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# **The Life of an Inside Agitator**

By Martin Hittelman

**My Primary Message**: **You have the power you assume.** Exert that power. Embrace your professional responsibility to speak out and act up. And **persevere**, progress is a long march.

# **Timeline**

March 23, 1940: Martin Louis Hittelman born in Los Angeles

1942- family moved to Ontario California for my father’s work at Kaiser Steel in Fontana

September 1945 - June 1952- attended San Antonio Street School, Ontario California

1952 – My family moved to 1889 Lucretia Ave. in Echo Park

October 1952 - June 1954- attended Thomas Starr King Junior High, Los Angeles California

September 1954 - June 1958- attended John Marshall High School, Los Angeles California

September 1958 - June 1960 – attended University of California, Berkeley California

1960 Demonstration against the House Un-American Activities Committee

September 1960 - June 1961- attended Los Angeles City College

September 1961 - December 1962, attended San Francisco State College (BA Mathematics)

1962 - President of Student Activist Group (SLATE) at San Francisco State College

January 1963 - December 1963 – attended Los Angeles State College (General Secondary Credential)

June 1963 - 1972 Married to Keila Pratt

July 1964 - son Gregory Hittelman born

December 1965 - daughter Karen Hittelman born

January 1964 - June 1967 – taught mathematics at Grant High School in Los Angeles

September 1965 – June 1967 – attended UCLA part-time as a PhD student

June 1967 - June 1968 – attended University of Illinois Urbana (MA Mathematics)

1968 - worked on the formation of the California Peace and Freedom Party and attended founding convention

September 1968 - June 1969- taught mathematics at Chatsworth High School in Los Angeles

June 1969 - Feb. 1971 - lived in Venice

June 1970 - Keila and I separate

April 1971- 1977 – lived at 525 Georgina Ave Santa Monica (Collective Unconscious)

Summer 1971 - trip to Europe

1972-73 - Academic Senate President at Los Angeles Harbor College

September 1969 - June 1989- taught mathematics at Los Angeles Harbor College in San Pedro, California

1977 - bought house at 1522 Liberty St. in Echo Park.

1978 – Joined the Echo Park Food Conspiracy

1983-1984 -Chief Negotiator, signed off on LACCD Technical-Clerical Collective Bargaining Agreement

1983 – Helped to elect Jackie Goldberg to the Los Angeles Board of Education using an Apple II+ computer.

1984 – President of AFT College Guild Local 1521 (LACCD)

1986 – started permanent relationship with Sandra Lepore

1989-1991 - elected to State Academic Senate Executive Committee

September 1990 - January 2007 – taught mathematics at Los Angeles Valley College in Van Nuys California

March 1991 - March 1997 – served as President Community College Council, CFT

1991-2007 – Served as Senior Vice President of the California Federation of Teachers (CFT)

1996 - worked on the formation of the Labor Party in the United States and attended founding convention

November 1999 – moved from Echo Park to Silver Lake with Sandra at 2475 Moreno Drive, Los Angeles.

December 1999 Married to Sandra Lepore

March 2001 - March 2007 – served as President Community College Council, CFT

June 21, 2003 - Ava Odessa Hittelman born

2004 - Began fighting ACCJC via www.accreditationwatch.com

March 2007 - March 2011 – served as President California Federation of Teachers

2007-2011 - served as a vice president of the California Federation of Labor

2010 - Successfully led the fight to pass California Proposition 25 (majority vote for Legislature to Pass the Budget Act)

2012- Labor consultant to a number of locals working on community college budgets and negotiations issues as well as helping to produce newsletters.

2016 - Websites against Trump Regime: [www.trumpgoingwild.com,](http://www.trumpgoingwild.com,) [www.trumpgoingwild.org,](http://www.trumpgoingwild.org,) and [www.DonOut.com.](http://www.DonOut.com.)

August 2018 – built [www.mlhittel.com](http://www.mlhittel.com) to explain my life and provide information to family, friends, and other activists.

# **My Political Family**

I was born on March 23, 1940 in East Los Angeles. My father was then an engineer working for the Los Angeles County Engineers. My mother had just stopped being employed as a pattern maker for a clothes manufacturer in Los Angeles. Earlier my mother had worked for Catalina swim suits and family legend has it that she had designed their first two-piece bathing suit. My mother was the artist, my father the engineer. I inherited genes from both of them.

Both of my parents had been left-wing activists in their teens and early twenties. By 1940 they had settled down to raising a family and making a living in a very traditional American manner. My father worked, my mother stayed home (for the most part) and took care of the house and children. That left little time for political activism.

My mother’s father, Louis (Lazar) Henkin (Genkin), was born in 1891 in Odessa Russia and moved to New York in 1912 to escape Czarist Russia. His parents paid smugglers to get him out of Russia. Two of his brothers organized for the overthrow of the Czarist government on the ship Potemkin. One fled to Paris where he met my grandfather and together they went to the United States. The other brother was captured and sent to Siberia. He was later freed by the new government in the Soviet Union. Later he was killed at the orders of Stalin. My grandfather Lazar died in 1991. My grandfather’s father died of starvation in Czarist Russia.

My mother’s mother was Elizabeth (Liza) Klorstein. She was born in 1890 in Chernigov, Belarus. My father’s father, Max Hittelman (Hottlman), was born in 1890 in Warshaw, Russia and arrived in New York City in 1906. He died in 1967.My father’s mother, Lena Resnikoff was born in 1889, also in Russia. She died in January of 1949.

Grandpa Lazar died at the age of 100, my father died at the age of 99, my mother at 100, my father’s brother (Dr. Joseph Hittelman) died at the age of 101, his sister Celia Frimkess (Hittelman) died at the age of 99. I am not looking forward to living that long as I saw that life at 99 is not so great.

My parents and grandparents were all life-long non-religious Jewish political radicals. I was raised in their tradition.

My mother and father were both born in the United States in the state of New York, my father in 1913 in Rochester and my mother in 1914 in the Bronx. My parents met as children after their families had moved to Los Angeles from New York. Both families were politically active and moved in the same circles in their Boyle Heights neighborhood of East Los Angeles. As a result, my parents knew each other from an early age. They only became lovers after high school. Before that, my father saw my mother as a friend of his sister and mostly as a pest that was around their house a lot.

My father was not allowed to graduate from high school as punishment for handing out political leaflets. Even though my father did not receive a high school diploma, he did end up with a bachelor’s degree in Engineering from the University of California at Berkeley after attending Los Angeles City College and UCLA.

As a teenager my father was a designated driver for visiting left-wing leaders who needed to avoid the grasp of the Los Angeles police red squad. Once he drove a visiting left-wing activist (disguised as a woman) away from a meeting that was being raided by the Los Angeles Red Squad. He also worked as a teenage horse race wager calculator for his bookie uncles.

My mother was involved as a young woman in street guerilla theater activities. Her group was coached by Will Geer who later became known as “Grandpa” in the Walton family television program. My mother was injured in an auto accident while traveling to Chicago to perform street theatre. She was put on a train and much to the disappointment of her parents, chose to travel to stay with her boyfriend (my father) in Berkeley. She continued to live in San Francisco while my father studied in Berkeley. In 1935 my father was working at June Lake in California and called her to tell her to get the marriage license and he would drive down to meet her in Los Angeles. They got married and drove back to June Lake to spend the winter. In 2010 they celebrated their 75th wedding anniversary.

My father’s father (Max Hittelman) was a great speaker and fund raiser for left-wing causes. His wife (Lena) worked behind the scenes. My mother’s parents (Lazar and Liza) were both active and did the everyday support work that is needed to sustain any political movement. I was inspired by the work of my grandparents and I have always sought to duplicate the working styles of both sets of grandparents - taking on a leadership role while still doing the menial work necessary to sustain a movement. I have found great satisfaction in doing both.

Liza and Lazar worked in sweat shops all of their lives. Liza was accomplished at knitting and sewing and always was able to get work. Lazar was less skilled and worked at a number of menial jobs. Grandpa Max was more of a capitalist and did everything from selling woolens to painting signs to owning a gas station, to building houses. He was able to help his two sons attend public universities. My uncle Joe became a doctor and my father an engineer. None of my grandparents ever went to school beyond the age of 12.

Both my uncle Joe and my grandfather Max were called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee in the 1950's. Grandpa Max was proud to be called before HUAC as he felt it meant that his political work had real value.

Uncle Joe was banned from Cedars Hospital as a result of a blacklist but continued to serve as an important Boyle Heights doctor. Later Cedars’ apologized, and he again began using their facilities. He was a famous doctor in the left-wing community of Los Angeles - both for his professional expertise and his political involvements. I think that he was called before HUAC because he was expected to be elected as the president of the Los Angeles branch of the American Medical Association. The Committee and other right-wingers did not want a “socialist” medical system in the United States. They did not approve of left-wingers in positions of power within the medical profession. In the 1950s they went after left-wing doctors.

Grandma Lena died in 1949 and my sister who was born a month later was named after her. When my father returned from the funeral, I witnessed my father crying. It really broke my heart to see him so sad.

# **Early Years**

In 1942, we moved from Los Angeles to the small town of Ontario, California. At first, we lived in a little house which had a fish pond (one of my earlies memories). Later in 1943 my parents bought a house. The block that the house was in was completely surrounded by orange groves.

My family was one of the few Jewish families in Ontario. As our family was not religious, I had no connection with the other Jews in town. The school I attended was mostly Anglo except for a few Mexican-American kids. Some of the other kids came to school barefoot but my mother would not hear of it for her children.

I was kicked out of the cub scouts for not earning enough merit badges. I just wanted to play baseball. My parents were not unhappy that I was kicked out as they did not like the religious part of the scouts.

Racism in my elementary school was not overt, but I remember one incident that occurred when I was a 5th grader. The school had decided to put on a minstrel show and my act was supposed to be done in black-face. My parents explained to me why they felt doing the show in black face was racist and that our family did not believe in judging people by the color of their skin. I was directed to go to school and explain why I could not participate. In the end, I did participate but not in black face (nor did any of the other kids appear in black face). This event had a lasting effect on my thinking. I began to understand how racism was somewhat hidden but still needed to be stood up to as the occasion arose. **I found that I could stand up for what was right and still have friends and the respect of my peers. It was a lesson I have carried with me my entire life.**

In the 9th grade, I was elected president of the school’s Civics Club. The Civics Club was where the left-wing kids hung out and fought for social justice. Our main activity was trying to become part of student government like the other clubs. Every week we would get student government to vote us in and the next week the teacher sponsor would tell us we broke some rule in having the vote and so the club was still not accepted. This is where I first learned Roberts Rules of Order and how to use them to my advantage. That lesson has served me well -it turned out that in my life **I majored in meetings**. As a ninth grader at King Junior High School, I was elected Student Body Secretary. The year before, I had been elected president in each of my five academic classes. Being elected to office became a normal event.

Our project for the Civics Club was trying to get Robert Lee Goldsby out of prison in Mississippi. He had been convicted by an all-white jury for murder of a white woman. Our effort was not successful, but it taught us something about institutional racism.

When the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) came to Los Angeles in the early 1950s, I went with my Grandpa Lazar to attend. The Committee was throwing unfriendly witness lawyers out of the chambers and acting very badly. The man sitting in front of me was clapping while I was responding by crushing his hat which was sitting on the floor under his seat. By the end of the hearing, his hat was completely flattened. As we left he said that I had stepped on his hat. By that time, I had grown to about 5 feet 9 inches and was a little taller than the rabid anti-communist. I replied to him that “that’s life in a big city.” I think my grandfather was proud of me.

I did a lot of reading in the 1950s which helped form me politically and intellectually. In Junior High I read all of the Sherlock Holmes stories. I loved the logic involved and how Holmes saw things that no one else was aware of. I read everything I could by John Steinbeck and was particularly moved by *Grapes of Wrath*, *The Pastures of Heaven*, *In Dubious Battle*, *Of Mice and Men*, *The Pearl*, and *East of Eden*. His novels helped build in me a sense of outrage. I also read books such as *Spartacus* by Howard Fast.

Later I began reading novels like *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley, *Looking Backward* by Edward Bellamy, *Johnny Got His Gun* by Dalton Trumbo, and *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair. They gave me some ideas on how societies could or should function. By the time I was a senior in high school I was reading *On the Road* by Jack Kerouac and other beat writers. Richard Brautigan was always one of my favorite writers. I especially liked his *Trout Fishing in America, The Abortion: A Historical Romance,* and *In Watermelon Sugar.*

In the late 1950s I read *The Affluent Society* by John Kenneth Galbraith, Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man*, William White’s *The Organization Man*, C. Wright Mill’s *The Power Elite*, and J. D. Salinger’s *The Catcher in the Rye*. I was beginning to see what alienation from our current perceived life style was even as I was living a life of privilege. These were all essential readings in the development of a new left in the United States.

I soon came upon Poems by Lawrence Ferlinghetti. *I Am Waiting* spoke to me with humor and insight:

“*I am waiting for my case to come up*

*and I am waiting*

*for a rebirth of wonder*

*and I am waiting for someone*

*to really discover America*

*and wail*

*and I am waiting for the discovery*

*of a new symbolic western frontier*

*and I am waiting*

*for the American Eagle*

*to really spread its wings*

*and straighten up and fly right*

*and I am waiting for the Age of Anxiety*

*to drop dead...*

*and I am waiting for the war to be fought*

*which will make the world safe*

*for anarchy*

*and I am waiting for the final withering away*

*of all governments*

*and I am perpetually awaiting*

*a rebirth of wonder...*

*and I am waiting*

*for them to prove that God is really American*

*and I am seriously waiting*

*for Billy Graham and Elvis Presley*

*to exchange roles seriously*

*and I am waiting*

*to see God on television*

*piped into church altars*

*if they only can find*

*the right channel*

*to tune in on....*

*and I am perpetually awaiting*

*a rebirth of wonder....*

*and I am waiting*

*for the human crowd*

*to wander off a cliff somewhere*

*clutching its atomic umbrella....*

*and I am waiting for a reconstructed Mayflower*

*to reach America*

*with its picture story and tv rights*

*sold in advance to the natives...*

*and I am waiting*

*for Ole Man River*

*to just stop rolling along*

*past the country club*

*and I am waiting*

*for the deepest South*

*to just stop Reconstructing itself*

*in its own image*

*and I am waiting for a sweet desegregated chariot*

*to swing low...*

*and I am perpetually awaiting*

*a rebirth of wonder...*”

A folk club called the Ash Grove opened its doors in 1958. It provided the opportunity to see a number of musicians from a variety of cultures. The Ash Grove was founded by my later friend Ed Pearl in a former furniture warehouse on Melrose Avenue. The Ash Grove became the place I and others would go to hear what felt like “real music” by the likes of Muddy Waters, Joan Baez, Lightnin' Hopkins, Pete Seeger, Odetta, Rambling Jack Elliott and Ravi Shankar. At the end of the 40s I had heard the Weavers sing and had listened to records by Woody Guthrie and others, so folk music was not new to me but the Ashgrove offered more than just political folksingers. Comedians and social commentator like Lenny Bruce also performed at the Ash Grove. The Ash Grove was a gathering place for lefties and musicians. It became the heart of the great folk music scare of the early 1960s. Later it was burned down by right wing Cubans.

In 1956, my brother Gene began attending UCLA and he soon moved to a small apartment in Venice. At that time Venice was a center of beatnik activity and I was able to go with Gene to a number of coffee houses and listen to the music and “dig the scene.” My artist cousin Michael Frimkess was, by that time, an authentic beatnik. Gene and Michael and their friends introduced me to the literature and way of life of the beats. Although I continued to live a pretty conventional life, I did pick up a more jaded attitude about the United States and how it operated. This growing attitude prepared me for the changes in thinking that burst forth in the sixties.

# **College Years**

## **SLATE**

At the end of February of 1958, Gene and I visited the University of California at Berkeley. Gene was transferring to Berkeley and I was to be a freshman there in the Fall. On our visit, Gene and I attended the February 28- March 1 SLATE organizing convention during which roughly one hundred students founded SLATE to run candidates "committed to a common platform for student office in order to engage in issue-oriented political education both on and off campus.”

The SLATE Coordinating Committee included an incredible assortment of intellectuals including Charleen Rains, Owen Hill, Patrick Hallinan, Peter Franck, Fritjof Thygeson and Mike Miller. The goals of SLATE consisted of more than taking part in the sandbox of student government. It educated students on issues and actively worked for benefits to students such as a "fair bear" minimum wage and affordable housing. It published the Cal Reporter, a four-page newspaper, put out pamphlets and brought outside speakers to campus to address a variety of issues. It helped in the radicalization of the Berkeley campus.

On our arrival in Berkeley in September of 1958, Gene and I immediately joined SLATE. I was overwhelmed by the intelligence and political knowledge of the members of SLATE. I was particularly impressed with the Hallinan brothers (their father ran for the office of President of the United States in 1952 on the Progressive Party label) and Carey McWilliams Junior (the son of Carey McWilliams, the great progressive author and editor of the Nation). Many of those in SLATE were graduate students and Carey McWilliams Jr. was a debate coach. The level of discussion at the SLATE meetings was way above my head. Gene was active in SLATE and I went to some meetings and also some of their parties. People I knew from high school like Mike Myerson were involved in SLATE. In fact, it appeared that Marshall High School was always well represented.

By the late fifties a new student left, some of it led by children of red baited parents and families began to emerge on campuses like UC Berkeley. At Berkeley SLATE was a good example and was active in the fight to end nuclear testing, capital punishment, Cold War ideologies, and other off-campus ills. By this time SLATE was also involved in the civil rights fight. It had moved out of the campus sand box. It was a very exciting time for an 18-year-old with goals of helping to make a better world.

In April of 1960 SLATE helped organize students to protest at hearings to be held in San Francisco's City Hall by the House Un-American Activities Committee. HUAC had, over the years, launched a repressive attack on civil liberties and both my grandfather and my uncle had been called as “unfriendly witnesses.” An 18-year-old Cal Sophomore was among those subpoenaed by HUAC. Mike Myerson, my new college friend Tim Barnekov, and I attended the second day of the hearing on May 13 and were able to get into the hearing with phony white cards which were duplicates of those provided friends of the committee. No one but white card holders were allowed to enter the hearing room. While we were in the hearing room, the students and others outside the committee room began chanting and eventually were fire hosed down the 36 steps of City Hall. Sixty-four people were arrested including over thirty Cal students. The outrage over the handling of the protesters led to a rally the next day in San Francisco. On Saturday my friends and I joined several thousand students and longshoremen in surrounding San Francisco City Hall in protest and HUAC left town in disgrace. This marked the end of the influence of HUAC. We were very proud of what we had done. We had shown to the world that the days of unchallenged Red-hunting were over. It was very exciting to be involved in a mass movement.

## **UC Berkeley**

Although I did not do well academically at UC Berkeley, I learned a lot in my two years there. I heard great speakers who were invited to campus and was introduced to sectarian politics. I felt right at home with John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty* and my lack of science ability was confirmed. I should have transferred to mathematics after my A in Calculus 1A and after I was assigned to an honors section of Calculus 1B. I never understood that you could not get by with only 15 hours of study per week while taking 15 units of chemistry, math, and engineering courses. I started out believing that if an area of study wasn’t easy for you, you would never be great in that area. Flunking out really scared me and after that I no longer asked myself “what can get by without learning.?” I decided instead, I needed to know everything in each class. As a result, my grades after I left UC Berkeley improved.

I had played varsity basketball and tennis in high school and continued to enjoy athletics in college (perhaps too much). At Cal I represented my Co-Op in basketball (we won the championship), football, ping pong (3rd in the UC), softball (pitcher), track (3rd in the 352-yard dash), volleyball, and even bowling (where I averaged 202 in the one time I competed). In my second year I was named Intramural athlete of the year. I even scored more than 1,000 points in a basketball game that lasted continuously from Friday night through Sunday night.

## **Los Angeles City College**

I transferred to Los Angeles City College after Berkeley in order to make up grades. I was a much better student all though I only earned a C in German. I played basketball for LACC on a team that had only two white players. We took third in the state and I was the sixth man. I also played tennis for LACC (for a poor team) and was often the only member of the team to win a match.

At LACC I took History and Sociology from Dr. Herbert Alexander. I still remember him saying that the three ways that the United States was developed was through slavery in the South, the extermination of the Indians in the West, and the exploitation of the immigrants in the East. He used to have debates in class. I debated a football player concerning whether the House Unamerican Activities Committee should be disbanded and a student who was the Los Angeles chair of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee debated another student concerning the U.S. antagonism toward Cuba. Dr. Alexander was a well-loved faculty member at LACC. He made me think it might be great to teach at a community college.

I took classes in English, Sociology, History, Math, and German. I got As in all of my classes but German. Just as in high school where I received Cs in Spanish, I received a C in German. My memory for foreign words was always bad and I did not know anything about English grammar, much less another language’s grammar. I learned grammar by growing up in an English-speaking family and never bothered to learn what a past participle was. To this day I have difficulty learning languages.

## **San Francisco State College**

I then transferred to San Francisco State. I thought I would play basketball there, but after two weeks I realized I could not play basketball and do well in mathematics at the same time – and so my athletic career ended. San Francisco State had a radical group called SCOPE and after one semester I was elected chair. I think it was because I was the only one willing to take on the job. We fought with the college president and supported the faculty union (AFT) which I joined as a student member. I worked as a student assistant to one of the math professors and graded papers for him.

I lived off campus and spent my weekends in Berkeley. I came to understand what a commuter college was and how lucky I was when I was attending UC Berkeley. After three semesters with As in virtually all of my classes, I graduated cum laude in mathematics with a BA degree and great recommendations from my mathematics professors.

# **Port Huron Statement (1962)**

In 1962, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) emerged with its founding statement. The Port Huron Statement rang true to me and it became the core thinking of my political life. I quote its opening here at length because I felt it was so right on. The reality exposed in the Statement is as true today as it was then.

The Port Huron Statement began with an agenda for the “***people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.****”*

It spoke to growing up at a time when the United States was *“the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people*.”

But, it went on “*As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against* ***racial bigotry****, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the* ***Cold War****, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.*”

“*The declaration ‘all men are created equal...’ rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its* ***economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.***”

“*While two-thirds of mankind suffers under nourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and* ***uncontrolled exploitation*** *governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than ‘of, by, and for the people’.*”

“*The worldwide outbreak of revolution against* ***colonialism and imperialism****, the* ***entrenchment of totalitarian states****, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, supertechnology--these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.”*

“*Feeling the press of complexity upon the* ***emptiness of life****, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control. They fear change itself, since change might smash whatever invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now. For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening. The fact that each individual sees apathy in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change. The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repel the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies. Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.*”

“*The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today. On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis: as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining* ***determining influence over his circumstances of life****.*”

“*Our professors and administrators sacrifice controversy to public relations; their curriculums change more slowly than the living events of the world; their skills and silence are purchased by investors in the arms race;* ***passion is called unscholastic.*** *The questions we might want raised--what is really important? can we live in a different and better way? if we wanted to change society, how would we do it?--are not thought to be questions of a "fruitful, empirical nature," and thus are brushed aside.*”

“*We oppose the depersonalization that reduces human being to the status of things--if anything, the brutalities of the twentieth century teach that means and ends are intimately related, that vague appeals to "posterity" cannot justify the mutilations of the present.*

*“We would replace power rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstance by power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason, and creativity. As a social system we seek the establishment of a* ***democracy of individual participation****, governed by two central aims: that* ***the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation.***”

“*In a* ***participatory democracy****, the political life would be based in several root principles: that decision-making of basic social consequence be carried on by public groupings;*

*that politics be seen positively, as the art of* ***collectively*** *creating an acceptable pattern of social relations;*

*that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community, thus being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life;*

*that the political order should serve to clarify problems in a way instrumental to their solution;*

*it should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be organized so as to illuminate choices and facilitate the attainment of goals;*

*channels should be commonly available to relate men to knowledge and to power so that private problems--from bad recreation facilities to personal alienation--are formulated as general issues.*

*The* ***economic sphere*** *would have as its basis these principles:*

*that work should involve* ***incentives worthier than money or survival.*** *It should be educative, not stultifying; creative, not mechanical; self-directed, not manipulated, encouraging independence, a respect for others, a sense of dignity, and a willingness to accept social responsibility, since it is this experience that has crucial influence on habits, perceptions and individual ethics;*

*that the economic experience is so personally decisive that* ***the individual must share in its full determination****;*

*that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to* ***democratic participation and subject to democratic social regulation.***

*Like the political and economic ones, major social institutions--cultural, educational, rehabilitative, and others--should be generally organized with the well-being and dignity of man as the essential measure of success.*

*In social change or interchange, we find* ***violence to be abhorrent*** *because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people, into a depersonalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and the institutions--local, national, international--that encourage non-violence as a condition of conflict be developed.*

*These are our central values, in skeletal form. It remains vital to understand their denial or attainment in the context of the modern world.*”

**The Students**

*“In the last few years, thousands of American students demonstrated that they at least felt the urgency of the times. They moved actively and directly against racial injustices, the threat of war, violations of individual rights of conscience, and, less frequently, against economic manipulation. They succeeded in restoring a small measure of controversy to the campuses after the stillness of the McCarthy period. They succeeded, too, in gaining some concessions from the people and institutions they opposed, especially in the fight against racial bigotry.*

*The significance of these scattered movements lies not in their success or failure in gaining objectives--at least, not yet. Nor does the significance lie in the intellectual "competence" or "maturity" of the students involved--as some pedantic elders allege. The significance is in the fact that students are* ***breaking the crust of apathy and overcoming the inner alienation that remain the defining characteristics of American college life.***

*If student movements for change are still rarities on the campus scene, what is commonplace there? The real campus, the familiar campus, is a place of private people, engaged in their notorious "inner emigration." It is a place of commitment to business-as-usual, getting ahead, playing it cool. It is a place of mass affirmation of the Twist, but mass reluctance toward the controversial public stance. Rules are accepted as "inevitable," bureaucracy as "just circumstances," irrelevance as "scholarship," selflessness as "martyrdom," politics as "just another way to make people, and an unprofitable one, too."*

*Almost no students value activity as citizens. Passive in public, they are hardly more idealistic in arranging their private lives: Gallup concludes they will settle for "low success, and won't risk high failure." There is not much willingness to take risks (not even in business), no setting of dangerous goals, no real conception of personal identity except one manufactured in the image of others, no real urge for personal fulfillment except to be almost as successful as the very successful people. Attention is being paid to social status (the quality of shirt collars, meeting people, getting wives or husbands, making solid contacts for later on); much, too, is paid to academic status (grades, honors, the med school rat race). But neglected generally is* ***real intellectual status, the personal cultivation of the mind.***

*"Students don't even give a damn about the apathy," one has said. Apathy toward apathy begets a privately constructed universe, a place of systematic study schedules, two nights each week for beer, a girl or two, and early marriage; a framework infused with personality, warmth, and under control, no matter how unsatisfying otherwise.*

*Under these conditions university life loses all relevance to some. Four hundred thousand of our classmates leave college every year.*

*The accompanying "let's pretend" theory of student extracurricular affairs validate student government as a training center for those who want to live their lives in political pretense, and discourages initiative from the more articulate, honest, and sensitive students. The bounds and style of controversy are delimited before controversy begins. The university "prepares" the student for "citizenship" through perpetual rehearsals and, usually, through emasculation of what creative spirit there is in the individual.*

*The academic life contains reinforcing counterparts to the way in which extracurricular life is organized. The academic world is founded on a teacher-student relations analogous to the parent-child relation which characterizes in loco parentis. Further, academia includes a radical separation of the student from the material of study. That which is studies, the social reality, is "objectified" to sterility, dividing the student from life--just as he is restrained in active involvement by the deans controlling student government. The specialization of function and knowledge, admittedly necessary to our complex technological and social structure, has produced an exaggerated compartmentalization of study and understanding. This has contributed to an overly parochial view, by faculty, of the role of its research and scholarship; to a discontinuous and truncated understanding, by students, of the surrounding social order; and to a loss of personal attachment, by nearly all, to the worth of study as a humanistic enterprise.*

*There is, finally, the* ***cumbersome academic bureaucracy*** *extending throughout the academic as well as the extracurricular structures, contributing to the sense of outer complexity and inner powerlessness that transforms the honest searching of many students to a ratification of convention and, worse, to a numbness to present and future catastrophes. The size and financing systems of the university enhance the permanent trusteeship of the administrative bureaucracy, their power leading to a shift within the university toward the value standards of business and the administrative mentality. Huge foundations and other private financial interests shape the under financed colleges and universities, making them not only more commercial, but* ***less disposed to diagnose society critically, less open to dissent.*** *Many social and physical scientists, neglecting the liberating heritage of higher learning, develop "human relations" or "morale-producing" techniques for the corporate economy, while others exercise their intellectual skills to accelerate the arms race.*

*Tragically, the university could serve as a significant source of social criticism and an initiator of new modes and molders of attitudes. But the actual intellectual effect of the college experience is hardly distinguishable from that of any other communications channel--say, a television set--passing on the stock truths of the day. Students leave college somewhat more "tolerant" than when they arrived, but basically unchallenged in their values and political orientations. With administrators ordering the institution, and faculty the curriculum, the student learns by his isolation to accept elite rule within the university, which prepares him to accept later forms of minority control. The real function of the educational system--as opposed to its more rhetorical function of "searching for truth"--is to impart the key information and styles that will help the student get by, modestly but comfortably, in the big society beyond.”*

# **1960s**

## **In Memory of Raoul Teilhet, 1933-2013**

**Raoul Teilhet** was one of the most important leaders in my life. He was the model of an AFT organizer and speaker. He combined humor with great intellect. I still remember when someone asked him “what personal qualities we should look for in deciding whom to ask to join the union?” His answer was: “That **they can fog up a mirror.**”

He ran a meeting fairly and, unlike at an AFT convention, you knew that you would get a chance to put forward your point of view on the convention floor. He was very charismatic. If it had not been for his illness, he very well could have become the president of the California Federation of Labor and a Vice President in the AFL-CIO. I was heartbroken when I heard the he had contacted Parkinson’s Disease. Later, when he could not speak for himself, I convinced him to write a speech for the convention which someone would read. He agreed and another generation of CFT members got a chance to witness Raoul’s brilliance.

**Here is his obituary**

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*Raoul Teilhet, a Pasadena high school history teacher who believed collective bargaining offered the path to dignity and respect for public school employees before laws existed allowing it, and served as* ***president of the California Federation of Teachers*** *in successful pursuit of that goal, died of complications from* ***Parkinson’s Disease*** *on June 5, 2013, in Los Angeles. He was 79.*

*When Teilhet began teaching in the late 1950s, he “didn’t have the least intention of organizing a union, or becoming a member of one.” He would later joke that he “thought that AFT was the other end of a boat.” But when a national AFT organizer called a meeting in 1960 in a nearby town, Teihet was one of a handful of teachers who signed the charter founding the Pasadena Federation of Teachers, and he agreed to serve as its first treasurer. Within a few years he was elected local president, then a member of the statewide CFT Executive Council, and CFT president in 1967. Teilhet spoke out against the Vietnam War and the* ***anti-gay*** *Briggs Initiative when few labor leaders were ready to do so. Under his leadership the CFT grew from six thousand members to nearly* ***forty thousand*** *by the time he stepped down in 1985. And his forceful advocacy was one of the main reasons why the California state legislature passed, and Governor Jerry Brown signed, the* ***Educational Employment Relations Act*** *in 1975, legalizing collective bargaining in California public education.*

*Raoul Edward Teilhet was born in Pasadena December 13, 1933. His mother’s people were from rural Arkansas, and his father, a baker, came to southern California from a coal mining family in West Virginia and Ohio, the only one of his brothers who didn’t work in the mines. Neither parent made it past sixth grade. Teilhet’s father died when Raoul was eight. His mother, whose politics Teilhet later characterized as “pure Roosevelt Democrat,” remarried during World War II.*

*At the time the Pasadena school district included a junior college, and by Teilhet’s own account his initial experience with higher education was a disaster. So he welcomed the day “when Harry Truman sent me a letter offering me an alternative lifestyle” during the* ***Korean War.***

*When he returned from his military service he was ready to go to Cal State Los Angeles on the GI Bill, where he earned his bachelor’s and master’s degrees in history. He was pleasantly surprised to hear he could earn $5500 a year to talk about history in front of high school students. He applied, and was hired, at his old high school.*

*At the time, new teachers had to join the local, state, and national affiliates of the then* ***anti-union National Education Association*** *as a condition of employment. Its state affiliate, CTA, was a professional association that provided a package of insurance programs for teachers, and lobbied in Sacramento. But it was firmly opposed to collective bargaining, and allowed administrators to participate in and often lead the organization. Teilhet had held union cards in the Teamsters, Laborers and Machinists unions when working summers and at night during college, so he was surprised to find his principal signing him up into the teacher’s association. Teilhet concluded that if your boss is signing you up, this must be a* ***company union.***

*Teilhet felt no fear of overbearing school administrators, even in an era with the lingering hangover of McCarthyism evident in conservative pressures on curriculum and witch hunts of local teachers suspected of “Communism.” At a meeting in which the assistant superintendent of instruction put his arm around a teacher whom, he assured the crowd of teachers and parents, had been cleared of such charges, Teilhet wasn’t satisfied. He stood up and asked whether the administrator, if this should happen to Teilhet, would be out on the limb of academic and intellectual freedom, or standing there with the saw? The administrator looked at Teilhet and said, “What’s your name?” Teilhet stated his name, but as he pointed out in telling the story years later, hearing the name doesn’t do much good for knowing how to spell it. As the crowd was drifting out, Teilhet’s colleagues made cracks about his impending departure from the school district.*

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*He wasn’t fired—largely because the assistant superintendent in fact had no idea how to spell the name of this new teacher—but the next time Teilhet challenged school administration, none of his colleagues were laughing. He had been part of a committee vetting textbooks for a new curriculum on international ideologies to be folded into the high school social studies sequence. One book, an anti-communist rant, was written by a professor Teilhet characterized as “of dubious academic distinction,” and the teachers’ recommendation to the school board did not include that book. Whereupon the school board thanked the teachers for their work, and revealed it had ordered thousands of copies of the book the previous fall, and it would be the one used.*

*Teilhet quickly learned that the association he belonged to was not a vehicle for advancing his economic interests. Assigned to a toothless “salary committee,” Teilhet had thought teachers would come up with a wage proposal and strategize about how to get it. But sitting in the middle of the meeting was the district personnel director. Teilhet wondered how the teachers would come up with an effective strategy with a manager in the room. His wonderment turned to something else when he realized the manager was chairing the meeting. Teilhet asked him wasn’t there a possibility that if they came up with a strategy for their salary demands, the personnel director might not be able to withstand pressure to reveal it to his superior administrators? The personnel director’s response was first to inform Teilhet that teachers don’t “****demand” anything****, because that would be “unprofessional.” Then he suggested Teilhet might find another committee to serve on.*

*Instead Teilhet found a group of likeminded teachers, like himself mostly young, mostly Korean War veterans. Their experience in the military had left them* ***unafraid of conflict and with “a great distaste for unrestricted authority.****” Through their shared experiences with poor administrative judgment and decisions that ran counter to their ideas about schools and democracy, they arrived together at the fateful meeting with the AFT organizer and the understanding that they would found a union.*

*Similar experiences were piling up in school districts across California, as Teilhet quickly discovered. The success of the AFL-CIO—then at the height of its influence and power—in bringing a middle-class standard of living to private sector workers and their families, did not go unnoticed by public employees. And the first teacher collective bargaining agreements in eastern urban centers in the early sixties helped fuel the belief of California teachers that their ideas weren’t completely utopian.*

*No one had more to do with spreading the word than Teilhet. When he was elected president at the 1967 CFT convention, the delegates made the position full-time for the first time. This upset some of the union’s traditionalists, who feared rank and file control of the organization would be lost; but the union’s growth demanded the change. Teilhet and his small but fervent staff crisscrossed the state setting up scores of new AFT locals in K-12 and community college districts, and in the university systems.*

*Known for his* ***sharp wit and an endless supply of well-turned phrases****, Teilhet was a masterful public speaker and* ***charismatic organizer****, inspiring a loyal following for the CFT mission of a collective bargaining law. He was immensely popular with the rank and file because he spoke their language, knew their grievances, and could articulate a* ***broad social justice agenda*** *that placed teachers at the center but also emphasized the connections that radiated out from education to the rest of society. He based that vision in the idea that the CFT should stake out more progressive positions than the CTA on every issue possible.*

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| *RT Mary Clarence*  *Raoul Teilhet and Mary Bergan at a press conference.* |

*Thus CFT came out early against the Vietnam War. CFT members demonstrated and walked picket lines alongside* ***Cesar Chavez’s United Farm Workers*** *on behalf of farm worker rights, and Chavez and hundreds of UFW members came out to the CFT-led March for Education in 1967 in Sacramento. Teilhet saw affirmative action as a logical extension of the civil rights movement, and pushed the national AFT to develop a standing committee addressing women’s issues. Later, when reactionary state senator John Briggs attempted to pass a statewide initiative* ***banning gay teachers from the classroom****, Teilhet debated Briggs across the state, in front of campus audiences and cameras, and played a major role in the ballot measure’s defeat, at a time when anti-gay prejudice kept many other union leaders from joining the fight.*

*As the teacher union movement grew, Teilhet’s rising stature was reflected in his inclusion on the California Labor Federation’s Executive Council. As a vice-president of the state AFL-CIO, Teilhet solidified the relationship of workers without collective bargaining rights to those who had enjoyed those rights since passage of the National Labor Relations Act. And he built sympathy for the educators’ quest for bargaining rights among even the more conservative trades, which prior to the late 1960s hadn’t always believed public employees should have those rights.*

*In 1971 Teilhet and the CFT opposed the Stull Bill, a piece of legislation authored by San Diego County Assemblyman John Stull requiring teachers to be held accountable through a* ***behavioral goals and objectives approach to teaching.*** *A mountain of paperwork accompanied the new evaluation approach, which CFT believed would result in “assembly line classrooms.” Teilhet debated Stull on live television, while a phone-in vote from the public was tallied on screen, showing public opinion in favor of the CFT president’s positions. CFT made 16mm film copies of the debate and circulated it throughout the state in organizing meetings. The film was the first look for many teachers at Teilhet in action, and its wide dissemination was largely credited with CFT’s gain of five thousand members in less than a year.*

*By the early 1970s the swift growth of the CFT* ***provoked major changes in the much larger CTA.*** *In 1971 it embraced collective bargaining and removed administrators from its membership. With the teachers’ organizations united on the issue, a collective bargaining bill carried by Senator George Moscone passed both legislative houses in 1973. But then governor Ronald Reagan vetoed it.*

*Two years later* ***Jerry Brown*** *put his signature to SB 160, the Educational Employment Relations Act. Authored by State Senator Al Rodda, a former AFT local president, the bill empowered certificated and classified school employees in K-12 and community college districts to bargain collectively with their employers, and set up a state board to enforce the law. Teilhet and CFT celebrated, but their enthusiasm was tempered by the bill’s failure to include curriculum within the scope of bargaining, and by the exclusion of the CSU and UC systems. Following through on a promise to Teilhet, however, Brown signed a bargaining bill for higher education two years later.*

*Despite his stature and accomplishments in California, Teilhet was never elected to the national AFT executive council. As the leader of one of the largest AFT state affiliates, this would have been a normal course of events. However, the CFT’s opposition to the Vietnam War, and Teilhet’s outspoken advocacy on the issue, kept the state and national organizations at odds. It also didn’t help Teilhet’s cause that he had chaired the campaign for reelection of AFT national President Dave Selden in 1974, when Al Shanker unseated him to become AFT president.*

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| *raouljerryrepaired Teilhet listening to Jerry Brown at CFT convention.* |

*Teilhet welcomed the participation of* ***classified employees*** *in CFT, beginning with San Francisco paraprofessionals but soon extending to all types of school employees. Without downplaying the tensions and conflicts that sometimes arose between the two groups, he viewed their membership alongside teachers as providing for greater strength in collective bargaining for everyone.*

*A* ***socialist*** *in the Michael Harrington mold, Teilhet belonged to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the labor-oriented faction that emerged from the old Socialist Party when it split in three. In 1980, on the eve of the Reagan era, he signed up with Harrington and a few dozen others in a Socialist caucus of delegates to the national Democratic Party convention. As with his early opposition to the Vietnam War and forthright defense of gay teachers, Teilhet’s socialist politics put him at some public risk. But Raoul Teilhet never shrank from fights over the principles he believed in.*

*Teilhet stepped down from CFT’s top leadership position in 1985, when he was diagnosed with Parkinson’s disease. Slowed but still effective, Teilhet’s services were retained by CFT for several more years as administrative director.*

**When my presidency of the CFT ended in 2011, the CFT represented more than one hundred thousand educational employees.** Most of the new locals represented community college employees**.** Those of us that built the union after Raoul’s departure as president, owe much of our success to Raoul’s influence and example. There will never be another Raoul Teilhet.

## **Mario Savio 1964**

Another dynamic speaker was my friend Mario Savio. On December 2, 1964, then the most prominent of the student leaders at U.C. Berkeley during the free speech movement, Mario Savio, made a famous speech on the steps of Sproul Hall that concluded, "**There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part! You can't even passively take part! And you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop!**" Mario and I became friends many years later. He was absolutely brilliant but never understood how much he meant to students around the world.

I was living in Los Angeles at the time of the 1964-65 Berkeley. My brother Walter was an active participant and kept me informed on what was happening. He was close friends with many of the leaders of the FSM. The FSM participants spread out across the nation after they left Berkeley as the movement for student rights spread across the nation and the world. I met and worked with a number of former FSMers when I attended the University of Illinois at Urbana. Later I joined the Echo Park Food Conspiracy which was formed by some of those active in the Free Speech Movement (including Art Goldberg, Jackie Goldberg, and Sandor Fuchs).



Here is Jackie Goldberg speaking at a Free Speech Rally. She later was elected to the Los Angeles School Board, the Los Angeles City Council, and the California State Assembly.

## **Strategy for Labor**

In 1964, the French economist-philosopher Andre Gorz, published his “radical proposal” to address the issues that face workers and their representatives: “*we have no power over what to produce, how to produce it, or for what market to produce.*”

He then goes on to develop a system for deciding what to fig*ht for that influenced my thinking as an inside agitator. Specifically, Gorz wrote that “It is no longer enough to reason as if socialism were a self-evident necessity. This necessity will no longer be recognized unless the socialist movement specifies what socialism can bring, which problems it alone is capable of solving, and how. Now more than ever it is necessary to present not only an overall alternative but also those ‘****intermediate objectives****’ (mediations) which lead to and for shadow it in the present.”*

*“The movement behaves as though the question of power were resolved: ‘Once we're in power . . .’ But the whole question is precisely to get there,* ***to create the means and the will to get there.”***

*“Is it possible from within—that is to say, without having previously destroyed capitalism—to impose* ***anti-capitalist solutions which will not immediately be incorporated into and subordinated to the system****? This is. the old question of "****reform or revolution.****" This was (or is) a paramount question when the movement had (or has) the choice between a struggle for* ***reforms and armed insurrection.*** *Such is no longer the case in Western Europe;* ***here there is no longer an alternative****. The question here revolves around the possibility of "****revolutionary reforms****," that is to say, of* ***reforms which advance toward a radical transformation of society****. Is this possible?”*

*“Straight off we must rule out the nominalist objection. All struggle for reform is not necessarily reformist. The not always very clear dividing line between* ***reformist reforms and non-reformist reforms*** *can be defined as follows:*

*A* ***reformist reform*** *is one which subordinates its objectives to the criteria of rationality and practicability of a given system and policy. Reformism rejects those objectives and demands – however deep the need for them – which are incompatible with the* ***preservation of the system.***

*On the other hand, a* ***not necessarily reformist reform*** *is one which is conceived not in terms of what is possible within the framework of a given system and administration, but in view* ***what should be made possible in terms of human needs and demands.***

*In other words, a struggle for non-reformist reforms—for anti-capitalist reforms—is one which does not base its validity and its right to exist on capitalist needs, criteria, and rationales. A non-reformist reform is determined not in terms what can be, but what should be. And finally, it bases the possibility of attaining its objective on the implementation of fundamental political and economic changes.”*

In short, what policies can we get implemented that contradict the very essence of modern capitalism? I believe that collective bargaining, if done right, can lead to non-reformist reforms. That was really central to the thinking of SDA – it was called “participatory democracy.”

Gorz discussed how to look at the difference between reforms and real change in the power dynamic: “*Is it reformist, for example, to demand the construction of 500,000 new housing units a year, or a real democratization of secondary and higher education?* ***It is impossible to know beforehand.*** *One would have to decide first whether the proposed housing program would mean the expropriation of those who own the required land, and whether the construction would be a socialized public service, thus destroying an important center of the accumulation of private capital; or if, on the contrary, this would mean subsidizing private enterprise with taxpayers' money to guarantee its profits.”*

*“One must also know whether the intention is to build workers' housing anywhere that land and materials can be cheaply bought, or if it is to construct lodgings as well as new industry according to optimum human and social criteria.”*

*“Depending on the case, the proposal of 500,000 housing units will be either neo-capitalist or anti-capitalist.* “And the same goes for democratization of education.

## **Books in the 60s**

I read books by Henry Miller, Philip Roth, C. Wright Mills, and Kurt Vonnegut. I loved it in *Slaughterhouse Five* when it is noted that above Billy Pilgrim’s pharmacy door was hung the words from the **Serenity Prayer** by **Reinhold** Niebuhr (1892-1971)

*God grant me the serenity  
to accept the things I cannot change;   
courage to change the things I can;   
and wisdom to know the difference.*

It was noted that among **the things Billy could not change was the past, the present, and the future.** And so it goes.

My educational philosophy was informed by such books as *Education the Way Its Spozed to Be* by James Hardon, *Death at an Early Age* by Jonathon Kozol, and everything by John Holt. They taught me that in teaching it is important to learn from your students and it was your job to help them to become the most that they can become.

Others that influenced my thinking were Ralph Nader, Hunter Thompson, and Noam Chomsky.

It was a time of growth and liberation.

## **New University Conference**

The New University Conference (NUC)was a national organization of radical graduate students (many of whom had belonged to SDS as students), staff, and faculty that opened a chapter on the University of Chicago campus in the spring of 1968. The group was intended to serve as a collective organizing body to support and promote leftist movements. During its five years of activity, it worked with groups on and off campus to sponsor events, protests, teach-ins, lectures, and publications. Its members and caucuses were particularly active in the anti-war, women's liberation, black power, labor, third world, and student autonomy movements. I immediately joined the NUC.

NUC was founded on principles of collectivity and radicalism in an era when SDS began to break up into splinter groups calling for various approaches to change (and revolution) in the United States. That it was successful at all was a result of its participants' abilities to negotiate the complexities of both academia and activism. The initial meeting of the New University Conference in the city of Chicago included about 350 radical academics from 85 campuses in the region, and produced the following as a statement of the radical community's expectations and needs:

*# The formation of a* ***radical community of action and discourse*** *which will relieve the isolation experienced by many faculty and graduate students on campuses and in departments which are not presently hubs of the new radical activity*

*# The need for sustained self-critical discussion which scholars and intellectuals on the left need to orient their intellectual as well as their political activity*

*# The organization and leadership of local coalitions and campaigns to confront the university issues which sear the conscience and touch the interests of students and faculty alike—the growing influence of military priorities and national security rhetoric in both natural and social science, the* ***increase of power accruing to administrative structures*** *with "multiversity" orientations, the* ***lack of democratic procedure*** *and humane content in all spheres of university life*

*# The need for self-protection through collective action and/or public exposure against politically inspired dismissals or harassment which many radicals view as increasing and increasingly likely.*

One avenue used to influence the thinking of students was the use of booklets explaining to them how colleges really work. We call these booklets “***Disorientation****" because we are not trying to orient you towards our conception of what the university is and should be; we are trying to show some of the fallacies and myths in the picture of the University usually presented by those who rule here.*

*\* Struggle by humanist and radical white youth to end the complicity of the university with war and imperialism, with racism and domestic suppression of black and other minorities, with bureaucratic values and corporate interests;*

*\* The struggle by black students for* ***full cultural recognition*** *and autonomy on white campuses, for an end to paternalistic control at black colleges, and for full community control at community colleges*

*\* The struggle by large groups of students for* ***full citizenship in the university as a just end in itself****, for recognition of their adult status, and for a curriculum which is useful to their search for personal meaning ad social relevance rather than one which is oriented toward the needs of the corporation and the state for trained manpower.*

*These motivations imply four just goals.*

*\* Support the right of protest of all members of the university*

*\* Support full citizenship for students in the government of the university*

*\* Oppose military and corporate intrusion on the campus*

*\* Oppose the class biases of the university*

# **1970s**

## **The Collective Unconscious**

After a number of local meetings in Los Angeles of the New University Conference, a few of us decided to live collectively. I was living alone in Venice and welcomed the change. We found a large house in Santa Monica and moved in. Bob and Mauna, Don, Tris, and me began a political collective life. Our meals were planned together, and we ate together almost every night, housework was divided up, rent was shared on the basis of ability to pay, and room assignments were made on the basis of need. **We tried to live in a way that reflected our politics.**

Over the 1970s, Bob, Mauna, Don, and Tris moved out and Nancy, Peter and Claudia, Dan, Maggie, and Debbie moved in and then out, but the same basic arrangements continued. The **Georgina House** was a center of intellectual thought and political action. We had great parties and several Easter egg hunts that drew 50 or more kids. The women of the house were all deeply involved in the creation of woman studies programs at Long Beach State University, Los Angeles Harbor College, California State University at Dominguez Hills and UCLA. It was a great place to live and hear high level discussions of political and social values, literature and film, and international affairs. Mario Savio stayed with us for a while and Anais Nin came to dinner. It was also a great place for me to meet the friends of our collective household - especially a long list of single, attractive, and intelligent women.

## ***Faculty Senate History as Seen from the Position of a Participant***

In 1973 I was elected to the position of Faculty Academic Senate chairperson. The union did not have collective bargaining rights yet, so many agreements which would later appear in the Collective Bargaining Agreement were agreed to through the Academic Senate working with the college president. At the end of my term, I sent out a flyer summarizing the work during my term:

*I ran for Faculty Senate Chairman last year because I wanted a militant to speak for the faculty, especially since we were to have a new College President. I thought that I could forcefully represent the faculty position. This paper is an attempt to discuss some of the successes and failures that have occurred.*

*When I first met Mr. Pimentel I was very favorably impressed. He seemed to be open, honest, and friendly. After dealing with him this year, I still feel the same way. He didn't always take the faculty's side on issues; he often protected his own power interests, but he was honest about his reasons. He didn't hide behind dubious laws and regulations as other administrators have done but almost always has stated his real reasons (as he perceived them) for taking the positions that he did. I think that Mr. Pimentel's greatest virtue is that he believes that the* ***people who are going to carry out a policy must be in on the process of determining that policy****. He realizes that the success or failure of a policy is greatly influenced by the belief in it by those responsible for carrying it out. Enough about Mr. Pimentel - let's get to the history.*

*We began the semester by once again saving AD 129 as a classroom. Mr. Bernard has his eyes on this room and constant vigilance will continue to be necessary.*

*We won the right for the Faculty Senate to be the most important participant in the selection of faculty representatives to student committees (4/2/73) - previously the College President made the decision unilaterally.*

*We saved (for the time being) the IBM scoring machine which Mr. Williams expressed an interest in eliminating.*

*We helped work out a policy for election (instead of appointment) of the members of the General Education Committee.*

*We got Mr. Williams to agree to go back to a one card key plan for faculty parking lots (5/11/73). We have not yet come to an agreement as to who has jurisdiction over the policy decisions concerning the faculty lots. The faculty claims that it won the jurisdiction during Mr. McMasters' term of office. Mr. Williams continues to claim that the faculty parking lots are under the jurisdiction of his office.*

*We were successful in exerting enough pressure to resume some kind of reasonable outgoing phone service. We also have an agreement that we will soon have a written telephone policy.*

*There were many discussions this year concerning the new work load policies. We exerted as much pressure as possible through our local Senate and District Senate (in addition to the efforts that were asserted by our professional organizations on our behalf). We passed resolutions backing our Librarians, Counselors, English teachers and Lab teachers. We obtained Legislative Counsel opinion through the office of Assemblymember Vincent Thomas on the legality of the changes. We developed suggestions for compensatory assignments which would be educationally sound. We pressed for a policy which would not allow a night assignment as part of a teacher's normal load without the agreement of the faculty member. We have not been successful in getting the administration to agree to this policy and will need to continue our efforts.*

*Under the direction of Dr. Radabaugh we became more involved in the* ***college budget*** *than ever before. A great deal more work will need to be done before we become an equal partner in the development of the budget, but the groundwork has been done.*

*The Faculty Senate developed and the Executive Committee agreed to new policies on Disbursement of College Funds for Conference Attendance (3/19/73),* ***No F grade*** *(12/11/72), Supplemental Assignments (3/19/73), Admission to the College (1/15/73),* ***Hiring*** *(5/7/73), Faculty Representation on Executive Committee (10/2/72), and the ‘73-74* ***Calendar*** *(3/19/73).*

*The Faculty Senate supported Fred Wyatt, Art Bronson, and Peter Taft for the College Board of Trustees. Special thanks should be extended to Jack Radabaugh, Bob Dunn, and Mary Stanley for their efforts during this election.*

*The Harbor College Senate worked out* ***policy statements*** *concerning Summer Session Priorities, and Assignment Priorities for Evening Division which were eventually passed by the District Senate.*

*Last year the Harbor College Faculty did not take part in the selection of the College President.* ***We boycotted the process*** *because we felt that the faculty was being used to validate an improper method of selection and that we had no real voice in the process. Many members of the faculty felt at the time that we had done the incorrect thing - that if we did not take part we would not have any voice at all and that some voice is better than none at all. What has been the result of our action? We got a fine College President.* ***This year a new policy for selection of college presidents was adopted*** *- one that is very close to the one we had called for. I think that at least in this case our decision was correct.* ***We stood by our values and we got what we wanted****.*

*The reader is probably tired of reading this paper by now, so I'll end it with thanks to the entire Faculty Senate and especially to Bob Dunn, Jack Radabaugh, and Sylvia Lamont for the wonderful work their committees did. Thank you also to Mrs. Ito and Doris Ray for their work in preparing readable and complete Faculty Senate minutes. Hal Garvin should also be congratulated on doing a great job in representing the Faculty Association at the Executive Committee. He has a great talent for stating something in such a way that it is acceptable to even the most immovable administrator.*

*I enjoyed being Faculty Senate Chairman this year. Just as Eisenhower gave his last (and perhaps only) words of wisdom as he left office, I leave you with these parting words; "****Don't follow leaders, watch out for parking meters.****"*

*Yours Truly,*

*Marty Hittelman*

## **Commission on Academic Standards**

In 1978, I circulated another broadside: “*I have been trying to understand what it is about the Report of the* ***Commission on Academic Standards*** *that so enrages me. It is not just that I disagree with the recommendation to not allow late registration except under strictly limited conditions or the recommendation to move the withdrawal date up or the recommendation to REQUIRE remedial courses for students who do not pass tests of* ***questionable predictability****. It is not even because I resent a committee composed largely of people from Social Science, English and Natural Science recommending graduation requirements that stress English, Social Science, and Natural Science.*

*English 1 may be a fine requirement but is a history or political science class more important than a psychology or sociology or even a Spanish class? After all, the idea of a "body of knowledge" to be picked up at school and used for the rest of one's life is nonsense in a world that changes as fast as ours does.*

*I don't think any of these particular recommendations is the complete cause of my dismay. It is, I think, the* ***view of education*** *that the document represents that is the cause of my anger. I believe that learning -* ***learning that is permanent and useful****, that leads to intelligent action and further learning - can only occur when the* ***student is the active agent****. Education is something a person gets for himself or herself, not something that someone else gives or does to him or her. In language, it is the effort to use words well, to say what we want to say, to people whom we trust and want to reach and move that will cause us to use language better. When the environment of trust and respect has been created and there is a* ***will to improve*** *- that is when technical advice is useful.*

*If students are the active agents in their own education, they must be allowed to make decisions -* ***good and bad decisions*** *- about their schooling. They must be allowed to choose the course to take and whether to drop one class and add another. We should give guidance and advise to help them make decisions - but we should not force our decisions on them. When mistakes are made we should help them analyze their mistakes and take a better path next time. But we should let students learn what every educated person must learn, how to take control of their own life,* ***how to make their own decisions****.*

*What happens to a person who is never given a chance to make a real choice? What will this person think of himself or herself? What kind of a society will we be creating? Do we create a nation of sheep or a nation of free men and women?*

*To close, I believe our emphasis should be on* ***learning - not grading, not degrees*** *- learning. The joy and satisfaction of understanding is what we should be all about. The Report has very little to do with that.*

*Martin Hittelman*

Oct. 1978

# **Collective Bargaining**

Prior to 1961, public employees in California enjoyed no formal rights to participate in the decision-making process which determined the terms and conditions of their employment.

In 1961, the Legislature enacted the **George Brown Act** which, as originally enacted, applied to employees of state agencies, cities, counties, school districts, and institutions of higher education. It granted employees the right to join employee organizations of their choosing and required public employers to **meet and confer** with employee organizations **prior to undertaking action on matters related to employment conditions and employer-employee relations.**

In 1965, the **Winton Act** expanded the meet and confer rights of public school employees, and in 1968, the Legislature enacted the **Meyers-Milias-Brown Act** (MMBA) which created a more structured collective bargaining process for most local government employees. State employees and school district employees were excluded from the MMBA.

In 1975, the Legislature enacted the **Education Employment Relations Act** (EERA) and created the Education Employment Relations Board (EERB). EERB was later changed to **PERB** as more laws were enacted. The EERA established a system of labor relations for employees employed by school districts, county offices of education and **community college districts** in California. EERA provided a uniform basis for recognizing the right of public school and community college **employees** to join organizations of their own choice, to be represented by such organizations in their **professional and employment relationships** with public school employers, to select one employee organization as the **exclusive representative** of the employees in an appropriate unit, and to **afford certificated employees a voice in the formulation of educational policy.** Even though EERA spoke to one voice for the faculty, it still allowed for academic senates to represent the faculty on academic matters.

In 1978, the Legislature enacted the **Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act** to govern labor relations within the University of California, the California State University, and Hastings College of Law.

The California Federation of Teachers (CFT) was founded in 1919 to provide a labor union alternative to the California Teachers Association (CTA)for classroom teachers. From its beginning it fought for teachers’ rights in and out of the classroom. The CFT was the California representative of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). In the 1960s, the CFT was responsible for having won 90 percent of the cases dealing with teachers’ rights. In 1953, CFT introduced the first collective bargaining bill in the California Legislature. This effort continued until the governor Jerry Brown signed the Educational Employment Relations Act in 1975. Meanwhile, the CTA was controlled by school administrators. It wasn’t until the 1970s that CTA became interested in collective bargaining.

After the passage of EERA, the CFT led organizing efforts throughout California. They won some local elections and lost others. The Los Angeles College Guild (AFT 1521) was one of the winners. I worked hard on the campaign and we beat the representative of the CTA by a very slim margin. We then negotiated a collective bargaining agreement and began enforcement.

# **Harbor College Folk Festivals**

Starting in 1976, I put on a number of folk festivals at Los Angeles Harbor College. We paid the performers and sound crew from the college’s Community Services Fund. I hired the performers, chose the sound crew, and emceed the performances. The college processed the payment to the performers. The performance was free to the public and would last from five to six hours. All performers or group of performers were paid the same and no one was written up as the top of the ticket. All of the performers had played at festivals all over the country.

I was able to get many top name people in the folk world by scheduling the date of the festival at a time when the performers could also play other gigs in the area – making their appearance in Wilmington financially viable. Hundreds of people from all over the Los Angeles area would attend each year. The funding for the free festival ended with the passage of Proposition 13.



On Saturday May 1, 1976, the first L.A. Harbor Folk Festival included performances by **Sam Chatmon** (one of the original Mississippi Sheiks from Hollendale, Mississippi), **Jim Ringer** (songwriter, singer), **Glen Ohrlin** (cowboy singer), **Ray and Ina Patterson** (Mountain Folk Music in close harmony, they were on the radio live in the late 1940s), **Jon Wilcox** (singer, songwriter), **Old Hat Band** (fiddle, banjo, and guitar string band from the Pacific Northwest – Ellen Bush, Jeff Thom, John Burke), **All Nite Long String Band** (Bluegrass band from Philo, California – Kate Brislin, Sue Draheim, Genny Haley, Valerie Mindel, Susan Rothfield,), **Janet Smith and Mike Meuser** (folk country/western music, jazz, guitar, autoharp, and singing duo).

The 2nd festival occurred on Sunday May 1, 1977. The lineup included **Jon Wilcox** (balladeer-songwriter from Santa Barbara), **Rick and Sandy Epping** (all Ireland champion musicians), **All Nite Long** (bluegrass band from Philo, California), **Sam Chatmon** (80 year-old legendary bluesman from Hollandale, Mississippi), **Kate Wolf** (singer-songwriter from Sebastopol, California), **Bruce U Utah Phillips** (the legendary singer-songwriter and teller of tall tales), **Michael Cooney** (one-man folk festival from Lakeview, Connecticut), and **Bodie Wagner** (singer-songwriter from Spokane, Washington).

On April 30, 1979, the lineup included **Jane Voss and Hoyle Osborne** (singers songwriter musicians whose music included folk, blues, ragtime, old-country, and swing), **Glen Ohrlin** (cowboy singer and story teller), **Flying Cloud** (traditional music from Ireland, England, and Scotland – Brian Brooks, Dan Milner, Snesar Pacific, Tony DeMarco), Sam Chatmon (the 81 year old blues man continued to charm audiences across the country) , **Kenny Hall** (mandolin player from Fresno, California and his band), **Rosalie Sorrels** (legendary traveling singer-songwriter), and **Eric Thompson with Marty Somberg** (outstanding musical performers of mountain ballads, Irish and Appalachian fiddling, Cajun, country blues and other root music styles).

On May 4, 1980, the last festival, featured **Brendan Smith** (singer songwriter from Occidental, California – discovered at the Sweet Mills Folk encampment), **Sam Hinton** (internationally known balladeer and master of an unlimited number of Instruments), **Los Lobos Del Este de Los Angeles** (Los Lobos then a band that had played together for four years; later became very famous around the world. They played mostly Mexican and South American music but added a few rock and roll numbers), **Guy and Candie Carawan** (music from the Southern Appalachians played on the hammer dulcimer, fiddle, tin whistle, banjo, Jews Harp, and guitar from the man who taught “We Shall Overcome” at the Highlander Center in Tennessee to Southern students), **Jim Ringer and Mary McCaslin** (singer songwriters known throughout the United States for their songs and singing styles), and **Any Old Time** (string band from San Francisco – Ron Tinkler, Jim Borsdorf, Tony Marcus, A.J. Soares).

As a result of my running the Harbor Folk Festival, I became friends with many of the other people putting on folk music performances in the Los Angeles area. I hosted some house concerts (including a performance by autoharp master Bryan Bowers) as well as single performances at Los Angeles Harbor College (that included an unforgettable performance by U Utah Phillips) where I was teaching. I was able to offer my home as a place to stay to the great bluesman Sam Chatmon, U Utah Phillips, and Irish musician and scholar Mick Moloney. Mick and I continue to be friends to this day and I spent many happy hours listening to his friends practicing for a performance at my house. Life doesn’t get better than that.

Sometimes you make your breaks.

# **1980s**

## **Echo Park Food Conspiracy**

In 1978, after moving back to Echo Park from Santa Monica, I joined the Echo Park Food Conspiracy. The Food Conspiracy was founded by a number of people who had been active in the Berkeley Free Speech fight (including Art Goldberg, Jackie Goldberg, and Sandor Fuchs) and had moved to the neighborhood of Echo Park. At its height the Food Conspiracy had about one hundred members who joined together to buy food. We had teams go to the downtown produce market where farmers brought their produce to town. The teams would be given instructions, based on member desires, on what and how much food to buy. We then had our local market once a week when members would come and purchase food, take suggestions for next week’s food purchase, make announcements, and discuss politics. It was a great way to meet and become friends with others in the neighborhood I grew up in. We had parties, fund raisers, and even an Easter egg hunt at my house. For a while I served as treasurer of the Food Conspiracy.

In 1983, the Food Conspiracy members were also involved in political organizing and eventually helped elect Jackie Goldberg to the Los Angeles Board of Education. Jackie later was elected to the state legislature and the Los Angeles City Council. She formed what she called her “kitchen cabinet” and would meet with her cabinet regularly to jointly discuss issues and endorse other candidates for office. Many of those in the cabinet came out of the Food Conspiracy. As many of the members became more established, the value of the cheaper quality food diminished, and the hours spent working on the Food Conspiracy and attending a weekly meeting became less inviting. Eventually the formal structure ended but the friendships and political connections continued.

In 2019, Jackie Goldberg ran to fill a seat on the Los Angeles Board of Education. The old Food Conspiracy members, their now adult children, and new supporters came out to support her new run for political office.

## **Union Activities**

I was the union **grievance representative** at Los Angeles Harbor College. After we had negotiated a contract, we had to convince the administration to follow it. As grievance representative I filed a number of faculty grievances and carried those that were not solved by the administration to arbitration. Beginning in 1980, I won more than 20 arbitrations. Even the few that we lost, we ended up winning as the policy underlying our grievance became a part of the collective bargaining agreement. At the time, I had done more community college arbitrations than anyone else in the state. AFT provided training in grievance handling and I was a natural at handling grievances and arbitrations. Although many locals used lawyers to handle arbitrations, I always felt that faculty representatives knew the collective bargaining agreement and local conditions better than any lawyer. That with their academic training and skills, they could successfully handle an arbitration. Later as the local’s Executive Secretary of Grievance, I taught grievance representatives at all of the nine colleges in the Los Angeles Community College District how to handle arbitrations.

In 1981, I was awarded the Teacher Advocate Award by CFT.

I was appointed to the College Guild negotiations committee in 1982. My work as a grievance chair was very useful in preparing negotiation’s items.

1993 -As chief negotiator for the new Los Angeles AFT classified unit we reached agreement on one of the best classified union contracts in the country. Sandra Lepore had just recently been appointed to the position of Executive Secretary of the Classified section of AFT 1521 and she seduced me, the AFT 1521 Vice President, into serving as the Chief Negotiator. A few years later we became romantically involved.

# **1984**

After being elected Vice President of the College Guild, I became President in 1984 when the President (Virginia Mulrooney) went over to the other side and became a district vice chancellor. Virginia had been outstanding as an advocate for the faculty and was one of the major reasons that AFT 1521 won the exclusive collective bargaining rights to represent faculty in the Los Angeles Community College District. Virginia also was serving as the President of the Community College Council (CCC) of the CFT when she was appointed as vice chancellor. As president of the CCC, Virginia had been spending a lot of her time in Sacramento and I had taken on much of the day to day work of the local. I became president of the Guild upon her appointment to an administrative position with the District.

Virginia’s position with the CCC was filled by Bob Gabriner (a part-time faculty member and Executive Secretary of the Peralta local in Oakland) and I was elected to be Southern Vice President of the CCC. A position I held for many years.

I did not like the job of president much and did not put on much of a campaign in the next election. My rival for the presidency (Hal Fox), who I had appointed to write our union publication, spent his campaign attacking Mulrooney. Mulrooney never forgave him. I did not join his attack on Virginia during the campaign as I felt that each person has the right to follow his or her own dream.

Many faculty members felt that I was Virginia’s choice for Vice President but nothing was further from the truth. Although Virginia and I got along, we often did not agree on things. Our conflicts were not well known and faculty members listened to Hal and voted against me as a vote against Virginia’s style of leadership. So I lost my first election but after a short period of time, the Guild Executive Secretary resigned and Hal Fox got the Executive Board of the Local to appoint me as the new Executive Secretary. It was a much better job than president as you did not have to deal with complaining members as much.

I had always felt that one of the good things about union leaders, as opposed to many academic senate leaders, was that they did not seek to become administrators. It was a great personal disappointment to see 1521 leaders Virginia Mulrooney, Art Avila (became a college president), and Cedric Sampson (moved to vice chancellor for educational research and development) all go over to the dark side. Their movement to administration made members wonder whether they were working for workers or for their own advancement during their time with the AFT.

Leslie Koltai

Leslie Koltai was chancellor of the Los Angeles Community College District (LACCD) beginning in 1972. Koltai had been active in the Hungarian revolt of 1956 and had worked for the Hungary Revolution Radio Committee (which broadcast news of the uprising to areas outside of Hungary). He escaped from Hungary and ended up in Austria where he joined the Voice of America in Vienna. I always had the feeling that the CIA helped him to leave Hungary and he was working with the CIA in Vienna. He immigrated to the United States in 1957. He quickly learned English and earned a Master of Arts in English and journalism at UCLA.

In 1960, Koltai became an associate professor of Russian at Pasadena City College. He quickly became chairman of the foreign language department. While at Pasadena City College, Koltai earned a doctorate in education at UCLA in 1967. In 1968 he became chancellor of Metropolitan Community College in Kansas. In short, he went from department chair to a district chancellor.

Koltai reminded me of Henry Kissinger. He was built similarly and spoke with the same accent and tone of voice. He also had a byzantine manner of administration. He would often privately assign two people to do the same job and see which result he preferred. He also had college presidents appointed who he felt he could control. Several popular college vice presidents were not appointed president at the college where they were serving when an opening occurred. They would later be appointed president at another of the district’s nine colleges.

Koltai’s image was very important to him. In 1983 when we were having a tough time reaching a collective bargaining agreement with the District, we were able to sign off on a new agreement just a week before the national AFL-CIO convention was to be held in Los Angeles. Virginia Mulrooney told Koltai that if we settled, he would be introduced at the convention. We settled but he was never recognized at the convention.

Over the years, Koltai and Mulrooney and Sampson became friendly. At one point in negotiations between the union and the LACCD, I had a feeling that union chief negotiator Mulrooney and Koltai had privately agreed to language on department chairs that would reduce the number of departments but increase the added pay for the remaining department chairs. Our Executive Board opposed the agreement when Mulrooney brought it up. She tried a number of times to get agreement, but she was not successful.

In 1984, Virginia was chosen by the Koltai controlled Board of Trustees to the position of vice chancellor of human services. At first, she had been offered the presidency at Los Angeles Valley College where she taught. She had always wanted that position but if she became president at Valley College, the current president (Mary Lee) would be made a vice chancellor. Virginia did not want to work under Mary Lee, so Virginia got Koltai to agree to make her the vice chancellor of human services.

Koltai believed in setting clearer entrance standards and emphasizing the transfer of students – something that was alien to community colleges that enrolled any person over the age of 18 and was “all things to all adults.” Later he showed his negative feelings toward vocational programs by attempting to eliminate entire vocational programs. As a result of a combination of Koltai’s approach to admissions and the introduction of student fees in 1981, enrollment in the LACCD fell dramatically. Over the next few years the District began having budget problems. Instead of looking at the increasing number of administrative positions or other types of expenses, Virginia and Koltai looked to lay off employees to save money.

In 1984, Koltai introduced layoffs of classified employees. The AFT Faculty Guild and the AFT Classified union appeared before the Board repeatedly during the fall to protest the layoff of classified employees and the certificated staffing plan and the reduction of hourly rate staffing. On October 1, the Board of Trustees voted to lay off 47 classified employees with Trustee Albertson abstaining and Trustee Quezada voting no.

At the Board of Trustees meeting of November 13, we packed the house with over 150 faculty and staff. More than forty speakers opposed the layoffs and called for the firing of Koltai. AFT College Guild President Fox and AFT Staff Guild President Kleinschmitt both spoke to the harm that the layoffs would cause. As a result, the Board decided that they needed to review the classified layoffs. No classified layoffs were authorized at that time.

At the February 5, 1986 meeting of the Board of Trustees, the Board voted 6-1 to authorize the Chancellor “to send notices of Recommendation Not to Reemploy" to 147 faculty employees of the District." The resolution stated that "it is in the best interests of the District that the number of certificated employees in the District be reduced consistent with the reduction of particular kinds of service." The layoffs were scheduled to take effect the Fall session of 1986. Hal Garvin, now a member of the Board, voted no. Garvin had been one of my mentors at Los Angeles Harbor College and understood the value of a broad curriculum in the colleges..

Th move to layoffs was a real blow to the union which, under Mulrooney’s leadership, had helped elect each of the Board of Trustees members. During interviews with potential candidates for Board elections, each of those elected had promised not to vote for employee layoffs.

In accordance with state law, the faculty members who received notices of intent to dismiss would be "given the opportunity to request a hearing to determine if there is cause not to reemploy them." Such notice must be provided by March 15th of the year of layoff. One cause that could be used to save a job was to find another faculty member with less seniority in the district who had not received a notice of intent by March 15. Hal Fox had, by that time, chosen me to serve as the Executive Secretary of the Guild. It was in that role that I led the fight against Mulrooney’s layoff of teachers. The local and our lawyer immediately began looking for reasons that would result in few or no layoffs.

In all 30 of 185 disciplines offered by the District were targeted. The physical education, health, and recreation disciplines had thirty-nine faculty targeted. Nursing had 20, psychology had 15 and history had 15. The plan included the elimination of Nursing programs at City College and West Los Angeles College. The area around Los Angeles City College (LACC) had a large cluster of hospitals in the area and used the student nurses for LACC. The elimination of Nursing at LACC made absolutely no sense.

In addition, dental assistant, dental technician, motorcycle repair, nuclear medical technology, occupational therapy, optics, vending machine repair, and vision care technician programs would be eliminated. 70 full time equivalent part time assignments were also cut. The plan also included increasing the number of classes in English, mathematics and computer science.

Vice Chancellor Mulrooney led the district’s faculty layoff plan development. The plan made little sense except that certain people identified for layoff were people Virginia had helped in grievances and others that she did not like.

At subsequent Board meetings, Hal Fox said the Board action would have "catastrophic consequences" for the District, its faculty, and above all to its students. The Board was reneging "on a promise of security that you have constantly proclaimed as a policy for the last eight years." Fox concluded that the action was "a present wrong action of a whole series of wrong actions in which you have targeted both classified and faculty since last summer."

Raoul Teilhet from the California Federation of Teachers stated that "A college is a fragile institution. It depends on a satisfied and loyal staff." By "declaring war" on the faculty, "you will lose the heart and soul of the colleges."

By state law, layoffs within a discipline must be in reverse seniority order. The fate of instructors with identical seniority was determined by lottery: One loser of the lottery in the history department at Los Angeles Valley College was Mulrooney’s arch enemy Shannon Stack. Robert L. Pence, after 17 years of teaching at Pierce, lost the anthropology drawing. There were others with many years of service that were threatened with unemployment.

At the Board meeting on February 19, Henry Ealy, president of the Black Faculty and Staff Association, pointed out that of the faculty listed for layoffs, 68 were female, 31 were Black, 11 were Asian, nine were Hispanic, one was native American, and one was Filipino. Trustee Archie Hudson took this opportunity to attack seniority, "We are losing some of our very best faculty and retaining some of our mediocre faculty. Because of seniority, the oldest stay, regardless of quality." With AFT support, Archie Hudson lost her reelection bid. She later became a state assembly member and an avowed enemy of the AFT. I had earlier attended her wedding but so it goes.

I spoke up in favor of the seniority system, maintaining it was the only way to protect faculty from being fired for their political views or because of personal favoritism. I also spoke to the loss of classes due to the cuts. At a Board of Trustees meeting at which I spoke against the layoffs, I was looking at the list of proposed layoff faculty on a district office bulletin board. Koltai came by and said that I was the cause of the layoff because I would not agree to a change in the collective bargaining agreement. I told him “lick my ass Koltai.” He replied that he would “get me for that.” I was standing next to our attorney, Larry Rosenzweig, and introduced Larry to Koltai. The only follow up to that threat that I ever heard about was when the head of the LACCD campus police told me that Koltai had asked him to do something that related to me and the police chief told Koltai that he would not carry out that directive.

The AFT College Guild immediately began to organize the faculty against layoffs. We had groups of faculty members work with each Board of Trustee member. Each discipline was helped to prepare to speak at Board meetings as to the value of their work The organizing effort activated a number of future leaders of the union. We got the Los Angeles Federation of Labor to form a citizens' committee to inform the community of the damage the action would cause. I prepared data to show how poorly thought out the layoffs were. We contacted Legislators to hold hearings on the Board action. In short, we put all the pressure we could on the locally elected Board of Trustees members.

We also began working on interviewing candidates for the next election and raising funds to support our candidates

Larry Rosenzweig worked with each of the layoff notice recipients to assure representation at their individual hearings at no cost to the faculty member. I worked on a computer to compile and organize information on each discipline and each faculty member targeted for layoff.

On March 2, we published my analysis of the variables that the district had used in its analysis leading up to the layoffs. The five variables used in the analysis reflected "the effect of past decisions by the District more than they describe the intrinsic strength of any programs." The first variable was long-term change in Weekly Student Contact Hours (WSCH) between Fall 1982 and Fall 1986. WSCH was a method of determining how many students each department was serving per week. This was supposed to measure changes in demand. I pointed out that "WSCH change is a product of many variables including, if not most importantly, the number of classes offered during each period of time." For example, the agricultural program, in which WSCH had declined, had also reduced the number of faculty in the program. The loss of faculty might have been the cause of the loss in total WSCH, rather than a change in demand.

The district report on the reason for layoffs failed to distinguish between items of correlation and those of causation. I tried to explain to the Board of Trustees the simple statistical difference between correlation and causation. I noted that the report didn’t "seem to reflect the fact that correlation measures association is not the same as causation." I dealt in detail with the failings of the report’s conclusions.

At the Board meeting of March 5, the Board announced that 60 of the faculty who had received layoff notices would instead be transferred to other disciplines in which they were qualified to serve. On Monday, March 10, just five days before the dismissal deadline, letters were sent to an additional 13 teachers. The total was now up to 157.

One of the problems that the district had with the layoffs is that no tenured faculty member could be laid off if there remained a faculty member, in a discipline that the faculty member was qualified to teach in, that had less seniority than the laid off faculty member. Many faculty members scheduled for layoff were qualified to teach in disciplines other than the one they were currently teaching. We eventually found many faculty members who would be protected due to another faculty member serving in the district that did not receive a notice of layoff, who had less seniority.

Trustee Hal Garvin, in an article in the LA Times suggested that "If the layoff proposals had been directed toward areas of declining vitality, it would have made some sense. However, the majority of the instructors to be laid off are in areas where the enrollment is adequate and in programs that are vital to a college's success." This was a very important point. Even some small departments are important as they provide necessary courses for other disciplines. They are vital elements in the provision of a well-rounded education. Garvin also noted that occupational programs were being closed even though the students completing those programs were "immediately hired in reasonably well-paying fields that provide service to citizens of our community."

Garvin attacked the idea that average class size should be considered in the layoffs, he pointed out the folly in using "an average class size of 34 students to determine how many teachers to lay off in some disciplines." He said that this arbitrary number had come from the goal established in the teachers' contract and was being used to lay off teachers in several fields, for which the class sizes at seven of the community colleges "are dragged down by the significantly low numbers at two others—Mission and Southwest." He also pointed out that the money saved by the layoff would be canceled by loss of enrollment (and the funds that the district would not receive due to the loss in student attendance). Layoff would begin a downward spiral of enrollment and funding.

In April, six days of hearings on the layoffs began. Larry Rosenzweig argued that the District's actions were whimsical and arbitrary. He noted the failure to notify disciplines of potential layoffs, misleading and nonexistent advice about retraining, improper and tardy lottery drawings for seniority ranking, confusion about the reasons for layoff (using Average Daily attendance arguments when the announced reason was simply reduction in service), and reassigning instructors from higher WSCH disciplines like physical education to lower WSCH disciplines like geography.

Administrative Law Judge Milford A. Maron concluded from the hearing that only 35 teachers should be laid off. The Board, by state law, was not required to follow his advice. The Board did, however, agree that two instructors should not be laid off due to a death and a retirement. On May 7, the Board authorized, with Garvin voting no, the final action to lay off 48 regular instructors out of the 147 originally listed.

In June, the Legislature threatened to withhold the District's stabilization funds unless it halted plans to lay off 40 instructors. Los Angeles Assemblywoman Maxine Waters led the fight due to the many complaints she had received. Her motion originally called for the LACCD report on stabilization funds to be approved by the joint budget committee, but the committee decided to let State Chancellor Joshua Smith determine whether the District's explanation justified the release of the stabilization funds needed by the LACCD.

At the Board of Trustees meeting of July 9, a report on the status of layoffs was reported. The number to be laid off now stood at 15. Twelve faculty members were retained in their same discipline, 87 were transferred to other disciplines, 31were placed in positions to fill vacancies created by leaves and special programs. Eventually no faculty lost their jobs but a few took jobs in other community college districts.

On February 2, 1987, the AFT College Guild issued my analysis of the faculty layoffs and program reductions. I noted that “by the fall of 1986, all but 29 of the 157 targeted still had permanent positions with the District. Of the 29 persons remaining, only 3 persons were not offered temporary positions to replace those on leave (one of these persons had chosen to retire) with the District. Two persons refused to accept permanent positions with the District. Three persons refused temporary positions with the District. The rest of the 29 were temporarily employed doing the same job that they had been doing prior to the layoffs. The entire operation has cost the District hundreds of thousands of dollars in legal fees, hundreds and hundreds of hours of work time, and the loss of the loyalty of its employees and accomplished nothing but pain, disruption, and a deterioration of morale.”

Of the 157 faculty members targeted, 94 were still teaching in the same discipline as before the layoffs. In addition, seven psychology instructors were teaching the same classes as before, but the discipline was now called "developmental communications" or "basic skills." "All of those persons who were reassigned could have been reassigned using the section on reassignment in the Collective Bargaining agreement without any need for letters of termination."

I again took up the issue "whether the increase in Weekly Student Contact Hours divided by Full Time Equivalent Faculty (WSCH/FTE) from 1985 to 1986 has been the result of the decrease in faculty or a rearrangement of faculty or whether it is due to other considerations such as demographics and the increase in the PACE program."

“LACCD's WSCH growth was similar to the increase throughout the state, so that the WSCH increase could not be claimed to be the result of the faculty reorganization. With proper management, the WSCH should have more closely approximated the enrollment growth.”

"The argument that the rearrangement of faculty resulted in higher WSCH/FTE is difficult to sustain when one looks at rearranged disciplines." For example, in anthropology, "The results are all over the map. Increasing faculty increased and decreased the WSCH/FTE as did decreasing the number of faculty and leaving it the same." An examination of the health discipline indicated that "the results are not at all consistent.. . . Each discipline has a different story as to what happened as a result of the rearrangement." I concluded that “the District was clearly not successful in predicting which disciplines would do well and which would not do as well. . . . The District needs to change the way that it makes decisions concerning the pattern of offerings in the District and the staffing of these disciplines. Input from the campuses must be the first step . . . not a step left out as was the case in the ill-conceived layoffs of the Spring of 1986. Consideration must be given to other criteria than simply numbers “

On March 11, 1987, the Board of Trustees again authorized the issuance of layoff letters. The action involved 59 faculty positions in 20 disciplines. This time the reason given for the cuts was budgetary, not curricular reorganization. Physical education and health had 17 positions and nursing had thirteen faculty targeted. Music and art and respiratory therapy were both listed for the first time. The vote was four to three, with Archie-Hudson and Quezada joining Garvin to vote against the motion.

Koltai and I appeared on television to discuss the layoffs. I spoke about how poorly thought out the layoff plan was and to the negative role that Trustee Monroe Richman had played in the movement for layoffs. Koltai did not say anything to defend Richman. Earlier, Koltai and Richman had gotten into a wrestling match in executive session over some issue and eventually it turned into who was the better Jew. They were not friends. In any case, Richman then turned out to be the deciding vote to not extend Koltai’s contract beyond its June 30, 1988 expiration date. A few years later, Koltai invited me to address his class at UCLA regarding community college unions. He introduced me as the person that caused him to be fired as chancellor of the LACCD. What a great honor!

On April 22, 1987 the Board voted to rescind the layoffs.

In June of 1987, Monroe F. Richman and Marguerite Archie-Hudson, two board incumbents who had voted for faculty layoffs and were opposed by the faculty union, lost their reelection bids. Newly elected were union-backed candidates Wallace Knox, David Lopez-Lee and Julia Wu, each of whom ran campaigns critical of top district administration. Hal Garvin, the only incumbent to win the union's endorsement, was handily reelected. Garvin was then elected by the newly constituted board to be the president of the new Board.

On September 30, 1987, Leslie Koltai announced that he was resigning. The Board had privately voted four to three to fire Koltai. Koltai received a settlement worth $365,000 in return for his early retirement. Hal Fox stated that “I can’t imagine any tears” will be shed by faculty members. Trustees Lindsay Conner, Wallace Albertson and Arthur Bronson opposed the settlement. Harold Garvin, Wallace Knox, David Lopez-Lee and Julia Wu-voted in favor of the settlement.

The new Board majority improved relations with the faculty and staff and a new contract had been agreed to. The nightmare was almost over.

On March 17, 1988, Virginia Mulrooney was removed from her position as vice chancellor for human resources of the Los Angeles Community College District with an $87,000 settlement She then returned to full-time teaching. Cedric Sampson resigned to accept a position in another district, and college president Art Avila had retired. Mulrooney called her firing a “corrupt bargain” between the majority of the Board and the AFT. “"This district is run by a Board of Trustees which was bought and paid for by the AFT College Guild, a board which operates as a wholly owned subsidiary of the AFT," declared Mulrooney. Ironically, Mulrooney’s earlier efforts led to the AFT College Guild becoming the prime players in the election of Board members.

Mulrooney’s diatribe against the Board was awful to watch. I believe that she had consumed some noon cocktails (as had become her routine). This once proud leader of the AFT reduced herself to an out of control hysteric. Mulrooney alleged that her recent dismissal and that of Chancellor Leslie Koltai in October were the result of the $14,000 campaign loans, later forgiven, from the union to three trustees the previous year. This was the Mulrooney who led the build-up of the union’s political strength. She said she would call for investigations by the Los Angeles county grand jury and state authorities of the "corrupt bargain" and would file an unfair labor practice complaint against the union. None of this happened.

The AFT Faculty Guild’s Hal Fox wrote that “Mulrooney had proved to be the most warring and hostile Vice Chancellor the district has ever known. She has tried, unsuccessfully, to bypass the conditions of the Collective Bargaining Agreement. Each change proposed by the district in the current negotiations is a result of some personal battle that she has lost with the AFT. This includes such areas as coaching, transfers, reassignments, grievance procedure, summer school, calendar, and holidays. She has been unable to work in any kind of a collegial manner with the AFT or the faculty in general. Even her former associates and friends in the AFT have found her impossible to work with and call for her removal.”

We successfully used the layoffs to activate the faculty and ended up not having any of the over 200 faculty who were targeted actually terminated . Many of those who became active in the anti-layoff fight became the future leaders in the union. For example, physical education faculty member Joanne Waddell was later elected president of the Guild and a California Federation of Teachers’ Vice President. One of those whose job we saved is the outstanding Congresswoman Judy Chu. As a state and federal elected legislator, she has never forgotten the importance of unions.

In 1986, I went on a CFT planned trip to Nicaragua. This was a time when the United States supported contras were violently attacking the Sandinista government and its infrastructure. I found Nicaragua to be in the throes of real change after the overthrow of the dictator Anastasio Somoza DeBayle in 1979. We met with collective farmers and urban reformers. We saw burnt out cars that the Contras had attacked. I came away with a real respect for what they were attempting to achieve in terms of education, health care, and the elimination of poverty. It was a very exciting place to visit.

That summer I attended that national convention of the American Federation of Teachers. The AFT, under Albert Shanker, was probably the most militant cold war union leader in the country. One of the issues at the convention was a resolution in favor of the illegal US support for the Nicaraguan Contras. I was in line to speak against the resolution when an AFT vice president tried to cut in front of me in line in order to close debate. I knew how to block out an opponent from my basketball playing days. The VP fell and the sergeant at arms for the convention tried to get me to sit down. I refused and AFT President Shanker adjourned the meeting until after lunch. When we returned, there were two lines, a pro and a con line. I spoke against the resolution and Connie Rey (the chair at East Los Angeles College and a strong supporter of Hal Fox) spoke in favor of the resolution. It turned out that she had visited Nicaragua on an AFT sponsored trip. The word in the CFT delegation to the AFT convention was that I had hit the AFT vice president. This was not true, but I was a hero to most of the CFT delegates for standing up to Shanker.

When we got back from the convention, Hal Fox asked me to resign as Executive Secretary because I had “made the local look bad” and he wanted to become a national vice president. I told him to take it to the local’s Executive Board if he thought he could get the Board to remove me from office. He dropped the issue, but I did resign as executive secretary in 1987 as I wanted to see a change in the Guild leadership and I was tired of helping Hal successfully do the union’s business. In 1988, Gwen Hill defeated Hal Fox for the presidency of AFT 1521.

1984 – I became a member of CFT State Council

June 1985- I was the union representative in the Fresno Community College Contract Factfinding.

Aug. 1985 – I was on the Peralta Community College contract factfinding panel.

Later I served on a number of other fact-finding panels across the state. I was known as a very fierce union advocate on these panels.

# **Community College Consultation**

I also became very active on the Community College Chancellor’s Consultation Council. The work helped shape the California Community College Board of Regulations implementing **Assembly Bill 1725** - an important implementation of the New Left movement call for **participatory democracy**.

## **California Community College Board of Governors Standing Orders**

330. General.  
The Chancellor shall represent the Board in the system consultation process established pursuant to Education Code, Section 70901 (Education Code § 70901). In carrying out this responsibility, the Chancellor shall routinely inform the Board of the **status of items in Consultation, and there will be a place on the regular agenda for the full Board to provide input to the Chancellor and the Consultation Process.**

*331. District Boards of Trustees and Chief Executive Officers.  
Local boards of trustees and their chief executive officers, to the extent possible, should conduct deliberations and take positions on recommendations that are being developed in Consultation, or that are before the Board of Governors. Local boards and their chief executive officers should* ***involve their faculty, staff, and students in these deliberations,*** *and should clearly communicate their positions not only to those who represent them, but also to the Chancellor and Board of Governors. The Board of Governors, or a committee thereof, shall meet three times per year with the systemwide trustee executive board (CCCT) to discuss the Basic Agenda for the system, the proposed budget for the system, the annual legislative priorities, as well as governance relations and the effectiveness of the Consultation Process.*

*332.* ***The Academic Senate****.  
(a) Consistent with the intent of 53206 of Title 5 of the California Code of Regulations, the Board of Governors recognizes The Academic Senate of the California Community Colleges as the representative of community college faculty on* ***academic and professional matters.****(b) The* ***appointment of faculty to councils, committees, and task forces*** *established in conjunction with Consultation to deal with academic and professional matters on the systemwide level* ***shall be made by the Academic Senate****; provided, however, that where such councils, committees, or task forces established in conjunction with Consultation have* ***organizational representatives,*** *these representatives shall be appointed by the respective organizations.*

*(c) The Academic Senate, in conjunction with the Chancellor and designated staff, will initiate and/or respond to requests to develop policy on academic and professional matters. The identification of such matters will be made by the Chancellor,* ***in consultation with the Consultation Council.*** *Throughout the Consultation Process, the advice and judgment of The Academic Senate will be primarily relied upon whenever the policy involves an academic and professional matter. In providing this advice and judgment, The Academic Senate is committed to engage and consider the views of participants in Consultation, the affected community college constituencies, the general public, and other comments and concerns the Chancellor is legally required to consider.*

*333.* ***Student Senate****.  
(a) Pursuant to established Board policy on the participation of students in governance, and in order that the students of the California Community Colleges may have a formal and effective procedure for participating in the formation of systemwide policy adopted by the Board of Governors, a Student Senate has been established through ratification by local student body governments.   
(b) The Board of Governors recognizes the Student Senate as the representative of community college students in the Consultation Process and before the Board of Governors and Chancellor's Office.*

*334.* ***Consultation Council.*** *(a) The Chancellor shall convene and r****egularly meet with a Consultation Council*** *composed of representatives of selected community college institutional and organizational groups.   
(b) As a condition for participation on the Consultation Council, each group participating as either an institutional or organizational member will make the following commitments:  
(1) Each group, insofar as it participates in Consultation, will commit to promote the development of policy which is in the best interests of students, the system, and the State;  
(2) Each group will commit to first attempt to use the Consultation Process for pursuing recommended policy changes or recommended policy that can be dealt with in the Consultation Process;  
(3) Each group will commit to strive to accept and accommodate the consensus reached in Consultation, although each group will retain the ultimate right to excuse itself from Consultation on a particular issue or the ultimate right to take an issue to a different arena; and  
(4) Each group will agree to attend Consultation meetings, complete any work it agrees to undertake, and communicate with and involve the constituency it represents.  
(c) On an issue-by-issue basis, when the Chancellor, in consultation with the Consultation Council, determines that the participation of certain other community college organizations is necessary to informed discussions of the Consultation Council, the Chancellor shall provide for the participation of such organizations in the discussions of the Consultation Council. In addition, meetings of the Consultation Council shall be open and public; and agenda materials, minutes, and other documents discussed by the Council will be made available, at the cost of production, to interested parties.   
(d) The Chancellor shall consult with the Consultation Council regarding* ***all matters to be developed, implemented or evaluated through the Consultation Process,*** *including the coordination of policy development. Matters subject to Consultation include the following:  
(1) Policies adopted by the Board, including regulations, general policies, The Basic Agenda, standing orders, and procedures for the adoption of regulations;  
(2) Recommendations of the Board of Governors to the Governor and/or the Legislature, including the annual systemwide legislative program, the annual proposed budget for the California Community Colleges, and positions of the Board of Governors on legislation affecting community colleges;  
(3) Executive orders of the Chancellor;  
(4) Recommendations of the Chancellor, a member of the Consultation Council, or other organization to change Board policy;  
(5) The process to be used for developing a policy to be recommended to the Board of Governors;  
(6) The alleged failure of the Board of Governors, the Chancellor's Office, or districts to perform legal responsibilities--in order to provide advice regarding appropriate steps that should be taken from within the system.*

*335.* ***Special Committees.****(a) The Chancellor, in consultation with the Consultation Council, is authorized to establish special consultation committees of limited duration and specific function. Such committees shall report any recommendations to the Chancellor and the Consultation Council.   
(b) The Chancellor or Chancellor's Office may establish committees, task forces, or work groups where the principal and primary reason for the formation of the group is to provide technical assistance to college program staff, to provide in-service training for college program staff, or to provide a vehicle for communication about adopted policy and policy implementation. To the extent that such committees, task forces, or work groups develop opinions that policy changes are needed, they will express their views in the form of a Consultation Digest, and the matter will be referred to Consultation*

# **Governance Questions on Title V Regulations**

## Question: **What needs to be done to implement the new Title V regulations on district and college governance**?

The local board must establish procedures that are not inconsistent with the Title V regulations to ensure that **faculty, staff, and students** have the right to participate effectively in district and college governance (Education Code 70901). The governing board or its designee **must consult collegially with the academic senate** when adopting policies and procedures regarding the participation of the academic senate (Title V, Section 53203).

The policies can be very general (e.g. a statement that the district will operate according to the provisions of Title V) or more specific in terms of how the district carries out the regulations. A wide range of latitude is allowed in the amount of procedural detail in district policies.

## Question: **Are students and staff granted responsibilities in the Education Code and Title V similar to those granted the academic senate?**

Yes and no. There are substantial differences between the role of the local academic senate and the role of students and staff as set forth in Title V and the Education Code. The governing board must consult collegially with the academic senate on academic and professional matters. On the other hand, the governing board need only provide staff and students the opportunity to **participate effectively** in district and college governance.

Students and staff must be provided the opportunity to participate in the **formulation and development of district and college policies and procedures** that have or will have a significant effect on them. There is much overlap in the areas of concern to the academic senate and those of students and staff. The academic senate is guaranteed a role in the **decisionmaking** of the governing board. Students and staff are guaranteed a role in the **development of policies** and procedures.

## Question: **Can the local board choose a classified council or classified senate as the organization that represents classified employees in matters that have been collectively bargained or are within the legal scope of bargaining?**

No. The governing board **may not legally delegate any responsibilities or functions that belong to the exclusive representative,** such as collective bargaining or grievance handling, to any other body such as a classified council or senate. **AB 1725 did not change collective bargaining law** (see the Educational Employment Relations Act, Government Code Section 3540 et seq.) **nor the legal scope of bargaining of the collective bargaining agent.** The regulations specifically point out that nothing in the board of governors regulations may be construed to "detract from any negotiated agreements between collective bargaining representatives and district governing boards." The most important point is that **consultations cannot interfere in the collective bargaining process**.

## **Question: May the collective bargaining agent delegate responsibilities to a classified council or senate?**

Yes. In fact many faculty collective bargaining agreements have recognized academic senate roles in areas of decision making - particularly in areas closely related to professional and academic matters. Some unions representing classified employees have also delegated some responsibilities to classified councils. The most important point is that consultation between a governing board and a local academic senate or classified council cannot cover those subjects **that** are within the scope of representation between the collective bargaining agent and the district **unless explicitly approved by the exclusive representative.**

## **Question: Do Classified Councils or Classified Senates have the same recognition under the Educational Employment Relations Act (EERA) as does the Academic Senate?**

No. Under EERA a governing board may meet and negotiate only with the collective bargaining representative concerning matters within the scope of bargaining. **With the specific exception of the Academic Senate,** the collective bargaining agent is the **only** employee organization that is **authorized to represent employees in their employment relations with their district.** EERA does recognize the right of the academic senate to represent the faculty in making recommendations to the administration **and** governing board of a district with respect to academic and professional matters, **so long as this exercise does not conflict with lawful collective agreements** (EERA 3540). **There is no parallel language concerning classified councils or classified senates. This means that there is only ONE representative of the classified employees and that is their union.**

A district may not help with the formation or administration of any employee organization, or contribute financial or other support to it, or in any way encourage employees to join any organization in preference to another (EERA 3543.5). A district could violate **EERA** if it chose to include a classified council or classified senate in the governance processes of **the** district and excluded the classified collective bargaining agent. Restrictions on districts in recognizing representatives of employee groups, other than the collective bargaining agent or **the** academic senate, are spelled out in the Public Employees Relations Board (PERB) decisions **of Antelope Valley (1979), Oak Grove School District** (1986), and **Redwoods Community College District (1987).** Inthe Redwoods case, an employee council was formed to **improve** communications among employees. This employee council was found to be an **"employee** organization". The Public Employees Relations Board (PERB) found that it was unlawful **for** the district to deal with the council **even on matters outside the scope of bargaining** because such action **undermined the exclusive representative.**

"**Employee organization**", as defined in Section 3540.1(d) of the Educational **Employment** Relations Act, "means any organization which includes employees of a public-school **employer** and which has as one of its primary purposes representing those employees in their relations with the public-school employer."

"**Exclusive representative**", as defined in Section 3540.1(e), "means the employee: organization recognized or certified as the **exclusive negotiating representative** of certified **or** classified employees in an appropriate unit of a public-school employer."

## **Question: What items are within the scope of collective bargaining?**

The Public Employees Relations Board **(PERB) had** adopted a "test" to decide **what is** negotiable. In addition to the items listed in EERA (wages, hours of employment, health **and** welfare benefits, leaves, transfer and reassignment policies, safety, conditions of **employment,** class size, procedures to be used for the **evaluation** of employees, procedures for processing grievances, layoffs) certain subjects have been found to be within the scope of bargaining. These items include affirmative action plans; discrimination; instructional day; promotions; in-service training related to wages, hours, safety, promotional opportunities or job performance; and **transfer of bargaining unit work outside the unit**.

The "test" (the "**Anaheim Test**") mentioned above is that a subject is negotiable if (1) it logically and reasonably relates to one of the areas listed in EERA, (2) it concerns both the governing board and the bargaining agent so that conflict is likely and the mediatory influence of negotiations is the appropriate means of resolving the conflict, and (3) bargaining on the subject would not significantly abridge managerial prerogatives essential to the achievement of the employer's mission.

## **Question: What are the relevant sections of the Education Code and Title 5?**

Education Code Section 70902(b) requires that "... *the governing board of each community college district shall do all of the following*:"

"(b)(7) Establish procedures not inconsistent with minimum standards established by the board of governors to ensure faculty, staff, and students the opportunity to express their opinions at the campus level and to ensure that these opinions are given every reasonable consideration, and the right to participate effectively in district and college governance, and the right of the academic senate to assume primary responsibility for making recommendations in the areas of curriculum and academic standards."

Title 5 minimum requirements for staff were passed by the Board of Governors on January 10, 1991. Section 51023(a)(3) requires that "in performing the requirements of subsections (1) and (2) of this section, the governing board or its designees shall consult with the representatives of **existing** staff councils, committees, **employee organizations** and other such bodies. **Where no groups** or structures for participation exist that provide representation for the purposes of this section for particular groups of staff, the governing board or its designees, shall broadly inform all staff of the policies and procedures being developed, invite the participation of staff, and provide opportunities for staff to express their views."

Section 51023.5(a)(7) requires that "the selection of staff representatives to serve on college and district task forces, committees, or other governance groups, shall, **when required by law,** be made by those councils, committees, **employee organizations** or other staff groups that the governing board has officially recognized in its policies and procedures for staff participation. In all other instances, the selection shall either be made by, or in consultation with, such staff groups. In all cases, representatives shall be selected from the category they represent."

Section 51023.5(a)(4) requires that "staff shall be provided with opportunities to participate in the **formulation and development of district and college policies and procedures**, and in those processes for jointly developing recommendations for action by the governing board, that the governing board reasonably determines, in consultation with staff, have or will have a significant effect on staff." Section 51023.5(a)(6) requires that "the policies and procedures of the governing board shall ensure that the **recommendations and opinions of staff are given every reasonable consideration**."

Martin Hittelman 9/1/92

opeiu:30afl/cio

# **Task Forces**

Over the years as President of the CFT Community College Council, I participated in a large number of task forces covering everything from the state budget, contract education, and accountability to education code review, distance education, affirmative action, and innovation. I was released (with pay) from much of my teaching assignment by the CFT so that I could fully participate at the state level.

I served on the following community college task forces

* Member, Cal. Community Colleges AB 1725 Accountability Task Force
* Member, AB 1725 Personnel Issues Review Group (SB 2298 - Davis)
* Member, Education Code Review Advisory Committee (SB 1854 - Morgan)
* Member, State Legislature Task Force on Contract Education (AB 3938 - Farr)

I also served as a

* Member, California Community College Ed>Net Executive Committee
* Member, California Education Roundtable Assessment Task Force on Mathematics
* President, Californians for Community Colleges

California Community College State Task Force Membership

* AB 3938 Task Force on Contract Education
* AB 1725 Accountability Task Force
* AB 1725 Personnel Issues Review Group (SB 2298 - Davis)
* Education Code Review Advisory Committee (SB 1854 - Morgan)
* Commission on Innovation, Educational Issues
* Incentive Program Task Force (1994-95)
* Distance Education Task Force (1994-95)
* California Community Colleges Affirmative Action Writing Team
* California Community College Distance Education Technical Advisory Committee

# **The ACCJC Reign of Terror**

The Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges (**ACCJC**) is the regional accreditation agency for the community colleges of California.

**Barbara Beno**, a former college president whose contract was not renewed by the college district in which she had served, was the President of the ACCJC beginning in **August of 2001.** During her term as President, the ACCJC changed from being a collegial accrediting agency that helps its colleges to satisfy accreditation standards by offering training and assistance to both visiting teams and college constituencies to one that **issued sanctions with a vengeance** and interfered with the internal operations of community colleges across the state.

From **2003 to 2008**, the six United States regional accrediting bodies issued a total of **126 sanctions** to community colleges in the United States. **112** of these were issued by the ACCJC under Beno’s direction. From **June 2011 to June 2012,** the ACCJC issued forty-eight of the seventy-five sanctions (**64%**) issued nationwide. The community colleges in California represent about 19% of the community colleges accredited nationally. In short, California’s community colleges (representing 19% of the colleges nationwide) that were accredited by ACCJC, generated 64% of the national sanctions. Among these sanctions was the removal of accreditation from the **Compton Community College District** as well as a failed attempt to remove the accreditation of **City College of San Francisco (CCSF)**.

President Beno and the Commission members had, since Beno took over, conducted a **reign of terror** in which any **sign of disloyalty** to the ACCJC or difference with any of their policies was met with threats of more severe sanctions. In some cases, actual sanctions have been levied against colleges where criticisms of the Commission itself have occurred. As one CEO told me, it is “***Beno’s way or the highway***.” As a result, most college administrators and faculty were **afraid to speak out** against the excesses of the ACCJC. Even visiting team members have been unwilling to step forward and expose abuses for fear of hurting the chances of their home institutions. In June of 2013 the ACCJC stepped up its muzzling of both visiting team members and Commission members by passing an additional series of policy changes that require non-disclosure of Commission proceedings.

The ACCJC directed colleges to implement “***transparent decision making, honest dialogue and widespread dissemination of internal college documents****.”* **The ACCJC itself did not live up to that standard.**The Commission operated in secret and applied its standards in an arbitrary and inconsistent manner. It disregarded the public policies of California. In addition, questions regarding conflict of interest on the part of Commission members and staff have been raised on numerous occasions. Due to the highly secretive processes of the ACCJC, it is difficult to substantiate how Commission members might be voting even when a conflict of interest arises. In fact, there is not even a public record of how the nineteen individual commissioners vote on the sanctions of the colleges.

## ***Hittelman Letter of November 21, 2001*** *on Standards*

In November of 2001, I wrote a letter for the Community College Council to the ACCJC. I wrote objecting to certain policies of the ACCJC. Many of these concerns became magnified over the years. In particular, I wrote “The Community College Council of the California Federation of Teachers is opposed to the direction that the new proposed standards (Draft A) has taken. We oppose using so-called “**quantifiable outcomes**” as the **mandated approach to determine effectiveness of education**. We believe that many institutions would prefer to use qualitative issues and educational standards as their guide to institutional quality. While a few colleges may wish to use the **Total Quality Management** approach, we do not believe that it should be imposed on all institutions, especially in light of its **still controversial status.** We do not believe that the “**learning objectives**” and “**outcomes**” approach to education necessarily produces the highest quality educational experience. Many “objectives” that can be easily measured are not important whereas **many important results cannot be measured**. Education is more than standardized tests - it is a holistic experience which should include social, societal, and self-actualizing goals. **The goal of education should include the ability to learn on one’s own, be motivated to work hard in pursuit of truth, and want to continue learning.** None of these goals are valued in the new proposed standards.”

I went on to write that:” In Standard III, the new standard requires that “**Evaluations of faculty** also includes effectiveness in producing stated student learning outcomes.” By defining what evaluation must specifically include, **the Commission is entering an area that is the domain of collective bargaining.** In the past (Standard Seven), the Commission did not determine how effectiveness would be measured but rather stated that “Criteria for evaluation of faculty include teaching effectiveness, scholarship or other activities appropriate to the area of expertise, and participation in institutional service or other institutional responsibilities.” The change to the required outcome-based criteria is not appropriate. Evaluation processes are best defined at the local level via local expertise and the collective bargaining process and **that is what is required by California law**.”

I continued: “We are concerned with the removal of what seemed to be, in the previous standards, a **commitment to collegial governance**. The changes seem to reflect a veiled attempt to overthrow the gains made through the passage AB 1725 in California. In addition, the new “Vested Authority” section is too prescriptive as to the rights of the chief executive officer. One example is the statement that ‘(T)he governing board delegates full responsibility and authority to him/her to implement and administer board policies without interference and holds him/her accountable for the operation of the district, system, or college.’ This seems more like a “**protect administrators**” device rather than an accreditation standard. Another example of **micro managing** by the Commission is the statement in the multi-college district section where it requires that the chief executive ‘**delegates full responsibility and authority to them to implement and administer district or system policies without interference** and holds them accountable for the operations of the colleges.’”

“The Community College Council also believes that a community college district should be required to comply with the laws and regulations governing districts including those requiring the participation of faculty, staff, and students in the development of district and college policy. Faculty rights and responsibilities are specified and guaranteed in the California Code of Regulations (Title 5) and therefore should be addressed in the accreditation self-study. The issue has been partially addressed in the current standard Ten B.7 in the statement that ‘faculty have established an academic senate or other appropriate organization’ and that "faculty have a substantive and clearly defined role in institutionalized governance.” This language should be continued and enlarged to include classified and student participation. “

“The CCC also believes that there should also be a standard directed at the **working relations between the district and its collective bargaining agents.** It should be noted that most districts currently include faculty unions in the development of policy and in January 2002 will be required to include classified unions as representatives in shared governance. How these arrangements work reflect on the quality of the experience at the college and should be addressed in a standard and reflected in the college self-study.”

This letter **began the CCCs battle against Barbara Beno and her destructive commission**. In 2009, the **Community College Association** (an affiliate of the California Teachers Association) noted their concerns with the work of Beno and the Commission. It particular they complained with regard to a statement that Beno had made: “If the faculty do not adopt Student Learning Outcomes **regardless of collective bargaining the college will lose its accreditation and close at the end of the 2009 Spring semester.”** Later the Academic Senate of the Community Colleges of California approved a number of resolutions opposing the actions of the CCC.

## ***October 13, 2008 Hittelman Letter to ACCJC***

Later in October of 2008, acting as the president of the California Federation of Teachers, I wrote a letter to the ACCJC with regard to the actions of the ACCJC. I wrote with respect to amendments to Standards III.A.1.c and II.A.6. The letter was as follows:

“I write as **President of the California Federation of Teachers**, AFT/AFL CIO. As you know, the Accrediting Commission for the California Junior Colleges (ACCJC) serves an important function by virtue of California law. In particular, the State has dictated that, "Each community college within a district shall be an accredited institution. **The Accrediting Commission for California Junior Colleges shall determine accreditation**." (5 Cal. Code Regs. 51016)”

“In conferring on this important responsibility on the ACCJC, the State of California and the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges expect the ACCJC to fulfill an important state objective, providing education through accredited public community colleges. ACCJC may or may not be a quasi-governmental entity, but either way **it must respect State laws created by the Legislature, when fulfilling its functions**.”

“Of particular importance to the California Federation of Teachers, and its constituent locals, is the **Educational Employment Relations Act**, California Government Code section 3540 et seq... The Act, as you know, provides a framework for collective bargaining for faculty in the California Community Colleges.”

“One of the most important rights faculty have is to **negotiate with their employer over evaluation procedures, criteria and standards.** In fact, this right is so important that the Legislature deemed it worthy of explicit enumeration within the Act. In addition, pursuant to the EERA **academic freedom policies are negotiated at community colleges**.”

“In recent years, considerable controversy has existed within the community colleges over the issue of **Student Learning Outcomes** or SLOs. It is an understatement to say that many within the college community, faculty and administrators alike, feel the ACCJC has gone too far in its demands regarding SLOs, **because they intrude on negotiable evaluation criteria, and violate principles of academic freedom**.”

“Not long ago, the CFT invited comment from its faculty unions about SLOs, and their impact on their local colleges. Of particular concern to CFT is the propensity with which accreditation teams from the ACCJC have indicated to the colleges that they should ‘develop and implement policies and procedures to incorporate **student learning outcomes** into evaluation of those with direct responsibility for student learning.’ This directive is based on ACCJC Accreditation Standard III.A.1.c., which states, ‘Faculty and others directly responsible for student programs toward achieving stated student learning outcomes have, as a component of their evaluation, effectiveness in producing those student learning outcomes.’ (ACCJC Accreditation Standard III.A.1.c.)”

“Another standard has been used by accreditation teams to justify changes in faculty work such as syllabi. This standard, which has interfered in faculty's academic freedom rights, states: one:

‘The institution assures that students and prospective students receive clear and accurate information ... In every class section students receive a course syllabus that specifies learning objectives consistent with those in the institution's officially approved course outline." (ACCJC Accreditation Standard II.A.6.)’”

**“**We believe both of these standards, as written and as applied, **intrude on matters left to collective bargaining by the Legislature**. For a time, we recognized that the ACCJC's inclusion of these standards appeared to be mandated by the regulations and approach of the U.S. Department of Education, hence we understood ACCJC's apparent justification for including them.”

“it is CFT's position that the **ACCJC has no statutory mandate which prescribes inclusion of the above referenced standards dealing with faculty evaluations, and syllabi.** Under the EERA, absent mandatory proscriptions in the law, each and every aspect of evaluation is negotiable. See, e.g., Walnut Valley Unified School District (1983) PERB Dec. No. 289, 7 PERC & 14084, pp. 321 322; Holtville Unified School District (1982) PERB Dec. No. 250, 6 PERC & 13235, p. 906. The Legislature reaffirmed the negotiability of evaluation procedures and criteria when it adopted A.B. 1725 in 1989. (See Cal. Ed. Code ' 87610.1, 877663(f)). The Legislature did specify that community college evaluations procedures must include a peer review process and, to the extent practicable, student evaluations. (See Cal. Ed. Code ' 87663(g)). However, it did not mandate SLOs.”

“While ACCJC is free to encourage colleges and their faculty organizations to negotiate over this topic, **it is not free to mandate or coerce the adoption of such standards by sanctioning colleges which do not adopt standards that ACCJC would prefer in these areas**. Given its state function, **ACCJC must respect the negotiations process mandated by state law, and academic freedom rights adopted by contract or policy**.

“I call upon ACCJC to **take prompt and appropriate action to amend its standards to respect the boundaries established by the Legislature and not purport to regulate the methods by which faculty are evaluated or determine their course work such as syllabi.**”

Over the years, the ACCJC was cited for numerous violations of federal and state laws from a variety of sources including the U.S. Department of Education, the California Legislature’s audit of ACCJC, the Academic Senate of the California Community Colleges, the San Francisco Superior Court, members of Congress, the California Federation of Teachers, and the California Community College Chancellors Office Task Force on Accreditation.

## **Law Suits Filed**

On April 30, 2013, the California Federation of Teachers (CFT) and its City College San Francisco (CCSF) affiliate, **AFT 2121**, filed a complaint and “third party comment” protesting ACCJC’s action placing CCSF on SHOW CAUSE. The CFT attempted to file the complaint at the Novato office of the Commission but the people working there refused to receive the complaint or even time stamp the complaint and threatened to call the police if the CFT representatives did not leave the office. The CFT left the office but left the complaint at the office. The staff then locked the door to the office and pulled the shades closed.

The complaint was directed at “the abuse of authority by the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges in performing the functions entrusted to it by the U.S. Department of Education, and the California Legislature. The Commission has violated nearly every Federal regulation which guides it, disregards its own policies, misrepresents its actions or legal requirements, fails to respect the law and public policy of the State, violates Federal common law due process and California common law fair procedure, and acts arbitrarily, capaciously, unfairly and inconsistently in evaluating colleges and districts throughout the State, thereby harming colleges, students, faculty and staff, boards of trustees and ultimately the People. And that is how it evaluated City College of San Francisco in June 2012.”

After a lack of an adequate response from ACCJC, on July 26, 2013 the CFT filed a complaint with the Department of Education which it eventually won.

On **September 24, 2013** the California Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2121, and several students and faculty members at **City College of San Francisco** filed a class action complaint with the Superior Court of the State of California, County of San Francisco. The plaintiffs asked the Court to:

1. Order the ACCJC to restore the status quo accreditation status of CCSF “*by vacating and rescinding the improper Show Cause and Disaccreditation decisions against CCSF, and restoring CCSF's accreditation, subject to future reviews that are conducted in accordance with California law, legitimate ACCJC policies and Federal regulations*”;

2. *“Enjoin the ACCJC from engaging in accreditation evaluations of CCSF, and any of California's 112 community colleges in a manner that violates applicable federal or state law, or any of its own legal policies and procedures”*;

3. *“Order ACCJC to rescind, and cease giving force and effect to its Standards, elements of Standards, policies and procedures which constitute unlawful or unfair business practices”*;

4. “*Order the recusal from evaluation or actions involving CCSF, of ACCJC officers, agents, putative team members, and representatives who participated in the unfair and unlawful business practices proven in this case, including but not limited to Barbara Beno, Sherrill Amador, Frank Gornick, Steven Kinsella, John Nixon, Norval Wellsfry, Krista Johns, and Garmon Jack Pond; and anyone affiliated with (i) the CCLC JPA trust from 2006 onwards and (ii) anyone involved in advocating directly, or indirectly through another entity, for the Student Success Task Force or as a member or participant with a trade or other association pursuing matters involving CCSF; and for anyone else involved in an actual or apparent conflict of interest involving CCSF*.”

5. *“Order the ACCJC to pay the costs of suit”*;

6. *“Order ACCJC to pay attorney’s fees pursuant to Motion, in accordance with California's private attorney general statute, Code of Civil Procedure section 1021.5".*

7. *“Provide such other and further and additional relief as is just and proper”*.

On **August 22, 2013** **San Francisco City Attorney Dennis Herrera** filed two civil lawsuits challenging the termination of City College of San Francisco’s accreditation. The first lawsuit was against the ACCJC for “*unlawfully allowed its* ***advocacy and political bias*** *to prejudice its evaluation of college accreditation standards*.” The second lawsuit was against the **Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges** for impermissibly delegating “*its statutory obligations to set standards and determine eligibility for public funding to a* ***wholly unaccountable private entity*** *in the ACCJC*.”

City Attorney Herrera's civil action alleged that the commission acted to withdraw accreditation "*in retaliation for City College having embraced and advocated a different vision for California's community colleges than the ACCJC itself."* The complaint was filed in San Francisco Superior Court. The complaint notes that “*the accrediting commission's multiple conflicts of interest, improper evaluation process and politically motivated decision-making constitute unfair and unlawful business practices under California law.*”

Herrera noted that “"*Nothing about the actions I've filed today should distract or delay City College from doing everything in its power to solve the problems threatening its survival," said Herrera. "But neither should these steps tempt accreditors to consider -- for even one moment -- retaliating against City College for legitimate challenges to their conduct and authority under the law*."

"*The evidence is clear that the ACCJC ignored multiple conflicts of interest, flouted laws, and allowed its political advocacy to color public responsibilities it should frankly never have been given," Herrera continued. "For this, the State Board of Governors is also to blame for unlawfully ceding its public duties to a private entity wholly beyond the reach of public accountability. Though I seek to enjoin the ACCJC from improperly terminating City College's accreditation, the issues raised by both actions* ***go far beyond any single college alone****. This accreditation process has exposed bias, institutional flaws and illegalities in the oversight of the nation's largest higher education system. It potentially affects 72 community college districts, 112 community colleges, and more than 2 million students in California. The issues are serious, and they merit rigorous scrutiny."*

Herrera addressed what he considered ACCJC’s “*extensive financial and political relationships with advocacy organizations and private foundations representing for-profit colleges and powerful student lender interests, with which the ACCJC has in recent years shared a policy agenda to significantly narrow community colleges' longstanding open access mission.*” Included in the suit was information regarding the role of the Lumina Foundation for Education’s role in funding programs, such as those at ACCJC, “that call for public community colleges to narrow their offerings and focus on degree completion.” He points out how that agenda was directed toward **CCSF’s long-time commitment to open access** and culminating with a decision to remove accreditation.

The law suit asks the Superior Court to:

* *“Order the ACCJC to vacate the improper Show Cause and Termination decisions against City College;*
* *Enjoin the ACCJC from engaging in accreditation evaluations of any of California’s 112 community colleges in a manner that violates applicable federal or state law;*
* *Order the ACCJC to pay $2,500 in civil penalties for each unlawful or unfair act, pursuant to Business and Professions Code Section 17206;*
* *Order the ACCJC to pay the costs of suit; and*
* *Provide such further and additional relief as the Court deems proper.”*

# **Academic Senate for California Community Colleges Addresses ACCJC Issues**

At its **Fall 2013** Plenary Session the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges (ASCCC) approved a number of resolutions related to the ACCJC. The delegates from the community colleges in California made clear their interest in changing the current behavior of the Commission.

### **Role of Academic Senate**

First the Senate made clear what they felt the role of the ASCCC and local senates with regard to accreditation should be. The addressed their role in working with the ACCJC and local college faculty. To that end they approved the following statement:

“*The Academic Senate for California Community Colleges (ASCCC) values the peer review process of self-reflection and improvement known as accreditation. Since local academic senates have Title 5-mandated roles within the accreditation process, the ASCCC sees its* ***primary responsibility as helping colleges*** *to meet the adopted standards for which they will be held accountable and to generate comprehensive and forthright assessments of progress toward the standards. The ASCCC's main tool for supporting colleges is the annual Accreditation Institute, through which faculty and other colleagues are encouraged to learn about and address the standards and recommendations from the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges. Additionally, the Academic Senate shares accreditation information and provides support through local college visits and regional presentations.”*

*“As a professional matter,* ***in support of the ideal of a fair and meaningful accreditation process****, the ASCCC's secondary responsibility is to* ***recommend and advocate for improvements to the accreditation standards and processes by providing thoughtful feedback and input to all accreditation participants***.”

In short, the ASCCC expects to take a strong role in the consideration of changes to the standards and processes of the ACCJC.

### **Faculty Participation**

A second resolution noted that the ACCJC **has not paid attention to its’ expressed** *“concerns regarding faculty participation and representation on the Commission's committees and on on-site evaluation teams through a variety of means, including resolutions passed by the body, concerns expressed to the California Community College Chancellor’s Office, and the Board of Governors, and letters sent by the Academic Senate to the U.S. Department of Education (USDE).*”

### **Transparent Operation**

The Plenary supported a resolution that noted areas where lack of transparency exist in the ACCJC process. The approved resolve called "*on the ACCJC to implement a policy of transparency in its* ***proceedings and decision making*** *which includes the* ***opportunity for the public to discuss proposed sanctions before they are voted on and publishing visiting team recommendations for sanctions and minutes of ACCJC meetings including a tally record of votes taken*."**

In addition, the delegates approved the following Resolve: “*That the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges urge the ACCJC to model and exemplify for its member institutions* ***effective and transparent self-evaluation practices*** *by acknowledging and* ***addressing any areas of non-compliance*** *identified in evaluations by the USDE’s Accreditation Group and the National Advisory Committee on Institutional Quality and Improvement (NACIQI), and to document and* ***make public*** *what steps it will take to address any areas of non-compliance*.”

### **Time Line for Rule Changes**

The Academic Senate also expressed its concern with rule changes made without their input and with a time line that was difficult to satisfy: “*Resolved, That the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges formally request that the ACCJC provide member institutions opportunities for* ***meaningful input*** *to the ACCJC about any proposed changes to the required annual reports, and that any adopted changes by ACCJC to annual reports be published* ***at least one year in advance of the effective date of implementation*** *of the required annual reports*.”

### **Use of the Word “Recommendation**”

Another issue discussed was the requirement to make changes to satisfy “recommendations” of the Commission within two years. They noted in a resolution that “*The Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges (ACCJC) currently uses the term "recommendation" in* ***two senses*** *when communicating the Commission's actions, namely, "to meet the standard" or "to improve institutional effectiveness," and thus it is unclear which of the "recommendations" issued to member institutions by the ACCJC fall under the Two-Year Rule*.” The resolution added that “*ACCJC's use of the term ‘recommendation’ in* ***two different ways concerned the Accreditation Group of the United States Department of Education*** *enough for it to note in its memo to the ACCJC dated August 13, 20132 that ‘what is not clear is* ***how the recommendations are differentiated*** *between the two types and how an institution, an evaluation team, the Commission, or the public is to* ***know the difference*’**”

This is one of the issues that arose over the ACCJC decision to decertify CCSF.

The resolution concluded with a resolve that “*the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges formally request that the ACCJC adopt and employ* ***two consistent terms****: One, such as ‘****action required****’ for those ACCJC findings of non-compliance that must be addressed under the Two-Year Rule, and a second term such as ‘****recommendation****’ used exclusively for Commission suggestions that the institution may implement at its discretion*.”

Had this distinction been made years ago we may have experienced fewer sanctions by the ACCJC on the community colleges of California.

### **Training and Composition of Visiting Teams**

The Senate passed a resolution regarding **improvement in training and inter-rater reliability** of Visiting Teams. The resolution noted that “*visiting teams that visit institutions completing self-evaluations* ***vary widely in composition and background****, resulting in recommendations often more focused on team members' areas of expertise than a balanced evaluation of all standards;*” *“ACCJC standards tend to be* ***subjective, vague and open to interpretation*** *allowing for inconsistencies from one visiting team to another;*” and “*ACCJC does* ***not appear to evaluate its own processes*** *to determine if standards are being applied fairly and consistently across institutions*.” The resolution went on to “*urge the ACCJC to include training to promote inter-rater reliability in and among visiting teams sent to institutions under review*;” and

“*urge that ACCJC conduct evaluations to determine if standards are being consistently applied across institutions and that their findings be reported to all colleges*.”

### **CCSF Accreditation**

Another resolution that was approved by the body involved the removal of accreditation of CCSF by July 1, 2014. Noting that the disaccreditation *“is being contested legally by at least three pending lawsuits, an unprecedented situation which has never been faced by colleges on accreditation sanction*” and the difficulty implementing changes in this atmosphere, the ASCCC called on the ACCJC to “***extend the deadline by one year*** *for CCSF to meet accreditation compliance based on CCSF's ongoing efforts to meet the accreditation standards*.” There was much discussion and agreement regarding the various violations that the ACCJC has made in the accreditation process as well as the unusual number of sanctions levied but the body was unwilling to put those into the resolutions themselves for fear of complications that might develop in the working relationships between the ACCJC and the Senate - both statewide and locally.

### **Draft of Proposed Changes in Standards**

A number of resolutions involved a draft of new proposed accreditation standards that were revealed by representatives from the ACCJC at lunch meeting. Delegates were surprised at some of the changes that were not made clear by the presenters from ACCJC. One resolution was in response to the proposed movement toward “adopting standards with **less focus on the diversity and equity.”** This concern included the fact that the draft removes the language from Standard II.A.1.a. that states “*The institution identifies and seeks to meet the varied educational needs of its students through programs consistent with their educational preparation and the diversity, demographics, and economy of its communities*.” It makes this removal “without replacement.”

The draft also removes language from Standard II.B ( “*The institution recruits and admits diverse students who are able to benefit from its programs, consistent with its mission*”) without replacement as well as language from Standard II.B.3.d *(The institution designs and maintains appropriate programs, practices, and services that support and enhance student understanding and appreciation of diversity)*.”

### “**Affirming Support for Diversity and Equity in Accreditation Standards**.”

“*Resolved, That Academic Senate for California Community Colleges strongly urge the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges to* ***retain requirements in the standards for colleges to actualize the principles of student equity and foster respect for diversity including a standard that institutions recruit and admit diverse students who are able to benefit from their programs, consistent with their mission****; and*

*Resolved, That Academic Senate for California Community Colleges strongly urge ACCJC to include a standard that institutions* ***demonstrate commitment to hiring and maintaining personnel of diverse backgrounds,*** *recognizing the significant educational role such diversity plays in the education of all students.*”

### **Libraries and Learning Support Services**

Another area of concern in the draft of proposed changes had to do with Libraries and Learning Support Services. The new standards were drafted “*to replace the 2001 Standards* ***without incorporating proposals given to the Commission from the Council of Chief Librarians****, a group that represents librarians in the California Community Colleges, to strengthen the coordination of student learning among librarians, learning support staff, and discipline faculty*.”

“*The ACCJC draft Standards* ***weaken, to the detriment of student learning****, the criteria used in the 2002 Standards in regard to information competency and access to library materials and services regardless of location or means of delivery” and “eliminate all reference to institutions ‘providing personnel responsible for student learning programs’ and eliminate the current Substandard II.C.2 entitled ‘Library and Learning Support Services’ and places the standards now in that section under Standard IIB (Student Services)*.”

The Academic Senate for California Community Colleges then resolved to *“advocate for the concerns of library faculty and advocates for reconsideration of the draft Standards by the ACCJC at the January 2014 meeting of the ACCJC.*”

### **Part-Time Faculty**

Noting that California Education Code §87482.8(d) states that *“Part-time faculty should be considered to be an integral part of their departments and given all the rights normally afforded to full-time faculty in the areas of book selection, participation in department activities, and the use of college resources, including but not necessarily limited to telephones, copy machines, supplies, office space, mail boxes, clerical staff, library, and professional development.*”

The Academic Senate for California Community recommended “*that the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges add to II.A.8 or another appropriate location in the accreditation standards, language that reflects the expectation that colleges will provide equitable access to college infrastructure and resources to all faculty members so that the teaching mission of the college may be more effectively attained.*”

# **Reign of Terror Ends**

In **2016,** under intense pressure at the state and federal level, Beno gave notice that she would retire in June of 2017. In December of 2016 she was put on **administrative leave** by the Commission and the ACCJC reign of terror was over. New leadership was installed in 2017.

An ACCJC under new leadership granted City College of San Francisco accreditation for a seven-year period. Their assault against CCSF appears to have ended. In addition, ACCJC approved the granting of accreditation to Compton College at its June 2017 meeting. This after eleven years of control by the El Camino Community College District. By January of 2018, the ACCJC imposed no sanctions on colleges, although they now imposed a few accreditations of only 18 months instead of the new seven years. This pattern continued in June of 2018.

Throughout the battle against the excesses of Beno and the ACCJC, I maintained the website [www.accreditationwatch.com](http://www.accreditationwatch.com). Readers interested in learning the details of the years of abuse are encouraged to visit the site.

It was easy for me to come out against the ACCJC – they could not take away my accreditation. The faculty from colleges all over the state and particularly at City College of San Francisco took real risks in fighting the ACCJC and they deserve credit for its eventual fall. Attorney Bob Bezemek was extremely important in developing the legal case against the ACCJC. His work has been critical in defending and extending the rights of collective bargaining units across the state.

# **Editorials**

I wrote an editorial for each issue of the CCC *Perspective* and the CFT California Teacher during the times I served as president of CCC and of the CFT. I tried to speak to the issues that were facing us and included language that might be used by members in convincing others of the CFT position. Here are some examples:

April 2001 Perspective Column

## **He’s back: Marty Hittelman returns as CCC President**

*On March 9, 2001 at the CFT convention, I was once again, after a four-year break, elected president of CFT's Community College Council, whose membership is comprised of the CFT's community college locals. I have used the last four years to get in touch with activities at the local level. I have been teaching mathematics at Los Angeles Valley College, serving as Executive Secretary for Grievance for my local and as co-chair of the Los Angeles Community College District Budget Committee. I have also helped a number of locals throughout the state by serving on fact-finding panels when their negotiations went to impasse. I am now ready to take up the challenge of leading the council once again.*

*Tom Tyner has done an outstanding job as president of the CCC over the last four years. He has moved the issue of the exploitation and proliferation of part-time faculty to the point where it is now being seriously addressed by Gov. Davis, the State Legislature, and the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges. The governor's proposed $62 million allocation to improve part-time salaries is a testimony to Tom's outstanding leadership and persistence on the issue. Combined with innovative actions by part-time faculty all across the state, the work of CFT lobbyist Judith Michaels, and the coordinated work by other community college organizations, we are making real progress. Tom also led the fight to use Partnership for Excellence funds to hire new full-time faculty. We all owe Tom a real debt of gratitude for his outstanding contributions.*

*As the new CCC President, I dedicate myself to continue Tom's work in the areas of part-time equity and improvements in the full-time/part-time faculty ratio. In addition, I will be working with locals to keep them abreast of all the latest developments in local negotiations.*

*The job of CCC president includes addressing the Board of Governors and the Legislature on such issues as distance learning, economic development, part-time employment, state funding, legislative initiatives, and increasing the diversity of our faculty and staff: I have already begun that work.*

*As president, my goal for the next two years is to move the CCC agenda forward: to improve working conditions and retirement benefits for faculty and staff, increase hiring of full-time faculty, make significant progress toward equity for part-time faculty, increase funding for community colleges, and provide universal access to quality education for our diverse student population. Tom has shown that we can make significant forward movement when we work together to push the issues of importance to our members. With the help of all of the locals and their members, we can overcome.*

Perspective Column

## **“Think Globally, Act Locally**

May 2001

*A popular environmental slogan is “think globally, act locally.” Former congressional leader Tip O’Neill is often quoted as saying “all politics are local.” The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO attempts to take these two slogans to heart.*

*The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is literally a national federation of local unions. It is itself a member of an international federation of unions called the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Each local of the AFT is a semi-autonomous organization with its own constitution and its own set of priorities. The Community College Council (CCC) is a federation of California AFT community college locals, established under the umbrella of the California Federation of Teachers (CFT).*

*In traveling around the state, I have often found a psychological and intellectual disconnect between the national, state, and local organizations. I think this is somewhat normal. Not everyone pays close attention to all the literature that they receive whether from their local, from the CFT, from the AFT, or from their local County Federation of Labor. Unless the issue hits close to a perceived interest, members will just skip the reading. This is really unfortunate because there is much to be learned by careful reading.*

*Two of the issues that are being dealt with at all levels of the labor movement are the use of distance education (as an example of an attempt to privatize public services) and the misuse and exploitation of temporary employees. Distance education is being heavily hyped in the media and by the high-tech industry - especially web-based courses. Despite all the fanfare, the fact is that distance education and web-based offerings are only small fringe activities at this time. Less than two percent of student loads both in California and nationally are via distance education and of that total in California, according to a report from the California Community College Chancellor’s Office reporting on offerings in 1999-2000, only 17 percent of the approximately two percent were online web-based. The large majority of distance education courses were delivered via traditional video one-way and represent telecourses on a delayed basis.*

*Despite the marginal level of distance education offerings at this point, the AFT at all levels is addressing the potential problems that may occur in the relation to educational quality, intellectual property rights, and the working conditions of educational employees. The AFT Higher Education Planning and Policy Council has held a number of conferences dealing with these issues (including the just concluded National Higher Education Conference held in San Francisco) and has issued a number of reports outlining best practices and potential contract language needed to address these challenges (How Unions Can Harness The Technology Revolution on Campus, Technology and Higher Education, Making Decisions about Distance Education, selected Contract Article on Intellectual Property, and Distance Education – Guideline for Good Practices). The CCC has helped pass legislation that protects the curriculum approval process and requires yearly disclosure regarding distance education offerings. The CCC’s Distance Education and Technology Issues Committee issued a report on March 9, 2001 (A Framework for Contract Negotiations related to Educational Technology Issues) regarding the use and misuse of distance education and possible contractual language to address these issues. Using the above materials, locals have negotiated language in the areas of distance education, working conditions and the rights of faculty in the area of intellectual property rights. If you are interested in any of these documents, contact your local leadership or find them on the web at AFT.org and CFT.org.*

*Unions have also been addressing the issue of contingency workers. The AFL-CIO has made this an issue of national concern. The AFT has released a number of studies concerning the exploitation and over use of part-time temporary employees nationwide (Part-time Faculty Issues, First Principles). These studies have received national press attention. In California, the CFT and CCC have, with support from the California Labor Federation, helped pass legislation related to payment for office hours and health benefits and movement toward a ratio of 75 percent to 25 percent of the number of hours taught by full-time versus part-time faculty. Governor Davis, after much agitation from the CCC and others, included $62 million dollars in his 2001-2002 budget to begin to address the inequity between full-time and part-time salaries. Currently we have bills moving through the legislature addressing the issue of continuance of employment for “temporary” employees. Many locals have negotiated provisions for continuance of employment, paid office hours and health benefit coverage for part-timers as well as the rights to office space, instructional support, and a movement toward pro-rata pay.*

*In the political arena, the labor movement has always been the major supporter of public education at all levels and the proper financial support of these institutions. The labor movement has helped elect legislators who are friendly to education and support worker’s rights and defeated initiatives (such as vouchers) which work to the disadvantage of public education. In California, with the help of the CFT political department and county labor federations, AFT locals have been able to pass bond measures and elect members to Boards of Trustees who support quality education and fair labor contracts (including provisions related to distance education and part-time equity) The latest example of such cooperation and support was in Los Angeles where the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor coordinated the turnout of thousands of precinct walkers who, along with handing out materials supporting the election of Antonio Villariagosa as the first labor mayor of Los Angeles, passed out materials supporting a $1.2 billion community college bond measure.*

*I hope that I have illustrated some of the complementary efforts of the AFT and AFL-CIO at the national, state, and local levels. We truly “think globally, act locally” and recognize that “all politics is local.” The AFT is committed to negotiating the best contracts possible by developing the political climate at the local, state, and national level that makes such strong contracts possible. I would urge everyone to read our national, state, and local publications carefully. We are a national movement and only by member involvement will we be successful in protecting quality education and the welfare of educational workers.”*

## **1991 On Vonnegut**

*October 1991*

*Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. wrote a book, first published in 1968; which he titled "Slaughterhouse-Five." It also has the title "The Children's Crusade - A Duty-Dance with Death". In the book Vonnegut gives moral lessons. Lessons that we could take to heart today, especially in view of our very recent history.*

*"I have also told my sons that they are not under any circumstances to take part in massacres, and that the news of massacres of enemies is not to fill them with satisfaction or glee."*

*In his moral teachings, Vonnegut addresses the feelings we all sometimes feel regarding our efforts to make the world a better place to live.*

*"Billy had a framed prayer on his office wall which expressed his method for keeping going, even though he was unenthusiastic about living. A lot of patients who saw the prayer on Billy's wall told him that it helped them to keep going, too. It went like this:*

*GOD GRANT ME THE SERENITY TO ACCEPT THE THINGS I CANNOT CHANGE*

*THE COURAGE TO CHANGE THE THINGS I CAN*

*AND WISDOM ALWAYS TO TELL THE DIFFERENCE.*

*Among the things Billy Pilgrim could not change were the past, the present, and the future."*

*Some persons do seem capable of changing the past. History is constantly being rewritten by persons with new information or new vantage points. An African proverb that hangs on my office wall reminds me that "Until the lions have their historians, tales of hunting will always glorify the hunter."*

*As teachers we have an obligation to tell history from many vantage points. We also have the obligation to tell the histories of all our peoples.*

*As educators we also have the possibility of changing the I present and the future for our students. We can equip them with the tools making it possible for them to take charge of their present and future lives.*

*"'You know what I say to people when I hear they're writing anti-war books?'*

*`No. What do you say, Harrison Starr?'*

*I say, 'Why don't you write an anti-glacier book instead?'*

*What he meant, of course, was that there would always be wars, that they were as easy to stop as glaciers. I believe that, too."*

*We live in a unique time in history. Wars are still a part of our national reality and culture but in the field of education, the culture is changing. The hierarchical structure of traditional educational management is being questioned. It is now possible for faculty, staff, and students to be part of the decision making in our colleges. We must accept the challenge and make a difference. But, we cannot let ourselves become lockstepped into normal madness. We must manage differently than those that have managed in the past. We must have a wider vision of what can be.*

*The California Federation of Teachers is embarking on The Campaign For California Education. You will read more about this in the next issue of the Perspective. Join the campaign by working to improve education. The Campaign is a moral, political, and educational campaign to save California education. Perhaps in saving quality education we will also be contributing to stopping the glaciers (and our world) from melting.*

## **Taking the Lead**

Perspective Column

March 2003

***We Can’t Wait***

*I have just returned from a meeting of the AFT Program and Policy Council in Washington DC. The agenda of the meeting dealt predominantly with developing a strategy and a plan to counter the increasing attacks on our institutions, faculty and staff. From all around the country we heard tales of declining state support for higher education accompanied by increases in tuition and fees. We discussed the Bush-administration's draining of money from the domestic public sector in order to fund his military adventures. We also discussed the loss of funding capability at the state level that has been driven by tax cuts mostly benefiting the very wealthy in our country. The shift from taxing all for the common good to implementing user taxes (such as tuition and fees) has been encouraged by a strong conservative assault on the value of our public institutions. Right wing pundits have been filling the media with arguments opposing a civilized and thoughtful approach to solving problems, leaving only the market to determine results. Some state and local politicians, trustees and campus administrators - biased against the public sector - believe that education is only a private good, and distrust anything but "instrumental" education.*

*We discussed what appears to be a national movement to weaken the academic profession: administrators attempting to dismantle shared decision making processes; attempts to take curriculum decisions out of the hands of the faculty; colleges and universities, replacing full-time tenured faculty with underpaid temporary full-time and part-time faculty; attempts by universities and colleges to profit from the intellectual property traditionally owned by faculty; accreditation agencies attempting to impose narrow standards based on measurable student outcomes on faculty and staff; and a move to transform education into a simple accumulation of factoids. In addition, there appears to be a nationwide attack on academic freedom, led by the same people chipping away at our constitutional rights to free speech and free association.*

*We will, in the coming months, be asking faculty and staff to contribute to the fight for quality higher education and for improved conditions for the employees who work in higher education institutions. On April 11-13, 2003, the AFT will hold its annual National Higher Education Issues conference in Atlanta. A major emphasis of the conference will be on the development of a plan of action.*

*In California we cannot wait for a strategic plan. We must begin today, in every local and at the state level, to move the legislature and the governor to concurrently increase taxes and reduce the cuts targeted at the community colleges. We must fight against any increase in fees. We must negotiate local contracts with strong language protecting our intellectual property rights and our salaries and benefits from erosion, increase the pro rata pay of part-time faculty, fight against increases in load and class size, and organize ourselves into a fighting voice for quality in higher education.*

***What can your local do****? - It should begin immediately informing students concerning the proposed budget and increased fees and its impact on them. It should organize meetings with local legislators and inform them of the consequences of higher fees and reduced funding. Leaders should meet with local newspaper boards and describe how the proposed cuts will impact on student lives. We need to bring home the human impact of reduced educational offerings and services.*

***What can you do****? Write a letter to the governor and your legislators. Sign a union produced postcard. Register students to vote. Help inform your students of the impact of the proposed cuts and provide them the opportunity to express their views to their elected officials. Tell your neighbors and friends what is going on with the state budget. Above all, 'Educate, Agitate, and Organize.'*

A continuing fight has been the fight against charging students fees or tuition. This Perspective article spoke to that fight.

## ***2003 “Students Call for No Fee Increases Editorial***

*Why have students across the state been organizing demonstrations calling for no increase in fees and fair treatment for the community colleges? Their anger is an intelligent reaction to the 2003-04 Governor Davis proposal to increase community college fees from the current level of* ***$11 per unit to $24 per unit.*** *He proposes that the $149 million increased revenue resulting from the fee increase be offset by a loss of $215 million in funding to the community colleges as a result of the loss of students resulting from the fee increase. In total the governor has proposed a 10.4% decrease in funding for the community colleges in 2003-04 when compared with the approved budget for 2002-03. To community college students all of this translates to a 188% increase in fees accompanied by decreased class offerings – they pay more and receive less.*

*In the past when fee increases have been implemented, the* ***loss of students has averaged a little over 1% for each $1 increase.*** *Using this yardstick, community colleges would expect to lose in the neighborhood of 13% of its students due to the governor’s proposal. This equates to a loss in excess of* ***200,000 students*** *–* ***more students than are enrolled at all of the campuses of the University of California combined****. If patterns follow past year experiences, the bulk of this drop-in students will be concentrated among those who are low income, Latino, African-American, and older students (who have been hard-hit by the economic recession). These students, in addition, are the* ***least likely to have access to information concerning financial aid and opportunities to have their fees waived****.*

*The legislature needs to reject the governor’s budget proposal for a 10.5% cut in community college funding and demand that the community colleges not be cut disproportionally when compared with K-12, the University of California and the California State University Systems.*

*The legislature should resist efforts to increase fees for attendance at community colleges. Community college education today has the same standing as high school education did in the past – it is required in virtually all jobs that pay a living wage.* ***A free and accessible community college education benefits all residents of California.*** *A well-educated public increases the economic opportunity for all Californians by bringing industries into the state that require well-educated work forces.*

*The legislature should consider whether it is good public policy to tax students for the benefit of the State General Fund and restrict access to public higher education based on race, age, and economic class. The legislature should also consider whether $149 million in new revenue (in a state budget of $100 billion) is worth the human potential lost resulting from the tax on students.*

*I look forward to a time when there are no fees and the ability to pay is not a determinant of who attends college. Let’s bring California back to the time when we led the nation in education and we had the wisdom not to levy a fee on community college students.*

*Martin Hittelman*

*President, Community College Council*

*Senior Vice President, California Federation of Teachers “*

## **Should Labor Be A U.S. Foreign Policy Agent?**

**The Role of the National Endowment for Democracy in International Affairs**

By Martin Hittelman

June 2004

AFT Convention Resolution 43 states, in part, that “WHEREAS, the **National Endowment for Democracy (NED) has served as an agent of U.S. government intelligence operations and subversive interference in the internal affairs of the labor movements of other countries.**.” and ‘WHEREAS, AFL-CIO acceptance of NED funding for its solidarity work in Iraq would have the appearance, if not the effect, of interfering in the internal affairs of the Iraqi labor movement in furtherance of U.S. government foreign policy objectives: ”

AFT Convention Resolution 41 resolves, in part, that the AFT “continue to seek funding from the National Endowment for Democracy and other non-partisan foundations to support AFT assistance efforts to help Iraqi workers build the trade union, education, healthcare and other institutions that will help sustain democracy and improve the lives of ordinary men, women, and children.”

### **What is the National Endowment for Democracy?**

In a letter dated April 7, 2004 to the California Federation of Teachers, AFT Executive Vice President Nat LaCour described the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) as being “created in 1983 to support the broad American foreign policy objective of encouraging the development and expansion of democracy in the world. ..The NED receives annual funding from the U.S. Congress. A portion of the funding is allocated to four core grantees, one of which is the AFL-CIO’s American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS). The others are Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (IRI), and the National Democratic Institute (NDI).”

The National Endowment for Democracy was created in the Reagan Administration in 1983. One of the authors of the enabling legislation has said that the NED was to do at least some of the work previously done by the CIA, albeit publicly. The first director of NED was Henry Kissinger, Richard Nixon’s point man in the campaign against Chile’s elected president, Salvador Allende. The current chair is Vin Weber. Weber is a former Republican Congressman and Vice Chair of Empower America. He is a close ally of Newt Gingrich and has close ties with the National Policy Forum. He is a lobbyist for a variety of big corporations including the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America.

The right-wing CATO Institute has charged NED with “a history of corruption and financial mismanagement” and “has paid for special interest groups to harass the duly elected governments of friendly countries , interfere in foreign elections, and foster the corruption of democratic movements.” Conservative movement watcher Bill Berkowitz has pointed out that “The NED .. provides money, technical support, supplies, training programs, media know-how, public relations assistance and state-of-the-art equipment to select political groups, civic organizations, labor unions, dissident movements, student groups, book publishers, newspapers, and other media. It’s aim is to destabilize progressive movements, particularly those with a socialist or democratic socialist bent.”

### **Venezuela – A Case in Point**

Left-wing reporter Alexander Cockburn wrote, in June of 2004, that NED was involved in the organizing against the government of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela. Cockburn wrote that “The NED has helped fund the opposition to Chavez to the tune of more than $1 million a year. Among the recipients are organizations whose leaders actually supported the April 2002 coup – they signed the decree that overthrew the elected president and vice president and abolished the country’s democratic institutions, including the Constitution, Supreme Court and National Assembly. The coup was thwarted only because millions of Venezuelans rallied for Chavez.”

Rob Collier, writing in the San Francisco Chronicle, reported that “In Venezuela, the AFL-CIO has blindly supported a reactionary union establishment as it tried repeatedly to overthrow President Hugo Chavez – and in the process, wrecked the country’s economy.” The Union charged by Collier is the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV).

Stanley Gracek, Assistant Director of International Affairs for the AFL-CIO, in responding to Collier’s article wrote that “The CTV leaders and rank and file, who marched to Miraflores in April of 2002 to demand the Venezuelan president’s resignation, were exercising their right of assembly and free expression.” Beginning in 1981, Gracek served as special advisor on North American affairs to the Brazilian Workers Party.

An article appeared in the New York Times on April 25, 2002 written by Christopher Marquis that listed numerous grants by NED to various pro-coup groups in Venezuela, prior to the April 11 coup against the democratically – elected president, Hugo Chavez. Harry Kelber wrote in LaborTalk for March 17, 2004 that “Prior to the coup, the Solidarity Center invited CTV’s Ortega to Washington, knowing that he was one of the principle opposition leaders to Chavez. The AFL-CIO arranged for Ortega to visit with U.S. government officials, including representatives of the State Department, where opposition leaders met to discuss strategy against Chavez.” Kelber went on to write that “The opposition to Chavez hasn’t given up and neither has the Endowment, which is still handing out grants totaling more than one million dollars to organizations it feels can be of use in the anti-Chavez movement.”

Information on the NED Venezuela program can be found at the NED website. In part it states that “NED has increased funding over the past two years for programs in Venezuela, as in all such countries where democratic rights are threatened, has been and remains to support groups and individuals struggling to strengthen democratic processes, rights, and values, irrespective of their political or partisan affiliations. All of these groups represent the most moderate and democratic elements in what has become an extremely polarized situation.”

Basic Question: **Do we want the labor movement to be a participant in promoting U.S. foreign policy**? Accepting funds from the U.S. government to work internationally is inevitably understood to mean that Labor is an agent of U.S. governmental efforts abroad. Is that what we want?

Prepared by M. Hittelman, President of the Community College Council of the California Federation of Teachers, for the AFT Convention

**April 2006 Perspective Column**

## ***April 2006 Why Political Involvement?***

*The issues that we confront are being confronted worldwide - the* ***ecological destruction of the earth, the privatization and commercialization of education, the criminalization of immigrants, the narrowing of educational scope from broad liberal arts education to narrow career oriented training, the threats of standardized testing being implemented into higher education in ways similar to the No Child Left Behind program, two tier salary and benefit provisions like those experienced by our part-time faculty and some of our most recently hired employees, declines in labor rights including restrictions on the use of e-mail and college mailboxes, a growing movement away from shared governance, attacks on the academic freedom we hold dear, and the continuing lack of sufficient financial support for our schools and colleges. We often forget that the problems that we face are byproducts of the drive to the bottom inherent in the current drive toward the globalization of markets.***

*At the CFT convention in March we heard about the fight that teachers in British Columbia are waging to secure their collective bargaining rights. In France, students and workers have been demonstrating against an attempt by the government to eliminate long held worker rights. At the AFT Higher Education Council I listen to stories from all across our country concerning slow progress in some areas but more often I hear of efforts to deny faculty and staff their union rights and reasonable working conditions.* ***The assault on health benefit packages appears to be national in scope. Long held pension provisions are under attack not only in the United States but in Canada and Mexico as well.***

*So what do we do to help move our country and the governments of the world toward more civilized approaches to the solving of economic and social problems? How do we move away from what appears to me to be the ever more apparent* ***retreat to barbarism****? We first must recognize that the decline in living conditions that we are experiencing is not inevitable. It is a result of political decisions made by those who will not work in the common interest. So we must* ***use the power of the many to defeat the insatiable hunger for wealth and power by the few.***

*The most immediate, and perhaps least sexy, avenue toward progressive change is through education. That means that we must educate our members and then the general public that positive change is possible. That there are candidates that put working people’s interests at the top of their agendas. In this June’s Democratic primary we have the opportunity to choose* ***labor Democrats over business Democrats*** *at both the state and the national level. We even have the chance to elect a few moderate Republicans to replace those that are entirely hostile to the general welfare. Check out the CFT endorsed candidates. We screen the candidates carefully in order to support those that are most progressive (and most pro-education) and will fight for working families. In November we need to get the vote out for a new Governor – hopefully that candidate will be Phil Angelides. Our work is set out for us. If we don’t cause at least a small change of direction this year then the next few years are very likely to see an accelerated movement toward barbarism. How much more decline can the Earth endure and still survive as a planet? Do what you can and then do more.*

## Talking Blues

I was a out of ideas of what to write for a California Teacher editorial but I heard an old Woody Guthrie talking blues and decided I would write one for the issue right before the November 2010 election. So here is what we published in the paper:

**What we need today is some – Talking Blues**

October 2010 California Teacher

*I was up in Sacramento and all that I heard*

*Was that unions were the problem with the evil they stirred*

*They were looking for Superman to make things right*

*“firing teachers will make kids bright”*

*Reduce funding, increase competition, teach kids to fill in the bubbles.*

*I looked at the TV and what did I see*

*It was Wall Street Whitman paying the fee*

*She said cuts in public service is the path to prosperity*

*And regulations are what cause disparity*

*She was claiming the unions are who make things bad*

*But it’s her outsourcing jobs that makes me mad.*

*I looked at the newspaper and what did I see*

*They’ll expose our teachers if we don’t agree*

*To rank our teachers - any method will do*

*Valid or invalid – use whatever’s new,*

*Merit pay, value added, a business model*

* *Miracles can happen.*

*So, if you want to fund education, let me tell you what we need,*

*We have to get together and fight corporate greed.*

*We have to do all we can to pass 25*

*And even then we’ll only be half alive.*

*We have to slide right out of Whitman’s hand*

*And join the chorus in Jerry’s band.*

*It’s up to us, to make the fight*

*For better education and all that’s right*

*So don’t let the doomsayers put you down*

*And don’t leave the arguments to the media clown*

*And don’t let the money defeat your goals*

*Just get the voters out to the polls.*

*Because together we can win –*

*And we will.*

*Persevere,*

*Marty Hittelman*

*CFT President*

## **CFT election victories mark a milestone in our union’s Fight for California’s Future**

December 2010 California Teacher

*The November 2 election was a true success story. Driven by our on the ground campaign. our measure to change passage of the state budget from a two thirds to majority vote passed with 55 percent of the vote.*

*With AFT help, we were the major funders of the Proposition 28 campaign. The CFT helped push the measures signature gathering campaign beyond 1 million, an important first step in moving California toward more responsible budget making.*

*CPT endorsed candidates won all the statewide races from governor and U.S. senator on down the ballot. Our candidates for state Assembly and Senate were, for the most part, also elected. So why isn't our future rosy? Why won't schools instantly be rewarded for our members' active participation in the election victories?*

*The number one obstacle to future growth in educational opportunity is a state budget deficit predicted to be $23 billion over the next 18 months. Just as we began our Fight for California’s Future with a successful march up the Central Valley, next year we plan to begin this fight by launching a public media campaign to increase public and legislative recognition of the contribution that public employees, including school and college employees, make in providing a better quality of life for Californians.*

*As part of our new. media campaign we will join with our allies to send the message that a* ***fair tax system*** *is an avenue to a civilized and prosperous society. We will be speaking to the value of a* ***quality education*** *made available to all. We will be addressing issues in healthcare. social services, state infrastructure and public protections that are needed to produce healthy and productive members of society.*

*By budget time in May. we will have laid groundwork so revenue enhancements will be a serious component of the 2011 12 state budget. We will then continue our program of* ***educating and advocating*** *into the 2012 election to address other structural budget problems. While we understand that our problems will not be solved in a day, we will not simply stand by without engaging in the Fight for California's Future.*

*The CET will be successful in these efforts if our members and allies are active in moving our agenda forward.*

*We contributed mightily to the union effort to get labor’s vote out. Now we need to reach out to our* ***community allies*** *who depend on quality schools for the education of their families. We need to find common ground on their other pressing issues as well.*

*The battles this year will be as tough an any we have seen – state-wide and at the worksite. Self-proclaimed experts on school reform will continue to attack our member and our unions. Calls will continue for the firing of teachers, for the dismantling of our pension programs, and for turning education into lockstepped madness.*

*We must resist the easy answers that trivialize education. We must work together to improve what we can even under our currently poor working conditions. And we must work together to improve working and learning conditions. That is our call. Step up and do your part. Together we can move California forward.*

*In unity,*

*CFT President Marty Hittelman*

I regularly sent out summaries of issues that our community college locals were facing.

# **Duty to Bargain in Good Faith**

## **Unfair Practices**

**Employer** unfair practices are specified in EERA Sec. 3543.5. It is unlawful for a school employer (this includes community colleges) to:

* interfere with the exercise of rights conferred by the act on employees or their unions
* refuse to meet and negotiate in good faith with the recognized representative of the employees
* interfere with, dominate, or discriminate among employee organizations
* refuse to participate in impasse procedures

**Employee organization** unfair practices are specified in EERA Sec. 3543.6. It is unlawful for an employee organization to:

* cause or attempt to cause an employer to commit an unfair practice
* coerce, discriminate against, threaten reprisals, or in any way interfere with employees in the exercise of rights conferred by the act
* refuse to meet and negotiate in good faith
* refuse to participate in impasse procedures

## **Duty to Bargain**

The test of whether an employer or an employee organization has failed in its duty to bargain hinges on two issues:

* Was the topic within the scope of bargaining?
* Did the parties negotiate in good faith?

## **Scope**

Topics within the scope of representation are called *mandatory* subjects of bargaining. If either party proposes a change in a mandatory subject of bargaining, the parties must negotiate on the proposal until either:

* agreement is reached;
* the proposal is withdrawn; or
* required impasse resolution procedures have been exhausted

The parties are permitted to negotiate about subjects that are **not within scope**. Such subjects are called *permissive* or *nonmandatory* subjects of bargaining. The parties may not insist on proposal which are permissive subjects of bargaining to the point of impasse.

Scope under EERA is determined by the "**Anaheim**" test. Under the test, a subject is negotiable if it is one of the items listed in EERA Sec. 3543.2. If it is not a listed subject. the subject is still negotiable if:

* it logically and reasonably relates to wages, hours, or an enumerated term and condition of employment;
* it is of such concern to management and employees that conflict over the subject is likely and the mediatory influence of collective negotiations is the appropriate means of resolving the conflict; and
* the employer's obligation to negotiate would not significantly abridge its freedom to exercise managerial prerogatives that are essential to the achievement of the district's mission.

It should also be noted that a bargaining agreement is not permitted to replace, set aside, or annul a provision in the Education Code.

## **Good Faith**

"Good faith" bargaining requires active participation in bargaining with an intention to find basis for agreement; sincere effort to reach a common ground; and binding agreements on mutually acceptable terms.

The types of conduct that tend to prove bad faith include:

* Going through the motions without any real effort to reach agreement. This is generally called *surface bargaining.*
* Failure to exchange reasonable bargaining proposals or make counterproposals.
* Delaying tactics in scheduling bargaining sessions such as cancelling or missing meetings.
* Not giving negotiators at the bargaining table sufficient authority to reach agreement.
* Presenting "take-it-or-leave it" bargaining positions.
* Union attempting to bargain directly with members of the governing board and bypassing the designated management negotiator. The union may advocate its point view at a public meeting of the governing board on a subject under negotiation but may not attempt to negotiate on the topic.
* Refusing to reduce an agreement to writing.
* Not explaining the reasons for bargaining positions.
* Unwillingness to make any concessions.
* Conditioning agreement on economic matters on agreement on noneconomic ma (such as ground rules).
* Conditioning bargaining on withdrawal of unfair labor practice charges and grievances.
* Failure to inform the union of relevant information not requested.
* Reneging on tentative agreements.
* The withdrawal of proposals." Unlawful pressure tactics" by the bargaining agent - striking without adequate n to the employer of the intent to strike and intermittent (off-and-on) or partial s (coming to work, but refusing to perform certain duties).Employer communicating directly with employees during negotiations unless its communication is factually accurate, is not intended to derogate the exclusive representative's authority, and is not an attempt to frustrate the bargaining process.
* Employer making unilateral changes in the terms or conditions of employment by reaching a special agreement with individual employees.

Some conduct is automatically considered bad faith bargaining. Examples of "per se" refusals to bargain in good faith include:

* A unilateral change in a working condition that is a mandatory subject of bargaining. PERB has said that a change is unlawful as a failure to bargain only if it has a generalized effect or a continuing impact on the terms and conditions of employment.
* Failure to negotiate the effects of a change that is not within scope but has an impact on subjects within scope. If the subject is outside the scope of bargaining, such as a decision to lay off employees, the parties still must negotiate over the effects of the decision that have an impact on matters within scope.
* A categorical denial by the district to negotiate on a released-time proposal
* A strike before completion of impasse procedures unless provoked by the employer's unfair practices (such as bad faith bargaining) or if the union's overall conduct shows that it was acting in good faith.

M. Hittelman   
2/5/93

Sources: *Pocket Guide to Unfair Practices, California Public Sector,* December 1992 (California Public Employee Relations Program, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley)

*The Duty to Bargain in Good Faith in California's Public Sector,* January 1990 (Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley)

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# **Contract Definitions of Grievance**

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| Many locals were working on the definition of a grievance for their local contract. I sent out a number of alternatives without a recommendation as to which I felt was best. The resulting language would be stronger or weaker based on the culture of the district and the strength of the union. Here is what I sent out:  December 7, 1992  To: Locals  From: Marty Hittelman, President CCC  December 7, 1992  To: Locals  From: Marty Hittelman  Subject: Definitions of Grievance |  |
|  |

## **Los Angeles**

**1.** Grievance. A grievance is defined as a formal written complaint alleging that there has been a **misinterpretation, misapplication or violation** of a specific item of this Agreement or of a **written rule or regulation** of the Los Angeles Community College District.

The Grievance Procedure is not for the adjustment of complaints relating to any of the following:

1. Any and all matters relating to the selection and/or hiring of employees, except hourly rate seniority and summer session priority.
2. Suspensions and dismissals for which review procedures are provided by the Education Code.
3. The review of final Peer Evaluation Reports or final Administrative Evaluation Reports in which the overall evaluation indicates that the employee is "Satisfactory. "
4. The review of a written open non-confidential reference submitted in conjunction with a selection or evaluation for a position.
5. Accusatory statements or charges relating to the professional fitness or moral fitness of an employee. However, a Notice of Unsatisfactory Service which is not a basis for further disciplinary action may be grieved.

2. Grievant: A grievant is a member or group of members of the Faculty Unit.

Note: The Los Angeles contract also has a provision that states that "This Agreement is not intended to modify or replace by any of its terms the rights of every faculty member in the bargaining unit under the law. **Both parties agree to comply with state and/or federal law."** This provision makes state and/or federal law violations by the district grievable under the contract.

Note: The above definition does not say **that** the person has to be adversely affected - only that a grievance occurred. It should also be noted that violations of written rules and regulations (not contained in the contract) can be grieved.

## **Cook County Community Colleges, Chicago**

1. A "grievance" shall mean a complaint by a faculty member:

1. that there has been as to him a violation, misinterpretation, or **inequitable application** of any of the provisions of this agreement or;
2. that he has been **treated unfairly or inequitably by reason of any act or condition which is contrary to established policy or practice** governing or affecting faculty members.

## **Antelope Valley**

Definitions and General Provisions

1.2.1 Grievance

A grievance is a complaint by any employee who is a member of the certificated bargaining unit

alleging that the employer (AVCCD or its representatives) has violated a term of the written employment contract agreed to by the Board and the recognized certificated bargaining agent. A grievance may be filed by a member of the unit on his/her own behalf or by the Federation on behalf of the Federation or on behalf of a member(s) of the unit.

Note: The right of the union to file a grievance is clearly spelled out. It should be noted that in *Mt. Diablo* USD, No. 844 (1990) and in *South Bay Union S.D* No. 791 (1990) (PERB), it was ruled that the exclusive representative has the statutory right to file grievances in its own name, to arbitrate grievances without grievants' consent-and that the **union is not required to bargain over a proposal that it waive those rights.** Statutory rights are not mandatory subject of bargaining. The PERB decision in *South Bay Union S.D* was sustained in 1991 by the California Appellant Court.

## **Ventura**

16.2 A. A grievance is a written complaint alleging that there has been a **refusal to apply** this Agreement or a misinterpretation or misapplication of the terms of this Agreement.

16.2.B. For the purposes of this procedure, a grievant may be an individual faculty member, except the Federation may file a grievance on Article 17, Federation Rights. Any grievant shall be entitled to a Federation representative at any stage of the grievance procedure.

Note: The language allowing a grievance for refusing to apply the contract is a nice provision.

## **Los Rios**

* 1. A grievance shall be a complaint by:

1. a unit member that she/he has been adversely affected by a **misinterpretation, misapplication or violation** of the provisions of this Agreement, or
2. LRCFT that LRCFT has been adversely affected by a misinterpretation, misapplication or violation of rights directly affecting it or as a co-filer with an individual grievant. In the event LRCFT has a grievance directly affecting it, the grievance shall be filed at the campus level-or District level, whichever is appropriate.

## **San Francisco**

1. Grievance - A formal written allegation by a grievant that the grievant has been adversely affected by a violation of a specific article, section or provision of this Agreement.

1.1. Grievance as defined in this Agreement shall be brought only through this procedure.

1.2 Actions to challenge or change the policies, rules, regulations, or administrative rules or regulations not contained in this agreement, or, on matters not within **the** scope of bargaining must be undertaken under those process then in effect.

1. Grievant
2. Any unit member with a grievance;
3. **Any group of Unit members having the same grievance.**
4. Local 2121 where there is a specific union right alleged violated, e.g. use of bulletin boards, use of equipment, union parking permits, etc.

Note: A group with a common grievance is a cost saving device that some districts do not allow.

Marty Hittelman

opeiu:30afl/cio

# **1995 Free Speech in the Schools**

*First Amendment rights, applied in light of the special characteristics of the school environment,* ***are available to teachers and students. It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the school house gate.***Tinker v. Des Moines School District (1969) 393 US 503

In 1969 the United States Supreme Court ruled that a school district could not prohibit high school and junior high school students from wearing black arm bands in class to express their opposition to the United States policy in Viet Nam. The court recognized that a *"silent, passive expression of opinion unaccompanied by disorder or disturbances ."* could not be curtailed by a school district. For a district to be able to justify a prohibition of such expression, the district *"must be able to show that its actions were caused by something more than a mere desire to avoid the discomfort and unpleasantness that always accompany an unpopular viewpoint."* To prohibit such expression *"without evidence that it is necessary to avoid* ***material and substantial interference*** *with school work or discipline, is* ***not constitutionally permissible."***

In 1987, the courts reconfirmed the above ruling, while at the same time allowing a principal to censure articles written in a journalism class and published in a school-run newspaper (Hazelwood School District v Kuhlmeier 484 US 260). The court saw the newspaper as a part of the school curriculum. The court noted that the newspaper was not a "forum for public expression" but rather a school-sponsored publication. It ruled that the school district had the right to control a school-sponsored publication.

A central issue of the right of a district to restrict speech seems to revolve around whether the expression is an activity that *"students, parents, and members of the public might reasonably perceive to* ***bear the imprimatur of the school.****"* If the in-class expression of a political belief by a teacher reasonably leads to the perception that the political statement is the official position of the district; then that activity might qualify, under limited circumstances, for legal curtailment by a district. Otherwise speech is protected.

The perception of imprimatur of the school **depends on the age of the student**. The wearing of a political button, for example, might be perceived by a third grader to be a statement by the school itself. **By college, the wearing of a political button by a faculty member could not be reasonably be perceived by students as carrying the endorsement of the college.** By junior high school most students understand that teachers are people with their own views on everything from clothing to political beliefs.

The California legislature has addressed the issue of free speech of students in the colleges and universities of California. Education Code Section 66301. *"(a) Neither Regents of the University of California, the Trustees of the California State University. governing board of any community college district shall make or enforce any rule subjecting any student to disciplinary sanction solely on the basis of conduct that is speech or communication that, when engaged in outside a campus of those institutions, is protected from governmental restriction by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution or Section 2 of Article 1 of the California Constitution."* This section of the Education Code clearly allows students to wear political buttons in class - and by extension, faculty as well.

Martin Hittelman

President, Community College Council, California Federation of Teachers

April 19, 1995

[based on a paper by Robert Bezemek entitled "Don't Push My Button"]

opeiu:537afl-cio

This Education Code section is still in effect. The rest of 66301 reads:

(b) A student enrolled in an institution, as specified in subdivision (a), at the time that the institution has made or enforced a rule in violation of subdivision (a) may commence a civil action to obtain appropriate injunctive and declaratory relief as determined by the court. Upon a motion, a court may award attorney s fees to a prevailing plaintiff in a civil action pursuant to this section.

(c) This section does not authorize a prior restraint of student speech or the student press.

(d) This section does not prohibit the imposition of discipline for harassment, threats, or intimidation, unless constitutionally protected.

(e) This section does not prohibit an institution from adopting rules and regulations that are designed to prevent **hate violence,** as defined in subdivision (a) of Section 4 of Chapter 1363 of the Statutes of 1992, from being directed at students in a manner that denies them their full participation in the educational process, if the rules and regulations conform to standards established by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution and Section 2 of Article I of the California Constitution for citizens generally.

(f) An employee shall not be dismissed, suspended, disciplined, reassigned, transferred, or otherwise retaliated against solely for acting to protect a student engaged in conduct authorized under this section, or refusing to infringe upon conduct that is protected by this section, the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, or Section 2 of Article I of the California Constitution.

# **CFT President**

In 2007, after serving twenty years as CFT Senior Vice President under the leadership of President Mary Bergan, I decided to run against Mary for president. I had talked to her 4 years earlier about my running, but she asked me to hold off for 2 more years. She never decided not to run again.

For many of those twenty years, I performed important leadership roles on a multitude of issues including controlling the CFT budget. At convention after convention union members would come up to me and ask if I would run for president. Mary’s speaking and leadership skills had faded and CFT needed my leadership in order to invigorate the organization. I handed out a piece to the delegates at the 2007 convention that read:

## **2007 Presidential Candidate Flyer**

***Why should a delegate vote for Marty Hittelman for President of CFT?***

*I am running for CFT president in order to help CFT become a* ***more dynamic and influential organization*** *- one that is relevant to our times. CFT is in a unique position to lead based on its pre-school to university membership and drawing from its ranks of teachers and classified employees.*

*CFT should have a* ***broad progressive agenda*** *that* ***leads the fight for better working and living conditions for all Californians****. I believe that we should weigh in on the issues of the day:;* ***ending the war in Iraq; protecting our environment so that we can live healthy lives; protecting a woman's right to choose; enactment of a single payer universal health care system; providing the right to marry to all, independent of sexual preference; and a progressive tax system which invests in the future by building and supporting our educational institutions, libraries, parks, and other public infrastructure.***

*My political life started as an elementary school student when I organized opposition to the school's attempt to have a racist minstrel show. In Junior High, I was elected president of the Civics Club, and using that platform, worked to get an unjustly accused Black prisoner released from a Louisiana jail. While in college, I was a leader in the student rights movement. My passion for justice has not subsided.*

*"I can always count on Marty when the going gets tough. When we hit a rough road in the regulatory process, Marty is on top of it, demanding that we do the right thing so that all programs and their students benefit." Leslie Smith, Legislative Analyst for the Association of Community and Continuing Education, in the November-December edition of the California Teacher.*

*I believe that from my extensive experience teaching mathematics at the high school and community college levels, I have learned some things about what works in the classroom. I have worked with colleagues at the University of California, the California State University, California Community Colleges, and high school districts throughout the state in looking at* ***what a student should know to graduate high school.*** *My service on the State Community College Academic Senate Executive Committee has educated me on a large range of educational issues. I can help lead CFT become the leader in the fight for quality education from pre-school to the University.*

*CFT needs to be more outspoken in our opposition to the "one size fits all" emphasis of the heavily testing- oriented No Child Left Behind (NCLB) disaster. We need to have a renewed commitment to diversity in our student population and among our educational employees in higher education, and we need to be an organization that fights fiercely to protect the rights and benefits of its members.*

*"Marty is renowned among all sectors of the community college system for his* ***budgetary knowledge*** *and his tireless advocacy for students and faculty. As he has demonstrated throughout his career, Marty possesses the leadership qualities needed to guide the CFT through our present financial and structural difficulties. Marty has what it takes to make a great president."*

*Ed Murray, President of the San Francisco Community College Federation of*

*Teachers Local 2121*

*I have helped locals across the state to* ***analyze their budgets****. I was twice chosen as one of a three-person community college team that met with K-12 representatives to hammer out Proposition 98 split policies. I am looked to by both union and administrative leaders for* ***analysis of state budgets.***

*I have been a leader in educating the CFT Executive Council and delegates to the CFT Convention on the CFT budget. The CFT needs to both increase and better manage its revenue and manage it better. We barely balanced the CFT budget in our last fiscal year. The new IRS standards for pensions will require new dollars. The proposed per capita increase will, if approved, help put the CFT in a position to meet that obligation. While we have made some progress in addressing our structural budget problem, much more needs to be done. I have the skills and experience to lead that restructuring.*

*"I have always viewed Marty as a strong advocate for CFT locals, both in Sacramento and at the local level. He has helped us locally with factfinding and budget analyses. At the state level, he has ensured important issues affecting faculty and staff get addressed." Jim Mahler, President AFT Guild Local 1931, San Diego*

*I have served my local in positions ranging from President to Executive Secretary, from grievance officer to negotiator. I have served as CFT's Senior Vice President, Community College Council president, and as a representative to US Labor Against the War and the joint labor/management* ***California Health Care Coalition and Education Coalition for Health Care Reform.*** *I have served as chief negotiator for a number of locals (both faculty and classified) on their first collective bargaining agreements. I know how to negotiate, how to win arbitrations, and how to be effective in moving our agenda in meetings with others.*

*I believe in an* ***inclusive democratic union*** *- one that involves the participation of all of its various constituent groups and members. We need to be effective in on-the-ground activities. To that end, the CFT needs to work better in coalition with other like-minded organizations. It is not enough to pool funds during political campaigns. I believe that we can and should be much more active in forming strong* ***ongoing progressive alliances with community-based organizations.*** *Some of our locals have already begun that process. We should accelerate it.*

*"I can't think of anyone more knowledgeable and expert in matters of governance, budgeting, and general educational policy in the CFT." Zwi Reznik, President of the State Center Federation of Teachers Local 1533*

*In short, the CFT would benefit from stronger and more effective advocacy and organization. I believe that I have the vision, the qualifications - and the track record - to provide that kind of leadership.*

*"Marty Hittelman is head and shoulders above all other candidates for CFT President. His competent experience in many roles--from conventions to the day-to-day realities of the CFT and her locals---make clear that a vote for him is a vote for a better CFT. His progressive politics and his respect for all who do the work, inside and beyond the CFT, should make him THE candidate among conscientious CFT activists."*

*Tom Edminster, United Educators of San Francisco/AFT 61 Executive Board member, delegate to SF Labor Council and teacher at San Francisco's Lincoln High School”.*

## **2007 Presidential candidate speech**

At the 2007 CFT Convention, I gave the following speech in support of my candidacy.

***“****MY NAME IS MARTY HITTELMAN AND I RUNNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE CFT. I BELIEVE THAT I HAVE THE COMBINATION OF EXPERIENCE, SKILLS, AND DEDICATION NECESSARY TO LEAD CFT TO BECOME A MORE DYNAMIC AND EFFECTIVE AGENT OF POSITIVE CHANGE.*

*CFT, WITH ITS BROAD SCOPE OF MEMBERSHIP, FROM PRE-SCHOOL TO THE UNIVERSITY, HAS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO PROVIDE EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN THE STATE AND IN THE NATION. WE SHOULD EXPLOIT THIS STRENGTH. AND WE NEED TO LOOK OUT FOR AND SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER.*

*I DON'T HAVE TIME DURING THIS SHORT SPEECH TO DETAIL ALL THE EXPERIENCES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS THAT I BELIEVE QUALIFY ME TO LEAD OUR UNION. SO LET ME JUST SUMMARIZE:* ***I HAVE SERVED BY LOCAL AT EVERY LEVEL FROM PRESIDENT TO GRIEVANCE OFFICER TO NEGOTIATOR TO EXECUTIVE SECRETARY. I AM CURRENTLY THE SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE CFT, CHAIR OF ITS LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE COUNCIL. I ALSO SERVE ON THE NATIONAL AFT'S HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM AND POLICY COUNCIL. MY WIDE RANGE OF EXPERIENCES, BOTH LOCALLY AND STATEWIDE, HAVE PREPARED ME TO FORCEFULLY AND EFFECTIVELY CARRY OUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CFT PRESIDENCY.***

*I BELIEVE THAT WE, IN THE UNION MOVEMENT, MUST BE A MAJOR FORCE IN THE* ***CREATION OF A CIVILIZED SOCIETY.*** *WE KNOW THAT THE LIVES OF OUR MEMBERS AND OUR STUDENTS DO NOT BEGIN AND END AT OUR WORK SITES. THE ISSUES OF OUR SOCIETY -* ***WAR; HEALTH CARE; POVERTY; RACISM; THE ENVIRONMENT; A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE; THE FREEDOM TO MARRY, INDEPENDENT OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION- ALL PROFOUNDLY IMPACT OUR MEMBERS AND THEIR STUDENTS.***

*THAT SAID, THE CFT HAS TWO OTHER MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES - HELPING LOCALS FUNCTION AT FULL CAPACITY AND CREATING THE STATE ENVIRONMENT THAT MAKES IS POSSIBLE TO IMPROVE WORKING AND LEARNING CONDITIONS IN OUR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. WE NEED TO FOCUS ON THESE CORE RESPONSIBILITIES.*

*THE CFT NEEDS TO BE A LEADER IN THE FIGHT FOR QUALITY EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA. PART OF THAT EFFORT INVOLVES IMPROVING THE WORKING CONDITIONS OF OUR MEMBERS. THE LEGISLATURE, THE PUBLIC AND THOSE WE NEGOTIATE WITH NEED TO UNDERSTAND THAT* ***OUR WORKING CONDITIONS ARE THE LEARNING CONDITIONS OF OUR STUDENTS.***

*WE KNOW WHAT WILL IMPROVE EDUCATION, AND* ***IT ISN'T MORE TESTING IN THE GUISE OF ACCOUNTABILITY.***  *IT ISN'T ONE STANDARDIZED TEST THAT DETERMINES WHETHER 13 YEARS OF EDUCATIONAL WORK WILL END IN A DIPLOMA OR NOT.*

* *WE MUST ORGANIZE AND AGITATE FOR ADEQUATE FUNDING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION FROM PRE-SCHOOL TO THE UNIVERSITY*
* *WE NEED TO DEMAND* ***PRE-SCHOOL FOR ALL***
* *WE MUST CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR PAY EQUITY, BENEFITS, RIGHTS TO CONTINUANCE OF EMPLOYMENT, AND RESPECT FOR PART-TIME AND NON-PERMANENT EDUCATIONAL EMPLOYEES.*
* *WE MUST DEFEND ACADEMIC FREEDOM SO THAT WE CAN BE FREE TO TEACH THE TRUTH*
* *WE MUST PRESS FOR DIVERSITY IN ENROLLMENT IN OUR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AND FOR DIVERSITY IN EMPLOYMENT AT ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATION*

*THE ILL-CONCEIVED NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND PROGRAM IS FOUNDED ON THE FALSE PREMISE THAT MOST TEACHERS AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL EMPLOYEES ARE NOT DOING THE BEST JOBS THAT THEY CAN, UNDER THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH THEY WORK. WITH THAT AS ITS PREMISE, IT IS NO SURPRISE THAT PROGRESS IN QUALITY IS ONLY SEEN AS RESULTING FROM A PENALTY SYSTEM. PUNISHMENT THEN BECOMES THE NECESSARY WHIP TO FORCE SCHOOLS TO EXHIBIT "PROGRESS."*

*IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY THAT THE NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND AVERAGE YEARLY PROGRESS REQUIREMENTS DO NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN MORE AND LESS SUCCESSFUL SCHOOLS. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY THAT THE MONEY HAS NOT BEEN PROVIDED TO MAKE CHANGES IN LEARNING CONDITIONS POSSIBLE.*

*WE NEED TO* ***ATTACK THE ENTIRE TESTING AS EDUCATION HOAX*** *THAT HAS BEEN FOISTED ON THE PUBLIC. THE SO-CALLED "OUTCOMES BASED" ACCOUNTABILITY IDEOLOGY HAS EVEN BEGUN TO APPEAR AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL. WE NEED TO FIGHT BACK.*

*WE MUST BE STRONGER IN OUR OPPOSITION TO POLICIES THAT FORCE EDUCATORS TO "TEACH TO THE TEST" RATHER THAN "TEACH TO THE STUDENT." THE "ONE SIZE FITS ALL" DESIGNS OF THESE INITIATIVES DO NOT SERVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE DIVERSE POPULATION OF STUDENTS THAT WE SERVE IN CALIFORNIA - AT WHATEVER LEVEL OF EDUCATION THAT THEY ARE ENROLLED IN.*

*THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE CFT SHOULD NOT EMPHASIZE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF HIGH STANDARDS. WE SHOULD. BUT IN ORDER TO HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT, WE MUST DEMAND TO BE AT THE TABLE WHEN DECISIONS CONCERNING EDUCATION ARE MADE.*

*WE NEED TO ORGANIZE OUR MEMBERS, EDUCATE THE PUBLIC, AND AGITATE FOR THOSE THINGS THAT WE KNOW WILL MAKE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE -* ***SMALLER CLASS SIZE, MORE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL EDUCATIONAL EMPLOYEES, RESEARCH BASED QUALITY CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY, QUALITY MENTORING AND SUPPORT FOR NEW EMPLOYEES, ADEQUATE FACILITIES, SAFE WORKING AND LEARNING CONDITIONS, ADEQUATE COMPENSATION, AND EMPLOYEE CONTROL OF OUR INSTITUTIONS.***

*WE NEED TO PROMOTE THESE EFFORTS IF WE ARE TO ATTRACT AND RETAIN THE BEST EDUCATIONAL EMPLOYEES AND THUS PRODUCE QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL. OUR STUDENTS ARE DEPENDING ON US.*

*I HAVE TAUGHT MATHEMATICS AT BOTH THE HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE LEVEL. I CURRENTLY HAVE BEEN TEACHINGTEACH A COMMUNITY COLLEGE COURSE IN MATHEMATICS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS. SO I BELIEVE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF MATHEMATICS IN A PERSON'S EDUCATION. BUT, I DON'T THINK THAT MATHEMATICS AND ENGLISH ARE ALL THE ONLY IMPORTANT SUBJECTS IN ONE'S EDUCATION. WE SHOULD BE ADVOCATING FOR A BROAD LIBERAL ARTS CURRICULUM.*

*THE CFT NEEDS TO BE MORE ACTIVE IN DEVELOPING STRONG SUPPORTIVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER UNIONS AND WITH OUR COMMUNITIES. SOME OF OUR LOCALS HAVE DEVELOPED ON-GOING RELATIONSHIPS WITH LOCAL COMMUNITY GROUPS. WE NEED TO LEARN FROM THEIR EXPERIENCES, SO THE PROCESS OF OUTREACH CAN BE ACCELERATED.*

*WE NEED TO DEVELOP DAY-TO-DAY WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER UNIONS INCLUDING CTA, CSEA, AND SEIU. WE HAVE BEGUN TO DO THAT THIS WITH RESPECT TO HEALTH CARE, BUT WE MUST EXTEND THAT IT TO OTHER AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST.*

*IN PARTICULAR, WE NEED TO, WITH UTLA AND UESF'S HELP, DEVELOP A BETTER WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH CTA. MY SUCCESS IN WORKING WITH THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE ASSOCIATION LEADERSHIP HAS PREPARED ME FOR SUCH AN EFFORT.*

*AND WE HAVE TO STRENGTHEN THE CFT - BOTH ORGANIZATIONALLY AND FINANCIALLY. WE NEED TO LOOK AT THE ASSIGNMENTS OF FIELD STAFF IN ORDER TO BEST SERVE OUR LOCALS.*

*CFT PRIDES ITSELF ON DEVELOPING THE STRENGTH OF ITS LOCALS. WE MUST MATCH THAT DESIRE WITH THE REALITY OF* ***PROVIDING THE SUPPORT AND TRAINING OUR LOCALS REQUIRE TO MAXIMIZE THEIR REPRESENTATION EFFORTS.***

*WE NEED TO EDUCATE OUR NEW MEMBERS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR UNION IN THEIR PROFESSIONAL LIVES.*

*AND CFT HAS TO HANDLE ITS FUNDING MORE EFFECTIVELY. WE NEED TO MONITOR EXPENSES MUCH MORE CLOSELY. WE NEED TO LOOK AT HOW TO ADJUST OUR EXPENDITURES SO AS TO MAXIMIZE OUR SERVICE. MY EXPERIENCE IN BUDGET MAKING AT THE LOCAL DISTRICT AND STATE LEVEL HAVE PREPARED ME TO HELP MANAGE THE CFT BUDGET.*

*I AM READY TO LEAD THE CFT IN BECOMING A* ***MAJOR VOICE*** *OF EDUCATORS IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AND IN THE NATION IN SUPPORT OF QUALITY EDUCATION. WITH MY SOLID AND PAST SUCCESSFUL EXPERIENCES IN ADVOCACY, I AM READY TO LEAD CFT TO BECOME ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE FORCES FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE IN CALIFORNIA.*

*A VOTE FOR ME IS A VOTE TO MOVE THE CFT FORWARD TO BECOME THE* ***AGENT OF CHANGE*** *THAT OUR MEMBERS NEED. I ASK FOR YOUR VOTE****. ‘***

**I won the election with 70% of the vote on the final ballot.** My four years in office did exhibit the growth of the CFT. The highpoints of those four years were the march from Bakersfield to Sacramento in support of the California Dream and the passage of Proposition 25 which completely changed budget writing in Sacramento. Proposition 25 moved the required vote for the legislative budget from 2/3rd to majority. The Democrats no longer needed Republican votes to pass a progressive budget. The state and education have prospered under the newly developed budgets.

## Mar 2009 ***Hittelman State of the Union***

*“First I want to thank the CFT employees for all of the work that they do. Please stand. Let's give them your thanks for all that they do to support our locals and help the CFT function. I want to especially thank Margaret Shelleda our Executive Director for her outstanding work.*

*The CFT has continued, over the last year, to put our financial house in order. Much of the credit for the better accounting of our money goes to Dennis Smith and our bookkeeping staff. Our CFT Executive Council and our State Council have done their parts as well in keeping our budgets in line with our revenue.* ***Last year we had a balanced budget*** *- if you don't consider our long-term financial obligations under our employee retiree pension and health plans.*

*This year we won an award from AFT as one of the states with the* ***largest increase in membership.*** *We will honor the new locals and those that have grown, later in the convention.*

*You are all aware of the horrendous State budget that was passed and then amended to make it even worse. The cuts to education were particularly deep - both the mid-year cuts in the 2008-9 budget and the resulting 2009-10 budget. Since the original Proposition 98 guarantee for K-14 was calculated, there has been a cumulative 2008-10 reduction of $10.5 billion. The Legislative Analyst office has written that another $3 billion Proposition 98 cut will be required to be made to the 2009-10 budget. The LAO has even proposed that the hole be filled with $3 billion in federal stimulus funds that are supposed to be used to reduce cuts in school employees. The cut to the University of California and the California State University systems over 2009-11 now stands at almost $1 billion.*

*The legislature responded to the $40 billion state deficit, not by increasing revenue on a permanent basis, but rather by enacting a number of temporary tax increases - all of them regressive. The effect of their actions will increase taxes on the bottom 20% income earners by almost 1% while increasing the rate for the top 20% by less than one-half percent.*

*And instead of addressing the problem of permanent funding, the legislature moved to allow more "flexibility" in the use of school funds - as if that saves any money. But their action contributes to a public perception that education is not underfunded, we just don't use the funding effectively enough. But no matter, the legislature bowed to the governor's "solution" and consolidated K-12 categoricals into three categories. Those left alone, those cut by almost 20% over two years but still with restricted use, and those cut by 20% over two years with no restrictions on their use. The details of which categoricals are in which group is contained in a brief included in your convention bags.*

*We opposed the "flexibility" approach because we believe it will put some very important categoricals at risk. We believe that the K-12 result will cause real harm to the education of our students as class sizes are increased and important programs like Adult Education, advanced placement programs, and supplemental instruction are reduced.*

*As categorical programs are reduced or eliminated, we will not retreat into amnesia, conveniently forgetting the conditions that gave birth to those programs. And those conditions are likely to return with their elimination or reduction.*

*The Democratic leadership showed us once again that,* ***under the restraints of a 2/3rd vote for passage,*** *they do not know how to negotiate nor use their power in negotiations. Our legislative leaders have not yet learned that negotiations are simply a euphemism for capitulation if the power of the negotiator is not made clear at the bargaining table. The Democrats have forgotten the important fact that the source of their power is organized labor in California. As a result, they have seemingly turned their backs on us.*

*Perhaps the worst aspect of the budget fight this year was how the Democratic leadership deliberately kept us in the dark as to what they were planning to present to the Legislature for adoption. We expected that the no-tax pledging Republicans would make it very difficult to pass a reasonable budget, but we did not expect our so-called friends to approve a budget that may permanently reduce education and other important state services.*

*We did not expect that they would water down reduced class size requirements. We did not expect to see increased corporate tax loopholes when what we need is more revenue, not less. We did not expect that all of the taxes that they increased are regressive and temporary and that they, at the last minute, would agree to a percentage tax increase for all taxpayers instead of a surtax on taxes owed. The surtax would have been a flat tax. The percentage increase in the income taxes approved will change the rate charged to a family earning $40,000 per year increases by 13% but only 3% for a family earning $750,000 per year.*

*Republicans may believe that regressive taxes are the answer but the Democrats we support should understand that regressive taxes are not the avenue to take.* ***We will continue to advocate for a fair tax policy and in that effort, we have only begun to fight.***

*We did not anticipate that virtually all of the Democrats would sit by and let their leadership dictate what they would vote for and what they would not - and then allow their leaders to punish those (Warren Furutani, Tony Mendoza, Sandre Swanson) that had the courage to stand with us and oppose the deadly Rainy-Day Fund by taking away their chairmanships of committees.*

*We had many organizational allies in the fight against budget cuts and for more progressive taxes this last year. We lost that battle. We cannot stop fighting. Our students and our members depend on it. When we struggle, we can fail. But when we don't struggle, we have already failed.*

*And that brings us to the May 19th election. The Legislature and the governor have placed six propositions on a special election ballot. The first is a rainy-day fund proposal (Proposition 1A) that would eventually place 12.5% of the State Budget in a reserve fund to be used only under very limited conditions. Every year it would drain 3% of the budget into two reserve funds (actually 5% from the non-Proposition 98 portion of the budget, none from the Proposition 98 side). 1.5% would go into an education reserve fund and the other 1.5% would go into a rainy-day fund.*

*Under Proposition 1A, any growth in expenditures is limited to the change in COLA and population growth and can never grow beyond a regression line growth calculated by using the budget over the previous ten years. Proposition 1A makes no allowances for the combination of an aging population and increases in the cost of medical care that exceed that of COLA. It does not factor in any need to repair education and other budget cuts in the last several years and it begins with a low funding level.*

*The Republican goal with Proposition 1A is to severely limit the growth of government spending in California. Proposition 1A got on the ballot when the Democrats, desperate to pass any budget, yielded to the few Republicans that were willing to vote for the regressive taxes and, in reward for their votes, put Proposition 1A on the ballot.*

*In the past, when K-14 funding fell below the long-term funding target under Proposition 98's Test 2 (driven by K-12 enrollment and per capita income growth), the money was owed under the Maintenance Factor and then restored to the minimum funding guarantee as increased revenue came into the state.*

*The governor's Department of Finance has concluded that no maintenance factor is required when the funding is determined by Test 1 (a Percentage of the General Fund) of Proposition 98 and this year we appear to be in Test 1. The amount under dispute is $9.3 billion. Proposition 1B on the May 19th ballot would require that the $9.3 billion be restored to K-14 over the next 11 years, beginning in 2011 with about $1 billion per year taken from an education reserve fund. By our interpretation of Proposition 98, it does not take a Proposition to require the $9.3 billion increased benchmark. We believe the shortfall is required to be returned to the guarantee as revenue increases whether under Test 1 or Test 3. But the governor sees it differently and so, I suppose, did the legislative leadership. A law suit could be filed and either side might win - thus Prop. 1B is designed to avoid a law suit on the requirements under Test 1.*

*Campaign experts believe a major factor in the fate of the ballot measures is whether labor unions and others supportive of state services, who oppose the spending limit in Proposition 1A, will spend millions of dollars to fight the measure. And so, the State legislative leaders included a $16 billion extension in tax revenues beyond their temporary two-year life only if* ***Proposition 1A*** *is approved by the voters. This was seen as an incentive for such groups to not oppose the state cap proposal. The legislative leaders also included the provision that failure to pass 1A would trigger the non-implementation of 1B's guarantee of $9.3 billion to K-14 in order to persuade educational employee unions to not oppose 1A. And so this legislative coupling of Proposition 1A and 1B and the two-year extension of the temporary tax increases has created a poison pill which opponents of Proposition 1A must be willing to swallow.*

*One fact should be made clear - no effects of not swallowing the poison pill will occur during the 2008-09 and 2009-10 fiscal years. If Proposition 1A is approved, the Sales tax would be extended for 2011-12, the Vehicle License Fee would be extended for 2011-13. The personal income tax would be extended to the 2011 and 2012 years.*  ***So any loss of income to the state caused by the loss of Proposition 1A would not occur until after the election of a new governor and legislature in 2010.*** *In fact, if Proposition 1A fails, there will be no loss of funding to education or other services in the 2008-09 or 2009-10. Lost revenue would start happening after a new governor and legislature are elected in 2010. At that point or even before, action could be taken to fill the holes in the 2010-11 and beyond budgets with a different approach.*

*Two relatively small groups, usually on opposite sides of policy debates - Health Access California and the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, have joined together to fight Proposition 1A.*

*In Sunday's discussion of the propositions, I will be advocating that CFT join SEIU, the League of Women Voters, the California Faculty Association, Health Access, the Consumer Federation of California, and the California Alliance for Retired Americans (CARA) to* ***oppose Proposition 1A.*** *I believe the passage of Proposition 1A would result in a crippling of state government for many years to come.*

*In any case, we need to express our outrage over the budget that was adopted and the impact on education and social services. And we have. We have established a subcommittee of the Executive Council, headed by* ***Josh Pechthalt*** *of UTLA), that has been developing and implementing our strategies and plans for now until the 2010 General election.*

*We have had editorials printed in major California newspapers. We have run radio ads and helped to finance television ads. We even ran a moving billboard in the districts of targeted Republican assembly members. Many of our locals have joined the fight by organizing members to protest cuts with demonstrations, marches, and other activities. Tens of thousands of our members have attended protest rallies all around the state. Just this week over 10,000 students, faculty, and support staff came to Sacramento to rally against the budget cuts. If you have participated in any of these protests over the budget, please stand.*

*But we and a very broad coalition lost this year's battle for a reasonable state budget, and we now face layoffs of our members.*

*Shakespeare wrote, in the Merchant of Venice, "You take my life, When you do take the means whereby I live" and those words ring as true now as they did when they were written.*

*It is a public outrage that there are educators that are out of work when there is so much work to be done and so few qualified to do that work. It is an outrage that we will be losing some many and committed young teachers and classified staff. At a time when the federal stimulus is aimed at decreasing the unemployment rate, our government representatives are creating more unemployment.*

*The CFT will do all that we can to fight the laying off of any of our members. We will help you organize resistance, dig deep into district budgets to find pockets of money, and try to development community support for educators. But it is clear that we will be unable to negotiate with our employers to not lay anyone off unless we have first developed the political clout at the local and state levels to compel real negotiations. And that is one of your jobs at the local level.*

*The CFT is now advertising to hire a* ***political organizer*** *to help our locals and CFT grow stronger politically. The position is fully funded by the AFT for three years and eventually CFT will be paying half the cost of the position with AFT picking up the other half. The addition of this new staff member will help us to become better politically organized.*

*The CFT can and will help locals organize, but the activities must be done on the ground level - in our locals. Real union solidarity is sticking together, not getting stuck together. We hope that when you get home, you will rededicate yourselves and your locals to winning better contracts and state budgets by using the political process and the increased power to our best advantage.*

*We are living in a time that feels like stepping into an elevator and punching the up and down buttons at the same time. The California economy, our communities, our education system are all in crisis … but on the national level we see reasons for hope. The election of President Obama has given us a vision of a better and possible future. And we now await the results of a real stimulus package that could help to reverse some of the draconian cuts made by our own deeply flawed state legislature*

*The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act will bring over $31 billion in federal aid to California. $8 billion of this money is designed to go to education to hopefully help reduce the cuts that we are experiencing and to address Title I, Individuals with Disabilities, Child Care and early childhood education programs.*

*Obama has made significant strides in just a few months -*

*· $634 billion toward paying for a health care plan;*

*· $100 billion investment in clean energy technology;*

*· expiration of tax breaks for the wealthiest Americans;*

*· the closing of multi-billion-dollar tax loopholes for big oil companies;*

*· increased Pell grant funding;*

*· expanded access to early childhood education;*

*· negotiations now possible for better prescription costs for Medicare;*

*· access to family planning;*

*· cap and trade policies on pollution;*

*· and the beginning of reduction of troops in Iraq.*

*· He is even going to include the cost of our continued occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan in the budget so that, finally, this enormous waste of our society's capital can be debated publicly.*

*Obama has opened up the opportunity to do stem cell research. The President has pledged to elevate the role of science in his administration by ensuring that scientific data is never distorted or concealed to serve a political agenda and that we make scientific decisions based on facts, not ideology. What a breath of fresh air.*

*We are finally dealing with an approach to decision making that* ***involves evidence****, not just pre-conceived ideas. A rational dialogue, supported by the facts, should serve us well as we educate our President on the harmful effects of performance-based pay. Yes, we are concerned with the recent remarks made by President Obama with respect to expansion of charter schools and performance pay. AFT will be helping the president to understand why this approach is not helpful. He needs to be presented with the arguments and powerful evidence that expose the dangers to education posed by performance pay. But we are educators and he is certainly capable of being educated.*

*We have many* ***serious reservations concerning charter schools*** *– their negative impact on public school funding, dangerous trends toward the privatization of public schools, and dilution of unionized membership among our work force, Despite these concerns, we must continue to organize our brothers and sisters working at charter schools. I believe that, over time, educators working at charter schools will realize how important it is to have the united voice that a union can off. They, too, need us. And we need them.*

*The Social Security Fairness Act (S 484 (Feinstein) and HR 235), that would treat our STRS retirees fairly with respect to any social security pensions that they have earned, now has a chance of passage.*

*The reauthorization of NCLB will take some time and we do not expect a reauthorization this year. AFT is working on fixing Average Yearly Progress (AYP) and the many other problems with NCLB. Secretary of Education Duncan has said he will take a 6-month listening tour around the country to hear from educators, parents, students, and others to hear what changes need to be made in the law. Hopefully, this is an indication of change to come under the Obama administration.*

*We are continuing to work with other groups to support a universal single payer health care plan at the national level. It will be an uphill battle as many want to start with an intermediate solution that will eventually lead to* ***universal single payer****. We continue to work for single payer since only with the elimination of the health care insurance companies can a solution occur that provides both quality health care for all and a price we can afford.*

*One of our biggest challenges as educators is to close statewide and local achievement gaps. We will join Obama and others in working to that end, beginning with the full funding of early childhood education.*

*We have other renewed possibilities in Washington with the election of Obama. We are working to pass the Employee Free Choice Act even though we are public employees, and the act applies only to those who work in the private sector. As union members we have a sense of independence and self-worth - dignity - the ability to stand up to the boss - something that all workers should enjoy. All workers should have the real right to join a union and the Employee Free Choice Act is a step in that direction.*

*Now is a time of many threats – and, as in the thirties, our times call for a true union movement – it's needed now more than ever. This is a time for hard work and selflessness and it is an historic moment. We are presented with a chance to truly transform our lives and those of our fellow workers.*

***Public employees continue to be under attack for having good health care coverage and pensions.*** *That attack will lose much of its steam when workers, organized in the private sector, obtain the same level of benefits. In short, when unions make gains in the private sector it makes it easier to hold on to our gains in the public sector.*

*AFT, CFT, NEA and CTA have begun a conversation initiated by the Community College Council of CFT and the Community College Association of CTA regarding the possibility of uniting our community college councils. The hope is that by combining the strengths of CCC and CCA, we will be able to more effectively advocate for community colleges and our interests. Those shared interests include increasing the full-time/part-time faculty ratios as well as moving toward equity in pay and benefits.*

*In closing, let me remind you of a few things.*

***Power is not just what you have but what people think you have.***

***What does labor want? We want more schoolhouses and less jails, more books and less arsenals, more learning and less vice, more constant work and less crime, more leisure and less greed, more justice and less revenge.***  *Samuel Gompers 1893*

*The greatest weapon in the arsenal of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed." —Frantz Fanon*

*Our goals are goals for all Americans - and the real enemies are the enemies of progress.*

*With your help, we will forge a progressive alliance in California to move our state forward.*

*In 2010 we will elect a governor that favors public education and supports public services. We will elect a legislature that will pass a reasonable budget.* ***We will eliminate the two-thirds vote to pass a budget*** *and we will defeat any anti-union or anti-worker initiatives.*

*In the words of our President, YES WE CAN.*”

In May of 2009 Proposition 1A was defeated with a NO vote of 65.4%. Some pundits considered this a vote against taxes. We proved with Proposition 25 and later Proposition 30 (tax the rich) that this analysis was just wrong. Voters can be convinced that taxes are the intelligent way to solve our problems together.

# **2010**

## **March for California’s Future**

On March 5, 2010 CFT began its 48-day, 260-mile March for California's Future. The idea of the March in March was proposed by Dean Murakami from the Los Rios district AFT local. The CFT Executive Council discussed the value of such a large undertaking as well as the cost. I supported the idea since it involved on-the-ground member activism and would make a name for the CFT as a champion of working people.

The March events began in Los Angeles on March 4th with a large rally. In the words of Jim Miller from the San Diego community college local: “I was hoping the LA rally would be good, and it was spectacular. The church holds a thousand, and there were hundreds more trying to get in. The energy was incredible.”

The actual march began on March 5th with an opening event in Bakersfield. The event included a march to Martin Luther King Jr. park where a large crowd of educational and home care workers heard speeches by representatives of the United Domestic Workers and the CFT.

The March for California’s Future had a core of four CFT teachers and a CFT community college faculty member. The core group also included a probation officer and a firefighter. The path of the March through California’s Central Valley was an attempt to follow the same path taken by Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers union years earlier.

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Although the idea originated with the CFT, other unions included AFSME and other labor, education and faith groups. The March had three major goals:

* Reclaim the promise of quality public education and services;
* Rebuild state government so it works for everyone; and
* Restore fair and equitable taxes to invest in California's future.

The plan was to register voters in preparation for a ballot initiative, collect signatures for a majority vote to pass a budget initiative, hold teach-ins and town hall meetings, and educate more of the public and legislators about how California can move forward.

CFT’s Fred Glass wrote an article for Labor Notes on the March.

## **Unions' Long March against California Cuts**

March 24, 2010 / Fred Glass

*March 4 witnessed an explosion of energy across California, as thousands demonstrated against the devastation of the state’s K-12 schools and vaunted public colleges, once the gateway to opportunity for the working class.*

*The flame didn’t sputter out, though. The following day 1,500 people gathered in a church in South Central Los Angeles, including 300 who bused in from San Diego.*

*They were there to send off a “March for California’s Future,” a 48-day, 250-mile trek from Bakersfield in the San Joaquin Valley to Sacramento, initially organized by the California Federation of Teachers.*

*The intent of the march, said CFT President Marty Hittelman, is to show what caused the state budget crisis, draw attention to what severe budget cuts do to Californians, and move toward solutions that make sense.*

*Those solutions include, front and center, progressive tax policies to fund public education and vital public services. And that will require reducing California’s requirement of a two-thirds vote in the legislature to pass a budget or taxes, down to a simple majority.*

*“We don’t have any illusion the march by itself will accomplish its ultimate goals,” said Hittelman, a Los Angeles community college instructor. “But sometimes* ***the right action at the right time can light a symbolic flame for people and help get a movement going****.”*

*‘I AM MARCHING’*

*The CFT knew it needed to build a broader coalition, and plenty of green-shirted AFSCME members filled the pews alongside blue AFT and purple Service Employees garb (and a sprinkling of orange from the reconstituted ACORN).*

*The march is a stretch for the CFT and AFSCME, which are not among the largest public sector unions in California. But they put the march on the road because, of all the state’s unions, they are the two most consistently focused on a progressive tax message.*

*Josh Pechthalt, head of the CFT’s “Fight for California’s Future” committee that dreamed up the march, walked the first five days.*

*“We know that it can’t be just a fight for education,” he said. “It’s also a fight for social services, health care, making sure that our children can play in public parks. And the only way that we’re going to get there is if we tax the rich and the corporations, like the people of Oregon voted to do two months ago.”*

*The loudest cheers at the send-off rally came for seven people dressed in black-and-white shirts that read simply, “I am marching,” modeled after the famous 1968 Memphis sanitation workers’ strike placards (“I am a man”). The seven trail a path marked by Cesar Chavez’s 1966 peregrinación, a 240-mile pilgrimage that lifted striking farm workers into the nation’s conscience.*

*CFT and AFSCME recruited the seven to march for 48 long days: Watsonville teacher Jenn Laskin and a former student of hers, Emmanuelle Ballesteros; San Diego community college instructor Jim Miller; Los Angeles County probation officer Irene Gonzalez; adult educator Anna Graves and high school teacher Gavin Riley, both retired; and Los Angeles substitute teacher David Lyell.*

*Along the way they are joined by day marchers—some days a handful, other days hundreds, as they pass through some of the areas hardest hit in the nation by the recession.*

*WALKING ALL OVER US*

*The crisis in the state is only too clear. College students are staggering under gigantic fee increases, dwindling course offerings, and faculty and staff furloughs and layoffs. Economic refugees from the Great Recession can no longer, as in downturns past, regenerate their job skills and renew their lives.*

*The marchers signed up, as Gonzalez said, because “we can’t let the legislators walk all over us. We can’t be living from paycheck to paycheck while corporate executives are making the big bucks. If it takes a march to do it, if it takes three or four months, I’m there.”*

*Gonzalez was nursing a swollen ankle following two straight 14-mile days walking back roads in the San Joaquin Valley near Highway 99. Her foot care was in the hands of Bob D’Ausilio, a retired firefighter (IAFF Local 1578, Alhambra) and paramedic driving one of the support vehicles.*

*D’Ausilio is also preparing most of the meals for the marchers and staff. “I’m putting just about all my firefighter training into play here,” he joked.*

*Eight days into their adventure, the marchers had a sober but optimistic assessment of their impact thus far. “It’s a pretty desolate patch of valley here,” said Jim Miller, “not much of anything except roads and fields.”*

*Cars and big rigs hurtled by on the highway a couple of hundred yards away. Although the media hoopla of the launches in L.A. and Bakersfield had tapered off, at least one or two reporters interviewed them by phone or tagged along for a while on the road each day.*

*The marchers’ spirits were buoyed when passing motorists honked and waved, and sometimes stopped to chat. “One woman drove up from L.A. after seeing us on TV,” said Laskin. “She brought us water and marched a few hours.”*

*LOCAL RALLIES, TOWN HALLS*

*Marchers had different favorite moments: sharing a stage at a rally of a few hundred people in Delano with Dolores Huerta; the ceremony in Allensworth, a former African American utopian colony, now a state park closed most of the time due to budget cuts; and the time a woman ran out of her house to serve them melon and orange slices and thank them for their sacrifice.*

*The three official themes of the march, emblazoned across a bus accompanying the marchers, are “restore the promise of public education,” “a government and economy that work for all,” and “fair tax policies to fund California’s future.” Toward those ends the marchers are joining with local unions and community organizations as they move up the central valley in rallies, town halls, and other events to gain public attention. Graves is posting her images daily at* [*March for California’s Future*](http://www.fight4cafuture.com/)*.*

*A modest purchase of paid ads is running on local radio and in newspapers to reinforce news coverage and concerted blogging by the marchers. The march will conclude with a massive rally in the state capital, calling out the legislators who have so spectacularly failed their state.*

*PERSONAL POLITICS*

*Gonzalez, a single mother, grew up in foster homes across the Central Valley. She put herself through school, got a master’s degree, and has worked as a Los Angeles County probation officer for 10 years. A member of AFSCME Local 685, she recognizes the crucial role public education played in her own life, and for the people she now works with.*

*“But with budget cuts, the support is all going away,” she said. “No more education and medical programs for the probationers and their families. There aren’t any jobs for them either.”*

*Fred Glass is a member of the California Federation of Teachers.*

## **Proposition 25**

The CFT, AFT, and other unions then finished the gathering of petitions by using paid petition circulators. The initiative (Proposition 25) made the ballot and was approved by the voters. It was the pushing and goading of others by CFT that kept the campaign going despite the advice of the “political pundits” who said that the measure would never be successful. Even some Democratic legislators were opposed to the majority vote for the budget because they worried that the Democrats would be blamed for the resulting budgets. A few years later, CFT led the successful fight for the victorious millionaires’ tax that then provided some extra money to pass a sound budget.

**Proposition 25**

**Proposition 25** was on the November 2, 2010 ballot in California. It had two major provisions.

* It changed the legislative vote requirement necessary to pass the state budget and spending bills related to the budget from two-thirds to a simple majority.
* It provided that if the Legislature fails to pass a budget bill by June 15, all members of the Legislature will permanently forfeit any reimbursement for salary and expenses for every day until the day the Legislature passes a budget bill.

Proposition 25 passed with a YES vote of 55.1%. Our enemies, many “pundits” and even some of our friends said that we could never pass this proposition but under the leadership of CFT and the support of others in the union movement, we were able to raise enough money to pass it. I feel that it was the biggest political contribution of my life and am very proud of the part I played in its passage.

# ***Ben Rust Award***

### **Ben Rust Award 2012 Description**

Marty Hittelman’s lifetime commitment to education, political activism, and trade unionism has spanned five decades. His ethical consistency and steadfast belief in progressive tenets — a multi-generational Hittelman family trait — have served as a moral compass on a wide range of educational issues.

Marty implemented his commitment and dedication to education during his 40 years as a classroom teacher. Having taught mathematics for three years in the Los Angeles Unified School District and for 36 years in the Los Angeles Community College District, he understands students and exhibits a passion for education. He clearly realizes the connection between teachers’ working conditions and students’ learning conditions.

He has demonstrated his commitment to improving those conditions by serving in many key positions. His mathematics acumen served him well as Chair of the District Budget Committee in the Los Angeles college district (where he was known for “opening the books” and increasing transparency with his renowned spreadsheets about “real” district budgets — leading to successfully negotiated salary increases). He also served in several positions in the Academic Senate.

Marty has taken on union leadership positions at all levels — local, state, and national. In the Los Angeles College Faculty Guild, Local 1521, he served as Chapter President at Harbor College, member of the Executive Board and negotiating team, Executive Secretary for Grievances, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Vice President, and President. In 1983, he was Chief Negotiator of the first contract for the Los Angeles College Staff Guild, Local 1521A, hailed by many as the premiere classified contract in the country. He assisted Part-Time Faculty United at College of the Canyons, Local 6262, with its first contract after a contentious struggle to gain the right to form a union.

CFT has benefitted from Marty’s leadership in many ways — as President of the Community College Council for 16 years, as CFT Senior Vice President for 20 years, and as CFT President from 2007–2011. It was in this latter role that he spearheaded effective union member involvement in the political process, helping to change the political landscape with “The Fight for California’s Future,” culminating in the passage of Proposition 25 in 2010. He was in the forefront of media efforts to argue for the need to increase funding for higher education by changing our current tax structure.

Marty brings a progressive vision to the public discourse on education, becoming an outspoken defender of public education against attacks from those who would corporatize public education. He argues passionately that the measure of quality education should be based on more than test scores, and that the influence of educators on their students’ lives cannot be quantified. He publicly took on California’s regional community college accrediting commission in a series of written exchanges demanding that the agency respect state law regarding subjects of collective bargaining.

On a national level, Marty served on the AFT Higher Education Program and Policy Council, developing positions and programs in contingent labor, shared governance, teacher education, technology, and tenure. He also served as Co-Chair of the AFT State Presidents’ Council.

His commitment and dedication to trade unionism in the broader community has been demonstrated by his service as Vice President of the California Labor Federation from 2007-2011, and as a delegate to the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor for over 20 years.

Marty’s contribution to the labor movement cannot be measured by looking only at the lists of offices held. Marty has had a huge impact as a mentor and role model to countless AFT members who have stepped into leadership roles to continue the legacy of those, who like Ben Rust and Marty Hittelman, lead by example and commitment to their beliefs in justice, education, and human rights.

### My speech at Ben Rust Award

When I was honored with the highest award of the CFT (the Ben Rust award), I took the opportunity to review a lifetime of service to the labor and progressive movements. I tried to appear humble but blunt.

March 14, 2012

**BEN RUST SPEECH** by Marty Hittelman

I am honored today to be listed with the giants that have received the Ben Rust award.

**WHY AM I GETTING THIS AWARD? WHAT LED ME HERE?**

• A STRONG FAMILY BACKGROUND - they taught me HONESTY, to be political in my thought and actions and to be BRAVE IN THE FACE OF ADVERSITY. Those of you who attended the convention last year got a glimpse of my great family and what they mean to me.

• I always had SOME TALENT FOR LEADERSHIP. I was often CHOSEN to be CAPTAIN OF VARIOUS SPORTS TEAMS. In the 8th grade we had class presidents in each of our classes and I was elected president in all five of my classes. In junior high school I was elected president of the Civics club - a political club of left-wing kids. We worked to get an African-American man released from prison in the south. I have always had the ability to understand and speak clearly to political issues. Once again, I thank my family for providing me with an environment where I could grow in a healthy direction.

$ I always feel the CONFLICT BETWEEN being NON COMFORMIST AND SHY AND being a LEADER.

I BEGAN MY ADULT LIFE ACTUALLY BELIEVING WHAT SOME BEFORE ME HAD SAID

"Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. **Labor is the superior of capital and** deserves much the higher consideration."

~Abraham Lincoln

"**Power concedes nothing without a demand**. It never did, and it never will.

If there is no struggle, there can be no progress."

Frederick Douglas

"**What does labor want**? We want more schoolhouses and less jails, more books and less arsenals, more learning and less vice, more constant work and less crime, more leisure and less greed, more justice and less revenge."

Samuel Gompers, known as the More! More! More! Speech repeated many times, Chicago, 8/28/1893

I GREW UP WITH A VERY STRONG DISRESPECT FOR AUTHORITY

I NEVER DID LIKE TO BE BOSSED AROUND. I do not like the idea of bosses. I grew to adulthood in the early sixties with the idea of **participatory democracy** and the lack of leaders dancing in my head. That is one of the reasons I have fought so hard for shared governance in the community colleges and why I have fought so hard for **the workers to control the means of production.** It is also why as President of the CFT I was so very unsuccessful in filling the ROLE of boss and controlling the CFT work force.

IN MY LAST YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL I TRAVELED UP WITH MY OLDER BROTHER TO BERKELEY FOR THE FOUNDING OF SLATE - A STUDENT POLITICAL PARTY that was the parent of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. I HEARD AND WAS AWED BY THE THOUGHTS OF THOSE IN ATTENDANCE. GREAT ORATORS LIKE CAREY MCWILLIAMS JUNIOR AND OTHERS. I learned how to stand on a wall and speak to students as they exited the University. I WAS ABLE TO EXPERIENCE WHAT IT WAS LIKE TO RABBLE ROUSE. AND I WAS HOOKED for life.

In the sixties we listed to voices like that of Malvina Reynolds and internalized what she wrote.

**It Isn't Nice**

words and music by Malvina Reynolds; copyright 1964 Schroder Music Company

*It isn't nice to block the doorway, It isn't nice to go to jail,*

*There are nicer ways to do it, But the nice ways always fail.*

*It isn't nice, it isn't nice, You told us once, you told us twice,*

*But if that is Freedom's price, We don't mind.*

*It isn't nice to carry banners Or to sit in on the floor,*

*Or to shout our cry of Freedom At the hotel and the store.*

*It isn't nice, it isn't nice, You told us once, you told us twice,*

*But if that is Freedom's price, We don't mind.*

AFTER attending UC Berkeley and eventually flunking out, I then attended LA CITY COLLEGE and eventually ENDED UP AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE WHERE I WAS QUICKLY ELECTED THE CHAIR OF the left-wing student power group SCOPE. I WENT UP AGAINST CHANCELLOR DUNPHY on many issues AND I also JOINED THE AFT AS A STUDENT MEMBER. MY UNION LIFE BEGAN.

"Long ago we stated the reason for labor organizations. We said that union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on an equality with their employer."

U.S. Supreme Court, NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. 301 U.S. 1, 1937

THAT IS THE HARDEST THING TO GET EDUCATIONAL EMPLOYEES TO GET - **THAT THEY ARE THE EQUAL OF THEIR EMPLOYERS WHEN THEY ARE REPRESENTING THE UNION.**

I often think of the question of **reform or revolution**. Is it possible to make real change from within? The French radical **Andre Gorz** (STRATEGY FOR LABOR 1964) used the phrase, "**non-reformist reform**" to describe **modest reforms that logically led to more fundamental reforms.** A reformist reform is one which easily fits into the current structure. A "non-reformist reform" is one which does not base its validity and its right to exist on the current system's needs, criteria, and rationales. I have tried to work on solutions which are **antithetical to the current system of doing things.** Which by their very nature undermine the power relationships. Some partial increments in shared governance or legislation logically pave the way toward more far-reaching changes. Others merely reinforce the fundamental flaws in the current system. We are never sure which are which until years later.

**Is the democratization of education a non-reformist reform?** It depends on how we use it after we gain some degree of power and responsibility. We can certainly lose any power to change if we are **unwilling to use the power we have gained** - and more. We need to extend our autonomous power - the power of workers to challenge managements premise that only they have the right to implement a policy. If we do not constantly go back and reassert our power, we lose it over time.

Reform versus radical change. I try to look at changes which undermine the current power relationships, not just make lives a little better. I hope that this makes me a radical. The word "Radical" comes from the same base as the square root symbol - it represents going to the root or origin; fundamental; thoroughgoing or extreme, especially as regards change from accepted or traditional forms; favoring drastic political, economic, or social reforms; forming a basis or foundation. Radical change is the opposite of cosmetic or surface change.

ONE SUCH CHANGE WAS **Assembly bill 1725** passed in the late 1980s in which FACULTY AND CLASSIFIED WERE GIVEN A ROLE IN DEVELOPING POLICY. IT WAS BASED ON THE IDEAS OF **PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY.** The authors of the bill had come out of the Students for a Democratic Society movement and the civil rights movement and the effort was led by Bob Gabriner of the CFT. Did we extend our power? It really depended on the college campus and how much power the faculty and classified employees exerted.

Another example was a program in the LACCD called **PACE**. It began as a worker-controlled program for worker education. AFT Local 1521 developed a program out of a Wayne State that offers unions **a humanity-based labor oriented curriculum**. We taught it at the union hall to union members for degree credit. When it became successful and expanded we lost sight of the union control of the curriculum. It started out as a radical reform but along the way **we lost sight of that property.**

As soon as I began teaching high school math in LA in 1964, I joined AFT Local 1021 in Los Angeles Almost immediately I was on the Executive Council and by my second year I was co-editor of the union paper. I was the young teacher that the old union leaders were looking for to carry on the fight. I was the young blood. **Well now I am the old blood, but I did carry on their fight for empowerment**.

My strengths have been:

* I WAS NOT JUST OUT FOR MY OWN INTEREST BUT FOR THE INTEREST OF ALL THE SCHOOL EMPLOYEES
* I have tried to be HONEST something that is NOT ALWAYS HELPFUL IN MAKING AND KEEPING FRIENDS. I have been TOO UNCOMPROMISING. I have been WILLING TO SAY THE TRUTH EVEN IF IT HURTS.
* ON TIME AND FOLLOW THROUGH AND FINISH ASSIGNMENTS
* WORK HARDER THAN ANYONE ELSE
* ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND BUDGETS - and therefore useful even to those that did not agree with my politics. By working hard on the budget and other issues, I gained the right to press my political views as well.
* CRITICAL THINKING

I have always been leery of **conventional wisdom**. I have found that conventional wisdom supports those in power. I try to think about solving problems at their root. This has not always made me popular. I have won elections and lost elections, been popular and unpopular, and succeeded and failed, but I have always tried to be true to my beliefs and not sell them out for quick gain or reward.

JUST AS I WAS LUCKING BEING BORN INTO THE FAMILY THAT I WAS BORN INTO I WAS LUCKY TO FIND MYSELF INVOLVED WITH STRONG UNION PEOPLE

• BUILDING FROM THE EXPERIENCES OF OTHERS

I COME FROM A STRONG UNION LOCAL - SOPHISTICATED, PROGRESSIVE, POWERFUL, MEMBERS WILLING TO DO THE WORK OF THE UNION. SOME OF THEM ARE HERE TODAY

• HAVE WORKED WITH SOME OUTSTANDING LEADERS (AND I DON'T HAVE TIME TO MENTION THEM ALL)

• HY WEINTRAUB - EARLY CCC PRESIDENT whose daughter is with us today as a faculty activist from the Peralta district.

• HAL GARVIN - HARBOR COLLEGE, SHOWED ME HOW TO STAND UP TO THE ADMINISTRATION AND HOW TO BE PRODUCTIVE IN MEETINGS. By watching Hal carefully I learned from him how to be successful at meeting. I have majored in meetings.

• VIRGINIA MULROONEY - HOW TO USE A COMBINATION OF BRAINS AND PASSION TO FIGHT FOR TEACHERS AND CLASSIFIED RIGHTS - LATER SHE FORGOT ALL THAT AND WENT INTO ADMINISTRATION. We have seen others follow the path from great union leader to terrible administrator or board of trustee member. One current example is Larry O. Miller of the Ventura County Community College District. Once a great gadfly and exposer of bad district budgeting, he is now a rollover vote for the district chancellor and chief fiscal officer.

• RAOUL TEILHET - HOW TO USE HUMOR IN RUNNING A CONVENTION AND HOW TO THINK STRATEGICALLY. He taught us the test to see if someone should be organized - **could the person fog up a mirror.**

• STRONG LOCAL LEADERS IN THE CCC

• BOB GARBRINER (CCC PRESIDENT AND A PROGRESSIVE PART-TIME FACULTY MEMBER) AND JOSIE GLORIA for helping me put out material IN MY EARLY DAYS IN THE CCC.

• BARBARA KLEINSCHMITT and VELMA BUTLER - how to be unrelenting in the fight for THE RIGHTS OF CLASSIFIED EMPLOYEES

• TOM TYNER AND ZWI RESNICK- HOW TO BE A SUCCESSFUL UNION LEADER IN A CONSERVATIVE ENVIRONMENT

• JIM MAHLER - HOW TO BE A TOUGH AND DEDICATED LOCAL PRESIDENT

• CARL FRIEDLANDER - HOW A VERY SMART PERSON CAN USE PERSUASION TO GOOD RESULTS

• ALISSA MESSER and JOANN WADDELL- NEW LEADERs WHO MOVED FROM ACTIVIST TO LOCAL PRESIDENT AND ARE OUR HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

* CFT STAFF OVER THE YEARS AND ANNETTE EISENBERG AND MARGARET SHELLEDA IN PARTICULAR. MARGARET WAS PARTICULARLY INSIGHTFUL REGARDING HOW TO RUN A UNION.
* My wife SANDRA LEPORE. I met her when she was organizing in the UPC election to represent the faculty of the Cal State system. She was so good that Virginia Mulrooney, the then leader of AFT 1521 asked her to join the effort to organize classified employees in the LA Community College District and then after we won, she appointed Sandra the Executive Secretary of the Staff Guild where she still works up to today. Along the way Sandra seduced me and the rest has been history.

One last quote to show how little we have progressed over time.

"We insist that labor is entitled to as much respect as property. But our workers with hand and brain deserve more than respect for their labor. They deserve practical protection in the opportunity to use their labor at a return adequate to support them at a decent and constantly rising standard of living, and to accumulate a margin of security against the inevitable vicissitudes of life."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, fireside chat, 1936

Roosevelt is the last president to say that to the general public, not just at some union convention. It is clear we have a fight this year as fierce as any we have faced in the past. Our very existence as a viable political force will be up to a vote. We must continue to and "**Dare to struggle, dare to win**."

Thank you for letting me serve all of you.

# **November 2020 Ballot Initiative**

The CFT has been a major leader in progressive initiatives. Proposition 25 was spearheaded by the CFT under my presidency. It changed the requirement to pass the state budget in each legislative house from a two-thirds to a majority vote. CFT the lead the successful fight for a millionaires’ tax in 2012 that ultimately became the successful Prop. 30. It then took the lead in renewing the millionaire’s tax in 2016 with Prop. 55.

In August of 2018, as part of a broad coalition of 90 different organizations, CFT turned in over 850,000 signatures to the California Secretary of State to place the [California Schools And Local Communities Funding Act](https://u1584542.ct.sendgrid.net/mpss/c/JgE/ni0YAA/t.2ka/Kb2DD1BzRwy1vQul4H0y2Q/h0/ZClLGzLYgA-2FohJ1-2FjG3D0KLtuYzVznzx-2Fa11CU4Z-2F-2BrjC5KlwQhvt8yPqjWsdnvdidPunQ9oMfEbDLw9ISm6dny0zzWZ9bJlf31WVBCEi-2B8W0GIotCBKNdJHJ-2FYxUWAIEz98p3bC-2BkgleHg9UAjHk-2BFpXLbAMfaTl5aOc3HCV6R-2FyDjXKvuJpyUWj1D18RK9LG3BpN0DBjGrNFq7RcwJCsp1P-2BQhCJ759H9qIa7kfkBz0q3zMTDLGGA73g7682fGH-2B6RFpPihPgzZPRhri00kUoE8g-2BJ7hZtvmKdTS6l-2F3bHJpajCyCBOjGexQr9btpBcI8dG26dN-2Bb7ojy52yKXD9lfZJXGgzGVZl-2Bl-2BIExnPrLCZhbGoWz3IZMtrEKMEy0EnyUaMVVCGAXKop3O7y89QBTWiw-2BX2eH9PR10b9u4-2FH8MYwkU9p-2BdXJOt-2FLE3J3x)on the November 2020 ballot. The initiative is basically a change in Proposition 13 requirements. It would bring up to $11 billion a year to California public schools, community colleges, and communities by reforming how commercial property is taxed in the state of California, while leaving protections in place for homeowners.

# **Non-Parliamentary Procedure**

As I look back at all the meetings I have attended and all of those I have chaired, these proposed rules illustrate some of the frustrations inherent in meetings.

**PROPOSED RULES OF NON-PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE**

1. **POINT OF PERSONAL OUTRAGE:** At any time during a meeting when a member becomes extremely upset the member shall have the right to interrupt any other speaker, will not be required to wait for recognition from the Chair, and shall have the obligation to speak at a volume considerably higher than required for normal conversation.
2. **POINT OF IRRELEVANT INTERJECTION:** Irrespective of the motion on the floor, a member shall have the right to monopolize the meeting for not more than five minutes by speaking on a point the relevance of which escapes all other participants.
3. **POINT OF PERSONAL ATTACK:** In response to a point raised by another speaker, a member shall have the right to reply by launching a personal attack. At no time shall the point itself have to be addressed.
4. **POINT OF ASSOCIATIVE GUILT:** A member shall have the right to impugn the integrity of any other members by alleging that they are, were, might be, have a third cousin who is, or may have great-grandchildren who will belong to any and all organizations designated by the member as dedicated to the destruction of the organization.
5. **POINT OF CONTEMPT:** A member shall have the right to grunt, throw papers down on the table, shake his or her head vigorously, or otherwise demonstrate contempt for the proceedings.
6. **POINT OF HARASSMENT:** A member shall the right to introduce irrelevant motions for the sole purpose of delaying the meeting. It is only permissible to resort to a point of harassment when the outcome of any imminent vote is obvious.
7. **POINT OF REDUNDANT INFORMATION:** This is not to be confused with the more familiar "point of information." Whereas a point of information is a request for information from the chair, a point of redundant information entitles the participant to tell those in the meeting something they already know.
8. **POINT OF REDUNDANCY:** This is a motion that entitles the participant to make a point made by another participant no more than five speakers earlier.
9. **POINT OF PIOUS POSTURING:** This motion entitles a member to make reference to any Local, Regional Area, National or International Bylaw that allegedly supports his or her point of view. A correct quotation, however, immediately disqualifies the point.
10. **POINT OF GRUDGE:** Entitles the participant to raise an issue debated by the organization not less than five years earlier, for which the participant has not yet forgiven those involved.
11. **POINT OF PERSONAL CONFUSION:** To be called when a member has lost complete track of where the discussion is going due to the extreme tangent that it has taken. At this point, the confused member then calls, "Point of personal confusion, what in the world are we talking about?"
12. **POINT OF PERSONAL STRANGENESS:** This is to be called when a member feels that the subject being discussed is of an extremely strange nature. Example: A discussion as to whether the chapter president would look better covered in Spam or grape jelly is going on. At this point, the member calls: "Point of personal strangeness, this is really strange."

*Note by M Hittelman: The actual author of these procedures is purported to be Howard P. Wolf. If this is true, he must have been spying on a number of meetings that I regularly attend*

# **A Summary of What I Did**

**Here is a list of my experiences at the local, state, and national levels:**

• I served as President of the California Federation of Teachers from 2007 until 2011. At the same time, I served as a vice president of the California Labor Federation and as board member of *Health Access* and the *Consumer Federation of California*.

• Before becoming president I served the CFT in a variety of positions including twenty years as CFT senior vice president; 16 years as president of the CFT Community College Council; CFT representative to the California Community College Consultation Council; CFT legislative committee chair; convention committee chair; representative to the California Health Care Coalition and Education Coalition for Health Care Reform; and representative to the Coalition for a Brighter California.

• As a member of the Los Angeles College Faculty Guild Local 1521, I served my AFT local as president, vice president, secretary, executive secretary-treasurer, chapter chair, executive secretary for grievance, negotiations team member, executive board member, AFT and CFT convention delegate, delegate to the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, and COPE committee member. I also served as chief negotiator for AFT 1521 A in their first contract negotiations and helped AFT 6262 in their first contract negotiations.

• I served the national American Federation of Teachers as a member of the AFT Higher Education Program and Policy Council. The Higher Education PPC develops AFT positions and programs for the approximately 160,000 higher education employees it represents. As a member of the AFT PPC, he has served on policy committees which developed AFT Higher Education's policy statements in the areas of tenure, shared governance, contingent labor, and teacher education and technology. He also serves as co-chair of AFT's state presidents.

• I served the Los Angeles Community College District as a professor of mathematics, chair of the district budget committee, chair of the district non-traditional education committee, campus academic senate president, district academic senate member, delegate to the California Community College Academic Senate sessions, and campus academic senate member.

• I served on a variety of community college task forces covering everything from budget, contract education, and accountability to education code review, distance education, affirmative action, and innovation.

Member, Cal. Community Colleges AB 1725 Accountability Task Force

Member, AB 1725 Personnel Issues Review Group (SB 2298 - Davis)

Member, Education Code Review Advisory Committee (SB 1854 - Morgan)

Member, State Legislature Task Force on Contract Education (AB 3938 - Farr)

Member, California Community College Ed>Net Executive Committee

Member, California Education Roundtable Assessment Task Force on Mathematics

President, Californians for Community Colleges

California Community College State Task Force Member

AB 3938 Task Force on Contract Education

AB 1725 Accountability Task Force

AB 1725 Personnel Issues Review Group (SB 2298 - Davis)

Education Code Review Advisory Committee (SB 1854 - Morgan)

Commission on Innovation, Educational Issues

Incentive Program Task Force (1994-95)

Distance Education Task Force (1994-95)

California Community Colleges Affirmative Action Writing Team

California Community College Distance Education Technical Advisory Committee

Member, State Academic Senate Educational Policies Committee

CFT Representative, Coalition for a Brighter California (1995)

Director, Los Angeles Harbor College Folk Festivals (1978-80)

Prior to coming Los Angeles Valley College, I taught at Los Angeles Grant High School, Los Angeles Chatsworth High School and Los Angeles Harbor College. I served as union grievance representative at Los Angeles Harbor College and chair of the Los Angeles Valley College Budget Committee. Martin has served the faculty in the Los Angeles Community College District as a college academic senate president, a member of the LACCD district academic senate, and as a member of the state academic senate executive committee. He served as president, vice-president, secretary, Executive Secretary for Grievance and Executive Secretary of the AFT College Guild. He served as chair of the LACCD Non-Traditional Education Committee, co-chair of the Los Angeles Community College District Budget Committee, Senior Vice President of the California Federation of Teachers, President of the Community College Council of the California Federation of Teachers, and as a member of the American Federation of Teachers Higher Education Policy and Planning Committee.

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