsky.

E.L. Barr, Jr.
Past President
California Grape & Tree Fruit League

R.K. Sanderson
President
California Grape & Tree Fruit League

Cesar 1968

By LeRoy Chatfield

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Appendix II

Article from St. Louis Post Dispatch

June 7, 1972

"Ardent Apostles of Cesar Chavez" by Jack Rice

Dateline: Phoenix, Arizona

When Cesar Chavez settles down to a lengthy fast, and each of them has been one more than is good for him, there is publicity value in it for his United Farm Workers. Two men most appreciative of that, and most revering of the purity of their leader's purpose, and most wishful that he would choose another way to express it, are Leroy (sic) Chatfield and Jim Drake.

Chatfield and Drake are identified, on the infrequent occasions they come in public view, as administrative assistants to Chavez. Apostles is more like it. Preferably they are anonymous apostles, providers and framers of The Union Word for others to spread, in the farm fields of California, Florida, Arizona, Texas, Washington, Oregon, Michigan, among the migrant workers. Drake says they save reporters a lot of time.

"If you had to get the story from the field organizers," he said, "you'd have a hell of a time; only about 12 per cent of them speak English. That's why it takes our union so long to organize and have meetings. We have to say everything twice, once in Spanish and once in English."

Chatfield, 36 years old, is clean-shaven, blond, thin. He moves with the haste of a priest late getting to the confessional. He is pleasant without smiling much. He was in the Christian Brothers, a Catholic order of teachers, for 15 years, and when he asked for release from his religious vows in order to follow Chavez, in 1965, he was assistant principal of a high school in Bakersfield, Calif. He uses hell and damn a lot in conversation, with an almost Christian touch, for respectful emphasis.

Drake, 32, is bearded, swarthy, 6 feet and strong. He smiles often. He received a bachelor's degree in philosophy at Occidental College, and then went to Union Theological Seminary in New York. He received a bachelor's degree in divinity in 1962 and went home to the San Joaquin Valley in California.

The California Migrant Ministry, an affiliate of the California Council of Churches, assigned him to the Chavez movement, where he was an oddity because he was being paid for his work, \$6000 a year. He long since has given up the salary.

Chatfield and Drake came here to administrate while Chavez fasted for 24 days. That is not a record for him, but the 44-year old Mexican-American labor leader is, as always, terribly weakened. Chatfield and Drake go on administering. Nominally, their enterprise now is to obtain signatures on a petition for the recall of Jack Williams, Governor of Arizona.

Actually, they are trying to get farm workers to register as voters, and stacking up signatures on a recall petition is being done as a show of union strength. They need 103,000 signatures, or 25 per cent of the total votes cast when Williams was re-elected in 1970.

"We will get the signatures," said Drake, "but we are not naive. We know we haven't got a chance at the recall. THEY can stall us off easily in the courts and Williams will stay in office until the '74 elections, but THEY will know we've got strength too, by then."

Williams became Chavez's opposite symbol. Establishment villain versus Worker hero, last month when the Governor signed a new Arizona farm labor bill. The bill forbids secondary boycotts and strikes at harvest time. Secondary boycotts occur, for example, when people show up at supermarkets carrying "Don't Buy Grapes" signs.

The law does not become effective until Aug. 13, but the cantaloupe crop in the Yuma area started to approach the pickable stage about the time Williams signed the measure.

Chavez and his assistants came to Phoenix and set up headquarters in the barrio, at the Santa Rita Community Center Building. Chavez took to a bed in a small room, about the size of one a monk would call home. The message intended was: Don't pick melons.

Chatfield and Drake set up an office in a house trailer parked next to the Community Center. The trailer is air-conditioned but, parked on the unpaved and littered and dusty lot, it rawly lacks what they have come to consider the comforts of home.

Home for them, their wives and their children, is La Paz, the national headquarters of the United Farm Workers. Chatfield described La Paz:

It formerly was a 144-bed tuberculosis sanatorium and is near the town of Keene, about 30 houses on a bend in the Santa Fe railroad tracks. About 200 people live there, 125 of them adults on the staff of the United Farm Workers. Chatfield's wife is secretary to Chavez.

"I don't know of any other labor union that started this way," Chatfield said. "I don't want to give the impression it's a commune, it sure as hell isn't. My wife and I and our four little girls have three rooms in one of the out buildings - that's another thing, there are a lot of out

buildings, we don't have to live dormitory style in the old hospital - two bedrooms and a combination living room and kitchen. There are 200 acres on the place; for the kids, it's really great."

The Union has 22,000 members, and the dues are \$3.50 a month. The union's money has an unusual respect for gravity. Most of it falls back to the membership, in benefits, leaving very little at the top, among the officers.

Each worker at La Paz is paid \$5 a week to squander at will, and a food allowance of \$10 for each adult in his family - \$5 for each child.

We were sitting in the Community Hall, talking about the hospitalized Chavez, which almost is the same thing as Chatfield talking about himself.

Chavez came off his fast last weekend. He had been taken to the hospital on the twentieth day and doctors there achieved what seems a wonder to Chatfield. They persuaded him to drink water that had been strained off boiling vegetables. That gave the water taste, and diminished his nausea. Chatfield said, unsmiling, "Well, it's better than at home when he isn't fasting - just one damn diet cola after another."

At the other end of the Community Center two of his daughters were having supper, from the center's kitchen, run by volunteers. A man volunteer was setting up chairs, for the daily evening Mass, at 7:30.

He was getting the maximum volume from the combination of metal chair legs and concrete floor, and not a decibel of it was getting through to a volunteer asleep on an air mattress. Someone came to Chatfield and handed him three telegrams, from hundreds received during the fast.

One was from Oscar Ehrardt, president of the St. Louis Labor Council. One was from Clarence Luetkenhaus, president of the St. Louis and the Missouri council of United Auto Workers. He pledged himself anew against nonunion lettuce.

He had the company, in the matter of sending a telegram and encouraging the fast, of bishops, the governor of Rhode Island, Bobby Seale, Angela Davis and union people in Japan, England, the Continent.

Chatfield smiled, faintly, an expression of glee running wild, for him. He touched the telegrams from St. Louis. He said, "These things don't just happen, you know. We have a bureau of volunteers in St. Louis."

He was tired and it showed. He was asked what kept him going. Food obviously does not play much part in his energy. He looked almost sad and stared at the floor so long that his silence seemed building to a no comment. It wasn't.

He said, "It has a religious element, partly. And Cesar. It's an unusual opportunity. I was a teacher for nine years, at Bakersfield and in San Francisco. In both schools the children I taught were from families that had economic stability. In San Francisco, especially, it was stability based on their fathers' union memberships.

"In 1963 I went to a National Catholic Social Action convention in Boston, and that is where I first heard of Cesar Chavez, living only 30 miles away from me, in California. When I came home, I went to meet him. And in '65, when the grape strike started, I told myself what this guy's doing makes a lot more sense, trying to improve the lives of poor families, poor children, than what I'm doing.

"I went to my superiors and asked them to be relieved of my vows of chastity and obedience. Usually you have to do that by way of Rome, and that is one long way around. But when I told them what I wanted to do, I was out of the order in 40 hours."

Drake had been cranking a mimeograph machine. The union gets its five bucks worth each week out of his right arm, at that machine.

He said, "I grew up in Thermal, near Palm Springs. My father taught there eight years, until he was fired in '55, when I was 15. He'd been going out in the fields, hauling kids to class, cutting their hair. I didn't know what was going on, what got the school board mad at him, but I sensed there was some screwy set of values at work against him.

"Well, when that '65 grape strike came along, from 1000 members and only \$80 in the treasury, suddenly we had a cause, and it was colorful, and we became a movement. That when I gave up my salary from the Council of Churches. The growers weren't happy about the ministry helping the strikers."

There is talk, of course, sniping if not openly snide. A movement that is most of and for Mexican-American workers, many of them Mexican nationals in the States on work permits, depends heavily on such Anglo-intellectuals as Chatfield and Drake.

Drake laughed. He had a Cesar Says answer. They have a million of them. He said, "Cesar says he doesn't care what you are. It's only what you want to do for the cause."