

*from Rademacher*

## Compromise Appears Near On Postal Bill

WASHINGTON (AP) — A White House-backed compromise appears to have broken the deadlock over Congressional approval of President Nixon's postal corporation plan—but the maneuvering is not over.

All but one of the major postal unions oppose or are noncommittal on the compromise as now written—and the one says Nixon is trying to buy them off too cheap.

"This corporation is what they want," says David Silvergleid, president of the National Postal Union. "They know they've got to pay a little to get it."

And opponents on the House Post Office Committee say the compromise bill's removal of Congressional control over postal rates—which they say are bound to rise under the plan to make the mails self-supporting by 1978—will jeopardize their political necks.

"I won't be this corporation board that will stand up for reelection when the voters are upset over high rates," said a committee aide. "It will be the members of this committee who approved the corporation."

### Good possibility

But interviews with postal union leaders, Congressmen and White House and committee aides indicate that agreement is so close that creation of a semi-independent postal corpora-

tion—now to be called a Postal Authority—is a good possibility next year.

Nixon and Postmaster Gen. Blount have given top priority to substituting management of the mails by 535 Congressmen and a Postmaster General with an independent corporation management they say is needed to stop waste, modernize the system and stop deficits that ran to \$1.2 billion last year.

The compromise was born at two meetings between a White House legal trouble-shooter, Charles Colson, and James H. Rademacher, president of the National Assn. of Letter Carrier—called by Colson after the White House was flooded with more than three million letters in response to pay protest advertisements run by Rademacher's union in newspapers across the country.

### 11% Pay Hike

It would tie a projected 11.1 per cent pay hike for postal employees with a Postal Authority granting Rademacher's three demands: having binding arbitration in lieu of the right to strike; putting four Congressmen on the 13-member executive council, and keeping civil service status for federal employees.

Colson denies a story that Nixon instructed him to find a way to work out a compromise and get the corporation moving in Congress.

But Rademacher says Nixon expressed pleasure to him with the compromise during a 15-minute meeting between the two after it was worked out.

The compromise was drafted not by the White House, Colson says, but by Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.).

*Postal reform*

**N.V. POST 12/29/69**



## Accord Believed Near In Dispute On Postal Reform

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# Season's Greetings

Christmas, 1969, crowns a year that will be forever remembered as a turning point in time: when mortal man embarked on his journey to the stars.

Long after all the urgent concerns of this century have been forgotten, history still will celebrate the first moon voyages: not just as adventures in valor and a triumph of technology but more as an affirmation of faith in the perfectability of the human spirit.

More than any other holiday, Christmas has always embodied that concept. But Christmas, 1969, confirms us in our hopes!

"A Merry Christmas and A Happy New Year"

*Francis S. Filbey*

Francis S. Filbey, President

Patrick J. Nilan  
Legislative Director

Henry T. Anglim  
Administrative Vice President

Jack Love  
Secretary-Treasurer  
Hospital Plan

Don E. Dunn  
Executive Vice President

Joseph F. Thomas  
Director of Organization

John R. Dubay  
Research & Service Administrator  
Hospital Plan

Owen H. Schoon  
Secretary-Treasurer

William E. Price  
Director of Research and Education

Emmet Andrews  
Administrative Aide

Philip E. Dooley  
Executive Aide

Orrin L. Bradshaw  
Secretary-Treasurer  
Accident Benefit Association

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Charles M. Allmon  
Memphis, Tennessee

John Held  
Freeport, Illinois

Sidney Lindenberg  
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Donald Silvestri  
Yonkers, New York

Carroll Rohr  
Boulder, Colorado

Clinton C. Gross  
Council Bluffs, Iowa

John F. McClelland  
Lynchburg, Virginia

Bernard A. Schultz  
Lynn, Massachusetts

Hugo Monkkonen  
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Robert L. Soule  
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Thomas J. Coffey  
Greensboro, North Carolina



PATRICK J. NILAN  
Editor

## FEDERATION NEWS SERVICE

UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS  
817 14th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.  
Affiliated with AFL-CIO

BULLETIN NO. 40



DECEMBER 19, 1969

### FINAL PAY ACTION DELAYED UNTIL JANUARY

## HOUSE INSISTS ON H.R. 13000 CONFERENCE WITH SENATE

The U.S. House of Representatives, on Wednesday (December 17), refused to accept the pay bill, H.R. 13000, as amended by the U.S. Senate and insisted on a House-Senate Conference to resolve the many differences in H.R. 13000, as approved in the separate House-Senate actions. Congress is expected to adjourn either this weekend or by December 23 at the latest, which precludes any final action on the salary legislation until Congress reconvenes in January.

However, this delay will permit UFPC an opportunity to seek restoration of the original H.R. 13000 postal pay provisions as voted by the House but completely deleted in the Senate amended bill. ALSO, there was every reason to believe President Nixon would have vetoed (pocket-veto) even the meager 4% salary increases proposed in H.R. 13000 for postal and federal employees. The delay until January on final Congressional approval of the pay bill will make certain President Nixon cannot "pocket-veto" the legislation and Congress WILL have an opportunity to over-ride, if necessary!

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Best Wishes  
for a  
Happy  
Holiday Season  
and  
New Year



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John Held  
Freeport, Illinois

Sidney Lindenberg  
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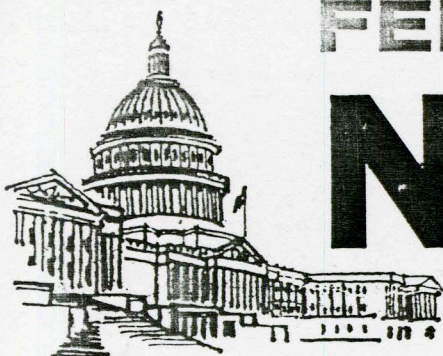
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House Post Office & Civil Service Committee Chairman **T. J. DULSKI** (D-N.Y.), and PO&CS Compensation Subcommittee Chairman **MORRIS K. UDALL** (D-Ariz.) recommended to the House of Representatives that the House NOT concur with the Senate amended H.R. 13000 and that a conference be requested. Chairman Dulski and Subcommittee Chairman Udall issued the following joint statement after the House agreed that the pay bill should go to Conference.

"The pending version of the Federal Salary Comparability Act of 1969—previously passed by the House and now returned to the House after major surgery in the Senate—bears little resemblance to our original legislation.

"The bill was drafted and sponsored by the gentleman from Arizona (MR. UDALL) and a bipartisan group of 17 colleagues on our Post Office and Civil Service Committee. It passed the House on October 14 by a record vote of 311 to 51.

"The Senate has completely revised the concept of our bill and approved only token provisions. Final action in the Senate came by voice vote after short discussion last Friday evening.

"There is pressure from some sources, notably in the Senate, for the House to accept the Senate version and send it to the White House for Presidential action.

## HOWEVER, WHITE HOUSE DISAPPROVAL IS FOREDOOMED

"The President has made it clear he will veto any employe pay bill lacking provision for a postal corpora-

tion. The Vice President reiterated the veto promise in a speech to the Governors' Conference over the weekend.

"Thus, if the House were to accept the Senate version and send it to the White House before adjournment, it would be an act of futility. The President could pocket-veto the bill, and the House and Senate would have no chance to consider overriding the veto. All the efforts of the two Houses would go down the legislative drain.

"The only logical approach for the House, therefore, is to send H.R. 13000 to conference with the Senate. In that way, the conferees can work their will and report back to their respective Houses.

"When the final version goes to the White House early next year, the Congress again will be in session and will be prepared to act accordingly if the President should exercise his veto power."

## H.R. 13000 HOUSE CONFEREES

House Speaker **JOHN W. McCORMACK** immediately announced the following Members of the Post Office & Civil Service Committee as House Conferees on H.R. 13000: **DEMOCRAT** Congressmen, **Thaddeus J. Dulski** (N.Y.); **David N. Henderson** (N.C.); **Arnold Olsen** (Mont.); **Morris K. Udall** (Ariz.), **REPUBLICAN** Conferees include Congressmen **Robert J. Corbett** (Pa.); **H. R. Gross** (Iowa); and **Daniel E. Button** (N.Y.). Senate Conferees on H.R. 13000 had not been appointed as of this FNS bulletin.



## POSTAL REFORM—PAY—COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LEGISLATIVE 'PACKAGE' PROPOSED BY CONGRESSMAN UDALL

The House Post Office & Civil Service Committee, during an executive session on Thursday morning (December 18) received a briefing from Representative MORRIS K. UDALL (D-Ariz.), Chairman of the PO&CS Compensation Subcommittee on a NEW legislative proposal to combine postal reform—salary adjustments—and collective bargaining in a single "PACKAGE" for postal workers. The EXCLUSIVE postal employee unions were also given a briefing by Congressman Udall on his legislative proposal even though NO bill has been introduced in the Congress (AND WILL NOT BE) until Congress reconvenes in January.

Apparently, the Nixon Administration is willing to support the Udall proposal to break the deadlock in Congress over postal reform VS the postal corporation. At the present time UFPC and at least 6 of the 7 EXCLUSIVE postal unions HAVE NOT endorsed or agreed to the Udall proposal and WILL NOT until a legislative draft of the proposal is available for study and careful analysis. Congressman Udall advised the United Federation of Postal Clerks and the other EXCLUSIVE unions that it is NOT his intention to establish a postal corporation, such as provided in H.R. 11750, but rather develop an ACCEPTABLE compromise between H.R. 4 postal reform and H.R. 11750, and continue the postal service as a Government agency.

HOWEVER, UFPC and the other postal employee unions will want to make absolutely certain that any compromise legislation is NOT the postal corporation structure under a different name. Unfortunately a legislative draft is not available at this time.

The Federation is always interested in the possibilities of accomplishing an ACCEPTABLE compromise which would resolve our many problems in the areas of postal reform, adequate wages and collective bargaining by law. The proposal suggested by Congressman Udall has a few attractive provisions which UFPC would like to see enacted into law. Some of the items proposed in the Udall "package" follow.

- (1) Effective January 1, 1970, the postal field service salary schedules would be revised to DELETE the first 2 pay steps and ADD 2 additional pay steps. The effect of this provision would be to give a two-pay step (5.4% salary) increase to postal employees.
- (2) Recognition of unions and collective bargaining would be provided for by a separate law. EVERYTHING to be negotiable except for statutory exclusions, such as Veteran's Preference and Hatch Act and the right to strike. This includes wages, fringe benefits, working conditions, negotiations,

contracts, etc. BINDING ARBITRATION would be established by law as the final resolution of disputes.

- (3) A POSTAL SERVICE AUTHORITY would be established with a 13 member Executive Council and an 11 member Advisory Council. The EXECUTIVE COUNCIL would have authority over rates, wages, services and capital expenditures within limitations prescribed in the law. Two U.S. Senators and two Congressmen are included on this Council. The ADVISORY COUNCIL would serve as an advisory board to the Council on all matters over which the Council has authority. Four representatives of postal employee organizations would serve on the advisory Council. Additional details concerning these two councils are not available at this time.

In conclusion, UFPC is most concerned with the provisions of paragraph 3 (above) and more specific details on collective bargaining rights and procedures. WHEN these details and related language are available for study then UFPC and at least 6 of the 7 major EXCLUSIVE postal employee unions will make a decision concerning support or rejection of the proposed legislative postal "package"—NOT BEFORE!

### UFPC PRESENT AT 4 PM FRIDAY WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING ON POSTAL 'PACKAGE'

President FRANCIS S. FILBEY and Legislative Director PATRICK J. NILAN were suddenly invited Friday afternoon to the White House with representatives of the 7 EXCLUSIVE postal employee organizations to attend a 4 PM briefing by Nixon Administration officials on the "POSTAL REFORM—PAY—COLLECTIVE BARGAINING" legislative package proposed by Congressman Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) on Wednesday and Thursday of this past week.

CHARLES W. COLSON, Special Counsel to President Nixon and HENRY CASHEN Deputy Counsel to the President gave the union leaders a briefing on the background of the Udall proposal and also discussed various facets of the proposed legislation. President Filbey, Legislative Director Nilan and other employee leaders raised many penetrating questions about the proposal and pointed out serious deficiencies and short-comings of the preliminary draft.

The organizations present for the briefing appreciated the courtesy extended to them by the White House officials. HOWEVER, many of the most critical questions concerning the postal legislative "package" remained unanswered when the meeting concluded about 5:15 PM.

### CHRISTMAS & NEW YEAR'S DAY

### POSTAL EMPLOYEES TO WORK ON DECEMBER 26

The Post Office Department on December 15th advised all Regional Directors that Friday, December 26, and Friday, January 2, will be considered regular work days for all employees. There is a remote possibility that President Nixon may still declare December 26th a paid holiday by Executive Order. The Post Office Department's December 15th instructions also advised all Regional Directors that on Christmas Day and New Year's Day the following operational procedures would be observed:

"Outgoing mail processing will be limited to preferential mail and parcel post.

"Incoming mail processing should be limited to those duties necessary to maintain Special Delivery Service.

"In order to provide the above minimum service, substitutes should be used to the maximum extent available. Use of any regular employees on these two days should be confined only to those situations where substitutes are not available, or where skills of some regulars are needed to supplement the substitutes.

"IMMEDIATE CONSULTATION SHOULD BE HELD WITH THE APPROPRIATE UNION REPRESENTATIVE. POSTMASTERS SHOULD BE ADVISED TO CONSULT WITH LOCAL UNION REPRESENTATIVES."



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### RE: UDALL POSTAL-REFORM 'PACKAGE'

IMMEDIATE RELEASE—DECEMBER 19, 1969

## STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN THADDEUS J. DULSKI HOUSE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE & CIVIL SERVICE STATUS OF POSTAL REFORM PROPOSALS

At the present time there is no consensus of views among Committee Members on the course to be taken with respect to the new proposal for a "package" postal reform—postal employees' pay proposal which we are informed is recommended by The White House after consultation with employee leaders. (NOTE: At least 6 of 7 EXCLUSIVE postal employee organizations, including UFPC, did not have any White House consultation until 4 PM, Friday, December 19.)

The Committee and its Members strongly support truly meaningful postal reform, and intend that it be achieved quickly and effectively—regardless of the legislative structure adopted for the purpose.

The Committee, too, is always receptive to any responsible proposal that is designed to serve the public interest. This is especially true where the national welfare is so deeply involved as it is in connection with our American postal service and its three-quarters of a million workers.

However, the Committee certainly could not, in good conscience, agree to something so important as this "postal reform-pay package" which it has not

even seen in writing up to this time.

When all of the facts are known, the Committee will proceed immediately, when the Congress reconvenes in January, to work out the best possible reform measure. I believe that this can be done very quickly so that there will be ample time for final action by both Houses of the Congress early in the year.

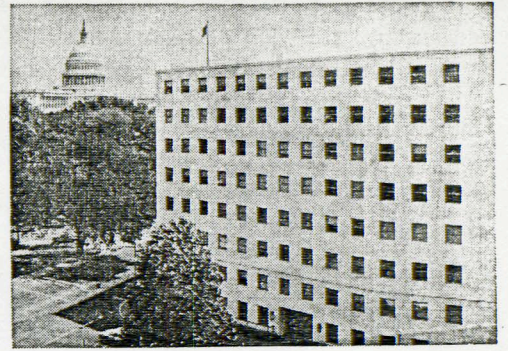
In the meantime, it is my intention to continue, in the regular order, to proceed in conference on H.R. 13000 and to support the House-passed Federal salary bill in working out the differences between the two Houses.

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# National Association of Letter Carriers



100 INDIANA AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

BULLETIN NO. 32



JAMES H. RADEMACHER, Editor

DECEMBER 12, 1969

## Open Letter From The President

***We Have Not Accepted 4%!***

***We Cannot Accept 4%!***

***We Will Not Accept 4%!***

**T**HAT should make our position very clear and cause our membership to understand that we are very determined and no longer is it possible to hand letter carriers crumbs when they are demanding and deserving the entire loaf.

The Senate Committee, succumbing to White House pressures, reported legislation which would (1) grant all postal and Federal workers who are earning less than \$10,000 annually a 4% increase; (2) increase those receiving \$10-15,000 by 3%; (3) add 2% to the income of those earning between \$15,000 and \$20,000, with all increases effective the first pay day in January 1970; (4) provide a minimum increase of 3% the first pay day in July 1970.

It is true that Chairman Gale W. McGee and Senator Hiram Fong, co-sponsors of the legislation, tried to do everything humanly possible to head off a Presidential veto. However, NALC has learned that even this meager Bill will face a veto because of President Nixon's stubborn determinedness to reject any proposals which he does not approve.

The temper of the NALC membership is such that we cannot possibly accept the Senate Bill and, in fact, still insist that even the House-passed H.R. 13000 is totally inadequate. The extreme disappointment of the membership is exceeded only by the disappointment of the leadership.

NALC has two choices when the Senate approves the watered-down version of H.R. 13000: (1) to urge the House of Representatives to recede and accept the Senate Bill in the hopes of a Presidential signature before Christmas, or (2) ask the House of Representatives to go to **conference** so that a better Bill could be worked out between Senate and House Conferees in January. We shall choose the **conference** route and in so doing are insisting on the maximum benefits whether or not they face a Presidential veto. The Congress of the United States received a 41% increase and we are justified in demanding that no less than H.R. 13000 as passed by the House be approved, even over a Presidential veto.

The membership has patiently waited several months for action. It must be remembered, however, that the two-step increase is to be effective October 4, 1969. **THAT PROVISION STILL REMAINS IN THE BILL.** Further the House Bill does provide for reaching top pay after eight years of service. **THAT PROVISION IS STILL IN THE BILL.**

I cannot stress strongly enough to frustrated, desperate, impatient



members that **we are not going to accept handouts.** To date, the membership has almost completely supported the NALC position. The cooperation that has been received at such trying times has been remarkable. I ask now that the cooperation be continued with the pledge that we are "going for broke" and that positively there will be dramatic protest action taken if we are rejected in the end. The end has not arrived and we are still very much alive with our demands in **conference.** It is your President's pledge that there shall be the two-step increase provided for in H.R. 13000; there shall be attainment of the top pay following eight years of service; there shall be at least one other increase during 1970; there shall be elimination of Congressional control of postal wages; there shall be binding arbitration in the future on matters affecting pay and fringe benefits. These promises will be fulfilled.

### **WHERE WE STAND!**

It would not be practical for NALC to issue a daily communication to say nothing. We have always maintained the policy of providing information to our members when there is something to be told. Please read carefully the statements below:

- On October 14 the House of Representatives passed H.R. 13000 as reported earlier and containing the two-step increase, an additional increase in April 1970, attainment of the top pay after eight years of service commencing in July 1970, a Federal Wage Commission and an Arbitration Board.

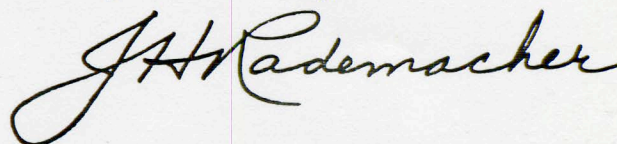
- The Senate on December 12 was set to pass a watered-down version of H.R. 13000 providing only for a January 1970 increase of 4% and a minimum increase of 3% in July 1970.

- The differences between the two Bills will be discussed in a joint House-Senate conference probably in mid-January. It becomes a matter of further waiting and not a matter of defeat.

Your officers have carefully analyzed the Senate Bill and for those who may be willing to halt the battle and accept the peanuts, we want it to be known the net result of all of our efforts which includes the possibility of overriding a veto on the 4% increase would be \$90 during 1970. In other words, after all of our efforts, the net increase during 1970 in postal wages over the 5.7% to which we are entitled under the comparability law, would be \$90. By rejecting this proposal and "going for broke," we can secure legislation which means hundreds of dollars to our membership in 1970 and thousands of dollars during their career.

Do not be misled by the pettiness and envy of some other postal organizations who have charged NALC with "sellout" and have contributed nothing but criticism to this campaign. It is unfortunate that the benefits which will be derived from our determined battle cannot just be given to members of the NALC. We have steadfastly fought the common enemy and not other postal organizations. As we have indicated previously, we are only interested in significant victory—not who shall get credit for the accomplishment. **WE SHALL NOT BE OVERCOME AND WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS IF OUR MEMBERSHIP WILL JUST LEAVE THE DECISIONS IN THE HANDS OF THE LEADERSHIP AND CONTINUE TO COOPERATE AND PARTICIPATE.**

Sincerely and fraternally,



***"Take a lesson from the turtle. He progresses only when he sticks his neck out"***

**BULLETIN! Senate late Friday passed H. R. 13000**

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A Democratic Trade Union

# NEWS FLASH!

Issued by

MANHATTAN-BRONX POSTAL UNION

254 WEST 31st STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10001

LO 3-2122

December 19, 1969

## SHOT-GUN MARRIAGE -- NPU NOT THE BRIDE

The LETTER CARRIERS ASSOCIATION HAS BOUGHT THE POSTAL CORPORATION under the name of Federal Postal Authority, even though they promised their members that they would never buy it without the right to strike. If a soul is sold, why for a mess of porridge?

## NPU PRESIDENT SILVERGLEID CALLED TO WHITE HOUSE

Called to a briefing session at the White House this afternoon, National President Silvergleid found out that what is being discussed is really the Postal Corporation dressed up with a limited pay raise and some collective bargaining rights. NO RIGHT TO STRIKE -- ONLY BINDING ARBITRATION.

## BILL NOT YET PRINTED

No bill has yet been introduced. In fact, a print will not be ready until Monday, December 22, 1969.

## WHAT DOWRY DOES THE BLUSHING BRIDE RECEIVE?

They write as if it's guaranteed. It looks more like a trial balloon and a good public relations job. Chairman Dulski, in a press release stated that neither President Nixon nor President Rademacher, have any votes on the House P.O. Committee. Whatever President Nixon may promise, Congress must first approve. We will not buy a pig in a poke.

## ONLY NPU STOPPED 4% HANDOUT

Our News Flash of November 24, 1969, warned, "BEWARE -- THERE ARE DEALS BEING COOKED UP." We worry about a "DEAL" even if brought in through the White House door. Yesterday, President Nixon called 5.4% inflationary. Is it less inflationary with a postal corporation? STOP KIDDING THE POSTAL WORKERS. These are the same union leaders that bought 3.2% guide lines in 1966.

Last week on 4% -- They were a silent majority, who wouldn't buy the postal corporation at any price.

THIS week - One fleeting moment on a cold winter night and a NEW BABY IS BORN--- A Postal Corporation in candy coating. National Postal Union won't buy cheap. Let others buy and sell. We'll fight on the long rocky road for decent pay as long as our members



## Hill Delays Decision On Postal Pay Raise

The federal pay picture became more confused yesterday when the Nixon administration sprang a surprise postal pay-reform plan on the House, and Senate leaders quickly rejected the idea.

Leaders of both the Senate and House Post Office and Civil Service Committees conceded that—because of disagreements over three different federal pay raise plans—no action will be taken until sometime next month.

The Nixon administration, in an attempt to win union and congressional support for a post office corporation asked the House Committee to consider a postal only pay raise, linked to the corporation plan.

Rank and file postal employees (about 650,000 of them) would receive a 5.4 per cent raise in January and another 5.7 per cent in July. White collar employees would receive only the July increase.

Postal union leaders tentatively agreed to accept the Nixon package, which guarantees that they would remain under Civil Service in the new postal corporation. They would be able to bargain with the corporation's board of directors on pay.

But Sen. Gale McGee (D-Wyo.) flatly rejected the White House plan, saying that his Committee would consider postal reform separately, and would not take it up until next year.

Meanwhile, Senate and House leaders—at odds over widely differing pay bills approved by each other—agreed that they could not work up a compromise this year.

This means that Senate-House conferees will meet sometime in January to iron

out differences in two federal pay bills and that the Senate Committee will come up with its own separate postal reform plan.

The administration-drafted reform plan would establish a federal authority to operate the postal service with many of the powers of a corporation, although subject to some government control.

It would be empowered to issue bonds for operating funds and to fix postal rates. Congress, however, would retain a veto power over any rate increases.

PRESERVATION COPY



## LETTER CARRIERS PUSH LOBBY CAMPAIGN FOR HIGHER PAY

For the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), lobbying Congress is a matter of hard cash for its members.

Like other organizations of postal workers and federal employees, the NALC must go to Congress for pay raises, retirement benefits and changes in working hours.

The unique role of the NALC and other postal unions was described by the report issued by the President's Commission on Postal Reorganization (Kappel Commission) in June 1968:

"The postal unions, among the oldest and strongest in the American labor movement, differ sharply from those in the private sector. They represent workers forbidden by law to strike, and they exercise their primary influence not at the bargaining table, but with Congress, which determines pay, hours, benefits, job descriptions and other matters of direct concern to postal employees. Congressional petition takes the place of normal collective bargaining."

The NALC has spent most of 1969 fighting the Kappel Commission's major recommendation—creation of a Federal Government-owned corporation to handle the mails—while asking Congress to make postal workers' pay comparable to wages received in private industry.

To push for the pay raise bill, which also creates machinery for future increases to keep federal pay scales comparable to wage levels in private industry, the NALC has organized a lobby campaign featuring newspaper advertisements, post cards addressed to President Nixon and radio tapes.

If President Nixon vetoes the bill, the NALC plans to borrow \$1 million to buy television time and bring 15,000 postal workers and their families to Capitol Hill to persuade Congress to override the President's action.

The President threatened a veto in a letter read on the House floor by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R Mich.), House Minority Leader, during debate on the bill.

### Lobby Profile

**Membership.** The NALC has a membership "slightly in excess of 210,000," said J. Stanly Lewis, vice president. Members are organized in 6,536 local branches, each corresponding to the jurisdiction of one postmaster.

The NALC has branches in all 50 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, Lewis said. Branches in every state except Alaska belong to state associations independently affiliated with the national organization.

In addition to active letter carriers, the NALC includes former letter carriers who have gone into postal clerk or management positions, Federal Government employees of other federal agencies and between 12,000 and 14,000 retired letter carriers, Lewis said.

"We're the only employee organization that keeps its retired members as active members," Lewis said. "Be-

cause of this we're more interested than most in retirement benefits."

**Financial Support.** The NALC is financed by dues of \$16 per year paid by active letter carriers and \$7 per year by retired members.

About 167,000 members have their dues deducted from their paychecks, Lewis said.

Lewis estimated the total budget of NALC Washington headquarters at \$2,250,000 per year. "We spend everything we take in," he said.

Lobby spending reports filed by the NALC with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate listed total receipts from dues and assessments at \$2,090,430 for the first three quarters of 1969.

**Officers.** James H. Rademacher, 48, is president of the NALC. A former substitute carrier in Detroit, Mich., he held various branch and state association offices before becoming a full-time union official as an NALC field director in 1957-60. He served as NALC assistant secretary-treasurer, 1960-62, and as vice president, 1962-68, before his election as president at the NALC 1968 convention at Boston.

J. Stanly Lewis, 57, the vice president, serves as chief NALC negotiator with the Post Office Department on labor-management issues. He entered the postal service in Burbank, Calif., in 1940 and held local, state and national offices before election as vice president in 1968.

Other national officers are William T. Sullivan, secretary-treasurer, and J. Joseph Vacca, assistant secretary-treasurer.

**Governing Board.** Organization work of the NALC is supervised by a 24-member executive council made up of the president, vice president, secretary-treasurer, assistant secretary-treasurer, a 13-man executive board, the director of life insurance, director of health benefits plan, assistant director of health benefits plan and four trustees of the NALC insurance department.

All are elected at the national association's biennial convention. The next convention is scheduled for August 1970 at Honolulu, Hawaii.

The executive board includes the 13 field directors, one from each Post Office region, who operate from offices in their home cities.

The executive council is charged with carrying out resolutions adopted by each convention stating NALC positions. Each convention adopts about 300 resolutions, Lewis said.

**Headquarters.** The NALC owns a building and annex at the foot of Capitol Hill at 100 Indiana Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. The executive offices and life and health insurance staffs occupy part of the eight-floor building; the remainder is rented.

Lewis said a "conservative estimate" of the buildings' present value was \$3,500,000.

**Insurance Programs.** The NALC sponsors three voluntary insurance programs for members and their depend-



ents. Life insurance protection and sick benefits have been available since 1891 and 1905, respectively.

Since 1960, the Federal Government and the NALC have cooperated in a health benefits program. Lewis said the program has paid out \$35 million per year and covers 500,000 members and dependents.

The Government pays about 27 percent of the health benefit premiums, Lewis said, and each participating NALC member's share is deducted from his paycheck.

**Retirement Home.** The NALC owns and operates Nalcrest, a 500-unit retirement village for members at Lake Wales, Fla.

Lewis said the retirement facility, which was financed by a \$4.5-million Federal Government-insured mortgage, is not self-supporting. Rents are set below costs, he said, so the NALC makes up a \$2,000 to \$5,000 operating deficit each month.

**Staff.** The NALC has a staff of more than 200, not counting persons employed to maintain and operate the building, Lewis said. The health benefits department alone employs 125 persons, he said. Other employees include 35 in the association executive offices, 12 in the life insurance department and the 13 field representatives, three assistant field representatives and their secretaries.

**Registered Lobbyists.** Rademacher and Lewis are the only NALC registered lobbyists still active. Former Presidents Jerome J. Keating and William C. Doherty registered in 1951 but now do no lobbying, Lewis said.

"All of our people do some lobbying along the line," Lewis said, "but the only two who do lobbying in the category you have to file for are Mr. Rademacher and myself."

**Lobby Spending.** The NALC was 19th in total reported lobby spending for 1968 with \$63,797, a drop from \$133,877 in 1967. The letter carriers topped both totals during the first three quarters of 1969, reporting spending of \$179,428 for that nine-month period.

Lewis said the NALC reports 45 percent of his \$25,000 yearly salary and Rademacher's \$30,000 annual salary as lobby spending. It also reports 25 percent of the cost of publishing its monthly *Postal Record* and 50 percent of the cost of a weekly bulletin. Parts of expenditures for telephone and telegraph services, secretaries' salaries and other incidentals are reported, Lewis said.

Rademacher said lobby spending reports give an exaggerated account of NALC lobbying efforts.

"Frankly, I think we should be exempt from all this reporting," Rademacher said. "Under the Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912, we have the right to petition Congress. Nevertheless, we file complete reports."

**Publications.** The NALC's monthly magazine, *The Postal Record*, is distributed to all 210,000 members, Lewis said. The annual \$2.50 subscription price is included in the dues. An additional 2,000 to 2,500 complimentary copies go to all Members of Congress, Government agencies and the press, he said.

Lewis said between 10,000 and 11,000 copies of the weekly bulletin, a single-sheet summary of legislative developments, are sent to NALC branches to be posted on Post Office bulletin boards.

**History.** The NALC was formed in 1889 by letter carriers who met during the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic in Milwaukee, Wis. After the first NALC convention in 1890 in Boston, Mass., letter carriers in 53 cities received charters in the association.

The NALC joined the American Federation of Labor, forerunner of the present AFL-CIO, in 1917.

**Political Activity.** Rademacher said the NALC relies on an active membership to exert influence on Members of Congress.

"Our political potency stems from the nature of the employment of our members," he said. "They go to every house in the nation every day."

"We preach politics to our members," he said. "We urge them to be politically active within the limits of the law. When a Congressman supports us, we urge our members to be friendly to him."

Rademacher denied that the NALC contributes to Congressional election campaign funds.

"We don't make any contributions," he said. "Our relationship with Congress is not financial. We can't afford it."

"This is not to say we don't go to dinners given for them," he added. "I don't mind parting with the necessary funds to go personally. And we invite certain Members who have supported us to our conventions. This is how we do it—not with money."

Rademacher said it was possible that individual NALC members and the association's National Ladies Auxiliary make contributions, but "we don't have any record of them."

Restrictions on political activities under the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 and the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 do not apply to the NALC or other Government unions, Rademacher said.

NALC members are prohibited from active participation in national politics by the Hatch Act of 1939. Rademacher said the association is asking liberalization of the restrictions placed on federal employees by the measure.

**General Purpose.** The NALC constitution says the objectives of the organization are "to unite fraternally all letter carriers and other employees of the U.S. federal establishment for their mutual benefit; to obtain and secure our rights as Government employees and to strive at all times to promote the welfare of every member; in conjunction with the Post Office Department and other departments and agencies of our Federal Government to strive for the constant improvement of the postal service and other Federal Government operations."

## Legislative Interests

In its pursuit of such purposes the NALC is subject to restrictions imposed by Congress and the Executive Branch. Postal workers, like other Federal Government employees, are forbidden to strike, must petition Congress for pay raises, and have limited ability to bargain with management for redress of grievances.

Two of the NALC's major legislative goals for 1969, pay increases and postal reform within the existing Post Office Department, involve modification of the rules governing relations between postal workers and their employer, the Federal Government.

**Postal Reform.** The NALC opposes the Nixon Administration's plan to set up a Federal Government-owned corporation to run the nation's postal system. (*For Nixon Administration proposal, see Weekly Report p. 1034. For NALC position, see p. 1095.*)

In testimony before the House Committee July 17, Rademacher challenged claims that a postal corporation



would deliver the mails efficiently. He called the corporation plan's labor-management provisions "...an ugly little parody of true collective bargaining" that would take postal employees out of the Civil Service system and force them to bargain collectively for all pay and benefits without the right to strike or to appeal to Congress. (*Weekly Report* p. 1450)

As an alternative, the NALC supports a bill (HR 4), introduced by House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski (D N.Y.), to reform the postal service within the existing Post Office Department framework.

HR 4 includes a provision long sought by the NALC—"labor-management by law." Relations between the Federal Government and its employees now are governed by an executive order issued by President Kennedy in 1962. President Nixon Oct. 29 issued another executive order, effective Jan. 1, 1970, replacing the 1962 order and creating two boards of Executive Department officials to administer its provisions and settle deadlocked negotiations.

Lewis said the NALC and other postal unions want federal labor-management rules incorporated into law because legislation would be less subject to revision or repeal than an executive order. "An executive order can be superseded by another executive order or even canceled out," he said.

Thomas R. Kennedy, staff assistant to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee Subcommittee on Postal Operations, said the decisions of labor-management machinery created by law could be appealed to the courts. An executive order cannot be appealed to the courts, he said.

Under HR 4, Kennedy said, postal workers "would stand at the bargaining table as equals rather than as supplicants."

In introducing HR 4 Jan. 6, 1969, Dulski said the bill includes provisions for compulsory arbitration, settlement of disputes by an independent Labor-Management Relations Panel and "clear-cut standards and guidelines for both management and labor in the field of employee-management relations."

The bill's provisions apply only to postal workers. Lewis said the NALC and other postal unions support alternative bills (HR 4803 and S 309) which would extend labor-management by law to all federal employees. The bills' provisions are nearly identical to the labor-management sections of HR 4, Lewis said.

The NALC also objects to provisions of Mr. Nixon's executive order requiring federal employee organizations to file financial disclosure reports. Federal employee unions are exempt from financial reporting requirements of federal labor laws. (*Congress and the Nation*, Vol. I p. 610)

Rademacher, in testimony Nov. 21 before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on S 309, asked that the bill be amended to permit postal workers to strike.

Rademacher told the Committee that while the NALC members "cannot afford to strike...we cannot afford to be denied the right either."

In addition, the NALC has challenged in the courts an existing law that requires federal employees to sign affidavits stating that they will not assert the right to strike against the Government or belong to an organization that claims the right to strike.

The U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., Oct. 29 ruled that a portion of the oath violated the 1st Amendment to the Constitution. Employees still may be required to swear that they will not participate in any strike against the Government, although the NALC and United Federation of Postal Clerks plan to challenge this, too.

Writing in the December issue of *The Postal Record*, Rademacher praised the district court decision and declared:

"We have been forced to assert the right to strike by the shabby treatment that has been accorded postal workers over the past several years. ....Now that the U.S. District Court has acted and struck down the no-strike oath and we now have the right to express ourselves on the subject, we shall work unceasingly in the higher courts to gain the type of weapon necessary to combat negativism and handouts."

**Pay Raise.** The NALC's most immediate legislative interest is Senate approval of HR 13000, described by the NALC bulletin as "the pay bill of the century."

Despite an implied threat of a Presidential veto, the House Oct. 14 approved HR 13000. (*Weekly Report* p. 1996)

As adopted by the House, the bill gave most postal workers a pay raise totaling \$244 million yearly effective Oct. 1, 1969, and shortened the time required for Post Office employees to reach top pay levels from 21 to 8 years.

The bill also set up a federal salary commission to adjust Federal Government salaries to keep them comparable to wage levels in private industry and created an arbitration board to review pay proposals upon request.

Both Houses of Congress still would have to approve new pay schedules.

**Other Interests.** The NALC in 1969 also supported proposals to:

- Loosen the restrictions of the Hatch Act of 1939 on political activity by federal employees. (*Congress and the Nation*, Vol. I p. 1535)
- Increase the Government's contribution to the NALC health benefits program from about 27 percent of the total cost to 50 percent.
- Amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to increase annuities. President Nixon Oct. 20 signed into law increases acceptable to the NALC.
- Restrict the flow of obscene materials through the mails.

## Pay Bill Lobbying

NALC officials have prepared an intensive campaign to win Senate approval for HR 13000 and, if necessary, to persuade both Houses to override a Presidential veto.

**Advertising.** Advertisements urging public support for enactment of the pay bill appeared Nov. 24 in more than 400 newspapers.

The advertisements, which ranged in size from one-eighth page to a full page, asked readers to clip and sign coupons urging President Nixon to sign HR 13000. (*See reproduction* p. 2510.)

Although the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee has not yet acted on the bill, the advertisements stated that Congress had passed the bill and sent it to the President.



The advertisements also opposed the proposed postal corporation. "The simple fact is that postal reform begins with good postal pay," they stated.

Rademacher said space for most of the advertisements was bought by NALC branches in local newspapers. NALC headquarters paid production charges and the advertising agency commission. The national organization also purchased full-page advertisements in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Evening Star* and the *Christian Science Monitor*, Rademacher said.

Rademacher said the NALC expenses for preparation of the advertisements and purchase of space in the five newspapers was "...in the \$30,000 bracket." The total will be reported to Congress as lobby spending for the fourth quarter of 1969, he said.

**Post Cards.** In addition, letter carriers plan to distribute on their own time as many as 6 million card coupons to persons on their routes. The cards, addressed to President Nixon, have blanks for the names and addresses of the persons who mail them. NALC branches that did not buy advertisements are paying postage on the cards.

An NALC bulletin dated Nov. 21 said several industries had agreed to attach cards to paychecks. Members of the Ladies' Auxiliary planned to distribute cards in department stores and supermarkets.

## A Plea From Your Letter Carrier...

# SAVE OUR SERVICE



Your letter carrier is struggling against overwhelming odds.

For years we've done everything we can to get the mail delivered as promptly as humanly possible. We have tried your letters, checks, post cards and packages as symbols of trust, knowing that in each daily round we carry the hopes and fears of millions of people.

We've faced the ancient perils of snow, rain, heat and gloom of night as well as dog bites, traffic, endless firms of union, and increasingly heavy burdens. We've done our part to maintain the honored traditions of our service.

Now we need your help.

As a result of shortsighted fiscal policies of the Bureau of the Budget, discriminatory pay scales and unrealistic working conditions have raised the post which employment in the postal service imposes a violence on postal workers that no citizen should be forced to bear in the ordinary course of events.

Wages of postal workers average thousands of dollars a year less than the amount determined by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as necessary for a "modest but adequate" standard of living.

To reach the top step of our postal pay scale takes up to 25 years of service... a good many postal workers never reach it. Over 90% of the letter carriers have not even reached level 1 of the 21-level scale.

The rate of turnover among postal workers is nearly 10 times the turnover rate among factory workers—23 per hundred compared to 2.3 per hundred. That costs the postal service... and the taxpayer... over \$100 million a year in training, hiring and training new employees.

To remedy these conditions and to achieve the kind of postal service Americans want and deserve, Congress has passed a bill. That bill is HR 13000 and is now before President Nixon for approval.

Here's what HR 13000 would do:

- Provide step increases equivalent to a 5.4% pay increase.
- Establish a Federal Wage Commission to determine future postal and federal pay scales.

As of July 1970, provide for top pay scales after eight years of service instead of 25, thus increasing the incentive for postal workers to stay in the postal service.

Here's what you can do:

Please sign the coupon at the left and mail it to President Nixon.

This way you will help us and other organizations of postal workers who are now fighting to better their conditions of life. We want to receive from our government employer the same treatment accorded as a matter of course, workers in the private sector. We want to be paid as well as workers in similar jobs in private industry.

The simple fact is that postal reform begins with good postal pay.

President Nixon can take that first large step toward postal reform by signing HR 13000.

Postal wages are not inflationary.

Postal workers are the victims of inflation.

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS

Washington, D.C.  
James M. Rademacher  
President

### NO CORPORATION NEEDED

Postal service is better needed. The simple fact is that postal reform begins with good postal pay. President Nixon can take that first large step toward postal reform by signing HR 13000.

Fill in the name of your letter carrier and the name of the newspaper in which you saw this advertisement. Please sign the coupon at the left and mail it to President Nixon.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

NALC Newspaper Advertisement

**Radio Tapes.** The NALC also has sponsored spot announcements on local radio stations asking support for the letter carriers.

Rademacher said the purpose of the tapes was "lobbying for our image." He said most were carried by radio stations free of charge as public service announcements. NALC branches purchased time if stations refused to run the tapes as a public service, he said.

In one 50-second tape used by 300 stations, comedian Jerry Lewis asked support for HR 13000.

"Mailmen have helped you and me," Lewis said, "and now they're looking to us for some help. A modest salary increase has been proposed for them and should soon be at the White House awaiting Presidential approval. Let's help the men who carry the mail by writing or wiring President Nixon to urge him to sign into law the postal pay raise."

Rademacher said Lewis, a personal friend, donated his services for the tapes. He estimated the cost of producing all the tapes used for the pay bill campaign at \$3,000.

**Veto Override.** If President Nixon vetoes the pay bill, NALC plans to step up its lobby campaign to win the two-thirds majorities in both Houses needed to override a Presidential veto.

"If there's a veto, there will be more lobbying," Rademacher said. "We'll bring in 15,000 people from all the unions and their families. They'll spend all day buttonholing Congressmen."

The NALC executive council has authorized Rademacher to borrow \$1 million if needed to fight a veto of HR 13000. Rademacher said the sum might be used to purchase television time to reply to a Presidential message explaining a veto.

"If the President would take to television to explain a veto, I would take to television to contradict his arguments," Rademacher said. "So it's in reserve if we need it."

Rademacher said the NALC's fourth-quarter lobby spending report would reflect the extent of the pay bill campaign.

"This will be the biggest lobby spending report we've ever had because it's the biggest campaign we've had."

Rademacher, talking to newsmen at an NALC press luncheon Nov. 20, said letter carriers are "about ready to blow" over the pay issue. He raised the possibility of "some kind of drastic action" by postal employees that union leaders could not prevent.

While stressing that he was not threatening any action by the NALC, Rademacher said he would expect postal workers to call in sick or engage in a work slowdown during the annual pre-Christmas mail avalanche.

Sen. Gale W. McGee (D Wyo.), chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Nov. 21 warned against any slowdown or stoppage by postal workers.

McGee said he knew of "no better way" for postal workers to invite restrictive legislation.

**Cooperating Groups.** The NALC and other postal unions, sometimes at odds over policies governing the recognition of unions within the Post Office Department, usually work together on pay bills and other legislation to increase benefits. A House Post Office and Civil Service Committee staff member said the smaller postal unions



## — LOBBY LOG —

generally follow the leadership of the NALC and the United Federation of Postal Clerks, the two largest.

Some of the small independent unions that do not belong to the AFL-CIO fear that President Nixon's executive order and proposed labor-management laws will give an advantage to large unions such as the NALC and postal clerks by granting only exclusive national recognition to unions.

Under existing procedures, small unions unable to win national recognition can receive recognition to represent workers at the local level.

Lewis said the NALC cooperates with organizations representing Federal Government employees outside the Post Office when their interests are similar. Rademacher, he pointed out, is chairman of the AFL-CIO Government Employees Council, which includes all Government employee groups that are members of the federation.

On some issues, however, postal workers and federal employees pursue different aims. On HR 13000, for example, the American Federation of Government Employees supports the provisions setting up a wage commission and arbitration board but argues that the special pay raise for postal workers discriminates against other federal employees.

"We have the same objectives as other organizations," Rademacher said, "but we're a little bit more aggressive. We lead the way here, and they follow."

"If something doesn't happen in the postal service, there will be a strike," he continued. "Congress hears plenty from the postal service but they haven't heard anything from the federal service. We're asking for special consideration for the postal service—most of our members are men with families to support—but they're saying they should get the increase too."

"This bill came about as the result of our testimony on June 26," Rademacher said, "then the federal employees said 'us too.'"

### Outlook

Rademacher termed 1969 "a very successful year" for the NALC so far. He cited a 13-13 tie vote in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee that in effect defeated the Administration's postal corporation plan. (*Weekly Report* p. 1918, 1992)

"The corporation bill is one that has given us a headache," Rademacher said. "We campaigned very hard with the facts, not with finances. But we don't take credit for the tie vote...it wasn't a pro-union or anti-union vote."

The Administration still hopes to win approval for a corporation, however, and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee members Nov. 20 said Administration officials had offered to accept HR 13000 if it were tied to creation of a postal corporation.

In an executive session Nov. 20, the Committee commissioned Chairman McGee and Sen. Hiram L. Fong (R Hawaii), ranking minority member, to seek a compromise with Administration officials.

Rademacher objected to any "package deal" tying the pay raise to a postal corporation.

"Our people are bitter and feel ill-used," he said. "They do not believe that an agreement on a postal reform bill can be reached before Christmas, and I agree with them."

**Mayors' Lobby.** Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City is attempting to organize an informal coalition of mayors from large cities to lobby Congress for legislation and appropriations of benefit to the nation's urban areas. Peter F. Tufo, director of New York City's Washington D.C., office, said Lindsay's proposal was "intended to supplement already existing organizations...on an issue-by-issue basis."

Tufo said Lindsay had discussed his proposal with mayors of other major cities and would continue planning meetings of the National League of Cities Dec. 1-5 in San Diego, Calif., and the Urban Coalition Dec. 10 in Washington. Among issues of concern to the mayors are housing appropriations, welfare reform, federal revenue sharing and federal aid to hospitals and mass transit systems, Tufo said.

**School Funds.** The AFL-CIO Nov. 21 called for a Congressional investigation of alleged abuse and misuse of federal funds for elementary and secondary schools.

In letters to Rep. Carl D. Perkins (D Ky.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, and to Sen. Claiborne Pell (D R.I.), chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee Subcommittee on Education, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller said charges made in a recent report on the use of Title I funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were "sufficiently alarming" to require investigation.

**ADA Response.** Leon Shull, national director of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), said Nov. 24 the Nixon Administration "is engaged in the most dangerous form of political polarization that this country has witnessed since the days of Joe McCarthy."

Shull, in a speech prepared for an ADA meeting in Atlanta, Ga., criticized Vice President Agnew's statements about the nation's news media and charged the Administration with a "calculated attempt to influence what the people are to be allowed to know."

**Okinawa Return.** Raymond A. Gallagher, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Nov. 19 wrote President Nixon that his organization "strongly opposes the return of Okinawa to Japan's administrative control." (*Weekly Report* p. 2386)

**League Officers.** The United States Savings and Loan League Nov. 20 elected John H. Randolph Jr., Richmond, Va., to succeed Tom B. Scott Jr., Jackson, Miss., as president of the trade group. Lewis S. Eaton, Fresno, Calif., was elected vice president of the organization, which represents more than 5,100 savings and loan institutions.

**Chamber Positions.** The board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States Nov. 24 voted to support President Nixon's proposal to raise Social Security benefits by 10 percent. The board also supported the Administration's revenue-sharing plan, federal mass transit funds and stiffer laws to control organized crime.

The board opposed proposals to give exclusive representation of all consumer interests to one department or Government agency and bills to require broadcasters to sell time to the Federal Government or to political candidates at reduced rates.





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The President threatened a veto in a letter read on the House floor by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R Mich.), House Minority Leader, during debate on the bill.

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"Frankly, I think we should be exempt from all this reporting," Rademacher said. "Under the Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912, we have the right to petition Congress. Nevertheless, we file complete reports."

**Publications.** The NALC's monthly magazine, *The Postal Record*, is distributed to all 210,000 members, Lewis said. The annual \$2.50 subscription price is included in the dues. An additional 2,000 to 2,500 complimentary copies go to all Members of Congress, Government agencies and the press, he said.

Lewis said between 10,000 and 11,000 copies of the weekly bulletin, a single-sheet summary of legislative developments, are sent to NALC branches to be posted on Post Office bulletin boards.

**History.** The NALC was formed in 1889 by letter carriers who met during the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic in Milwaukee, Wis. After the first NALC convention in 1890 in Boston, Mass., letter carriers in 53 cities received charters in the association.

The NALC joined the American Federation of Labor, forerunner of the present AFL-CIO, in 1917.

**Political Activity.** Rademacher said the NALC relies on an active membership to exert influence on Members of Congress.

"Our political potency stems from the nature of the employment of our members," he said. "They go to every house in the nation every day."

"We preach politics to our members," he said. "We urge them to be politically active within the limits of the law. When a Congressman supports us, we urge our members to be friendly to him."

Rademacher denied that the NALC contributes to Congressional election campaign funds.

"We don't make any contributions," he said. "Our relationship with Congress is not financial. We can't afford it."

"This is not to say we don't go to dinners given for them," he added. "I don't mind parting with the necessary funds to go personally. And we invite certain Members who have supported us to our conventions. This is how we do it—not with money."

Rademacher said it was possible that individual NALC members and the association's National Ladies Auxiliary make contributions, but "we don't have any record of them."

Restrictions on political activities under the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 and the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 do not apply to the NALC or other Government unions, Rademacher said.

NALC members are prohibited from active participation in national politics by the Hatch Act of 1939. Rademacher said the association is asking liberalization of the restrictions placed on federal employees by the measure.

**General Purpose.** The NALC constitution says the objectives of the organization are "to unite fraternally all letter carriers and other employees of the U.S. federal establishment for their mutual benefit; to obtain and secure our rights as Government employees and to strive at all times to promote the welfare of every member; in conjunction with the Post Office Department and other departments and agencies of our Federal Government to strive for the constant improvement of the postal service and other Federal Government operations."

## Legislative Interests

In its pursuit of such purposes the NALC is subject to restrictions imposed by Congress and the Executive Branch. Postal workers, like other Federal Government employees, are forbidden to strike, must petition Congress for pay raises, and have limited ability to bargain with management for redress of grievances.

Two of the NALC's major legislative goals for 1969, pay increases and postal reform within the existing Post Office Department, involve modification of the rules governing relations between postal workers and their employer, the Federal Government.

**Postal Reform.** The NALC opposes the Nixon Administration's plan to set up a Federal Government-owned corporation to run the nation's postal system. (*For Nixon Administration proposal, see Weekly Report p. 1034. For NALC position, see p. 1095.*)

In testimony before the House Committee July 17, Rademacher challenged claims that a postal corporation



would deliver the mails efficiently. He called the corporation plan's labor-management provisions "...an ugly little parody of true collective bargaining" that would take postal employees out of the Civil Service system and force them to bargain collectively for all pay and benefits without the right to strike or to appeal to Congress. (*Weekly Report* p. 1450)

As an alternative, the NALC supports a bill (HR 4), introduced by House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski (D N.Y.), to reform the postal service within the existing Post Office Department framework.

HR 4 includes a provision long sought by the NALC—"labor-management by law." Relations between the Federal Government and its employees now are governed by an executive order issued by President Kennedy in 1962. President Nixon Oct. 29 issued another executive order, effective Jan. 1, 1970, replacing the 1962 order and creating two boards of Executive Department officials to administer its provisions and settle deadlocked negotiations.

Lewis said the NALC and other postal unions want federal labor-management rules incorporated into law because legislation would be less subject to revision or repeal than an executive order. "An executive order can be superseded by another executive order or even canceled out," he said.

Thomas R. Kennedy, staff assistant to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee Subcommittee on Postal Operations, said the decisions of labor-management machinery created by law could be appealed to the courts. An executive order cannot be appealed to the courts, he said.

Under HR 4, Kennedy said, postal workers "would stand at the bargaining table as equals rather than as supplicants."

In introducing HR 4 Jan. 6, 1969, Dulski said the bill includes provisions for compulsory arbitration, settlement of disputes by an independent Labor-Management Relations Panel and "clear-cut standards and guidelines for both management and labor in the field of employee-management relations."

The bill's provisions apply only to postal workers. Lewis said the NALC and other postal unions support alternative bills (HR 4803 and S 309) which would extend labor-management by law to all federal employees. The bills' provisions are nearly identical to the labor-management sections of HR 4, Lewis said.

The NALC also objects to provisions of Mr. Nixon's executive order requiring federal employee organizations to file financial disclosure reports. Federal employee unions are exempt from financial reporting requirements of federal labor laws. (*Congress and the Nation*, Vol. I p. 610)

Rademacher, in testimony Nov. 21 before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on S 309, asked that the bill be amended to permit postal workers to strike.

Rademacher told the Committee that while the NALC members "cannot afford to strike...we cannot afford to be denied the right either."

In addition, the NALC has challenged in the courts an existing law that requires federal employees to sign affidavits stating that they will not assert the right to strike against the Government or belong to an organization that claims the right to strike.

The U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., Oct. 29 ruled that a portion of the oath violated the 1st Amendment to the Constitution. Employees still may be required to swear that they will not participate in any strike against the Government, although the NALC and United Federation of Postal Clerks plan to challenge this, too.

Writing in the December issue of *The Postal Record*, Rademacher praised the district court decision and declared:

"We have been forced to assert the right to strike by the shabby treatment that has been accorded postal workers over the past several years. ....Now that the U.S. District Court has acted and struck down the no-strike oath and we now have the right to express ourselves on the subject, we shall work unceasingly in the higher courts to gain the type of weapon necessary to combat negativism and handouts."

**Pay Raise.** The NALC's most immediate legislative interest is Senate approval of HR 13000, described by the NALC bulletin as "the pay bill of the century."

Despite an implied threat of a Presidential veto, the House Oct. 14 approved HR 13000. (*Weekly Report* p. 1996)

As adopted by the House, the bill gave most postal workers a pay raise totaling \$244 million yearly effective Oct. 1, 1969, and shortened the time required for Post Office employees to reach top pay levels from 21 to 8 years.

The bill also set up a federal salary commission to adjust Federal Government salaries to keep them comparable to wage levels in private industry and created an arbitration board to review pay proposals upon request.

Both Houses of Congress still would have to approve new pay schedules.

**Other Interests.** The NALC in 1969 also supported proposals to:

- Loosen the restrictions of the Hatch Act of 1939 on political activity by federal employees. (*Congress and the Nation*, Vol. I p. 1535)
- Increase the Government's contribution to the NALC health benefits program from about 27 percent of the total cost to 50 percent.
- Amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to increase annuities. President Nixon Oct. 20 signed into law increases acceptable to the NALC.
- Restrict the flow of obscene materials through the mails.

## Pay Bill Lobbying

NALC officials have prepared an intensive campaign to win Senate approval for HR 13000 and, if necessary, to persuade both Houses to override a Presidential veto.

**Advertising.** Advertisements urging public support for enactment of the pay bill appeared Nov. 24 in more than 400 newspapers.

The advertisements, which ranged in size from one-eighth page to a full page, asked readers to clip and sign coupons urging President Nixon to sign HR 13000. (*See reproduction p. 2510.*)

Although the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee has not yet acted on the bill, the advertisements stated that Congress had passed the bill and sent it to the President.



The advertisements also opposed the proposed postal corporation. "The simple fact is that postal reform begins with good postal pay," they stated.

Rademacher said space for most of the advertisements was bought by NALC branches in local newspapers. NALC headquarters paid production charges and the advertising agency commission. The national organization also purchased full-page advertisements in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Evening Star* and the *Christian Science Monitor*, Rademacher said.

Rademacher said the NALC expenses for preparation of the advertisements and purchase of space in the five newspapers was "...in the \$30,000 bracket." The total will be reported to Congress as lobby spending for the fourth quarter of 1969, he said.

**Post Cards.** In addition, letter carriers plan to distribute on their own time as many as 6 million card coupons to persons on their routes. The cards, addressed to President Nixon, have blanks for the names and addresses of the persons who mail them. NALC branches that did not buy advertisements are paying postage on the cards.

An NALC bulletin dated Nov. 21 said several industries had agreed to attach cards to paychecks. Members of the Ladies' Auxiliary planned to distribute cards in department stores and supermarkets.

## A Plea From Your Letter Carrier...

# SAVE OUR SERVICE



Your letter carrier is struggling against overwhelming odds.

For years we've done everything we can to get the work delivered as promptly as humanly possible. We have repaired your letters, checks, post cards and packages in symbols of trust. Knowing that in each daily round we carry the hopes and fears of millions of people.

We've faced the ancient perils of snow, rain, heat and gloom of night as well as dog bites, traffic, endless fights of wars, and increasingly heavy burdens. We've done our part to maintain the honored traditions of our service.

Now we need your help.

As a result of short-sighted fiscal policies of the Bureau of the Budget, discriminatory pay scales and antiquated working conditions have reached the point where employment in the postal service implies a sacrifice on postal workers that no citizen should be forced to bear in the ordinary course of events.

Wages of postal workers average thousands of dollars a year less than the amount determined by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as necessary for a "modest but adequate" standard of living.

To reach the top step of our postal pay scale takes up to 25 years of service... a postal worker must work 25 years to reach the top of the scale.

The rate of turnover among postal workers is nearly 10 times the turnover rate among factory workers—23 per hundred compared to 2.4 per hundred. That costs the postal service... and the taxpayers... over \$100 million a year in locating, hiring and training new employees.

To remedy these conditions and to achieve the kind of postal service Americans want and deserve, Congress has passed a bill. That bill is HR 13000 and is now before President Nixon for approval.

Here's what HR 13000 would do:

- Provide step increases equivalent to a 5.4% pay increase.
- Establish a Federal Wage Commission to determine future postal and federal pay scales.

- As of July 1970, provide for top pay scales after eight years of service instead of 25, thus increasing the incentive for postal workers to stay in the postal service.

Here's what you can do:

Please sign the coupon at the left and mail it to President Nixon.

This way you will help us and other organizations of postal workers who are now fighting to better their conditions of work. We want to receive from our government employees the same treatment accorded as a matter of course, workers in the private sector. We want to be paid as well as workers in similar jobs in private industry.

The simple fact is that postal workers begin with good postal pay.

President Nixon can take that first large step toward postal reform by signing HR 13000.

Postal wages are not inflationary.

Postal workers are the victims of inflation.

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS

Washington, D.C.  
James W. Rademacher  
President

**NO CORPORATION NEEDED**

Please return this coupon to postal reform through good postal pay. It cannot be used to solicit funds for the National Association of Letter Carriers. We want to receive from our government employees the same treatment accorded as a matter of course, workers in the private sector. We want to be paid as well as workers in similar jobs in private industry.

Please sign HR 13000 and help save our postal service.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

NALC Newspaper Advertisement

**Radio Tapes.** The NALC also has sponsored spot announcements on local radio stations asking support for the letter carriers.

Rademacher said the purpose of the tapes was "lobbying for our image." He said most were carried by radio stations free of charge as public service announcements. NALC branches purchased time if stations refused to run the tapes as a public service, he said.

In one 50-second tape used by 300 stations, comedian Jerry Lewis asked support for HR 13000.

"Mailmen have helped you and me," Lewis said, "and now they're looking to us for some help. A modest salary increase has been proposed for them and should soon be at the White House awaiting Presidential approval. Let's help the men who carry the mail by writing or wiring President Nixon to urge him to sign into law the postal pay raise."

Rademacher said Lewis, a personal friend, donated his services for the tapes. He estimated the cost of producing all the tapes used for the pay bill campaign at \$3,000.

**Veto Override.** If President Nixon vetoes the pay bill, NALC plans to step up its lobby campaign to win the two-thirds majorities in both Houses needed to override a Presidential veto.

"If there's a veto, there will be more lobbying," Rademacher said. "We'll bring in 15,000 people from all the unions and their families. They'll spend all day buttonholing Congressmen."

The NALC executive council has authorized Rademacher to borrow \$1 million if needed to fight a veto of HR 13000. Rademacher said the sum might be used to purchase television time to reply to a Presidential message explaining a veto.

"If the President would take to television to explain a veto, I would take to television to contradict his arguments," Rademacher said. "So it's in reserve if we need it."

Rademacher said the NALC's fourth-quarter lobby spending report would reflect the extent of the pay bill campaign.

"This will be the biggest lobby spending report we've ever had because it's the biggest campaign we've had."

Rademacher, talking to newsmen at an NALC press luncheon Nov. 20, said letter carriers are "about ready to blow" over the pay issue. He raised the possibility of "some kind of drastic action" by postal employees that union leaders could not prevent.

While stressing that he was not threatening any action by the NALC, Rademacher said he would expect postal workers to call in sick or engage in a work slowdown during the annual pre-Christmas mail avalanche.

Sen. Gale W. McGee (D Wyo.), chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Nov. 21 warned against any slowdown or stoppage by postal workers.

McGee said he knew of "no better way" for postal workers to invite restrictive legislation.

**Cooperating Groups.** The NALC and other postal unions, sometimes at odds over policies governing the recognition of unions within the Post Office Department, usually work together on pay bills and other legislation to increase benefits. A House Post Office and Civil Service Committee staff member said the smaller postal unions



## — LOBBY LOG —

generally follow the leadership of the NALC and the United Federation of Postal Clerks, the two largest.

Some of the small independent unions that do not belong to the AFL-CIO fear that President Nixon's executive order and proposed labor-management laws will give an advantage to large unions such as the NALC and postal clerks by granting only exclusive national recognition to unions.

Under existing procedures, small unions unable to win national recognition can receive recognition to represent workers at the local level.

Lewis said the NALC cooperates with organizations representing Federal Government employees outside the Post Office when their interests are similar. Rademacher, he pointed out, is chairman of the AFL-CIO Government Employees Council, which includes all Government employee groups that are members of the federation.

On some issues, however, postal workers and federal employees pursue different aims. On HR 13000, for example, the American Federation of Government Employees supports the provisions setting up a wage commission and arbitration board but argues that the special pay raise for postal workers discriminates against other federal employees.

"We have the same objectives as other organizations," Rademacher said, "but we're a little bit more aggressive. We lead the way here, and they follow."

"If something doesn't happen in the postal service, there will be a strike," he continued. "Congress hears plenty from the postal service but they haven't heard anything from the federal service. We're asking for special consideration for the postal service—most of our members are men with families to support—but they're saying they should get the increase too."

"This bill came about as the result of our testimony on June 26," Rademacher said, "then the federal employees said 'us too.'"

### Outlook

Rademacher termed 1969 "a very successful year" for the NALC so far. He cited a 13-13 tie vote in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee that in effect defeated the Administration's postal corporation plan. (*Weekly Report* p. 1918, 1992)

"The corporation bill is one that has given us a headache," Rademacher said. "We campaigned very hard with the facts, not with finances. But we don't take credit for the tie vote...it wasn't a pro-union or anti-union vote."

The Administration still hopes to win approval for a corporation, however, and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee members Nov. 20 said Administration officials had offered to accept HR 13000 if it were tied to creation of a postal corporation.

In an executive session Nov. 20, the Committee commissioned Chairman McGee and Sen. Hiram L. Fong (R Hawaii), ranking minority member, to seek a compromise with Administration officials.

Rademacher objected to any "package deal" tying the pay raise to a postal corporation.

"Our people are bitter and feel ill-used," he said. "They do not believe that an agreement on a postal reform bill can be reached before Christmas, and I agree with them."

**Mayors' Lobby.** Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City is attempting to organize an informal coalition of mayors from large cities to lobby Congress for legislation and appropriations of benefit to the nation's urban areas. Peter F. Tufo, director of New York City's Washington D.C., office, said Lindsay's proposal was "intended to supplement already existing organizations...on an issue-by-issue basis."

Tufo said Lindsay had discussed his proposal with mayors of other major cities and would continue planning meetings of the National League of Cities Dec. 1-5 in San Diego, Calif., and the Urban Coalition Dec. 10 in Washington. Among issues of concern to the mayors are housing appropriations, welfare reform, federal revenue-sharing and federal aid to hospitals and mass transit systems, Tufo said.

**School Funds.** The AFL-CIO Nov. 21 called for a Congressional investigation of alleged abuse and misuse of federal funds for elementary and secondary schools.

In letters to Rep. Carl D. Perkins (D Ky.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, and to Sen. Claiborne Pell (D R.I.), chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee Subcommittee on Education, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller said charges made in a recent report on the use of Title I funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were "sufficiently alarming" to require investigation.

**ADA Response.** Leon Shull, national director of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), said Nov. 24 the Nixon Administration "is engaged in the most dangerous form of political polarization that this country has witnessed since the days of Joe McCarthy."

Shull, in a speech prepared for an ADA meeting in Atlanta, Ga., criticized Vice President Agnew's statements about the nation's news media and charged the Administration with a "calculated attempt to influence what the people are to be allowed to know."

**Okinawa Return.** Raymond A. Gallagher, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Nov. 19 wrote President Nixon that his organization "strongly opposes the return of Okinawa to Japan's administrative control." (*Weekly Report* p. 2386)

**League Officers.** The United States Savings and Loan League Nov. 20 elected John H. Randolph Jr., Richmond, Va., to succeed Tom B. Scott Jr., Jackson, Miss., as president of the trade group. Lewis S. Eaton, Fresno, Calif., was elected vice president of the organization, which represents more than 5,100 savings and loan institutions.

**Chamber Positions.** The board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States Nov. 24 voted to support President Nixon's proposal to raise Social Security benefits by 10 percent. The board also supported the Administration's revenue-sharing plan, federal mass transit funds and stiffer laws to control organized crime.

The board opposed proposals to give exclusive representation of all consumer interests to one department or Government agency and bills to require broadcasters to sell time to the Federal Government or to political candidates at reduced rates.



## LETTER CARRIERS PUSH LOBBY CAMPAIGN FOR HIGHER PAY

For the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), lobbying Congress is a matter of hard cash for its members.

Like other organizations of postal workers and federal employees, the NALC must go to Congress for pay raises, retirement benefits and changes in working hours.

The unique role of the NALC and other postal unions was described by the report issued by the President's Commission on Postal Reorganization (Kappel Commission) in June 1968:

"The postal unions, among the oldest and strongest in the American labor movement, differ sharply from those in the private sector. They represent workers forbidden by law to strike, and they exercise their primary influence not at the bargaining table, but with Congress, which determines pay, hours, benefits, job descriptions and other matters of direct concern to postal employees. Congressional petition takes the place of normal collective bargaining."

The NALC has spent most of 1969 fighting the Kappel Commission's major recommendation—creation of a Federal Government-owned corporation to handle the mails—while asking Congress to make postal workers' pay comparable to wages received in private industry.

To push for the pay raise bill, which also creates machinery for future increases to keep federal pay scales comparable to wage levels in private industry, the NALC has organized a lobby campaign featuring newspaper advertisements, post cards addressed to President Nixon and radio tapes.

If President Nixon vetoes the bill, the NALC plans to borrow \$1 million to buy television time and bring 15,000 postal workers and their families to Capitol Hill to persuade Congress to override the President's action.

The President threatened a veto in a letter read on the House floor by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R Mich.), House Minority Leader, during debate on the bill.

### Lobby Profile

**Membership.** The NALC has a membership "slightly in excess of 210,000," said J. Stanly Lewis, vice president. Members are organized in 6,536 local branches, each corresponding to the jurisdiction of one postmaster.

The NALC has branches in all 50 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, Lewis said. Branches in every state except Alaska belong to state associations independently affiliated with the national organization.

In addition to active letter carriers, the NALC includes former letter carriers who have gone into postal clerk or management positions, Federal Government employees of other federal agencies and between 12,000 and 14,000 retired letter carriers, Lewis said.

"We're the only employee organization that keeps its retired members as active members," Lewis said. "Be-

cause of this we're more interested than most in retirement benefits."

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Rademacher said lobby spending reports give an exaggerated account of NALC lobbying efforts.

"Frankly, I think we should be exempt from all this reporting," Rademacher said. "Under the Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912, we have the right to petition Congress. Nevertheless, we file complete reports."

**Publications.** The NALC's monthly magazine, *The Postal Record*, is distributed to all 210,000 members, Lewis said. The annual \$2.50 subscription price is included in the dues. An additional 2,000 to 2,500 complimentary copies go to all Members of Congress, Government agencies and the press, he said.

Lewis said between 10,000 and 11,000 copies of the weekly bulletin, a single-sheet summary of legislative developments, are sent to NALC branches to be posted on Post Office bulletin boards.

**History.** The NALC was formed in 1889 by letter carriers who met during the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic in Milwaukee, Wis. After the first NALC convention in 1890 in Boston, Mass., letter carriers in 53 cities received charters in the association.

The NALC joined the American Federation of Labor, forerunner of the present AFL-CIO, in 1917.

**Political Activity.** Rademacher said the NALC relies on an active membership to exert influence on Members of Congress.

"Our political potency stems from the nature of the employment of our members," he said. "They go to every house in the nation every day."

"We preach politics to our members," he said. "We urge them to be politically active within the limits of the law. When a Congressman supports us, we urge our members to be friendly to him."

Rademacher denied that the NALC contributes to Congressional election campaign funds.

"We don't make any contributions," he said. "Our relationship with Congress is not financial. We can't afford it."

"This is not to say we don't go to dinners given for them," he added. "I don't mind parting with the necessary funds to go personally. And we invite certain Members who have supported us to our conventions. This is how we do it—not with money."

Rademacher said it was possible that individual NALC members and the association's National Ladies Auxiliary make contributions, but "we don't have any record of them."

Restrictions on political activities under the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 and the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 do not apply to the NALC or other Government unions, Rademacher said.

NALC members are prohibited from active participation in national politics by the Hatch Act of 1939. Rademacher said the association is asking liberalization of the restrictions placed on federal employees by the measure.

**General Purpose.** The NALC constitution says the objectives of the organization are "to unite fraternally all letter carriers and other employees of the U.S. federal establishment for their mutual benefit; to obtain and secure our rights as Government employees and to strive at all times to promote the welfare of every member; in conjunction with the Post Office Department and other departments and agencies of our Federal Government to strive for the constant improvement of the postal service and other Federal Government operations."

## Legislative Interests

In its pursuit of such purposes the NALC is subject to restrictions imposed by Congress and the Executive Branch. Postal workers, like other Federal Government employees, are forbidden to strike, must petition Congress for pay raises, and have limited ability to bargain with management for redress of grievances.

Two of the NALC's major legislative goals for 1969, pay increases and postal reform within the existing Post Office Department, involve modification of the rules governing relations between postal workers and their employer, the Federal Government.

**Postal Reform.** The NALC opposes the Nixon Administration's plan to set up a Federal Government-owned corporation to run the nation's postal system. (*For Nixon Administration proposal, see Weekly Report p. 1034. For NALC position, see p. 1095.*)

In testimony before the House Committee July 17, Rademacher challenged claims that a postal corporation



would deliver the mails efficiently. He called the corporation plan's labor-management provisions "...an ugly little parody of true collective bargaining" that would take postal employees out of the Civil Service system and force them to bargain collectively for all pay and benefits without the right to strike or to appeal to Congress. (*Weekly Report* p. 1450)

As an alternative, the NALC supports a bill (HR 4), introduced by House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski (D N.Y.), to reform the postal service within the existing Post Office Department framework.

HR 4 includes a provision long sought by the NALC—"labor-management by law." Relations between the Federal Government and its employees now are governed by an executive order issued by President Kennedy in 1962. President Nixon Oct. 29 issued another executive order, effective Jan. 1, 1970, replacing the 1962 order and creating two boards of Executive Department officials to administer its provisions and settle deadlocked negotiations.

Lewis said the NALC and other postal unions want federal labor-management rules incorporated into law because legislation would be less subject to revision or repeal than an executive order. "An executive order can be superseded by another executive order or even canceled out," he said.

Thomas R. Kennedy, staff assistant to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee Subcommittee on Postal Operations, said the decisions of labor-management machinery created by law could be appealed to the courts. An executive order cannot be appealed to the courts, he said.

Under HR 4, Kennedy said, postal workers "would stand at the bargaining table as equals rather than as supplicants."

In introducing HR 4 Jan. 6, 1969, Dulski said the bill includes provisions for compulsory arbitration, settlement of disputes by an independent Labor-Management Relations Panel and "clear-cut standards and guidelines for both management and labor in the field of employee-management relations."

The bill's provisions apply only to postal workers. Lewis said the NALC and other postal unions support alternative bills (HR 4803 and S 309) which would extend labor-management by law to all federal employees. The bills' provisions are nearly identical to the labor-management sections of HR 4, Lewis said.

The NALC also objects to provisions of Mr. Nixon's executive order requiring federal employee organizations to file financial disclosure reports. Federal employee unions are exempt from financial reporting requirements of federal labor laws. (*Congress and the Nation*, Vol. I p. 610)

Rademacher, in testimony Nov. 21 before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on S 309, asked that the bill be amended to permit postal workers to strike.

Rademacher told the Committee that while the NALC members "cannot afford to strike...we cannot afford to be denied the right either."

In addition, the NALC has challenged in the courts an existing law that requires federal employees to sign affidavits stating that they will not assert the right to strike against the Government or belong to an organization that claims the right to strike.

The U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., Oct. 29 ruled that a portion of the oath violated the 1st Amendment to the Constitution. Employees still may be required to swear that they will not participate in any strike against the Government, although the NALC and United Federation of Postal Clerks plan to challenge this, too.

Writing in the December issue of *The Postal Record*, Rademacher praised the district court decision and declared:

"We have been forced to assert the right to strike by the shabby treatment that has been accorded postal workers over the past several years. ....Now that the U.S. District Court has acted and struck down the no-strike oath and we now have the right to express ourselves on the subject, we shall work unceasingly in the higher courts to gain the type of weapon necessary to combat negativism and handouts."

**Pay Raise.** The NALC's most immediate legislative interest is Senate approval of HR 13000, described by the NALC bulletin as "the pay bill of the century."

Despite an implied threat of a Presidential veto, the House Oct. 14 approved HR 13000. (*Weekly Report* p. 1996)

As adopted by the House, the bill gave most postal workers a pay raise totaling \$244 million yearly effective Oct. 1, 1969, and shortened the time required for Post Office employees to reach top pay levels from 21 to 8 years.

The bill also set up a federal salary commission to adjust Federal Government salaries to keep them comparable to wage levels in private industry and created an arbitration board to review pay proposals upon request.

Both Houses of Congress still would have to approve new pay schedules.

**Other Interests.** The NALC in 1969 also supported proposals to:

- Loosen the restrictions of the Hatch Act of 1939 on political activity by federal employees. (*Congress and the Nation*, Vol. I p. 1535)
- Increase the Government's contribution to the NALC health benefits program from about 27 percent of the total cost to 50 percent.
- Amend the Civil Service Retirement Act to increase annuities. President Nixon Oct. 20 signed into law increases acceptable to the NALC.
- Restrict the flow of obscene materials through the mails.

## Pay Bill Lobbying

NALC officials have prepared an intensive campaign to win Senate approval for HR 13000 and, if necessary, to persuade both Houses to override a Presidential veto.

**Advertising.** Advertisements urging public support for enactment of the pay bill appeared Nov. 24 in more than 400 newspapers.

The advertisements, which ranged in size from one-eighth page to a full page, asked readers to clip and sign coupons urging President Nixon to sign HR 13000. (*See reproduction* p. 2510.)

Although the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee has not yet acted on the bill, the advertisements stated that Congress had passed the bill and sent it to the President.



The advertisements also opposed the proposed postal corporation. "The simple fact is that postal reform begins with good postal pay," they stated.

Rademacher said space for most of the advertisements was bought by NALC branches in local newspapers. NALC headquarters paid production charges and the advertising agency commission. The national organization also purchased full-page advertisements in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Evening Star* and the *Christian Science Monitor*, Rademacher said.

Rademacher said the NALC expenses for preparation of the advertisements and purchase of space in the five newspapers was "...in the \$30,000 bracket." The total will be reported to Congress as lobby spending for the fourth quarter of 1969, he said.

**Post Cards.** In addition, letter carriers plan to distribute on their own time as many as 6 million card coupons to persons on their routes. The cards, addressed to President Nixon, have blanks for the names and addresses of the persons who mail them. NALC branches that did not buy advertisements are paying postage on the cards.

An NALC bulletin dated Nov. 21 said several industries had agreed to attach cards to paychecks. Members of the Ladies' Auxiliary planned to distribute cards in department stores and supermarkets.

## A Plea From Your Letter Carrier...

# SAVE OUR SERVICE



Your letter carrier is struggling against overwhelming odds.

For years we've done everything we can to get the mail delivered as promptly as humanly possible. We have repaired your letters, checks, post cards and packages as symbols of love, knowing that in each daily round we carry the hopes and fears of millions of people.

We've faced the ancient perils of snow, rain, heat and gloom of night as well as dog bites, traffic, endless flights of mail, and increasingly heavy burdens. We've done our part to maintain the honored traditions of our service.

Now we need your help.

As a result of short-sighted fiscal policies of the Bureau of the Budget, discriminatory pay scales and unworkable working conditions have reached the point where employment in the postal service imposes a sacrifice on postal workers that no citizen should be forced to bear in the ordinary course of events.

Wages of postal workers average thousands of dollars a year less than the amount determined by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as necessary for a "livable but adequate" standard of living.

To reach the top step of our postal pay scale takes up to 25 years of service... a paid rest postal workers never reach. Over 90% of the letter carriers near the bottom level of the 23 level scale.

The rate of turnover among postal workers is nearly 10 times the turnover rate among factory workers—23 per hundred compared to 2.5 per hundred. That costs the postal service... and the taxpayers... over \$100 million a year in locating, hiring and training new employees.

To remedy these conditions and to achieve the kind of postal service Americans want and deserve, Congress has passed a bill. That bill is HR 13000 and is now before President Nixon for approval.

Here's what HR 13000 would do:

- Provide step increases equivalent to a 5.4% pay increase.
- Establish a Federal Wage Commission to determine future postal and federal pay scales.
- As of July, 1970, provide for top pay scales after eight years of service instead of 25, thus increasing the incentive for postal workers to stay in the postal service.

Here's what you can do:

Please sign the coupon at the left and mail it to President Nixon.

This way you'll help us and other organizations of postal workers who are now fighting to better their conditions of life. We want to move from our government employer the same treatment accorded, as a matter of course, workers in the private sector. We want to be paid as well as workers in similar jobs in private industry.

The simple fact is that postal reform begins with good postal pay. President Nixon can take that first large step toward postal reform by signing HR 13000.

Postal wages are not inflationary. Postal workers are the victims of inflation.

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS

Washington, D.C.  
James H. Rademacher  
President

### NO CORPORATION NEEDED

Please return this coupon to your local letter carrier or to your local NALC branch. It cannot be returned to the National Association of Letter Carriers. We want to move from our government employer the same treatment accorded, as a matter of course, workers in the private sector. We want to be paid as well as workers in similar jobs in private industry.

Please sign HR 13000 and help save our postal service.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

NALC Newspaper Advertisement

**Radio Tapes.** The NALC also has sponsored spot announcements on local radio stations asking support for the letter carriers.

Rademacher said the purpose of the tapes was "lobbying for our image." He said most were carried by radio stations free of charge as public service announcements. NALC branches purchased time if stations refused to run the tapes as a public service, he said.

In one 50-second tape used by 300 stations, comedian Jerry Lewis asked support for HR 13000.

"Mailmen have helped you and me," Lewis said, "and now they're looking to us for some help. A modest salary increase has been proposed for them and should soon be at the White House awaiting Presidential approval. Let's help the men who carry the mail by writing or wiring President Nixon to urge him to sign into law the postal pay raise."

Rademacher said Lewis, a personal friend, donated his services for the tapes. He estimated the cost of producing all the tapes used for the pay bill campaign at \$3,000.

**Veto Override.** If President Nixon vetoes the pay bill, NALC plans to step up its lobby campaign to win the two-thirds majorities in both Houses needed to override a Presidential veto.

"If there's a veto, there will be more lobbying," Rademacher said. "We'll bring in 15,000 people from all the unions and their families. They'll spend all day buttonholing Congressmen."

The NALC executive council has authorized Rademacher to borrow \$1 million if needed to fight a veto of HR 13000. Rademacher said the sum might be used to purchase television time to reply to a Presidential message explaining a veto.

"If the President would take to television to explain a veto, I would take to television to contradict his arguments," Rademacher said. "So it's in reserve if we need it."

Rademacher said the NALC's fourth-quarter lobby spending report would reflect the extent of the pay bill campaign.

"This will be the biggest lobby spending report we've ever had because it's the biggest campaign we've had."

Rademacher, talking to newsmen at an NALC press luncheon Nov. 20, said letter carriers are "about ready to blow" over the pay issue. He raised the possibility of "some kind of drastic action" by postal employees that union leaders could not prevent.

While stressing that he was not threatening any action by the NALC, Rademacher said he would expect postal workers to call in sick or engage in a work slowdown during the annual pre-Christmas mail avalanche.

Sen. Gale W. McGee (D Wyo.), chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Nov. 21 warned against any slowdown or stoppage by postal workers.

McGee said he knew of "no better way" for postal workers to invite restrictive legislation.

**Cooperating Groups.** The NALC and other postal unions, sometimes at odds over policies governing the recognition of unions within the Post Office Department, usually work together on pay bills and other legislation to increase benefits. A House Post Office and Civil Service Committee staff member said the smaller postal unions



## — LOBBY LOG —

generally follow the leadership of the NALC and the United Federation of Postal Clerks, the two largest.

Some of the small independent unions that do not belong to the AFL-CIO fear that President Nixon's executive order and proposed labor-management laws will give an advantage to large unions such as the NALC and postal clerks by granting only exclusive national recognition to unions.

Under existing procedures, small unions unable to win national recognition can receive recognition to represent workers at the local level.

Lewis said the NALC cooperates with organizations representing Federal Government employees outside the Post Office when their interests are similar. Rademacher, he pointed out, is chairman of the AFL-CIO Government Employees Council, which includes all Government employee groups that are members of the federation.

On some issues, however, postal workers and federal employees pursue different aims. On HR 13000, for example, the American Federation of Government Employees supports the provisions setting up a wage commission and arbitration board but argues that the special pay raise for postal workers discriminates against other federal employees.

"We have the same objectives as other organizations," Rademacher said, "but we're a little bit more aggressive. We lead the way here, and they follow."

"If something doesn't happen in the postal service, there will be a strike," he continued. "Congress hears plenty from the postal service but they haven't heard anything from the federal service. We're asking for special consideration for the postal service—most of our members are men with families to support—but they're saying they should get the increase too."

"This bill came about as the result of our testimony on June 26," Rademacher said, "then the federal employees said 'us too.'"

### Outlook

Rademacher termed 1969 "a very successful year" for the NALC so far. He cited a 13-13 tie vote in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee that in effect defeated the Administration's postal corporation plan. (*Weekly Report* p. 1918, 1992)

"The corporation bill is one that has given us a headache," Rademacher said. "We campaigned very hard with the facts, not with finances. But we don't take credit for the tie vote...it wasn't a pro-union or anti-union vote."

The Administration still hopes to win approval for a corporation, however, and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee members Nov. 20 said Administration officials had offered to accept HR 13000 if it were tied to creation of a postal corporation.

In an executive session Nov. 20, the Committee commissioned Chairman McGee and Sen. Hiram L. Fong (R Hawaii), ranking minority member, to seek a compromise with Administration officials.

Rademacher objected to any "package deal" tying the pay raise to a postal corporation.

"Our people are bitter and feel ill-used," he said. "They do not believe that an agreement on a postal reform bill can be reached before Christmas, and I agree with them."

**Mayors' Lobby.** Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City is attempting to organize an informal coalition of mayors from large cities to lobby Congress for legislation and appropriations of benefit to the nation's urban areas. Peter F. Tufo, director of New York City's Washington, D.C., office, said Lindsay's proposal was "intended to supplement already existing organizations...on an issue-by-issue basis."

Tufo said Lindsay had discussed his proposal with mayors of other major cities and would continue planning meetings of the National League of Cities Dec. 1-5 in San Diego, Calif., and the Urban Coalition Dec. 10 in Washington. Among issues of concern to the mayors are housing appropriations, welfare reform, federal revenue-sharing and federal aid to hospitals and mass transit systems, Tufo said.

**School Funds.** The AFL-CIO Nov. 21 called for a Congressional investigation of alleged abuse and misuse of federal funds for elementary and secondary schools.

In letters to Rep. Carl D. Perkins (D Ky.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, and to Sen. Claiborne Pell (D R.I.), chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee Subcommittee on Education, AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller said charges made in a recent report on the use of Title I funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were "sufficiently alarming" to require investigation.

**ADA Response.** Leon Shull, national director of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), said Nov. 24 the Nixon Administration "is engaged in the most dangerous form of political polarization that this country has witnessed since the days of Joe McCarthy."

Shull, in a speech prepared for an ADA meeting in Atlanta, Ga., criticized Vice President Agnew's statements about the nation's news media and charged the Administration with a "calculated attempt to influence what the people are to be allowed to know."

**Okinawa Return.** Raymond A. Gallagher, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Nov. 19 wrote President Nixon that his organization "strongly opposes the return of Okinawa to Japan's administrative control." (*Weekly Report* p. 2386)

**League Officers.** The United States Savings and Loan League Nov. 20 elected John H. Randolph Jr., Richmond, Va., to succeed Tom B. Scott Jr., Jackson, Miss., as president of the trade group. Lewis S. Eaton, Fresno, Calif., was elected vice president of the organization, which represents more than 5,100 savings and loan institutions.

**Chamber Positions.** The board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States Nov. 24 voted to support President Nixon's proposal to raise Social Security benefits by 10 percent. The board also supported the Administration's revenue-sharing plan, federal mass transit funds and stiffer laws to control organized crime.

The board opposed proposals to give exclusive representation of all consumer interests to one department or Government agency and bills to require broadcasters to sell time to the Federal Government or to political candidates at reduced rates.



Postal reform

WEDNESDAY, MONDAY, APRIL 20, 1970

## Uncle Sam Learns About Living With Labor

By A. H. RASKIN

Uncle Sam's relations with his 2.7 million civil servants will never be the same. The landmark settlement negotiated by the Nixon Administration and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. after the nation's first postal strike marks the end of a sleepytime era in which the leaders of most Federal unions were closer to Congress than to their own rank and file.

From now on governmental collective bargaining will correspond much more to the industrial pattern than it ever did under the pioneering Executive Order President Kennedy promulgated in 1962 or even under the liberalized version President Nixon signed, to labor's delight, less than six months ago.

Wages, traditionally the province of Capitol Hill and the White House, have been brought into the orbit of direct negotiation. To be sure, the settlement speeds emancipation of the postal service from Federal operating control, but this fact will not keep workers in every other agency from clamoring for the same right to voice and veto over pay that the postal employees dragged the Government into granting.

That prospect is heightened by the assurance written into the pact that the postmen will have the best of both worlds. They will retain all the established benefits, preferences and

protections of the civil service, plus as much more as they can get through bargaining in vacations, holidays, health and life insurance, seniority and promotion procedures. And, of course, in pay.

Not surprisingly, the accomplishments already recorded on the postal wage front have brought hints from other Federal unions of "me too" demands.

### Spur to Chain Reaction

The Administration hoped that it could head off a chain reaction by voluntarily including all Federal civilian and military personnel in the first-round postal pay increase of 6 per cent, retroactive to last Dec. 27. Under the President's original budget, such an across-the-board increase would not have become effective until next Jan. 1 and, even then, it would have averaged only 5.75 per cent.

On the basis of that \$2-billion pot-sweetener, some White House officials were optimistic that they could confine the promised second-round postal pay raise of 8 per cent to mailmen alone. That increase will not go into effect until Congress okays the postal reform plan.

The 8 per cent was a major incentive for labor's decision to abandon its long resistance to the whole reorganization idea—a resistance that had effectively blocked the plan on Capitol Hill. Indeed, the union switch came

only after the Administration upped its second-round offer from 6 per cent, thus putting another \$130 million into postmen's pockets.

But these special factors in the mail negotiations are unlikely to slake the appetites of other unionized Federal employees. Their wages have always moved up in rough tandem with those in the postal service, and their family budgets are just as pinched by the current upsurge in living costs.

Most important, they have had their first object lesson that strikes in vital governmental agencies do pay off, even when troops are called in to end them. That lesson may have more carryover impact than the President's warning in his postal message to Congress last week that "the people of this nation cannot and will not submit to the coercion of strikes by employees of the Federal Government."

The recognition of this danger in Washington is coupled with the evidence given by the air traffic controllers' "sick-out" as well as the postal strike that laws calling for mandatory dismissal and even jail terms for strikers are unenforceable.

One safeguard against the potentially catastrophic interaction of these realities would be to extend into the wage area all the instruments of negotiation, mediation and even arbitration provided under the October Ex-

ecutive order for other phases of employee relations. George Meany and the postal union chiefs have agreed to binding arbitration as the end point for settling all contract disputes in the new postal establishment. That involved a 180-degree shift away from tradition for them, as it did for the Government. **In the Face of Tradition**

If Congress buys this approach for mailmen—and the indications are strong it will—there is every good reason to make the same techniques applicable as a safety valve throughout the Federal Government. That may upset traditionalists, but it offers promise of heading off confrontations that undermine respect for all law.

Tradition already has taken a long flight out the window when the President of the United States and the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. negotiate not only on wages but on basic governmental policy on how to deliver the mails.

"We never could have got this settlement with a pro-union Administration in the White House," said one union spokesman after the pact. "The President would have been scared silly of being accused of selling out to the unions."

The test for both sides from here on out is to prove there was nothing to be scared about.

A. H. RASKIN is assistant editor of the editorial page.

## The Poetry and Politics of Space

By ANTHONY LEWIS

LONDON, April 19—The British Broadcasting Corporation's news readers, as they tell them on radio here, are serious for their well-bred sense of emotion. Not a word is not a thought usually from the tone of even And so it made an the other night, the announcer giving Apollo 13's reported and

President Agnew, returning to the politics of hate, was denouncing "the social levelers of the New Left" who demand, he said, "that the space program be sucked down into the nearest slum."

However provocative his language, Mr. Agnew was dealing with an issue that will have to be faced: What priority should the United States give to manned space flights?

### Conceptual Differences

For each of us, the answer must depend initially on an instinctive view of the space program and its place in human history. That it is an immense technological achievement, in courage, none de-

scientific knowledge, but their real purpose is not to open new ways for commerce or science but to face a challenge at the outer limit of human imagination and strength.

There is great nobility in the latter view. Any earthbound man may wonder at a fellow-creature who dares to climb the highest mountain or fly to the moon. But it does not follow that a nation should devote a substantial part of its limited resources to such efforts.

Of course there is fascination in the whole idea of space exploration, and more so with men than unmanned rockets. We yearn to know about the origins of our universe.

There are priorities in

sense of competition with the Soviet Union, the desire going back to President Kennedy to revive America's pride and reputation by excelling in space.

### No Escape to the Moon

But there may now be a deeper reason for wanting to attack space instead of slums: we are so much better at it. We can summon the imagination and the political will that we no longer seem able to in dealing with earthly problems.

The trouble is that we are not all going to be able to escape to the moon. External problems often seem easier to solve, for countries and people. But unless we human beings manage to do something about war and poverty and the corruption of our surroundings, "action outside earth happy or



# REVIEW *and* OUTLOOK

## Moving the Mail

The first priority in the current mail strike is to get the mail moving. President Nixon recognized as much yesterday when he ordered military personnel to handle essential mail in New York City, where the tie-up started and where the Post Office was still shut down.

At the same time Mr. Nixon stressed that the "overwhelming majority" of postal employees had refused to join the illegal walkout and instead were carrying out their responsibilities. To these workers, as well as to those on strike, he promised full discussions of all grievances—but not while thousands remain off their jobs.

As the President conceded, the economic problems of postal workers in some cases are severe. Still, those problems should be kept in perspective.

The top pay of letter carriers, \$8,442, obviously is not high in these inflated times. Perhaps it's worth remembering, though, that the median income for all U.S. families is only about \$8,000. Whatever the problems of the postmen, in other words, around half of all Americans are worse off.

Federal employees, moreover, have a degree of job security seldom attainable in private employment. This security is especially great in the Post Office, where the chief change over the years has been a growing demand for service—and personnel.

The real problems the postmen do have run much deeper than money. Ironically, most of the postal workers' unions have been fighting tooth and nail to preserve the politics-ridden system that is mainly responsible for their members' troubles.

Some critics claim the Administration precipitated the mail crisis by tying a postal pay raise to sensible postal reform. If the Administration did in fact link the two, it was showing much more compassion for the workers' real grievances than their leaders were.

It is, for one thing, perfectly clear that \$8,442 is a lot more money in some parts of the nation than it is in others. But Congress, setting postal wages largely for political reasons, hasn't

been inclined to fix higher wages for one member's constituents than for others.

A semi-independent postal authority, of the sort the Administration proposes, would be flexible enough to take living costs into account. At the same time, of course, it could shear away the political appointees who still occupy many top postal positions, and thus leave many career postal workers stuck in dead-end jobs.

If the postal unions really wanted to help their members, all of them would have been working hard for reform. An \$8,442 wage wouldn't look discouraging anywhere if an ambitious postal worker knew that it did not need to be the end of the road.

However serious the problems of any of the workers, they do not justify illegal strikes. The fact that the strikes started in New York is unsurprising; postal workers there have watched while other public employees pulled illegal walkouts—and usually wound up being rewarded with higher pay.

New York has long been known as a "good" labor town, meaning one where the politicians generally knuckle under to the unions. At the state level this shows up in the fact that New York actually pays unemployment benefits to workers who go out on strike. Since the benefits are financed by employers, the companies thus subsidize strikes against themselves.

The Federal Government simply cannot permit itself to get in that sort of predicament. If the postal strikers get away with this power play, there are many other Federal workers only too likely to follow the leaders.

What is at issue, as President Nixon said, is survival of a Government based upon law. If the strikers begin to see that is so, there will be no need for the President to order troops into cities other than New York. He made it clear, though, that he would not hesitate to take whatever steps become necessary.

It was the sort of decision no political leader enjoys making. The postal strikers, however, left a President of the United States no other choice.

PRESERVATION COPY



# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1970

PAGE A18

## Proving a Point (the Hard Way)

It is possible, in retrospect, to view Mr. Nixon's effort to link a postal wage increase with a postal reform bill as the cause of our present miseries: the fuse that set off the series of strikes which have paralyzed commerce and worked great personal hardship around the country. But we should take care not to sound too shocked by what now turns out to have been a presidential blunder or to pretend that the linkage of a postal pay increase with anything else is an unprecedented affront to both logic and equity. Postal politics, as they are practiced on the Hill and in concert with the Department and the vigorous postal lobbies, have traditionally amounted to the biggest back-scratch in town, and had Mr. Nixon managed to gain the support of the postal workers for his reform bill in this way we doubt that anyone's sense of logic or equity would have been disturbed. On the contrary, he would have been credited with a clever maneuver.

What made the whole thing a good deal less than clever was the administration's thoughtless attempt simultaneously to defer another pay raise the postal workers were awaiting (along with non-postal government workers) for purposes of fighting inflation or at least of appearing to fight it by contriving a budgetary surplus for fiscal 1971. Taken together this was too much and just seemed too unfair to those postal workers whose salaries and scheduled increases make life in places like New York City a pretty chancy and bleak affair at best. Evidently it was this double-whammy that focused rage and propelled action in the form of the illegal strikes. Now, as it seems, at some point the government will be negotiating the pay increase separately from the postal reform legislation.

If we (and the postal workers) could step back from the chaos of the moment and take a different view of events, a couple of instructive ironies might emerge. The postal unions and their leaders (with the principal exception of Mr. Rademacher) from the beginning and without much more than reflexive response undertook to fight the Nixon administration reform proposal. That proposal would transform the Post Office Department into a wholly

government-owned corporation under the direction of a board and the management of full-time professionals—as distinct from political appointees and congressional kibitzers. The postal workers' unions in this arrangement would come to function as unions for the first time, rather than as lobbies, and it is this prospective change which the postal workers have found so unsettling. This is true even though the bill which has emerged in the House provides for collective bargaining with the corporation management and compulsory arbitration in the event of stalemate. (As now, there would be no right to strike). The grounds for postal workers' opposition to the change are that the workers have traditionally been regarded as Congress' pets; they have been loath to give up their patronage by a Congress that acts in their behalf out of its members' own political interests; they have felt threatened by a prospect others hail—namely that the Post Office will be taken “out of politics.”

What we think could be instructive in the present situation is a consideration of the way in which “politics” have served the postal workers in this case, because the thing clearly works both ways. Under an orderly and apolitical and independent dispensation, such as the postal corporation would provide, postal wages would be geared to something more dependable than congressional whim or administration policies for government or the economy as a whole. The bargaining process would be rationalized; it would be liberated from extraneous considerations; it would not be moved by views of postal workers as a political lobby that must be propitiated or, alternatively, as a collection of government employees whose interests can be sacrificed for the sake of getting something through Congress or cooling off the economy or whatever else. Perhaps when the disastrous events of the moment have been brought under control, the resisters of reform in the postal workers' complex will come to ponder this fact. It's not what you would call a silver lining, but it is a hope: the slim chance that the striking workers will come to question not just the wages they are earning, but the system by which they have been doled out.

PRESERVATION COPY



Tuesday, March 24, 1970

# Pact by Nixon, Union Leader Rebounds to Embarrass Both

By Murray Seeger

Los Angeles Times

Early on the evening of Dec. 5, James D. Rademacher, the natty, articulate and ambitious president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, was secretly ushered into the White House to meet with aides of President Nixon.

To Rademacher's surprise, Mr. Nixon joined the con-

versation and suggested they be photographed together to record the meeting. At the subsequent conference, a deal was made that has now exploded into the nation's first post office strike to the deep embarrassment of both participants in the conference.

Rademacher left the White House convinced he had successfully bypassed Post-

master General Winton M. Blount and assured a sizable pay increase for the 200,000 members of his union as well as other workers in the Post Office Department.

Rademacher's position as the leader of the seven major postal unions seemed secure and it was possible he would be recognized as top leader of all the rapidly growing unions representing federal workers.

For Mr. Nixon, the evening's agreement, which became known a few weeks later, meant crucial labor support to get the embattled reform plan for the Post Office out of the House Post Office Committee, which had blocked it. He agreed to approve a sizable pay increase if it were tied directly to a bill taking the department out of his Cabinet and its chronic deficits out of the federal budget.

Now, four months after their meeting, the two have found out how badly they miscalculated.

Rademacher is fighting to survive as head of his union in face of opposition in major cities where letter carriers have defied return-to-work orders by him and the President.

Mr. Nixon has lost nearly all hope for getting a postal reform law from Congress this year as well as the postal rate increase he sought.

See UNION, A3, Col. 1

## Nixon Pact With Union Rebounds

UNION, From A1

His hair-thin budget surplus for the current fiscal year and for the next one are jeopardized, because the apparent solution to the postal strike will be a big pay increase that in domino fashion will lead to approval of pay increases for 3.5 million other federal employees and military personnel.

The postal unions are the oldest and most firmly entrenched of the federal employee unions. Rademacher was the only postal union official to endorse The President's plan for reforming the Post Office Department. When this bold step did not produce the pay raise his members have been waiting for since October, Rademacher found key locals abandoning him.

One labor source, who declined to be identified but is generally sympathetic to Rademacher, saw the situation this way:

"Jim is about 100 yards behind his members instead of being out in front where a leader should be. He got too close to Nixon in this case and that's the wrong place for a labor leader to be."

### Growing Militancy

Both Mr. Nixon and Rademacher have been overrun by the sweep of militancy among all public employees. This movement has been most conspicuous at the city level, where strikes have been staged by every kind of worker from doctors to grave diggers—including firemen and policemen.

In 1958 there were 15 public employee strikes involving 1,720 workers. In 1968, there were 254 public employee strikes involving 201,800 workers.

While seven unions have national agreements with the Post Office Department and four others are recognized as bargaining agents, the letter carriers are considered the most politically effective.

This union is the only one with its jurisdiction almost entirely organized coast-to-coast.

The other union leaders resent Rademacher's solo dealing with the President. The campaign to get the postal reform bill became a tussle between Rademacher's union and the administration on one side and the six other unions on the other.

### Committees Is Split

As a result the House Post Office Committee was badly split.

A modified reform bill was approved by the House committee but has not been considered on the floor. A postal salary bill did pass the House and Senate in different forms but no action has been taken to put it into final form.

Rademacher, who was disappointed not to be named a vice president of the AFL-CIO in February, had been talking about taking his union into the new rival labor federation, the American Labor Alliance, whose chief members are the United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. His plans may be changed, too.

In New York the other day, members of Rademacher's union were calling their president "rat-maker" and shouting, "Let's throw him out."

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## In The Nation: The Mailmen 'Give It a Jolt'

By TOM WICKER

WASHINGTON, March 23—Of course, President Nixon is right that the postal workers cannot be allowed to strike against the Government; and, of course, he cannot negotiate on their wage demands until they return to work, because to do so would be to legitimate an illegal strike. But neither these assertions nor the use of troops to deliver the mail in New York goes to the heart of the matter, which is whether the situation should have been allowed to come to such an impasse.

The postal situation, in fact, is all too exemplary of what so often happens in America today. An institution fails to respond quickly or effectively to the needs or desires of those it affects; they then take matters into their own hands; and the institution is forced to respond with tough measures—political repression or strike-breaking.

### Mistrust of 'the System'

When that happens, those—whether blacks, students or postmen—who tried and failed to get a response, before turning to the direct action for which they are rebuked, can hardly be blamed for developing a bitter mistrust of "the system." The first requirement

of any institution should be that it function with reasonable effectiveness and equity; if it does not, it can hardly hope for and does not deserve allegiance and respect.

The postal workers, for instance, as well as other Government employees, have been asked to abide by the self-evident proposition that there is no right to strike against the Government. But it is equally self-evident that, if that is so, the Government must take care to maintain its side of the compact. Its employees must not be put in the position of having no way to gain a just end except by breaking the law.

### Caught in a Bind

Without asserting that the postal workers' demands are entirely justified, it does seem clear that they are not well paid by the standards of other public service employees; and this is particularly so in the major cities, where both the cost of living and the risks of the job are likely to be higher than in the small towns.

The postal workers, moreover, have been caught in the Nixon Administration's fight against inflation (although if the President had been as militantly against corporation price increases as he has been against postal pay rises, the workers

might be less irritated). And they are victims of the political maneuvering that has accompanied the linkage of a proposed pay increase to the difficult, if desirable, postal reform the Administration has been seeking.

Thus, while the strike that spread so swiftly from New York across the nation was certainly a "wildcat" which the Government cannot tolerate, it is unjustified only in the strictest legal sense. It would by no means be unjustified by the standards that govern most employee-union relations; and, in fact, since the Government claims the right to deny its employee unions the ultimate weapon used by other labor organizations, the Government has a greater obligation than most industries to consider in timely and sympathetic fashion the needs and welfare of its employees. It is at least questionable whether that obligation was met in the case of the postal workers.

The worst of the resulting strike is that there is no satisfactory way out of it. To try to break it with troops is not only distasteful; it could produce violence and bitterness that might even prolong the strike, and postal authorities say untrained soldiers can't do

the job anyway. To negotiate a wage increase while the strike goes on is to invite more strikes by other dissatisfied Government employees.

### Unsatisfactory Resolution

Yet, to insist—as Mr. Nixon has little alternative but to do—that the union must return to work before negotiations can begin is to some extent unfair in that it puts the burden on the workers and denies the Government's share of the blame for the situation; it is self-serving, in that it asks the letter carriers to entrust their welfare to the very institution they believe has already neglected it; and it is ironic in that even if the union does go back to work, and a pay rise is granted in the subsequent negotiations, the postal workers still are quite likely to draw the conclusion that only the strike got results.

All this should have been avoided in a vigorous and effective political system. As it is, the strike is one more suggestion that the American system has become so massive and impersonal and therefore so unresponsive that the only way to make it act is to give it, in John W. Gardner's phrase, "a solid jolt." That is a basic reason for the harsh conflicts in American society today.

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# Career Mail Unionist

James Henry Rademacher Jr.



Associated Press

*"There's no other way to reform the post office except all the way."*

**JAMES H. RADEMACHER** Jr., the 48-year-old president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, sees his embattled role as that of the hero betrayed by those he would save: "It's like having a leader take you into war in Vietnam, get ready for the final battle, and you shoot him dead."

**Man** Mr. Rademacher, throughout the illegal strike by **In the** some locals of **News** his unions, has urged his membership to stay at work—or return to their jobs if they had already walked out—so that negotiations for wage increases could get under way. But his support of the Government position, which earned him the anger of some letter carriers, shifted to a defense of his men when President Nixon announced the use of troops to move the mail.

"I am in absolute opposition to anyone replacing professional letter carriers," he said. But earlier, in an interview, he had hard words for the "militancy of one group," which he contended was responsible for the walkout.

"I compliment them for their courage," he said sharply. "I cannot concur with their actions."

junction was denied on a technicality. Saturday mail service was restored after the funds became available.

After progressing into the union's national ranks, Mr. Rademacher and his family moved to Washington 10 years ago. For the last eight years he has been the national president of the letter carriers union, finding the time also to edit *The Postal Record*, the union's monthly publication.

Married since 1941—or, as he puts it, "The same amount of time I've been in the post office"—to the former Martha K. Rice, Mr. Rademacher and his wife live in Alexandria, Va. Their two children, Linda, 23, and Charles, 28, are both married, and the Rademachers have three grandchildren.

Mr. Rademacher, a baldish man of medium height, says he is fascinated by the "tremendous challenge to develop better postal service." He is a strong advocate of President Nixon's proposed postal authority, convinced that "there's no other way to reform the post office except all the way."

But he also is a guarded optimist: Asked if it might someday be possible to mail a letter in New York on a Monday and have it delivered in Chicago on a Tuesday, he says: "That's very possible, if we have modernization and automation."

Has he any hobbies? "I'm entirely wrapped up in this job," Mr. Rademacher replies. "I work seven days a week at this job. I had a vacation 18 years ago."

## Reproof for Strikers

Commenting on the actions of New York City letter carriers who had hanged him in effigy during a strike meeting Saturday, the union leader said:

"They don't understand. They've never gone through a strike. We have no strike fund, no legal aid fund. These members are demanding the tactics of unions without having earned the right to trade-unionism."

The problem, as Mr. Rademacher sees it, began with the widening lag between post-office salaries and what career-minded men could earn elsewhere. As a result, he said, there has been "a new kind of people coming in—you get just anybody who's not interested in postal service; they're just interested in a paycheck and out they go."

For Mr. Rademacher, "the post office has been a my life." His career has been uninterrupted, even by two years of Navy service; at his own request, he was assigned to the fleet post office in New York City.

James Henry Rademacher Jr. was born in Detroit on July 18, 1921. His father, now retired, was a letter carrier for 30 years; his brother, William J. Rademacher, is a letter carrier in Tucson, Ariz.

After graduating from high school in 1941 ("I got my entire education through the school of hard knocks"), Mr. Rademacher entered the postal service, starting as a substitute letter carrier at an hourly wage of 65 cents—"When I worked." His first monthly pay check amounted to \$12.

After his Navy service, Mr. Rademacher remembers, "I was a typical, returning G.I., dissatisfied with unions, and I demanded to know what I was getting for my \$1 monthly dues. The shop steward gave me the book to collect the dues, and I became the shop steward—no one wanted the job."

Mr. Rademacher took 15 new members to the first union meeting he attended, and soon he became an officer of the Detroit branch of the union, and then a delegate to the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.

In 1950 he became president of the branch in Detroit and tangled with Arthur J. Summerfield of Michigan, then the United States Postmaster General.

"I'm the only one ever to sue him to get an injunction against stopping Saturday mail service when he was denied appropriations," Mr. Rademacher recalls. The in-

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## 'Survival of Government'

President Nixon needs and deserves full national support in the steps he reluctantly took yesterday to end the illegal postal strike. Every citizen will regret that it has proved necessary to order troops into the New York Post Office, the first time in the country's history that the military has been used to replace striking Federal civil service employees.

That tragic precedent never would have been set if the sound back-to-work advice of the national leaders of the union had been accepted, and the way cleared for immediate negotiations on the very real grievances of the postal employees. The damage done to everyone by the present disastrous confrontation can still be undone by a swift termination of the illegal tie-up.

The factors that made action imperative were clearly set forth in Mr. Nixon's television address. One was the havoc that continued postal paralysis would inflict on every citizen; the other was the necessity for demonstrating that the nation cannot be coerced through the abuse of power by any group—a principle vital to the "survival of a government based on law."

None of this negates the justice of the postal workers' basic demand for higher pay nor does it sweep away the culpability of both Administration and Congress for letting the pay issue become a pawn in the frustrating tug-of-war over postal reform. But national attention has now been riveted on the merits of the postmen's case and a mechanism provided for speedily negotiating their demands.

George Meany, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., yesterday joined the heads of all the postal unions in urging the postal strikers to resume their duties at once lest they forfeit the public support now so overwhelmingly theirs. Mr. Meany deplors the use of troops in the postal situation, but his chief stress is on the urgency of a return to work to clear the way for redress of all the injustices and inequities the postal employees suffer. The same constructive note was sounded immediately after the Nixon speech by James H. Rademacher, national president of the unionized letter carriers.

The President, for his part, has shown commendable resolve to proceed with restraint in fulfilling his duty to move the mails. He has delayed sending military units into other cities in the hope that the strikers there will end their defiance, thus joining the substantial majority of postal workers who never quit. Even in New York, the sole city in which Federal troops will be employed, soldiers will not be used to deliver the mail. Their primary function will be to sort it under the direction of regular postal supervisors and make it available for pickup at the post office.

It is tragic that troops are needed at all. The right way to get them out—and at the same time to assure equity for the postal workers—is for an orderly resumption of work everywhere. That is the course recommended by the President of the United States and the president of the labor movement. It is the course that will work best for the postal employees and for the country. It is the road away from potential disaster, the road to economic justice for men engaged in a vital national service.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1970

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6-A

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

## EDITORIALS

# The President Is Firm, Sympathetic And Right

PRESIDENT NIXON did the minimum necessary to back up his weekend promise to meet his constitutional responsibilities in the national post office crisis. He could not have done less than urge a general return to work and order the use of military personnel to move the mail in New York City, which is the starting and pressure point of the postal logjam.

Yet even as he took the unprecedented step in using troops to replace federal civilian workers, the President said the replacements would be used only as a supplementary force necessary for "essential mail services" and that they would be withdrawn as those now striking return to their jobs.

It was a remarkable show of restraint in the face of an illegal strike against the government and the people of the nation. President Nixon did well to re-

view the legitimate grievances of the postal workers who have seen their civil service pay eroded by a dangerous rate of inflation. This has been particularly hard on families in big cities and explains the bitterness of strikers in New York and Chicago.

But when all the hardships have been counted and all the comparisons with bus drivers and garbage collectors have been made, the essential argument remains: This was an illegal strike against the government of the United States and it could not be met with handwringing and it could not be bought off with surrender and hasty congressional action.

The same Congress that has known for more than a year that a postal raise was needed could not hand over money to those in violation of a vital federal law that forbids strikes by government employees.

This, then, was the rub. Leaders of the postal union had lost control over their members. It became the President's job to get the men back to work or use federal troops to replace them and get essential mail service restored. Yet the same President has no control over appropriations to meet the postal service payroll. Only Congress can do that. And it is a Congress that frittered away days and weeks and months because it has been too politically gunshy to make the necessary decision on reform of the outdated and sluggish postal system.

President Nixon is going to catch a lot of ugly language from the striking post office workers in New York and the other large cities where service is hamstrung by walkouts. But he will have the overwhelming support of the American people in demanding that negotiation and not blackmail be the answer to giving the post office workers a fair wage.





ALLENTOWN, PA.  
CALL

D. 90,478 — S. 122,514  
ALLENTOWN METROPOLITAN AREA

MAR 24 1970

*Postal reform*

## Two Pleas to Heed

Seldom in any labor dispute have spokesmen for opposing factions sounded as much alike as the President of the United States and the chief of the National Association of Letter Carriers when they appealed to holdout strikers to return to their jobs and wait five days for an orderly settlement of a justifiable wage grievance.

This, said both President Nixon and James Radermacher, president of the postal union, is a national crisis. More than the wages of postal workers is at stake. The critical issue, as the strikers have been playing it out by their defiance of all authority except their own, is the survival of a government based on law and order.

Both ask for only five days to avoid a national disaster. If the Taft-Hartley Act applied, as it does in other major labor disputes, they could expect 80.

Only the enemies of this country would be happy to see troops march into the nation's biggest city to handle the mail. This would give them the opportunity to shout to the world that even government employees, sworn to uphold the laws of the land, have lost faith in their country and are rebelling against it.

Nothing would be said, of course, about the postal workers in the Lehigh Valley and more than a half million of the country's other mailmen who remained on the job confident that the President, the Congress and their own officers would resolve the long-standing grievances promptly. Even as the President spoke, the back-to-work move was on in scores of cities in which service had been interrupted. Others were given a few more hours. Many more stayed on the job than walked out.

If the wildcat strikes in New York and other major cities were necessary to arouse public sympathy for the just causes of the mailmen, they have served this purpose. Only those who are responsive to the pleas of the presidents of their country and their national union will have it today.



March 23, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HERB KLEIN  
LYN NOFZIGER  
JEB MAGRUDER  
PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

CHUCK COLSON

These two articles give you the best analysis of the legislative situation of anything yet printed.



Broad-scale voter registration drives, such as those conducted by the Southern Regional Council or the League of Women Voters, still can receive foundation aid.

Individual grants, as long as they are "awarded on an objective and non-discriminatory basis," still can be made. The Ford Foundation, for example, reports that it is continuing to make grants.

**IRS supervision**—Meantime, at the Internal Revenue Service, the Audit Division's Exempt Organizations Examination Branch, headed by a career IRS specialist, Edison J. Nunez, is gearing up to handle an increased work load of returns from private foundations. In the past, Wright Patman has been particularly critical of IRS supervision of foundations.

At the same time, foundation lobbyists have shifted from Capitol Hill to the IRS' Exempt Organizations Branch. The tax law specialists in the branch must draft the regulations interpreting provisions of the bill and establishing administrative procedures. The proposed regulations will be subject to public comment and IRS hearings before becoming final.

Prentice Bowsher

#### In the media

- The Denver Post: Arguments pro and con on the U.S. oil industry's depletion allowance tax benefit and oil import quotas. Dec. 25.

## Commerce

#### Commerce notes

- Census Bureau reported that the estimated U.S. population at midnight, Jan. 1, was 204,334,344, an increase of 2,067,000 since the same date in 1969. Jan. 1 (CB70-1).
- Census Bureau reported the value of total new construction activity in November 1969 was at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of \$92.0 billion, compared to the revised rate of \$93.9 billion in October. Jan. 2 (Com 70-2).
- Census Bureau released report showing sudden, sharp decline in number of Negro families living in urban poverty centers, confirming earlier estimate that both whites and blacks are moving out of inner cities. Report showed decline of 15 per cent in number of families living in poverty areas of 250,000 or more, from 1960 to March 1968. White families living in urban poverty areas declined 18 per cent, while minorities declined 9 per cent. Ratio of blacks to whites in poverty areas remains two-to-one. Jan. 5.

#### In the media

- Fortune: "What Business Thinks." Survey of business executives' attitudes toward federal regulatory agencies. January issue.

## Labor

#### Labor notes

- Secretary Shultz established an Advisory Committee on Construction Safety and Health, to advise him on safety and health matters in federally funded construction work. Dec. 23 (10-922).
- Bureau of Labor Statistics preliminary report indicated wholesale prices increased 0.3 per cent in December. Increase brought preliminary wholesale price index to 115.0, 4.7 per cent above one year ago. Dec. 24 (Lab 10-921).
- Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 0.23 per cent of total working time was lost during 1969 because of strikes, down from 0.28 per cent in 1968. Work stoppages, however, totaled a record 5,600 involving 2.5 million workers. Jan. 5 (10-927).
- Department study supports construction union contention that high wages are necessary to offset high rate of unemployment in industry. Industrial unemployment between 1960 and 1968 averaged 11.1 per cent, compared to 5.2 per cent for all other non-farm laborers. Jan. 6.

#### In the media

- Los Angeles Times: Will the Philadelphia plan guarantee jobs for minorities? Dec. 29.

## Post Office

### White House seeks to tie pay increase to postal reform bill

A recent attempt by the Nixon Administration to compromise with the postal unions on postal reform may have foundered—after creating almost as much mistrust as agreement.

The compromise would link a pay raise for postal workers with the conversion of the Post Office Department into a corporation-like "Postal Service Authority."

The proposed compromise bill (HR 15430) is similar to the Administration's postal reform bill (HR 11750) in providing for an autonomous post office organization, rather than the present federal department. Both bills, however, continue to take a back seat in Congress to a third reform measure (HR 4), which would retain the present department.

HR 15430 would fall far short of the 11-per cent pay raise that the postal unions are demanding.

The attempted compromise is based on a new—and already shaky—alliance between the Administration and the nation's largest postal union, the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO.

**White House talks:** The compromise attempt was born in talks at the White House in December between James H. Rademacher, president of the letter carriers' union, and two White House aides, Charles W. Colson and Henry C. Cashen II, special and deputy counsel, respectively, to President Nixon.

Rademacher, like other postal union leaders, has opposed the Administration's proposal to create a government-owned corporation, the "U.S. Postal Service." But Rademacher has been pressing the Administration for a pay raise for postal employees; he was the force behind an expensive mail campaign that resulted in the arrival at the White House of 3 million postcards and letters favoring the raise.

Two versions of a pay raise bill (HR 13000) are now before a House-Senate conference committee. President Nixon, however, has threatened to veto the more costly House version,



which is specifically aimed at the postal workers; he has not commented publicly on the Senate version, which includes all federal employees.

Rademacher went to the White House Dec. 5 to test the results of his mail campaign. There, he met with Colson, an old friend.

According to Rademacher, Colson told him that the President would not sign a pay raise bill because it would be too expensive. But, Rademacher told the *National Journal*, Colson said the President would agree to a postal pay raise measure—if Rademacher would support a postal corporation plan that would allow the Administration to recoup its pay-raise losses over the long run.

Colson confirmed to the *National Journal* Rademacher's version of their conversation. Colson said that Rademacher responded by repeating his opposition to the corporation concept. There was, however, no impasse—Colson, Cashen and Rademacher went on that day to discuss "all the possible variations on HR 11750," Colson said.

Rademacher submitted his objections to HR 11750 in writing at another White House meeting Dec. 6. By the end of this meeting, Rademacher says, he thought a workable compromise might be near.

**Udall's role:** So, apparently, did the White House. In mid-December, Colson, Cashen and Rademacher approached Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., and asked him to sponsor a compromise effort in Congress.

Udall, a respected and influential member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has long supported the concept of a postal corporation; although a Democrat, he sponsors a Republican Administration's bill—HR 11750—to create such a corporation.

Udall agreed to lead the compromise effort in the House committee. On Dec. 17, he convened a meeting of the seven AFL-CIO postal unions and the largest independent, the National Postal Union, to describe the compromise and seek their support.

**Republican displeasure:** The White House, meanwhile, chose the committee's fourth-ranked Republican, Edward J. Derwinski, Ill., to tell the other Republican members of the committee about the compromise. This angered the first- and second-ranking Republicans, Robert J. Cor-

bett, Pa., and H.R. Gross, Iowa—although both are known to oppose the postal corporation concept.

Derwinski caucused the Republican members of the House committee on the evening of Dec. 17. Corbett was present for a few minutes and left. Gross boycotted the meeting. Later, he told the *National Journal* that he "didn't have any time to devote to it" because of the press of business on the House floor. Neither did Gross nor Corbett attend another Republican caucus the next morning, Dec. 18. **Committee meeting:** Thus, both men had little prior knowledge of the elements of the compromise proposal when Udall presented it to the committee in executive session that same day.

According to Gross, Udall told the committee that the Administration wanted to see the compromise passed that same day and taken before the House the following Tuesday (Dec. 23). "This was absolutely ludicrous," Gross said. "The House couldn't even get a report on it in that time."

At the end of the meeting, still on the committee table was HR 4, the postal reform bill sponsored by Committee Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski, D-N.Y. In a key decision Oct. 8, the committee had voted to mark up HR 4, rather than the Administration's HR 11750. (*See Vol I p. 326.*)

Despite the poor reception given the compromise proposal at the committee session, a 139-page draft of it was fashioned that afternoon by committee aides, with the help of David A. Nelson, general counsel of the Post Office Department. Rep. Glenn Cunningham, R-Neb., Dec. 23 introduced the draft as HR 15430.

**Unions' position:** The postal unions have rejected HR 15430. They say it bears no resemblance to the bill Udall described to them at their meeting.

Francis Filbey, president of the 170,000-member United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO, says the bill does not contain all the features Udall promised.

Rademacher also has rejected the written product. "It was just thrown together within 24 hours and doesn't meet with the approval of anybody I know," he said.

The postal clerks' union stated in their Jan. 2 newsletter that no other union speaks for them and that they are now committed to no specific bill. The statement does not mention

Rademacher by name but apparently it is aimed at him.

Rademacher replies to critics thus: "Any union that thinks I sold out, as some unions have been charging, ought to wait until this bill comes out. Nothing would be happening toward reform...if it weren't for those letters..."

His campaign of mail to the White House may be the source of some inter-union jealousy. On Dec. 18, the day of the House committee's executive session, Rademacher was in the White House having his photograph taken with President Nixon and a pile of the letters.

**Blount's role:** Although he has stayed behind the scenes, Postmaster General Winton M. Blount is pleased with HR 15430. It shows similarities to HR 11750; it even gives postal leadership more ratemaking authority than HR 11750. The Post Office Department, however, has issued no statements concerning the compromise efforts.

**Udall's status:** It is widely asserted among House committee aides and union officials that Udall feels the White House reneged on him after he acted on its behalf in good faith. Udall's executive assistant, Richard C. Olson, denies this, however. Olson says controversial items were left out of HR 15430 intentionally but will be reinserted during markup. "It wouldn't make much sense to say he (Udall) was betrayed, because this is just an interim working paper," Olson said.

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Frank S. Joseph



## Post Office

Pressures, legislative maneuvering  
yield big gain for postal corporation

Months of intense pressure, mostly hidden but occasionally bubbling to the surface, have resulted in a Nixon Administration victory few observers expected—a favorable House Post Office and Civil Service Committee vote to convert the Post Office Department into a quasi-corporation owned by the government.

The victory is as fragile as it is surprising. It is one reason behind a wildcat strike of postal workers in New York City—the first postal strike in U.S. history. And the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee is disregarding it for now, preferring to pursue reform within the existing structure of the Cabinet-level department.

It was won through legislative maneuvering and intense pressure by the Administration and others—and it left many sore losers. The Administration's key allies were James H. Rademacher, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), and Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz.

Chances of passage on the House floor are good.

**Bill:** The product of the fight is a totally new version of HR 4, a bill which originally contained the non-corporate reform proposals of Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski, D-N.Y., chairman of the House committee. (*For key provisions of bill, see box. For background on postal reform, see p. 71 and Vol. 1 p. 326.*)

**Rademacher:** Rademacher was pivotal to the corporation bill's success. He is president of the largest of the 11 postal unions (210,000 members). His is one of the six AFL-CIO unions which, along with the independent National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, have exclusive-recognition contracts with the Post Office Department. In December, he became the only one of the union presidents to voice support for the corporation proposal.

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as have the unions to which he listens. But in mid-February—unable to secure a quorum and with the largest postal union no longer opposed to a corporation—Dulski decided to seek postal reform in whatever way possible.

He was frustrated in his efforts to help negotiate an acceptable corporation compromise. He feels, his staff members say, that Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, through Post Office General Counsel David A. Nelson, disregarded whatever bargains had been struck in drafting his versions of the legislation.

On Feb. 25, Dulski called a meeting of his committee and the press to make an announcement he had not disclosed to committee members. He said he had made an effort to compromise with corporation proponents and had failed. So, he said, the committee would proceed with his own bill. Then the press was ushered out and, a quorum present at last, Dulski began his first markup session in weeks.

**New Administration pressure:** Dulski's action prompted new movement on the issue. Behind the committee's closed doors, Udall told Dulski he would try to work out a corporation substitute, and the chairman assented. It was understood that his bill would remain on the table during Udall's efforts.

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Counsellor to the President Bryce N. Harlow was a leading mediator with Members of Congress. He met two or three times with Dulski and the committee's ranking Republican, Robert J. Corbett, Pa.

Rademacher was very active. Outside the committee room after Dulski's Feb. 25 meeting, he told newsmen the NALC would strike if the corporation-pay raise bill did not progress. He combined this public pressure with private meetings with Members. And he helped write the final draft bill, along with Nelson, the chief drafter, and Gabusi.



In committee: When the committee met March 12, corporation proponents were in command.

David N. Henderson of North Carolina, the committee's second-ranking Democrat and formerly a foe of the corporation, offered a procedural motion to substitute the Nelson-Rademacher-Gabusi draft for Dulski's bill. Points of order against the motion were offered by H. R. Gross, R-Iowa, and William D. Ford, D-Mich., but they were rejected by the chair.

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The pro-corporation coalition's first choice was James M. Hanley, D-N.Y., chairman of the Subcommittee on Position Classification. Hanley agreed to try. On March 9, he saw a steady stream of visitors in his office. Only two — Rademacher and the Post Office representative — spoke in favor of the bill. As a result, Hanley refused to sponsor it (although he did vote for it) and the coalition zeroed in on Henderson.

**Henderson**—Henderson faces a difficult re-election fight this year. His opponent, Herbert H. Howell, is a vigorous campaigner who lost to Henderson in 1968 by less than 9,000 votes (receiving 46 per cent of all votes cast).

Many persons close to the committee have heard that Henderson received indications that the national Republican organization would not go all out to defeat him because he agreed to lead the committee fight for the corporation bill.

Reports that such deals had been made appeared March 17 in the *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.) "Federal Spotlight" column, although no names were mentioned.

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Henderson's administrative assistant, Charles Whitley, denies "categorically" that Henderson made a deal. So does the White House. "Mr. Henderson became convinced as time went on that we had to have meaningful reform and that this bill was the way to get it," Whitley says.

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**Brasco**—Henderson's was one of two key votes. The other belonged to Frank J. Brasco, D-N.Y. Brasco says he agreed to vote for the authority after an amendment was inserted to protect dues-checkoff privileges for the independent postal unions. Bras-

co's Brooklyn district includes many members of two of the most influential independents—the 70,000-member National Postal Union and the 40,000-member National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees.

**Outlook:** The bill stands a good chance of House passage, although Gross promises to "fight it in every way I know how" on the floor, as do others.

The Senate committee initially is disregarding the House action. At its first markup session March 19, the draft offered by Chairman Gale W. McGee, D-Wyo., sought reform within the existing structure.

McGee opposes a corporation. The views of the other 11 members are not clear. Seven are up for re-election in 1970—including McGee—and thus will be particularly vulnerable to pressure.

McGee warned from the Senate floor March 13 that the New York City strike would damage the unions' cause. "All that a precipitate act can do at this critical stage...is not only to louse it up, but probably to introduce a series of reverse responses..."

Frank S. Joseph



March 23, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HERB KLEIN  
LYN NOFZIGER  
JEB MAGRUDER  
PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

CHUCK COLSON

These two articles give you the best analysis of the legislative situation of anything yet printed.



Broad-scale voter registration drives, such as those conducted by the Southern Regional Council or the League of Women Voters, still can receive foundation aid.

Individual grants, as long as they are "awarded on an objective and non-discriminatory basis," still can be made. The Ford Foundation, for example, reports that it is continuing to make grants.

**IRS supervision**—Meantime, at the Internal Revenue Service, the Audit Division's Exempt Organizations Examination Branch, headed by a career IRS specialist, Edison J. Nunez, is gearing up to handle an increased work load of returns from private foundations. In the past, Wright Patman has been particularly critical of IRS supervision of foundations.

At the same time, foundation lobbyists have shifted from Capitol Hill to the IRS' Exempt Organizations Branch. The tax law specialists in the branch must draft the regulations interpreting provisions of the bill and establishing administrative procedures. The proposed regulations will be subject to public comment and IRS hearings before becoming final.

Prentice Bowsher

#### In the media

- The Denver Post: Arguments pro and con on the U.S. oil industry's depletion allowance tax benefit and oil import quotas. Dec. 25.

## Commerce

#### Commerce notes

- Census Bureau reported that the estimated U.S. population at midnight, Jan. 1, was 204,334,344, an increase of 2,067,000 since the same date in 1969. Jan. 1 (CB70-1).
- Census Bureau reported the value of total new construction activity in November 1969 was at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of \$92.0 billion, compared to the revised rate of \$93.9 billion in October. Jan. 2 (Com 70-2).
- Census Bureau released report showing sudden, sharp decline in number of Negro families living in urban poverty centers, confirming earlier estimate that both whites and blacks are moving out of inner cities. Report showed decline of 15 per cent in number of families living in poverty areas of 250,000 or more, from 1960 to March 1968. White families living in urban poverty areas declined 18 per cent, while minorities declined 9 per cent. Ratio of blacks to whites in poverty areas remains two-to-one. Jan. 5.

#### In the media

- Fortune: "What Business Thinks." Survey of business executives' attitudes toward federal regulatory agencies. January issue.

## Labor

#### Labor notes

- Secretary Shultz established an Advisory Committee on Construction Safety and Health, to advise him on safety and health matters in federally funded construction work. Dec. 23 (10-922).
- Bureau of Labor Statistics preliminary report indicated wholesale prices increased 0.3 per cent in December. Increase brought preliminary wholesale price index to 115.0, 4.7 per cent above one year ago. Dec. 24 (Lab 10-921).
- Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated that 0.23 per cent of total working time was lost during 1969 because of strikes, down from 0.28 per cent in 1968. Work stoppages, however, totaled a record 5,600 involving 2.5 million workers. Jan. 5 (10-927).
- Department study supports construction union contention that high wages are necessary to offset high rate of unemployment in industry. Industrial unemployment between 1960 and 1968 averaged 11.1 per cent, compared to 5.2 per cent for all other non-farm laborers. Jan. 6.

#### In the media

- Los Angeles Times: Will the Philadelphia plan guarantee jobs for minorities? Dec. 29.

## Post Office

### White House seeks to tie pay increase to postal reform bill

A recent attempt by the Nixon Administration to compromise with the postal unions on postal reform may have foundered—after creating almost as much mistrust as agreement.

The compromise would link a pay raise for postal workers with the conversion of the Post Office Department into a corporation-like "Postal Service Authority."

The proposed compromise bill (HR 15430) is similar to the Administration's postal reform bill (HR 11750) in providing for an autonomous post office organization, rather than the present federal department. Both bills, however, continue to take a back seat in Congress to a third reform measure (HR 4), which would retain the present department.

HR 15430 would fall far short of the 11-per cent pay raise that the postal unions are demanding.

The attempted compromise is based on a new—and already shaky—alliance between the Administration and the nation's largest postal union, the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO.

**White House talks:** The compromise attempt was born in talks at the White House in December between James H. Rademacher, president of the letter carriers' union, and two White House aides, Charles W. Colson and Henry C. Cashen II, special and deputy counsel, respectively, to President Nixon.

Rademacher, like other postal union leaders, has opposed the Administration's proposal to create a government-owned corporation, the "U.S. Postal Service." But Rademacher has been pressing the Administration for a pay raise for postal employees; he was the force behind an expensive mail campaign that resulted in the arrival at the White House of 3 million postcards and letters favoring the raise.

Two versions of a pay raise bill (HR 13000) are now before a House-Senate conference committee. President Nixon, however, has threatened to veto the more costly House version,



which is specifically aimed at the postal workers; he has not commented publicly on the Senate version, which includes all federal employees.

Rademacher went to the White House Dec. 5 to test the results of his mail campaign. There, he met with Colson, an old friend.

According to Rademacher, Colson told him that the President would not sign a pay raise bill because it would be too expensive. But, Rademacher told the *National Journal*, Colson said the President would agree to a postal pay raise measure—if Rademacher would support a postal corporation plan that would allow the Administration to recoup its pay-raise losses over the long run.

Colson confirmed to the *National Journal* Rademacher's version of their conversation. Colson said that Rademacher responded by repeating his opposition to the corporation concept. There was, however, no impasse—Colson, Cashen and Rademacher went on that day to discuss "all the possible variations on HR 11750," Colson said.

Rademacher submitted his objections to HR 11750 in writing at another White House meeting Dec. 6. By the end of this meeting, Rademacher says, he thought a workable compromise might be near.

**Udall's role:** So, apparently, did the White House. In mid-December, Colson, Cashen and Rademacher approached Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., and asked him to sponsor a compromise effort in Congress.

Udall, a respected and influential member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, has long supported the concept of a postal corporation; although a Democrat, he sponsors a Republican Administration's bill—HR 11750—to create such a corporation.

Udall agreed to lead the compromise effort in the House committee. On Dec. 17, he convened a meeting of the seven AFL-CIO postal unions and the largest independent, the National Postal Union, to describe the compromise and seek their support.

**Republican displeasure:** The White House, meanwhile, chose the committee's fourth-ranked Republican, Edward J. Derwinski, Ill., to tell the other Republican members of the committee about the compromise. This angered the first- and second-ranking Republicans, Robert J. Cor-

bett, Pa., and H.R. Gross, Iowa—although both are known to oppose the postal corporation concept.

Derwinski caucused the Republican members of the House committee on the evening of Dec. 17. Corbett was present for a few minutes and left. Gross boycotted the meeting. Later, he told the *National Journal* that he "didn't have any time to devote to it" because of the press of business on the House floor. Neither did Gross nor Corbett attend another Republican caucus the next morning, Dec. 18. **Committee meeting:** Thus, both men had little prior knowledge of the elements of the compromise proposal when Udall presented it to the committee in executive session that same day.

According to Gross, Udall told the committee that the Administration wanted to see the compromise passed that same day and taken before the House the following Tuesday (Dec. 23). "This was absolutely ludicrous," Gross said. "The House couldn't even get a report on it in that time."

At the end of the meeting, still on the committee table was HR 4, the postal reform bill sponsored by Committee Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski, D-N.Y. In a key decision Oct. 8, the committee had voted to mark up HR 4, rather than the Administration's HR 11750. (*See Vol I p. 326.*)

Despite the poor reception given the compromise proposal at the committee session, a 139-page draft of it was fashioned that afternoon by committee aides, with the help of David A. Nelson, general counsel of the Post Office Department. Rep. Glenn Cunningham, R-Neb., Dec. 23 introduced the draft as HR 15430.

**Unions' position:** The postal unions have rejected HR 15430. They say it bears no resemblance to the bill Udall described to them at their meeting.

Francis Filbey, president of the 170,000-member United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO, says the bill does not contain all the features Udall promised.

Rademacher also has rejected the written product. "It was just thrown together within 24 hours and doesn't meet with the approval of anybody I know," he said.

The postal clerks' union stated in their Jan. 2 newsletter that no other union speaks for them and that they are now committed to no specific bill. The statement does not mention

Rademacher by name but apparently it is aimed at him.

Rademacher replies to critics thus: "Any union that thinks I sold out, as some unions have been charging, ought to wait until this bill comes out. Nothing would be happening toward reform...if it weren't for those letters..."

His campaign of mail to the White House may be the source of some inter-union jealousy. On Dec. 18, the day of the House committee's executive session, Rademacher was in the White House having his photograph taken with President Nixon and a pile of the letters.

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North Carolina GOP headquarters were shocked at the suggestion of a deal and said they had not heard of such a thing. Howell himself was deeply disturbed. "I'd be terribly disappointed to believe my party would trade or bargain in a district like this where they have a chance of winning," he told *National Journal*.

**Brasco—**Henderson's was one of two key votes. The other belonged to Frank J. Brasco, D-N.Y. Brasco says he agreed to vote for the authority after an amendment was inserted to protect dues-checkoff privileges for the independent postal unions. Bras-

co's Brooklyn district includes many members of two of the most influential independents—the 70,000-member National Postal Union and the 40,000-member National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees.

**Outlook:** The bill stands a good chance of House passage, although Gross promises to "fight it in every way I know how" on the floor, as do others.

The Senate committee initially is disregarding the House action. At its first markup session March 19, the draft offered by Chairman Gale W. McGee, D-Wyo., sought reform within the existing structure.

McGee opposes a corporation. The views of the other 11 members are not clear. Seven are up for re-election in 1970—including McGee—and thus will be particularly vulnerable to pressure.

McGee warned from the Senate floor March 13 that the New York City strike would damage the unions' cause. "All that a precipitate act can do at this critical stage...is not only to louse it up, but probably to introduce a series of reverse responses..."

Frank S. Joseph