

Albert Shanker (tape 12/14/81)

*The first of this is
answers to some questions.
Speech begins on page 8*

There are a number of factual points where there is a difference on the facts. First, it is not the AFT's policy or position or mine that the head of the biggest local in each state must be the state president. That's not true in my own state of New York, it's not true in Pennsylvania, it's not true in most of our states. I did make such a statement at that time in the state of Florida in terms of trying to put it together politically, that's different from stating as a matter of general principle, which I would not do. Secondly, on the question of which of the two national organizations -- the philosophy of the national organization with respect to the relative power of state of locals, I think you should look at that rather carefully. The AFT's move, as Ken has pointed out, towards strengthening state organizations is correct. And we are doing that largely to counter the fact that the NEA has always had strong organizations at the state level and we need to compete at that level and we are really doing it in response to statewide power that they can put together which we haven't been able to. So if you have a concern with strong state organizations, you better take a look. We're moving in that direction, we're doing it in self-defense. Third, as to the statement that AFT locals get rewarded and assistance programs on the basis of how they vote, about 85% of the funds of the AFT go out on a formula basis, that is, on a legal case we pay one-third and one-third is paid by the state and one-third by the local. On strike assistance, it's a formula. On organizing assistance, it is a formula. A very small amount of the money is discretionary, and I would, by the way, it is all public. A good deal of that money, I would say a disproportionate amount of that money goes to locals that do not have to support the administration and I would like to see one person in the opposition anywhere in the AFT who has claimed, over all these years, that they have not received assistance because they voted wrong. No such statement has ever been made. Fourth, on the question of democracy within the organization, there are two caucuses within the AFT.

There were at the last convention and there have been within every convention. The fact that the other caucus managed to get 20% of the vote doesn't mean that they don't have the right to try and get 51% next time. They had 20% and I dare say they wouldn't get a higher percentage of the vote here because of the programs they run on not because they're not -- there are no caucuses within the NEA. So if the existence of two caucuses is an important factor in the decision you ought to take a look at which organization has them and which does not. Finally, on the question of democracy also, since that was brought up, it's true that we have roll call votes the same as they do in the Democratic and Republican parties, but we do have the convention elect the president of the organization, who is the chief executive officer. The Chief Executive Officer of the NEA is not the President, he is the Executive Secretary, and that person is elected by a five person executive committee, and serves under long term contract and voting either for or against that person is not something that either a member or the convention can do, and I should say, that until the Landrum Griffin Act was applied to the NEA years ago the salary of the executive secretary of the NEA was not known even to their national executive board, it was known by five members of the Executive Committee. Yes

Question (can't hear)

Two, or at least two. You had a fight within the organization within the state. Obviously, if you have a continuing fight within an organization it does not enhance your ability to deal with the problems of the outside world. I was asked on a number of occasions to come down, a number of those times by Ken and on most of the specific positions and policies I agreed with Ken. And, what I try to do and ultimately with Ken agreed at that time, I said look Ken, I agree with you on the issues but if you have the largest local in the state constantly working the other side of the street you're just going to keep fighting with each other. Why don't you let me make a try at doing this. Suppose we can get Pat Tornillo to run on a platform which is basically

made up of the very issues that you or Ken Megill have been talking about. And instead of having two factions fighting each other within the state, we put the whole thing together, that largest base down there will then come out in favor of the programs that you have been standing for and that's exactly what I tried to do and I did. Now, apparently, it didn't patch things up but that was not a matter, what I was really saying is at this time and this date let's try to do it in the following way, let's take the guy who has the biggest local and who does not have in my view at the time the correct positions on a number of issues, but I agree with you, Ken Megill on the positions you are taking on the following items. Suppose we can put it together in this way, and that's exactly what happened.

Question. A question of autonomy. I'm Margaret Schmid and I'm the President of the University Professionals of Illinois in Illinois obviously, it's a local very similar to yours. I've been a friend of Ken's for years, and I worked your election campaign in '76. And, as a local president of a public university local which is scattered around half of our state and in which there is one large K-12 local which has half of the members in our state federation I have many of the same kinds of problems as you do, not surprisingly. The comment I want to make has to do as I said with autonomy. In my understanding of relationships between the national AFT and the public universities around the country, we all know each other, all of the presidents and all exchange information several times a year when we get together at conventions and so on, your local is the only one that has had ongoing negotiations with the AFT and you are virtually always involved in ongoing negotiations with the AFT trying to patch up whatever the latest difference is. The reason, the major reason why this is the case is because these negotiations always concern money. The reason that they always concern money is because you have received vastly more assistance from the AFT over your history as a local than you have ever paid in per caps and you cannot now and never have been able to support yourselves on your own income. This is, I don't know why exactly this is the

case. One of the reasons is that your membership is very small, in fact I believe it is less than it was when you won the election or less than it was shortly thereafter and you have never been able to, out of your own dues, finance the program which you have perhaps ambitiously, certainly ambitiously and perhaps very commendably wanted to undertake. So if your dependent on the AFT for money the AFT is obviously going to have something to say about how it is spent. I know that you have a session coming up about finances but I wanted to make that point that it is not typical. My local supports itself. We have about 65% members in our bargaining unit and we have gotten those members by hard work, recruiting always. It's not simple it's not fun, it's not the most glamorous thing to do, but it is the only way to really have autonomy is to live within your own resources.

Question: (can't hear) Council of State College Locals. We're also a statewide organization, a statewide unit and I'd like to point out to you why we left the NEA some ten years ago. We left the NEA because we were not permitted to have our own staff. We left the NEA, what brought it to a head really is believe it or not a grievance situation. We wanted certain grievances prosecuted and we were told by the state affiliate that they just weren't going to do it.

New Speaker: (can't hear) intellectuality and a progressive thought that would be a terrible loss to the Auto Workers, the Steel Workers, the Plumbers and all the rest, and also would behead, to a certain extent, the progressive forces which are now operating inside the AFL-CIO and are really carrying on the same kind of struggle that you are talking about now.

Shanker Again: (can't hear) reputation practically said sentence by sentence is partially true. What it doesn't say the reason the other side did this is because you did thus and so and then eventually you get to who fired the first shot out of the war, I don't know if we will ever get to that, but what we're saying here essentially, there were a series of presentations that talk about the bullets that are being shot at us

without presenting the picture that it's not just the bullets that have been shot in one direction. That there's been a war been going on and the whole thing doesn't make any sense if you start with the assumption that gee, everybody has been out to get us and has done everything wrong and has taken things away and has broken agreements and has done this and has done that, how could this possibly happen? Why would these people do it? Who are these evil, horrible, cheating, lying, etc. etc. It's very difficult to understand and the fact is you can't understand it unless you have the other side of the picture and the other side of the picture is that at least an equal number of bullets have flown in the other direction and the other side could present a very similar case. I don't know where that all leads when you're finished with it, but I think that it should be understand that this is a story of a war written from the point of view of one of the combatants and doesn't make sense by itself. Decided that some of its locals could have AFL-CIO affiliation if the entire state was expelled from the NEA, that the NEA divided the teachers of Florida, formed a second organization, spent hundreds of thousands of dollars fighting the union movement and putting out the worst anti-union conservative right to work type of garbage in the state, where is that on the chronology? Now that's one of the issues, in terms of labor affiliations and solidarity, etc., etc., you know, if I had many hours I would go through this line by line, I just picked out two, but the whole orientation, now this is not, sure, these facts, well, they're facts, they're selected. How long would it take to put together a chronology which includes some of the things I've just been talking about, well not in the time that will be allotted here I'm sure. So I think the very fact that these things were not, well it may very well be you know depending on what your decision making process is, but I would be happy to take each of these documents and within a short period of time return or send to you a chronology to point out where these things are somewhat deceptive or where they leave out very very major events that should have been included.

Question: (unclear) discretion should lead to the question . . .

Shanker (cont.) and we will do it to hire people to go out and organize. That's what you come to us and tell us. That way, say, we want organized too, you get members it's good for you, it's good for us. Here is the money, hire these people, go out and organize them, we shake hands. Next thing we see, no increase in membership, your one, your two, your three, your four, your five, your six, your seven, why? Because, tens of thousands of dollars do come in (. . .)

~~New voice: It was reporting a story about a sixth grade diagnostic test that had been given in the District, which was given by the way not to compare students but to find out where their needs still were so that they could be addressed. That is how test scores ought to be used, not to put someone down.~~

~~I'd looked at the caption on the story and it said, and get this, "One out of four sixth graders flunked reading test."~~

~~I looked at it again and I wondered why didn't the caption say, "Three out of four sixth graders pass reading test." Dorothy Fitzgerald takes the rest of this speech -- and this is the end of this tape.~~

~~This is Fitzgerald dictating page number one of Dr. Riles presentation. You already made the cover page and this precedes what you did for Steve. Start with page one, line Dr. Riles: Mr. Shanker, Mr. Ballard, Reverend Anderson: It is an honor to be invited to address this Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers. I certainly appreciate this kind introductory remark of Jim Ballard, whom I have known for a long time, but I'm not going to let those nice things he said about me go to my head. Every time I do that, I receive a shock as I did about three years ago in The Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles when a fellow came up to shake my hand, and if you are an elected official, you always like to shake hands, and this fellow stood and shook my hand and told me what a fine person I was and from the elections as though I had won, I would go places as well and so on. In spite of my modesty, I began to feel a little warm glow inside until he turned away and said, "It is a great pleasure to have met you, Mayor"~~

Bradley."

As he walked out of the door, my assistant came over to me and said, "Wilson, tell him you are The State Superintendent of Education, that you are not Mayor Bradley."

I said, "Oh, let him go. I get white people mixed up sometimes too."

(Applause)

As I look around the audience, I see many individuals that I have had the good fortune to know over the years as though and count not only as my personal friends but as friends of public education. Of course, it goes without saying, it is a distinct privilege to share the podium with the Vice President of the United States, but what an act I have to follow! I used to visit Senator Moynihan when he was a Senator from the great state of Minnesota. As a Senator, he was a dedicated and effective supporter of education and his support has continued. At least he supports most of the things that the American Federation of Teachers champions.

I understand Mr. Mondale is having a little trouble these days, not only with the American Federation of Teachers, but with Mr. Joe Califano. According to the Los Angeles Times last Friday, Mr. Carter asked ~~XXXX~~ the Vice President to call Mr. Califano in and as Lyndon Johnson used to put it, "reason together."

But not only does the Vice President have problems

Mr. Shanker (cont.)

would have to service their members in organizing, are sending it in here to you for the purpose of building a union. And the next thing we see is that the people aren't up there organizing. They're out there doing, sure they are important things, but there are certain, if you want somebody to do lobbying work for you, to do servicing work, to do a newspaper, to do anything else, that's the responsibility of your local, the same as any other local. There isn't any reason why any poor paraprofessional up in Chicago or New York who is earning \$8,000 per year ought to be paying per capita money by sending it down here to help you service your local. Of course you have to

SPEECH
Starts here

service your local. But there are two questions and the basic question is one of honesty and integrity. You apply to an organization for a grant for a specific purpose and then it is found, over and over again, that it is never used for that specific purpose, it's always used for something else because there is plenty of other work to do. I don't dispute your right, I think as a local you have to do these other things, but not out of money which you have specifically promised will be used for one purpose.

Another voice: (unclear) some suggestions. I'll be as brief as I can (unclear). First off, I will start off in a vein in which I will not continue because as I indicated before, given the time, we could really go through point by point on a whole bunch of these things. And I will touch one or two as we go on to a different perspective. You take the autonomy issue and there is a proposed agreement between you and the NEA and in that it says that if you, that if the NEA or the teaching profession disaffiliates you because you have taken an action which is violative of their governing documents and/or policies they have the right to keep you out because you have done something which justifies them kicking you out. But you have to pay them within 30 days all the per capita you would have to give them in 1982-1989, seven full years of per capita. That is a legally binding ~~document~~ document, I don't know how many hundreds of thousands or maybe millions of dollars are at stake, but I would say that that severely puts limits on your autonomy when somebody says if you do this you will violate our rules, we can kick you out and you owe us a million, two million, three million, four million dollars that would have to be paid within thirty days. It's there, look at it careful. Look at the prophecy issue. I received a letter from Ken Megill that I have here August, 1980 saying you had a lot of complaints that came to you about the way that credentials were handled at an AFT Convention. But here is the last paragraph. It's likely that nothing has changed about the caucus system or matters . . . or anything else in the AFT since that time but as a final statement the AFT Executive Council said: "We are proud of our twelve years affiliation with the AFT since our affiliation with the AFT has permitted

us to best serve our members. We are proud to grow from a tiny local to one union representing the more than 7,000 professionals in higher education. We are proud of our success in a right to work state, anti union both in tradition and . . . we appreciate the assistance which the AFT has provided in the past and have been especially proud of the democratic tradition of our international. We look forward to active participation in future AFT conventions."

We have here a very unique situation. There is no other local anywhere in the United States of America where years after winning a collective bargaining election we have a membership level of about 1200 out of a potential 6000. This has never been done. And I think that one of the things that you have to ask yourself in some of the discussion that we had a while ago of about how bad we can do, whether perhaps there is a reason why there is only 1200 in your unit after all these years and by the way, I am talking about right to work states too, we've got collective bargaining in Oklahoma City a few years ago, that's a right to work state. We're in Albuquerque, New Mexico, we're in a lot of places in Louisiana. There is no place in the whole history of the American Federation of Teachers where we have won collective bargaining and years later have only 1 person out of 5 who would join the union. I think you have to ask yourself why. The AFT doesn't prevent you from organizing people, the NEA didn't prevent you from organizing people, the AFL-CIO didn't prevent you from organizing people. Is it possible, is it possible that the organization itself was doing something wrong? I think that that road may be cleared instead of the efforts to say well we have you always on our back. This is unique, it may be unique in the whole history of the labor movement. And I said I wasn't going to talk and in these terms I'm not. That's the end of that because we can go on the attack for hours, we can go on attack for months, and as I indicated before, for every so called fact on one side there is a so called fact on the other side and when we're all finished, we will find that you have made your share of mistakes and the AFT has made its share of mistakes, and NEA certainly has, Pat Tornillo certainly has, the AFL-CIO also, and if there were some really

objective observers there would be enough that we both are wrong, it wouldn't end up as a one sided thing, you know, these guys are good and those guys are all bad. What I find I couldn't believe in this whole process and this whole discussion is an absence of self respect and I wanted to spend a few minutes that I have on that question. We are in the middle of a radical transformation to the right of the entire country. We are in the middle of a massive transfer of money away from the poor and the middle class plus a destruction of aid to education at every single level and destruction of so many aid proposals that every state legislature is going to be scrounging around into how it can help make public schools stands for or we can do something else. College assistance will be wiped out. Research programs are being wiped out. National Science Foundation, the Humanities, all sorts of areas which previously provided incentives for expansion in higher education. On top of that we have the Yeshiva decision, which we're not finished yet, we're not just talking about the private schools, because after all what we have always been arguing for public employees is that we should have the same rights as private employees. We should not be discriminated against and when you get a decision like Yeshiva which essentially pulls private higher education out it will not be very long before state legislatures say, hey, the courts have ruled that this is good in private sector with people in higher education although most of them are really managers or supervisors or really the bosses, why shouldn't we provide these rights in public higher education which are so vastly superior to what courts have found in private education. There is no question that there will be with various versions of the right to work committee, a national campaign to say we are going to shove those words right back to these public employees who are always saying that they want the same as what the private sector has, well here's the case where the private sector is, they lost a big one and we ought to apply it to the public sector as well. The whole movement towards block grants, moneys which used to come to colleges and universities directly will now come after being negotiated

in the state legislatures. We face a very very disastrous period. I don't know how to convince you of that but that leads me to say there all kinds of individuals who don't like what Ronald Reagan is doing what the right wing is doing what the Republican party is doing. I'm sure there are lots of them. But there has to be only one major organized force in this country that has any chance of reversing them .

I don't have to tell you what that organization is or what that movement is. It isn't going to be I think the NAACP is a wonderful organization I really do. I think there are all sorts of other groups, liberal groups organized for national health care, organized for this and that, there is only one group that is large enough, that has enough political savvy, that has the ability to do something and it's called the labor movement. I think a lot of you have been going around saying that to your own members for a very very long time. the labor movement as much five years ago or ten years ago as much as we do right now. And so I was thinking to myself as I heard the discussion before about what we did, and how do we lose if we are in and out of the AFL-CIO and all that happens is that the AFL-CIO and the labor movement is a one way street. What can we get to meet these needs. What others do for us and if the NEA offers an extra \$10 or if they can get into the governors office this year and if the AFL CIO is on the worst list of the governor, then we should go on to the NEA there is a very sort of thing like that. Well, I suggest to you that if every other union in this country went through the process that you are going through right now, I'm not just talking about higher education, I'm not just talking about elementary and secondary teachers I'm talking about everybody. I'm talking about supposing one of the set down and said, well, what do we get out of the AFL-CIO. I don't like the guy who is the state AFL-CIO president, I don't like him.

Start new tape.

You know if every union could decide by going through this sort of process that they would have more money in their own pockets, really that they could handle things

themselves, and the chances are that the liberal legislature or the liberals will support the same bills, what would happen as a result of this process? Well if everybody worked for the same process that your going through right now there would be no labor movement in this country. And if you think that times are rough I ask you to imagine a country where other workers are going through the same discussion that you are going through right now and figure, well, we'll get out. If you think that the country is rough . . . it's not a decision that ought to be made on the basis of you like the guy who got elected or whether you had an argument with the person. There is a contest here, there's a concept that you were talking about the people for a long long time, as a matter of fact, one of the reasons you found it so difficult to grow is that most of the people in your profession don't understand the need to build a large progressive organization to maintain anyone in public office. That's one of the reasons you got trouble, that's one of the reasons, and that's one of the things that's great about the youth movement that you struggle against terrible odds and you build it by the way the fact that they don't understand it today doesn't mean they won't understand it tomorrow. After all in 1960 we only had 50,000 teachers in the whole country who were in the labor movement, 50,000 in 1960, that was a union but it has been ever since 1916. So it's hard to convince people, that includes New York City, that includes Chicago or places where big unions, just because it is a big union, it started very very small, it started with a lot less people than you have right now. And so here we've got this horrible situation nationally, we've got a whole bunch of, you take, just look at the higher education cuts, look at every other reduction of services that's coming down the road and take a look at what that's going to do to, take a look at the massive depression that is about to hit us is going to do to state budgets, with ^{fewer} your people, ^{paying take} more people on various welfare and unemployment programs.

At that very moment there is only one force that has any possibility of countering this and here we are talking about whether you make this decision or not, can we walk in the governor's door. Who is going to be governor four years from now? Six years from now? What happens if the governor is a little more trouble? The decision I am faced with . . . what is the political situation today with respect to walking in the governor's door. And so here we are in a group, you who have been trying to send out a message of what the ^{current} union movement is all about, considering joining NEA . . . in a lot of ways the NEA is really a better union and a better organization, more liberal. Well, first of all I say to you that any organization that spends millions of dollars of its money convincing the teachers in this country that the labor movement is no good is not a progressive organization. But because it is in the process of convincing the teachers of this country, you've seen a lot of the NEA literature on the AFL-CIO or how the AFL-CIO is no good, etc. Lots of it I got out of here, I will read some of it to you, I'll look at. Any organization that spends most of its time and money in campaigning, and by the way, when it goes around the country telling teachers who care the AFL-CIO is a lousy organization it's doing more than just educating teachers. By miseducating teachers it is miseducating the people who have the responsibility and the power to change the minds and hearts of the next generation of the entire public. They do more damage when they get a classroom teacher to believe that the current labor movement is no good, they do more damage than the ^{national} whole/right to work committee, there's a million and a half teachers out there with twenty-five and thirty kids in class, over 30 million children who sometime over the career of those teachers are getting a line which then prevents you later on from organizing members. You've got the kids, the people you are trying to organize and the people you're trying so hard to organize, the people who will give you the anti-labor pitch, the people who are educated by the teachers who have an NEA philosophy about the labor movement. Now, is NEA a progressive organization? I'll be glad to send you the information on who it was at

the NEA made donations and contributions to last year in the House of Representatives and the Senate. The NEA had one central issue and that was the issue which determined whether Congressmen got money or they didn't get money. It was not the question of whether they voted for or against the ERA; it was not the question of whether they were against or for civil rights legislation; it was not even whether they voted for or against tuition tax credits which would destroy public schools and which would allow all these creationists sects to run their own schools on government money. There was one issue, and if a member of Congress was wrong on civil rights issues, wrong on ERA, wrong on tax structure, wrong on tuition tax credits, but if a person was right on that one issue that person received money and support. What was that one issue? The creation of a separate Department of Education. That's right. A liberal organization that for the sake of changing the Washington bureaucracy a little bit it's willing to support people who have the most horrible records on race, on taxes, on labor, people who are staunch right to work people. A liberal organization. Take a look at the fight that's going on in California right now. This is the literature, I was telling you this, it all comes out of California and those of you who were out there campaigning you saw it, all the campaigners. What's the NEA affiliate there? Who are they? They are the people who two years ago formed a new organization, who oppose collective bargaining in higher education in California. That's who they are, it's the very same group. They are against the legislation for collective bargaining in higher education. Once we were successful in getting the legislation through with the help of the AFL-CIO then they change the nature of their organization, then they decided that well, they have to run in the election. What was their position as to what the bargaining unit should be? Well, they wanted full-time tenured professors in a separate unit because those were the only people who said we've got a real stake in the institution. They tried to keep 7,000 part time, 7,000 full time people who weren't part of the same they wanted to cut it into four or five parts. They won by the way, last April. They

got interested in showing . . . separated units and then we appealed and finally got these people back in. So here's a group that doesn't even believe in unity within higher education. Well, their basic philosophy is very different from yours. You have been out there trying to tell people not that the AFL-CIO is an ideal organization, that it is a perfect organization, or that it never does anything wrong. But the idea of all working people being in a state organization, a national organization, that could bring the maximum power to bear for everybody, I mean that that's the right idea and that the idea of the NEA which is that we should have an independent professional association, which is what they constantly talk about, which really means that we're a bunch of snobs, we don't like to associate with other people who are below or beneath us. They're unions, which they aren't. One of the pieces of NEA literature a very interesting quote, "If I wanted to be a member of the AFL-CIO, I would have picked another line of work. I didn't, and some lackey from the office of the union force issuing directives to me just doesn't sell." That's from a NEA flyer. Is that your philosophy? It's not mine. It's not Ken Megill's either. At least not the Ken Megill I've known, for all these years. Well, where will this lead. You decide to go to the NEA there are many among you sitting here and there are many of your members who are not sitting here who will want to continue in the AFL-CIO. There will, there's absolutely no question about it. So even if you vote, have a referendum and get 51% 53%, 55%, whatever it is, there will be a whole lot of people in this union who didn't want to join the NEA, who won't want to join the NEA now, who want to be in the AFL-CIO. And we will have an AFL-CIO, AFT fulcrum if they won't, we're not sure they will. And then there will be collective bargaining elections to determine whether the NEA local or the AFT local ends up being the collective bargaining agent. And the NEA will undoubtedly send a lot of people in here to campaign. And I will tell you the kind of campaign they will run. I should say the kind of campaign you will run because it will then be you if you affiliate with the NEA. They will use the same literature and

the same arguments they've used all over the country. You will be running against the AFT on the basis that you don't belong in the AFL-CIO, and you will be beaten because that's the kind of thing that is going to get you votes. You're going to need the votes of all those people who never wanted to join the organization and the best way to get those votes and we're not going to be a forum of an anti-AFL-CIO campaign, we will go through that. Now think of what you're doing to yourselves. Six, seven, nine, ten months from now, you are going to be writing all of the anti-AFL-CIO garbage which has wanted to make you puke for years. That's where you're going to be. There is no escape from this, the only way you are going to meet the challenge of the AFT and the AFL-CIO is to come in here and try to work this thing out. Well, why is the NEA all of a sudden interested? They haven't really been that interested in big organizations chances are that the NEA has a better shot instead of sitting down and working out an agreement with you to challenge you and appeal to all of those people who you haven't been able to organize, provided doing certain things. I'm going to tell you what it's going to do. At this very moment there are trucks being loaded in the State of California with 20-21,000 ballots. It will be over the next weeks, the largest collective bargaining election in this country, in higher education in America. We have some big units, we have New York State, that's 16,000, we have City University of New York, that's 11-12,000, we've got some other big ones, but this is the biggest, 21,000. And a victory for the AFT there will do something. Top people in the AAUP have said, one, we believe that the AFT is going to win, and two, if they win, we would like to form an alliance across the country, the same as we now have in Pennsylvania, and the same as now exists in New York City, where there is joint affiliation with the AAUP. You win in California and the AAUP and the AFT will go into partnership to sweep the country for higher education and form a strong united front because the combination of the AAUP in terms of professional image the AFT comes with its trade union philosophy is just unbeatable. And so this is one of those turning points, just like the original collective bargaining election in

New York City. There are few times where if something happens the whole rollercoaster there are all sorts of things. Now the NEA doesn't want that. The NEA has a very bad record out there and the polls show the NEA will lose, so they desperately need a mailing to go out tomorrow when the ballots go out. And I want to tell you something I'm going to predict that regardless of what happens here today that there will, within the next one, two or three days be stories that will come to us because they hurt us they will come from the other side and there are already some leaks from the other side, from the NEA to the press. I'd be willing to bet any amount of money that within the next few days the teachers of California who are voting to either join an AFL-CIO union or the NEA will be getting literature and information from the press about this, don't vote for the AFT, Florida is considering getting out of the AFT and that basically the only reason that they are interested in you if they don't go the other road of getting all the anti-union people voting against you to take you over the reason they are negotiating, they are not interested in your membership, they are interested in 21,000 California votes, stopping this massive drive for the unionization of higher education which they see happening there. And that is what they expect from this move. And they have to move quickly because . . . it's a move on the chessboard where very distinct moves are made in order to effect the situation from the other end of the board. Well, once upon a time there was a collective bargaining election in Hawaii for classroom teachers and we lost by 36 votes in a unit of 9,000. That wasn't just a loss of 9,000 people, you know what that did? The NEA was having discussions inside the schools, and they said to themselves at that time, they had just lost a string of a dozen elections in different places, they had lost Midwest, Cleveland, the South, all over, and there was, you know sometimes when you have a string of losses like that, what they do to you? And their ^{staff} started to say to themselves, it's too late, the AFT is winning, its inevitable, we'll lose, they're going to win in Hawaii, we better sit down and merge. They had internal discussions after the Hawaii elections that they were

going to sit down and we would have within the AFL-CIO a teachers union which included the AFT, the NEA and the AAUP, plus all those who hadn't joined at all yet. A single union of 3,000,000 people. Three million people who read, who write, who see, who have got the time, who live in every single election district in the country one of the most powerful forces that could exist in this country. They were very interested because they were losing and they put out a bunch of anti-labor stuff at the last minute in the Hawaii election, union goons, union bosses, Yablonski got killed, will you be next, etc., and we lost the election by 36 votes and then the NEA says ah-hah, we don't have to merge with them, that's not the trend. That one election reversed the whole history of what could have been, and by the way, this is ridiculous, we've got Ronald Reagan, we've got budget cuts, we've got fundamentalist schools, we've got tuition tax credits, Yeshiva decision, and what are the two major teacher organizations doing? We're sending you out to California and their here and I'm here, this is absolutely idiotic. We're not dealing with Ronald Reagan, we're not dealing with politics, we're not dealing with anything else, we're just killing each other as well as the highest insanity. Your right in the middle of it here, you go along with that it will be going on all around the country and then we'll have five challenges, we'll do anything to get them, and meanwhile we'll be losing all of our money and our talent in killing each other. Really, what's going to happen to us which I'm trying to put over in terms of the outside forces. It's not smart. I would say it's insane. It's insane.

You know, instead of being here to talk about whether or not to be affiliated with the NEA we should all be out in California today. Think of the impact on Ronald Reagan of 21,000 professors in his home state decided to join the AFL-CIO. Think of the impact on future generations. Think of all the white collar professional people, think of the people that you, think of the people who wouldn't get out and speak to the people who wouldn't join your organization all these years, think of 21,000 professors

in California are joining the AFT, how about you? Well, I think we are facing a period which, there is a possibility that after Ronald Reagan gets through with us and after the northeast loses a lot of jobs as is happening with the auto workers now, a lot of this moves south, right to work states, there's a good possibility that in ten or twenty years from now there won't be much of a union movement in this country. You think things are bad now? You think it's hard to get into the governor's office? Well, that's what you're really deciding. We will have no problems, in the past we've had the agreements I'd be willing to say right here let me just say we honor all the agreements that have been made in the past. No contest. You've broken some, we've broken some, we claim you did it first and then you respond, you may say I don't know what's going on. Is it all like that? Get a bunch of people in a room, call the Federal Mediation Service in, have them put together a thing for unity for us here, put an arbitration clause in, put policies in, we don't have any problems with that. There isn't much point in spending hours about the details, I think it is very clear from what was said today that you spend enough time that the pile of accusations on this side, followed by accusations on that side, and if you're a part of them you won't even look at one pile and requires the other side to look at the other to admit that both sides had misunderstandings, made mistakes, three sides, four sides including the AFL-CIO, include everybody. There's no reason to leave an organization to go to another organization that stands for everything that you are against. I know I get angry at times, Ken, we all do. We belong to organizations we commit our lives to them and sometimes they do things that hurt us personally, sometimes they do things that hurt us ideologically. Its very bad act at moments like that on the basis of temporary hurts and anger. There are a lot of things our country does that's wrong but we don't decide to bend it . . . every time, we stay and fight. We stay and build.

END OF SPEECH