(Safire) JK Postal Reform April 6, 1970

Disaster

Proposed Statement on Postal Settlement in Connection With Legislative Leaders Meeting

~~The way to solve a problem permanently is to get at its root cause:~~ ~~My~~ The negotiated plan to solve our postal problem does exactly that by putting an end to the unfairness that has been allowed to develop.

Hypocrisy

It is unfair for government workers to be paid less than their counterparts in private enterprise; that is why I have urged a 6% across-the-board increase.

It is unfair for the public to be saddled with inefficient, slow postal service in this modern day and age; that is why I have pressed for postal reform, a semi

It is unfair for taxpayers to bear the burden of continuing postal deficits, when most mail is used by businesses that should be prepared to pay for the service they use; that is why I have urged that rates be raised to put the postal system on a break-even basis.

disaster

It is unfair for postal workers not to be compensated for the improvements in the postal service, or not to have a reasonable rate of advancement in pay; that is why I recommend collective bargaining to include at least an 8% raise in pay, and the waiting period required to move to the top of the pay scale be reduced from 21 to 8 years.

Obviously, each part of this solution to our postal problem is related to the other parts; together, they make up a package of fairness that the public and the workers deserve.

####

Third Draft

March 24, 1970

POSTAL MESSAGE

Events of recent days have reaffirmed the need for constructive legislative action to deal with the fundamental problems of the postal service. There is widespread agreement that these problems are inherent in the system. Now is the time to change the system.

Legislation to achieve this end is well-advanced in the legislative process. It is embodied in HR 4, the basic postal reform bill proposed by this Administration last April, and reported out by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee earlier this month. This legislation would:

-- increase postal salaries by 11.1% (the first 5.4% retroactive to January 1, 1970);

-- compress from 21 to 8 years the time in which an employee could rise to the top of his pay scale;

-- provide the mechanism for regional collective bargaining that would enable workers to have a strong and organized voice in their economic future, reflecting regional needs and with compulsory arbitration to resolve impasses;

-- make the postal system more effective and stop it from being a drain on the taxpayer.

Had this measure been law, there would have been no stoppage by postal employees. Regional collective bargaining procedures with compulsory arbitration, which it provides, would have removed any reason for a stoppage.

I therefore urge the Congress to proceed with this action begun well before illegal stoppages took place. Passage of H. R. 4 would be consistent with my earlier recommendations, consistent with the House Committee's previous vote and would permanently remove the fundamental causes of the present dispute. And it would make meaningful the negotiations this Administration hopes and expects to enter into with the postal unions once there has been a substantial return of employees to work; without this legislation, meaningful negotiations will be difficult at best since any conclusions reached will still be contingent upon subsequent actions of the Congress.

This is no time to exchange charges of who is to blame for what has happened. Let us grant that all parties to the dispute share some of the responsibility. Nor is this a time for nothing more than the palliative of a pay increase which leaves untouched the very deficiencies in the system that led to these troubled days. This is a time for the Congress and the Administration, working together, to move quickly to complete action on this essential reform of the Postal system. In doing so we will be acting in the interest of not only our postal workers but also for the good of all our citizens.

# # # #

Harlow
Shultz
Cleared for Tone
wants

1st Draft: POSTAL MESSAGE

~~Safire - 3/24/70~~

The United States Government cannot and will not negotiate with postal employees in a climate of coercion.

We need not, however, await the end of any work stoppage to proceed with basic legislation ~~action~~ to deal with postal problems which we began last year.

9070

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-- make the postal system more effective and stop it from being a drain on the taxpayer.

This legislation, HR4, was considered by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee for many months and was reported out of Committee by a vote of 17 to 6 on March 12, 1970.

THIS MEASURE BEEN LAW

Had ~~the House voted on this measure, and had the Senate concurred,~~ there would have been no stoppage by postal employees. Regional collective bargaining procedures with compulsory arbitration, as in the bill I proposed, would have removed any reason for a stoppage.

I therefore call upon the Congress to proceed with action begun on pay and reform legislation well before this illegal stoppage took place. Since H. R. 4 has been voted out of Committee, the House could act on this necessary legislation within a matter of hours.

The work stoppage must not be used as an excuse to delay prompt passage of legislation created and considered in an earlier atmosphere devoid of intimidation.

The action I urge the Congress to take immediately -- passage of HR 4, the Postal Reform Act -- is consistent with my earlier recommendations, consistent with the House Committee's previous vote and will permanently remove the fundamental causes of the present dispute.

?

~~With this legislation enacted into law, negotiations could proceed quickly.~~ Immediate passage of HR 4 would make meaningful the negotiations this Administration hopes and expects to enter into with the postal unions once ~~the~~ there has been a substantial return of employees ~~have returned~~ to work; without this legislation, meaningful negotiations will be difficult at best since any conclusions reached will still be contingent upon subsequent actions of the Congress.

The legislation I have been proposing for the past year provides the procedures needed to deal with the issues which have created this National emergency, and Congressional passage is -- as we have seen -- long overdue.

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Postal reform

AN AMENDMENT TO POSTAL REFORM LEGISLATION

8000. Parcel Post Revenues and Costs

Notwithstanding any other provisions of this act or any other law:

(1) It is the intent of the Congress to recognize that the service of the Postal Service involving parcels is in competition with privately owned carriers; and that the Postal Service shall conduct its affairs so as not to compete unfairly with such privately owned carriers by direct or indirect subsidy.

(2) Nothing in this act shall be held or considered to modify, supersede, change or otherwise affect the application of Sections 4558 and 4559 of Title 39, United States Code, relating to parcel post rate making procedures and authority and to certification of fourth class mail revenue-cost relationship, or to modify, change or otherwise affect any authority, duty, or responsibility of the postal service's Chief Executive officer under such sections. Parcel Post rates under such sections shall be set at a level to recover all costs demonstrably related to services involving such parcels as well as a full ~~part~~ share of the costs related to the postal service generally.

(3) "Funds available for the Postal Service shall not be expended in any fiscal year until the Chief Executive Officer shall have made the certification required by Section 4559 of Title 39, United States Code.

1-15-70
1-14-70

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(1) It is the intent of the Congress to recognize that the service of the Postal Service involving parcels is in competition with privately owned carriers; and that the Postal Service shall conduct its affairs so as not to compete unfairly with such privately owned carriers by direct or indirect subsidy.

(This is a statement of policy which would continue to deny subsidy to parcel post. Now that proposals have been made for postal reform, we believe it is essential to restate even more explicitly, and in one place, the responsibility of parcel post to maintain rates which will recover its full costs. This policy gives meaning to all the more specific provisions which follow. It is the key point of the proposal. Each of the following statements should be interpreted in the light of this policy.)

(2) The Postal Service, in setting rates for service involving parcels, shall recover:

(a) The carrying charges on all capital employed in providing such service;

(b) An imputed charge for the Federal, State, and local taxes which it would have to pay if it were privately owned and providing such service;

(c) All other costs demonstrably related to services involving parcels; and

(d) A reasonable part of those costs which are not demonstrably related to any particular class or classes of service, but are related to the Postal Service generally;

so as to prevent unfair competition with private enterprise engaged in the transportation of parcels.

(This identifies types of costs which should be recovered through parcel post rates so as to prevent unfair competition with private enterprise carriers.)

(3) For the purpose of determining future revenue needs for the service of the Postal Service involving parcels, cost projections shall be consistent with subsection 2 of this section, including known changes which have not yet become effective, provided however that a reasonable basis for projection of number, weight and distribution of parcels will be used.

(This provides guidance for projecting or forecasting revenue needs.)

(4) At least annually, the Postal Service shall make such rate changes as will bring rates for parcels in the Postal Service into compliance with subsections 1, 2 and 3 of this section or the Chief Executive Officer shall certify in writing to the panel of Rate Commissioners that such rates are already in compliance.

(This retains the spirit of existing law which requires annual certification that parcel post costs and revenues are in approximate balance. This yearly re-evaluation is necessary so that unfair rate advantages shall not be created by static parcel post rates in a period of escalating costs.

(Experience reveals that the required balance between parcel post revenues and costs has been maintained only when the law has directed that certification be made that such a balance exists.

(In other words, some years ago when the Postmaster General was not required by law to confirm that he was recovering his costs, he generally failed to do so. When the law was revised to require certification, his cost recovery record improved.)

(5) All data required for compliance with this section shall be made available to the public annually.

(This will provide for yearly publication of appropriate data.)

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Comparison of H.R. 11750 with H.R. 4

Organization

H.R. 11750 Under the Administration proposal the Postal Service would be a Government-owned corporation, with a nine-member Board of Directors, seven of whom would be appointed by the President. These directors would appoint a Chief Executive Officer, who, with the Presidentially-appointed directors, would appoint a Chief Operating Officer.

The Postal Service would have the customary general powers of a corporation: to sue and be sued, to adopt by-laws and regulations, to enter into and perform contracts, to keep its own system of accounts, to acquire and dispose of property, to raise funds, to appoint and assign duties to officers and employees, etc. The Postal Service would be subject to the Government Corporation Control Act with some modification.

H.R. 4 Under H.R. 4, the Post Office Department would remain a Cabinet-level department without corporate powers. However, H.R. 4 would establish a Postal Modernization Authority, a Government corporation, with the Postmaster General as the Administrator and an Executive Director appointed by the Administrator for a 5-year term. The Authority would raise funds, acquire and modernize facilities and equipment and lease them to the Department. All real property and equipment belonging to the Department would be transferred to the Authority. The Postal Modernization Authority would be subject to the Government Corporation Control Act with some exceptions.

Personnel and Labor-Management Relations

H.R. 11750 The Administration proposal provides that the Postal Service would appoint and promote personnel on merit and fitness and without regard to politics. Present Post Office Department employees would become Postal Service employees. Their compensation, benefits, and other terms and conditions of employment would continue until changed by the Postal Service in accordance with specified collective bargaining procedures. Pension and retirement rights would remain in the Civil Service Retirement Program. However, Postal Service employees would be appointed and promoted outside Civil Service laws (with some exceptions).

There would be no statutory residence requirement for postmasters.

Except for the fact that strikes would still be prohibited, labor-management relations would be subject to the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959. These laws are applicable to private corporations as well.

Disputes in the course of collective bargaining would be handled by procedures mutually agreed upon by the parties, and failing agreement, through the 9-member Postal Disputes Panel. The Panel would consist of three men named by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Director, three men named by the American Arbitration Association, and three men named by the first six. The Disputes Panel could mediate the disputed issues, make findings of fact, or make recommendations. Issues as to which no agreement resulted would ultimately be referred to binding arbitration by an ad hoc arbitration board, unless the Disputes Panel decided that the status quo should be preserved.

Grievances would be settled under procedures set forth in collective bargaining agreements.

H.R. 4

H.R. 4 provides that the Postmaster General would make all postmaster appointments without regard to any recommendations except those furnished at the Postmaster General's request. However, the residency requirement would remain in effect in the selection of postmasters. Postal employees in the Bureaus of Facilities, Planning and Marketing, and Research and Engineering would be transferred from the Post Office Department to the Postal Modernization Authority. Postal Modernization Authority employees would remain in the Civil Service system.

Under H.R. 4, exclusive recognition would be required on a national basis for unions representing each of the seven postal "crafts": postal clerks, city letter carriers, mail handlers, motor vehicle employees, rural letter carriers, special delivery messengers, and maintenance employees. Thus, H.R. 4 would bar the right of employees to organize and elect bargaining representatives of their own choosing on an "industrial union" basis or on a less-than-nationwide basis. The exclusively recognized unions would have "the right to participate with management in the formulation, implementation, and modification of personnel policies and practices and all other matters affecting the conditions of employment of employees in the unit." But wages would continue to be set by Congress. Since employees could not bargain for better wages, they would not have much stake in increasing productivity; since postal management could not bargain over wages, it would have little to offer labor in exchange for labor's agreement on more efficient work practices.

H.R. 4 would create a "Postal Labor-Management Relations Panel" of three members, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. In case of a dispute over the application or interpretation of any provision of H.R. 4, the terms to be incorporated in an agreement, or an alleged violation of any agreement, either the Department or any recognized postal union could invoke the services of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and, if this proved unsuccessful, then refer the matter to the Panel. The Panel "shall assist the parties in arriving at a settlement through whatever voluntary methods and procedures it may consider to be appropriate." If no settlement is reached through other means, the Panel is required to hold hearings and, in effect, act as a panel of arbitrators. The Panel is empowered to grant relief with respect to the issues involved in any dispute, including reinstatement, restitution of monetary loss, and such other compensatory measures as it deems appropriate in respect to any employee involved in the dispute. If the Panel determines that there has been a knowing violation of H.R. 4, it may recommend that the Postmaster General take appropriate disciplinary action (such as demotion, suspension, or removal) and the Postmaster General is required to take such action as he determines to be proper. Orders and written decisions of the Panel would be final and binding and enforceable in U. S. District Courts.

There would be basically the same provisions for supervisors' organizations as for employee organizations.

Finance

H.R. 11750 The Administration's bill provides that the capital of the Postal Service would be the equity of the U. S. in the Department as shown in the President's budget. All machinery and equipment, certain real property and other items would be transferred from the Department to the Postal Service. There would be a revolving fund in the Treasury called the Postal Service Fund, with no fiscal year limitation, credited with revenues, receipts from sale of obligations, appropriations, interest and other receipts. Transitional appropriations would be authorized.

The Postal Service would also raise funds through borrowing and selling its own obligations, which will not be guaranteed by the United States. Total amount of obligations outstanding would be limited to $10 billion. The Treasury Department may purchase any of the obligations and may be required to make purchases up to $2 billion. Obligations for capital improvements may be increased only by $1.5 billion a year.

The Comptroller General would audit the Postal Service transactions but would not disallow credit or withhold funds because of any expenditures which the Postal Service deems necessary to carry out provisions of the new law.

H.R. 4 HR. 4 proposes that the capital of the Post Office Department would continue as at present, except that facilities, equipment and research would be provided by the Postal Modernization Authority.

There would be a revolving fund in the Treasury, not subject to fiscal year limitation, credited with revenues and other funds. Appropriations would be authorized as at present.

The Postal Modernization Authority would raise funds by issuing bonds against the limited security of mortgages, pledges or deeds of trust on the property or revenues of the Authority -- that is, postal facilities and rents paid by the Post Office to the Authority. The total outstanding obligations would be limited to $20 billion. The Treasury's obligation to purchase these bonds would be limited to $500 million. The obligations would not be guaranteed by the United States.

The Comptroller General's authority would be the same as under H.R. 11750.

Rates and Rate-Making

H.R. 11750 The Administration bill proposes that the Postal Service is to be self-supporting within five years, except for free and subsidized mail. Congress shall determine free and subsidized mail and make annual appropriation to fund it.

The Postal Service would initiate and publish rate proposals as proposed. A panel of three rate commissioners appointed by the seven Presidentially-appointed members of the Board from a Civil Service register would hold public hearings and issue the initial decision. The Presidentially-appointed directors of the Postal Service would make the final decision, based on the record, which can be appealed in Federal appellate courts for procedural errors. Congress may disapprove the changes by concurrent resolution.

Proposed changes in service and service complaints would be subject to much the same procedures as rate proposals, but would not be subject to Congressional review.

H.R. 4 H.R. 4 would establish a Commission on Postal Finance with eleven members, five appointed by the President, three appointed by the House Speaker and three appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate. The Commission would quadrennially review and make recommendations on public service costs, the working of the Postal Modernization Authority and the Cost Ascertainment System, and on rate changes and other charges and fees. The system of rates devised by the Commission is to make the Post Office Department self-supporting, except for public service costs. The Commission would be required to identify public services and their costs. Until changed, the Postal Policy Act would govern public service costs, and appropriations would be made to fund such services.

The Commission's recommendations on rates, public service costs, and the functions and capitalization of the Postal Modernization Authority would become law if the President approved and Congress did not disapprove. The Commission's recommendations on charges and fees within the control of the Postmaster General, and its recommendations on the Cost Ascertainment System, would be sent to the President for his transmission of such directions as he deems appropriate to the Postmaster General.

Proposed service changes and rates and service complaints would be handled as at present.

Transportation

H.R. 11750 Regulated motor carriers, freight forwarders and express companies would have the same statutory obligation to transport mail and provide related services as now applies to railroads. In addition, the Administration proposal would give the Postal Service the same statutory authority to negotiate with air carriers for mail transportation as the Post Office Department now has in regard to mail carried by railroads. The Postal Service would ordinarily contract with certificated air carriers, but under certain limited circumstances would contract with non-certificated air carriers.

The proposed Postal Service may permit a carrier to use more than one mode of transportation in its carriage of mail.

Under the Administration's proposal, the current restrictions on star route contracts would be eliminated.

H.R. 4 Under H R. 4, the same statutory obligation to transport mail and provide related services as now applies to railroads would apply to regulated motor carriers and freight forwarders, but not express companies. The Post Office Department would be given the same statutory authority to negotiate with air carriers for mail transportation as the Department now has in regard to mail carried by railroads. However, this would apply only to certificated air carriers and no authority would be granted to contract with non-certificated air carriers.

The Post Office Department would be able to contract, without advertising for bids, for mail transport by motor vehicle service when the service is part of through service with rail, air or vessel.

Summary

H.R. 11750 H.R. 11750 focuses responsibility and authority for postal costs (eighty percent of which are wage costs), postal rates, and postal finances in a form of corporate management that provides for continuity. But there are checks and balances: wage costs are subject to collective bargaining; rate changes are subject to Congressional disapproval; bond financing is subject to the disciplines of the financial market place; management continuity is subject to the top operating management being replaced by the Board of Directors if it fails to do the job.

H.R. 4 H.R. 4 leaves the responsibility and authority for wages in the Congress. Postal rate changes would be the responsibility of a quadrennial commission, whose recommendations would be subject to Presidential approval and Congressional disapproval. A new Postal Modernization Authority would be empowered to borrow capital. The Postmaster General would remain a Cabinet officer, serving at the pleasure of the President.

Change caption of Sec. 111 of H. R. 15430 to "Transitional Provisions on Employee Matters," and add the following new subsection 111(e) after line 8 on p. 135:

(e) The Authority shall perform a complete review of the job structure of the postal service, and at the earliest practicable time not later than the end of the 45th month following the date on which the Authority commences operations, the Authority shall publish a description of the various categories of jobs held or to be held by postal employees in collective bargaining units. Pay scales for such grade negotiated in accordance with Sec ~~such jobs~~, and procedures governing transfers and promotions of employees who hold or apply for such jobs, shall be established by the Authority consistent with sections 807 through 809 of title 39, United States Code, as enacted by section 102 of this act. It is the sense of Congress that as to ~~if any pay scale established under this section contains~~ graduated pay steps based upon the length of time the job to which such scale applies has been held, the maximum period of service required to reach the highest pay step for such job should not exceed 8 years.

STRICTLY ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ EYES ONLY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. OBJECTIVES

The ultimate objective of this marketing plan is the passage of the Administration's legislative proposal for the creation of a Federally-owned corporation to operate the U.S. postal system.

Preliminary objectives involve achievement of the widest possible public and Congressional understanding, acceptance and active support of the measure.

II. STRATEGY

Since the ultimate objective of this plan is to gain Congressional approval of the proposed legislation, the strategy is directed toward the end result of obtaining the support of a sufficient number of Representatives and Senators to insure passage of the measure in both the House and the Senate.

I. The Organization

To direct the implementation of our plan, a suitable public relations agency must be hired, prefereably one experienced in the conduct of a nation-wide promotion and possessing a number of regional branch operations. The agency would be responsible for the preparation of specific advertising and promotional materials, the dissemination and placement of such items, and the planning and supervision of all related programs.

In conjunction with the public relations firms, a prestigious "citizens' committee" would be formed. This organization would be non-partisan in nature and bi-partisan in composition. It is suggested that the co-chairmen be Lawrence O'Brien -- former Postmaster General who first advocated the corporation concept, and past Chairman of the Democratic National Committee -- and Thruston Morton -- a past Chairman of the Republican National Committee and U.S. Senator. Committee members would include nationally recognized leaders from the major segments of the economy, including business, labor, education, government, consumers, etc.

In addition, an attempt would be made to have such highly effective organizations as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, NAM, the Business Council, the National Association of Postmasters (NAPUS), etc., actively participate in the implementation of our plan by taking on our campaign as one of their organization's national projects.

II. The Purpose

Operating under the theory that Members of Congress are most responsive to (1) the expressed desires and demands of their own constituents, (2) the position taken by major opinion makers, such as community leaders, the newspapers, magazines, television, etc., and (3) the views of special interest groups and large voting blocs, including business, labor, etc., a drive would be launched to stimulate the maximum amount of active support possible from such sources at both the local and national levels and to direct this response to the attention of Congress.

III. The Method

Through the extensive use of the news media, special articles, paid advertising, public speeches, informational materials, promotional activities, and the utilization of volunteers and facilities of interested groups and organizations, the campaign would endeavor to convince as many individuals and groups as possible --

1. of the need to transfer the Post Office Department to a government-owned corporation,

2. of the superiority of the Administration's proposal over that of any other recommended legislation, and

3. to actively bring pressure upon Members of Congress, directly and indirectly, to support the Bill through such methods as the writing and sending of individual letters and wires, public statements, editorials, letters to the editor, resolutions, etc.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION

Background

For many years it has been apparent that the Post Office Department, as it is now structured, is no longer able to provide the type of efficient and economical mail service that the American public demands and deserves. Forced to operate with outdated equipment and facilities and outmoded management techniques, a bankrupt Post Office has been engaged in a losing struggle against increasing costs and volume.

We recognize that the structures and methods of a Post Office Department designed primarily to form and carry out Government policy determined and controlled by Congress are not geared to the running of a big business such as the postal service, We, therefore, recommended the creation of a government-owned postal corporation.

A Presidentially-appointed study group -- The Kappel Commission -- agreed that the only way to rescue the rapidly deteriorating postal system was to transfer the Post Office Department into a self-sustaining government-owned corporation.

Since that time, the idea has been widely discussed and seemingly has gained broad support. The previous Postmaster General, upon leaving office, also expressed his approval for such a change and the present Administration has committed itself to submitting a plan for total postal reform.

Public Attitude

Public reaction to the concept of a government-owned postal corporation is difficult to measure, although there are increasing indications that they are dissatisfied with the present service and the continuing cycle of increased postage rates to offset larger and larger deficits.

Over 40 Congressional polls indicate that, when asked, the public favors the concept of a government-owned postal corporation by a 70% - 20% margin (10% undecided).

Congressional Outlook

Over many years, postal employee organizations have built a powerful lobby in Congress, resting largely on political campaign support and contributions. The employee organizations survive largely on the basis of annual pay raise drives which keep their membership united and the individual organizations powerful. This partnership of pay-politics has been responsible for previous defeats for postal reforms. Again, it threatens, but this time the reform drive is sufficiently popular that the situation has required more subtle strategy than head-on attack. Not wishing to oppose postal reform, per se, the employee organizations can be expected to campaign for an alternative measure that would leave the vital control of postal pay in the hands of Congress which, of course, means leaving it vulnerable to the pressures of the unions.

The battle for Congressional support, therefore, is expected to be a difficult one. It appears that the only way to outmaneuver the employee organizations is to develop sufficient public support for the Administration's proposal to convince Members of Congress that they would have more to lose by supporting the other bill than by endorsing ours.

D. Favorable Factors

The single greatest factor for passage of a total postal reform measure is the broad feeling in Congress and elsewhere that the time for reform is at hand.

Editorial comment has been most favorable (303 editorials favorable, 25 opposed) and there is a move for reform in many areas of government. Students of good government are in the vanguard and a consumer-conscious Congress more and more is heeding the urgings of this segment of the population.

There is support from many respected groups and organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, the American Business Press, etc., and influential individuals like Mr. Kappel, former Postmaster General Gronouski, etc.

E. Problems

A number of hurdles stand in the way of achieving success. They include:

- -- the existence of the other major legislative reform proposal, mentioned earlier, that can be expected to siphon off some Congressional support, confuse the issue in the public's mind, and provide a rallying point for those who oppose our more "total" form of postal reform
- -- the legal restrictions against lobbying activities by government employees
- -- the organized opposition of the employee organizations, labor unions, etc.
- -- the possibility of an apathetic public that does not share our discontent with the present operation of the postal service, is wary of change, or cannot be prodded into sufficient demonstrable support for our proposal

IV. ACTIVITIES

The methods for carrying out the purposes of the plan would involve extensive utilization of a wide variety of activities.

A. News Stories and Special Articles:

A continuous flow of news releases and special articles would be issued to the news media, including the wire services, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, trade publications, etc. These would take such forms as the following:

-- announcement of the introduction of the Administration's Bill before Congress

-- follow-up statements of support by a wide variety of prestigious community and government leaders, etc.

-- special articles bearing PMG's byline prepared for submission to large-circulation national magazines, providing details of proposed plan, etc.

-- cover stories in Sunday supplements

-- "think-pieces" by syndicated correspondents and columnists

-- arrangement for private interviews of the PMG with news magazines and large newspapers, such as Time, Newsweek, New York Times, etc. (possibility of cover pictures on magazines)

-- special interviews arranged between the PMG and the wire services

-- announcement of the formation of a citizens committee at a specially-arranged news conference

-- announcement in each state of the formation of local committee supporting Administration's bill

-- preparation of all national news releases, using local tie-ins, for use in local news media

B. Editorials:

-- Follow-up approaches would be made to those editors already known to support our proposal to write additional favorable editorials. Information and suggestions would be supplied to these sources periodically. Special attention would be paid to chain operations such as Scripps-Howard, American Business Press (Robert Salstein's group), etc.

-- Suggested editorials would be prepared for editorial writing services that supply weeklies and small dailies.

-- Local contacts would be used to approach major dailies throughout the nation.

-- Attention also would be given to those radio and television stations that present editorial viewpoints.

-- Special efforts would be made to provide editorial matter designed to appeal to trade publications and house organs.

C. Guest Appearances:

Arrangements would be made for the Postmaster General and other prestigious supporters of the Administration's proposal to make guest appearances on such widely viewed national and regional television shows as:

- -- The Today Show
- -- The Tonight Show
- -- The Joey Bishop Show
- -- Panorama
- -- Martin Agronsky's News Program
- -- Walter Cronkite's 21st Century program, for a possible show comparing present day mail service vs. the corporation approach

D. Advertising:

The advertising agency would prepare a series of ads for use in the various news media. In addition to hammering away at the advantages of the bill, stress would be laid upon the importance of citizens writing their Congressmen to urge support of the measure. Ads might also be used to solicit funds in support of the campaign. In addition, a series of ads would be devised that might be run, without cost, as a public service.

Other forms of advertising would include a direct mail campaign, posters, decals, bumper stickers and counter displays, etc.

E. Printed Materials:

Supplementing the advertising materials previously mentioned, the following types of printed matter would be made available for wide distribution:

-- Fact Sheets
-- Q and A Papers
-- Flyers
-- Envelope Stuffers
-- Stock Speeches
-- Etc.

These materials would be broken down into two groups -- one providing information on the entire bill, and the other stressing specific appeals, such as increased efficiency, reduced costs, etc.

F. Speakers Bureau:

A national speakers bureau would be formed with branch operations in each region or state. Speakers would be available to appear at all public functions, including conventions, panel shows, organizational meetings, etc.

G. Letters to the Editor:

A campaign would be launched to flood the newspapers with letters to the editor. Responsibility for this would be distributed among the supporting organizations and local operations to avoid any appearance of a nationally directed or mass produced undertaking.

H. Special Promotions:

There are a number of special promotional possibilities which might be utilized. For example:

-- sponsoring organizations could purchase cancellation dies with a slogan in behalf of total postal reform for use by major meter users supporting our bill. This could involve millions of pieces of mail.

-- preparation of an item for sale, such as a handy guide to some type of important postal information, that could be sold with the proceeds to be used in support of our campaign.

I. Other:

Among the other vehicles which might be used to focus attention on our drive and to gain additional support, such as:

-- passage of supporting resolutions by state legislatures, national conventions, civic organizations, etc.

-- use of the Postal Forum as the site of a public debate, etc.

-- distribution of supporting petitions by volunteering organizations, etc., which would then be mailed to the appropriate Members of Congress

-- inclusion of "stuffers" by supporting organizations along with their mailings of bills, statements, news letters, etc.

V. FINANCING AND BUDGETING

The primary responsibility for raising the necessary funds for the hiring of an advertising agency and the implementation of the plan would rest with the members of the citizens' committee.

It would be the advertising agency's task to submit a suggested budget to cover the estimated total cost of successfully carrying out the campaign and to determine the specific allocation of funds for the various activities involved.

Some possible methods for securing the necessary funds are as follows:

- -- a solicitation drive from interested businessmen, mailers, etc., carried out by the members of the citizens' committee and other sponsoring organizations
- -- obtainment of a foundation grant
- -- public appeal for contributions made through advertisements, direct mail, etc.
- -- the sale of a specially designed promotional item -- such as a handy guide to some type of important postal information --

VI. HIGHLIGHTS TO-DATE

Overall Strategy

Operating under the theory that Members of Congress are most responsive to: (1) the expressed desires and demands of their own constituents, (2) the position taken by major opinion makers such as community leaders/ the news media, and (3) the views of special interest groups and large voting blocks (including business, publishers, etc.) our efforts are geared to stimulate the maximum amount of active support possible at both local and national levels and to utilize this favorable public reaction as a positive force that can be directed toward Members of Congress to bring about enactment of the proposed legislation.

Highlights of Progress to Date

The following summarizes the highlights of our public relations program since May 1969 (detailed projects are outlined as shown in Exhibit I).

Editorial Backgrounders - Editorial backgrounders were held in six key metro areas prior to the introduction of the Bill. This was done to favorably position our plan with the press prior to formal introduction of the Bill.

Editorials - There have been 328 editorials collected on the Bill -- 303 favorable, 25 unfavorable. These editorials include a number of important newspapers as well as newspapers in key Committee Districts. (See examples in Exhibit II.)

In August, the Citizens' Committee sent a book of editorials to all Members of Congress.

Press Briefings - There have been nine press briefings for national reporters -- including two White House press conferences involving the President.

On a local level, there have been sixty press conferences held by the Postmaster General and Top Staff members.

Newspaper/Magazine Interviews - There have been nineteen interviews with newspaper/magazine representatives at the national level. These have resulted in numerous articles which are favorable to Postal Reform.

Speeches - There have been over one hundred and fifty speeches made across the country (to employees, mail users, business groups, general public) by the Postmaster General and other Top Staff members. In all instances (except when "off-the-cuff" remarks have been made) there has been a press release on the speech.

Television/Radio - The Postmaster General has appeared on four national television shows, and two national radio shows. He and the Top Staff members have appeared on local shows in over fifty cities.

In addition, favorable television editorials have been presented in eight cities that we know of. (See example in Exhibit III.)

Employee Effort - An attempt has been made to reach employees through regional briefing sessions, speeches at conventions, special press kits, special letters, Postal Life, and informal discussion sessions.

Citizens' Committee - The Citizens' Committee has made major contributions in the following areas: setting up a strong bi-partisan Committee (18 Vice Chairmen, 52 Directors, 21 Governors, 65 Mayors), O'Brien/Morton testimony/speeches, prompting editorials, organizing and prompting letters in key Committee Districts, and personal contacts with Committee members.

That they have been somewhat effective in accomplishing their goal is demonstrated by the complaints currently being made by certain Congressmen and the unions. (See Exhibit IV.)

Other Interested Groups - The Chamber of Commerce, Sears, NAPUS, NAM, etc. have been active in generating favorable public opinion. These groups will continue, and hopefully intensify their efforts in the future. Examples of their materials are shown in Exhibit V.

Key Projects to be Completed - Our key objective now is to build upon our current base of support in anticipation of upcoming consideration of the Bill by the Senate and the full membership of the House.

We will be striving for additional exposure on national television shows, as well as support at the local level throughout the country (via the Citizens' Committee, the Chamber of Commerce and other interested groups).

We will attempt to bring public reaction to a high point during December/January. A specific list of projects is shown on page 8 of Exhibit I.

10/30/69