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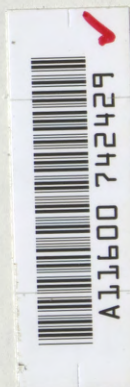
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GOVERNMENT

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TAKING POLITICS OUT OF POSTMASTER AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE



HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON POSTAL OPERATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES NINETIETH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION
ON

H.R. 8516

A BILL TO AMEND TITLE 39, UNITED STATES CODE, TO
PROVIDE FOR THE ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL IN-
FLUENCE IN THE APPOINTMENT OF POSTMASTERS, AND
FOR OTHER PURPOSES

FEBRUARY 6, 7, 8; MARCH 26, 28, 1968

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TAKING POLITICS OUT OF POSTMASTER AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1968

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTAL OPERATIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m. in room 210, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Robert N. C. Nix (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. Nix. The subcommittee will be in order.

Today the subcommittee opens hearings on H.R. 8516, a bill by Mr. Dulski; H.R. 5284 and H.R. 5877, bills by Mr. Gross; and a bill by Mr. Olsen that was introduced a few days ago, H.R. 15090, as well as bills by Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Thompson, and approximately 50 other bills by Members of Congress dealing with the general topic of politics in the Post Office. Politics defined by these Congressmen means "favoritism" based on political party. It does not mean, as some people in the executive departments seem to feel, that every time a Congressman writes a letter of introduction for a constituent, he is applying political pressure.

The bills we are considering today involve the procedures to be used in appointment of postmasters, the term of the Postmaster General himself, and the qualifications of postmasters, all of which involve at least the charge of politics if not the reality.

The damage done to the Post Office Department by charges of political favoritism is severe. Such charges take up our time when we should be concentrating on other problems. The Post Office Department has more than its share of problems without this. It is a service organization first and an industrial organization second. It has all the problems of other large organizations, but what we hear from the press and other interested parties is a constant hammering on the subject of politics. In fact, under the banner of antipolitics we find all kinds of proposals which would change the nature of the Post Office system.

There are at least three basic ideas to be considered today in the bills before us. The three approaches that have been suggested that may solve some of our problems resulting from politics or charges of politics are—

- (1) That Members of Congress be prohibited from contacting the Postmaster General on postmaster appointments.

- (2) That the Postmaster General be appointed for a term of 12 years and Assistant Postmasters General for 6-year terms, thus, in effect, removing the Postmaster General from the President's Cabinet, since his second term would overlap the President's.

(3) That the qualifications for the job of postmaster be such that only those who have spent a considerable part of their careers in the postal service would be qualified.

In this regard I entered a press release of Postmaster General Larry O'Brien's in the Congressional Record in which he stated that 42.7 percent of all postmaster appointments went to career employees in 1967.

In conclusion, I hope that we can shed more light than heat on this subject. If we are to save the postal service we have to resolve the problem of the appointment of postmasters and of the Postmaster General, since critics of the postal service take aim at this one problem. We must move on to the solution of other problems.

At this point in the record, without objection, will be placed the following information pertinent to these hearings:

- (1) H.R. 8516, H.R. 5284, H.R. 5877, H.R. 15090;
- (2) A summary of the major provisions of several bills which have been introduced on postmaster appointments and referred to this committee;
- (3) A résumé of legislation on appointment of postmasters;
- (4) Excerpts from the 1955 Hoover Commission report;
- (5) General release No. 27 of the Post Office Department, in regard to the percentage of career employees promoted in 1967;
- (6) A tabulation of Presidential postmaster appointments for the years 1960-67, showing number confirmed, percent career, and percent veterans;
- (7) Tabulation showing postmaster nominations and confirmations at first-, second-, and third-class post offices for the period 1960-67;
- (8) A summary of the requirements for postmaster positions at first-, second-, and third-class post offices;
- (9) A summary of how Presidential postmaster appointments are made;
- (10) A summary of the rating schedule for Presidential postmaster examinations at first-, second-, and third-class post offices, PFS level 8; and
- (11) A pamphlet giving information about the appointment of acting postmasters.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

[H.R. 8516, 90th Cong., first sess.]

A BILL To amend title 39, United States Code, to provide for the elimination of political influence in the appointment of postmasters, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

APPOINTMENT OF POSTMASTERS

SECTION 1. Section 3311 (relating to method of appointment of postmasters) of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“§ 3311. Method of appointment

“(a) The Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the first class in the competitive civil service without term, except that, to such extent as he deems appropriate, he may delegate the authority to make such appointments to regional directors in the postal field service. Each regional director shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the second and third classes under his jurisdiction in the competitive civil service without term. Such appointments shall be made in accordance with the civil service laws and rules by—

- "(1) competitive examinations; or
- "(2) promotions from within the postal service.
- "(b) Each regional director shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the fourth class under his jurisdiction without term.
- "(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Postmaster General (or regional director to whom he has delegated the authority) shall make each appointment to a position of postmaster at a post office of the first class and each regional director shall make each appointment to a position of postmaster at a post office of the second, third, or fourth class under his jurisdiction, without regard to any recommendation or statement, oral or written, with respect to any person who requests, or is under consideration for, such appointment, made by—
 - "(1) any Member of the Senate or House of Representatives (including the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico);
 - "(2) any elected official of the government of any State (including the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico) or of any county, city, or other political subdivision of such State or Commonwealth; or
 - "(3) any official of a partisan National, State, county, or municipal, or other local political party.
- "(d) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a person within the purview of subparagraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (c) of this section is hereby prohibited from making or transmitting to the Postmaster General, or to any other officer or employee of the Federal Government, any recommendation or statement, oral or written, with respect to any person who requests, or is under consideration for, appointment to a position of postmaster at a post office of any class. The Postmaster General and any other officer or employee of the Federal Government—
 - "(1) shall not solicit, request, consider, or accept any such recommendation or statement; and
 - "(2) shall return any such recommendation or statement, if written, received by him, appropriately marked as in violation of this section, to the person making or transmitting the same.
- "(e) A person who requests, or is under consideration for, appointment to a position of postmaster at a post office of any class is hereby prohibited from requesting or soliciting any such recommendation or statement from any person within the purview of subparagraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (c) of this section. An applicant making such solicitation or request, knowing the same to be in violation of this subsection, is disqualified for appointment to the position of postmaster concerned.
- "(f) Each application form of the Federal Government used in connection with an application for appointment to a position of postmaster at a post office of any class shall contain appropriate language in boldface type informing the applicant of the provisions of this section."

VACANCIES IN POSITIONS OF POSTMASTER

SEC. 2. Section 3315 (relating to the filling of vacancies in positions of postmaster) of title 39, United States Code, is amended—

- (1) by striking out, in subsection (a), "the Postmaster General may—" and inserting in lieu thereof "the Postmaster General (or a regional director to whom he has delegated the authority) with respect to post offices of the first class, and each regional director with respect to post offices of the second, third, and fourth classes under his jurisdiction, as the case may be, may—";
- (2) by striking out, in subsection (b), "unless the Postmaster General extends" and inserting in lieu thereof "unless the Postmaster General (or a regional director to whom he has delegated the authority) with respect to post offices of the first class, or the regional director with respect to post offices of classes other than the first class under his jurisdiction, as the case may be, extends";
- (3) by striking out, in subsection (c), "appointed by the Postmaster General" and inserting in lieu thereof "appointed by the Postmaster General (or a regional director to whom he has delegated the authority) with respect to post offices of the first class, or the regional director with respect to post offices of classes other than the first class under his jurisdiction, as the case may be,"; and
- (4) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) The prohibitions, restrictions, and related provisions of section 3311 of this title governing appointment of postmasters also shall apply with respect to the interim appointment, assignment, or designation of any person in accordance with subparagraphs (1) to (4), inclusive of subsection (a) of this section."

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall not affect the status or tenure, on the date of enactment of this Act, of—

- (1) postmasters in office; and
- (2) persons appointed, assigned, or designated in accordance with subparagraphs (1) to (4), inclusive, of section 3315(a) of title 39, United States Code.

[H.R. 5284, 90th Cong., first sess.]

A BILL To prohibit political influence with respect to appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations in the postal field service, to revise the laws governing the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

APPOINTMENT OF POSTMASTERS

SECTION 1. Section 3311 of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 3311. Method of appointment

"(a) The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the first, second, and third classes in the competitive civil service without term by one of the two following methods which shall be applied in the following order of precedence:

"(1) by selection, from within the postal field service, on the basis of non-competitive examinations in accordance with the provisions of title 5 governing appointments in the competitive service, of qualified employees serving under career appointments in the postal service; or

"(2) if no qualified employee serving under a career appointment in the postal field service is available for, and willing to accept, appointment by the method described in subparagraph (1), by competitive examination in accordance with the provisions of title 5 governing appointments in the competitive service.

"(b) The President shall transmit to the Senate, with each nomination for appointment of a postmaster resulting from the application of the method described in subparagraph (2) of subsection (a) of this section, a statement to the effect that such appointment cannot then currently be made by the method described in subparagraph (1) of such subsection (a).

"(c) The Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the fourth class without term."

APPOINTMENT OF RURAL CARRIERS

SEC. 2. (a) Chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by inserting immediately after section 3336 thereof the following new section:

"§ 3336A. Appointment of rural carriers

"(a) The Postmaster General shall appoint rural carriers in the competitive civil service by one of the two following methods which shall be applied in the following order of precedence:

"(1) by selection of qualified employees serving under career appointments in the postal field service; or

"(2) if no qualified employee serving under a career appointment in the postal field service is available for, and willing to accept, appointment by the method described in subparagraph (1), by competitive examination in accordance with the provisions of title 5 governing appointments in the competitive service."

"(b) The table of contents of chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by inserting—

"3336A. Appointment of rural carriers."

immediately below—

336. Detail to stations of Armed Forces."

ELIMINATION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN CONNECTION WITH APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, ASSIGNMENTS, TRANSFERS, AND DESIGNATIONS IN THE POSTAL FIELD SERVICE

SEC. 3. (a) Chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"§ 3340. Elimination of political influence in postal field service employment

"(a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, each appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation, interim or otherwise, of an officer or employee with respect to a postmaster, rural carrier, or any other office or position in the postal field service shall be made without regard to any recommendation or statement, oral or written, with respect to any person who requests, or is under, consideration for such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation made by—

"(1) any Member of the Senate or House of Representative (including the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico); or

"(2) any official of a National, State, or county, municipal, or other local, political party.

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) of this section is hereby prohibited from making or transmitting to the Postmaster General, or to any other officer or employee of the Federal Government, any recommendation or statement, oral or written, with respect to any person who requests, or is under, consideration for any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation. The Postmaster General and any other officer or employee of the Federal Government—

"(1) shall not solicit, request, consider, or accept any such recommendation or statement from any person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) of this section; and

"(2) shall return any such recommendation or statement, if written, received by him, appropriately marked as in violation of this section, to the person making or transmitting the same.

"(c) A person who requests, or is under, consideration for any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation is hereby prohibited from requesting or soliciting any such recommendation or statement from any person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) of this section. Any such person making such solicitation or request, knowing the same to be in violation of this subsection, is disqualified for the appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation concerned.

"(d) Each employment form of the Federal Government used in connection with any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation shall contain appropriate language in boldface type informing all persons concerned of the provisions of this section. During the time any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation is under consideration, appropriate notice of the provisions of this section printed in boldface type shall be posted in the post office concerned.

"(e) Each employee of the Federal Government (other than an officer described in subsection (f) or (g) of this section) who, knowingly and willfully—

"(1) appoints, promotes, assigns, transfers, or designates any officer or employee with respect to a position in the postal field service in violation of subsection (a) of this section, or

"(2) solicits, requests, considers, or accepts any recommendation or statement referred to in such subsection (a) from any person described in subparagraph (1) or (2) of such subsection (a), or

"(3) fails to return any such recommendation or statement received by him, appropriately marked as in violation of this section, to the person making or transmitting the same,

shall be—

"(A) removed from his employment with the Federal Government, and

"(B) upon conviction thereof, fined not more than \$500.

"(f) Each officer of the Federal Government (other than an employee described in subsection (e) of this section and an officer described in paragraph (1) of subsection (a) of this section) who, knowingly and willfully, violates the provisions of subparagraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (e) of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$1,000.

"(g) Each person within the purview of subparagraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) of this section who, knowingly and willfully, makes or transmits any recommendation or statement in violation of subsection (b) of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$1,000.

"(h) Each person within the purview of subparagraph (2) of subsection (a) of this section who, knowingly and willfully, solicits or requests of any person within the purview of subparagraph (1) of such subsection (a) any recommendation or statement, oral or written, with respect to any person who requests, or is under, consideration for appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation with respect to an office or position in the postal field service shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$1,000.

"(i) Any person who requests, or is under, consideration for any appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer, or designation referred to in subsection (a) of this section and who requests or solicits any recommendation or statement, oral or written, in violation of subsection (c) of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$500."

(b) The table of contents of chapter 43 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by inserting—

"3340. Elimination of political influence in postal field service employment."

immediately below—

"3339. Consolidation of rural routes."

RESIDENCE REQUIREMENTS FOR POSTMASTERS

SEC. 4. Section 3312 of title 39, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out, in subsection (a), "city or town" and inserting in lieu thereof "county, city, or town";

(2) by inserting "or county" immediately after "delivery zone" in subsection (b); and

(3) by amending subsection (c) to read as follows:

"(c) Every postmaster shall reside within the delivery of the post office to which he is appointed, or within the county, city, or town where the post office is situated, or in the area adjacent to or surrounding the delivery zone or county of the post office in which he lived at the time of appointment."

SAVING PROVISIONS

SEC. 5. (a) The amendments made by this Act shall not affect the status or tenure, on the date of enactment of this Act, of—

(1) postmasters in office on such date;

(2) persons appointed, promoted, assigned, transferred, or designated with respect to an office or position in the postal field service on or prior to such date; and

(3) persons holding positions of rural carrier on such date.

(b) The amendments made by this Act shall not apply to nominations pending before the Senate on the date of enactment of this Act.

[H.R. 5877, 90th Cong., first sess.]

A BILL To increase the efficiency of, and eliminate political activity in, the Post Office Department by revising the terms of office of the Postmaster General and other top officers thereof, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 302 of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 302. Postmaster General

"The head of the Department is a Postmaster General appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. He shall not be a member of the President's Cabinet. The Postmaster General is vested with the functions of all subordinate officers and agencies of the Post Office Department and he shall perform no other duties. His term of office shall be for twelve years, and the term of office for the first Postmaster General appointed hereunder shall begin on February 20, 1969. The Postmaster General may be removed during his term of office by the President only for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office."

SEC. 2. Section 304 of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 304. Deputy Postmaster General

"A Deputy Postmaster General, appointed by the President from among career employees of the Postal Field Service by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall perform only such duties as the Postmaster General designates relating to the Postal Service. The Deputy Postmaster General may be removed by the President only for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. He shall receive the compensation provided by law for the undersecretaries of executive departments. His term of office shall be for a period of six years and the term of office for the first Deputy Postmaster General appointed hereunder shall begin on February 20, 1969."

SEC. 3. Section 305 of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 305. Assistant Postmasters General

"Six Assistant Postmasters General appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall perform only such duties as the Postmaster General designates relating to the postal service. The terms of office for such Assistant Postmasters General shall be for a period of six years except that, beginning February 20, 1969, with respect to the appointment of the first six Assistant Postmasters General appointed under authority of this Act, one term shall expire February 20, 1970, one term shall expire February 20, 1971, one term shall expire February 20, 1972, one term shall expire February 20, 1973, one term shall expire February 20, 1974, and one term shall expire February 20, 1975. Not more than three Assistant Postmasters General shall be appointed from the same political party. Any Assistant Postmaster General may be removed by the President only for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office."

SEC. 4. Section 307 of title 39, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 307. General Counsel

"The legal officer of the Department is the General Counsel who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. He shall perform only such legal duties as the Postmaster General designates relating to the postal service. His term of office shall be for a period of six years and the term of office for the first General Counsel appointed hereunder shall begin on February 20, 1969. The General Counsel may be removed by the President only for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office."

[H.R. 15090, 90th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To provide for the appointment of postmasters

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3311 of title 39 of the United States Code is amended to read as follows:

"§ 3311. Method of appointment

"(a) The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the first, second, and third classes in the competitive civil service without term by the following method:

"(1) by selection, from within the postal field service, on the basis of non-competitive examinations in accordance with the provisions of title 5 governing appointments in the competitive service, of qualified employees serving under career appointments in the postal service;

"(2) to the greatest extent possible, prior to the appointment of an employee to the position of postmaster, such employee must be given an opportunity to familiarize himself with the following postal functions through actual performance of the duties of such position: Receipt, dispatch, distribution, transportation, and delivery of mail.

"(b) The Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the fourth class without term."

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 2. The amendments made by this Act shall not affect the status or tenure, on the date of enactment of this Act, of—

(1) postmasters in office; and

(2) persons appointed, assigned, or designated in accordance with subparagraphs (1) to (4), inclusive, of section 3315(a) of title 39, United States Code.

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 8516 (DULSKI) AND H.R. 8704 (UDALL)

1. *Method of appointment*

a. First-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General according to civil service procedures—except he may delegate authority to regional directors.

b. Second-, third-, and fourth-class postmasters appointed by regional directors.

2. *Recommendations for appointment*

a. No recommendations for any postmaster appointment from Senators, Representatives, State and local officials, or party officials at any level may be considered.

3. *Penalties*

a. Applicant soliciting such recommendations is disqualified.

4. *Residence requirements*

a. No change.

5. *Rural carriers*

a. No provision.

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 5284 (GROSS)

(Identical bills: 5285 (Corbett), 5286 (Kyl), 5287 (Mayne), 5288 (Scherle), 5289 (Schwengel), 5983 (Pettis), 6112 (Derwinski), 6953 (Price), 7310 (Zwach), 7738 (Bush), 7774 (Ruppe), and pertinent provisions of 6995 (Quie).)

1. *Method of appointment*

a. First-, second-, and third-class postmasters—by the President, with confirmation of Senate, according to civil service procedures.

b. Fourth-class postmasters—by the Postmaster General.

2. *Recommendations for appointment*

a. No recommendations allowed from Senators, Representatives, or party officials at any level for any appointment or promotion in the postal field service.

3. *Penalties*

a. Any applicant requesting such recommendations is disqualified for the position and subject to a \$500 fine.

b. Any employee making an appointment in violation of the act—or soliciting recommendations as described above—is subject to dismissal and a \$500 fine.

c. Any Senator, Representative, or party official making such recommendations is subject to a \$1,000 fine.

d. Any party official who solicits recommendations from a Senator or Representative is subject to a \$1,000 fine.

4. *Residence requirements for postmasters*

a. Amends to include county.

5. *Rural carriers*

a. Appointed by Postmaster General in accordance with civil service procedures.

b. Above restrictions apply.

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 452 (CUNNINGHAM)

(Identical bills: H.R. 1039 (Pike), H.R. 4705 (Chamberlain), and H.R. 5012 (Saylor).)

1. *Method of appointment*

a. First-, second-, and third-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General in accordance with civil service procedures.

b. Fourth-class postmasters—appointed by Postmaster General.

2. *Recommendations for appointment*

a. No recommendations for any postmaster appointments from Senators, Representatives, or party officials at any level may be made, solicited, or considered.

3. *Penalties*

a. Any applicant for postmaster soliciting such recommendations is disqualified.

4. *Residence requirements*
 - a. Repealed for postmasters.
 5. *Rural carriers*
 - a. Same prohibitions and restrictions relating to postmasters apply.
-

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 5503 (THOMPSON, OF GEORGIA)

(Identical bills: H.R. 2150 (Steiger), H.R. 6809 (Kuykendall), and H.R. 9776 (Gardner).)

1. *Method of appointment*
 - a. First-, second-, and third-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General in accordance with civil service procedures. (H.R. 9776 includes all classes.)
 - b. Fourth-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General.
 2. *Recommendations for appointment*
 - a. No recommendations for any postmaster appointment from Senators, Representatives, or party officials at any level can be solicited and must be returned if received.
 3. *Penalties*
 - a. Any applicant who solicits such recommendations is disqualified.
 4. *Residence requirements*
 - a. No change.
 5. *Rural carriers*
 - a. Same prohibitions concerning recommendations as applies to postmasters.
-

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 412 (CONTE)

(Note: H.R. 6781 (Conte) is identical except for minor change in language.)

1. *Method of appointment*
 - a. First-, second-, and third-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General according to civil service procedures.
 - b. Fourth-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General.
 - c. No political test or qualification permitted.
 2. *Recommendations for appointment*
 - a. No prohibition except as outlined above.
 3. *Penalties*
 - a. None.
 4. *Residence requirements*
 - a. No change.
 5. *Rural carriers*
 - a. No mention.
-

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 780 (LAIRD)

(Identical bills: H.R. 3797 (Rumsfeld), H.R. 5518 (Wyatt), H.R. 7786 (Wydler), and H.R. 12862 (Clausen).)

1. *Method of appointment*
 - a. First-, second-, and third-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General without political test of qualification.
2. *Recommendations for appointment*
 - a. No specific prohibition except for above.
3. *Penalties*
 - a. None.

4. *Residence requirements*
 - a. No change.
5. *Rural carriers*
 - a. No mention.

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H. R. 1336 (TALCOTT)

1. *Method of appointment*
 - a. First-, second-, and third-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General according to civil service procedures.
 - b. Fourth-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General.
2. *Recommendations for appointment*
 - a. Appointments to any postmastership shall be made without regard to any recommendation by a Senator or Representative.
3. *Penalties*
 - a. None.
4. *Residence requirements*
 - a. No change.
5. *Rural carriers*
 - a. Appointments to be made without regard to recommendations by Senators or Representatives.

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 2574 (RESNICK), H.R. 4844 (BERRY), AND H.R. 7160 (CULVER)

1. *Method of appointment*
 - a. All postmasters appointed by Postmaster General in accordance with civil service procedures. Appointee must have the highest earned rating among applicants.
2. *Recommendations for appointment*
 - a. No specific prohibitions.
3. *Penalties*
 - a. None.
4. *Residence requirements*
 - a. No change.
5. *Rural carriers*
 - a. Postmaster General shall appoint the eligible applicant who has the highest earned rating among the applicants examined.

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 3312 (HARVEY)

1. *Method of appointment*
 - a. First-, second-, and third-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General in accordance with civil service procedures.
 - b. Fourth-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General.
2. *Recommendations for appointment*
 - a. No recommendations for a postmaster appointment may be solicited from any source with respect to political affiliations or qualifications.
3. *Penalties*
 - a. None.
4. *Residence requirement*
 - a. No change.
5. *Rural carriers*
 - a. No mention.

MAJOR PROVISIONS OF H.R. 7625 (GUBSER)

1. *Method of appointment*

a. First-, second-, and third-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General in accordance with civil service procedures.

b. Fourth-class postmasters appointed by Postmaster General.

2. *Recommendations for appointment*

a. No recommendations for any applicant to the competitive service from Senators or Representatives, except as to character and residence, may be received or considered.

3. *Penalties*

a. Applicant is disqualified if he or anyone else seeks such recommendations.

4. *Residence requirements*

a. No change.

5. *Rural carriers*

a. No mention.

LEGISLATION ON APPOINTMENT OF POSTMASTERS

As early as 1876, postmasters in post offices of the first, second, and third classes, were appointed and could be removed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate (sec. 6, act of July 12, 1876, 19 Stat. 80). Such appointments were for a term of 4 years. The act also authorized the Postmaster General to appoint fourth-class postmasters.

Until 1917 all Presidential postmasters were appointed without the advice or counsel of the Civil Service Commission. President Wilson issued an Executive order in 1917 directing the Postmaster General to notify the Civil Service Commission when a vacancy occurred in a Presidential post office, and directing the Civil Service Commission to hold a competitive examination. The results of the examination were to be certified to the Postmaster General, who was to submit to the President the name of the highest qualified eligible for nomination to the Senate.

The 1917 order was later amended to permit selection of a veteran over the highest eligible provided such veteran was eligible. Further revisions of the order permitted nomination of a person within the classified civil service if the person possessed the necessary qualifications.

President Franklin Roosevelt issued two Executive orders concerning the appointment of postmasters. The first permitted selection of any of the three highest eligibles (similar orders had been issued by Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover), and the second, issued July 20, 1936, required the eligible attaining the highest rating to be nominated.

The act of June 25, 1938, Public Law 75-720, required the postmasters of first, second, and third classes, to be appointed in the classified service without term by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Residency requirements.—The Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1905 (sec. 8, act of April 28, 1904) required a postmaster to reside within the town or city of the office to which he was appointed.

The 1938 act, Public Law 75-720, extended the residency provisions to require the appointed postmaster to reside in the town or city for 1 year prior to his appointment.

In 1941 the Civil Service Commission was given authority to waive the residency requirements where "local conditions preclude or render impossible the application of such requirements."

Provisions now in effect (39 U.S. Code)

POSTMASTERS

§ 3311. *Method of appointment*

(a) The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the first, second, and third classes in the competitive civil service without term. He shall make the appointments in accordance with the Civil Service Act and rules by—

- (1) competitive examinations; or
- (2) promotion from within the postal service.

(b) The Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters at post offices of the fourth class without term.

§ 3312. Residence requirements

(a) A person is not eligible for appointment as postmaster at a post office of the first, second, or third class unless he has actually resided within the delivery of that post office, or within the city or town where it is situated, for one year next preceding—

(1) the date fixed for the close of receipt of applications for examination, if the appointment is made by competitive examination; or

(2) the appointment, if the appointment is made without competitive examination.

(b) The residence requirements of subsection (a) of this section may be waived whenever the Civil Service Commission finds that peculiar local conditions preclude or render impossible the application of the requirement. In that case the commission may examine and certify for appointment or promotion persons who reside in such areas adjacent to, or surrounding the delivery zone of the post office as may be fixed by the Commission.

(c) Every postmaster shall reside within the delivery of the post office to which he is appointed, or within the town or city where it is situated, or in the area adjacent to or surrounding the delivery zone of the post office in which he lived at the time of appointment.

§ 3314. Status on change in class of office

A postmaster appointed in the competitive civil service at a post office of—

(1) the first, second, or third class whose post office is relegated to the fourth class; or

(2) the fourth class whose post office is advanced to a higher class, shall continue to be the postmaster after the change in the class of office.

§ 3315. Filling vacancies

(a) When the office of a postmaster becomes vacant, the appointment of a regular postmaster shall be made without delay. In the interim the Postmaster General may—

(1) continue the post office, under the name of the former postmaster, by the assistant postmaster or other employee of the post office; or

(2) in the case of a third or fourth class post office, place the office under the charge of a suitable person, pending appointment of a regular or acting postmaster; or

(3) place the post office under the charge of a postal inspector or other special agent; or

(4) appoint an acting postmaster.

(b) Acting postmasters appointed under this section may not serve more than six months from the date of their designation, unless the Postmaster General extends the period of service with the permission of the Civil Service Commission.

(c) Acting postmasters may be appointed by the Postmaster General in accordance with the Civil Service act, rules, and regulations to serve during military leave of the regular postmaster granted pursuant to section 3317 of this title.

§ 3316. Designation of persons to act during absence

The Postmaster General may authorize postmasters to designate the assistant postmaster, or, if none, a clerk employed in the office to perform the functions of the office of postmaster during the absences of the postmaster. The person so designated shall, during the absences of the postmaster—

(1) discharge the duties required of the postmaster; and

(2) be subject to the liabilities and penalties prescribed by law for the official misconduct in like cases of the postmaster for whom he acts.

§ 3317. Leave without pay for military service

(a) The Postmaster General shall grant leave of absence without pay to a postmaster entering active military service.

(b) The Postmaster General shall permit a postmaster who resigns for the purpose of active military service to withdraw his resignation and resume the office of postmaster upon being released from service, if the office is being conducted by an acting postmaster.

EXCERPTS FROM THE 1955 HOOVER COMMISSION REPORT

The Report on Personnel and Civil Service, prepared for the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government by the Task Force on Personnel and Civil Service, February, 1955 (the Hoover Commission report), contains the following information on the appointment of postmasters, including a recommendation for the removal of the political clearance of persons to be appointed as postmasters.

Postmasters

Fourth-class postmasters were placed in the competitive classified service by Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. Their long established status raises no problems. Until 1938, first-, second-, and third-class postmasters were appointed for a 4-year term by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, after political recommendation secured by the Postmaster General. In 1938, Congress put these postmasters in the competitive civil service, but with serious qualifications that permitted continued political clearance of successful competitors. Political clearance is still the decisive factor in making these appointments. However, under the act of 1938 (Public Law 720, 75th Cong., June 25, 1938 (39 U.S. Code 3311)), first-, second-, and third-class postmasters have the benefit of normal civil service status, including tenure, protection against arbitrary removal, coverage under the retirement system, and eligibility for transfer to other competitive civil service positions.

There are two present methods of appointing first-, second-, and third-class postmasters:

1. At the discretion of the Postmaster General, postmasters may be appointed by promotion of a competitive employee within the postal service. Normally, about 25 percent of postmaster appointments have been made by this method. They must pass a civil service examination to establish qualifications.

2. Alternatively, appointment may occur after an open competitive examination, at the request of the Postmaster General. The postmaster is selected from among the top three on the eligible register.

In both cases, 1 year's residence within the area served by the post office is required, and in both cases, the appointment is made by the President but requires Senate confirmation and is subject to political clearance. Standards for qualification for first-, second-, and third-class postmasters are fixed by the Civil Service Commission. With the concurrence of the Post Office Department, they have recently been raised and appear to be suitable for the work and responsibility involved.

The number of postmasters on July 1, 1953, was as follows:

First class.....	3, 274
Second class.....	6, 464
Third class.....	13, 263
Total.....	23, 001

Conclusions Regarding Postmasters

Appointment by the President and confirmation by the Senate is the foundation for the system of political clearance which still prevails. The Department does not rely upon its own judgment but normally yields to the recommendations of its political advisers, Members of Congress or political party committees.

Political clearance has an adverse effect upon competition for appointment:

1. Persons belonging to the minority party generally do not compete, whether competitive employees or outside citizens.

2. Persons belonging to the majority party are given to understand that the man preferred by the local party organization will be appointed if he passes the examination.

3. If he fails to pass the examination, efforts are made (often successfully) to call another examination:

- (a) By finding reasons why one or more of the successful competitors may be disqualified;

- (b) By inducing one or more to withdraw, indicating that they will not be cleared;

- (c) By returning the eligible list if less than three names are available. (The Civil Service Rules permit the agency to request a new examination when less than three eligibles are available for selection.)

4. Meanwhile, the acting postmaster (who is usually the party nominee) is building up knowledge and experience which make for ultimate success in passing the examination.

For these and perhaps other reasons, competition for appointment to the largest post offices is meager and unsatisfactory.

The present system of selecting first-, second-, and third-class postmasters is a hybrid between political appointment and a true merit system. It is incompatible with a businesslike management of the largest civilian business that the Government operates. It does not invite genuine competition from well-qualified persons and offends the American ideal of equal opportunity on the basis of character and ability. By reserving the key posts for patronage, it limits the incentive to enter the postal service as a career, and discourages postal employees from trying to go ahead on their merits.

Recommendations regarding postmasters

1. By direction of the President, the custom of political clearance of persons on postmaster eligible lists should be terminated. This can be done immediately and should not wait for legislation.

2. The law requiring Senate confirmation of first-, second-, and third-class postmasters should be repealed.

3. The authority to appoint these postmasters eventually should be transferred from the President to the Postmaster General. As an alternative, the jobs of postmasters should be abolished and their functions transferred to regular post office employees (to be known as post office managers) who would be appointed by the Postmaster General.

4. Authority to appoint postmasters under civil service eventually should be delegated by the Postmaster General to the newly created district and regional managers.

5. Application for examination by post office employees with competitive status should be encouraged, but the examination should be open to all qualified applicants.

Recommendations on postmasters

- By Presidential order, prohibit submission of lists of eligibles for postmaster jobs to political groups.
- Repeal requirement that postmasters be confirmed by the Senate.
- Eventually give authority to appoint postmasters to Postmaster General.
- Use competitive examinations to fill all postmaster positions.

Rural Letter Carriers

On April 30, 1954, there were 32,352 rural letter carriers, including both regular and temporary employees. These are attractive positions, often worth more than a third- or fourth-class postmastership. They are under the competitive civil service system. Appointments are made after examination (the same test as for fourth-class postmasters). On the average, nearly 15 applicants compete for each vacancy.

Rural carrier examinations are centrally run by the Washington office of the Civil Service Commission. The Commission issues a "Certificate of Eligibles" to headquarters of the Post Office Department where selection is made according to the "Rule of Three." Before a selection is made, however, the Department consults with political advisers. If the vacant position is located in an area not represented in Congress by the administration's party, a local political committee is consulted. If it is in an area represented in Congress by the party in power, the local committee submits its recommendations through the appropriate Congressman. The Post Office Department is notified and then makes its selection.

The pressure on the Civil Service Commission to rerate the papers, to disqualify candidates for technical reasons, or even to void an examination if the politically preferred candidate is not among the first three, is considerable.

Recommendation

The President should direct termination of political clearance of eligibles for appointment as rural letter carriers.

GENERAL RELEASE NO. 27 OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Career employees are being promoted to postmasterships in increasingly larger numbers, with 42.6 percent of all postmaster confirmations in 1967 going to this group, Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien reported today.

In 1967, there were 1,515 confirmations with 42.6 percent of the top post office jobs given to careerists; in 1966, there were 1,395, with 38.3 percent going to careerists, he noted.

Moreover, Mr. O'Brien said, there has been a general 5-year increase. For 1965, the respective totals were 1,288 and 33.5 percent; for 1964, 1,092 and 32.4 percent, and for 1963, 1,699 and 30.6 percent.

Career employees may be selected for nomination to the Senate by the President if they qualify under civil service standards for the particular position they are seeking.

In most instances, the careerists who won nomination and confirmation did so noncompetitively, as permitted by civil service rules. In remaining instances, they won out in open competitive examinations.

The Senate confirmations represent postmasterships in the first-, second-, and third-class offices, known as "Presidential offices," since they require nomination by the President.

Postmasters in the very small fourth-class post offices are appointed under civil service standards by the Postmaster General.

Under a policy emphasizing full opportunities for career advancement, the Department has recently filled some of its top postmasterships with people who have risen through the ranks, Mr. O'Brien said.

The Nation's two largest post offices, for example, have postmasters appointed in recent years from career ranks. They include New York City, headed by Postmaster John Strachan, formerly a careerist on the administrative staff of the Department's New York region; and Chicago, headed by Postmaster Henry W. McGee, a former career regional official at Chicago.

Mr. Strachan entered the postal service March 17, 1941, and was confirmed as postmaster June 23, 1967; Mr. McGee entered the service June 18, 1929, and was confirmed as postmaster on October 17, 1966.

Other notable examples of careerist advancing to major postmasterships in recent years include: Warren M. Bloomberg, Baltimore, Md.; Walter J. Hogan, Minneapolis, Minn.; Frank J. Viola, Bronx, N.Y.; and Hon Chung Chee, Honolulu, Hawaii.

The large number of confirmations each year reflects normal turnover among a staff of about 32,000 postmasters due to retirements, resignations, and deaths.

PRESIDENTIAL POSTMASTER APPOINTMENTS

Year	Confirmed	Percent career	Percent veterans
1960.....	719	23.4	66.9
1961.....	704	51.9	66.0
1962.....	1,310	39.8	67.5
1963.....	1,699	30.6	63.3
1964.....	1,092	32.4	67.0
1965.....	1,288	33.5	67.9
1966.....	1,395	38.3	67.3
1967.....	1,515	42.6	75.5
Total.....	9,722	36.5	67.7

POSTMASTER NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS FOR FIRST-, SECOND-, AND THIRD-CLASS POST OFFICES

Calendar year	Nominated	Withdrawn	Confirmed	Unconfirmed
1960.....	1,696	19	719	958
1961.....	856	11	704	151
1962.....	1,579	3	1,310	266
1963.....	1,918	13	1,699	206
1964.....	1,303	11	1,092	200
1965.....	1,456	11	1,288	157
1966.....	1,508	13	1,395	100
1967.....	1,678	17	1,515	146

Note: On February 1, 1967, there were 3,060 vacancies and on February 1, 1968, 2,206 vacancies.

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, BUREAU OF RECRUITING AND EXAMINING,
DECEMBER 1967, REQUIREMENTS FOR POSTMASTER POSITIONS (FIRST-, SECOND-,
AND THIRD-CLASS POST OFFICES)

1. EXPERIENCE AND FITNESS REQUIREMENTS

A. For first-class offices, postal field service levels 11 through 20

Applicants must show—

(a) That they have been engaged for a period of at least 4 years for offices at Postal Field Service levels 11 through 13, 5 years for offices at levels 14 through 18, or 6 years for offices at levels 19 and 20, in occupations which by their nature, extent, and progressive importance have demonstrated the applicants' ability to conduct and manage the entire postal business for the community which involves handling numerous cash transactions, the accounting for large sums of money, and the receipt and prompt dispatch and delivery of numerous items of mail matter. Applicants must clearly demonstrate by their experience that they have the required ability to organize, plan, and schedule the work of a large business organization in order to operate efficiently within a fixed budget, to assure prompt and accurate service, to apportion employees to handle the workload, and to develop plans for effectively adapting the organization to handle the unusual loads and variations in the nature of the mails caused by seasonal activity of the community, special holiday mail, etc. Since the postmaster must do all this through employees and their supervisors, applicants must show leadership qualities and ability to direct and manage relatively large groups of people through intermediate supervisors; and

(b) That they can meet and deal with the public agreeably and effectively so that the patrons are satisfied with the service and can negotiate with large mailers, institutions, and businessmen whose use of the mail presents special problems, such as weekly, monthly, or seasonal peak loads; and

(c) That they have good reputations as to character, habits, morals, honesty, reliability and trustworthiness.

Substitution of education for experience

Study successfully completed in a resident school above high school level may be substituted for part of the required experience for offices at levels 11 through 18 as follows: One academic year of study may be substituted for each 6 months of experience up to a maximum of 4 years of education for 2 years of experience.

No substitution of education may be made for the experience required for offices at levels 19 and 20.

In evaluating an applicant's qualifications, the following factors are considered:

1. Quality, extent of responsibility, and diversity of experience in relation to qualifications requirements.

2. Demonstrated ability to successfully manage and direct the affairs of a business comparable in size and complexity to the post office (including ability to effectively supervise employees).

3. Ability to deal effectively with associates and the general public.

4. General reputation as to character, morals, habits, honesty, reliability, and trustworthiness.

B. For first- and second-class offices, postal field service levels 9 and 10

Applicants must show—

(a) That they have been engaged for a period of at least 3 years in progressively responsible occupations which by their nature, extent and importance have demonstrated the applicants' ability to conduct and manage the entire postal business for the community which involves handling numerous cash transactions, the accounting for large sums of money, and the receipt and prompt shipment and delivery of numerous letters and packages; and

(b) That they can meet and deal with customers and employees agreeably and effectively so that customers are satisfied with the service and employees are properly supervised; and

(c) That they have good reputations as to character, habits, morals, honesty, reliability and trustworthiness.

Substitution of education for experience

Study successfully completed in a resident school above high school level may be substituted for part of the required experience at the rate of 1 academic year of study for each 9 months of experience up to a maximum of 2 years of education for 1½ years of experience.

C. For first-, second-, and third-class offices, postal field service level 8

Applicants must show—

(a) That they have been engaged for a period of at least 1½ years in responsible occupations which by their nature, extent, and importance have demonstrated the applicants' ability to conduct and manage the entire postal business for the community which involves accounting for receipt and disbursement of funds, preparation of required reports, and the receipt and prompt shipment and delivery of numerous letters and packages; and

(b) That they can meet and deal with customers and employees agreeably and effectively so that customers are satisfied with the service and employees are properly supervised; and

(c) That they have good reputations as to character, habits, morals, honesty, reliability and trustworthiness.

Substitution of education for experience

Study successfully completed in a resident school above high school level may be substituted for part of the required experience on a month-for-month basis up to a maximum of 1 academic year of study for 9 months of experience.

D. For third-class offices, postal field service levels 6 and 7

Applicants must show—

(a) That they have been engaged for a period of at least 1 year in occupations in which they have demonstrated the ability to maintain simple records of accounts (or records of comparable difficulty), or in which they have gained a knowledge of postal procedures; and

(b) That they can meet and deal with customers and employees agreeably and effectively so that customers are satisfied with the service and employees are properly supervised; and

(c) That they have good reputations as to character, habits, morals, honesty, reliability and trustworthiness.

Substitution of education for experience

Study successfully completed in a resident school above high school level may be substituted for part of the required experience on a month-for-month basis up to a maximum of 6 months of experience.

2. WRITTEN TEST

Applicants for postmaster at all offices, except for first-class offices at PFS levels 11 and above, will be required to take a written test which consists of two parts. One part includes questions on general abilities such as reading comprehension and vocabulary. The second part includes questions on business and office management. In this part of the test, applicants are given an opportunity to show ability to perform or supervise tasks when given proper instructions. No experience in managing a post office is necessary to pass this test. All instructions and information needed to answer the questions are given in the test booklet.

3. BASIS OF RATING

A. In examinations for offices of the first class at PFS levels 11 and above, candidates are not required to take a written examination but are rated on a scale of 100 on the basis of an evaluation of their business or professional experience and their general fitness for the position of postmaster. The evaluation is made from statements made by the competitor in his application and on corroborative evidence secured by the Civil Service Commission.

B. In examinations where written test is required, PFS levels 6 through 10: Competitors are rated on a scale of 100 on the written test. To be eligible, competitors must attain a rating of at least 70 in the written test, excluding credit for veteran preference. Those who fail to pass the written test are given no further consideration.

Competitors who pass the written test are then rated on a scale of 100 on experience and fitness and must attain a rating of at least 70 in this subject, excluding credit for veteran preference. The evaluation is made from statements by the competitor in his application and on corroborative evidence secured by the Civil Service Commission.

Competitors who are rated ineligible on experience and fitness are not assigned final numerical ratings, but are rated ineligible in the examination.

The scores of each competitor who is eligible on both the written test and on experience and fitness are combined. Any additional points for veteran preference are then added to the competitor's combined (average) rating in order to obtain the final numerical rating in the examination.

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, BUREAU OF RECRUITING AND EXAMINING,
FEBRUARY 1967—HOW PRESIDENTIAL POSTMASTER APPOINTMENTS ARE MADE

1. Postmaster appointments at first-, second-, and third-class post offices are called Presidential postmaster appointments. They require nomination by the President and confirmation by the United States Senate. Vacancies may be caused by the resignation, death, retirement, or removal of the postmaster. Appointments must be made in accordance with the Civil Service Act (39 U.S. Code 3311). Postmasters appointed under the Act are in the classified service. They are appointed without time limitation.

2. Under the Act postmaster vacancies may be filled either by promotion of a classified postal employee, or through open competitive examination. The Post Office Department decides which of these methods will be used.

3. If the Department decides to fill a position through promotion of a postal employee, it requests the Civil Service Commission to determine his qualifications. If he is found to be qualified, further action is taken by the Department. (See paragraph 10.)

4. The Act of Congress referred to above permits postmasters of the fourth class appointed in the classified civil service, whose offices advance to a higher class, and postmasters of other classes, appointed in the classified civil service, whose offices are relegated to the fourth class, to continue to serve under their original appointment until a vacancy occurs by reason of any one of the causes mentioned in paragraph 1, above.

5. Acting postmasters are appointed by the Postmaster General to serve during the absence of the postmaster or pending the appointment of a regular postmaster. They are not required to have eligibility through examination in order to be appointed as Acting Postmaster. Such appointments may be extended after six months by the Post Office Department with the consent of the Civil Service Commission. An acting postmaster is required to qualify in an open competitive examination and be within reach on the eligible list in order to be considered for regular appointment, unless he has a status for promotion as explained in paragraph 3 above.

6. If the Department decides to fill a position through open competitive examination, the Commission announces and conducts the examination, investigates the residence and the personal qualifications and fitness of applicants, rates the papers, establishes the list of eligibles, notifies competitors of ratings, and certifies from the head of the eligible list to fill the position. The names of the eligibles are entered on the eligible list in the following order: Veteran eligibles with a *compensable service-connected disability of ten percent or more* are placed first on the list of eligibles in the order of rating. Following them, all other eligibles are listed according to grades (including preference points, if any). Preference eligibles are listed ahead of nonpreference eligibles with the same rating.

7. In examinations for postmaster positions at first-, second-, or third-class post offices, applicants must have physically resided within the delivery of the post office where the vacancy exists, or within the city or village in which the post office is located, for 1 year next preceding the closing date for acceptance of applications if appointment is made from competitive examination, or for one year next preceding the date of appointment if the appointment is made by promotion. Actual residence of the area above defined is also required at the time the appointment is made. Temporary absence for vacation or short-term emergency purposes may be disregarded by the Commission. An eligible who changes his residence to territory served by another post office is no longer eligible for appointment to the position for which he was examined and his name is removed from the list of eligibles. If he resumes actual residence while the list of eligibles is in existence, his name may be restored.

8. A certificate of eligibles resulting from an open competitive examination for filling a specific vacancy is issued to the Post Office Department. The Department is entitled to three names for consideration in filling a position. The Commission, therefore, certifies to the Department the names of the top three eligibles, if as many as three eligibles are available. If fewer than three eligibles are obtained in

an examination, the Commission certifies the names of such eligibles as are available. The Post Office Department cannot pass over a preference eligible and select a nonpreference eligible whose name appears lower on the certificate unless reasons for passing over the preference eligible are submitted to and found sufficient by the Commission. The Department may, however, without furnishing reasons, select any preference eligible on the certificate, regardless of the type of preference, or any nonpreference eligible if there is no preference eligible above him on the certificate. The Post Office Department notifies the eligible who is selected.

9. The Department may select from fewer than three names certified if it so desires. If not, it may return the certificate and request that a new examination be held for the purpose of securing a full list of at least three eligibles. If an examination is reannounced the list of eligibles from both examinations are combined and certification is made in the usual order, provided the requirements for the new examination are the same as those of the earlier one. In such a case, if he continues to meet the appointment requirements, an eligible on the old list may have his eligibility carried over to the new or, if he prefers, he may take the reannounced examination in an effort to improve his rating. In combining lists of eligibles, the names of competitors who attain eligible ratings in more than one examination are entered on the list of eligibles with their highest rating; those who pass the earlier examination but fail the later examination remain on the list of eligibles in accordance with their rating in the earlier examination.

10. Before appointment, whether made either by promotion of a postal employee or from a list resulting from an open competitive examination, the candidate must be nominated by the President to the Senate, and confirmed by the Senate. The Department notifies the appointee of his appointment if he is nominated and confirmed by the Senate.

11. The period of eligibility on a register is one year from the date of entering the name on the list of eligibles. This period of eligibility may be extended if the interests of the service justify such action with respect to the entire list of eligibles. If a list of eligibles for a postmaster position has been in existence for a year and the vacancy for which the list of eligibles was established has not been filled, the life of the list of eligibles is extended until the vacancy has been filled.

RATING SCHEDULE, PRESIDENTIAL POSTMASTER EXAMINATIONS—FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD CLASS OFFICES, PFS LEVEL 8—DECEMBER 1967

This rating schedule is intended for use in rating applications for positions of Postmaster in First, Second, and Third class post offices, classified at PFS Level 8.

Final rating will be made by combining the rating achieved on a written test equally with the rating achieved from an evaluation of the candidate's experience and fitness for the position.

The candidate's experience and fitness will be evaluated on a scale of 100 under the procedure outlined in this schedule. This rating will be made from statements by the competitor in his application and on corroborative evidence secured as a result of a voucher investigation, or personal investigation when made.

Rating will be done under the provisions of this schedule and as published in the announcements issued for examinations covering offices of this PFS level.

In using this rating schedule, examiners should always keep in mind that a postmaster examination is a *local* examination. It is held to fill a *local* need and the candidates are all *local* people.

I. REQUIREMENTS

Applicants must show:

(a) That they have been engaged for a period of at least 1½ years in responsible occupations which by their nature, extent, and importance have demonstrated the applicants' ability to conduct and manage the entire postal business for the community which involves accounting for receipt and disbursement of funds, preparation of required reports, and the receipt and prompt shipment and delivery of numerous letters and packages; *and*

(b) That they can meet and deal with customers and employees agreeably and effectively so that customers are satisfied with the service and employees are properly supervised; *and*

(c) That they have good reputations as to character, habits, morals, honesty, reliability and trustworthiness.

Substitution of education for experience

Study successfully completed in a resident school above high school level may be substituted for part of the required experience on a month-for-month basis up to a maximum of 1 academic year of study for 9 months of experience.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS

"*Level of Office*" for purposes of this schedule refers to the Postal Field Service grade level of the postmaster position, under the provisions of Public Law 90-206, 90th Congress, 1st session, which became effective December 16, 1967. The grade level of the postmaster position at individual post offices is determined by the responsibilities of the position based upon such factors as the number of employees, annual receipts, number of vehicle units, number of branches and stations, and the number of city and rural delivery routes.

"*Accounting for receipt and disbursement of funds*" as used in the announcement refers to the maintenance, or responsibility for such maintenance by subordinate officials, of records in the form prescribed by the postal laws and regulations for all receipt of money, disbursement of funds, supplies, inventories, etc. Receipts include revenue derived from sale of stamps, envelopes, etc., money order fees, mail metering, registry, box rents, and all other revenue incidental to the postal service. Expenditures include all disbursement of funds from postal revenues as authorized by postal laws and regulations and subject to appropriations made. The number and amounts of such transactions will vary with the size of the office, but the proper maintenance of prescribed records is prerequisite, and full accountability for the sums involved is required in all offices.

III. RATING

In rating under this schedule there are five steps to be followed in arriving at the final rating. Each step should be considered in order in assigning points for final rating. A final rating of ineligibility may be assigned, however, whenever it is determined that a candidate fails to meet minimum requirements set forth in Item 1 or 2 below.

1. *Minimum qualifications.*—To qualify in an examination for post offices at PFS Level 8, the total experience background of candidates, as presented in their applications, and corroborated by voucher inquiries or personal investigation, must show that they have had at least the minimum of one and one-half years experience of the type to meet the requirements set out under (a) above. However, substitution of education may be made for a maximum of 9 months of the required experience, in accordance with the requirements set out above. Eligibility under requirements (b) and (c) will be determined from the voucher investigation, or personal investigation when made. The length of experience, except for meeting the minimum requirements, is less important than the quality of experience.

The following factors should be considered carefully in making both minimum qualification and quality level determinations. The experience of candidates should be viewed in relation to the type and size of community, and the kind of local business activity, etc., which factors affect the requirements of the work to be done in the local post office as well as the opportunity which local candidates have for acquiring qualifying experience, and the caliber of candidates we can expect to compete in the examination. Each examination should be handled as an individual case, and ratings should be assigned to applicants on a comparative basis as well as taking into consideration the caliber of the competition. In other words we cannot expect to get the same quality of competition in all examinations for offices at PFS Level 8.

As an example, the caliber of applicants from mining communities or factory towns is usually lower than from other areas. Some of this competition, at the best, would be considered borderline. Since we cannot expect better competition we must give real consideration to these cases and try to establish an eligible register of the best available qualified applicants. However, in no case should an applicant

be rated eligible unless the evidence indicates he can perform the duties of postmaster successfully. Examiners should avoid applying standards in this rating schedule so rigidly that they actually become standards beyond that which is necessary to assure that competitors meeting them can successfully perform the duties of the local postmaster position. Also the application of the standards should not be so rigid as to make it improbable that generally qualified competitors from a local population can meet them.

a. *Types of experience considered qualifying.*—Attachment A sets out examples of types of experience which may be qualifying for the PFS Level 8 offices covered by this rating schedule. As emphasized in the heading of the attachment the examples given are merely guides and are not all-inclusive.

The determination as to whether a type of experience listed in the examples is qualifying depends upon the evidence developed by voucher inquiry, or investigation, as to the scope and importance of the position and the demonstrated qualifications of the applicant. Types of experience similar to those listed in the examples should be given equal weight to those which are listed. More than one type of experience can be combined when making up the minimum. All applicants who meet the minimum will be considered basically qualified and provided they also meet the basic requirements of Item 2, below, will be assigned a basic numerical rating of 70 points. In applying the guides in attachment A in determining whether experience is qualifying the following matters should be considered:

(1) Experience gained in Armed Forces may be qualifying, dependent upon type of work performed, responsibility and rank.

(2) Ratings which concern post office experience relate to the vacancy office. Experience gained in smaller offices usually is not rated as high. Experience gained in an office of higher PFS Level may be rated somewhat higher, depending upon the type and diversity of such experience. Regarding post office experience, there is a distinction between employment during seasonal rushes and regular part-time employment on a regular basis.

(3) Business establishments include department stores, grocery and drug stores, construction business, service establishments, farms, ranches, utility companies, etc. Attachment A makes special provision for experience gained in post offices, professional field, railroad industry, teaching and education, city, county, state and government work.

(4) Applicants should not be rated ineligible because of stale experience, provided that their activities since acquiring the qualifying experience have shown that they are still capable of performing the duties of the office. Such activities may have been in connection with public affairs, fraternal organizations, or in other employment of a type somewhat related to the duties of postmaster. However, mere membership (or participation) in civic, fraternal, veterans organizations or other similar activities will not be qualifying for PFS Level 8 (See attachment A); nor will lack of membership (or participation) be grounds for ineligibility. If an applicant's qualifying experience has been ten years or more ago and there is definite evidence of retrogression to the extent that he is not now considered qualified he should be rated ineligible.

(5) In any case where reliable testimony on vouchers, or personal investigation, indicates that the statements made by the applicant with regard to certain periods of employment have been exaggerated or are factually inaccurate, the examiner should make appropriate adjustments in the number of points to be allowed for that type of qualifying experience. If such a discrepancy is of a serious nature an applicant may be rated ineligible, or further inquiry may be requested depending upon the conclusiveness of the information in the case. If statements concerning education when substituted for part of the required experience have been exaggerated or are factually inaccurate, an applicant may be rated ineligible.

2. *General reputation.*—This factor is concerned not only with the applicant's general reputation as to character, habits, morals, honesty, reliability and trustworthiness but also with the applicant's ability to meet and deal with customers and employees agreeably and effectively so that customers are satisfied with the service and employees are properly supervised. To meet and deal with customers and employees agreeably and effectively, the applicant must possess a personality

which is temperamentally suited to discharging the duties of a postmaster. Testimony in the voucher investigation, or personal investigation must indicate basic qualification under requirements (b) and (c) above. Unless such basic qualification is affirmatively established, the applicant will be rated ineligible whether or not he meets the minimum experience qualifications set forth in Item 1, above.

Care must be taken in evaluating testimony received concerning the applicant's general reputation based on traits of character and his ability to meet and deal effectively with customers and employees. The Commission has responsibility for maintaining the quality of Federal employment through proper evaluation of attributes of character required not only for successful discharge of the job, but for maintaining public confidence in the activity to which the employee is assigned. Therefore, evaluation of this factor must not become a mechanical process. Consideration must be given to the source of the testimony and any reasons behind the comments of the witnesses which might affect the weight which should be given their statements. High praise and uncritical comments from such respondents as close friends, relatives, and references of the applicant are usually less valid than comments from respondents less likely to be biased in favor of one or more of the candidates. Certain other respondent types are prone to give only favorable testimony on vouchers. On the other hand, it is possible that some unfavorable testimony may be the result of unjustified bias against a candidate, or because the respondent prefers another candidate. The examiner must be alert to evaluate the general worth and reliability to give testimony in this particular situation before allowing full weight to the statement given. Generally speaking, the voucher investigation, or personal investigation, will cover a cross-section of the patrons of the vacancy office.

The application of the rating standards for this factor requires maturity of judgment, objectivity, freedom from personal bias and the possession of good common sense on the part of the examiner. He should not apply the standards in this rating schedule so rigidly that they become standards beyond that which is necessary to assure that competitors meeting them may reasonably be expected to perform the duties of the position, without harm or discredit to the public service.

As in Item 1, above, basic eligibility must be established for this factor before Items 3, 4, and 5, below, are given further consideration. A combination of basic eligibility for Items 1 and 2 will result in an assigned numerical rating of 70 points.

3. *Additional points allowed on qualifying experience.*—After basic eligibility has been determined under Items 1 and 2 above, and the 70 points assigned, from 1 to 18 points may be added for quality of experience. (Use table below.) The maximum points allowed for quality of experience are to be granted only when the experience in question has been gained during a full 1½ year period. Use this table for prorating points when the experience has been extended for less than 1½ years. *Note.*—No additional points beyond the 70 assigned as a basic numerical rating will be allowed for education, or for Item No. 2.

Points to be allowed for 1½ full years of any given type of experience	Points to be allowed for less than 1½ full years of any given type of experience		
	1 year	6 months	3 months
18	12	6	3
17	11	6	3
16	11	5	3
15	10	5	3
14	9	5	2
13	9	4	2
12	8	4	2
11	7	4	2
10	7	3	2
9	6	3	2
8	5	3	1
7	5	2	1
6	4	2	1
5	3	2	1
4	3	1	1
3	2	1	1
2	1	1	0
1	1	0	0

4. *Diversity of qualifying experience.*—From 1 to 3 points may be added for diversity of experience, "*Diversity of Experience*" is considered to be experience of responsible type in more than one field of activity such as postal service, business, government (local, State or Federal), banking, etc. Experience at various levels in one field of endeavor *only*, is not considered diversity. (i.e., temporary post office clerk, carrier, window clerk, foreman, etc. in postal service; or rural or grade teacher, principal of grade school, etc. in educational field.) Points are added only where diversity of experience shown by candidate contributes toward greater qualifications for the position of postmaster. It must be clearly demonstrated that applicant has had experience of sufficient length to have gained thorough working knowledge of each field.

5. *Quality of performance.*—From 1 to 9 additional points may be added for quality of performance. Additional points are given depending upon applicant's performance during his periods of qualifying experience, as reflected by the information obtained by vouchers or personal investigation. Additional points should be given only if the quality of performance is shown to be better than average. The maximum of 9 points is given only if performance is clearly superior, and supported by the preponderance of the evidence. In evaluating information obtained by vouchers or investigation careful consideration must be given to the source of information. Statements from former employers or supervisors are usually more reliable than statements from members of the general public. Such statements may offset, or justify disregarding, outstanding recommendations from members of the public. However, if an applicant has been self-employed, or has been engaged in extensive civic or public activities, the statements from members of the general public concerning his qualifications may be given full credit. Rating on this factor must not become a mechanical process, and must take into consideration all the facts and circumstances.

IV. REVIEW OF RELATIVE RATINGS OF APPLICANTS

When final ratings have been computed for all applicants based upon the evaluation of their experience and additional points allowed for the factors, the relative ratings should be carefully considered to see that they properly reflect the relative qualifications of the applicants. A final comparison of the ratings of the applicants is often of assistance in disclosing apparent inconsistencies in the evaluation of qualifications, and may indicate the need for an additional careful study of the overall experience and activities of certain applicants.

Enclosure.

ATTACHMENT A—EXAMPLES OF TYPES OF EXPERIENCE WHICH MAY BE QUALIFYING IN PRESIDENTIAL POSTMASTER EXAMINATIONS FOR FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD CLASS OFFICES AT PFS LEVEL 8

Listed below as a guide in evaluating various types of experience for offices at PFS Level 8 are examples of types which may be qualifying, depending upon the evidence developed by the voucher inquiry or the investigation relative to the responsibilities of the position or office, and the demonstrated qualifications of the applicant. These guides are not all-inclusive, and experience similar to a type listed in the guide should be given equal weight, depending upon the information developed by the inquiries. These guides show suggested points to be added for types of qualifying experience for the PFS Level 8 offices covered by this schedule. The number of points actually assigned to the experience of any applicant should be based upon the information shown in his application with respect to the position or office, duties and responsibilities, and the corroborative evidence developed by voucher inquiries or investigation.

<i>Level 8—1st, 2d, or 3d class</i>		<i>Points to be added</i>
Experience in post office:		
Postmaster, same or higher PFS level.....		18
Post office inspector.....		18
Postmaster, lower PFS level or 4th class (credit for postmaster at a smaller office will depend upon the size and class of the office in relation to the size of the office for which examination is conducted. Generally, experience as postmaster, 3d and high 4th class offices, will be given at least as much credit as experience as rural carrier).....	I-12	
Assistant postmaster, practically carrying load of office.....		17
Assistant postmaster, normal duties.....		15
Superintendent of mails.....		12
Superintendent of station or branch post office.....		12
Station examiner.....		11
Assistant to the postmaster.....	9-15	
Post office clerk (designated to act in absence of postmaster).....		9
Assistant superintendent of station or branch post office.....		9
Assistant to superintendent of station or branch post office.....		8
Foreman (exclusive of motor vehicle and custodial service).....		8
Rural carrier.....		8
Regular post office clerk or carrier.....	3-6	
Substitute post office clerk or carrier (aggregating 1½ years of full-time experience), depending upon duties performed.....	0-6	
Experience in large business establishment (including public utility office, large farm or ranch, etc., net income above that of post office or gross considerably above that of post office):		
Owner-operator (or active partner) must be active with almost full-time operating responsibility.....		18
Manager.....		14
Other officials (assistant manager, floor manager, department head, buyer, manager of local chain store, etc.).....	3-9	
Experience in fair-sized business establishment (net income comparable to that of salary of postmaster, or gross comparable to or slightly larger than that of post office):		
Owner-operator (or active partner) must be active with almost full-time operating responsibility.....		14
Manager.....		9
Other officials (assistant manager, floor manager, department head, buyer, etc.).....	3-6	
Experience in small business establishment (net income slightly under salary of postmaster or gross slightly under gross of post office):		
Owner-operator (or active partner) must be active with almost full-time operating responsibility.....		9
Experience in minor type business establishment (net income well under salary of postmaster, or gross well under gross of post office):		
Owner-operator, or manager.....	0-3	
Clerk with bookkeeping experience:		
Clerks with responsibility for dealing with the public and for keeping books and records such as store sales-clerks who also keep books, some court clerks such as circuit court clerks, who receive and account for funds and deal with the general public. The "clerk with bookkeeping experience" under this guide does not require that both types of experience be acquired concurrently. Bookkeepers who have not had public contact experience in their employment may meet this guide if they have had other experience in different employments, or in civic or public activities, in which they have demonstrated ability to deal with the general public.....	0-3	
Professional experience:		
Doctor, lawyer, dentist with large practice; certified public accountant; engineer; and other professional persons; net income exceeding salary of postmaster.....		11
Doctor, lawyer, etc., with small practice; certified public accountant; engineer; and other professional persons; net income equaling or somewhat less than salary of postmaster.....		5
Minister.....	I-3	

Level 8—1st, 2d, or 3d class—Continued

	<i>Points to be added</i>
Banking experience:	
Cashier, or higher bank official, active or almost full-time operational duties.....	18
Assistant cashier or teller with duties similar to those of cashier.....	11
Teller.....	3-6
Railroad experience:	
Station master.....	12
Station agent.....	8
Assistant station agent, baggage master, freight or express agent.....	3
Conductor.....	3-6
Yardmaster, dispatcher.....	0
Teaching and educational experience:	
Superintendent of school system (4 or more schools).....	15
Superintendent of school system (less than 4 schools).....	11
High school principal or college department head.....	3-6
High school or college teacher or grade principal.....	0-3
Grade teachers.....	I-0
County, city, State, or Government experience:	
Major city, county, State or government officials such as mayor, city manager, county manager, heads of city, county, State or Federal Government offices and others with administrative and financial responsibilities comparable to or higher than the position of postmaster in scope and complexity. These offices may include the office of treasurer, some court clerks, and other comparable positions when administrative and fiduciary responsibilities are equal to or exceed that of the position of postmaster.....	9-17
Minor city, county, State, or Federal Government officials with responsibilities for accounting for funds, maintaining records, and dealing with general public. These positions may include assessor, tax collector, recorder of deeds, country agricultural agent, sheriff, etc.....	0-8
Superintendent of large State or county institution.....	14
Superintendent of minor State or county institution.....	8
Civic or organizational activities:	
Responsible experience in important civic, professional, fraternal or other organizations should be given the same credit for meeting the minimum requirements as experience gained in paid employment. The amount of credit to be allowed for such activities will be determined upon the level of responsibility of the offices held by the applicant, the length of his services in the offices, the amount of time he was required to spend in such activities, and the success of his efforts. Mere membership is not considered as qualifying experience. However, in some cases it may be found that the office or offices held by an applicant, and the responsibilities and duties of such offices, are adequate for eligible rating even though his paid employment may have been below the qualifying level. If an office of a responsible nature has required a reasonable amount of continuing activity and effort, it is not always necessary to reduce the amount of time spent in the activity to an 8-hour working day for the purpose of computing the amount of credit to be allowed. Such activity may be given full credit in the same manner as full-time paid experience. Where only intermittent activity at rather widely spaced intervals was required it may be necessary to reduce the amount of time credit allowed.....	

NOTE.—“I” as used in this attachment indicates “ineligible.”

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF ACTING POSTMASTERS

The Civil Service Commission publishes two pamphlets on the procedures for appointment of permanent postmasters and on the requirements and standards one must meet to fill such a position. These pamphlets, AN 2223 and AN 1759, are obtainable upon request from the Civil Service Commission, Washington,

D.C. 20260, or from the Commission's Liaison Office, Room B-332, Rayburn Building. The pamphlets, 8 to 10 pages in volume, are not subject to abridgment, and for that reason we will make no attempt to duplicate the information they contain.

* * * * *

In appointing *acting* postmasters the Department adheres to the same general requirements fixed by law for appointment of postmasters on a permanent basis. While appointment as acting postmaster does not automatically lead to the permanent appointment, the Department does not knowingly appoint as acting postmaster anyone who, according to our information, has no chance of qualifying for the permanent appointment. For that reason we adhere to the fixed requirements such as residence and age because those factors are not subject to interpretation.

At first-, second-, and third-class offices, applicants for permanent appointment must meet rigid residence requirements provided by law. For appointment as acting postmaster, this means one year's residence immediately preceding the date of appointment. At fourth-class offices, an applicant for acting postmaster need only reside (physically) within the above-defined area on the date of appointment. A post office box is not positive indication of the applicant's residence.

As a further example, a man with career status who works at the post office in Washington, D.C., *but lives in Alexandria, Va.*, is eligible for appointment as acting postmaster at Alexandria but *not* at Washington. Therefore, there is no use recommending someone who does not actually (Physically) reside within the delivery of the vacancy office.

General qualifications such as experience, aptitude and reputation are not fixed factors in that two different people can draw different conclusions on such qualifications.

The Civil Service Commission pamphlets specifically spell out the needed period of qualifying *experience* such as one year, two years, five years, etc., of work in an administrative capacity. (However, the *type* of experience is not specifically defined because it is not possible to enumerate all jobs comparable in complexity or scope to that of postmaster.) As a general guideline, it might be asked: "Has the applicant been engaged for one year or two years, or whatever the period might be, in a position that involves the supervision of a comparable number of people, the handling of a comparable amount of money, as has the postmaster at the office where the vacancy exists? Has the applicant had experience that entailed meeting and dealing effectively with the public?"

At fourth-class offices, and in the smaller third-class offices (levels 5, 6 and 7 for example), supervisory experience is not a requirement. The applicant must be able to meet the public and have demonstrated that he can keep records and/or accounts. At the second-class offices, it is desirable that the applicant have some supervisory experience in addition to some experience in keeping accounts and records.

At first-class offices, supervisory experience is a requirement as is administrative experience. As to the difference between the two terms, while a foreman might supervise eight people operating sewing machines, this would not necessarily give him administrative experience. On the other hand, someone could have a sizable private business, perhaps supervising only two people, and be better qualified in both administration and supervision.

At the very large post offices, one doesn't often encounter applicants in charge of firms that employ as large a number of people or having a volume of business comparable to the large post offices. The Department, however, will favorably consider applicants who have had business experience involving a reasonable number of employees and a reasonable volume of business.

Concerning postal experience, it has been found that experience as a city letter carrier, rural letter carrier, or post office clerk, is qualifying for appointment as postmaster through Level 9. In postmaster positions in Level 10 and above, such experience is not "qualifying" regardless of the length of such experience alone.

The Department has no objection to the appointment of a non-veteran as acting postmaster, but, if it is anticipated that the acting postmaster will later qualify for appointment as regular postmaster, it should be remembered that the Civil Service Commission sets up the register for postmaster in accordance with the Veterans' Preference Act.

With regard to general reputation and habits, the Department's aim is to appoint only those of good character and reputation. This does not mean that the selection is a popularity contest. In other words, we will not turn down an applicant merely because a number of patrons prefer someone else. Naturally, the usual

investigation preliminary to the appointment of all acting postmasters will, from time to time, turn up information concerning an applicant with which the local patrons are not familiar, such as arrest records, character defects, and the like. That is the reason why announcements of acting postmaster appointments should *not* be made public until this character investigation has been completed.

Mr. NIX. As our first witness, I now invite the Honorable Arnold Olsen, Member of Congress from Montana and member of this committee, to testify.

TESTIMONY OF HON. ARNOLD OLSEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MONTANA

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to testify and, further, I certainly appreciate your statement regarding this problem. I think you have been visited with this problem more often than I have. However, I have a lot of postmasters in my district inasmuch as I have 24 counties.

This bill that I support provides for appointment of postmasters for first-, second-, and third-class post offices. Recently the Post Office Department released a statement which gave some of the statistics on postmaster appointments.

There were 1,515 postmaster confirmation actions in 1967 and 42.6 percent of these jobs were given to career post office employees. In 1966, 38.3 percent were given to career employees, and in 1965, 33.5 percent.

Now, the sense of the announcement was that the increasing percentage of appointments coming from the career service is a good trend. I say if this is a good thing, then let's drive it up to 100 percent, which my bill will do.

Let's assume that in 1968 there will be approximately 1,500 first-, second-, and third-class appointments and that 50 percent will come from the career service. That leaves 750 appointments from the outside, an average of less than two per congressional district. These appointments from the outside are not sufficient in number to permit a judicial selection from the constituency. In small cities they can be the cause of divisive and terrible conflicts within party organizations and ultimately a headache to all concerned, including the Congressman.

I recently had an unfortunate experience in this area which helps make this bill attractive to me.

I think it is difficult to argue against the merits of appointing as postmasters capable career professionals who have familiarized themselves with all aspects of the post office operation and who have demonstrated their qualifications by taking appropriate noncompetitive examinations. I am of the opinion that the morale of the postal service will be increased in that the able employee in a post office will now be assured of a chance for the top job. Right now he knows when the top job is open it may go to an outsider.

This bill should result, over the course of a few years, in all top post office jobs being held by knowledgeable postal career men. This will certainly help the Post Office Department.

I have some reservations concerning the requirements in one of the proposed bills that prior to appointment an employee must be given the opportunity to familiarize himself with all of the postal functions by actually performing the duties in that area, but never-

theless, I incorporated that into my bill. In my own mind I think we have to visualize a postmaster, certainly in a post office of any size, coming from ranks that have familiarized themselves with the collection of mail, the transportation of mail, the sorting of mail, and, of course, delivery. Some people think that this would be to the disadvantage of clerks, because if removed from the clerk's job outside to a delivery job, they may take a reduction in rank, but I do not see that as a real obstacle. I think we can provide he shall not take a reduction in rank simply because he is being delegated to the delivery service.

So I say even my bill, or any of the bills, are subject to amendment to take care of when people are transferred from one part of the mechanical operation of the Post Office to another, for the purpose of experience, to qualify himself for the rank of postmaster. We can work that out in the committee and work it out with some organizations that I anticipate will object to this legislation.

I think that anybody who is going to be postmaster should be required to familiarize himself with all the postal functions. The means by which this requirement could be implemented is not exactly clear to me, but I think when we get the people up here and talk to them about it, we can formulate some very definite ideas on how it could be done.

I believe this section of my own bill has to be clarified and I think this particular matter in everyone's bill has to be clarified.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity.

Mr. Nix. Thank you for your contribution, Mr. Olsen.

In my opinion this is going to represent a unique series of hearings in that we have a multiplicity of views and they come from people knowledgeable in the subject under discussion. I think it is the proper way to arrive at equitable legislation.

I now call on the Honorable Robert J. Corbett, Member of Congress from the State of Pennsylvania, and the ranking minority member of the full committee.

Mr. Corbett, you may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before your subcommittee today to present my comments on the several bills under study and especially on the bills H.R. 5284, sponsored by Mr. Gross, and H.R. 5285, which I sponsored.

The purpose of these bills is to eliminate politics as a factor in appointments and promotions in the postal service.

I would like to say, first of all, Mr. Chairman, that you and the members of this subcommittee are to be commended for taking the initiative to study a problem which has not been explored in depth for many years. The very scheduling of these hearings testifies to the fact that political favoritism in postal appointments and promotions detracts from the operation of the postal service and is a nonpartisan issue.

It is a fault in our postal system which all of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, wish to see corrected for the benefit of the postal service and for the American public. If the logical outcome of these

hearings is the enactment of effective legislation, the result will be a more efficient and improved postal service.

I would like to briefly review the provisions of my bill, as they would alter current practices.

First, it would place a priority on inservice promotion to fill postmaster and rural carrier vacancies. If there were no qualified applicants under this procedure, then the vacancy would be filled through an open competitive examination.

Second, it would prohibit anyone from requesting or submitting political recommendations for postal appointments or promotions. It provides suitable penalties in the form of dismissal or fines for any violation of these prohibitions.

I think it should be emphasized, Mr. Chairman, that technically the present system of appointing postmasters of first-, second-, and third-class offices needs little improvement. The law clearly states that, during the examination of an applicant, the Civil Service Commission "may not receive or consider a recommendation of the applicant by a Senator or Representative, except as to the character or residence of the applicant."

However, this prohibition is voided through the use of the so-called advisory system which has established itself as standard operating procedure through both Democratic and Republican administrations.

This system, in a word, permits the political party in power to determine the selection of postmaster appointments on a patronage basis, and then to use the regular procedures of the Post Office Department and the Civil Service Commission for the ultimate nomination and confirmation of this politically inspired selection.

This practice, then, is precisely what my bill, and that of Congressman Gross, is aimed at.

During the hearings in the 89th Congress on the legislative reorganization bill, the subject of postmasterships was briefly discussed. The crux of testimony of several Members and Senators was to the effect that the system of offering "advice" on the nomination of postmasters was burdensome and most stated that they would like to be rid of this responsibility.

The legislation I have introduced will do just this. And it will go a step further, through appropriate sanctions, to insure that no political favoritism is allowed to enter into the selection of postmasters or the promotion or appointment of postal employees.

There is one additional point I would like to make in support of my bill, and that of Mr. Gross, which I believe to be highly important. That is, this legislation does not change the current procedure, established more than 130 years ago, of requiring Senate confirmation of postmaster nominations made by the President.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, it is essential that this safeguard be retained. The case has been advanced that Senate confirmation is the culprit in politically inspired postmaster nominations. I disagree with this contention.

Some 30 years ago Congress passed the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Act which, among other features, covered into competitive civil service postmasters of first-, second-, and third-class offices.

During debate on whether to eliminate the feature of Senate confirmation, Senator McKellar of Tennessee had this to say:

There is not one appointment in a hundred, probably not one in five hundred, that is objected to by the Senate, but the restraining influence of having the Senate confirm the appointment of an officer is of enormous value in securing the right kind of an officer to fill the place.

At another point in the debate, Senator McKellar also said:

I think the very fact that the Senate has the power to confirm has the effect of causing the President to send in the very best men who can be found for the offices to be filled.

Mr. Chairman, I agree wholeheartedly with these comments.

I believe that we can substantially improve on what is basically a sound system of postmastership appointments by eliminating the evil of the political advisory system. I see no reason to take any further step at this time. All the evidence I have been able to gather, and my own experience in Congress, point to this extra legal procedure as keeping postal employees in political bondage.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that the legislation which I have sponsored will deal effectively with this matter and I urge its approval.

Mr. Nix. Thank you, Mr. Corbett, for your contribution.

Our next witness is one of my great friends, a valuable member of the full committee and this subcommittee, the Honorable H. R. Gross, Member of Congress from Iowa. During the course of his presentation Mr. Gross will introduce the Honorable Fred Schwengel, the Honorable Wiley Mayne, and the Honorable William J. Scherle, Members of Congress.

Mr. Gross?

TESTIMONY OF HON. H. R. GROSS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. Gross. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I want to thank Chairman Dulski of the full committee, and you, Mr. Nix, for scheduling these hearings. I believe this legislation is badly needed and will try to emphasize that point in my presentation, as will others. I do want to thank you for scheduling these hearings.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to appear before the subcommittee in support of my bill, H.R. 5284, and the identical bills which have been introduced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Corbett, the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Derwinski, and by my colleagues from Iowa, Mr. Schwengel, Mr. Kyl, Mr. Mayne, and Mr. Scherle. If enacted, this legislation will remove politics as a factor in the appointment and promotion of all postal employees, including postmasters and rural mail carriers.

These bills differ materially from other legislation on this subject, in that they provide that first opportunity for appointments to vacant positions of postmaster and rural carrier shall be given to qualified career employees in the postal field service and provide criminal penalties for violations of the strict prohibitions against use of political influence.

Postal employee organizations have long complained about the failure of the Post Office Department to recognize and to promote able and experienced career postal employees. Elimination of political influence in this area will improve the postal service and will help restore better service to postal patrons.

I agree with the recent expression of the president of the National Civil Service League, who stated:

One serious deterrent to the Post Office's drive for quality is the archaic, inefficient system of appointing postmasters and rural letter carriers through the old-fashioned patronage system.

However, this statement merely scratches the surface of the real problem. The tremendous reservoir of talent and know-how among the career employees of the postal field service has never been given an opportunity to prove its great potential for service to the American people.

The postal field service has been in political chains for over a century. It is time to remove these chains of political bondage from the more than ½ million postal employees.

It is worthy of noting that for the 7 calendar years from 1960 to 1967, only 35.5 percent of postmaster appointments were made from the ranks of career postal employees. By inference, this means that the Postmaster General found that in 64.5 percent of the postmaster vacancies he could not find a postal employee in the ranks who qualified for the postmaster position. Also, it should be noted that during the same 7-year period, only one-half of rural carriers were appointed from within the ranks of career employees in the postal service.

These statistics show that the Post Office Department has not taken full advantage of the available qualified employees in the postal service in connection with the selection of postmasters and rural carriers.

It is impossible for these career postal employees to fulfill their duties and responsibilities without improvements in postal personnel administration provided for in legislation we have introduced.

Briefly, my bill provides:

(1) Prohibition against postal officials securing political recommendations from any source whatsoever in connection with appointments of postmasters and rural carriers.

(2) Prohibition against postal officials securing political endorsements from any source whatsoever in connection with any promotion of a postal employee.

(3) Violators of any of the above prohibitions would be subject to dismissal and certain criminal penalties.

(4) Postmaster and rural carrier vacancies shall be filled by promotion of qualified career postal employees who reside within the county in which the post office is located where such vacancies exist. In the event the Post Office Department and Civil Service Commission cannot find a qualified career postal employee, then an open competitive civil service examination shall be given to fill such postmaster or rural carrier vacancy.

(5) The President shall continue to submit postmaster nominations to the Senate for confirmation.

It is not generally known that the present system in the postal service provides a so-called advisory procedure for postmaster and rural carrier appointments. Whenever a postmaster vacancy occurs, for example, either the Democratic Member of Congress or, in the absence of a Democratic Member serving that particular area, the Democratic Party leader is contacted by the Post Office Department and requested to recommend whether the vacancy should be filled by promotion or by open civil service competitive examination. After the advice of

these politicians is received, if it is decided that a competitive civil service examination is to be given, then, following the examination the three highest names on the civil service eligible register are submitted to the politician for his selection of one person for appointment. Almost without exception, that recommendation is followed by the Post Office Department.

The same general procedure is used by the Post Office Department with respect to the appointment of rural carriers.

The advisory procedure described above applies equally to Republican administrations when they are in charge of the executive branch.

Most promotions to important supervisory positions within the postal system are subject to political clearance, and in most instances the recommendation of the politician contacted by the Post Office Department is followed. This archaic procedure is a throwback to the "spoils system," which in this enlightened age should be discarded in favor of the most objective personnel selection procedure which can be devised.

Over the last few years a number of bills have been introduced proposing in one form or another the elimination of politics from the appointment of postmasters, but they were not given favorable consideration. I believe, however, that in view of the recent breakdown in the postal service such action must be taken now before more serious consequences result.

My bill does not provide for the removal of the present requirement for Senate confirmation of postmasters for three important reasons.

First, the mere elimination of Senate confirmation of postmasters will not remove such appointments from political influence. Such action alone would simply transfer the politics from the Congress to the hidden recesses of the Post Office Department and make the problem far worse than it is now.

Second, I believe that confirmation of Presidential appointments is a prerogative of the Senate which does not properly belong in legislation originating in the House of Representatives.

Third, in view of the deep civic interest in the position of postmaster in every town, village, and city in our Nation, there should be a bipartisan forum to which postal patrons and residents of a community can present their views with respect to any Presidential nominee for the position of postmaster. The Senate serves this purpose.

Retaining Senate confirmation would provide a congressional check on the selection of postmasters to make certain that more than "lip service" is given to the prohibitions contained in this legislation against political endorsements and recommendations.

I believe the enactment of H.R. 5284 or identical bills will provide a more effective elimination of political control and influence in postal personnel management than many bills which have been introduced, particularly those which merely provide for driving the political patronage system underground by merely eliminating Senate confirmation for postmasters.

Finally, in order to achieve this objective, these bills also provide that Members of Congress and political party officials shall be prohibited from the use of political influence in connection with appointments or promotions of postmasters, rural carriers, and all other postal employees, and violators of this prohibition shall be subject to certain criminal penalties.

Mr. Chairman, in order to remove the Post Office Department completely from political pressures and influence, it is necessary not only to enact H.R. 5284, which I have previously discussed, but also to enact H.R. 5877, which deals with the top echelon and management officers of the Department.

As in the case of H.R. 5284, my colleagues from Iowa and the gentleman from Illinois have introduced bills identical to H.R. 5877.

This legislation provides that the Postmaster General shall not perform any duties except those relating to the administration of the postal service and his office is to be disassociated from the President's Cabinet.

In recent years we have witnessed a situation develop whereby the Postmaster General devotes much of his time and attention to matters unrelated to the postal service. It is impossible for the Postmaster General to administer the affairs of a department the size and magnitude of the Post Office Department without devoting full time to his official duties.

My bill further provides that the Postmaster General shall be appointed by the President for a term of 12 years and that he may not be removed during this term of office except for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

During the past 6 years, three persons have occupied the position of Postmaster General, each of whom had different concepts and sometimes contradictory policies with respect to the administration of the postal service. Each time there was a change in the office of Postmaster General, the direction of the Post Office Department was altered. This lack of continuity in office has tended to create a chaotic condition which finally manifested itself in the recent breakdown of the postal service, with the suggested solution offered by one Assistant Postmaster General "to burn the mail."

It is important to the American people that the postal service be administered with some degree of continuity and purpose. Vacillating and indecisive policies must be eliminated so that the business mailers and the general public will be the recipients of a better postal service predicated on a constant purpose of improvement and a sense of dedication to the needs of the mailing public.

My bill further provides that the Deputy Postmaster General, to be appointed by the President, must be selected from among the career employees of the postal service and his term of office shall be for 6 years. This provision carries out a recommendation of the former Hoover Commission which stated that the immediate subordinate of the Postmaster General should be a career postal employee who is knowledgeable, possessing background experience related to the day-by-day operations of the postal service.

The other provisions of the bill relate to the establishment of rotating terms of appointments of 6 years for the six Assistant Postmasters General and the General Counsel of the Post Office Department. As in the case of the Postmaster General and the Deputy Postmaster General, occupants of these positions are to be appointed by the President and removed only for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

The general purpose of this legislation is to create a climate and attitude of independence from political influence among the top echelons of the Post Office Department. In this manner, occupants of

these positions will be free from political interference and pressures which far too often shape the policies of the Post Office Department.

For example, political pressures or influence should no longer dictate the establishment and location of new post offices and postal facilities, or determine the banks in which postal receipts are to be deposited, or dictate the appointments and promotions of postal employees, or determine from whom the Post Office Department should purchase equipment and supplies, or dictate who should receive contracts to be awarded by the Post Office Department.

Under my bill the Postmaster General and his immediate subordinates will be in a position to conduct the affairs of the Department with greater efficiency on a businesslike basis with consideration only for the needs of the American people.

A Government activity as large and as complex as the Post Office Department, with more than 700,000 employees and with \$6.8 billion in annual appropriations, certainly is not the kind of Government establishment which will survive efficiently and effectively without complete divorcement from political influences, pressures, and demands.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and now I would like, with your permission, to introduce the Honorable Fred Schwengel, Member of Congress from Iowa, who is the author of H.R. 5289 and who was one of the Members from Iowa who helped put this legislation together which we are presenting here today.

Mr. NIX. The subcommittee is very happy to welcome the distinguished gentleman.

TESTIMONY OF HON. FRED SCHWENGEL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is an honor to be here this morning to join my colleagues and to speak in behalf of the legislation which has been introduced by myself and by the colleagues from Iowa.

First, I want to commend the chairman for his brilliant statement in defense of the position we are taking and to thank him for giving us this opportunity to offer this testimony and to plead our case.

As has been pointed out, Mr. Chairman, the legislation we have introduced will do just principally one thing, and this is to take the Post Office Department out of partisan politics. Under the leadership of the eminent dean of the Iowa delegation, Mr. Gross, a number of us have proposed, as has already been indicated, two specific bills to accomplish our purposes. Mr. Gross has spoken well of our bills and has described them in some detail and so they need no further elaboration on my part.

I may just say the first bill simply prohibits the exertion of political influence in the hiring and promotion of post office employees and I think this is very, very important. This bill means to include postmasters and rural mail carriers.

The second bill would establish the Post Office Department as an independent agency. The Postmaster, as already has been indicated, would have a 12-year term and would not be a member of the President's Cabinet. The thrust and objective of these bills, I repeat, is to take the Post Office Department out of partisan politics so that

it can run on a merit basis with regard to personnel and on a business-like basis when it comes to efficiency.

By taking the Post Office Department out of politics, we will take the first big, and I think very necessary, step toward improving the quality of the postal service.

Mr. Chairman, you spoke well when you said the Post Office Department is a service organization, and we plead for improved and more efficient service herewith.

You pointed appropriately to the fact it is an industrial organization and this is true. And because it is, it needs this kind of attention that we are attempting to give it with this legislation.

In conclusion, let me say that I believe it is high time that we offer a plan and a proposition that will emphasize the importance of delivering the mail rather than delivering the votes.

I thank you very much for this opportunity to speak briefly in behalf of this legislation.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. NIX. Yes.

Mr. OLSEN. I just wanted to thank Mr. Schwengel for his contribution. He always makes a great contribution in the Congress.

I wonder how many postmasters you have in your district.

Mr. SCHWENGEL. I have not counted them up, but we probably have well over a hundred.

Mr. OLSEN. You have a similar situation to myself. I have 180 postmasters in my district, and I find a lot of problems in suggesting or recommending anybody inside or outside the post office for the job. As I understand the law, there has to be a register to get a permanent appointment. So, we do make it from the register of three.

However, I am quizzical about why take the House out of recommending anybody and leave the Senate recommendation in there. Nobody kids me about what happens over in the Senate about the recommendations because they get a card sent them by the Post Office and Civil Service Committee of the Senate to the Senators of that State.

When the Democrats are in power, of course it goes to the Democratic Senators and when the Republicans are in power it goes to the Republican Senator. If he does not send the card back, there is never any action taken on that recommendation.

That is what you will be stuck with if you leave it in the Senate. You may not think that is politics. I just want to bring it up at this time because, Mr. Gross, I understand may have to leave, and I wanted to bring up the fact that you do not take politics out of the post office if you are going to let the private club decide whether or not it will send the card back to the committee.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OLSEN. Yes.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out that many of the Members of the House who are supporting these bills might some day be members of that "private club" the gentleman speaks about. In defense of that so-called private club, and as one of the co-sponsors of these bills, the end result that I see if we effectively take the Postmaster General and appointments out of politics, that when

a qualified person earns a postmaster's assignment, the club merely goes through the motion of giving its legal approval the way they do for ambassadors.

The last time that private club gave any President a problem over an ambassadorial appointment was when Mrs. Luce referred to Senator Wayne Morse as having been kicked in the head by a horse. That was 9 years ago. Everything else has been perfunctory. I do not think they will dabble with the postmaster appointments once we remove the political activities out of postmaster appointments.

Mr. OLSEN. There I disagree. I can see where we will really go a great way in taking politics out of the post office if we appoint people within the ranks and qualify people within the ranks. But to simply deliver it over to the Senate, I cannot agree because appointing postmasters is a lot like approving the commissions of officers in the armed services. And there are not infrequent instances when the advancement just does not get to the Armed Services Committees to be resolved. It just does not happen because the "club" does not let it get there. You do not hear that the guy got rejected, he just does not ever get to a place where his promotion approval is made.

I do not like the downgrading of the House. Whether I join the other club or not, I do not think the House of Representatives ought to be downgraded.

Now I have a third reason, and that is that you are going to deliver this entire thing over to a new kind of politics; namely, the Post Office Department itself will have its politics. I think there has to be a participation by the House of Representatives. It does not have to be Republican or Democrat. I think it ought to be within the ranks and it ought to be within the merit system, but I think that the recommendation or the disapproval of the House ought to participate in it every bit as much as the Senate.

Mr. DERWINSKI. We will probably argue this out in detail in subcommittee session, but first of all, the Senate confirmation is a constitutional prerogative and the Founding Fathers did not give the House in this instance an equivalent role. So I do not think you could argue on any historical basis for House involvement at that level.

Mr. OLSEN. Yes, I can and it is before you, the historical involvement is in the history prepared by the staff.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I am speaking of the Constitution, which specifically provides for approval by the two-thirds vote of the Senate of certain other officials which includes postmasters.

The other problem is that the gentleman is arguing against himself. If you retain any House influence, you also retain the political headaches and earlier the gentleman pointed out the headaches that come to an individual Member of the House in processing local postmaster appointments.

Mr. NIX. Will the gentleman permit me to interject here?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. NIX. This goes to the beginning of our long disagreement. We have a great number of statements to be heard at this moment and if we could get along with it, the Chair would be delighted.

Mr. GROSS. I will not ask the gentleman to yield because there will be ample time later, Mr. Chairman, to see if the suggestion is good. I would like to respond.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Gross, would you proceed to present the other distinguished witnesses?

Mr. SCHWENGEL. May I have just a moment for an observation? I think the gentleman from Montana brought up a valid point that needs discussion, but I think further discussion of it will probably end up in a pretty good argument for our position on this.

Let me just say that we think we have gone a long way toward the solution of this proposition, and if further discussion and further insight indicate we need further amendment of this area that you put your finger on, I think every member of the Iowa delegation would agree if it can be shown it will be an improvement.

Mr. OLSEN. In the not too distant future you are going to hear a suggestion that is farther out than that. The suggestion is going to be made to make the Department a separate corporation. Then it will be entirely corporate politics and probably even nepotism will return, as is noted throughout the corporation system in the country.

Mr. GROSS. I would like next to introduce my colleague from Iowa, Mr. Wiley Mayne, whose bill is H.R. 5287 and who joined from the inception in the construction of this legislation.

Mr. NIX. The subcommittee is delighted to welcome Mr. Mayne.

TESTIMONY OF HON. WILEY MAYNE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. MAYNE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank you and the members of the subcommittee for this opportunity to testify on this important subject.

Mr. Chairman, just 1 year ago when I had been a Member of this House but a month, I introduced H.R. 5287 and H.R. 5880, which are two of the bills under consideration here today.

This action may have been deemed presumptuous for a first-timer but I believe the testimony here today would indicate that it was a correct one.

The present system of political influence in connection with appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations in the postal field service is both cumbersome and inefficient. It frequently prefers the applicants with superior political credentials at the expense of better qualified applicants. This deprives the American public of the best service possible from the talent available.

Rather than recite new examples or repeat the evidence heard so far, let me briefly project the circumstances should our bills be enacted into law.

Postmasters of the first three classes would be selected by the President from qualified career employees already in the postal service or by competitive examination if no such career employee is available.

Eliminated from rural route appointments would be the tedious selection procedure that now involves local committees, State organization appointments, the White House, Senate Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service and the Senate itself. Cards, biographies, political pedigrees, and endless endorsements by friends of applicants would all be rendered unnecessary if the postal appointments were to be made on a strict merit system. Indeed, endorsements, solicited or otherwise, would be prohibited and violations punished by fine.

I have the highest regard for the personnel of the postal service, many of whom are very dedicated public servants. They still remain the one certain link between the average citizen and his Government. However, the ever-increasing flow of mail means that we must take some drastic steps right now to cope with the critical problems inherent in our present system.

Consider the situation which would prevail under the new setup which we propose. Competence would be bound to improve under a merit system and a considerable saving of time would result as compared with the present selection method. This saving of time should provide additional incentive to us.

There are supporters of this proposition in both parties so it must call for a correction that is sorely needed. I do not appear here today as a partisan motivated by any desire to deprive the Democratic Party of patronage. Rather, it is my hope that we will see to it that neither party has an opportunity to use our postal service for political reasons. Although Republicans hope to capture the Presidency next November, I for one do not think our party should covet such patronage when the public interest dictates otherwise.

I fervently hope that these bills become law before a Republican President enters the White House next January so that the new administration can get a fresh start and start running our postal service on sound business principles rather than as a means of political patronage.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you and the members of the subcommittee for affording me this opportunity to join my colleagues here today in urging favorable consideration of this very necessary legislation.

Mr. Nix. Thank you, Mr. Mayne.

Mr. Gross?

Mr. GROSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank Mr. Mayne for his statement.

I next want to introduce the Honorable William J. Scherle, a Member of Congress from Iowa, who sponsored H.R. 5288 on this subject.

Mr. Nix. Mr. Scherle.

TESTIMONY OF HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. SCHERLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the subcommittee, let me say first that it is a pleasure for me to have this opportunity to appear before you today. The subject which you are considering—the elimination of politics from the Post Office Department—is a very important one.

In recent years, the increasing burdens placed upon our postal system by virtue of the sheer volume of mail, have become overwhelming.

Everyone from the everyday mail user to the Postmaster General has acknowledged that drastic steps must be taken to improve this system or it will eventually collapse.

The Congress, too, is very much aware that something must be done as is evidenced by the number of pieces of legislation introduced and by the calling of these hearings.

For my part, I have introduced H.R. 5288 and H.R. 5881.

The first of these bills would require that political influence be eliminated from the process of nominating and appointing postmasters, rural carriers, and postal field service employees. It further provides for the imposition of penalties for soliciting or making use of such political recommendations.

If we are to improve the efficiency of the postal service sufficiently to make it capable of meeting today's demands, we must make merit the sole basis for advancement. Any other basis breeds discontent, destroys morale and lowers the total level of the caliber of the system's work force.

The second bill above referred to would remove the Postmaster General from his position in the Cabinet, give him a 12-year term of office, restrict him to purely postal duties, and require that his immediate subordinates have a background in the system over which they have responsibility.

Gentlemen, we must act now. If the post office fails, reestablishing confidence will be an impossible task.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you and the members of this subcommittee for this opportunity here this morning.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Scherle.

I want to thank Mr. Gross for presenting the distinguished colleagues from Iowa.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. One question. You and the Iowa contingent all have identical bills. I presume that if a Republican President is elected you would introduce the identical bills and wish to remove politics completely as you do at this moment?

Mr. SCHERLE. To answer my good friend from Illinois; yes, I would. I would hope that prior to that time this bill will have the consideration to which it is entitled. It should become law before that becomes a reality, which I am certain it will.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Waldie.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Chairman, there is a question that was brought to my mind by hearing this testimony here and the comments of Mr. Gross.

I have not yet heard anyone address himself to the specifics. I gather that the system as it presently stands and has stood for a number of years has contributed greatly to the present—to use the term that has been used—breakdown of mail service in the country. I have heard the general charge made, and it was made here, that in this latest statement, that efficiency will be brought about by this change. I am curious as to whether that is an expression of opinion to justify a basis for supporting the bill.

I plan to support the bill for the simple reason I desire to get the headaches out of my own office. But I question seriously there has been any testimony introduced so far that the political appointments or the appointments of postmasters from other than professional postal employees have been less efficient than those who came from within the service. I would presume that the gentlemen are ready to submit evidence and testimony on that particular point to buttress their conclusion that the system has contributed to the "deplorable situation" that we have in the mail service today.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to answer my colleague from California in this way.

As a precinct committee member for 18 years, as a county chairman for 6 years, I am very well aware of the system that is used in both political parties. I have been a party to it.

In my hometown of Henderson, Iowa, we now have a temporary postmaster for 7 years. This is ridiculous.

I think that perhaps if we were to stop and consider for a moment the number of postal employees who are devoted, dedicated, and conscientious people, who strive for advancement and feel that they should be advanced through the ranks based on merit, and then to have somebody come in, completely unfamiliar with the postal process, a political hack to be paid off, I think this is very sad, indeed. I think perhaps that if we were to eliminate politics from the Department that something of this nature would greatly enhance the moral fiber of the Post Office Department.

Mr. WALDIE. Let me suggest to the gentleman, I presume he can properly characterize those people for whom he has intervened in terms of their appointments as "political hacks." I have intervened rarely, but in no instance on behalf of a "political hack."

I know of no political hack that holds an appointment in my own district. I presume that you are not suggesting within your own district there are political hacks that are employed as postmasters?

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Waldie, I notice that you were the majority floor leader in the California Legislature. I am sure that you know whereof we speak.

Mr. WALDIE. I do not know how you speak in Iowa, but in Contra Costa County in California, as you have spoken, that has no application to the situation in my district in California.

Mr. OLSEN. In that regard, if the gentleman would yield, I am curious. The Senate has refused for 7 years to confirm this postmaster?

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Olsen, I think perhaps—and I am sure that you are well aware of the procedure that is used in the Post Office Department today—that these three top applicants that we have reference to, and of course to the administration of the party in power, these are the rewards of being in power; those from the same political party.

We have a situation in my district where a World War II veteran who is of the opposite party, who always seems to be among the top three. Every time this happens they call for a new examination—this applicant happens to be a 10-point veteran, too. This is only one instance of many.

Mr. OLSEN. This is not the fault of the House; this is the fault of the Senate.

Mr. DERWINSKI. It is the fault of the system.

Mr. OLSEN. You are going to leave the confirmation up to the Senate. This may be true, but this operates through a chain of command up from the precinct level and I think it is very important that these men who made careers in the field of the postal service should be advanced on the merit basis and not through politics.

They will only make it if they are a veteran of the wars and get the consent of the Senate.

Mr. SCHERLE. This is not necessarily true. In this case that I mentioned to you, there has been no consideration given, even though this man is a 10-point veteran.

Mr. OLSEN. We cannot pass over a veteran to appoint somebody else.

Mr. SCHERLE. His name has never been submitted because he is a member of the opposite party.

Mr. OLSEN. If his name has never been submitted, it is because the Democratic Senate won't bring it up for acceptance or rejection.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Olsen, it has never recommended on that point. It has been stalemated on the local level.

Mr. OLSEN. The only reason it could be stalemated at a local level is because of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. It could not otherwise be stalemated.

Mr. DERWINSKI. That is not an accurate statement.

Mr. OLSEN. That is an accurate statement. That is the way the system works.

Mr. NIX. Gentlemen, let us have some order in our procedure.

The gentleman from Illinois has the floor.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I wish to point out in one post office in my district we have had an acting postmaster for 3 years because with municipal elections being held every 2 years there have been two changes in power within the Democratic hierarchy of that community. They are so snarled up that they cannot agree on a postmaster.

As a result, an acting postmaster has held the position, and in fact, this has not gone to the Democratic national committeeman in Illinois. He wants the local people to give him the name but they cannot agree, and we still have an acting postmaster. The Senate has nothing to do with it.

Mr. OLSEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NIX. The gentleman from Montana.

Mr. OLSEN. Your bill says that it is going to be a crime for a Member of the House to participate but the Senate can continue their system. If the Senator of the party in power does not send the slip back to the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, you will always have an acting postmaster. You won't have anything else?

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Olsen, may I take the time to explain to you how this works on the local level?

Mr. OLSEN. I know how it works. I am working it now. I have worked it for 180 post offices. It won't be any different with your bill, except it will be the Senate club alone and it will be unlawful for me to—

Mr. NIX. Has the gentleman from Montana yielded to the gentleman from Iowa?

Mr. OLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERLE. When I was precinct committeeman and county chairman, I always allowed my people in the precinct, when there was an opening in the Postal Department, to select the candidates to be the postmaster in that particular postal area. Candidates would take the examination and when those names came back the precinct people would select the top candidate.

These three names would be given to these precinct people. They would recommend the person who they felt was eligible. This name would then be submitted to me as county chairman. I would submit it to my district, to the State, and there they would follow through the chain of command until it finally got to the Senate, with my recommendation as county chairman, for confirmation.

This is the way if was done. This is the way it will continue to be until it is changed.

Mr. OLSEN. That is exactly the way it works today.

However, in your bill, you are making a criminal out of the House Member participating, but you are blessing the Senate in that they shall continue the system.

Mr. SCHERLE. This will not continue along those lines, if these bills are adopted.

Mr. NIX. I might say that all of the time has expired on this subject.

I might make the observation that someone ought to bless the other body.

Mr. SCHERLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Scherle.

Our next witness is the Honorable Otis G. Pike, Member of Congress from New York.

TESTIMONY OF HON. OTIS G. PIKE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. PIKE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. The subcommittee welcomes the distinguished colleague from New York.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Chairman, may I thank you and the members of this subcommittee for the privilege of testifying before you today on a matter which has troubled me for over 7 years. I am not given to dropping bills in the hopper. In fact, in the entire first session of the 90th Congress I introduced just two bills, of which the first was my H.R. 1039 to provide for the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers on a merit basis, because I felt the time was ripe, at last, for serious consideration of the matter. I am delighted you share that feeling.

All of us are aware of the great difficulties being experienced by the Post Office Department in handling an increasing amount of mail without incurring either breakdowns or deficits. The post office is like any other business. It cannot be any better than the people who run it. The entire concept of taking wholly inexperienced people and putting them at the head of a post office under a system of political patronage is probably the least efficient manner we could devise for operating the system.

We all try to see that qualified people are placed in these positions, yet I doubt that there is a single Member of Congress who has not at times had to blink and swallow hard as a career employee of the Post Office Department, capable, experienced, qualified, was bypassed in favor of a political appointee. It was my sad duty recently to let such a man know he was not the choice of the party leaders, and I feel his response is valid and to the point. He wrote me:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: It has always been my contention that people in the Government service, be they politician or postal employee, have a little bit more personal integrity than the next man. Many times they are the conscience of the people, and, as such, should stand up for their convictions and endeavor to right the unrightable wrongs.

It does not console me to know that I am the best man for the position when someone else less qualified gets the appointment. I think the thing that really discourages me so is that from the very beginning I had no chance whatsoever in being appointed. What may have been the culmination of my postal career was denied me even before the examination was given. I find it fantasy that the Post Office Department has no say in who is to be hired as postmaster.

I realize how naive I have been to think that merit would be the deciding factor over having the right connection, but I will maintain my loathing and aversion for the nefarious old-time political ways that still plague the Post Office Department.

His score was 96.50 in the open competitive examination, of which 5 points were veterans' credit. He was at the top of the list and probably deserved the appointment, but I did not appoint him. Many of you have doubtless faced the same situation.

Certainly no other business in the country is conducted in such a manner, and probably no other business in the country has suffered as much from this kind of tradition. While some Congressmen may be reluctant to give up the leverage which the right to nominate postmasters gives them, I for one would be delighted to see postmasters chosen from career employees through the civil service competitive system. I believe it would improve the morale and attitude of postal workers generally. I believe it would improve the operation of the postal system. I believe such a change is long overdue, and I hope you will see your way clear to favorable consideration of H.R. 1039 or any similar bill.

May I thank you again for giving me this opportunity to come before you.

Mr. NIX. The subcommittee is deeply grateful to you for your appearance and your contribution. Does any member of the subcommittee wish to present questions to the distinguished witness?

Mr. Waldie.

Mr. WALDIE. May I say that I thought Mr. Pike's presentation was precisely on the point in that he did not claim that all the problems of the Post Office Department would be solved by restoring the merit system to these appointments but it would be a positive step.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Cunningham?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I appreciate his testimony.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I want to join in commending the gentleman from New York for his statement.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Olsen.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I concur with Mr. Waldie. I think Mr. Pike has made a real contribution. I think we must have the merit system of prime consideration in appointing postmasters. I am not going to downgrade the House if the Senate is going to participate.

I do not think that the merit system can be left entirely to the Postmaster General, either. I put in a bill similar to Mr. Pike's bill and I think that we can make progress in this direction.

I thank you very much for your contribution.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Pike has an excellent statement and the letter from his constituent that he inserted presents a classical case.

Mr. Pike's bill differs somewhat from the bill introduced by Mr. Gross and a number of us in that it eliminates the Senate confirmation.

Mr. PIKE. I am not sure that you can eliminate the Senate confirmation as a matter of constitutional law, but it does eliminate the recommendation beforehand. It does recommend the consideration and it says that the applicant can't go to either the Representatives or the Senators ahead of time.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I think the point that we all want to get at is to remove politics—and, Mr. Olsen, this would ease your ulcer.

Mr. OLSEN. I do not have an ulcer. I do not have them, I give them.

Mr. DERWINSKI. The Senate confirmation should be pro forma. Mr. Pike and the rest of us want to attack the same problem; we want to get rid of the system which operates in a sort of a limbo. We know it is there and how it exists. The letter from your constituent expresses very dramatically the frustration that takes place and the problem in morale it causes.

I would think we are building a very fine record here, Mr. Chairman. I wish to commend Mr. Pike.

Mr. NIX. Thank you very much, Mr. Derwinski.

I might make the observation, however, before I thank the distinguished witness again, that the time for ulcers has not yet come. It will come in our prolonged discussions and analyses of the legislation under discussion, I assure you.

Thank you again.

Mr. PIKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I have a unanimous consent request.

Mr. NIX. State it.

Mr. OLSEN. That the testimony of the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. Culver, be inserted in the record at this point.

Mr. NIX. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN C. CULVER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM
THE STATE OF IOWA

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to present my views to you today in support of legislation to remove politics from the appointment of postmasters and rural carriers.

I am pleased and encouraged by the increasing interest in such legislation in the Congress, as evidenced by these hearings and by the Senate's action including such reform in its Legislative Reorganization Act.

Since I originally introduced my proposal in the 89th Congress, support for such legislation has continued to grow in my own congressional district as well, as indicated by my two most recent districtwide opinion polls—

In 1966, 86.8 percent of the eastern Iowans returning my questionnaire said that they approved of the measure.

In 1967, that support had grown to 92 percent, with only 3 percent opposing it.

With rising postal rates and steadily growing demand for fast and accurate service, the mailing public is becoming increasingly aware of the need for bringing greater economy and efficiency to postal operations.

That concern has been reflected, not only in public opinion, but by the Postmaster General himself in his recommendations last year that the Department be removed from the President's Cabinet and set up as an independent nonprofit corporation.

As the Cedar Rapids Gazette editorialized last spring with reference to my proposal about postal appointments, "If this reform prevails—and we hope so strongly—it will strengthen the framework in which other needed postal system improvements must come along, too."

For too many years, these positions have been filled according to political expediency rather than professional efficiency. Yet today, as our post offices have become highly mechanized and our postal operations more complex, and as our daily economic and social transactions become increasingly dependent upon efficient postal service, it is more important than ever before that the men who are responsible for handling our mail be selected on the basis of the only legitimate criteria—their merits and their abilities.

In arguing for a civil service merit system as the sole determination of postal appointments, I do not mean to cast aspersions on local party officials who, in my experience, have generally made their selections in the public interest.

For example, in my own hometown of Cedar Rapids—the second largest city in Iowa—we have been faced with the sad task of filling a vacancy caused by the death of a competent and conscientious postmaster, not once but twice in less than 9 months.

In each case, the local political organization recommended the appointment of a man who—because of his experience in the post office and the public confidence in him—in all likelihood would have been appointed had the party not been involved at all.

However, local political committees exist to nominate candidates, raise funds, register voters, and get out the vote. They are not designed as an auxiliary personnel agency for the U.S. Government.

As long as the patronage system continues to play a part in postal appointments—

Local party committees—and sometimes entire communities—can be divided by differences of opinion on matters which should have nothing to do with party affairs.

Congressmen will be required to devote their own time and that of their staff members to an area in which they have little reason to be involved at all.

And most important, deserving postal employees who have devoted years of service to their communities and have developed valuable experience and expertise, may never have an opportunity to rise to the top.

It is ironic that postal employees are forbidden under the Hatch Act from participating in political activity, while the top position in the Post Office is a traditional reward for political activity.

Mr. Chairman, I commend your subcommittee for acting on this important matter now, and urge you to take immediate steps to report out legislation which can be finally enacted by the 90th Congress.

Mr. Nix. Our next witness is one of the distinguished members of the full committee and this subcommittee.

We are happy to welcome the Honorable Glenn Cunningham, Member of Congress from Nebraska.

TESTIMONY OF HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEBRASKA

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I don't have a prepared statement. I am glad to have all of this support because it was my bill, H.R. 452, that was the first one that was ever introduced on January 10, 1967. I suppose other Members looking through the record probably thought this was something good to get onto and I am pleased they did.

However, it is not listed as being one that we are considering today. I do not know why that was not listed there.

Mr. Nix. I can assure you, Mr. Cunningham, that it will be presented and certainly considered along with the other bills.

I realize it is the first bill that was introduced.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman would yield, I have seen this in previous sessions of Congress.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I have too.

Mr. NIX. Let me assure you, Mr. Cunningham, your bill is under consideration. The formal listing did not indicate all of the names of the persons who presented bills. You have not been overlooked.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I did not want to make any charge of that kind.

I recall 9 years ago Chairman Murray used to have at the beginning of each year the Postmaster General and his top aides here for a closed chitchat. This was under the Eisenhower administration. I brought

up this matter of why do we have this silly system anyway; why can't we get rid of it?

One of the top aides responded with a smile on his face and said, "We would be delighted to get rid of it but I don't think we ever can."

I am wondering, do we have any position of the Post Office Department on this type of legislation?

Mr. NIX. We will have testimony from the Post Office Department. They are listed to appear.

I might further say we are going to have everyone appear here that we can possibly get. We need them.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. In spite of my interest in this legislation and the introduction of it, I kind of feel that I am in a position of very mixed emotions. I do not know why we want to bail out the Members of the majority party from this great patronage that they receive in the distance, but I have a sneaking feeling, having served under a Republican President, this is about the worst headache any Congressman can have. I am delighted that I have nothing to do with it, Mr. Chairman, being in the minority party at this time.

It is something in all seriousness that will, in my opinion, improve the postal system. I think it is a companion measure to taking the whole postal system out of politics, legislation which I introduced in that regard which has been referred to by Mr. Gross and others.

The Postmaster General has stated his views as wanting to remove the Post Office Department from politics, remove it from Cabinet level, setting up a corporation, et cetera.

I do not go along with the setting up of a corporation idea in my legislation, because then that gives me the feeling that we're going to have to get on what you might call a pay-as-you-go basis, balanced budget in the Department, et cetera, which I think can never be done if we are going to give justice to the employees of the Post Office Department, and it gives the various incentives and breaks, you might say, in rates to those who are deserving of them.

I simply think, now I am talking about the other legislation which is not before us, but I simply think that the Post Office Department should be removed from the Cabinet-level position, the Post Office Department as a separate agency, the Postmaster General appointment be for 14 years as we have under the GAO and his top aides being also given extensive terms in years.

I think these two have to go together. This is a very important first step.

When I had something to do with these appointments and this was brought up by one of the witnesses in colloquy with Mr. Waldie, I made every attempt when it was possible to do so and make these appointments career from the ranks, bring up people from the ranks, career employees to the postmaster position.

I can prove to you that those that I was able to appoint as postmasters who came up from the ranks are still postmasters in my district, whereas those who just couldn't quite be one for one reason or another have not fared quite so well. Some of them have long since departed.

I think the majority party would care to entertain any suggestion from me, whenever they can influence their local county committee to bring career men into the positions of the postmasters, that they would be doing the postal system a great service.

I thought I would like to comment upon that because that was my policy in the short time that I had in this field in making these appointments. Those men that came from the ranks that I made postmasters are still there. Some of the others are not.

Mr. OLSEN. Would the gentlemen yield?

I think that is a splendid practice and that is the practice I have pursued. I have managed to get my folks to recommend people from within the ranks of the Post Office Department. I think it is the only successful way to assist the Post Office Department in a Congressman's district.

Facetiously, I wanted to ask you, Mr. Cunningham, don't you think we ought to congratulate our chairman? This is the first time we have ever had any hearings on this subject in the history of this committee.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. That is the first thing we should have done, congratulate the chairman. He is a very good friend of mine.

Mr. NIX. If the gentleman would yield to me a moment, you might also have said the chairman has no fear to tread where angels fear to tread.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I know that very well. I do not have anything further to say. I think it is desirable legislation. I would like to hear, of course, from the Post Office Department. If they think they should favor this, if it should be a separate piece of legislation or combined package with the other that we discussed, taking the whole business out of politics.

Mr. NIX. That is contemplated. They will appear and testify.

Mr. Derwinski?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I am going to be very brief, Mr. Chairman, unless I accidentally provoke Mr. Olsen into a conversation. I have a prepared statement I would ask unanimous consent to submit.

I also wish to submit a statement made on the Senate floor on April 11, 1938, by the then Senator Vandenberg when this subject was up for debate. It will give us a little historic insight.

I would like to point out to the members, especially my dear friend Mr. Olsen, that under Public Law 89-554, we provide that an individual concerned in an appointment for a competitive service may not receive or consider a recommendation of the application by a Senator or Representative except as to character or residence.

Unfortunately, there is not any penalty involved. The bills that I have introduced, along with Mr. Gross and others, provide a penalty for any Senator, Representative, or party official in making recommendations.

I think if we are in this system we have to penalize the public method that might be used, and then by lifting the Post Office Department entirely out of politics, the sub rosa or unofficial system that is involved.

I am sure in subcommittee we will really work this over. There are so many angles to it.

If you draw the official lines carefully, I think you could terminate the unofficial system.

Mr. Chairman, I submit my complete statement for the record and hope it will receive some thoughtful commentary from the Department in the proper time.

Mr. NIX. Without objection, your statement and the attachment mentioned will be placed in the record.
(The material referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Chairman, I submit this statement not only as a member of the subcommittee but as a sponsor of H.R. 5878.

I am very pleased that the subcommittee is giving this area of legislation its thoughtful attention. It is obvious that the Post Office Department faces a supreme challenge in maintaining postal service in a moving and expanding America and that a thorough review of the political structure of the Department is long overdue.

Since the Post Office Department is the major Federal body, which presently is clearly affected by political considerations, the wisdom of such a situation as the Department's problems grow can be legitimately questioned.

In addition, I believe the individual Members of Congress would be spared great irritation and controversy if the appointment of postmasters was completely removed from political consideration. Appointment of postmasters based on nonpartisan merit and competition would inspire career employees to greater efforts and prove to be of long-range value to the Department.

Providing for long-term tenure of the Postmaster General would be a major step in keeping the Department aloof from political issues just as a similar situation operates in appointment of Governors to the Federal Reserve Board.

As a member of this subcommittee I am pleased to participate in these hearings and I hope they will prove to be productive.

(The statement made by Senator Vandenberg, April 11, 1938, on the Senate floor, follows:)

Mr. VANDENBERG. The only difference between what the Republicans did and what the Democrats are now doing is that the Democrats are far more agile and efficient in their general management of spoilsmanship. We are just as eager, but not so effective. But that does not justify the continuation of the situation for the future, and if my good faith in connection with this proposition is in any point involved, as might be indicated by the very subtle suggestions of the Senator from Tennessee and the Senator from Alabama, I should like to say that for 8 years I have offered, year after year, a bill that provides a real career service in the Post Office Department from top to bottom, so that a pavement-pounding letter carrier, if he has the capacity, could aspire to become First Assistant Postmaster General of the United States without consulting any Senator or any Representative in Congress, but proceeding on his own inherent merits.

Mr. NIX. Ladies and gentlemen, our next witness is Mr. William Steiger, Member of Congress from Wisconsin.

On behalf of the subcommittee, Mr. Steiger, I take this opportunity to welcome you and you may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER, A REPRESENTATIVE
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

Mr. STEIGER. Mr. Chairman, I deeply appreciate your kindness in making it possible for me to appear today. I take my hat off to you for not having feared to tread where those before you did not wish to tread.

The fact that hearings are being held on legislation to remove politics from the Post Office Department I think represents a significant step in the right direction.

I would urge the subcommittee to proceed promptly to recommend to the full committee, and hopefully from the full committee to the House, that positive action be taken on any one of the proposals.

I have introduced H.R. 2150, the first bill that I introduced as a Member of this House of Representatives. The Postmaster General, Mr. O'Brien, in a speech that he made at one point said that—

Ladies and gentlemen, the Post Office Department as presently constituted reminds me of the classic definition of an elephant: A mouse built to Government specifications.

I am not sure I agree with his use of the word elephant. It could have been one other animal that could have been substituted.

Let me briefly review with you my own thoughts on this particular legislation.

No. 1, I concur with Mr. Waldie, the distinguished gentleman from California. I do not think that the removal of the appointment of rural mail carriers or postmasters from the political patronage system will solve all of the difficult and complex problems this committee knows so very well and has worked with so very long. I do think it would have two salutary effects.

No. 1, it seems to me that it would be a recognition that the Post Office Department today, a department of our Federal Government spending \$300 million in fiscal year 1968 for modernization and research and engineering alone out of its total budget, and a department which has some 80 billion pieces of mail that it processed in 1967, and President Johnson and the Postmaster General have said that that will reach 100 billion pieces of mail in 1976; given all of that in terms of the one Department of our Federal Government, I think that the one result that could come would be an increase in both the effectiveness of the Post Office Department and its efficiency.

Then secondly, a salutary effect in terms of career employees themselves.

The Congressman from New York, Mr. Pike, read from a letter that he had received after someone else had gotten the appointment. I have had many cases of people who desired to be appointed either to rural mail carrier positions or post office positions, in which case I attempted graciously to refer them to the Democratic Party Senators from my State of Wisconsin and ask that they go to them with the caveat that if I were to interfere in any way I would probably hurt them more than I would help them.

I had one particular case of a man who had been interested in the regular rural mail carrier route out of Menasha, Wis., a route that was for several months without a regular carrier. He was 25 years old, had a wife, two children. His integrity and morals were extremely high. He was employed at one post office in Appleton, Wis., from 1959 to 1966, as a mailing clerk.

After November 1966 he went to become employed at the Menasha Post Office and took the postal examination and qualified with one of the highest scores every registered at the Menasha Post Office. He said, "I would like to have become the regular route carrier." Unfortunately, he was denied the position because he was not qualified in terms not of the regular postal service but because of the fact that he did not meet with the approval of the county party committee in Winnebago County.

As a result of the fact that this did happen, I should pay tribute quite honestly to the Winnebago County Democratic Party Committee which, in their January meeting, passed a resolution indicating they were not going to interfere in the appointment of postmasters or rural

carriers; they are going to go on the basis of who scored highest in the civil service examination without regard to his party affiliation or his particular friendliness to any members of the Democratic Party Executive Committee in that particular county. I think this, too, is a step in the right direction.

I applaud the efforts of Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Olsen, both of whom tried to work within their party committees in an effort to have career employees receive the kind of consideration that they should receive.

The Post Office Department has changed. I think it is high time we recognize that that change means that we must go beyond the old patronage system. It is an anachronism which exists from the early days of our Republic which no longer has merit, in my judgment.

With some 33,000 post offices and 31,000 rural mail carriers, I would like to see us step forward in recognizing both the changes and the opportunity that exists. I do want to thank the committee and the chairman for holding hearings. My bill does not involve the Senate confirmation of postmaster appointments that were made by the Post Office Department. I think there are some problems in that.

I will bow to whatever judgment you wish to make as to how it ought to be done. I appreciate, Mr. Chairman, the chance to be heard this morning. Thank you very much.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Steiger, for your contribution.

Mr. Olsen?

Mr. OLSEN. I join in congratulating Mr. Steiger on his contribution. I concur with his position that we must make progress in this area. I have already expressed the fears that I have about some of the legislation presented. Nevertheless, I think that we must adopt a system where we obtain postmasters within the career service. It is absolutely necessary. I do think it can lead to better management of the Post Office Department. If that were the only necessary result, it would not absolve this committee, but I don't think it is the only thing necessary.

I think it is a step that must be taken. Thank you.

Mr. STEIGER. I appreciate the gentleman from Montana's comments. As you know, I offered an amendment to H.R. 7977 at the time it was considered in the House, which was ruled not germane, which was the text of my bill H.R. 2150, because I thought it was an integral part of the rates and structure and mailing of the mails. You did such an excellent job in the bill that came out and it was passed by both Houses. I think it was pretty clear at the time I offered the amendment there was great bipartisan support.

This is a total bipartisan issue. I am sure that if we ever get this to the floor we can pass it as the Senate has already passed it through the reorganization bill that is now pending in the Rules Committee.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I would like to thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for his contribution to our deliberations. I think the type of interest that he exhibits is reflected by many other Members. It is going to be helpful to us and makes a fine contribution to the record.

Mr. STEIGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. The next witness is Mr. James H. Rademacher, vice president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, appearing for Mr. Jerome Keating, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers. You may present your associates and proceed, Mr. Rademacher.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES H. RADEMACHER, VICE PRESIDENT,
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS, AFL-CIO,
ACCOMPANIED BY GEORGE A. BANG, DIRECTOR OF LIFE IN-
SURANCE; AND GERALD CULLINAN, ASSISTANT

Mr. RADEMACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

My name is James H. Rademacher. I am vice president of the National Association of Letter Carriers, with headquarters at 100 Indiana Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. We have approximately 205,000 members located in every State, territory, and possession of the United States.

I have with me today on my right the director of our life insurance, Mr. George A. Bang; and on my left I have Mr. Gerald Cullinan, who is Mr. Jerome Keating's assistant and who is the author of the newest book on the postal service that is in the bookstores today, a book that is widely quoted and has much to do with the subject matter of the hearings before you today.

I am very grateful that you have given me the opportunity to discuss with you Chairman Dulski's bill, H.R. 8516, and to give you some of our ideas concerning the method of appointing postmasters.

We appreciate Mr. Dulski's intentions of improving the method of appointing our postmasters, and we approve of many aspects of the bill. However, we do have some amendments to offer which, if accepted, would, in our opinion, improve the bill enormously.

It is obvious that there is a growing concern about the untidy appointment system which prevails in the Postal Establishment today. Almost 40 bills have been introduced in this session, suggesting fundamental changes in the process. Congressmen Cunningham, Gross, and Derwinski, of this subcommittee, have introduced bills, and Congressmen Udall and Ruppe, of the full committee, have also introduced similar legislation. The National Civil Service League, when former Postmaster General J. Edward Day was at the helm, strongly urged reform in the selection of postal managers in the field. All this is indicative of a general dissatisfaction throughout the country with the present way of doing things.

Because of its very form and function, the postal service has been a political mechanism ever since the founding of the Nation. Thomas Jefferson was most distrustful of it and feared that it would become a vicious political instrument. As early as 1796 he wrote to James Madison that—

I view it as a source of boundless patronage to the executive, jobbing to Members of Congress and their friends, and a boundless abyss of public money.

It should be added that the real source of Jefferson's distrust and irritation was the fact that in the beginning of the Republic the Post Office was placed under the control of the Treasury, headed by his arch rival, Alexander Hamilton, instead of the Department of State, which Jefferson himself headed.

When he was President, Jefferson ordered his Postmaster General to get rid of all the Federalist postmasters, particularly those who were also publishers of newspapers. In 1814, President Madison fired his Postmaster General, Gideon Granger, because Granger refused to appoint Mr. Madison's candidate as postmaster of Philadelphia.

Incidentally, Mr. Granger served longer than any other Postmaster General, having served between 11 and 12 years.

Of course, it took Andrew Jackson to turn every post office in the country into a political outpost. During his first year in office, 1829, he fired 543 postmasters and replaced them with his own men. There is evidence that he was not too finicky about the qualifications of his appointees. In 1836, we find Postmaster General Amos Kendall complaining that the new postmasters were not only neglecting their offices but were, in many cases, pocketing the proceeds from their offices instead of turning the money into the Treasury.

Up until Jackson's time, it should be noted, postmasters were appointed by the Postmaster General, without interference or direction from the President or the Congress. Jackson made his Postmaster General a member of the Cabinet and then claimed the right to appoint the postmaster in every office receiving \$1,000 or more a year in revenues. He also instituted the practice of seeking advice from Congressmen of his own party before making his selections.

The administration of Jackson's first Postmaster General, William T. Barry, was so inefficient and so riddled with corruption that Congress, in the act of July 2, 1836, seized control of the finances of the Department and gave the Senate the right to confirm, or withhold confirmation, of postmasters. The act also limited the terms of postmasters to 4 years.

For a century after Jackson's day, the postmaster was the leading politician of the dominant political party in each community in the United States.

One can imagine what a burden this system of patronage was to Abraham Lincoln when he assumed the Presidency in 1861. Here was a brandnew political party, in power for the first time. Almost everyone in the country who voted for "Honest Abe" was demanding a postmastership. When Charles Francis Adams was appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. James he was shocked, because when he had his first interview with the President, Lincoln did not even mention foreign policy, but spent all the time talking about the problem of appointing a new postmaster in Chicago.

It is said that when Lincoln had a slight attack of chickenpox he said to his Secretary, "Show in all the jobseekers immediately. Now, at last, I have something I can give everybody."

It was obvious that Lincoln had more important things to do than to appoint postmasters, so he finally made it clear that applicants for the jobs should apply directly to their Congressmen, if the Congressman was of the dominant political faith, and not bother the White House or the Postmaster General. The recommendations of politically acceptable Congressmen were accepted without question and Lincoln gained time which he could then devote to the conduct of the war. Sorrowfully, I must add that some Congressmen made a very good thing of selling postmasterships to the highest bidder.

When city delivery service was instituted in 1863, every post office automatically became the political citadel of its community. All letter carriers and clerks were hired on a political basis and were fired and replaced with every change in administration.

The abuses of this system, and the declining efficiency of the postal service, led to the passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Act in 1883. The act applied only in offices with 50 or more employees, however—or, to about half the employee force. Just before he left office, January 25, 1893, President Benjamin Harrison issued an Executive order folding

all postal employees under civil service. When President Cleveland came back into the White House 6 weeks later, he held the Executive order in abeyance until the postal service could be purified of Republicans, and when they were replaced with Democrats, he then made the order operative.

And so it went over the years. The story has its amusing side, but when one contemplates it, the history of politics in the post office is a pretty sordid one. And, of course, it was not at all amusing to postal patrons who had to put up with poor service, or to postal employees who were used as political pawns.

During the Wilson administration, Postmaster General Burleson was responsible for the appointment of some rather peculiar postmasters, and there was a growing popular demand for more selectivity in making such appointments. Wilson issued an Executive order, March 31, 1917, which made it necessary for candidates for first-, second-, and third-class postmasterships to qualify by taking a competitive examination. The examination wasn't very tough, but it at least gave assurance that postmasters could read and write a little, and do simple sums in arithmetic.

The final step was the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Act of 1938, which folded postmasters into the Civil Service Act and thereby removed their political fangs by making them subject to the Hatch Act.

In discussing the present condition of postmasters, I shall try to be objective. Although I think the time has come when all postmasters should be appointed from the career service, I want to make clear that there are many postmasters in the establishment today who have come from the outside, and who are doing an excellent job. The postmaster of my own hometown of Detroit, Edward Baker, is an absolutely first-class postal executive. So is Carlton Beall here in Washington. There are many others.

But, in recent years, there has been a noticeable decline in the quality of postmaster appointments, despite some brilliant exceptions. Veteran postal employees, whose experience goes back beyond 1938, have told me that they think the old political postmasters were better than the new nonpolitical ones. They argue that, before Ramspeck-O'Mahoney, the politician postmaster knew he had to please the public and the employees during his 4-year term if he had any hope of being reappointed. As politicians, they were, on the whole, more service minded than the new breed of postmasters.

But the economics of the post office have also had a damaging effect on its quality. It is, evidently, not possible to pay postmasters a salary sufficiently large to attract first-class talent. When the job had political glamor, a good man could be attracted to it despite the inadequate pay. But now the job is more serious and less interesting, and outstanding applicants are hard to come by. When the post office reaches into the private sector for its managers, it usually has to be content with second-quality, or third-quality personnel.

As you have pointed out in the Congressional Record, Mr. Chairman, the Post Office Department is being forced to turn more and more to the career service for its postmasters. In 1967, as you have said, 42.6 percent of all appointments were career people. In 1966, the ratio was 38.3 percent.

In high-cost-of-living areas, the percentage is much higher. I remember reading that in 1958, during the Eisenhower administration, 96 percent of all the appointments to first-class offices in Cali-

fornia went to career employees. Nobody in the private sector was interested. The Department was forced to rely on people who were accustomed to low wages, and career postal employees filled the bill.

The new postmasters in the two largest post offices in the country, New York and Chicago, are career men. The postmasters of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Dallas, Houston, Honolulu, Baltimore, Minneapolis—to name just a few communities—are all career men, and most of them are doing an excellent job—though some are better than others.

The career man, in short, is proving his worth to such an extent that career appointments now should be made universal. The job of postmaster has become too important and too technical to permit the luxury of inexperienced appointees.

And, of course, if career appointments are made the rule, the change would have a very beneficial effect on employee morale. Napoleon once attributed the high morale of his troops because, as he put it, every private soldier carried a field marshal's baton in his knapsack. He himself, of course, came up from the ranks. It would be a very wholesome thing if every postal employee felt he could one day climb by his own merit to the top of the postal tree in his community. The ladders of promotion in the postal service are pitifully few. This would give a great deal more incentive to postal work.

In regard to the legislation under discussion, Mr. Chairman, we feel that appointments by the Postmaster General should not be confined to offices of the first class, but should be extended to include second- and third-class offices as well. There is an even greater need for experience in the smaller offices than in the larger ones, because the postmaster in smaller offices must usually double in brass and perform the work of postal employees. In a smaller office a postmaster does not have the expert, trained assistance he can depend upon in a large office.

We definitely do not think that the appointment of postmasters in second- and third-class offices should be left to the regional directors. If the Postmaster General is made responsible for some appointments, he should be made responsible for all appointments. The regional directors are, themselves, political appointees, and there is no reason to believe that their selections for postmasterships would be any less political than the selections under the present system. Frankly, if the appointments are to remain political in nature, we would far rather rely upon the judgment and discretion of Congress than on the regional directors. We see no reason for permitting the regional directors to usurp the prerogatives of Congress in this area. If appointments are going to be made by politicians, we would prefer that they be made by certified professionals, instead of by semipros.

We feel that any legislation approved by the Congress should stipulate that all promotions to postmaster should come from the career employees in that particular office. Postmasters are too much a part of their home community to be shuttled around from place to place like branch managers in a corporation. Postmasters should have roots in the community they serve and loyalty to the people of that community.

We feel, also, that the Postmaster General should be permitted to conduct competitive examinations for the postmastership in all cases where there is doubt in his mind as to which candidate is most suited for the position, and that such examinations should be open to

all candidates in that particular post office, regardless of rank or political affiliation.

Above all, Mr. Chairman, we feel that all appointees to first-, second-, and third-class postmasterships should continue to be confirmed by the Senate. The post office is the people's business and control must never be completely lost by the representatives of the people in the Congress. Mere confirmation is not a very large measure of control, but amounts to something, at least, and we feel that Congress should not divorce itself completely from this vital function of our Government.

I would like to add another point, if I may, and it involves the Postmaster generalship itself. I suppose, logically, since we are supporting the idea of career postmasters it could be asked of us whether or not we feel the Postmaster General should also be a career man.

I would say to that, Mr. Chairman, not necessarily. We had one career Postmaster General and, in our opinion, he was a disappointment. The service is still suffering from the unimaginative economics he forced upon it. The top management of the Post Office Department should have regular transfusions of new blood, new ideas, new techniques, new modes of thinking.

But the Deputy Postmaster generalship is another matter altogether. When this position was created through acceptance of the Hoover Commission's recommendations in 1949, it was understood that this was to be a career job. The deputy was to represent continuing professional career leadership in the Department, and he should be impervious to the winds of political change. This is the system which prevailed in Great Britain and which prevails in most of the major countries of the world.

The first Deputy Postmaster General, a fine and honorable career man, Vincent C. Burke, was appointed with that understanding in mind. But, of course, the force of postal politics has been too great. Mr. Burke "retired" when the Eisenhower administration came in. In the 18 years the office has been in existence, there have been eight Deputy Postmasters General. Not one, since the first, has been a career postal employee. There have been more deputies than there have been Postmasters General, and the changes have been made for the same political reasons that Postmasters General are changed. We feel some congressional attention should be paid to restoring to the position of Deputy Postmaster General the same career status the Hoover Commission and the Congress intended it to have when the job was created. Fortunately, the current deputy, the Honorable Fred C. Belen, is a career Government executive and has been doing a splendid job.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would like to insert into the record a horror story which will illustrate what can happen in a post office when raw politics takes over at the expense of any consideration for the postal service.

The horror story involves Saginaw, Mich. This was a happy, efficient office until the old postmaster retired, and a new man was appointed in an acting capacity. The new man, to say the least, was inexperienced in the arts of human relations. In fact he was appointed postmaster directly from his position as maintenance man at the Saginaw Steering Gear Co. As soon as he began operating, a deluge of complaints and grievances started to pour into my office. Things got

so bad that representatives of 600 employees of the Saginaw post office have petitioned that the acting postmaster not be confirmed, and have urged that the superintendent of collection and delivery, a 10-point disabled veteran, be appointed in his place.

In the civil service examination, the disabled veteran superintendent was listed first on the register and the acting postmaster finished third.

Despite all this, the acting postmaster has been recommended for confirmation as postmaster, and the disabled 10-point veteran career employee is being passed over.

When I protested this course of action, the very able and distinguished senior Senator from Michigan sent me a form-style letter saying that the acting postmaster had met the requirements of the Civil Service Commission. He thanked me for my interest and listed the requirements. The requirements, Mr. Chairman, say a lot about the man's morals, experience, and ability to get along with the public—but it says nothing whatsoever about his ability to get along with his employees. Not a word.

I submit, Mr. Chairman, that this should be one of the prime considerations in appointing a postmaster, and it should be one of the qualifications demanded by the Civil Service Commission. It is impossible to operate a post office in these days unless one can and does get along with one's employees.

As a result, we have in an important city in Michigan an embittered employee force who regard their boss with well-earned hostility. The man is an outsider, who does not know the post office and has shown very little talent or inclination toward learning about it. But he is politically important, evidently, and that consideration must outweigh the considerations of efficient postal service.

In times past, Mr. Chairman, postal employees had to accept such situations like these patiently. They could only say, with the soldier in Othello:

There's no remedy, 'tis the curse of service;
Preferment goes by letter and affection,
Not by the old gradation, where each second
Stood heir to the first.

But because of such legislation as this which you are considering today, and because of the growing interest in Congress for ridding the postal service of the blight of partisan politics once and for all, we postal employees now have hope for better times and a better postal service.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Nix. Thank you, Mr. Rademacher and your assistants. Mr. Olsen?

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to congratulate you, Mr. Rademacher, on a splendid statement. You always come here with very good knowledge of the situation about which you testify. I am particularly glad you came today. I have been studying this situation and I have already altered my views just from today's hearing.

I want to respond to your comment that there can be some argument as to whether the Senate has a constitutional grant of power that cannot be altered by congressional law. Reading the statutes, you find that the Senate got the authority to confirm postmasters because a law passed by Congress said they are officers of the Government of such a standing. Theretofore, before 1876, the Senate did not

have to confirm postmasters. If the Congress, or either House, is going to be involved in the confirmation of postmasters, I think the House ought to be just as deeply involved as the Senate. However, I think we can take both Houses out.

We do have another problem, though, which came to my mind in reading your statement. In my district I make recommendations from the ranks of the professional employees. One of the postmasters was a complete failure, because he could not get along with the employees and the public. I had to support a better retirement bill to get him to retire, and he took voluntary retirement. I think there are times when you get a man who is not suitable for the job, and even if he comes up from the ranks he should not have it. There should be some place of review, and if the review is to be by the Congress it should be by both Houses.

Mr. RADEMACHER. May I respond to the very able gentleman from Montana?

Mr. NIX. Certainly.

Mr. RADEMACHER. At the outset I want to say for the record that our organization is very pleased that Congressman Olsen and others on this committee are always in the midst of activity that not only concerns postal employees but the postal service, and when Congressman Olsen introduced H.R. 15090 yesterday it was a further indication of his interest.

We are not wedded to the confirmation policy, but we are concerned that without confirmation we will get into a corporation, profit or nonprofit. I want to make it very clear we have not agreed to have our service converted into a corporate form.

Second, I think the very reason for Senate confirmation was because of the fact confirmation concerned Presidential appointments. Under the legislation pending in most instances the Postmaster General would make the appointments and not the President. So there is room for disagreement in this area and there is room for believing you may not need Senate confirmation if it is not a Presidential appointment. But we are not wedded to it and we are vehemently opposed to our service being converted into a corporate form.

Mr. NIX. I might say we were influenced to hold these hearings largely because of the fact there is a widely held consensus that something should be done, that there is an existing compelling need for some action in this field. We, therefore, intend to listen to a variety of views and, hopefully, arrive at some common agreement as to what should be done. It will be a long, difficult road, but I have no doubt that this committee will be able to measure up to any task it faces.

Again I want to thank you for your fine contribution. Mr. Waldie?

Mr. WALDIE. I have no questions. I agree with my colleague that Mr. Rademacher made an excellent statement.

Mr. RADEMACHER. Mr. Chairman, earlier in the hearing your very able colleague from California, Mr. Waldie, made a point which I would like to underscore here, if I may, and that is that certainly the interest of our organization in removing politics from postmaster appointments is not because of the fact that the service is deteriorating because of such appointments. I would like to make it clear that we agree with him that because some postmasters have been

appointed through politics, the fact the postal service has been criticized should not be laid directly to that problem.

We do the very best we can with the funds that are available in the postal service and we are proud of the fact we are able to perform as we do. As an example, last Christmas our employees delivered 9 billion pieces of mail and yet there are some critics of the system. If the letter carriers had made only a 1-percent error, which anybody else working for a living would be able to do, but if they made just a 1-percent error there would have been 90 million errors and this is not possible. We know the career people are not making the errors. The errors made are due to the temporary employees being brought in and because of the growth of the service and inadequate appropriations.

In closing, our entire organization wants to thank you, Mr. Chairman. We have observed since you have become chairman of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations how you have diligently accepted your responsibility and have not sat idly by waiting for somebody else to act. Some of the hearings you have held have resulted in legislation which has already become law and other legislation that is being considered.

Mr. Nix. Thank you, Mr. Rademacher. The subcommittee will be in recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock in this room.

(Thereupon, at 12:05 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene Wednesday, February 7, 1968, at 10 a.m.)

TAKING POLITICS OUT OF POSTMASTER AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1968

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTAL OPERATIONS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:20 a.m., in room 210, Cannon Building, Hon. Robert N. C. Nix (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. Nix. The subcommittee will be in order.

Today we are continuing our hearings on the subject of politics in the postal service.

One of the questions we have to answer is whether the American people and the people who work in the post office really want to remove local influence from the only Federal agency that is a part of every local community in the United States.

Postmasters and postal workers now come from the communities they serve. A drastic change would take place in the system if the Postmaster General made all postmaster appointments. One man would eventually be responsible for making over 32,000 appointments. A new single power center would be set up. This isn't unusual for other large organizations, but it would, nonetheless, be a great change in the postal system.

Every reform plan that I have seen, and many of the bills before us, require that this change be made. This may be a good change. A truly national postal system with postmasters moving from city to city until they ended their careers at a large post office might be of great benefit.

I understand that promotions to the grade of supervisor is one area which involves a written agreement to accept promotion within a five-State area. This type of practice is common in many Government departments now, but it would be a new thing in the postal service.

I think we have to recall that the "people are the boss" when it comes to government. The job of the Congress is to bring that will to bear on the executive branch of government and remind them that the people we all represent are those who count when decisions are made.

If the people want changes in the postal system, they will get them. If they want the post office to remain a local institution, that's what will be done.

Today representatives of postal unions will testify to the relationship between the Post Office Department, unions, and political appointments. Basically I think that our relationships have been good ones.

The Congress acts as a mediator, arbitrator of disputes, and makes a final decision as to salary rates by statute in return for the promise by labor organizations that they forgo the right to strike. Where you don't have a legislative body acting as an arbitrator in public service you have public employee strikes regardless of laws against strikes.

For example, there is a sanitation employee strike in New York City which is tragic both for the men striking and the city. What is missing is an arbitration system. The mayor there acts as a party to the dispute.

A post office strike in Australia lasting for 2 weeks last January was only settled when the dispute was sent to arbitration.

Two years ago there was a mail strike in Great Britain.

The system we have in the Federal Government passing wage legislation by the Congress is working now. It could change if this duty were taken away from the Congress and given to some supercorporation.

The Budget Bureau, in commenting on one of the bills before us, stated that the whole subject of postal organization has been submitted to a commission. We, of course, will discuss this bill and other bills before us regardless of this fact. As an independent branch of government, it is our right and duty to do so.

Now, we have had a most interesting discussion up to this point, and I think I express the opinion of the members of the subcommittee when I say that this series of meetings and these statements that have been made and are to be made represent the most challenging and interesting hearings that we have ever witnessed.

Our first witness today is a gentleman who has concerned himself in this field for quite a long time and is knowledgeable on the subject.

The subcommittee is pleased to welcome Hon. William T. Cahill, Member of Congress from New Jersey, our good friend.

TESTIMONY OF HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. CAHILL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I certainly want to join my other colleagues in the House in commending this subcommittee for undertaking what all of us recognize is not only an important but a very difficult and challenging assignment.

I think that within the limit of my knowledge of the operations of the Post Office I recognize the difficulties that you face, and certainly whatever you do will be, of course, subject to criticism.

I can't speak for the rest of the Nation, but I think I can honestly say that in the district that I represent and in the area of the State from whence I come, the public is dissatisfied with the postal service as it presently exists. I think this dissatisfaction stems largely from what the public has come to observe is a deterioration in postal service.

I get, and I am sure many others in my State get, complaints daily about delays in mail service.

I am sure the chairman is familiar with the recent incident occurring in the Philadelphia area where a contest was sponsored by a New Jersey merchant over some Philadelphia television stations, and the response amounted to approximately 500,000 pieces of mail.

When the mail was delivered to the New Jersey merchant and his staff began to sort it, they found interspersed with the replies to his contest all sorts of other mail—mortgage payments, bills, all manner and form of private mail amounting to approximately, I am told, 1,000 pieces.

The post office would not come back and get the mail, and it was necessary for the junior chamber of commerce of the area to come in and resort the mail, get out of it those pieces which did not belong to the merchant, carry them back for redistribution.

This, of course, is a pretty outrageous example, and I recognize that it is unusual. But it is an indication that these things do happen.

Now, I am here not really to make any suggestions to you gentlemen as to what form the legislation is to take, because I realize you are more knowledgeable than I could ever hope to be in determining what can be adopted by the Congress and what is best for the country.

But I am here to bring to your attention an incident, an example of what is going on under the present system, and to illustrate to you I think in a very dramatic way why some change is needed.

I want to bring to your attention a recent situation being terminated today by act of the President of the United States relating to the postmaster of the city of Camden, N.J.

Now, the city of Camden is a city of approximately 150,000. But the post office services most of the outlying suburban communities, so I think it is fair to say that there are probably 300,000 to 400,000 people serviced by the Camden Post Office.

Four years ago a man by the name of Dennis J. Manning was appointed acting postmaster. Manning had 32 years' experience in the post office. He came up the hard way from temporary mail carrier on through the ranks.

Now, let me say in the very beginning that both Mr. Manning and the man who has been appointed are both Democrats, and, as you know, I am a Republican. So I am here—and I want to make this crystal clear, Mr. Chairman—not because I favor Manning or because I oppose the man who is getting his job, but because of the circumstances surrounding this case.

Now, in the 4 years that Manning has served as acting postmaster the junior Senator from the State of New Jersey did not see fit to recommend him for permanent postmaster. This I think it can be fairly said is as a result of some disagreements between the Democratic leaders of the area.

The sponsor of Mr. Manning fell out of leadership, and his replacement, apparently, had some feelings against Mr. Manning.

In any event, in the 4 years he remained as acting postmaster, to my knowledge he did a commendable job. I realize that I am not in a position to evaluate him, but I am told that the regional office did evaluate him and that time after time he received commendations for the efficient manner in which he handled the post office.

As a result of this political hubbub, the junior Senator from New Jersey announced several months ago that he felt that there should be a civil service examination and that the job should go to the most qualified man. This decision was applauded by everybody in the area.

A civil service examination was held. At a time when everybody in Camden, N.J., from the newspaper reporter to the man on the street heard the civil service results, I spoke personally to Mr. McMillan,

the Assistant Postmaster General, and he denied having any knowledge whatsoever of the results of that examination.

I pointed out to him the names of the people that I heard had qualified in the order in which they would be named. He knew nothing about it.

Now, what was the reason for my call? Because the Post Office Department, after the Christmas holiday rush, December 1967, summarily and without any announced reason publicly, removed Manning as acting postmaster. He went back to his old job which he had earned by civil service promotion as assistant postmaster. And they brought in a civil service career man from Pittsburgh, Pa., who knew nothing about the area, and they put him in charge of the Camden Post Office as acting postmaster.

Now, here's the anomaly of the situation. A man brought in from Pittsburgh to run the Camden Post Office had as his assistant the man who had been the acting postmaster for 4 years and who had run the post office.

Why did they bring him in? In my judgment—and I think the facts justify the conclusion—for the obvious reason of preparing him so that he in turn could break in the man whom they were going to select to replace Manning.

This was all denied by the Post Office officials here in Washington. But the results were as had been predicted.

And so last week, on last Friday, a man by the name of Frederick Martin, a very decent and I think in his own field, able young man, was appointed acting postmaster.

Again I have known Mr. Martin for many years, and I have absolutely nothing against him personally, and I am not here in opposition to him on a personal basis. But he is an attorney. He has absolutely no experience in the operation of a post office. And yet he was named as acting postmaster last Friday. Still no reason has been given why Manning was not appointed.

Now, this was aggravated in my judgment by the result of the civil service examination. The civil service examination came out with three names. One was a lawyer by the name of Joseph Cowgill who had a mark of 97. He obtained the mark of 97 by benefit of a 10-point veteran's preference. The second was Manning with 96 without any veteran's preference. The third was Mr. Martin with an 80 with a 5-point veteran's preference.

So that it must be clear to all of us that from the standpoint of an evaluation by the Civil Service Commission, excluding the percent allowed for the veteran's status, Manning was far and away more qualified than the other two.

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. The gentleman is recognized.

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I had a similar situation where I had a veteran on the top of the scale and a nonveteran career man in the middle of the three, and then a career man veteran at the bottom. I managed to get the career veteran, who was the third man, appointed. I know there were a lot of people mad at me because they didn't appoint the man who was second on the list.

They couldn't, because he was a nonveteran. The rules are that you can't pass over a veteran for a nonveteran. So if you pass over the

veteran who is No. 1, you can't take the nonveteran who is No. 2 regardless of how good his grade is. You then have to take the veteran who is No. 3. I have had that experience, and I sympathize with whomever has that problem.

Mr. CAHILL. I understand that. As I say, I am not arguing what should or should not be done. I am merely bringing the facts to the committee.

Mr. OLSEN. Well, the veterans of the wars do get preference.

Mr. CAHILL. I understand.

Mr. OLSEN. You can't pass over a veteran for a nonveteran.

Mr. CAHILL. I understand that, Mr. Olsen. I am perfectly aware of it. But I raise a couple of questions. That is, why was this man permitted to remain as the acting postmaster for 4 years and then after receiving commendations from the regional office, when he could have been appointed permanent postmaster without any examination, was not, and then was replaced by a completely inexperienced man?

Now, it seems to me that this is pretty ridiculous. Now, this may be a rare exception. I don't know. I'm really bringing it to your attention for a couple of reasons.

First of all, I would hope that your committee would call Mr. McMillan and ask him for an explanation of why this was done. Maybe there is a very valid reason. But I don't know what it is, and the public doesn't know what it is.

Maybe Manning's record is not as good as I thought it was. And if this is so, the public will understand. Maybe they have some real serious complaint against Manning's operations of the post office.

Mr. OLSEN. Well, Manning is a nonveteran though.

Mr. CAHILL. That's not my point. My point is: Why did they remove him when they did when they didn't know what the results of the civil service examination were?

Mr. NIX. Let me say this. I think the question has been raised. I think it is a proper question. I think the record should show that this committee intends to call Mr. McMillan and anyone else who is concerned in a situation either identical to this or similar to this.

Mr. CAHILL. I appreciate that. I think the public will be very grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, and to your committee if some explanation is given of this situation.

Now, it is also interesting to know that Mr. Martin was appointed as acting postmaster 4 days ago, last Friday. He was sworn in as acting postmaster immediately. It is my understanding today the President is nominating him as permanent postmaster—without any trial period whatsoever to know whether or not he has the capacity to handle the job.

Now, once again, I recognize the validity of Mr. Olsen's statement. But this all goes to prove one thing. If 3 months from now I am besieged, as I suspect I will be, by complaints from the citizens of conditions that might exist in the Camden Post Office, what am I supposed to do about it?

I don't see how we can, Mr. Chairman, honestly expect the employees of a post office the size of Camden to really be led in the right directions by someone, whoever he is, no matter how fine a man he is or how knowledgeable he is in his own field, who hasn't lived with the Post Office Department, who doesn't understand the working of the mind of the postal employees, who doesn't recognize the problems that exist in post offices as we do, those of us who are realistic about it.

We know that there are a lot of part-time employees. There are a lot of schoolteachers. There are a lot of people that work two jobs. We have to understand that these men in most instances are very poorly paid. They need this extra work.

But somebody who isn't familiar with what is going on in the post office, who doesn't understand the problems of the postal employee, it seems to me, may expect a great deal more than he is going to get. He may expect less than maybe he should get. But, in any event, we are taking a man with no experience, and we are expecting him to run a post office efficiently at a reduction in cost to the satisfaction of already critical citizens.

I think it is an awful lot to expect from any man. I think it places a terrible responsibility on the individual, and I think it points out, if indeed any pointing out is necessary, the fact that something must be done to change the existing system.

Now, I realize too, Mr. Chairman, that so long as the President of the United States selects a political appointee as the Postmaster General that it's almost impossible to eliminate politics from the post office. And it isn't the fact that politics is in the post office that I object to as much as it is that politics permits men with absolutely no knowledge or experience to be placed in responsible jobs where they have to lead and dictate policy and run important facilities.

I think all of us recognize—certainly you more than I—that the post office today is not the post office that it was before the war, that today this is not just a question of delivering mail from one to the other. Many of the businesses of this country today, thousands of businesses, really depend upon the efficient and prompt service of postal facilities.

Today it is a tremendous business. It is a business that cries out, I think, for the very skilled and the most efficient and the most knowledgeable men. And I have come to believe myself that the day must come when at the very top echelon we have got to recognize the post office as a separate agency apart from the political arena, even if it requires the reduction of the Postmaster General from a Cabinet officer down to perhaps the head of an agency similar to the FBI or Social Security or VA, so that we will remove as far as possible this political influence.

Now, I would just like to close by saying that I will be very pleased to answer any questions that the subcommittee may have. I am very grateful to the chairman for his statement that he will call Mr. McMillan.

I would also be very pleased if the committee would call Mr. Manning to have him interviewed here, or Mr. Martin who today will be the new permanent postmaster of Camden, N.J.

I would like to have permission, Mr. Chairman, to place in the record an editorial appearing in the February 1, 1968, Camden, N.J., Carrier Post newspaper, which is the largest daily newspaper circulating in the south Jersey area. And I just would like to read one pertinent paragraph from the editorial.

There is every reason to believe that one great trouble with the Post Office Department has been so many political appointments through the years. Service has deteriorated, and morale inside the post office today is about as low as the hopes of those who expect to send or receive mail on time.

No matter how distinguished their careers, we don't know any reason why the job of postmaster should go to a lawyer. What is needed is a professional man who knows the functions of a post office from top to bottom.

I ask permission, Mr. Chairman, to include this article in the record. Mr. Nix. Without objection, the article will be incorporated in the record.

(The article referred to follows:)

[From the Carrier Post, Camden, N.J., Feb. 1, 1968]

A PRO FOR POSTMASTER

The Camden Post Office and the people it serves need a professional man with practical postal knowhow, not a politician, as postmaster.

If Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien, who submits his recommendation to President Johnson; or Senator Harrison Williams, who clears the nominee politically; or the Camden County Democratic Committee, which is expected to indicate its preference, ignore professional qualifications they will be doing the people an injustice.

O'Brien, Williams, the President, or even the Senate, which has the final say on confirmation, could stop the travesty usually attached to such a political plum, but the local Democratic organization normally gets a free hand in the plucking.

And here is where the party could think of the local people, all of them mailers. There is every reason to believe that one great trouble with the Post Office Department has been so many political appointments through the years. Service has deteriorated. And morale inside the post office today is about as low as the hopes of those who expect to send or receive mail on time.

No matter how distinguished their careers, we don't know any reason why the job of postmaster should go to a lawyer. What is needed is a professional man who knows the functions of a post office from top to bottom.

Former Senator Joseph Cowgill and former Freeholder Frederick Martin, both lawyers, may have qualified with civil service but they have no experience with post office operations or the professional qualifications to run one. Cowgill himself has observed that he could understand a decision by the Post Office Department that would award the position to a career man in the postal service.

It has been nearly 4 years since Camden has had a postmaster, and even then the man in the job was ill and the facility was run by subordinates. The situation should not be tolerated any longer.

Assistant Postmaster Dennis Manning is among the three candidates certified for the job and is a career postal service worker, starting as a temporary carrier in 1936.

He was acting postmaster until last December 30, when he was replaced by a man from the regional office. If the department or the appointing powers don't think Manning is suitable for the top job, they should and can find some professional who is.

We believe that is what is needed to run the Camden Post Office, a professional who can carry the mail and can show others how to carry it. That's what the people deserve, not a lawyer. If they don't get it—then they should get a lawyer, to seek justice.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Chairman, I express my very sincere thanks to you and your associates on the committee for this opportunity to testify.

Mr. NIX. We, on behalf of the subcommittee, Mr. Cahill, express our deep thanks for your contribution. We recognize that there are inequities inherent in the present system, and I can assure you that this subcommittee will exert every effort to ferret out inequities wherever they exist and bring them to the light of the general public.

Mr. OLSEN?

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman. I want to join you in thanking Mr. Cahill for bringing these examples to our attention. I join with the chairman that we should investigate them, and we will.

I think you have made a real contribution. Everyone who has testified on the subject is helping. This is a problem that I think we must correct. It will not correct everything that needs correction, but it will help. We all have the same interest—a better postal service for the American people.

As you so well said, business depends greatly on the Post Office Department. As a matter of fact, the commerce of the country absolutely depends on it. When business slumped, in 1929 and 1930, the volume of mail dropped back to the volume that had prevailed in the year 1915. That is how far back it dropped when business slumped.

That got my interest aroused, and I found, on further inquiry, that the commerce of the country can almost be judged by the graph that shows the volume of the mail.

So it is important, as you have pointed out, and I thank you very much.

Mr. CAHILL. Thank you.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Gross.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Cahill, I have one question. If you know, what was the job description of the Pittsburgh man who was brought into the Camden Post Office?

Mr. CAHILL. He was a career postal employee, Mr. Gross. His exact job classification I do not know. But I do believe that he was in all respects qualified from the standpoint of that job classification to perform the assignment that he was given.

I think he was in the high echelon, but I am not sure of the exact classification.

Mr. GROSS. Do you know why he was brought in from as far away as Pittsburgh?

Mr. CAHILL. No. I sought that information unsuccessfully. Because I tried to point out that there were men equally competent in the Philadelphia region who could have done the work.

Mr. GROSS. We will try to find out when we get Mr. McMillan or some other official of the Post Office Department before us.

Mr. CAHILL. This is the thing that annoyed me, Mr. Gross, and I am sure you will appreciate this. They brought a man in from Pittsburgh, and they were paying him whatever salary he was receiving and expenses that he had to get I would assume for being there to do the very work that the then assistant postmaster had been doing successfully for 4 years.

Mr. GROSS. I understand.

Well, I want to join the others here in commending you for your statement here this morning which points up, as you said originally the dramatic need for a change in the operation of the postal system, getting politics out of it to the greatest extent possible.

I thank you.

Mr. CAHILL. Thank you very much.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Waldie.

Mr. WALDIE. No comment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Cahill, I arrived a little late, and want to be sure I don't go over something you covered.

As to this gentleman that was brought in to serve as postmaster, how long ago had he come into the area?

Mr. CAHILL. He was brought in at the time that the announcement was made that Manning was being removed as acting postmaster and that was about 3 or 4 days after Christmas. That would be the end of December 1967.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Are you aware of the fact that according to Department regulations an acting postmaster is to be resident for 1 year in the general delivery area that he is appointed to?

It would seem that this may well be in violation of the Department's regulations, which I presume we take up with Mr. McMillan.

But, if I understand it, and I'm reading from our subcommittee publication on qualifications of acting postmasters, the appointee must be a resident for 1 year prior to appointment within the delivery area of the post office involved.

Mr. CAHILL. Mr. Derwinski, I am not positive in my own mind whether he was named as acting postmaster or whether he was merely assigned to the Camden Post Office without title. I can't really answer that, except to say that Manning was the acting postmaster, that he was summarily removed without any reason.

The only reason I ever got from Mr. McMillan was a letter, which I will be very happy to supply to the chairman, in which he said, "for reasons best known to myself" or "for reasons which I consider adequate"—a generalization. And I tried to get a particularization of it on two occasions.

I even wired the President, and, of course, as I expected, the wire was rerouted and I got another letter from Mr. McMillan which was just as clarifying as the first one.

So I can't really answer the question honestly, Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you.

Mr. NIX. Is there a unanimous request to make the letter from Mr. McMillan, that is to be presented by the gentleman from New Jersey, a part of the record?

Mr. OLSEN. I make the unanimous request.

Mr. NIX. Then, without objection, the letter will be made a part of the record.

(The letter referred to follows:)

JANUARY 2, 1968.

HON. WILLIAM T. CAHILL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Reference is made to your letter of December 29, 1967, and to our telephone conversation of the same date, concerning the reassignment of Mr. Dennis J. Manning to his permanent position as assistant postmaster at Camden, N.J. As explained to you during our telephone conversation, an acting postmaster has a temporary status only and can be administratively relieved of his duties.

The return of Mr. Manning to his permanent assignment, despite the possible early receipt of a Civil Service Commission postmaster eligible register, is based on reasons which I considered good and sufficient.

I do not know what names will be included on the eligible register when it is received. I would like, however, to point out that the appointing officer has the authority and the responsibility to make a selection from one of the three names appearing on the register. It is not mandatory and frequently not even desirable to select a top eligible. Consequently, if Mr. Manning's name does appear in the top three, he will be considered for appointment, along with his two competitors, regardless of the rating each may obtain.

The decision was made to place a postal service officer in charge of the post office pending a selection from the eligible register when it is established because, in my view, this best serves the interest of the postal service.

The salary of a postal service officer is paid from regional appropriations and such an officer is responsible through the regional director to departmental headquarters. He is required to perform any assigned duties anywhere in the postal service and it is not necessary to allocate any portion of the salary paid him to any of the varied responsibilities he may be required to assume.

It is, of course, regretted that you consider my action in this matter both arbitrary and capricious. The responsibilities of my office frequently require me to

make decisions which do not meet universal approval. Your views and interests are appreciated even though in this instance it was not possible for me to conform to them.

Sincerely yours,

W. M. McMILLAN.

Mr. NIX. Again on behalf of the subcommittee we thank you.

Mr. CAHILL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. The next witness before the subcommittee is Mr. Sidney Goodman, president, National Postal Union.

Mr. Goodman, we welcome you. Will you introduce your colleagues?

TESTIMONY OF SIDNEY A. GOODMAN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL POSTAL UNION, ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID SILVERGLEID, SECRETARY-TREASURER, AND PAUL GOODMAN, RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Mr. GOODMAN. Dispensing with introductions other than two colleagues, the colleague on my left is David Silvergleid, secretary-treasurer, and on my right is my son Paul Goodman who acted as research assistant in the preparation of this brief.

Mr. NIX. We doubly welcome you.

Mr. GOODMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we have eagerly looked forward to the opportunity of testifying with respect to the need for merit promotion in the post office. The lack of it has been a matter of such great concern that our views are long since incorporated in previous testimony and in addresses made at various meetings. So much so that without adding virtually a single new thought or word, I comment from our records as follows—from a speech to the Federal Bar Association, April 17, 1967.

If we want to understand why we have arrived or not arrived 5 years later at a certain point under the order, Executive Order 10988, we must momentarily lay aside discussions about appropriate units, reserve rights, and so forth, and go to the heart of the question. And the question is the power structure of the establishment, the heritage of paternalism, and the prevalence of myths.

I remember being sworn into the service, many, many years ago, and a top official directing his remarks to the group, speaking about advancement through the ranks, spoke about "loyalty, hard work, attention to duty." It brought tears to my eyes and a lump to my throat. It took me 2 weeks to discover that his loyalty was to his county chairman, the attention to duty was getting out the vote election day, and the hard work was showing up at the political club three times a week.

The structure has changed little in its essential aspects since passage of the Pendleton Act of 1884. As a matter of fact, it might even be said it has grown worse, because in addition to the game of political musical chairs, which goes on constantly at 12th and Pennsylvania Avenue, we have a road company of the same show going at the regions which were established in 1955. Indeed, in passing, we might note without any derogatory intent, that that holy of holies, the Civil Service Commission, is itself, however unwittingly, involved in one of the shabbiest political three shell games involving the appointment of postmasters. For documentation, I refer you to a recent policy statement by the National Civil Service League entitled "Abandoning Patronage in the Postal Service."

In a broad sense, it might be said that for any management representative to do an effective job in personnel relations, he must not only have know-how, discipline and fortitude, but an almost instinctive respect for the right of employees. Any postmaster appointed who has these qualities, you may be sure they are quite accidental and incidental to the political qualifications which are a prerequisite for the appointment. Eighty percent of them are average Joes. Ten

percent have potential. Five percent are hopelessly reactionary. The Post Office Department being the granddaddy of all pork barrels cannot go beyond itself. It is a prisoner of its own power structure. In practice, postmasters are lords of all they survey. They are the 33,040 branch managers of the postal field service. Short of depredation, they cannot be removed, because the system will close ranks to defend them, and this revolution does not devour its own children.

Now I quote from a letter to Mr. J. Edward Day, then president, National Civil Service League, on October 3, 1966:

Your recent white paper, covering political appointment of postmasters, is, in my opinion, not only an outstanding public service, but the most fundamental problem that the Post Office Department faces today. No serious observer can fail to be aware of the continuing basic contradiction between the introduction of the most modern technology while political prerogatives continue essentially as they were at the turn of the century. Indeed, the only roughly historical parallel which somehow springs to mind, was the way in which western technology was superimposed on a feudalistic culture in Japan in 1868.

Any top Department official with intelligence and integrity must feel deeply frustrated in attempting to reconcile efforts to increase efficiency, while the game of political musical chairs continues merrily on its way at 12th and Pennsylvania Avenue. Postal employees deeply resent the hypocrisy which has long characterized the entire promotional system and the appointment of postmasters. Beyond the moral issue, however, is a simply inescapable fact—that any Post Office Department program to increase efficiency, no matter how meritorious, will invariably tend to be subordinated to the political imperatives. Further, at this point, service improvements and politics are in continuous confrontation with the latter, an albatross that stands, like a giant Colossus, astride the road to progress.

The primary responsibility for long overdue changes rests with the Congress. There are encouraging signs that more and more legislators, as your report points out, are recognizing that they would be better off to have done with promotions and appointments, even on the basis of the narrowest of political interests from a practical point of view.

This makes your report most timely and effective. That it was written under the aegis of a former Postmaster General, and your own book was a significant and most readable contribution, is prophetic. Postal employees, long the victims of a shameful spoils system, will, I know, take a real measure of satisfaction in this.

In testifying before the President's Commission on Postal Organization on October 30, 1967, I said:

In what I believe was the most important report of its kind in 50 years, the National Civil Service League issued a white paper in September 1966 titled "Abandoning Patronage in Postal Appointments." This report exposed with the skill of a surgeon wielding a scalpel a part of the whole sordid story of politics unlimited in the Post Office Department. That the story has long been known to political sophisticates makes the report no less significant.

On November 29, 1966, I wrote to Mr. John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, about that same report, saying:

Everything said about political appointment of postmasters essentially applies to higher level promotions. That no formal procedure involving political advisors as such has existed has only served to provide even more flexibility.

Ironically, the lack of appropriate criteria and procedures in this area, including the complete absence of competitive, written examinations of any kind, may be said to have a much more harmful effect in practice than the political appointment of postmasters. This is because there are many more of these positions and because their actual impact on policies and programs, as well as on the lives of employees on a daily basis, is more demoralizing. Indeed, it could be argued that as a practical matter, the political appointment of postmasters is of lesser significance because to a greater or lesser degree more frequently than not, it is these officials, particularly in the larger offices, whose attitudes are decisive within existing limitations.

We are glad to concede that the present written examinations being given to establish eligibility to initial supervisory positions, first list promulgated in 1956, was a definite step forward. This is true

even though a major factor in this establishment may well have been an effort to kill merit promotion by law, bills providing for this having generated considerable pressure to that date. It is our belief that in general it has somewhat lifted the level of the caliber of supervisors, primarily because of the law of averages. However, the present procedure is a far, far cry from a meaningful merit promotion system.

As a practical matter, even though an eligible comes within the zone of consideration, it is relatively a simple matter for a postmaster to bypass any particular candidate based on an interview by the audit committee which recommends under present procedure.

Even this most modest beginning has retrogressed with the area of consideration increased from nine to 15 in larger offices, thus giving postmasters additional flexibility.

More important is the fact that it underlines the fundamental inadequacy, since these eligible registers are utilized literally only for initial supervisory positions, completely ignoring untold thousands of positions from level 8 right up through level 22, and even scores of level 8 positions which are technically not considered initial supervisory positions as such.

A level 5 distribution clerk (KP-12) or level 5 city letter carrier (KP-13) may not be promoted to foreman, mails, the initial supervisory position, without coming off the eligible register. However, he can, and sometimes is promoted to anything from level 9 to level 16 by a flick of the wrist.

The significance of this gigantic loophole does not escape employees, hardly helps morale, and engenders cynicism.

National Postal Union, speaking as the voice and conscience of all postal employees, asserts in the strongest possible terms that the introduction of a proper merit promotion procedure is long overdue. We urge the following program:

- (1) Open written, competitive merit promotion examinations conducted by the U.S. Civil Service Commission under appropriate and relevant criteria for all supervisory positions up through PFS and GS-15.
- (2) An openly published list.
- (3) Appointments in sequence.
- (4) Credit for seniority.

The Government can ill afford the continued contradiction between technological progress, including scanning, automation, ZIP code, letter sorting machines, mechanization of all kinds, and so forth, and the present completely outmoded and unworthy system which makes inevitable favoritism and political drag couched in "best qualified."

Mr. Chairman, at this time, with your indulgence, I would like to read briefly from the report of the National Civil Service League, because I think it is most important in summing up the situation.

Mr. NIX. Proceed.

Mr. GOODMAN. Thank you.

It is the requirement for Senate confirmation which draws the whole business of appointing postmasters into the political arena. The key to the procedure for selecting postmasters is the "advisor" system, which is in no way sanctioned or even recognized in law but which governs the process as surely as if it were written into the statutes.

The advisor system rests on long tradition and historic precedent. The salient point here is that in de facto terms the advisor selects the local postmaster with the whole civil service procedure representing little more than a facade of false respectability.

A carefully accurate and up-to-date list of advisors is maintained in the Office of the Postmaster General. Usually the advisor is the local Congressman of the dominant party. By historic privilege, he reserves the right to appoint the local postmaster. Should the opposition party be in local power, then the advisor is a member of the majority party—a Senator, a State or county chairman, or perhaps the Governor. Whoever the advisor may be, by well accepted political agreement, his word is law in this sphere and all other parties are bound to support the choice of the advisor.

The permanent postmaster will be chosen from among the first three in a competitive examination unless, despite the Hatch Act, a career employee has achieved sufficient political stature to be recommended. It is at this point that the whole charade begins, turning the formal civil service process into a mockery. For, while the choice will be made among the top three in the examination, it becomes clear quite early that the political advisor will make that choice.

There are a number of other devices for making sure that the politically favored candidate finally gets the post.

The entire procedure, remarkable in its cynicism and even more remarkable in its transparency, often goes on for many months.

The present system is inconsistent with the whole concept of merit in government employment. There is simply no assurance that the best or near best is finally chosen for the job.

The system has the potential for operating as a depressant on the morale and aspirations of the many devoted, able and experienced subordinate postal officers in local centers.

The system contributes to a political, nonprofessional atmosphere that tends to discourage young, vigorous talent from making careers in the postal service.

The system fosters a political climate in the post offices of our local communities with postal employees tending to assume political activity sharply different from their civil service associates in other departments.

And among its recommendations—and we are firm in our vigorous support of them—are the following:

Repeal of the statutory requirement for confirmation of postmasters by the U.S. Senate and abandonment of the advisor process.

Provision for appointment to postmaster rank exclusively through the merit system based on open competitive or promotional examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission.

Elimination of the resident requirement and granting limited authority to transfer incumbent postmasters to other post offices.

Elimination of the advisor system for appointing rural letter carriers and selection strictly through civil service merit procedures.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for your indulgence. I want to express our deep appreciation to you and the members of the committee for the opportunity of expressing our views on this very vital subject.

Mr. Nix. Thank you very much.

I think it would be fair for me to remark that without any great stretch of the imagination I think it is clear to all of us that you are thoroughly disenchanted with the entire system.

Mr. GOODMAN. May I say that is a masterpiece of understatement, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Nix. Mr. Goodman, I understand you have said publicly that you favor the strike by postal employees. Would you give us your views on that?

Mr. GOODMAN. What I have actually said, Mr. Chairman, speaking as an individual, is that in my opinion there is not, never was, and never will be any substitute for the right of employees to withhold their labor as a method of advancing their interest. I have not personally expressed myself as being in favor of strikes. The right to strike and the question of utilizing it—we should make a very clear distinction between these, particularly at this point.

Mr. Nix. You would agree that the question of strikes in the Post Office Department in the event that changes are made would be a

question of exceeding gravity for this committee to consider in its overall consideration of this legislation; would you not?

Mr. GOODMAN. I would certainly agree, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Olsen.

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to commend the National Postal Union on a splendid statement. I find I am substantially in agreement with you, Mr. Goodman. You always make a fine contribution to the problems of this committee. Thank you very much.

Mr. GOODMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Well, on that fine comment, let me double-check to be sure I understood.

Mr. Goodman, somewhere in the item you read you indicated you didn't prefer the Senate confirmation of postmasters. You would prefer to drop that? Is that correct?

Mr. GOODMAN. We would prefer strictly merit promotion procedure utilizing the Civil Service Commission, completely divorced—

Mr. DERWINSKI. Dispensing with Senate confirmation?

Mr. GOODMAN. Yes.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I am very intrigued that Mr. Olsen would commend you when he introduced a bill on February 5 calling for the appointment of postmasters and confirmation by the Senate.

Did you do a "switcheroo" in a couple days, Mr. Olsen, or what is your position?

Mr. OLSEN. I certainly did pull a "switcheroo." I hadn't known that the Republicans were going to penalize the House if they had anything to do with appointments, but were going to bless the Senate if they had something to do with it.

However, when I learned this, I made an investigation of why does the Senate have this authority at all. I was under the misapprehension that maybe it was a constitutional provision. However, upon investigation, I found out that there is no reason in the world why the Senate has to confirm appointments in the Post Office. This is simply a question that the Congress considered some time ago. Sometime before 1876 they decided that postmasters would be a classification of public officers. Since that date, many, many appointments in the executive branch have been stricken from the list of public officers and Senate confirmation has been eliminated.

Most recently, Senate confirmation was eliminated from the appointment of the collectors of customs.

Mr. DERWINSKI. The thing that intrigues me—

Mr. OLSEN. And now, when I investigate the Senate Reorganization Act, that passed, I think, by unanimous consent over in the Senate, they even deny themselves this confirmation.

So, I am correcting what was an error on my own part.

Mr. DERWINSKI. But your error was committed Tuesday when you introduced the bill calling for confirmation?

Mr. OLSEN. Yes.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I just wanted to be sure where you stood these days.

Mr. OLSEN. No, the bill went in on Monday.

Mr. DERWINSKI. All right—Monday—I see.

Mr. OLSEN. I changed my mind on Tuesday morning when I started to hear you fellows, and I then studied the book a little bit,

and you persuaded me to change my mind. I think you fellows are completely wrong on that subject.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I want to be sure—

Mr. OLSEN. I'm glad you brought up the subject so the record will be clear.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Getting back to Mr. Goodman here; Mr. Goodman, twice in your prepared statement you used the phrase "political game of musical chairs continues merrily on its way at 12th and Pennsylvania." Would you spell it out for me? I can't quite get the cleverness of that statement.

Mr. GOODMAN. Well, in the absence of properly established merit promotion procedures, we have a situation in which, while we don't use advisers as such, political pressure is brought to bear, and we find that titles and positions change quite frequently.

And my reference simply took cognizance of real life. And if we review the number of changes that have taken place in the higher level positions, GS-15 and above, at 12th and Pennsylvania, the last 3 or 4 years, or, for that matter, going back many years before under the previous administration, we will find there are frequently numerous changes in the course of a single year in terms of top-level positions. I mean policymaking positions.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I see.

Now, on page 2 of your statement—

His loyalty was to his county chairman, the attention to duty was getting out the vote election day, and the hard work was showing up at the political club three times a week.

Now, will you please explain that?

Are you trying to tell us that clerks and carriers and supervisors and postmasters spend their time with their county chairman, working on election day, and spending 3 days a week at the political club?

Mr. GOODMAN. Well, let me put it this way, Mr. Derwinski. I came into the service in 1936, and at least prior to World War II and for a period afterward I never knew of a person—I won't say it didn't exist—I never knew of a man promoted to supervisor in the city of New York, the largest post office, in the city of New York, who had not demonstrated his party loyalty in at least one of those three ways.

I am not saying it never could have happened. But, in general, promotion to supervisor meant automatically that you were a member of the party, that you showed up at the political club, and that in one way or another you rendered the party services or particular public officials services, for which he rewarded the faithful. This was commonly accepted and was done by all parties.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Goodman, I'm a critic of the Department, I'm a critic of politics in the Department; but I don't think you help make a case when you deliberately exaggerate.

I know hundreds of supervisors in Chicago, which is hardly a non-partisan center, who are promoted on merit. And I know many superintendents of local post offices who get those positions on merit. And I don't know of any massive use in Chicago of post office personnel on election day.

And I think you'd help your case if you were less poetic and a little more honest and exact in your statements.

Mr. GOODMAN. Mr. Derwinski, I didn't mean to imply—and that's why I stated my remarks are based on my own experience with reference

to it. I would not say no one ever got promotion on merit. But I will make this statement: I know of no high-level position on which the question of political support was not considered.

I'm not saying that it's necessarily decisive in any given instance, but I know of no high level position—and I make that statement unequivocally in my judgment—in which that factor was not considered.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Well, it is my understanding that Mr. Day and Mr. Gronouski were both relatively political unknowns and were appointed because of their talent rather than their "Jim Farley" political approach.

Mr. GOODMAN. Well, my experience goes back long before those two Postmasters General, Mr. Derwinski, and I would say quite frankly that no Postmaster General as such in my opinion really runs the Department in that literal sense. It is such a big, vast bureaucracy, and the channels are so well established, I think it goes on almost impersonally even though nominally the Postmaster General can in theory or perhaps in fact make a change. It is bigger than all of us, Mr. Derwinski, in my opinion.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I'm trying to help you, actually.

Mr. GOODMAN. I appreciate that.

Mr. DERWINSKI. But your language frightens me. For example, on page 2 again you refer to the "holy of holies, the Civil Service Commission." Now, would you mind elaborating on that, so I get the point?

Mr. GOODMAN. In my opinion, the U.S. Civil Service Commission does a highly commendable job in many areas, and particularly in recent years they have made a conscientious effort to raise standards, to improve criteria to improve merit promotions. I am simply taking cognizance of what is described in the National Civil Service League report—that, whether they like it or not, they are of necessity a party to a political three-shell game involving the appointment of postmasters.

That was why I read that part, Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. NIX. Will the gentlemen yield to me a moment?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. NIX. I think what Mr. Goodman is doing is reflecting the conditions in that part of the country from which he comes. I know it's not comparable to the purity of Chicago.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I appreciate that, Mr. Chairman, and that raises my next question.

Again, Mr. Goodman, I would like to have your testimony finally be an asset to one of these bills. Now, I note that on page 6 you state, "National Postal Union speaking as the voice and conscience of all postal employees," and you open up by indicating you represent 65,000, which I calculate quickly would be about 8 to 9 percent.

So how do you presume to speak for the other 92 percent?

Mr. GOODMAN. Our reference is reflecting the feelings, the convictions, and the desires of postal employees and not necessarily reflection of numerical superiority, Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. In other words, even though you represent their consciences, they prefer to keep their membership elsewhere?

Mr. GOODMAN. There is little doubt in my mind that if you took a poll of postal employees, not supervisory postal employees, and they are in excess of 650,000 and placed this brief before them, and any

other brief, that they would avow their support of the point of view expressed in this brief.

That may sound self-serving but it's not intended as such.

Mr. DERWINSKI. No, you are a dramatic gentleman.

Would you be more specific? On page 6 of your statement, I quote you:

However, he can, and sometimes is promoted to anything from levels 9 to levels 16 by a flick of the wrist.

Do you have examples, statistics, details?

Mr. GOODMAN. I have examples, but I would rather not utilize names. But let me tell you this. We don't have to look hard to find examples, for example, of rank-and-file clerks and letter carriers promoted from what was then PFS-4, KP-12, distribution clerk or city carrier, to special assistant in employee relations, PFS-16, in various regions. We have several without any difficulty whatsoever.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Now, you made a reference to the regions. As I understand, you are unhappy with the regional structure or politics in the regional structure?

Mr. GOODMAN. Only to the extent **that** politics pervade there as well as in the Department. I have no criticism of the regional structure as such at this point, Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Now, is it your contention that everybody promoted under the political system is inadequate?

Mr. GOODMAN. Absolutely not. On the contrary, we know of some very fine and excellent postmasters and supervisors who under any conceivable criteria would unquestionably rate. But, unfortunately, that tends to be the exception rather than the rule, and our concern is with helping out the law of averages.

But we would be the first to say that we have some very fine, able and dedicated supervisors and postmasters under the present procedure, but the system is not geared to produce a maximum number of these.

Mr. DERWINSKI. All right.

Now, again, I am concerned that you are going to wind up doing more damage than help to this bill. What about your comment that the postmasters are "lords of all they survey"? I find in discussing with my postmasters that they are rather carefully restricted, and, as a matter of fact, they bend over backward to be fair employers, and I don't consider them to be dogmatic or benevolent despots.

Mr. GOODMAN. Let me say there are any number of very fine postmasters where this would be true. On the other hand, if a postmaster once confirmed was sophisticated enough and cynical and hardened enough to take the position that he's not going to give anybody anything, the employee groups would find it very, very difficult to win a grievance over this objection except in a most glaring field.

It is possible for a postmaster with his legal authority and his position in fact to frustrate employees at every turn.

That the vast majority do not is attributal to the innate goodness of human behavior.

But under the present procedure, with the authority vested in them, the interpretation and application of the "Postal Manual" as such, any postmaster who really wants to get tough, Mr. Derwinski, can make life miserable for the employees under his control.

I recently returned from a trip to the west coast where I sat with postmasters in three different offices precisely because we had reached a point with them in which labor-management relations had deteriorated so seriously that it required regional intervention to sit down and have a conference merely to establish the elementary rights of our people as employees and citizens.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Goodman, I find you a very provocative and entertaining witness.

In a number of instances you refer to the "establishment." I recognize that is a word in current use. Now, as to this "establishment," is this purely political? Is it the faces behind the scenes? The career people in the post office? What's the "establishment"?

Mr. GOODMAN. The "establishment" is everyone and everything connected with the administration of the Post Office Department in this case, good, bad, and indifferent.

Mr. DERWINSKI. You made a couple of references to morality as well. Your approach is motivated by "the highest of moral principles." I gather though that one of the things you don't object to is nepotism since the gentleman on your right is your son. And that's been a problem in government and evidently not a problem with you.

Mr. GOODMAN. Well, it's very easily answered. I affirm the right to nepotism of all agencies of government to the same extent. He's getting exactly zero for appearing here. Pardon me. I bought him coffee this morning. If that's nepotism, I plead guilty, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DERWINSKI. That will make good reading in the record.

But is there any one of the bills before us that you especially recommend? You were rather general in your statement.

Mr. GOODMAN. I think we have approximately 50 bills introduced, all of them, in principle, embodying essentially desirable improvement in my opinion. None of them in our view goes far enough, quite frankly, as reflected in our testimony here.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Let me make just one remark. Mr. Goodman, since you made the remark that none of the bills quite meets your approval, it is suggested that you submit to the subcommittee additional views covering those points that you conceive not to be covered in the bills submitted to the committee.

Mr. Waldie?

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Chairman, I am always impressed by Mr. Goodman's frankness and by the general accuracy of his statements, and there is nothing happening today that leads me to believe that that conclusion is incorrect.

I enjoyed the repartee between you and my good colleague, Mr. Derwinski. It would seem to me his very valiant but I think futile attempt to destroy your testimony is fairly good evidence of an old saying, "Methinks he doth protest too much."

I like your appearance, and I like your blunt statements and your blunt approach. I happen to agree with it.

That's all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Waldie.

Thank you very much, Mr. Goodman.

Mr. GOODMAN. Would you indulge my colleague for a comment?

Mr. NIX. Yes.

Mr. SILVERGLEID. One brief comment directed to the bill itself.

We note in reading these two bills that they confer certain priorities, particularly giving preferences to employees in the postal service and serving under career appointments.

Coincidentally, on January 31, and I am sure you have seen it, Mr. Chairman, the Post Office Department issued a statement the first paragraph of which says, and I quote:

Career employees are being promoted to postmasterships in increasingly larger numbers, with 42.6 percent of all postmaster confirmations in 1957 going to this group.

I merely wanted to stress just one thought. Regardless of how many career employees are now being appointed, if they are still being appointed through the same channels, through the district or political or county political leader, we are not going to have any change at all.

Mr. NIX. Thank you very much.

Mr. OLSEN. I think that is a good point.

Mr. NIX. Our next witness is a distinguished gentleman from New York, Hon. John W. Wydler, and we are happy to welcome him.

TESTIMONY OF HON. JOHN W. WYDLER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. WYDLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am sure you will not be disturbed by the fact that I don't have a prepared statement, and I will be brief.

I would like to commend you, and I mean it most sincerely, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, for holding these hearings. For to me it is a little surprising, but a pleasant surprise, that these hearings are being conducted, and I think the matter that they are concerning themselves with is very important to the people of the country who are dissatisfied with the postal service they are receiving and who want something done about it.

I have a bill in, and, of course, there are a score of bills in to try to remove the political influence from the selection of our postmasters. I think it should be done, and the sooner the better.

But I think it would be a mistake to think that to any large degree that is going to solve any of the problems or many of the problems that afflict our postal service. And I think it would be a mistake to try to lead the people into believing that doing this is going to improve the postal service they are receiving.

I think personally that the main benefit from taking such action but one which fully justifies the action, is the benefit that will result from the morale of the employees who now work in the Postal Department.

I am a member of a party that has not had control of the Postal Department since I have been a Member of Congress so I haven't personally been faced with some of these very difficult problems of selections of postmasters and becoming involved as a Congressman in some local political situation which I am sure is distasteful to those who have had to do it.

But I have received a number of letters during the years that I have been here from people trying to become the postmasters at various post offices in my district who really apparently deserved the jobs on

merit and had the background, the experience, apparently had the type of qualifications that would have made a good postmaster, who were asking for my help.

And it was very early I found out there is no help I could render to them, that the selection was going to be made as a local political choice.

That, in view of the very poor situation we find in the postal service, I think is a situation we should do without at once.

So I just add my voice to the many Congressmen who have asked the committee to give this bill an affirmative vote, a push out and on to the floor at the earliest possible date so that we can take some action on it.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Wydler. Thank you for your appearance here and for your very worthwhile presentation.

Mr. WYDLER. Thank you.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Olsen?

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I wish to join the chairman in thanking the gentleman from New York for coming and showing a real interest. He always has a valuable contribution to make to the affairs of the Nation. We appreciate his interest.

Mr. WYDLER. Thank you.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Derwinski?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Wydler, you have introduced one of the bills before us, and your primary concern, is to remove all traces of political testing or political clout for postmaster appointments. You feel that by the very force of that sort of thing it would also establish a pattern for other appointments in the Department as well?

Mr. WYDLER. Well, I certainly agree with you and I presume it is your position that this should go right to the top of the Post Office Department. I think that we really have gone beyond the point where we can afford the luxury of having a part-time Postmaster General.

I think that would be a great morale booster too, for example, if the present Postmaster General were to announce his choice of which job he would rather hold, either as a political activist or as a Postmaster General. Whichever one he does he will do well. But I wish he would do it fulltime.

And I don't mean to imply here in any way, shape, or form that every postmaster that has been appointed has been a poor man. I think that's where you would be misleading the people if you tried to sell that idea. Or even that every Postmaster General that has been appointed has been a poor choice. That isn't true either.

Actually, very many fine men have been appointed as postmasters through the political system that now exists, and that's probably the reason that you are not going to change the actual performance of the post office too much by passing this bill.

But what you will do—and I think it's terribly important—is make it clear to the people in general that we mean business in trying to do something about this Post Office problem, No. 1. And, No. 2, you will make it clear to those that work within that system that we are trying to do something about it as well.

And I think that is the main benefit we would get from the passage of the legislation.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you.

Mr. NIX. Thank you again, Mr. Wydler.

Our next witness is Mr. Henry Womack, president, National League of Postmasters. Mr. Womack, will you introduce your associate?

TESTIMONY OF HENRY H. WOMACK, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL LEAGUE OF POSTMASTERS; ACCOMPANIED BY ALTON A. ELLIS, VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. WOMACK. Yes, Mr. Chairman. This is Mr. Alton A. Ellis, vice president of the National League of Postmasters, from West Pawlet, Vt. He is the postmaster there.

Mr. NIX. We welcome you, Mr. Ellis.

Mr. WOMACK. Judging, Mr. Chairman, from the nature of the testimony that has gone on before, I maybe should have brought far more reinforcements than I have with me, but we will have another shot at it.

Mr. NIX. Well, we are quite sure that you are capable of meeting your responsibility.

Mr. WOMACK. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, the National League of Postmasters is against any proposal to take the appointment of postmasters out of politics. We wish it were possible to put by the notion that there is something sinister about the idea of selecting a postmaster on the recommendation of the constituents of a Congressman to him.

We believe that the position of postmaster is one of the most important in any community, and in many, many cases the most important. We further believe that the postmaster should be selected with great care. Who knows better than the patrons involved who they want to serve them? Who is in a better position to make the selection than they?

And at this point I must digress to this extent. The statement was made that these postmasters are selected in many cases by advisers. Well, the advisers certainly are going to go and abide by the wishes of the people who have put them in this position.

Mr. Chairman, if such a law were passed that would prevent the elected representative of a congressional district from having any voice in the selection of the postmaster, would it not have the effect of taking away from the aspirants to that office a fundamental constitutional right? The right of any citizen to petition Congress? We just cannot believe that this would be a step in the right direction at all.

Mr. Chairman, I quote now from general release No. 27 from the Postmaster General, and it is already before you, but I only point out that 42.6 percent of all postmaster confirmations in 1967 came from the ranks of career people.

This is a clear indication, Mr. Chairman, that career post office employees have an excellent chance of becoming postmaster. We must be careful, however, not to exclude other well qualified applicants from consideration, applicants who by their experience and their ability to get along with the public would make fine postmasters.

We believe further, Mr. Chairman, that to put the appointing authority for postmasterships in the hands of Postmasters General would be a mistake. It would not be if we always have a Postmaster General who is as great as Lawrence F. O'Brien is, but this may not always be the case.

We believe that the people to be served have an inherent right to have a voice in the selection of the postmaster, so they would in any case have to be consulted, and who, again, knows better who the people want than the Congressman involved?

We simply do not believe, Mr. Chairman, that these appointments can be effectively taken out of politics. They can be changed from one political system to another, but we think the end result would be the same.

It has often been said that when a Congressman recommends an appointment he makes many enemies and one ingrate. We do not go along with this, for our experience has shown otherwise.

We must also point out, Mr. Chairman, and certainly with malice toward none, that there are some people who, under these proposals, would be in line for promotion to postmaster and they would be temperamentally unsuited for the position. Simply because a person is a fine supervisor—he may know more about the regulations than the people who wrote them, he might be a “whiz-bang” at routing mail, a financial expert and all that sort of thing—it doesn’t necessarily follow that he is a good postmaster.

Under the various proposals, it would appear that some systems of seniority would have to be followed, and we cannot agree that this is the criterion by which a postmaster should be selected.

Mr. Chairman, it grieves me to find ourselves on apparently opposite sides, and with the long record of victories you have behind you, it might not appear the wise thing to do. I refer to your release dated February 5, 1968, paragraphs 2 and 3.

Part of the Post Office Department problem is that traditionally Postmasters General have been leaders of their political parties. Some of the bills before us would end this problem by creating a 12-year term for the Postmaster General, and thus take him out of the President’s Cabinet. A longer term than the President’s term of office would effectively take the Postmaster General out of the political arena, since his main concern would then be the delivery of the mail.

I believe the merit system should be extended to the office of Postmaster General itself, as well as to the office of postmaster in our local cities. We need the best people with the most experience. For years, postmasters in our larger cities have been people who have spent most of their careers in the postal service. This kind of experience must be made available in executive positions throughout the postal service.

In the last sentence of paragraph 2, Mr. Chairman:

A longer term than the President’s term of office would effectively take the Postmaster General out of the political arena, since his main concern would then be the delivery of the mail.

We do agree that this might be an end greatly to be desired. But we must respectfully point out, however, that any person worthy of the high office of Postmaster General already has as his main concern the delivery of the mail. What better recommendation could he make in his attempt to reelect his own party than having a fine mail service?

Certainly it seems to us that he would leave no stone unturned in his efforts to do so.

If he is appointed for, say, a period of 12 years and he only has a nominal interest in the political affairs of the country, he just might be tempted, when serious problems arise, not to take the kind of interest that he would if his job depended on it, as indeed it does under our present system.

We believe that it is the desire of the Congress, the Post Office Department and the people to utilize the talents of postal personnel.

The record shows that this has already been done to a very great extent. We also believe, Mr. Chairman, that the way must be left open, with no obstruction whatsoever, for the people to express themselves in the selection of the postmaster.

At the risk of becoming boresome, we must point out again that in our view there is no better way for the people to express themselves than through the elected representative of themselves.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I will be happy to attempt to answer any questions you may have.

Mr. NIX. Well, at the outset, I think it is necessary for me to say that the remarks attributed to the Chair, and referred to, in no sense indicate the Chair has prejudged the case.

Mr. WOMACK. Oh, I apologize if I created that impression. I did not intend to.

Mr. NIX. The Chair's long experience in the law certainly gives evidence of the fact that he has long since been conditioned to the procedure of waiting until all of the facts are in, and after they have been analyzed and studied, before reaching any conclusion.

Mr. WOMACK. Thank you. And I apologize again if I created that impression.

Mr. NIX. It's all right.

Mr. WALDIE.

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Chairman, I don't confess to such a fair approach to it. My mind has been generally made up. I think the bills are good, and I am waiting for some testimony that might dissuade me from that view, and as yet I haven't heard any.

I wonder. If it's so important that we have these postmasters selected by the community, what would you think about having them elected rather than selected by the political party in power so we'd get an expression of all the community, not just that party that is in power?

Mr. WOMACK. Well, I must say that I have not considered that possibility, but I think it would have more merit than the proposals that are before us.

Mr. WALDIE. I actually only presented the possibility to present what I think is a weakness in your approach that the selection of the postmaster in the present system is truly representative of the community. It is representative of the political party that happens to be in power in the person of the Congressman that represents the district, and he may not in fact represent the majority of the district, but only the political party that is in power. He may be representing a district that is not, in terms of the majority of registered voters, his own party. Or he may be representing a district in which he has no voice in the selection of the Congressman because his party isn't in power.

So it seems very, very clear in the latter instance, where there is a Republican, for example, in the present system representing a congressional district, that it's highly unlikely that the selection of the postmaster certainly would reflect his view if he is representative, as your statement presupposes, of the majority of the people in the district since he was elected by the majority of the people in the district.

So, if you have validity in that suggestion that this present system is excellent because it permits us to select the person that the people in the district want, I suppose one way of doing it would be to elect him, which I believe would be absolutely outrageous.

And the other way of doing it under the present system would be to let the minority party select the postmasters within the district, which would be, if not more outrageous, certainly equally outrageous.

Those alternatives being not acceptable, it seems to me the present bill is the best course of action.

Mr. WOMACK. I would just only have to say this and repeat again that this would exclude outside talent from coming into the Post Office Department.

Mr. WALDIE. Yes; it would have that effect which may be deleterious. But it would also prevent outside nontalent from coming into the office, which may be advantageous and outweigh the disadvantage that you suggested would exist.

Mr. WOMACK. We have discussed here this morning this merit promotion—

Mr. WALDIE. May I just interrupt you for one more question, while the thought is in my mind?

Mr. WOMACK. Yes.

Mr. WALDIE. The bill has no application to your members, does it?

Mr. WOMACK. No. They are already postmasters.

Mr. WALDIE. Right. So you are not adversely affected by the bill?

Mr. WOMACK. But I would point out in that respect that I hope my interest is mainly in the improvement, continuous improvement, of the postal service, not selfishly to our members.

Mr. WALDIE. I am certain it is, and the question did not mean to imply anything to the contrary.

Mr. WOMACK. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WALDIE. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Waldie.

Mr. GROSS.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Womack, what is the function of a postmaster?

Mr. WOMACK. Well, certainly to deliver the mail in the most expeditious manner.

Mr. GROSS. You don't mean the postmaster is going to deliver the mail. What is the function of a postmaster?

Mr. WOMACK. To see that the mail is delivered.

Mr. GROSS. All right. How do you account for the fact that over this country, and especially in the State of Iowa—not "especially," but including the State of Iowa—there are many vacancies—offices that have been vacant in the matter of permanent postmasters for years? If they serve a useful function, why haven't they been appointed?

We had testimony yesterday of one postmastership in Iowa that has been vacant for 7 years. We have testimony this morning of a big post office—and you were probably in the room—where the office of postmaster has been vacant for 4 years or more.

Now, what is the function of a postmaster, a permanent postmaster?

Mr. WOMACK. Well, the function was being carried on—I did not hear the testimony yesterday, but this morning. The function was being carried on very well indeed, apparently. And I'm sure that the gentleman whose name was mentioned who was serving as acting postmaster up there did a creditable job in public relations.

Mr. GROSS. Why have a permanent postmaster if you condone all of these longtime vacancies?

Mr. WOMACK. I don't necessarily condone them, Mr. Gross, but it's just—I cannot see how this other proposal is going to solve that problem.

Mr. GROSS. Well, it would naturally follow that a postmaster would be appointed without undue loss of time from within the career service in a post office.

Mr. WOMACK. If you could effectively take politics out of it; yes.

Mr. GROSS. Outside the political haul and pull of this thing, the political manipulation, you would get a postmaster; wouldn't you?

Mr. WOMACK. I don't think so. We said here this morning that you could change it from one political system to another but politics in one form——

Mr. GROSS. We are not talking about a political system. We are trying to take the operation of the Post Office Department out of a political system or systems.

Mr. WOMACK. And we maintain that this is virtually impossible. Because the post office reaches every citizen in the country every day. They are far more concerned with the post office than they are, for example, the FBI or civil service or anything else. The post office is a part of their lives, and they are interested in it.

Mr. GROSS. The more reason why it should be operated on the most efficient basis possible to obtain.

Mr. WOMACK. I quite agree.

Mr. GROSS. All right. But I don't understand what you are driving at when we have all of these temporary postmasters over the country.

Mr. WOMACK. Well, I didn't say the system was perfect. I just said it's better than any other.

Mr. GROSS. I don't know why we have postmasters if there could be a vacancy for 7 years, 5 years, 4 years, 2 years. Why have a postmaster if a post office runs and the service is good? Why have a postmaster?

Mr. WOMACK. To represent the people of the community.

Mr. GROSS. To do what? To speak to the Kiwanis Club? Well, let's get a public relations man in the various cities and towns in the Post Office Department. We don't need to pay him the salary of a postmaster.

Mr. WOMACK. One of the postmaster's most important functions is public relations.

Mr. GROSS. I don't see how you can come in and make the statement that you have before this committee and say that everything is lovely and the goose hangs high in the Post Office Department on the basis of politics being the controlling factor in the appointments of altogether too many officers in the post office setup across the country as well as the intrusion down the ranks into the supervisors, foremen—political intrusion in the appointments of these people.

I'm surprised that there is the morale in the Post Office Department that there is today with this political intrusion in the affairs of the Post Office Department.

You talked about ingrates a little while ago; didn't you?

Mr. WOMACK. I said that the statement——

Mr. GROSS. A former president of your League of Postmasters—I appointed him as a Republican, you know, to a postmastership.

Mr. WOMACK. Yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. It wasn't too long that he quit as postmaster and ran as a Democrat against me for Congress. I wouldn't call him an ingrate. I'd just say that he mistakenly fell by the wayside.

Mr. WOMACK. I don't want to comment on my predecessors, but I might say he ran very unsuccessfully. Mr. Gross, I didn't mean to create the impression that everything is wonderful. But I will have to quote Winston Churchill who once said, "Democracy is the worst form of government in all the world except all the others which have been tried." And these proposals have been before the Congress for many years. I don't believe that they can be taken out of politics.

Mr. GROSS. Well, I don't want to quibble with you over semantics or who you quote, but I would think that picking anyone of the British official family, past or present, would not be exactly in order to make a point now, because they are on their last legs over there. Anything they may have said would not lend very much to this occasion.

That's all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Womack, I'm sorry that Mr. Goodman and his entourage left and my good friends, Mr. Waldie and Mr. Olsen, left, because I wanted to show them I give you as intensive a series of questions, as I tried to give Mr. Goodman.

In your first paragraph after you identify yourself you state—

The National League of Postmasters is against any proposal to take the appointment of postmasters out of politics.

Now, do you have to be that rigid? You're just slamming the door in our faces?

Mr. WOMACK. Well, I would be happy to change that to say that we are against all the proposals that we have seen to take them out of politics. That is not to say that someone couldn't come up with one—

Mr. DERWINSKI. Our distinguished chairman asked Mr. Goodman to provide some additional details as to what he might recommend. If you want to exercise the ingenuity of your staff, I don't suppose it would harm our record if you would suggest some improvements, if any can be found, in the present system.

Mr. WOMACK. I would be happy to.

Mr. DERWINSKI. This way, you see, you would show flexibility and moderation and you wouldn't seem so rigid.

Mr. WOMACK. I would be happy to do that.

Mr. DERWINSKI. You obviously are representing a group of people that are creatures of the present structure. I can understand your desire to maintain the status quo, and I concur with you that a lot of the political appointments are sound people and a lot of them have imagination. They bring in talent.

I also recognize that the Postmaster General is a man of great talent. He wears two hats, though. He delivers the mail, and then he is also by tradition, the political activist in the Cabinet.

Now your organization is honoring Mr. O'Brien at a banquet in about 3 weeks. Are you honoring Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General, or Lawrence F. O'Brien, political activist?

Mr. WOMACK. I will have to take—well, I don't like to try to correct a Congressman. I don't find that that's a wise policy. But we

are not honoring Mr. O'Brien at a banquet that I know of. I mean I haven't—

Mr. DERWINSKI. Really? It must be NAPUS, then?

Mr. WOMACK. They can speak for themselves.

Mr. DERWINSKI. This shows how carelessly I read my invitations. I wonder why they do that? I'll check that out. That should be interesting.

Now, Mr. Womack, you have been properly courteous to our chairman, and I presume you would also indicate, as you did to our chairman of our subcommittee, that the chairman of the full committee is an outstanding official and a dedicated member.

Mr. WOMACK. Indeed so.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yet you make quite an attack here on the systems of seniority that might have to be followed if political appointments were removed.

You understand that our distinguished chairmen of the subcommittee and of the full committee wouldn't hold their positions if it weren't for seniority. So there has to be some merit to seniority promotions? Shouldn't there be?

Mr. WOMACK. Oh, by all means. And I am very much in favor of it. But I think you will notice that I said that shouldn't be the only criterion by which a postmaster is selected. And with the proposals we have it would follow that it would almost have to be.

Mr. DERWINSKI. You were also sharply critical of some of the bills that would call for 12-year appointment periods for the Postmaster General, and you specifically said and I quote you—

Should serious problems arise, he might be tempted not to take the kind of interest that he would if his job depended on it.

Now, our Federal Reserve Governors are appointed for 14 years, and certainly they are dedicated to their responsibility.

Now, I'm sure you don't want to imply that if a person's appointment is purely political that his motivation is greater than one who has a career responsibility.

Mr. WOMACK. No, I make no such implication at all, and I think I said he might. I didn't say he would.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Have you recognized in some of the major offices the problem that your members and the new postmaster face when he takes over a position clearly being the political choice? He starts with quite a handicap. The press snipes at him. Business interests grumble. The clerks, the carriers, and the other organizations grumble.

Take for example Chicago. Mr. McGee is a fine gentleman.

Mr. WOMACK. I quite agree.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I presume he is doing well as a postmaster. But the Chicago Post Office has always been presumed to be a political plum. So when the man starts, he starts immediately by being second-guessed by all elements that have to deal with the post office. Is this fair to him?

Mr. WOMACK. I don't think it's fair, but I think it shows in some degree the merits of the system that we have now, because postmasters have been selected who can withstand this sort of thing and still do a fine job, and I think it is a credit to our postmasters.

The records show that very, very few are dismissed. But if someone is under the impression that it's impossible to fire a postmaster, it's erroneous.

Mr. DERWINSKI. When you get an office as large as New York or Chicago, the postmaster merely sits there and looks over an empire. It's the clerk, the carrier, the supervisor who produce.

Mr. WOMACK. Right.

Mr. DERWINSKI. When you shift a man at the top of 19,000 others, he doesn't really aid or disrupt the operation in any degree. But the background of his appointment has a psychological effect on the people who are doing the day-to-day, hour-to-hour producing.

Mr. WOMACK. That's right. And if they make mistakes, they are not the ones who get the blame. It's that postmaster who gets the blame.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you, sir.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Womack.

Mr. WOMACK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. I might say this just before you leave though. Let us start with the certain knowledge that no system is perfect.

Mr. WOMACK. Quite true.

Mr. NIX. And that is inclusive of the system under discussion. And something should be done to increase its efficiency. Something should be done to eliminate the inequities that are there.

So, in furtherance of what Mr. Derwinski suggested to you, it might be informative to the subcommittee if you submitted such ideas as you wish to along that line.

Mr. WOMACK. I would be happy to, Mr. Chairman, and am grateful for the privilege.

Mr. NIX. Thank you.

The subcommittee will be in recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11:57 a.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, February 8, 1968.)

TAKING POLITICS OUT OF POSTMASTER AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1968

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTAL OPERATIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee reconvened at 10:05 a.m., in room 210, Cannon Building, Hon. Robert N. C. Nix (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. NIX. The subcommittee will be in order.

Today is the third day of hearings. We will have additional hearings because of the importance of the subject involved.

The Post Office Department will testify today. They asked if they could appear first, and I have decided to grant their request. The reason for the request was that they hoped to be able to finish a question-and-answer period today rather than have it broken into parts.

Up until now the Budget Bureau has not replied to communications we addressed to them. However, they did state that the possibility of a postal corporation was being studied by a commission, and they would not comment on the bills which have been introduced until after a study of the commission's findings.

I hope today we can accommodate all of the witnesses who have taken the time to appear here.

I might comment that I have never been present in a congressional hearing where the witnesses and the members of the committee have been as frank and as concise. I don't recall a time when the honesty and sincerity and interest in the legislation before the subcommittee has been so greatly appreciated.

Mr. McMillan is our first witness. I welcome you, Mr. McMillan, on behalf of the subcommittee. Would you please introduce your associate?

TESTIMONY OF HON. WILLIAM M. McMILLAN, ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, BUREAU OF OPERATIONS, ACCOMPANIED BY HON. TIMOTHY MAY, GENERAL COUNSEL, POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Mr. McMILLAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Seated with me is Mr. Timothy May, the General Counsel of the Post Office Department.

Mr. NIX. A gentleman for whom we have the highest respect and admiration.

Mr. MAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you this morning to discuss the bills which you have under consideration relating to appointment of postmasters and other departmental officials.

The bills under consideration this morning all presumably have as their purpose improvement of the administration of the postal service. This is a purpose to which the Post Office Department heartily subscribes. Almost a year ago Postmaster General O'Brien made his proposal for a postal corporation. That proposal would, in our opinion, provide the basis for an administratively sound postal organization. As you know, the Commission on Postal Organization appointed by President Johnson, is giving it further study and is due to make its report 2 months from today. When that report has been made, I believe we will all be in a much better position to discuss what changes should be made in the organization of the postal service. I realize that despite the foregoing, the subcommittee expects our views today on whether any changes should be made in relation to appointments in the postal service.

Now to begin with, the Department is in favor of the Postmaster General having power to appoint the best men he can find without artificial restrictions for postmaster positions as well as other positions in the Postal Establishment.

The postal service today requires the highest quality of leadership and managerial ability to successfully cope with the problems confronting it. To obtain this leadership and these skills we must acquire and retain the most qualified people available, both from within the postal service and, equally important, from outside the service. We are aware that a well-structured, equitable, and properly administered merit system could assist in obtaining this objective.

The Postmaster General's proposal for operation of the postal service as a corporation would permit him to appoint the best man he can find without artificial restriction for any particular postmaster or other position.

We think that under the present legal requirements the Postmasters General of the present administration have been doing the best job in finding the best man for the position that has ever been done.

As concerns the opportunity for career postal employees to advance to the position of postmaster, the fact is that postmasters at the two largest post offices in the United States are career postal employees as are postmasters at many other important offices, as for example Providence, R.I.; Buffalo and Bronx, N.Y.; Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Atlanta, Ga.; Miami, Fla.; Little Rock, Ark.; Shreveport, La.; Houston, Austin, Dallas, and Fort Worth, Tex.; Tucson and Phoenix, Ariz.; Louisville, Ky.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Oakland, Calif.; and Honolulu, Hawaii. During the last session of Congress, of the 1,515 nominees for postmaster confirmed by the Senate, 42.6 percent were career employees. Over the past 5 years, an increasing percentage of those confirmed each year have been career employees.

In this connection we are now giving attention to career development and training. As a vehicle for this action we are just launching the Postal Service Institute. As a continuing educational institution it will provide instruction in management sciences, public administration, and technical studies. Participation will include postmasters and

supervisors. Instruction at the Postal Service Institute itself is supplemented by short courses offered from time to time at other locations such as the study program at the University of Oklahoma for instruction in employee relationships which is being given right now to 300 postmasters and 300 supervisors. We are confident that these programs will train the participants not only to perform better in their present assignments but also to perform with increased effectiveness in more responsible positions, including postmaster positions, to which they may be promoted.

However, the majority of postmasters are selected through competitive examinations. In an open competitive examination, selection must be made from the top three eligibles and this precludes the appointment of unqualified applicants insofar as it is possible for a civil service examination to determine the three best qualified. In fact, many of our best postmasters were recruited from outside the service. Certainly the following have been doing outstanding jobs at their offices: Los Angeles, Calif.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Mich.; Denver, Colo.; Seattle, Wash.; Omaha, Nebr.; Syracuse, N.Y.; Nevada, Iowa; Lincoln, Nebr.; Newark, N.J.; Peoria, Ill.; Scranton, Pa.; Butte, Mont.; and El Paso, Tex.

I want to emphasize that the Department has many good postmasters, both career and noncareer, appointed under the present system.

As I said earlier, it is the Department's desire that the Postmaster General be able to appoint the best qualified person for the postmaster position at any particular office. This means the best qualified person wherever he is, inside or outside the postal service, and wherever he may be residing at the time.

We find that the terms of each of the bills under consideration today would in some manner frustrate achieving this goal or would otherwise be contrary to good administration.

None of the bills eliminates the residence requirement for appointment of postmasters contained in section 3312 of title 39, United States Code. To obtain the best men for the job, this artificial restriction on selection needs to be eliminated. No private organization with progressive management would limit itself to appointments from a specified geographic area. In private industry, employees who show promise are promoted successively to branch managers, the equivalent of a postmaster position. After having served as assistant branch manager at one location an employee of a private firm would normally be in line for a branch managership either at that location or at some other location. Similarly, the manager of a small branch, if successful, can look forward to being placed in charge of a larger branch.

The residence requirements for postmaster appointments preclude this mobility. Section 3312 makes a postmaster position essentially a dead end job. Only a relatively few postmasters can look toward attaining better positions in regional offices or at headquarters. They cannot aspire to postmaster positions at larger offices. Because of section 3312, the postal service cannot now offer the same incentives to its branch managers—that is, postmasters—for high level performance of duties that private enterprise does.

One of the bills restricts postmaster and rural carrier appointments to persons in the postal field service except when qualified candidates are not available. This provision would lead to appointments of post-

masters and rural carriers having the minimum qualifications. It will eliminate from consideration for a postmaster appointment all highly qualified employees in other post offices as well as persons outside the postal service in favor of a local postal employee who might have only minimum qualifications. The appointment from within requirement would also have the presumably unintended effect of precluding veterans not already in the postal field service from competing for postmaster and rural carrier appointments. Certainly we should not foreclose persons not in the postal field service who are serving, or who have served, in our Armed Forces from competing for these positions when they become vacant. This is particularly true at the present time when so many men serving are serving in the Vietnam combat theater.

Two bills include a provision precluding any recommendation or statement, oral or written, by a Member of the House or Senate or by an officer of a National, State, county, municipal, or other local political party regarding a person under consideration for appointment, promotion, transfer, or designation in the postal field service, including appointments to postmaster and rural carrier positions. It is an extremely sweeping provision and unprecedented in law. This provision has as its stated purpose elimination of political influence in connection with appointments, promotions, and so forth in the postal field service.

In one instance this provision is coupled with retention of appointments of postmasters by the President subject to Senate confirmation. It seems inconsistent to exclude the Members of one body from even the least connection with the selection of postmasters and yet to retain for the Members of the other so important a part in it. But whether appointments are subject to Senate confirmation or not, it is my strong feeling that the provisions prohibiting potential appointees from contacting their Congressmen and Senators would seriously infringe on the right of any citizen to petition his elected representative on any matter affecting his personal welfare. In making this statement I fully recognize it is the prerogative of Congress to decide what laws it will pass. This is how I view the matter; you may see it differently.

A provision contained in one of the bills would impose an absolute requirement that postmaster vacancies be filled within 6 months. This is an unduly rigid provision. The somewhat similar provision in section 3315(b) of title 39, United States Code, is more realistic. It limits service by an acting postmaster to 6 months unless the Civil Service Commission gives permission for an extension. The proposal, if adopted, would be an obstacle to finding the right person for the position.

Consideration of candidates for promotion takes time. Then, if competitive examination is decided upon, scheduling an examination, an evaluation of the experience of applicants, grading, and establishment of a register all take further time. An absolute time limit could lead to the necessity of hurried consideration of the qualifications of candidates.

One of the bills provides that postmasters at second-, third-, and fourth-class offices would be appointed by regional directors and postmasters at first-class offices would be appointed by the Postmaster General with authorization to delegate this authority to regional directors.

We believe it is important that the head of the Department retain control over determinations of who within the Department shall perform its work. This provision would limit the Postmaster General's control in this area. Its enactment would be a reversal of the policy for the Department established by Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1949. That plan transferred to the Postmaster General all functions vested in other officers of the Department with full authority to delegate functions to any officer or employee of the Department. Provisions of the reorganization plan were subsequently incorporated into sections 301 and 309 of title 39, United States Code.

The message of President Truman transmitting the reorganization plan to the Congress stated:

One of the prime essentials of good departmental administration is authority from the Congress to a department head to organize and control his department. The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government emphasized in its first and subsequent reports that separate authorities to subordinates should be eliminated. The plan gives the Postmaster General the necessary authority to organize and control his Department by transferring to him the functions of all subordinate officers and agencies of the Post Office Department.

We believe the adoption of this postmaster appointment provision would be contrary to the policy established by the reorganization plan.

One of the bills would also give term appointments to the Postmaster General and his principal staff, subject to removal for cause. H.R. 6680, which was not included in the bills originally listed as covered by these hearings, has like provisions. The restriction on removal of the Postmaster General's immediate staff except for cause would seriously handicap any Postmaster General. The Postmaster General, as an agency head, would be charged with individual responsibility without the means of assuring that his chief administrators and advisers would carry out departmental policy decisions.

In conclusion let me restate the Department's position.

The Postmaster General should have the authority to appoint as postmaster at any office the person he finds is the most qualified for the position without regard to artificial restrictions whether that person is then serving in the postal service and regardless of his residence. The bills before you now would not accomplish this result.

Earlier, I referred to the fact that the President's Commission on Postal Organization is expected to make its report in a very short time after a year of intensive study.

May I respectfully suggest that your deliberations be paced to allow for serious consideration of the recommendations it will make on the structure of the postal service.

Mr. Nix. At the outset, let me assure you and everyone else that it is the intention of the subcommittee to receive, consider, and analyze a variety of views, including those of the Commission whose report I am told is expected in April.

Yesterday, during our hearings, one of the Members of Congress raised the question in testimony concerning the Camden, N.J., postmaster appointment.

I think it would be helpful, Mr. McMillan, if you would clarify the situation in Camden, N.J.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Chairman, as you know, I had some correspondence with a Member of the Congress about this situation, and

I told him in the letter that the reasons for this change were in my opinion good and sufficient.

Now, this statement wasn't made with a view of being arrogant or withholding the facts. But I have never felt that it did any good to publicly air internal problems. The statement was made in that context.

There is no one in the Nation more aware of my responsibilities than members of this subcommittee and of the full committee. I am responsible for the administration, to a large extent, of the entire field postal service. It is often necessary that I make decisions in what I consider the interest of the postal service, knowing full well that they will not be 100-percent popular, and that is what I did in this case.

Now, I have never met the Congressman I wrote this letter to, but exactly the same type of letter would have been written to Congressman Daniels, for example, who is a member of the full committee, had he made the same type of inquiry. And I say this merely to show that it was in full conformity with our usual policy of not airing internal problems publicly.

Mr. Nix. I might say, Mr. McMillan, that it would be helpful if we knew the sequence of events that made it necessary for 4 years to pass before a postmaster was appointed.

Mr. McMILLAN. Dennis J. Manning was the assistant postmaster at Camden, N.J. He was appointed acting postmaster in, I believe, 1964. And shortly after his appointment, we requested the Civil Service Commission to give him a noncompetitive examination for postmaster.

He was rated eligible by the Commission on May 19, 1964, which was about 3 months following his appointment as acting postmaster.

About this time we began receiving disturbing reports about the acting postmaster's administration of the office. These reports were disturbing, and were received on a continuous basis for a period of time, relating primarily to inefficient operation in the mail-handling area which, as we all know, is one of the most important functions of the post office.

So we decided to wait to see what his progress would be before making any effort to submit his name to the Senate. And frankly, the improvement that we expected, and that we had a right to expect, didn't materialize.

So sometime later it was decided to call an open competitive examination, and this examination was requested, and the Civil Service Commission did announce it, and it was eventually conducted.

In the meantime, there was another supervisor at the Camden, N.J. post office who was an applicant for postmaster. Over the months there was a considerable amount of hard feelings between the two—the acting postmaster and the other supervisor. It eventually came to the point where the employees of the office were taking sides, and morale was deteriorating badly.

Mr. Chairman, it finally came to the point where I personally made the decision that something had to be done about the situation. We knew that we could expect a civil service register. We didn't know exactly when, but I felt very strongly that the time had come when we should bring somebody in from the outside who was not an applicant for postmaster, and who could make some effort to resolve the split within the ranks of the employees, and cure some of the

problems prior to the time that we put a permanent postmaster in the office.

We reassigned Mr. Manning to his permanent job as assistant postmaster, on December 29, 1967. We placed Mr. Robert MacArthur, an experienced postal service officer, in charge of the Camden Post Office. Mr. MacArthur, who has a considerable depth of experience in administration, entered the postal service as a railway mail clerk in 1936. He was appointed postal inspector in 1943. He was appointed district operations manager in 1955, and was made postal service officer in 1958.

He was named officer in charge, and he remained in that capacity until February 2, at which time Mr. Frederick H. Martin was appointed acting postmaster from the civil service eligible register, and his nomination for postmaster was sent to the Senate on February 6, 1968.

Mr. MacArthur will remain in the office assisting the new postmaster until February 22, and later if necessary.

Mr. NIX. Therefore, it is fair to say that your decision was based upon a thorough investigation brought about by disrupted morale in the post office, and inefficiency.

And, since the appointment of the new man, what is the situation?

Mr. McMILLAN. He has only been in this position a few days, Mr. Chairman. This is one reason we left the postal service officer there to assist and guide him for the next 2 weeks.

Hopefully, these wounds that were growing sorer and sorer can be healed before we leave it up to the new postmaster to run the post office by himself.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Olsen?

Mr. OLSEN. I wish to commend Mr. McMillan on his splendid statement. I find that I don't entirely agree with him, but I want to commend him very highly for his activity in my district and in my State in similar situations. It has happened in my district, and we have such a situation in one of our large cities right now, where a postal service officer came to help a newly appointed postmaster.

I am going to relate this a little bit at length because I do want Mr. McMillan and his Department to get credit for what they did.

In our capital city, in Helena, Mont., the Senators and myself came to the agreement that an assistant postmaster would be elevated to postmaster. When he retired his assistant became acting postmaster. The employees and the acting postmaster just couldn't get along. And the service fell down.

Mr. McMillan, or some one of his subordinates, sent a service officer in to take over the matter.

I want to commend you for your patience with this post office and your action in putting a service officer in there. I think we did the right thing when we finally requested a competitive examination. The top man in the competitive exam, an outsider, was picked.

The service now is improving. But it is one of the rare occasions when we have picked an outsider in my district. For the most part we have picked people inside the service.

I think we ought to give the Postmaster General the authority to select postmasters, and I think we ought to remove this restriction about residing within the area served by that post office.

I am happy to note that I am learning a little bit by these hearings that we don't have to have either body of Congress involved in the selection. The Senate can be relieved of its confirmation duty, as they have done by their own bill, their own reorganization bill that is over here in the House now.

I think you have done a good job, and I commend you for your statement. I think it is going to be very valuable to the committee in this problem. I think that we ought to try to get the best person we can to be a postmaster in any given circumstance. I think the Postmaster General has got to have the authority to set up that machinery.

It seems to me that in the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, or wherever you go in Government otherwise, the heads of departments can, within the merit system, select the people who are going to be the directors in any given office, or move them clear across the country or around the world. I think the Postmaster General ought to have that authority, too.

I thank you very much.

I want to thank our chairman, too, for having these hearings, because I had some notions which I have changed several times now. But through my learning, and I think through the learning of the rest of the members of the committee, we will come up with a bill that will improve the situation.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Olsen.

Mr. Corbett?

Mr. CORBETT. I have no comments at the moment.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Derwinski?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. May, I presume you don't have a statement, but I know you would be happy to shed light on this question.

Mr. MAY. If I can, I certainly will, sir.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. McMillan, I note that you emphasize that the Department is waiting for this report on possible reorganization of the Department.

Would it be fair to say that based on that report you might well change your mind—when I say “you,” I mean the Department—the Department might then change its mind on the feasibility of some of these bills we have before us?

Mr. McMILLAN. As I understand it, Mr. Congressman, the Commission will make its report to the President, and in turn I assume that it will be reviewed and analyzed, and in some form will come over to the Congress for the necessary legislative action.

Certainly we would support any changes that come out of the reorganization plan.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yesterday we had a witness who made a rather strong charge—if I can recall some of the statements—that the postal employees, to get promotions, had to report to political headquarters, work precincts on election day, and so on.

Do you work precincts? Or what political headquarters do you report to to keep your position?

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not work precincts; and I report to the Postmaster General, and to the President. I believe my commission says—Tim, you might help me with this—I don't know whether I can say it technically or not. But what it means is that I serve as Assistant Postmaster General just as long as the President of the United States wants me to serve.

Mr. DERWINSKI. As long as you properly carry out your responsibilities?

Mr. McMILLAN. There are no restrictions on the President of the United States. He can call me today and say, "Mr. McMILLAN, you are through tonight." And I am through.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Would it be improper for me to ask who your political sponsor was, or through whom you were cleared before you were given this position?

Mr. McMILLAN. The position I presently occupy?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. McMILLAN. I had no political sponsorship. I received a call one night in Dallas where I was serving as regional director, and Mr. Gronouski, the Postmaster General at that time, told me that I was to have this position.

This is one job in my life I did not solicit, and frankly, I was not too anxious to come. But I feel, as I think all Americans do, if any President calls on any member of this Nation to serve, and they feel like they can do some good, I think we have an obligation and responsibility to do that. And that is the only reason.

Mr. DERWINSKI. In other words, you didn't need the so-called political system that is involved in some other post office appointments or promotions?

Mr. McMILLAN. Financially and for my personal convenience, I had a better job where I was, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. DERWINSKI. You indicate that there are a number of career officials who have been named postmasters of important post offices. You list the names on page 3.

I wonder, for the record, could you provide the committee with the dates of the particular appointments? Because I would just be curious to know, over a long period of time, whether these men have been phased in, or whether this is all a relatively new development.

So, at your convenience, I think that would help the committee.

Mr. McMILLAN. I have that information if you would like to have it at this time.

Mr. NIX. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record. (The information follows:)

CAREER POSTMASTERS APPOINTED FROM WITHIN THE POSTAL SERVICE

Office	Name of postmaster	Salary level	Type of appointment	Date appointed	Postmasters performance
New York, N.Y., SCF	John R. Strachan	20	Career	July 14, 1967	Satisfactory.
Chicago, Ill.	Henry W. McGee	20	do	Sept. 23, 1966	Do.
Philadelphia, Pa., SCF	Anthony I. Lambert	20	do	Feb. 24, 1961	Do.
Dallas, Tex.	William B. Hudson	18	do	Mar. 31, 1955	Do.
Minneapolis, Minn., SCF	Walter J. Hogan	18	do	Feb. 11, 1966	Do.
Atlanta, Ga., SCF	George W. Camp	18	do	Aug. 16, 1963	Do.
Baltimore, Md., SCF	Warren M. Bloomberg	18	do	Sept. 30, 1966	Do.
Houston, Tex.	Granville W. Elder	18	do	Sept. 30, 1947	Do.
Pittsburgh, Pa., SCF	Edward G. Coll	19	do	Mar. 18, 1961	Do.
Miami, Fla., SCF	Eugene M. Dunlap	18	do	Feb. 7, 1958	Do.
Buffalo, N.Y., SCF	Myron F. Blakeney	18	do	Oct. 18, 1957	Do.
Louisville, Ky., SCF	Bremer A. Ehrler	18	do	Dec. 28, 1962	Do.
Bronx, N.Y., SCF	Frank J. Viola	18	do	May 19, 1967	Do.
Oakland, Calif., SCF	John F. Bushell	17	do	Apr. 20, 1962	Do.
Fort Worth, Tex., SCF	Jack D. Watson	17	do	Nov. 7, 1966	Do.
Phoenix, Ariz.	William J. Mason	17	do	Jan. 31, 1960	Do.
Providence, R.I., SCF	Harry Kizirian	17	do	Apr. 28, 1961	Do.
Honolulu, Hawaii, SCF	Hon Chung Chee	17	do	May 19, 1967	Do.
Austin, Tex., SCF	Oliver N. Bruck	16	do	Apr. 21, 1952	Do.
Little Rock, Ark., SCF	Roy L. Sharpe	16	do	Apr. 26, 1963	Do.
Tucson, Ark., SCF	Arnold R. Elias	16	do	July 1, 1966	Do.
Shreveport, La.	Virgil L. Dixon	15	do	May 8, 1964	Do.

Mr. DERWINSKI. And the same would apply to the cities you list on page 4, where you brought in—can you list them—the outstanding men you brought in to major offices from outside the Department.

Mr. McMILLAN. I have that information, also.

Mr. NIX. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record. (The information follows:)

NONCAREER POSTMASTERS APPOINTED FROM OUTSIDE THE POSTAL SERVICE

Office	Name of postmaster	Salary level	Type of appointment	Date appointed	Postmasters performance
Los Angeles, Calif.	Leslie N. Shaw	20	Noncareer	Apr. 12, 1963	Satisfactory.
Boston, Mass., SCF	Ephraim Martin	20	do	Feb. 28, 1958	Do.
Detroit, Mich., SCF	Edward L. Baker	19	do	Sept. 30, 1953	Do.
Denver, Colo., SCF	George A. Cavender	18	do	Jan. 5, 1962	Do.
Seattle, Wash., SCF	George J. Morry	18	do	May 31, 1954	Do.
Omaha, Nebr., SCF	John P. Munnely	17	do	June 26, 1961	Do.
Syracuse, N.Y., SCF	Anthony F. Caffrey	17	do	Sept. 20, 1963	Do.
Nevada, Iowa	Leon L. Wilson	12	do	May 9, 1963	Do.
Lincoln, Nebr., SCF	Kenneth P. Lewis	16	do	Mar. 30, 1962	Do.
Peoria, Ill., SCF	John C. Totten	16	do	Nov. 19, 1965	Do.
Scranton, Pa., SCF	Bernard J. Harding	15	do	Dec. 31, 1954	Do.
Butte, Mont.	Alfred H. Wilkinson	13	do	May 27, 1960	Do.
Helena, Mont.	John R. McNamara	13	do	Dec. 29, 1967	Do.
Corpus Christi, Tex.	Otis S. Bowers	15	do	Aug. 13, 1965	Do.
Wichita Falls, Tex.	Pat Hardage	14	do	Feb. 29, 1940	Do.
El Paso, Tex.	James Jay Kaster, Sr.	16	do	Oct. 31, 1961	Do.

Mr. OLSEN. Will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. OLSEN. I see Butte, Mont.; that is my hometown. The postmaster is a Republican appointed under the Eisenhower administration. I am glad to see it listed there because I know he is doing a fine job, an excellent job. But I wonder if you would permit me to ask just the one question: If the appointments that were made to postmaster were under the same system in the years prior to 1960 as now?

Mr. McMILLAN. There have been some slight changes, Mr. Olsen. Shortly after 1961, the examinations for postmasters were strengthened.

And in this connection, they revised the examination procedure, really to make it more difficult for an applicant to qualify, that is what it amounts to. In other words, their experience and their qualification standards were raised. And at this time, or about this time, Postmaster General Day and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Mr. Macy, signed an agreement to the effect that once we held an open competitive examination and had a register of three names, we would not disregard the register and fill the vacancy noncompetitively by promotion.

Now prior to that time it was possible, even with a complete register of three names, to disregard it entirely and promote someone in the office noncompetitively.

This practice was terminated. It went even further than that. The agreement says that after we once start the competitive process, after the examination has been announced, we are required to select from that register if there are as many as three people on it.

The thinking behind this, of course, was that after you once held an examination and if you got a complete register, it was wasteful to go to this expense and just discard it.

Furthermore, it was not fair to the applicants who had gone to the expense and trouble of taking the examination.

I can say that there has not been one single exception to this policy in the intervening period.

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you, Mr. McMillan.

Thank you, Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. McMillan, on page 7 of your prepared statement, you state that—

It is my strong feeling that the provisions prohibiting potential appointees from contacting their Congressmen and Senators would seriously infringe on the right of any citizen to petition his elected representative.

Just thinking out loud, the way the system works now, supposing that simultaneously there is a vacancy in the post office in Mr. Olsen's district, and there is a vacancy in a similar-sized office in my district. And under the system, Mr. Olsen gets to designate his choice. Under the system, the Democratic State Central Committee of the Fourth District of Illinois, which is my district, recommends to the national committee man of Illinois the man they would prefer to have placed in my post office. If a citizen came to me and asked me to intercede on his behalf, I would assume that would be the kiss of death. Mr. Olsen's would be the blessing. Isn't the man, I might wish to intercede for, having his rights infringed upon under the present structure?

Mr. McMILLAN. I cannot answer that. I am sure you are aware of the fact, though, Mr. Derwinski, that this administration did not invent the system. The system has been in effect, to my knowledge, for a number of years. It is the same system that has been followed.

What I was trying to point out here in my statement is that I feel very strongly that I or any other citizen should have a right to petition any Member of Congress, for that matter, on any matter that affects my personal welfare. And certainly there is nothing more important to the average man than obtaining a job to which he aspires.

This is really what I was trying to point out in the statement.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Do you think I would be wrong if a citizen of my district approaches me and wishes to serve as a postmaster, and he feels that it is in his personal welfare—do you think I am wrong in pointing out to him that the practical facts of life are that my recommendation would actually be an impediment to his chances for advancement?

Mr. OLSEN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes.

Mr. OLSEN. I think a political question like that ought to be answered by you or me. We know the system as well as he. Why should he tell you—

Mr. DERWINSKI. We are not running the system.

Mr. OLSEN. Why should Mr. McMillan have to tell you what the politics of Illinois are? I don't think that he should have to do that.

Mr. DERWINSKI. You are not running the Post Office. Mr. McMillan is.

Mr. NIX. Will you yield to me just a moment?

I think rather, Mr. McMillan, the prohibition is not against the citizen appealing to his Congressman. It is directed to prevent the Congressman from seeking preference for any given individual. Is that not the correct interpretation of it?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, it is a little of both, I would think, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. I construed the thing to mean that it had nothing to do with preventing anybody in the country from asking anyone else to intercede, but it did restrict and prevent a Congressman from interceding.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Chairman, the bills make a provision both against seeking the assistance of a Member of Congress and other designated party officials, as well as a prohibition against the Members of Congress from making a recommendation or in any way interfering with that appointment.

Mr. NIX. Well, if it does that, I would feel that it is an erosion of constitutional rights, and I think a constitutional question would be raised as a result of it.

Mr. Derwinski?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Let me try one other approach. Now, I have great regard for Mr. McMillan, and I am greatly impressed by Mr. May. But supposing that the public changes the occupancy of the White House this coming November. Here is Mr. McMillan, an extremely able administrator in the Department, and Mr. May, one of the bright young geniuses on the Washington scene, and under the system they would have to leave the Department.

Now is it fair to them? Could you look ahead, Mr. McMillan, and see yourself as the innocent victim of the change of public political attitudes? And here is Mr. May, just mastering his assignment, an extremely effective representative of the Department. And here he would be deprived of an opportunity to continue to serve in this noble Department just because there would be a new Postmaster General and a new President.

Isn't that a sobering thought that you face if you look at the structure in the Department?

Mr. McMILLAN. Not to me, Mr. Congressman. I feel very strongly—well, aside from the fact, Mr. Olsen, that I have passed the retirement age and can quit when I want to—this is not what I am going to talk about.

I feel very strongly that anyone in Government who has any part in making policy should be a member of the administration in power. I feel this so strongly that in 1953, I was inspector in charge at Fort Worth, Tex., and at that time the inspector in charge was assumed to have some part in policymaking. In September of that year—and the records will show it—I voluntarily urged the chief inspector to relieve me of my duties. I did not know if I could last or not. I did not want to try. I feel that strongly.

I think that any head of any agency is entitled to pick his own people to administer the policies of that administration.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I still don't think you are answering the point. The point is that legally you follow certain procedures. The facts of life are that beneath the legal facade there is quite a bit of politics. Sometimes it works out well. Sometimes it doesn't. But basically it's frustrating to the rank and file personnel of the Post Office Department.

In Chicago, we have Mr. McGee, a relatively new postmaster. I am assuming with each month he slowly masters his assignment. Suppose next January he is faced with the situation where we have changed occupancy in the White House.

Mr. Schroeder, one of his predecessors, was politically forced out of the position so that the Democrat could be appointed early in 1961.

It had nothing to do with Mr. Schroeder's qualifications.

I assume in January of 1969, if there were a change in the White House, Mr. McGee would in some way be pressured to leave his position merely because that is the system.

Now aren't there any of these bills that would show you any practical approach to at least adjusting a part of this?

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Derwinski, I am not naive enough to say we don't get recommendations from our advisers. I don't have to tell you that. You know that.

But I can also say that all postmasters are not so recommended. I can also say that in some instances we make appointments contrary to the wishes of the Senator or Congressman. But I think the thing that we have to bear in mind is that regardless of who recommends a man, whether it is you with your self-stated kiss of death, or Mr. Olsen with his power to have some effect, the first thing he has to do is pass a noncompetitive examination or get on the certificate of eligibles. If he is not within the top three there is no pressure in politics in this country that can get him appointed postmaster. He has to be in the top three. This is our safety valve, and this is the reason that the people in the Post Office Department have never conceded that postmasters are really in politics.

A postmaster can be appointed in only two ways: First, by promotion, and even then he has to qualify on a noncompetitive examination that is given by the Civil Service Commission. The second way is by an open competitive examination, and he must be rated as one of the top three eligibles.

Now, we assume that he is qualified or he would not be in the top three, and I think it is a safe assumption.

Futhermore, when he gets in the top three, he might run into the Veterans' Preference Act. In other words, in many cases if you have a compensable veteran that passes the examination, he automatically goes to the top of the list. If you have two others on the list who are not veterans, regardless of the score they have made, they cannot be promoted to Postmaster because you cannot pass over the veteran—not even a five-point veteran—with a nonveteran.

So I think sometimes this word "politics" is thrown around rather loosely. And usually, Mr. Congressman, it is thrown around by an unsuccessful applicant for the job.

We find out that frequently when we have a noncompetitive examination, the people on the outside who are applicants and did not get a chance to even take an examination, it is very easy for them to say "politics"; or in reverse, when we go the open competitive route, there is always some man in the post office who says "politics" because he did not get to take a noncompetitive examination.

So I do not think the adviser system is as important—it certainly is not all-important, because first a man has got to show he is qualified for the job.

Mr. DERWINSKI. There is only one other thing I would like to have from you, then, which I think would make interesting reading in the record, and I ask you to submit this at your leisure, and that is if you would supply us with a list of the post offices where postmasters were serving in an acting capacity and Senate confirmation was withheld all through 1960 by the majority in the Senate, anticipating the election results. And then, just so we have it for the record,

the number of postmasters who were in effect politically replaced, because that would be the connotation we would have to give it.

I think it would be an interesting statistic to round out our look at this post office structure.

Mr. OLSEN. Will the gentleman yield at this point?

Mr. NIX. Mr. Olsen?

Mr. OLSEN. I think it would be rather difficult. I want to inject a case in Whitefish, Mont., because I had the circumstance where the acting postmaster when I came into office was No. 2 on this list of three. He had been a veteran of the Marine Corps, but at the wrong time. He didn't get the benefit of the Veterans' Preference Act, and we had then a No. 1 who was a veteran and No. 3 who was a veteran. The No. 3 was the only other man in the postal service. We finally went to No. 3, who was a man in the postal service. He was a veteran of the wars at the right time.

So you see, the No. 2 man who was acting postmaster, never could get confirmation of the Senate because he wasn't a veteran. It just couldn't be done.

Mr. DERWINSKI. You are a fine gentleman, but that is a red herring you are tossing out.

Mr. OLSEN. No, it isn't. We have the same situation arising time and again that is comparable to Camden, N.J. There, the top man was a lawyer, the second man was inside the postal service, and the third man was a lawyer. It wasn't a question of whether or not you could pick Mr. Manning at all. You couldn't possibly, under the law, pick Mr. Manning. He couldn't get the job because he was a nonveteran. If you passed over the veteran who was No. 1, the only guy you could take was No. 3 because Mr. Manning, No. 2, was not a veteran.

It gets awfully complicated to give a list of why an acting postmaster didn't get approved. It isn't entirely the Senate's fault either.

Mr. DERWINSKI. All I am asking for, they should have readily available a list of the acting postmasters for the calendar year 1960 who for some reason were never confirmed after November 1960.

I have four in my district alone who were acting postmasters throughout 1960 and were not confirmed that year, and then were replaced after January 1961. If that isn't politics——

Mr. OLSEN. Would the gentleman yield again?

Mr. NIX. Would the gentleman yield to me?

Is that information available, Mr. McMillan?

Mr. McMILLAN. You would have to go through file by file. I assume the Congressman's question is tied into the possible politics. I do have some statistics in this area on removals if he would like to hear those.

Mr. NIX. If the gentleman will permit, what I suggest is that the information be submitted as to the number of persons and the positions. But I don't think it is proper for you to submit your opinion as to whether or not they were waiting for an election. I don't think it has anything to do with you, and I don't think it concerns you.

Mr. McMILLAN. It would be a very difficult task to submit the information the Congressman asked for, because when a postmaster is finally removed, his file goes to the record center, and this would be almost an impossible task.

I do have some information on removals I would be very pleased to give you. For example, in the first 4 years of the prior administra-

tion, 631 postmasters were removed, and 610 of these had been appointed prior to January 20, 1953. And the first 4 years of this administration, only 104 postmasters were removed; 43 of these were appointed prior to January 20, 1953, and 53 of them were appointed between 1953 and 1961.

So I think that gives some clear-cut picture as to the activity in the area that I think the Congressman is probing.

Mr. DERWINSKI. You are not speaking of acting postmasters?

Mr. McMILLAN. I am speaking of removal of postmasters. An acting postmaster has no guaranteed term of office.

Mr. MAY. On your question, Mr. Derwinski, perhaps the question is this: Acting postmasters whose nomination had been sent to the Senate, because I am sure we had many acting postmasters who were simply acting but who had not been nominated by the President.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I am speaking of acting postmasters whose nominations were not acted upon.

Mr. MAY. That had been sent to the Senate but not acted upon by the Senate? I think we can supply that without too much difficulty.

Mr. NIX. That will be made a part of the record.

(The material referred to appears on page 15.)

Mr. NIX. Mr. Gross?

Mr. Gross. When you speak of postmasters removed, are you talking about postmasters removed for cause?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is right.

Mr. GROSS. That is what you mean by "removed"?

Mr. McMILLAN. Postmasters removed for cause. That is the only way we can remove a postmaster, Mr. Gross.

Mr. GROSS. Are you here today speaking for the Department, as the spokesman for the Department, with respect to the legislation pending before the committee?

Mr. McMILLAN. My prepared statement, Mr. Gross, was a departmental statement; on the question and answers, I am giving you my personal opinions.

Mr. GROSS. Well, admittedly I have read your statement very hurriedly. I regret I was not here when you presented it. For the life of me, in reading your statement hurriedly, I can't figure out whether you are for or against this legislation.

What is your position? Are you saying that politics does not permeate the Post Office Department?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, I thought I had made myself clear in that area, Mr. Congressman. But yes, I am saying that. I have not conceded during this hearing that postmasters are in politics. I think that our civil service procedures—

Mr. GROSS. Let's quickly understand what you are saying. You are not saying that postmasters are in politics. I am not saying that postmasters are in politics. I am saying that through the process of selection, they come through politics. You don't deny that, do you?

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not deny that we have an advisory system, and that we frequently listen to the recommendations.

Mr. GROSS. You wouldn't deny that the Postmaster General wears two hats; that he is a political adviser to the President as well as Postmaster General. You wouldn't deny that, would you?

Mr. McMILLAN. I see that in the newspapers, Mr. Gross.

Mr. GROSS. Just a minute, Mr. McMillan. Let's don't split hairs around here. You are well aware of that fact, aren't you?

Mr. McMILLAN. I think, Mr. Gross, that it would be much more reliable to ask the Postmaster General what his duties are. I do not think this is incumbent upon me. I do not think it is proper for me to express what the gentleman does.

Mr. GROSS. Well, of course, this is a part, this is one of the many reasons why I think this legislation ought to be enacted. I think the Postmaster General ought to be out of politics, that he ought to devote his time and attention to a \$7 billion business rather than to other pursuits. I don't care whether he is a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or anything else. I think he ought to be the Postmaster General. He ought to run this \$6 to \$7 billion business.

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not think Mr. O'Brien disagrees with you. I think that he made his position quite clear when he first suggested the corporation idea, which would certainly eliminate him in his present job. If the corporation became a fact, why, Mr. O'Brien probably would not have the job he has now.

Mr. GROSS. With regard to the corporation idea, is there any definite legislation on that subject?

Mr. McMILLAN. I think Mr. May is more capable of answering that than I am. I think he can tell you what the planning process is on it.

Mr. MAY. Mr. Gross, almost a year ago, last April, the President appointed a commission which is truly a blue-ribbon commission, chaired by Frederick Keppel, the former chairman of A.T. & T. The President gave them the assignment of studying the proposal and any other alternative reorganizations that the Commission thought would be in the best interest of the public. They were given a due date to report back to the President of April 1 of this year.

My understanding is that the Commission's work is on schedule and that they will make their report to the President somewhere around the first of April of this year.

But this Commission is a completely independent group. We at the Post Office Department have not been involved in the deliberations of the Commission, deliberately. It is intended that this be an independent factfinding and recommending group.

We have cooperated with them. I assume when they transmit their report to the President, I would anticipate that this would lead to a legislative proposal. Now, I do not know what they are going to propose so I cannot say that we would endorse 100 percent of what they propose. But the job they have been given to do is to come up with the best answer to solving this Nation's postal needs and the best organization available to do that. And specifically they have been directed to examine the Postmaster General's proposal which he made in detail, and comment on that.

So I think the country, and particularly this committee, will have the benefit of this year's study by this group of distinguished Americans, and will certainly have the opportunity perhaps even to legislate on the recommendations of that Commission.

Mr. GROSS. You say they presumably will be ready to report about the first of April?

Mr. MAY. My understanding is that they are on schedule; yes, sir.

Mr. CORBETT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. Yes.

Mr. CORBETT. I would like to get back to the subject of politics permeating the post office. I recall vividly—and this is my own testimony—when Mr. Eisenhower was President of these United States,

I was consulted on many promotions that were made in the Pittsburgh office.

Since Mr. Eisenhower was replaced by a Democrat, I have never been consulted once.

Now these are important promotions to station superintendents and what-not, raising their levels, and my recommendations were frequently followed. And now I just don't make any. Nobody asks me.

Mr. GROSS. What the gentleman is saying, I take it, is that politics does permeate the operation of the postal service.

Mr. NIX. Will the gentleman yield to me a minute?

Mr. GROSS. Yes.

Mr. NIX. The gentleman might be saying politics does not permeate it because there is no statement following what he said to show that anyone else on the Democratic side is consulted.

Mr. CORBETT. Then I will make that statement.

Mr. OLSEN. Are you opening somebody else's mail?

Mr. CORBETT. In fact, it goes right down to the ward chairman in the city of Pittsburgh; and we have a very fine postmaster. I couldn't say anything but the best for him.

But by golly, he better pay attention to the powers that be in the Democratic Party in the city of Pittsburgh or he is in trouble.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I have been here 20 years and I went through the 8 years of the Eisenhower Administration when the Republicans made the recommendations, and I don't want to go through that again. It is just that simple.

I didn't introduce these two reorganization bills designed to take the operation of the postal department out of politics—I didn't introduce them just for fun. I introduced them because I am absolutely convinced the Post Office Department's operation will be much better run if it is taken out of politics and put on a business basis, or as near a business basis as it is possible to get it.

I just don't understand, Mr. McMillan, why it has been necessary anywhere in this country to have acting postmasters for 6, 5, 4, and on down years. Now you tell me why.

Mr. McMILLAN. In some cases——

Mr. GROSS. And tell me how this contributes to the efficiency of the operation of the Post Office Department.

Mr. McMILLAN. Frankly, it does not.

In some cases there are good reasons for it. I will have to admit there are some cases where there just is not any good reason for it.

Mr. GROSS. Pardon me for interrupting, but would you say that in some cases, in fact, in a good many cases, it is because of political interference or political recommendations, political pull—call it whatever you want?

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not think this is the big factor, Mr. Congressman. I think it is overrated. The examination process is rather complex. In the first place, unless there are three people on the register, it is not complete. We either make an appointment with one or two, or call for another examination; or you can promote noncompetitively.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. McMillan, permit me to interrupt you. They move in politically and kill the list; don't they? They move in politically and cause withdrawals and all that sort of thing?

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Congressman, I cannot answer that because this is strictly the Civil Service Commission's business. We have no responsibility and no authority until the list is sent over to us.

I do know that any examination can be reopened by a compensable veteran. I do know that three people have to be on the list. And if one of them withdraws, you have an incomplete list.

Mr. OLSEN. Could I interrupt there, Mr. Gross?

Mr. GROSS. Yes, I will yield.

Mr. OLSEN. That situation has happened with me, Mr. McMillan, where someone on the list of three eliminated himself. He moved out of the community, or for other reasons, but he eliminated himself. But if there are other people who have qualified in the civil service examination, they will be moved onto that list of three. It is only when the Civil Service Commission runs out of names; isn't that correct?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is correct.

Mr. OLSEN. So, if there were only three people who qualified, and there weren't anyone else, then there can be demanded a new examination. But, if there are other names available at the Civil Service Commission who are qualified for the list, they will be moved onto it; isn't that correct?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is correct; if they pass the examination with a score of above 70 and there is a vacancy in the top three, they are moved up in the order in which they are on the list.

But strangely enough, Mr. Gross, in some areas—particularly in the Northeast Corridor—we have a very difficult time getting people to take an examination for postmaster.

I can recall one case that we had recently where I believe we had three open competitive examinations, and we never did get but one eligible. And it was the same man every time.

There are a lot of factors that enter into this. In some areas, particularly in your medium-sized communities, the postmaster job is not very attractive in the Northeast, and sometimes—not always, but sometimes—this is a contributing factor to the long delays.

There are other instances where, I agree with you, there just is not any reasonable excuse. And I do not propose to sit here and try to offer one.

Mr. GROSS. We have dedicated most of our attention in the hearings so far to postmasters. There are also rural carriers who I say ought to come from the career service. But I have never been able to understand why there should be political interference in the appointment of supervisors, of superintendents of the mails, and so on, and so forth, on down the line to almost the last man in the post office. I have never been able to understand, Mr. McMillan, why this political interference should go clear down the line. It is bad enough with respect to postmasters and rural carriers, and I have never been able to understand why it was ever permitted that political influence be used right on down the line.

I say to you that it has to be destructive of morale in the Post Office Department when there is interference of this kind.

I had a recent case in Waterloo, Iowa, where political influence tried to dictate—as I remember it—the appointment of a superintendent of the mails. A postal employee was suspended for 90 days for engaging in politics, but it took a long, long time to penalize him.

I am sure you have been through this. I want to get it out of the Post Office Department.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Gross, in answer to this—and also to Mr. Corbett's question—we do have a new promotional policy on super-

visors. I am not naive to say, to try to tell you that there is never any interference politically. But in answer to Mr. Corbett's question, one of the reasons why there is not as much as in the past is because this policy does not contemplate that there will be any. And frankly, it is a rare occasion when we get any interest from any Member of Congress on any appointment below the rank of postmaster.

Now there are some occasions, but it is a very rare occasion. But the new policy is very stringent. It is not set up to provide for the advisory system, and we do not use it as such. And by far the great majority of promotions in a post office below the rank of postmaster are made strictly in accordance with this procedure.

Mr. GROSS. I am sure that the gentleman from Pennsylvania, if he cared to, could differ with you, because his statement was quite to the contrary in the operation of the Pittsburgh Post Office.

Mr. McMILLAN. I am sure, Mr. Gross, that anyone sitting in this room can find exceptions to the policy. But I am saying that the greatest number of them are promoted without interference or without recommendation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I don't want to take all the time. We have other witnesses. But I would hope that we would have the Postmaster General before this committee before these hearings conclude.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Gross, I have every assurance that the Postmaster General will appear. We also expect to have Mr. Day up here.

Mr. GROSS. Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that what I have just said in no way is intended to deprecate the testimony of these two gentlemen. But I do think we ought to have the Postmaster General here at the proper time.

Thank you for your testimony, gentlemen.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Corbett?

Mr. CORBETT. I have nothing further.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Olsen?

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Chairman, if I understand Mr. McMillan correctly, the situation with respect to the Postmaster General determining the advancement of employees has been improving, and with respect to him and his organization, this determination is exclusively by the organization's judgment rather than by advice from politicians?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is correct, Mr. Olsen, and the same thing applies with postmasters.

Now, we have several very reliable employees in the Postmasters Division, some of whom have been there 30 years. They tell me that during this administration—and I can personally testify that over the last 4 years we have had, consistently, a fewer number of over-dated postmaster cases, Mr. Gross, than any time in history. I think many of your colleagues can testify to the fact, those of you who may be acting in an advisory capacity, that I personally have tried to keep postmaster appointments on a timely basis.

Now the normal number of acting postmasters within the Department year after year, on a normal basis, is 3,000, due to deaths, resignations, removals, et cetera. It accelerates. For example, a couple of years ago legislation was enacted which authorized 8 percent additional on retirements. This, of course, accelerated the number of postmasters that retired. We have today about 2,000 in this category, and this is just about 1,000 below average.

As far as the supervisors are concerned, as I say, anybody in this room—it is just like delayed mail—anybody in this room can make a specific point of a delayed letter. But when we handle 200 million pieces daily, this is a pretty small average. And I say the same thing applies to the appointment of the supervisors.

I am not familiar with Pittsburgh because many of the promotions are made that we know nothing about. But as far as headquarters is concerned—and this is handled in my installation management division—the intercession of a Congressman or a Senator or other political adviser is a rarity. It just does not happen very often.

Mr. OLSEN. In the selection of supervisors, do you not publish a list in the post office where this is happening?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is correct. And this is also by examination.

Mr. NIX. Thank you very much, gentlemen, for your contribution.

Mr. McMILLAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Our next witness is Mr. Fred O'Dwyer, president of the National Association of Postal Supervisors.

Mr. O'Dwyer, would you introduce your associates?

TESTIMONY OF FRED J. O'DWYER, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POSTAL SUPERVISORS, ACCOMPANIED BY DONALD N. LEDBETTER, NATIONAL SECRETARY, AND DANIEL JASPAN, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. O'DWYER. On my left is our national secretary, Donald Ledbetter, and on my right, our legislative representative, Daniel Jaspán.

My name is Fred J. O'Dwyer. I am the president of the National Association of Postal Supervisors, composed of more than 33,000 postal supervisors with members in every State and possession. Our members are employed in post offices, branches, stations, motor vehicle facilities, maintenance units, airmail facilities, and mobile units.

We are extremely grateful to the chairman and members of this subcommittee for scheduling hearings on these bills which are of vital interest not only to every postal supervisor in the United States, but also to other postal employees.

As part of management at the fourth level, responsible to postmasters, the 15 regions, and the Post Office Department, our interest is in improving efficiency as well as morale in the postal service in order to make the U.S. postal service the best in the world. Our association has been on record for years in favor of merit promotions, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, or political consideration. In our opinion, promotions, appointments, assignments, and other actions must be on merit and merit only in order to achieve our goal. The enactment of H.R. 5284, or similar legislation, will be a giant step forward, we feel, in the improvement of the postal service.

It is no secret that no one can be appointed to the position of postmaster unless he has the necessary political endorsements. This is true whether the Republicans or Democrats are in power. A Democrat cannot aspire to the position of postmaster under a Republican regime. Under the present administration, it would be most unusual for a Republican to be appointed postmaster, regardless of his ability.

The Post Office Department takes great pride in the statement that almost 50 percent of the current postmasters have been promoted from the ranks. We, too, are encouraged by this progress. In a recent

press release, the Post Office Department stated that in 1967 there were 1,515 confirmations of postmasters with 42.6 percent given to careerists. What is left unsaid, however, is that not one of these employees would have been appointed to that position if he had not sought and received the necessary political endorsement. There is always the doubt that the person selected from the ranks under these circumstances is the best qualified.

Since the postmaster, including the careerist, must have the political endorsement before he can be approved, it necessarily follows that he is under obligation to some politicians. Consequently, favors are very often expected in return. This can lead to the promotion of less-qualified employees when vacancies occur in his office because of political considerations.

We believe the elimination of politics in the appointment of postmasters will go a long way to relieve the related political considerations in the appointment or promotion of supervisors. We strongly urge this subcommittee to report a bill to remove postmasters completely from politics, either as provided in H.R. 8516 or, preferably, as contained in H.R. 5284 and the many identical bills which give preference to selection from within the postal field service and provide a penalty for the soliciting or granting of political endorsements.

At this point, we must stress the fact that outside of postmaster appointments, it is almost impossible to prove the statement that political considerations are necessary for the "appointment, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations in the postal field service" which H.R. 5284 and other bills attempt to remove from the political arena. It is an open secret, however, throughout the postal service, that it is difficult to be promoted, especially to upper level positions, without political endorsements. This has been true over the years, whether under a Republican or a Democratic administration.

Our hopes were raised in 1961 when Postmaster General J. Edward Day recognized the presence of politics in the postal service and when his Deputy Postmaster General William Brawley announced during a press conference that politics would be completely removed below the postmaster level. We were skeptical at that time, but a serious attempt was made for the first time to remove political considerations. High departmental officials went into various areas where politics appeared to be the greatest factor and made an attempt to carry out the Postmaster General's orders.

Again, while difficult to prove, it is the general consensus among our members that in many cases politics is the prime consideration in a supervisory promotion. The fact that resolutions are still being passed at our national conventions to take politics out of the postal service is evidence that the situation prevails.

Mr. Richard J. Murphy, Assistant Postmaster General, Bureau of Personnel, speaking at our national convention in 1966, made a strong statement to the effect that promotions were made on merit and without regard to political considerations. However, in the same speech, he further stated that—

I have served under three Postmasters General whom I found to be completely dedicated to improving the method of selection of postal supervisors, and to getting the selection of supervisors on a merit basis. If there are politics in the system at various levels—and I am told so by certain people from N.A.P.S. and others that the further up the list you go, the more political pressures are involved—I want to tell you that they exist for one reason, if they do exist.

That is because some supervisors in certain areas somewhere are going to political leaders and getting them to intervene. I say you have the best merit system that has ever been written in a Federal agency.

At this point, we must admit that there has been some progress and an endeavor on the part of this administration to take politics out of promotions. Yet, if the only way to secure a promotion in "certain areas"—quoting Mr. Murphy—is through politics, then this is the only avenue through which one can progress.

If the Post Office Department gave no weight to such political considerations, supervisors and others would quit going to politicians for help. If there is a cancer, the whole cancer must be removed. Since the rules of the game appear to be that it is necessary to have political endorsements for promotions, those able to receive such endorsements will seek them. If, on the other hand, there is a penalty for seeking or receiving such endorsements, the whole cancer will be immediately removed.

Incidentally, there is a peculiar quirk in the postal regulations regarding promotion. An employee who thinks he has been passed over by a less qualified employee cannot appeal this decision on the basis of qualifications. To most thinking people, it is ludicrous to say that there is a merit system of promotions and still deny an appeal on the basis of qualifications. Appeals can only be made on the basis of procedure. In our experience, only a few appeals have been won on procedural violations. Where procedures are followed, even though we feel merit did not prevail, there is no basis for appeal. We must strongly emphasize that promotional appeals can be made on the basis of procedural error alone, regardless of qualifications. We are certain that the distinguished members of this subcommittee will agree with us that there cannot be merit promotions if qualifications for the position are not important enough to be considered in the case of appeal.

The following are two recent examples:

Example A. In a fairly large post office, there was a vacancy in one of the middle-level postal supervisory positions. There were two employees in the section who have been doing the work which would qualify them for promotion. They both applied for the position. However, the person who received the promotion not only had little experience to qualify him for the position, but he was not considered best qualified by any supervisor in the office. We understand that the two people who were bypassed are Republicans, while the one promoted is a Democrat.

Example B. This is one of the worst of recent cases called to our attention. The position of assistant postmaster became vacant at an office with 80 supervisors. The acting postmaster, with only 3 months' postal experience, selected a postal inspector from outside the office to fill the position of assistant postmaster. Although the acting postmaster had been on the job for only 3 months, she, in effect, determined that none of the 80 supervisors within the office was qualified to fill this vacancy. It may be merely a coincidence that this post office is in a Republican district.

In both of these cases our protest to the Post Office Department was denied on the basis that a procedural defect was not involved. Consequently, there was no avenue of a promotional appeal available to the supervisors at these offices who felt, with good reason, that they were better qualified.

Incidentally, Assistant Postmaster General Murphy has been quoted as saying that only approximately nine cases of violation of merit promotions have come to the attention of the Department. We do not question this statement, but submit that if appeals could be filed on other than procedural defects, there would be many times nine cases reaching the Post Office Department.

If I could depart from the prepared statement for a moment, there has been mention made throughout the hearings of the examinations for the position of postmaster, competitive or noncompetitive. It is our understanding that those are not examinations in the sense that we would consider them as such, but merely the filing of an application which is rated by the Civil Service Commission. There is no actual examination of the individual as we know an examination in the postal field service. I thought I should bring that to your attention at this particular time.

In 1953, the Post Office Department progressed a step by giving examinations for promotion to the first-line supervisory positions. We endorsed that step very strongly. The procedures have been changed from time to time, but it has generally been agreed that promotions would not be made to supervisory positions of anyone who could not qualify in the examinations. Just a few years ago, in a large post office, a clerk, who, according to reports, had never qualified on the supervisory examination, was promoted from level 4 clerk to a regional position, and shortly thereafter to level 15 assistant postmaster, over the many qualified supervisors in that office. It is hard to convince anyone in that office that this was a merit promotion. Not only the supervisors who were bypassed are difficult to convince, but the clerks and carriers in that office who qualified by passing the supervisory examination were disillusioned and protested strongly, to no avail.

We endorse examinations for the first supervisory level. We strongly urge that in any legislation on this subject, there should also be a provision for examinations for promotions above the first supervisory level in large offices.

In our opinion, scheduling examinations for promotion to the first supervisory level and another examination above the first level, would help to eliminate political considerations. However, it is also our opinion that the complete elimination will not come about unless H.R. 5284 or a similar bill is enacted into law.

We strongly support the intent of section 1 of H.R. 5284 which provides for postmasters to be appointed from within the postal field service, on the basis of noncompetitive examinations, "of qualified employees serving under career appointments in the postal service" as the first order of preference. We suggest that this be amended to provide that postmaster appointments can be made only through competitive examination from supervisory ranks in offices where there are supervisors, since postal supervisors would have more qualifications and experience in operating a good office.

We agree, also, with the section providing that only if no qualified employee is available, the position should be filled by competitive examination, open to candidates outside the service.

We are particularly interested, as mentioned above, in the provisions of the bill to impose a fine upon both the person giving and the one soliciting a political endorsement.

Although we endorse H.R. 8516, we believe that it does not go far enough and does not have enough teeth to be effective. Unless there is a penalty attached, we have very little hope of improving present conditions.

If the Post Office Department is unable to eliminate political consideration in the postal field service which, judging from our contacts with postal supervisors and other employees, is increasing rather than being eliminated, we believe that H.R. 5877 could provide an effective start. This provides that the position of Postmaster General should be removed from the Cabinet and serve for 12 years. This could make him independent of politics after his appointment.

The provision for a 6-year term of office for the Deputy Postmaster General and the six Assistant Postmasters General could also be most helpful. We are particularly interested in the provision for no more than three Assistant Postmasters General to be appointed from the same political party.

It has always been our opinion that to eliminate politics altogether, the start must be made at the top or as near the top as possible.

An interesting sidelight is the pilot operation in the Seattle, Wash., region. Called the career development program by the Post Office Department, this has led to much uneasiness among postal supervisors. Basically, under the program, if a postal supervisor wants to rise above the first level, he must sign an application for a position anywhere in the region which is comprised of the States of Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, and Alaska.

This means that in order to make any progress, the supervisor may have to uproot his whole family, not only once, but many times. There are few opportunities for promotion in the postal field service since only about 10 percent of the total postal population is in the supervisory levels, and this includes postmaster and regional employees. An employee now looks forward to the opportunity to ascend the supervisory ladder in his own office. The new program can mean that, based on someone else's opinion, if a vacancy occurs in the office, a stranger can be brought in from another office.

We firmly believe that the transfers will be based on politics. One item leading to that belief is the fact that the local postmaster has no part at all in the original selection of the candidate to fill the position. They are selected by a board of which he is not a member, and he is finally given his choice of one of the three candidates they select, with none of them necessarily being from his own office. This means that he has to take a pig in a poke, and will have no idea of the supervisor's performance in his office or whether he will be able to get along with the other employees in that office whose careers are thus short circuited.

We would appreciate this subcommittee's investigation of the program before it spreads throughout the United States and lends itself to political considerations.

We appreciate the interest of this subcommittee in what is a major problem in the postal field service, and hope that you will be able to solve the problem and report out a bill that will help us achieve the aim of promotions based on merit, and merit alone, without regard to race, creed, color, sex, or political considerations.

We have confidence in the Congress and are certain that it will arrive at the proper solution. We have been gratified by solutions to our many problems over the years, and feel that we will receive fair

and equitable treatment based on our past experiences. We are looking forward to having the problem of political considerations and many other objectives resolved through congressional action, and hope that the wonderful cooperation between the Congress and our association will continue over the years. In our opinion, there should be a real attempt made to eliminate politics completely from the post office before the idea of a corporation is even considered. There is no apparent reason why the postal service cannot be improved dramatically if run without political influence in appointments, promotions, and so forth.

Mr. Chairman, we thank you for allowing us the opportunity to present our viewpoints, to this subcommittee.

Mr. Nix. The subcommittee is deeply appreciative of the informative and forthright statement that you have presented, Mr. O'Dwyer.

Mr. Gross?

Mr. GROSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to join the chairman in commending you, Mr. O'Dwyer, for an excellent statement—a statement which I think exemplifies the proper criticism of the political interference as it presently applies to the Post Office Department and postal service. I want to thank you for the constructive suggestions you have made with respect to the legislation.

I share with you your fear of the so-called career development program, especially when it is attended with political considerations, and its potential for assigning some people in the Post Office Department to what might be called a Siberia.

I am particularly impressed with your emphasis on the need for penalties in the legislation we are discussing. Without penalties this legislation is meaningless. Yes, if the Congress sees fit to enact legislation on the subject of elimination of politics, unless there are stringent penalties provided, it will be less than meaningless. It will be what we hear commonly referred to as a congressional "snow job" on the public of the country and employees of the Post Office Department.

I don't believe, Mr. Chairman, that I need to take any more time. I think the postal supervisors have well pointed up the issue in a clear and lucid manner, in a way that the public of the country can understand as well as all postal employees.

Thank you.

Mr. Nix. Let me just ask you one question before you finish. You mentioned the practice in the Seattle region where it is mandatory for potential supervisors to agree to move within a five-State region. Is that widespread?

Mr. O'DWYER. No, Mr. Nix. This is a trial program that has been instituted in the Seattle region, starting January 1, and extending through June 30, as a trial program.

If I left the impression that this was required and mandatory participation, I should correct that at this time. It is termed a voluntary participation program.

As a little sidelight to that, the Post Office Department indicates that out of the approximately 1,200 supervisors in the Seattle region, that somewhere in the neighborhood of 900 have signed up to participate in this program, which they state is an indication of their interest.

We term that a voluntary-involuntary participation, in that the supervisors were advised that if they did not sign up to participate in this program, their opportunities for promotion, either within their office or to other offices, would not materialize. So strangely enough, while that number of people have signed up for the particular program, every one of our branches in the Washington-Oregon region, the larger branches there, have voted in their meetings in opposition, almost unanimously, to this particular program. So they are completely opposed to it but feel they must participate in order to assure their future.

Mr. NIX. Thank you very much.

Mr. JASPAN. Mr. Chairman, you wanted to know whether it was widespread. It is the Department's intention to have it all over the country if in their opinion this is successful.

Mr. NIX. As a voluntary program?

Mr. JASPAN. It is an involuntary-voluntary program; because if they don't sign up, they will not be promoted.

Mr. NIX. But the thrust of your statement and position is unequivocally that the system is not working properly; that politics should be eliminated; and that there should be a change; and that change is overdue?

Mr. O'DWYER. That is correct.

Mr. NIX. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Mr. O'DWYER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. NIX. Our next witness is one of our good friends, Mr. Ashby Smith, president, National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees.

Mr. Smith, would you introduce your associate?

TESTIMONY OF ASHBY SMITH, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES; ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM BRADLEY, PRESIDENTIAL AIDE

Mr. SMITH. I have with me Mr. William Bradley, presidential aide.

Mr. NIX. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. I was given the option of coming this morning and making an oral statement, and then following it up with a written statement. This we will do so we will not take too much of the committee's time this morning, because I think we can state our position rather briefly.

We feel that there is no reason why the Post Office should enjoy any exemptions from the merit system, the civil service system that governs the other agencies; and we feel that this application of the merit system, the application of the principle of picking the best man for the job, should go all the way through the postal system.

Shortly after our present Postmaster General took over, one of his advisers, speaking to a group who were considering the failure of one of the major departmental programs and attributing the failure to the fact that it wasn't being implemented at the lower levels, made this statement:

The Postmaster General cannot see why an order that is given at the top is not carried out all the way down the line.

As I say, the Postmaster General had just come into office. The aide also had had no experience in the Post Office. I am sure that

Mr. O'Brien was not in office very long in his present job until he found some of these barriers. The main thrust of these barriers is the political system.

The fact that the postmaster owes his appointment to a political power inside his own district makes him more amenable to what that power wants than to what the Postmaster General wants. This creates a lamentable control system for a man who has the responsibility for handling as many men and as many millions of dollars worth of business as the Post Office involves.

Therefore it is our position that to the extent possible, from the promotion of postmasters, from the selection of postmasters, political considerations should be removed.

We would even go further and say that the regional directors—a close look should also be taken of the manner in which they are selected; because they, too, will have to bear some of the responsibility that the Postmaster General has.

I can't conceive of the Postmaster General sitting down and considering the merits of every person who applies for a postmaster's job in the thousands of post offices in the country.

So it is not only important that the people who want the jobs should not have access to political pressures to get them, but it is also important that the people who are going to make the selections are not so committed to political forces that this influences their decision.

I would like to say something about the examinations by which postmasters are now selected. It is true that that type of examination is given, and that the choice is made from three people. But I think it is an open secret that frequently it is well-known in the community who is going to get the job, and sometimes it is so well-known that they have difficulty getting any other people to apply. So they go out, and it is reported they go out, and suggest to other people, "apply." So they send in their examination sheets, and they do this knowing that they are only going through a formality to meet the requirements of the selection of one of three.

I would also in this connection suggest that more mobility be given to postmasters. The postmaster who is appointed to a particular office should not find himself at a dead end, and that if he shows the capacity, and if he shows the managerial ability to conduct and manage a well-ordered post office, he should be in line for a larger office, or an office he considers more desirable, in case a vacancy occurs. And his ability to get moved to another office should not depend on his residence, but should depend only on his ability and the knowledge that the appointing powers have of him, and how well he will fit into the job that is open.

What is said about politics in the selection of postmasters is true. In the selection of supervisors, as the Supervisors Union has just said, the examination takes you to level 7. You have to pass the examination to get a supervisory position at a level 7. And to a great extent this provision has kept politics at a lower ebb at this level. But once you are past this there is no other method, no other set method, of deciding whether you will go from a 7 to an 8, or from an 8 on up the ladder, or even whether you jump from a 7 to an 11 or a 12—and this has happened.

The main thrust of an advance of this kind depends on your access to the person who has the political power to make his voice heard at the appointing level.

I am not saying that under this system we haven't gotten some excellent postmasters, or that we haven't gotten some excellent supervisors. But there is no assurance under this plan that their qualifications will even be the determining factor.

This hurts not only the postal service as an organization, it not only affects its functioning as an efficient managerial operation, but it affects the morale of the employees, because they feel that excellence of performance will not necessarily lead to promotions, not necessarily lead to an increase in income, and this slows down their desire to improve themselves.

The Department has set up or announced several programs. The Postal Service Institute is a training program to which people from the outside and from inside the service can work to improve their talents and their abilities.

The management intern system is an attempt to get young people interested in the post office as a career service, and train them so they can fill these jobs.

But I would suggest that both of these experiments are going to realize less than their total potentiality unless something is done to convince these people who take this training that they will not also have to traipse down to the county political chairman or Congressman in order to get consideration for the jobs to which their talents entitle them.

I think this expresses in brief our position.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Smith, for a very fine statement.

Mr. Gross?

Mr. GROSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I join the chairman in commending you, Mr. Smith, for the statement that you and your colleague presented to the committee this morning in support of legislation to remove politics from the operation of the Post Office Department.

Since you mentioned it, I call attention to the fact that in 1960 the directors of the regional offices were under civil service. Within 2 months after the advent of a new administration in 1961, they were put into the excepted service. In other words, all of the regional directors were thrown out and and political appointees put in their places.

Mr. SMITH. Within the regional offices, we too are concerned with the fact that there is no requirement for posting the jobs, so the positions can easily be filled without the people who are perhaps best qualified in the region or in the post offices from which the region draws, without them ever knowing that these vacancies exist.

Mr. GROSS. You certainly touched upon one example of real political interference in the administrative setup of the Post Office Department, and I am pleased that you did, Mr. Smith.

Thank you.

Mr. NIX. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Our last witness is John Carter, legislative representative, National Association of Postmasters.

Mr. Carter, will you introduce your associate?

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Chairman, at the time the hearings were scheduled, I did not know I would have the opportunity to have the national

president here, Tom Costin, but he is here today and he will present the statement.

Mr. NIX. You may proceed, then, Mr. Costin.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS P. COSTIN, JR., POSTMASTER AT LYNN, MASS., AND PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POSTMASTERS OF THE UNITED STATES; ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN CARTER, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POSTMASTERS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. COSTIN. Mr. Chairman and counsel, my name is Thomas P. Costin, Jr. I am president of the National Association of Postmasters of the United States and postmaster at Lynn, Mass. With me is John P. Carter, executive director of this association. We are privileged to represent 32,000 postmasters, active and retired. These include approximately 90 percent of all postmasters now in office.

In your consideration of these various bills which would revise the laws governing the appointment of postmasters, purportedly to provide for the elimination of political influence in the appointment of postmasters, we respectfully submit the following which represents the policy of this association.

Throughout much of the history of this great Nation, postmasters have had the influence of partisan politics in their appointments; and as you all know, not only in their being named, but also in their term of office which usually ended with a change of party in the national administration. This was effectively changed with the passage of the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Act in 1938 which conferred civil service status on managers of the Nation's post offices. Since that time, postmasters have held office in accordance with regulations governing their employment until retirement or their own resignation for personal reasons. Since the passage of this legislation, no person has been appointed postmaster without passing the appropriate examination for the position as established by the Civil Service Commission.

I would like to include in my remarks at this point that, as of the present moment, under the new regulations, up through level 11 positions, postmaster position, it is necessary to take a written examination.

In selection from among the top three candidates, the Veterans' Preference Act insures that those who have defended their country by serving in the Armed Forces get first priority in postmaster selection.

Increasingly, postmasters are coming from the ranks of career employees. In 1967, 42.6 percent of all postmasters appointed were postal employees; in 1966, 38.3 percent; in 1965, 33.5 percent; in 1964, 32.4 percent, and for 1963, 30.6 percent. This general 5-year increase represents policy of the Post Office Department to bring career employees at any Presidential office up through the ranks to the top position there as postmaster.

It does not, however, tie the hands of the Department or the President of the United States who nominates the individual for the position, so that selection must be made from within the office. We would like to point out that such narrowed selection would be unnecessarily hampering in many cases.

At this point, we want to note that salary differential in most smaller offices is not sufficient for employees to want to accept the greater responsibility of a postmaster position.

We would also like to include in our testimony that we want to thank again the Members of the Congress for improving the situation by the passage of the recent pay legislation.

In some post offices, no employee there is interested in being appointed postmaster. In many others, most of the area's residents unite behind a leading citizen in requesting the President of the United States to nominate that person. Postmaster's posts are infinitely more than a mere personnel manager, a mail-handling supervisor, or a technical office manager. Public relations, customer relations, and deep involvement in community activities are all an integral part of a postmaster's overall employment. A really good postmaster maintains his interest in local activities not only for the betterment of home city postal service, but also as a leading public servant in practically every community in the land.

We would also note a need for caution on the danger of inbreeding in this great postal service. With the appointment of popular, successful community leaders to the position of postmaster, we continually hold the way open for infusion of fresh ideas and new talent to a service that can never be allowed to become stagnant.

We would point out the Hatch Act limitations on political activities of career postal employees has removed them from many areas of local interest not only because of actual restrictions, but also in use of its provisions as a convenient shelf for noninvolvement. This points out one of the outstanding reasons for going outside the service in making some appointments.

As you appraise this proposed legislation for the elimination of political influence in the appointment of postmasters, we question the alternatives. A choice has to be made from among the three best qualified candidates as established by the civil service examination appropriate to that particular size office. By law, a veteran cannot be passed over for the selection of a nonveteran. Safeguards have thus been wisely inserted throughout the selection process. Now who is going to have authority for final selection? Who will make the all-important recommendation?

The policy of this association directs that we ask for continuance of the present system. Rather than complacency about the status quo, we take a singular pride in the competence and qualifications of our postmasters whether they rose through the ranks to head their office or were the community's choice as a well-respected leader. Members of this House of Representatives make recommendations to the President based on their best knowledge of local desire. What could be more basic in democratic selection process? We certainly don't anticipate postmasters being elected to their posts.

We understand the Post Office Department will advocate elimination of residence requirements so that postmasters could possibly advance from a smaller office to a larger facility. We are in full agreement with this concept provided it is also in accord with local wishes since a postmaster must have community support, confidence, and cooperation.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for giving us the opportunity to present our position.

Mr. Nix. Mr. Costin, on behalf of the subcommittee, I want to thank you and Mr. Carter for presenting a lucid and comprehensive statement on a very difficult subject.

I said on the first day of the hearings that we would have to conduct extensive hearings on the subject. For this reason I want to announce that within a month we intend to have additional hearings, until everyone who wishes to be heard has had an opportunity to appear before this subcommittee.

We also intend to call former Postmaster General Day to appear, and I have every reason to believe that the present Postmaster General, Mr. O'Brien, will also appear before the subcommittee and give us the benefit of his views.

The subcommittee will stand adjourned until further notice.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

(The following statements and letters were received by the subcommittee for inclusion in the record:)

STATEMENT OF HON. ODIN LANGEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM
THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations, it is a privilege for me to submit this statement in support of H.R. 8516 and similar bills to prohibit any political test or qualification in the appointment of postmasters, and providing that such appointments be made solely on the basis of merit and efficiency. You are to be commended for acknowledging the strong possibility of unfairness in the present system, and it is my hope that the whole House will soon be permitted to act on this important subject.

While H.R. 8516 deals mainly with the appointment of postmasters, and represents an excellent starting point for eliminating the spoils system in the postal service, I respectfully urge the subcommittee to review the merit selection procedure in the entire postal field service. I have introduced H.R. 13125, which strengthens the merit selection procedure by prohibiting political influence and considerations in the appointments, promotions, assignments, transfers, and designations of not only postmasters but rural carriers as well.

I have served in this House under administrations of both political parties, and can state from experience that being forced to deal with postmaster and rural carrier appointments on a political basis is no way to win friends and influence people. I don't believe many Members of Congress wish to be involved in these appointments, whether their party occupies the White House or not. And I am only too well aware of local political conditions that have torn many of our towns asunder when a new postmaster or letter carrier must be chosen.

The bitterness that sometimes accompanies the present system cannot help but create friction and inefficiency within the local postal unit involved. At a time when the volume of mail is rapidly increasing, and when there have already been entirely too many examples of faltering efficiency within the postal service, we should at least eliminate the irritating thorn of political patronage from the side of the Post Office Department.

All of us have had complaints from the various postal employee organizations about the failure of the Post Office Department to recognize and to promote able and experienced career postal employees. Elimination of political influence would go a long way in helping to restore better service to postal patrons.

The postal field service has been in political chains for over a century, as evidenced by the statistics that show that during the calendar years from 1960 to 1967, only 35.5 percent of postmaster appointments were made from the ranks of career employees, and only one-half of the rural carriers were appointed from within the ranks.

Political appointments, especially on the postmaster level, too often result in additional political considerations. A postmaster should be free to promote and reassign other employees without regard to politics. This will improve not only the morale of the postal employees but the postal service in general.

It would, therefore, seem most advisable and desirable that we eliminate political influence in connection with appointments, promotions, assignments, and

designations in the postal field service. I sincerely urge you to include rural carriers as well as postmasters in such legislation and submit your recommendations to the House for action at the earliest possible date.

Thank you for your courtesy and kind consideration of my views.

STATEMENT OF HON. SILVIO O. CONTE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM
THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Chairman, I would first like to thank Chairman Nix and my other distinguished colleagues on the Postal Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service for affording me this opportunity to present my views concerning the appointment of postmasters.

I have been long concerned about the various problems attendant to the present system of appointing postmasters and on numerous occasions have called for a change in our procedures.

The legislation which I have introduced (H. R. 6781) is designed to eliminate the "politics" from appointing postmasters and to provide for these positions to be filled in the future on the basis of merit and capability rather than influence.

Our present system leaves much room for inequities in postal personnel management and for inefficiency in postal operations.

While many fine and talented people have served with distinction in the position of postmaster, it is also quite clear that on numerous occasions unqualified individuals have been appointed to this position solely because they happened to know the right person at the right time. There is simply no justification for this to be allowed to continue. I would like to just note here, too, that contrary to popular belief, the postmastership appointment is a political liability rather than a political asset for most Members of Congress. William Howard Taft was quite accurate when he said that for every 10 men you consider for postmaster you were sure to end up with nine enemies.

An extremely detrimental effect which stems from our present system is the serious morale problem that it causes within the postal service.

As a member of the House Post Office Appropriation Subcommittee I have had the opportunity to follow the operations of the Post Office very closely during the last 10 years.

It is very disheartening and discouraging for the many talented people working in the postal system to know that no matter how well they carry out and fulfill their responsibilities, the chances are not very good at all that they will be able to achieve the top position in their post office.

It is equally discouraging for hard working and dedicated employees to see an individual appointed to the top job whom they know is in no way qualified for that position.

As I have noted before many very qualified individuals have served in the position of postmaster and I certainly would not want anyone to feel that my remarks are directed to them. However, the fact does remain that there also have been many instances of unqualified and undeserving appointees and the opportunity for this kind of abuse must be eliminated.

The question before this subcommittee and before the Congress is one of efficiency and equity within the Post Office—regardless of the political party in power.

The American public deserves to get nothing but the best in postal service. Postal employees deserve to have the fairest possible personnel system and the one affording the best opportunity for advancement.

New legislation to place postmaster appointments on a merit basis will be of substantial benefit, I believe, in achieving both of these goals.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to submit this statement for the record expressing my enthusiastic support for legislation which would end the appointing authority of Members of Congress for postal employees—postmasters and rural mail carriers. I think the present system is archaic, and I am sure the procedures are not in the best interests of the postal service. I strongly endorse the idea of eliminating the present appointing authority by Members of Congress in this field.

STATEMENT OF HON. E. Y. BERRY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE
STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Members of the subcommittee, as sponsor of legislation similar to H.R. 8516 eliminating politics from postal appointments, I strongly urge favorable consideration of this bill.

With the steady deterioration of postal service, promotions definitely need to be based on merit rather than politics. Often local postal units suffer a severe strain resulting from the present political system of selecting postmasters and rural carriers. This in turn results in inefficient service.

At a time when mail volume is rapidly increasing, we should strive for the best service possible. One of the quickest ways to accomplish this would be to get the post office out of the political arena.

Hopefully the subcommittee will issue a favorable report on H.R. 8516.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH Y. RESNICK, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to submit a statement in support of legislation which would remove politics from the Post Office Department. In March of 1966 I introduced a bill (H.R. 2574) to abolish political patronage in the selection of postmasters by bringing these and other postal appointments under the complete control of the Civil Service Commission.

While applicants for jobs as postmasters and rural carriers presently compete for available positions by examination, these selections are actually confirmations of decisions made by the local committee of the political party in power, and are generally reserved for the "party faithful." A Congressman can select from a group of names on the list and does not have to name the highest rated candidate. If the "wrong" names appear on the list, the Congressman can stall by calling for additional examinations.

The bill which I introduced provides that the Postmaster General shall appoint local postmasters in accordance with the Civil Service Act, and "shall appoint the person who is certified by the Civil Service Commission as having the highest rating among the applicants examined."

The bill provides that when a vacancy exists in a post office, the senior officer or clerk is to be automatically appointed as acting postmaster until a permanent postmaster is selected by Civil Service Examination. Under the present system, a Congressman can appoint anyone he pleases as an acting postmaster without examination, and can use a variety of tactics to keep the acting postmaster at his job for 2 or 3 years. The bill also provides that rural mail carriers be named on the same basis of merit.

I introduced this bill for a number of reasons. First of all, I think a Congressman is no more qualified to appoint a postmaster than he is to appoint an astronaut, an Internal Revenue agent or a surgeon at a Veterans' hospital.

The purpose of local political committees is to select candidates, raise funds, enroll workers, register new voters, and work for candidates—not to perform as a personnel agency for the U.S. Government. I believe that this reform is so badly needed and so long overdue, that I put it into effect in my congressional district at the time I introduced the bill. I am pleased to report that it works well.

Secondly, our system of political patronage in the Post Office Department is a last remaining vestige from the Dark Ages of American political history. While this is the way things have been done for many years, it is not the proper function of local political parties and Congressmen to make decisions of this type. We are not qualified to do it, and such appointments are rarely, if ever, made for the right reasons. The only right reason for allowing a man to supervise the handling of our mail is his ability. The American way is to select a man on his merit, not on who he happens to know, or what his politics are. That is why the Civil Service Commission was established in the first place, and that is why its influence has gradually grown to cover virtually every Government job in the country.

Thirdly, from a purely political point of view, differences in opinion among local politicians over who should be recommended for postmasterships, frequently bitterly divide local political committees, and sometimes entire communities. Very often a Congressman is caught in the crossfire between his local political committees and citizens at large who petition him for the selection of somebody else. And more often than not, these appointments involve total strangers. It simply isn't fair to allow parties and communities to become divided over an issue that has so little merit in the first place.

A long time ago, the Nation's first Postmaster General, Benjamin Franklin, said, "Every post office appointment I make earns me 10 enemies and one ingrate." What he forgot to mention was how unfair and discriminatory the system is against career post office employees who work day in and day out for years to serve their communities, and under existing conditions, like the Hatch Act, can never be given the chance to win the top job. Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge that this committee recommend the adoption of this legislation as soon as possible.

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES HARVEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM
THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

Chairman Nix, I first wish to express my appreciation for your thoughtfulness in informing me last month of the current hearings on a number of bills dealing with the subject of taking politics out of the Post Office Department. It was back on September 9, 1965, that I first introduced legislation on this matter. Since that time, greater interest has been shown, and I am delighted that the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service decided to air this matter.

As I said back in 1965, and I repeat here, one of the best ways to improve postal service would be a simple, inexpensive route—kick politics out of the Post Office Department. I also added that it was time that Congress set aside partisan views and face the facts of life—politics has and is ruining both the service and the morale of thousands of dedicated career civil service employees.

If I may, at this point in my statement, I would like to include a statement I made on September 8, 1965.

"WASHINGTON, D.C.—'One of the best ways to improve postal service would be a simple, inexpensive route—kick politics out of the Post Office Department. It's time that Congress set aside partisan views and face the facts of life—politics has and is ruining both the service and the morale of thousands of dedicated career civil service employees.'

"Congressman Jim Harvey, Michigan's Eighth District, in introducing legislation which he termed a 'modest approach to the problem,' wants to rid the Post Office Department of politics.

"Under the Congressman's measure, the Postmaster General, under guidelines and testing set by the Civil Service Commission, would be authorized to make post office appointments. Currently, appointments are made by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate.

"In addition, Harvey's bill would have the Postmaster General make the new postmaster appointment within 6 months after a vacancy occurs. This would remove acting postmasters from serving year after year—often not qualified for a permanent appointment because of a veteran preference ruling.

"But the main brunt of the Harvey bill would be the removal of Presidential appointment. 'I say this is a modest step,' Harvey said. 'Personally, I would rather see vacancies among the Nation's 35,000 postmasters and 33,000 rural letter carriers filled solely from the ranks of regular postal workers, but chances for the success of such a proposal as this would be, in my judgment, even less than the bill I have introduced.'

"Congressman Harvey said his legislation in this area stemmed from a situation in the Eighth District, plus other relating developments which have focused on the Post Office Department's political patronage system.

"In Jeddo, Mich., Congressman Harvey has been informed that a permanent postmaster appointment has been left unfilled since January 1963. An acting postmaster has served but can never attain a permanent appointment, unless current conditions change, because a veteran ranks higher.

"It is obvious that the veteran will not be appointed, nor will another individual who ranks even higher than the veteran. Why? Politics, that's all. Without a really firm appointment deadline, it is possible for the acting postmaster, who ranks third and cannot even be recommended for the permanent appointment, to serve indefinitely. The only threat confronting those persons serving in an 'acting' capacity is, without confirmation, that they probably would be dropped if there were a change in administration. I say this is a poor way to run the postal service.'

"Congressman Harvey also cited other recent developments concerning the Post Office Department. The summer postal jobs under the President's youth opportunities program, set up for youngsters from needy families, was a real farce. Former Postmaster General John Gronouski wouldn't even release the names of persons hired under this program. A newspaper, the New York Daily

News, reported that of the 8,577 youngsters working temporarily in post offices throughout the country this summer, 3,380, or 39 percent, got their jobs through Congressmen. 'I'll bet that practically all these jobs were filled on a patronage basis—not a needy basis,' Harvey said.

'Former Postmaster General J. Edward Day also was mentioned by Harvey. In his book, 'My Appointed Round,' Day stated, 'Even today every vacancy that occurs among the 35,000 postmasters and 33,000 rural letter carriers is filled by political appointment. Promotions, too, until I became Postmaster General, depended heavily on political influence.'

'In his book, Day even said that former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was the man who pulled the post office patronage strings. Day said that Kennedy telephoned or sent word through his staff about certain appointments of postmasters and rural letter carriers.

"Congressman Harvey also said that from time to time there have been allegations that Post Office officials are involved in political fundraising events, a violation of the Hatch Act. 'The most recent was earlier this year, and the Department of Justice was called upon to investigate a nationwide fundraising solicitation in behalf of the administration. No report has been made by the Justice Department on these allegations to my knowledge,' Harvey said.

" 'I don't care which administration is in office, I think it's time we eliminate political abuse. Besides contributing to poor postal service and operations, we are permitting our civil service to be abused for political purposes and gains. This country and our postal service are too big and too valuable to be short-changed.' "

In my statement at that time, I made reference to the comments by former Postmaster General J. Edward Day. If there is any question of politics in the Post Office Department, I believe Mr. Day quickly dispels them in his book, "My Appointed Round." Here is an article from the June 28, 1965, edition of the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., on Mr. Day's book.

"DAY WRITES OF KENNEDY POST OFFICE ROLE

"J. Edward Day, former Postmaster General, says in his new book that Robert F. Kennedy, as attorney general, was the man who pulled the post office patronage strings in the Kennedy administration.

"Day's new book, 'My Appointed Round,' says that from administrations immemorial the post office has been the center of patronage. The book is scheduled for official publication July 8.

" 'Even today,' he says, 'every vacancy that occurs among the 35,000 postmasters and 33,000 rural letter carriers is filled by political appointment.'

" 'Promotions, too, until I became Postmaster General depended heavily on political influence.'

" 'Because of this intricate system of political rewards and punishments known as patronage, it was the custom for the national party chairman, who was supposed to know who deserved what, to be named Postmaster General so he could see that they got what they deserved.'

"Day says that except for Harry S. Truman—the only President to appoint a career official to head the Post Office Department—every President for the 30 years before President John F. Kennedy had appointed the national chairman of the party, as had many Presidents before that.

" 'Inasmuch as I had no standing in the national party organization and had never dealt with patronage except in a minor way in my state position (he was formally associated with Adlai Stevenson as his legal and legislative assistant), many people—I was among them—concluded that my appointment as PMG represented a complete departure from the old pattern.'

" 'We were wrong. The change in 1961 was one of form more than substance, as I began to realize very soon after becoming PMG.'

"Day said that Kennedy passed on applicants for the top appointive position in the Department and telephoned in person or sent word through his staff about certain appointments of postmasters and rural letter carriers."

As a further followup, let me insert also an editorial which appeared in the September 13, 1965, edition of the Saginaw News, Saginaw, Mich., and, in particular, point out the closing paragraph where the need for "IBM" minds and not political ones are needed at the helm of our postal service.

The editorial follows:-

"POSTAL REFORM MUST BEGIN RIGHT AT TOP

"Representatives James Harvey of Saginaw, his legislative scalpel poised, is all for incising the boil and removing from the U.S. Post Office Department that troublesome illness he calls politics. It is a noble bit of surgery Representative Harvey proposes and he is right. If Harvey's proposal is to be faulted, it is only that it fails to go far enough in recognizing the root of the sickness.

"Our man in Washington suggests that the Postmaster General be handed the authority to name postmasters on their merit, not on the basis of party affiliation and political contributions. On this score he would lift one burden from the shoulders of the President as well as the Senate which presently—and most often—rubber stamps confirmation on the Presidential choice.

"It would seem, however, that if the kind of reform the Congressman has in mind is ever to come, then reformation should begin at the top along with some revised thinking on the part of Presidents. This means it is time Postmasters-General cease to be 'political animals.'

"Short of performing the full cure on the Department—that of setting it up to operate insular fashion much the same as the Federal Bureau of Investigation—reform, then, must really begin in the White House. Recognizing that the Postmaster General has Cabinet rank and, as such, holds a job filled by Presidential choice, he cannot escape a certain amount of political taint.

"Yet it seems not too much to expect that Presidents pick the man who is to head the U.S. Post Office Department with the same care evidenced in the selection of other major department heads. Frequently these selections are based without regard to politics. Certainly a loyal party contributor is not necessarily entitled to head Treasury or Defense or Commerce.

"Why, then, such elasticity has been permitted in filling the chair of the highest office in our postal system and turning it into one gigantic political plum reaching all the way down to the most distant rural mailbox is something that escapes us.

"Existing over the years at the virtual whim of the party in national power, it is a wonder the system has functioned as well as it has.

"The 'spoils' approach to postmasterships may have been workable, even permissive, when this country was largely rural and less demanding of speed and efficiency in communication. This is no longer the case.

"The U.S. mail is a vital lifeline in our daily existence and even now continues to struggle to keep apace of its volume which reaches to the high billions of pieces of mail annually. It is a big business with an awesome responsibility.

"It now demands 'IBM' minds at the controls, not political ones, all the way from Washington to Waterloo. It cries out for 'career mailmen' with bright and imaginative ideas at every key post up and down the line. Until this happy day is achieved, we will continue to hear reformation calls like those now being sounded by Representative Harvey."

One year later, in September 1966, I renewed my efforts for a change in postal appointments. At that time I mentioned that in Michigan's Eighth Congressional District, which I am privileged to represent, there were over 15 "acting postmasters."

Confirmation of a postmaster has and continues to be a waiting game of politics. That statement of September 28, 1966, follows:

"Washington, D.C.—Calling the present postmaster appointment system nothing but a 'political spoilage idea detrimental to the morale of dedicated rank and file postal workers and to the service itself,' Congressman Harvey has again renewed his efforts for a 'needed change.'

"I have been encouraged that the special Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, after nearly 2 years of study, has, among other recommendations, advised that post office appointments should be removed from politics."

"Congressman Harvey, on September 9, 1965, introduced a bill, H.R. 10980, which provides that the Postmaster General shall appoint postmasters under civil service procedures and that no political test or qualification shall be considered.

"Under the current system, postmaster appointments are made with the advice and consent of the Senate. 'Because of politics, confirmation of postmasters is often deliberately delayed and postponed,' Harvey charged.

"In Michigan's Eighth District, Harvey said that there are 15 acting postmasters. For over three and a half years, confirmation of a Postmaster has been delayed. Why? It's simple. The acting postmaster is the choice of the administration. Two qualified persons established higher scores as certified by the Civil Service Commission. One is a veteran."

"With the exception of one of the 15 acting postmasters, all were selected before this year.

"I believe the U.S. Post Office Department can no longer be treated as a political bundle. It is a big business with over 34,000 offices handling some 80 billion pieces of mail annually. And, it's a growing business with greater responsibilities and larger workloads. With its task of providing the best possible service, it shouldn't be saddled with a burdensome political load."

"Harvey continued, 'Personally, I would rather see postmaster appointments confined to those individuals who have served in the postal service in a position of responsibility. But the main improvement, for the present, would be to remove all or most political strings.'

"Harvey also said a time limit would be set when appointments would have to be final. 'Under the present system, no final action is taken until qualified individuals lose interest and withdraw their applications. Once this is done, the political appointment can then be made.'"

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I realize much has been said about the present postal service appointment system and much more will be said in the days and months ahead. Whatever changes that can be made or will be made in the present system will be an improvement in my opinion.

I sincerely believe that the U.S. Post Office Department can no longer be treated as a political bundle. It is a big business with over 34,000 offices handling nearly 100 billion pieces of mail annually. And, it's a growing business with greater responsibilities and larger workloads.

With the vital task of providing the best possible postal service, it shouldn't be saddled with a burdensome political load. Let's lessen the postal burden and remove the political strings.

Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for your courtesy.

STATEMENT OF CAREY W. HILLIARD, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL RURAL LETTER CARRIERS' ASSOCIATION

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Carey W. Hilliard. I am president of the National Rural Letter Carriers' Association, an organization representing 62,000 regular, retired and substitute rural letter carriers in the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, we appreciate the opportunity of submitting this statement relative to the bills under consideration aimed at eliminating political influence in connection with appointments, promotions and assignments within the postal service.

The majority of bills pending before the committee, including H.R. 8516, address themselves to removal of political influence in connection with the appointment of postmasters. We do not believe that the present system of appointment of postmasters has resulted in any large number of persons in this position category who are not qualified to serve in their position. We do not deny that cases can be documented which would disclose some factors concerning the individual's overall ability and related characteristics which would be deemed less than desirable for determining overall qualification.

We are aware of the fact that a sizable number of postal employees do compete through competitive examination for the position of postmaster and we know from experience that a large number of postmaster appointments are made from the career ranks of postal employees. The Post Office Department statistics have indicated that in the calendar year of 1967, 42.6 percent of the 1,515 postmaster appointments were given to career employees. The record also discloses that each year the percentage ratio of these appointments is growing and thus it would appear that the Post Office Department is drawing more often on career ranks to fill these management positions.

We believe this is desirable because it does highlight that qualified career people are given the opportunity to compete and in growing numbers are being selected for appointment. We do not believe, however, that the entire postal service would be best served by any law or policy which would require selection from the ranks. This may appear to be the best policy in post offices where there are sufficient number of employees to assure an adequate base of qualified applicants from which a selection could be made. It should be remembered, however, that there are thousands of post offices with but two or three employees and there certainly can be no assurance that the best selection for this management position could always be made from this limited field of potential eligibles.

An alternate suggestion which has been explored is to expand the area and permit selection from qualified applicants in a given geographical area. This would, of course, remove some of the difficulties which would be experienced if the selection were restricted to only career employees at the post office concerned. We do not believe, however, that this is the best solution. It is very difficult to justify any appointment procedure which would make it impossible for all citizens to compete. We would urge that any changes to be proposed by this committee would give consideration to an appointment procedure which would assure the opportunity of career people to compete but not deny a similar opportunity to other qualified citizens who may desire to compete.

The primary purpose of submitting a statement to this committee, however, is to particularly comment on the provision in H.R. 5284 and related bills which would eliminate the present advisor system as it relates to rural letter carrier appointments. We must recognize that there is a considerable difference between the appointment procedures for rural letter carrier position and the appointment procedures for a postmaster position. In the case of rural carriers, the eligibility list is established strictly on the basis of the examination results from the competitive civil service examination. On the basis of this examination, the U.S. Civil Service Commission establishes a certificate of three eligibles, all of whom have earned the right for consideration on the basis of their examination score, plus possible veteran points provided under the Veterans' Preference Act.

This is truly a merit system in that no one can be considered eligible for appointment unless they have earned that right on their own qualifications and related scoring of veterans' preference which is applicable to all Federal employee applicants.

In making the selection all three of the eligibles may be considered; however, an eligible veteran may not be passed over in preference of a nonveteran. Mr. Chairman, I am sure that you and the committee appreciate that today there is rarely a list of eligibles established which does not contain one or more eligible veterans. You can see, therefore, that any "political" endorsement for appointment for one of the three eligibles is quite limited, insofar as determining that this could be considered any true political selection.

It is correct that under the advisor system, the political advisor from the party in power may make a recommendation, but it would be wrong to believe that this gives the advisor a wide-open choice to appoint any friends or individuals desired on the basis of any personal type of selection. An important aspect of this is that the present system also permits a local type of screening and recommendation which the enactment of legislation, such as that presented before you, would in large measure eliminate. We believe it is very important to note that some one, somewhere must make a selection from among the top three eligibles and that this selection must be in adherence with the Veterans' Preference Act. We know from experience that any applicant for a rural carrier position is most certainly screened by the local citizenry of the town concerned. We do not believe that any advisor would long retain the respect of his constituents if he would recommend for appointment individuals who did not meet the standards of community acceptance and, as we have pointed out, he cannot recommend appointment of anyone who has not proven their basic qualification by competitive civil service examination. Inasmuch as someone must assume responsibility in deciding which eligible individual is to be selected, we quite sincerely believe that the present system is as desirable as any which could be devised. We know that the system has worked well under both political parties and, although we may be a bit prejudiced as representatives of the rural carriers, we nevertheless sincerely believe that as a group they would measure up well in all standards with any other craft of employees.

We know that local communities have a great interest in the appointment of a rural carrier. We believe it is better to delegate the selection of that individual to an elected official rather than an appointed official. We believe that a change in the system which would grant the appointive authority to some official of the Government would give rise to a far more sinister type of "politics" than has or ever could exist under the advisor system.

Congress has jurisdiction over this matter and we certainly recognize that the appointment procedures are, and properly should be, a matter for the Congress to decide. It is a matter for the judgment of this committee and the other members of the House and Senate to make this judgment in relation to their own rights, prerogatives and responsibilities. We believe it would be a grievous error, however, to enact any legislation to eliminate the present system until such time as a determination would be made as to just what procedures would be effected for selection, appointment and transfer if the present system is discarded. It is this

point that most seriously concerns us and we do believe that the appointment procedures to be followed should be clearly established before discarding the present system.

Rural carrier positions are a bit unique in that they represent practically the only Federal position available in small communities. Logically, local citizens desire to retain that position for local people. If the filling of that position is taken out of the hands of the advisor and placed in the hands of an appointed official, or if the area of selection is broadened, it causes us to question that it is either going to be an improvement or that it will be a change that would be desired or approved by rural citizens in the community concerned.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, we appreciate this opportunity to submit this statement and present our views on the legislation pending before you.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 22, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT NIX,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations,
Post Office and Civil Service Committee,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR BOB: Your subcommittee, I believe, is interested in moving the Post Office Department from the political field.

As you know I have sponsored a bill endeavoring to do this and would like to encourage your promoting legislation of this sort.

It is my personal conviction that the best interest, not only of postal employees but of the Nation as a whole, will be served when promotions in the Post Office Department are based on seniority and qualifications without regarding political pull.

I remain convinced that this is a nonpartisan matter and that Congressmen on both sides of the aisle are interested in this legislation.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

FLETCHER THOMPSON,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 24, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations,
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. NIX: I am an enthusiastic proponent of legislation which would free the Post Office Department of politics. My position is clearly reflected by H.R. 13586, which I introduced in March 1966 during the second session of the 89th Congress, and H.R. 3797, which I introduced on January 25, 1967, during the first session of the 90th Congress.

The postal service is essential to our society. It is so essential that it is one of the few specific duties required of the Congress by the Founding Fathers (U.S. Const. Art. 1, § 8, Cl. 7). The need for an efficient, speedy postal system has been accentuated as our society has become more commercial, more urban, and more dependent upon various means of speedy transportation and communication. It is difficult for me to justify a postal system that hurtles ZIP coded mail cross-country in supersonic jets in less than 6 hours, but often requires 48 hours for mail to cover 20 city blocks from sender to receiver.

While innovations such as ABCD in some cities have improved this situation we must face up to the fact that delivering mail today is a highly complex, computerized, electronic system requiring great skills, information, and knowledge. We must attract talented people to the postal service. It must be possible for these talented people to reach the highest management positions within the system, and that possibility must rest upon ability, talent, and energy. As I said in a letter to the editor of the Washington Post, Sunday, May 1, 1966:

"The Civil Service Commission was established to prevent deterioration of

Government services by eliminating the appointment of unqualified or inadequately prepared personnel.

The quality of postal service is, in many cases, being harmed by this same type of political appointment. I object to that time-honored institution, the politically appointed postmaster. Rapid and reliable postal service is a necessity, not a luxury. The Post Office Department should be run on a businesslike basis. This will be achieved only if the Congress takes politics out of the Post Office Department."

One of the most important reasons to take politics out of the postal system is to bring back the kind of morale of which post office employees were proud. The morale and pride that induced men to risk their lives against the elements and Indians when they rode the pony express. The present system of using postmasterships as political management positions is not open to those who refuse to play politics. For too many years a clerk with long experience and genuine ability has not had an opportunity for promotion to postmaster unless he had "the proper political affiliations." Today's postal needs and technology compel us in the Congress to open wide the avenues of promotion to the qualified, talented, devoted men and women in the postal system, and create an organization run on merit and efficiency, not political favors.

I sincerely hope that your committee will favorably report on legislation such as that which I have introduced, or legislation which would have the same effect.

Sincerely,

DONALD RUMSFELD,
Representative in Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 26, 1968.

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations,
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR COLLEAGUE: Thank you for your invitation to reply to your subcommittee in regard to proposed legislation which would take politics out of the Post Office Department. As you know, I support legislation to this end, and have, myself, introduced a bill of this nature.

The growth of the postal service over the last several decades, and the increasing importance of the mail to our economy indicate that post office operations must be an example of Government speed, accuracy, and efficiency. The future of this Department even more shows that the Post Office Department must make use of the most advanced technology and the most modern innovations in related fields if it is to keep pace with the growing demands on its services created by an ever-growing volume of mail.

To maintain and increase the efficiency of this Department is imperative. Yet today we are still saddled with the anachronism of political appointment of postmasters. At the very level where professional efficiency and ability should count the most, we have only political considerations to govern who shall run every post office in this Nation.

It is my feeling that one of the most important steps we can take now, as a Congress, to pave the way for efficient management of the mail in the future would be to take the appointment of postmasters completely out of the realm of politics.

Postmasters should be appointed only by the Postmaster General, with the stipulation that in making such appointments no political test or qualification would be permitted, but that such appointments be made solely on the basis of the merit and efficiency of the appointee.

I thank you for allowing me the opportunity to state my feelings on this important matter.

WENDELL WYATT,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 15, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN NIX: I am pleased to learn that your subcommittee is planning to hold hearings on the subject of taking politics out of the Post Office Department. With the tremendous size of our deficit and the possibility of a tax increase, our responsibility for getting the best results from every tax dollar is more important than ever. In the area of the Post Office Department, this can only be done by putting the best man possible in every job and by giving job security to the top echelon.

The U.S. Postal Department is one of the world's biggest businesses, but it cannot give the American people the kind of postal service they deserve if it remains a politically dominated agency where all appointments from postmaster to carrier are based on political favoritism, rather than merit. My bills call for a first-class postal system based upon merit and professionalism.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE BUSH,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 12, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: It was indeed good news to hear that your Subcommittee on Postal Operations will hold hearings on the pending legislation pertaining to the subject of taking politics out of the Post Office Department. I commend you and the other members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee for your decision in this regard and I hope the hearings will prove to be productive towards finding a solution to this persistent problem.

My bill, H.R. 6809, and other similar bills are designed to eliminate partisan politics from the postal system by empowering the Postmaster General to make appointments for postmasters and rural carriers and providing for these appointments to be made strictly on the basis of merit under the civil service laws. All appointments would be made from the ranks of postal workers through promotions and by competitive examinations. Members of Congress and political party officials are prohibited from making statements or recommendations regarding any applicant for such an appointment and the applicant is likewise prohibited from soliciting statements or recommendations from these persons.

All too often, under the present system, capable men with long years of successful service in the post office are ignored and an outsider with no experience is put in charge because he is "a good party man". In my opinion, this questionable procedure of appointment has directly attributed to the decline in prestige and quality of service of our postal system. This new legislation is needed, not only to restore public confidence in the postal service, but to insure the appointment of the best qualified postmasters instead of making it possible to appoint people whose only qualification is party connections. Such an improved appointment procedure based upon ability and achievements will offer a meaningful incentive and just reward to the many dedicated men in our postal system.

I, therefore, strongly urge your subcommittee's favorable consideration to my bill and similar other bills on this subject.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

DAN KUYKENDALL,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 24, 1968.

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations,
Post Office and Civil Service Committee.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN NIX: In reply to your invitation of January 8 I am submitting my thoughts on the matter of removing politics from the Postal Department. I would appreciate their being included in the committee hearing record.

I introduced a bill, H.R. 7310, which is identical to H.R. 412, in order to take partisan politics out of the post office. There are undoubtedly many other bills that the committee will consider simultaneously which are in the same area. Therefore, my comments do not apply to a particular bill.

Because communications involve every citizen of the United States, and because the postal system plays a very vital role in seeing to it that the communication system is fast, dependable, and efficient, we must continually strive to maintain this quality of service. In recent years we have put tremendous strains upon this Department. It is now time that we took steps to prevent our mail system from breaking down.

It is not too much to expect that our Postal Department be efficient and that it does not put a great strain upon our taxpayers and postal users. However, it is almost too much to expect modern efficiency when we select or appoint those people who are saddled with the responsibility of providing efficiency and dependability, from outside the ranks of those who are qualified.

This Department now handles revenues approaching \$7 billion, and has over 700,000 employees. Yet, the administrators are selected, not for their job qualifications, but by their political qualifications in a particular party. From the economy standpoint alone taxpayers demand the soundest financial judgment and business efficiency in the operations of this and other governmental departments and agencies. I suggest that such qualities as experience, judgment, and knowledge can be more logically found through a strong civil service merit selection than through our antiquated political patronage system.

I strongly urge this committee to take those first positive steps to strengthen our Postal Department by removing the selection of postmasters and even mail carriers from political party influence, and establishing a method of selection based on experience, knowledge, and ability.

Thank you for your consideration and cooperation.

Respectfully,

Congressman JOHN M. ZWACH.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 29, 1968.

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your letter of January 8 suggesting that I send a letter to your subcommittee regarding your forthcoming hearings on legislation which would take the Post Office Department out of politics.

For a number of years, I have sponsored legislation to accomplish this purpose and in the current session have introduced H.R. 7625, which is before you. My bill would call for the appointment of postmasters through the merit system used in all other civil service positions.

In past years I have received favorable reports from the administration in power concerning my bills, but the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee felt that since postmaster appointments require Senate confirmation such legislation should properly originate in the Senate. I contacted the chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, who informed me in effect that he was unalterably opposed to such legislation and would therefore not schedule hearings. Needless to say, I am delighted that the House has seen the obvious merit in taking postmasters out of politics and is holding hearings at this time.

I can well remember my first term as a Member of Congress and the ridiculous amount of time which I was forced to spend on postmastership appointments. Though I made them as conscientiously as I could and attempted to be completely nonpartisan and to think only of the postal service, I was nevertheless subjected to great pressures from my own political party as well as from my opposition.

Under such pressures, I do not believe that the recommendations can always be made which are in the best interests of the postal service.

Furthermore, appointment of postmasters from the ranks of postal employees would do a great deal for morale within the Post Office Department. Any person who devotes his life to the postal service should certainly have the right to rise to the top job in his particular office through the merit system. It must be discouraging to devote your life to such work and then see the top job given to someone simply because he was a political friend, or for some other reason. Also, promotion from within the ranks guarantees that every employee in the post office receives a promotion or is upgraded in his seniority when one of the employees in that office becomes the postmaster.

May I respectfully urge that the provisions of my bill, H.R. 7625, be incorporated in any legislation your subcommittee might report. I would also suggest that some provision should be made whereby an employee in a particular post office would be eligible for appointment as a postmaster, even though he resided outside the delivery limits of that office. In my opinion, the merits of such a provision are obvious.

Thanking you for giving me the opportunity to express my point of view, and congratulating you for holding these hearings, I am

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES S. GUBSER,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 15, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I appreciate having the opportunity to submit my views on the legislation now before you to take politics out of the Post Office Department.

I have introduced legislation on this subject and am hopeful that it will receive every consideration in this committee. My bill, H.R. 780, provides for the appointment by the Postmaster General of postmasters at first-, second-, and third-class post offices.

At the present time, the postmasters are subject to political patronage. It is my firm belief that politics should be taken out of our postal system and the postmasters should be selected on the basis of the competitive civil service without term. This is a more fair and equitable system and I believe the ultimate result would be better service, which we would all like to receive. Mail service is our major source of communications today and any improvement over the present system is most desirable. In any organization that is seeking improvement, one goes directly to the management—and this is where I think we should start—at the management level. The bill will completely eliminate political appointments and no prospective applicant would be permitted to seek assistance from any Member of Congress. Competitive examinations would be the sole proof of the applicant's ability to become a postmaster and the appointment would be made on the basis of merit.

It is to be clearly understood, of course, that this bill shall not affect the status or tenure of postmasters appointed prior to the enactment of this legislation.

The position of postmaster is an important one and the time has come when this position should be taken out of the realm of politics and the selection should be made on the basis of merit and efficiency. I urge its enactment. It is most important.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

MELVIN R. LAIRD,
Member of Congress.

TAKING POLITICS OUT OF POSTMASTER AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 1968

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTAL OPERATIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:15 a.m., in room 210, Cannon House Office Building, Hon. Arnold Olsen (acting chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. OLSEN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Today we will hear testimony from Hon. J. Edward Day, former Postmaster General of the United States, and may I add one of the greatest postmasters in our history. Mr. Jean Couturier, executive director, National Civil Service League, will also appear as a witness supporting the idea of a career service of postmasters and rural letter carriers.

I think we can, in view of the testimony today, get a better grasp of where we are and where we are going in the postal service. I think that, too long, we have little by little accepted the idea that the postal service is supposed to be a money maker, a business. No business that I know of could or would forward mail free of charge to the blind or serve every fraternal and charitable organization in the country through special postal rates. No business that I know of could or would take upon itself the job of distributing the Nation's magazines and newspapers at 18 percent of cost.

Postal employees are efficient. They deliver more mail than all other postal services in the world combined. Yet, these postal employees lack promotional opportunities, since 85 percent of them are never promoted during their entire careers regardless of whether they spend 30 years or more in the postal service.

I am convinced that every postal employee should have the right to aspire to any position in the postal service, including that of the postmaster. That is why we are here today to consider the bills that will do exactly that.

Now our first witness, Hon. J. Edward Day.

TESTIMONY OF HON. J. EDWARD DAY, FORMER POSTMASTER GENERAL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Mr. Olsen.

Mr. OLSEN. Proceed in whatever way you wish.

Mr. DAY. I am honored by your invitation to appear before this subcommittee.

You have asked me to give my views on politics in the Post Office and on the corporation plan which has been discussed during the past year.

I can summarize my views very briefly. I am against politics in personnel selections and promotions in the Post Office, but as a matter of principle, and not because I actually observed any serious abuses in this area which interfered with good mail service. I am against the corporation plan because I think the Post Office should be a Cabinet Department.

The so-called advisory system in selection of postmaster is an anachronism in the Federal service. The selection of key personnel on the basis of who you know rather than what you know has nothing to recommend it.

I do not say this because I feel that noncareer people appointed because of political endorsement have made incompetent postmasters. On the contrary, many of them, such as the postmasters of Los Angeles, Boston, and New Orleans, to mention but a few, have been outstanding. The problem is not with the individuals but with the system. Here are some of the reasons I think it should be changed.

First, the political appointment of postmasters is the fatal foot-in-the-door for too much politics in all post office personnel matters. It causes the post office to be thought of as a politics-ridden operation at all levels. As a result, party officials and officeholders of the party in power often feel that they should be able to manipulate promotions in the postal career service. Often they have gotten their way. This has led to situations where the less-qualified man is promoted. Such a man, whose subordinates know he has achieved his supervisory post by such a cynical method, cannot achieve the respect and cooperation he ought to have to do his job well.

Secondly, the daily involvement in partisan politics, which the current method of choosing postmasters encourages, invites other clumsy and inappropriate dislocations of post office activities to serve supposed political advantages. You have observed, for example, that too often talks at dedications of new post office buildings are really partisan political speeches. Decisions as to whether or where to build a new post office facility have often been controlled by political considerations. Petty politics has no place in policymaking for an organization with an enormous job to do. It wastes the time of busy officials, involves career and professional officials and partisanship, and requires evasions of forthrightness about Department decisions.

Third, people with top potential can be recruited into any organization only if they think they have a chance to advance to the top. If political considerations prevail in filling the top jobs, an important incentive to those down the line is lost and morale is damaged. It is also more difficult to recruit serious, professional-type people if they feel the atmosphere of Department decisions and operations is heavily political.

Fourth, the system of political appointment of postmasters requires the Civil Service Commission to engage in an inappropriate and less than forthright "Kabuki play" whereby civil service selection procedures are perverted to insure that the preselected man gets the job.

Sometimes, for example, the results of the first examination must be buried on some pretext or other and a new examination given at a later date. I covered this point, about Civil Service Commission involvement in political postmaster appointments, in an article I wrote 2 years ago when I was president of the National Civil Service League. I am submitting a copy of this article for the subcommittee's files. I feel the Civil Service Commission should not thus be involved in this byproduct of partisan politics. I have been consistent in this emphasis on the importance of keeping the Civil Service Commission out of politics. For example, I have more than once expressed the personal opinion that the Chairman of the Commission should not continue to serve on the White House staff as a so-called talent scout to find people who are to be considered for political appointments.

Fifth, in order for the system of political appointment of postmasters to work, it is necessary to perpetuate the requirement that postmaster appointees be residents of the delivery area of that particular office. This residence requirement is contrary to the invariable practice in other large organizations. It does not make sense to preserve a rule under which an outstanding postmaster in a small office can never move on to be head of a larger office. If a man does a superior job as postmaster of Rockville or Silver Spring he should be considered for promotion to postmaster of Baltimore or Cleveland. The present system cuts down incentive and prevents the most effective use of available talent.

On the second point on which your subcommittee asked me to comment—the proposal that the post office become a government corporation—a prestigious Presidential Commission is studying this matter and will soon have a report.

I doubt if any substantial number of those who have worked first-hand in actual post office mail operations will think this corporation proposal, if carried out, would accomplish much.

The speech by the Postmaster General a year ago advocating that his job not be a Cabinet post and that the Department become a Government, business-type corporation, has provided ammunition from a surprising source for those who delude themselves into believing that business has a monopoly on brains and efficiency and that Government employees and managers are lazy incompetents. It also invited invalid comparisons with operations having quite different problems and much different missions.

Perhaps the great respect I developed for the Post Office and its people resulted from the fact that I came there from a position as a top officer of a giant insurance company, one of the largest and best run corporations in the world.

I found the public bureaucracy of the Post Office very little different from the private bureaucracy of the insurance company.

Most of those in both organizations were average human beings trying to do a good job. Neither organization was perfect. Both made mistakes.

The Postmaster General should remain a Cabinet member with maximum status and bargaining power. He should not become some low-prestige functionary with limited public image and no significant platform from which to explain his problems.

The Post Office needs more prestige—not less; upgrading—not downgrading. It mainly needs adequate appropriations to do a top job.

The Postmaster General is the appropriate spokesman at the top level of Government on problems of employer-employee relations involving all the 2¼ million Federal employees.

I note in some of the editorials favoring the corporation plan an impression that the plan would get rid of the so-called postal deficit. I am firmly of the belief that the Post Office is just as much a public service function as the Department of the Interior or the Veterans' Administration. I don't see anyone jumping all over those Federal agencies because they have "deficits."

Thank you.

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Day.

I must say that I find myself very much in agreement with your statement on both points.

It is a fact that the Postmaster General has administration and influence over pay and working conditions of postal employees as the biggest impact, the biggest influence on the pay and working conditions of all of the Federal employees. I think that the Postmaster General, in his position, and the Post Office, itself, should be upgraded. I wanted to dwell just for a minute with you on this subject of deficits. I don't know how the so-called public corporation would change the postal rates on so many favorite organizations. I think that is the rock on which the proposal absolutely falls because there is so much public service for so many organizations getting advantageous postal rates.

I was thinking of charitable and religious organizations. I think that, with all the increase in rates, they are only going to pay 40 percent of the bulk third-class rate, so I guess it gets only as high as 1.6 cents. It is all well and good for people to say they ought to go to the Health, Education, and Welfare Department and get an appropriation to pay the whole postal bill, but I don't think it is within the realm of possibility. I wonder if you have any comment on it?

Mr. DAY. I think that is one of the big defects in the proposal. Of course, I have noticed in the large number of editorials, most of which seem to be favorable, that most everybody characterizes this corporation proposal as they think it ought to be, usually so it would solve some problem they don't like. I have even read editorials indicating it would get rid of certain types of mail which they might not like.

Well, I think that a corporation or anything else is going to have to carry the mail that is offered to it. I think that lots of the discussion I have seen indicates a feeling that the Post Office has been derelict in not overnight becoming completely automated. I think that lots of that feeling results from a failure to understand the difference between the telephone company, for example, and the Post Office.

You can certainly automate an electronic system, but unless you have an obnoxious degree of regimentation you are not going to be able to avoid, in the Post Office, having all kinds of addresses put on, not all with neat typing of a uniform kind that can be read by optical scanners, but misspelled words, old people's wavering scrawls, children's writing, foreign addresses, some of them typed, some of them written by hand, all different ways.

I don't think there is any machine that is going to read all of those different things. I don't think we want to require people to adopt artificial means to make their mail sizes and addresses uniform so that you can have machines do the sorting.

So while a great deal can and is being done in the way of automation, I don't think it is ever going to be possible to make the Post Office basically an automated proposition like the telephone system. The Post Office is going to continue to be an organization of people. Where people are involved, particularly where the ones addressing the mail frequently are careless or maybe ignorant or one thing and another, you are going to have opportunities for mistakes. But I think the mail service is remarkably good, myself.

Mr. OLSEN. This corporation notion, was that ever presented before, to your knowledge?

Mr. DAY. Yes; it has been proposed from time to time, Mr. Chairman. I think one proposal on it dated back to the early part of this century. I think that there have been numerous people who have come up with various approaches for this sort of thing, usually with the idea that it would eliminate this so-called deficit. Anybody could eliminate the so-called deficit if they had unlimited power to raise the rates any degree they wanted to without any regard for the impact on the public. But I don't think that that is a desirable end, whether it is a so-called corporation setup or whether it continues like it is, for the matter of adjusting the postal rates is a sensitive proposition. It shouldn't be done just according to some rigid formula which doesn't take into account the effect on the public. I think, in the absence of substantial additional rate increases, that your corporation proposal would, in many cases, increase your expense rather than reduce it.

If you had a real corporation-type operation, you would probably want to be in separate buildings. In many cases post offices now share rent-free, tax-free, space in Federal buildings with other Federal agencies. There are all types of cost reductions that are available to the Post Office as a Government agency that wouldn't be available to a private corporation. Even your fuel for Post Office trucks is remarkably low in price since it is bought by a Government agency instead of a private buyer.

The tax exemption of facilities and space is a big factor, so I think that the thought that the corporation plan would automatically bring about great increases in efficiency and economy and cut down costs is something that hasn't been proved.

Mr. OLSEN. I thank you, Mr. Day, very much.

Mr. Gross?

Mr. GROSS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Day, with certain exceptions. I want to commend you for your statement to the committee this morning.

I had read, some time ago, your policy statement and found it most interesting. On the basis of this, plus 8 years of experience when President Eisenhower was in the White House, I found the political appointments within the postal service to be a real headache.

If we are fortunate enough, and I believe we will be, to elect a Republican President in 1968, and I am fortunate enough to be re-elected, I hope that prior to that time we will have passed some kind of bill to take the Post Office out of politics, insofar as it is possible to do it. I don't want those headaches again.

Why do you feel that the elimination of Senate confirmation would take the politics out of the postmaster selections?

Mr. DAY. It won't, alone. I think there would have to be a decision by the Congress and by the administration that the whole advisory

system was going to be abolished and you would have to have the same ban on interference in selection that you have in other types of agencies where the regional officials and the local officials are selected purely on a merit system. It will take much more than changing your Senate confirmation route.

Mr. GROSS. Yes; because we would still have this play of politics before it ever came to the Senate, wouldn't we?

Mr. DAY. Yes; you would. I think a great deal of it could be eliminated if there were a decision by the administration to have the Civil Service Commission conduct a real selection process rather than accommodate itself to the advisory system as it is required to do under either party in the system that goes on.

Mr. GROSS. Are you acquainted with the bill which I introduced, H.R. 5284?

Mr. DAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. Although you have touched on some of the questions that I want to ask, I would like to repeat them for the record, Mr. Chairman.

The testimony by Congressmen who have appeared before the subcommittee seems to indicate that postmaster appointments are a burden they would like to get rid of. Has this been borne out by your experience as Postmaster General or what has been your experience?

Mr. DAY. A great many Members of Congress and of the Senate have made that observation to me. Oftentimes it is characterized in that little statement that every time you get somebody appointed to a patronage job you make one ingrate and 20 enemies. I used to think that was first said by Lincoln. He did say it but I discovered some time ago that that was once said by Louis XIV about appointments to his court, so this is a rather old problem. But I think it is true. I think it is incredible, observing it from the receiving end, as I did, the time that is taken up by some leading Members of Congress on a rural letter carrier appointment. Now, a rural letter carrier does provide a very important service. He is about the only Government man people out in the rural areas see, at least on a favorable basis. But he doesn't need to have his appointment take up the time of Senators and Members of Congress with all of the conflicts and competing delegations coming, and competing pressure groups in the area trying to get somebody appointed.

It is a waste of time and I don't think it really helps the Congressman politically because, in the case of the postmaster, he is at least formally insulated from political activity after he is appointed. Oftentimes a good man that has been active in the political organization gets the postmaster job and that is the end of him, politically.

I don't see where the so-called advantage is to the Congressman.

Another thing, of course, there is a great difference between fact and theory. I imagine this system was developed back in the days of Andrew Jackson and others as a reward for Members of Congress that were helpful. Now it is quite automatic and it is impracticable to deny use of the advisory system to a member of the party in power, no matter how uncooperative he has been.

Mr. GROSS. I say that any kind of financial contribution as a condition of appointment is reprehensible and as far as I am concerned it has never been done in the Third District of Iowa since I have been

in Congress. I think it is wrong that there be any kind of financial consideration involved for appointment of anyone in the postal service.

Mr. DAY. Definitely.

Mr. GROSS. I am sometimes concerned with the charge that only Congressmen are interested in patronage. Is there a system of patronage within the postal service? If so, will you describe it?

Mr. DAY. You mean in connection with the appointment of rural letter carriers and postmasters?

Mr. GROSS. That is right.

Mr. DAY. The advisory system is almost airtight as far as finding somebody who can be the one to make the recommendation, as you no doubt know.

If the Congressman in the particular district is not a member of the party in power, it then normally goes up to the Senator, if he is from the party in power. And in cases where there isn't a Senator that is the same party as the administration, then it may go to the Governor, it may go to the chairman of the State committee, but there is always somebody on that list that you can look to that is the one to call the turn.

On occasion, in States not very well represented by the party in power, it gets to some people that don't have very much connection with postal matters.

Mr. GROSS. Well, you were Postmaster General and you dealt with employee organizations and had a great deal to do in resisting political appointments. Can you describe some of the problems that you have had, briefly?

Mr. DAY. Well, my main effort, Mr. Gross, was to try to ward off efforts to interfere in the promotion process. As I have stated, I think that once the foot in the door exists from the political appointments of postmasters, that then many people in the political sphere think they are entitled to say who is going to be promoted within the career service and I think that is a very demoralizing factor for the service and it certainly has nothing to recommend it from the standpoint of efficiency and proper operation of the Department.

Also during the time that I was in office, about 40 percent of the postmasters that were appointed were career men.

Mr. GROSS. It has been my feeling, Mr. Day, from what you have said I believe we are in agreement, that a Member of Congress has no business whatever interfering in promotions within the postal service, as the system presently operates, except in the two areas of postmasters and rural carriers. He has no business whatever interfering, except in the case of a patent injustice or inequity. Are you in agreement with that?

Mr. DAY. Absolutely. I think there should be no political interference whatever in the promotion process. It is particularly important in the Post Office because there are a relatively small number of supervisory jobs in relation to the size of the Department. The opportunities to move on to a job above level 5 are rare. Many people, as you know, go through their whole 30 or 40 years of service and never have an opportunity to move up, but when those opportunities do come they should come on the basis of merit, entirely.

Mr. GROSS. I assume you know that in the bill that I have introduced, H.R. 5284, I provide drastic penalties. Would you agree that

drastic penalties for violations of the nonpolitical system, that would be set up under the terms of my bill, are in order?

Mr. DAY. Yes. There has to be some type of a strong force to make the thing work because there are certain less than conscientious people in any organization that like to nibble away at the rules and cut corners. I think it has to be made a serious offense.

I do feel, and you are in a better position to know about this than I, that it is hard to see just how you would actually carry out penalties against Members of Congress, unless there was some very outrageous situation.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Day, what is your understanding of the operation of the British postal system? I understand the operation is having some difficulties. Would you care to comment or are you acquainted with the situation?

Mr. DAY. I only know the broadest details, Mr. Gross. But their system had some features which were different than ours before they started. They had no political appointment of local postal officials. They had no residence requirements. A man who was an efficient head of a local office in a smaller community could move on to larger and larger communities. There are no political appointments of people that would be comparable to rural carriers and only two men in the whole British Post Office, at the time that I was in office, were political appointees: the actual Postmaster General and the first assistant. The Postmaster General there, as you know, is a Member of Parliament—very active in the government policy level as a member of the British Cabinet—and the Department is pretty much run by the career people day by day.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Day, I believe that it can be said that the General Accounting Office is held in high esteem by most of the Members of Congress. The Comptroller General holds office on a long tenure. I have provided in my bill, H.R. 5877, for long tenure for the Postmaster General. He would be removed from Cabinet status, but he would have long tenure.

What is your reaction to that? I don't believe this is downgrading the Postmaster General, but I would like your reaction.

Mr. DAY. Well, the Postmaster General, I think, can function most effectively if he is considered to have a good deal of derivative authority. One who is a direct appointee of the President and a member of his Cabinet does have the potential for more of that authority if he is thought to be close to the President like the present Postmaster General. I think that his power and prestige throughout the Department is increased and I think that is for the good. This post more and more and quite unavoidably and properly involves not just the administration of the organization of the Department, but it involves relationships with a number of employee organizations who are quite active and well organized and I think that the Postmaster General is in a better position if he is a person of some political power rather than merely having status in the job, merely having tenure in the job.

Mr. GROSS. This is where I have to disagree with you. We are trying to get this operation out of politics, Mr. Day, and you want to get it out of politics. You surely don't believe that a Postmaster General ought to wear two hats, as does the present Postmaster General, one a political hat and the other as a Postmaster General, running the Government's largest single business or service?

Mr. DAY. Well, I don't believe the fact that he is a political appointee himself and is subject to changing administrations requires in any way that there be political appointments and political influence in postmaster designations or in promotions down in the Department.

I think that there are agencies in Washington that have their heads appointed by the President, subject to political removal, who don't have this pattern of politics in selecting their personnel. That is what I speak of as the atmosphere of politics in the Post Office. I think that comes from these postmaster appointments rather than the Postmaster General's status.

Mr. GROSS. Isn't it in the interest of an organization as large as the Post Office Department to have as long a tenure as possible for a Postmaster General? Now 4 years is a short period of time and no business as big as this has the ramifications of the Post Office Department. I would hope that you would change your sights on the issue of the Postmaster General being divorced from politics and given a long tenure.

Mr. DAY. I had that aspect of your proposal in mind, Mr. Gross, in stating as I did that the Postmaster General is the spokesman for the administration as to all Federal employees, and there have been differences between administrations in their attitudes toward, and their relationships with, the Federal employees.

I think the Postmaster General should properly reflect the attitudes of the President, and that that can best be achieved by having him an appointee of the President.

Mr. GROSS. Yes; but I think we lose too much ground.

Mr. Chairman, I have taken far more than 5 minutes. I still have a question or two I would like to ask, but I don't want to take all the time.

Mr. NIX (presiding). I would like you to proceed, Mr. Gross. You may have more time.

Mr. GROSS. Thank you.

I think, Mr. Day, this is one of the keys to the proper operation of the Post Office Department—to take the Postmaster General out of politics by giving him a 12-year appointment and telling him to stay out of politics and run this huge business of collecting and distributing the mail.

You spoke of the postmaster in Los Angeles. There is no question but what it is possible to go out on the street and pick a man who has never been behind the counter in a post office, has never sold a stamp or issued a money order; there is no question but what you can go out and find this man through the political system and get a good postmaster in time; having gotten his experience at the expense of the taxpayer and the postal service during the period he is trained. But you are not saying that you couldn't get a good postmaster through selection from within the service; that you couldn't have gotten a good man right out of the Los Angeles Post Office, for instance, that the assistant postmaster wouldn't have been an equally good postmaster; you are not saying that, are you?

Mr. DAY. No; I am not. I feel, definitely, the appointment of fully qualified people within the service is desirable. Particularly, if the political reputation of the Post Office were diminished so that professional-type people would be more anxious to come in to positions in the Post Office.

I think one drawback in trying to recruit good potential management talent now is that people feel they can't get many of the jobs on the basis purely of merit. I mentioned the postmasters. I am anxious not to stultify the individuals. There are many outstanding postmasters, both parties, that have been appointed from completely outside and it is not unusual in many successful business concerns to bring people in from outside that haven't worked up from the bottom. But I think that doing it through the political route gives the Department a preoccupation and reputation which is harmful to efficiency.

Mr. GROSS. But you certainly wouldn't bring in to head an insurance company a man that had no experience whatever in finance, and preferably you would want him with experience in the insurance business, wouldn't you, to occupy a top position in an insurance company—your insurance company or any other?

Mr. DAY. Yes; I would think so.

Mr. GROSS. You wouldn't take a man who has been an executive of a railroad company to be the operating head of an insurance company, would you?

Mr. DAY. Well, I wouldn't want to exclude people without actual experience in postal operations. A big part of the job of a postmaster in a large office is a personnel and public relations function and I think a man can have those talents without having been in the Post Office.

I am not advocating it. On the other hand I don't want to indicate that I think all of the people that have been appointed without postal experience should never have been appointed.

Mr. GROSS. Well, I will agree with you on that. Would you care to comment in any other way upon H.R. 5284?

Mr. DAY. Well, the biggest concern that I did have was this matter of the practicality of penalties. I think that is a problem as to just how you bring this about. I think it would be a rather unhappy role for the Postmaster General to be trying to bring about penalties coming down on the heads of the Members of Congress. He would, of course, not be the actual one to administer that system, but he is the one that would often have the facts when we get involved in it.

Mr. GROSS. I don't quite understand how the penalties would be imposed by Congress if they were a matter of law?

Mr. DAY. Well, you know the difficulties of penalties of that kind. The difficulty of regulating everything in the congressional field, the problem which is also under consideration by some other committees with the lobbying, how you get better enforcement on that. Some are proposing on that, that that should go to the Comptroller General, but it is a difficult area of enforcement.

Mr. GROSS. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Day. Again I want to commend you for your statement and appreciate the fact that you have taken the time to come before the subcommittee this morning; and thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me so much time.

Mr. NIX. I want you to know that we are deeply grateful for the fact that you came here today. Mr. Olsen?

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I already expressed to Mr. Day my pleasure at his statement. I find I am almost completely in agreement with him. I, too, think there is a very sound reason for the Postmaster General to be a member of the Cabinet because it

is such a large organization, certainly the policies of the President ought to be felt.

It is well that the Postmaster General, running such a large organization, is pinned on the President's policy. I think his remaining in the Cabinet would be highly desirable.

I do think, of course, that every effort should be made that there be no outside interference in the way of politics. I think it can be depended upon as it has been in England.

Like yourself, I have been over there and visited with their postmaster general and his first assistant. Everyone else in the service are career-service, without respect to their residence.

A resident of Scotland, who shows real merit, could become Postmaster at London. Often, this is exactly what happens as in the insurance company or telephone company; right out of the ranks comes some great talent that goes all the way to the top.

Our residence requirement on postmasters would have to be eliminated, so that they could transfer a man from the smallest post office in the country to the biggest, simply because of merit. I think that would be a giant step. Any progress in this field would be a giant step this year. And I would like to see—on whatever consensus we can come to on this committee—some progress this year.

Thank you, Mr. Day, very much.

MR. DAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. NIX. Our next witness is Mr. Jean Couturier, executive director, National Civil Service League. We are happy to have you, Mr. Couturier. You may proceed.

**TESTIMONY OF JEAN COUTURIER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE LEAGUE, WASHINGTON, D.C.**

MR. COUTURIER. Good morning, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much for asking me here. I am Jean Couturier, executive director of the National Civil Service League. Returning on the 28th of March with Mr. Caplin, who is now our president, I very much wanted to commend General Day because not only was General Day president of the league, but we have also become good friends. He has taught me a lot about public administration and the postal system.

I didn't come prepared to give a formal statement today, because we will give a formal statement on the 28th, but I would like to talk to a couple of things and hold myself open for any questions. First of all, the National Civil Service League first got interested in this subject in 1881 when we then drafted what has now become the Pendleton civil service law.

Several members of our board, our president of that day, Dorman Eaton, Carl Schurtz, and William Curtis, drafted the first Federal civil service law. In their first draft, they required that all appointments in the Federal service below the policy level should be under a merit system and they included postmasters.

That particular part of the draft did not pass. From that day to this, the Civil Service League has continued to fight for the inclusion of postmasters in the civil service system, and the inclusion of rural letter carriers in the civil service system.

We have been successful in other areas of the Federal Establishment and in State and local governments, to the point today that the last great pool of Federal patronage is in the postal system.

It is our belief that the problems of the post office in this area are primarily systemic and financial, because the philosophy of a postal service as opposed to a profitmaking enterprise is unique.

But we do believe that the advisory system on appointments does not work effectively. It is a pernicious thing. It infects the whole postal system. It doesn't just affect the postmasters themselves. It goes down the line, as those of you on the committee, who have worked with the postal service closely, know.

I think we all know there is a lot of political logrolling. It is very difficult for a man to administer an agency if he doesn't have control over the staff under him.

It is also very difficult, I think, for a politician who is trying to represent his constituency to find himself constantly harassed by people asking for jobs or patronage of one sort or another.

I have never been an elected official, but I have worked with them all my adult life, and I have never heard one public official say to me that he was happy with the patronage system.

The postal system is bad, too, because the postmaster does get civil service tenure and if he happens to be a very able political person, this means that the politician at the local level who initially recommended him has lost his services to his party.

It also means that the postmaster, himself, is trying to be two things at one time, and it is very difficult for him to do this. We did urgently recommend that the Presidential nomination and the senatorial confirmation be eliminated for postmasters.

We believe very strongly a reform would be permitting postmasters to be promoted or transferred to larger offices or to different offices. We believe very strongly that the advisory system of rural carrier appointments is pernicious. Although it is informal, it is very effective, and we believe this should be eliminated as well. Just for historical reference, I was looking through our files the other day and I found that in 1902 the Civil Service League had its first fight with the President on the postmastership.

In 1912, our then president, Richard Henry Dand, corresponded with the then President of the United States, President Taft. They had a fight over a postmastership in Tennessee which had seriously impaired the postal delivery system in Tennessee. In 1922 we had further struggles. In 1925 Franklin Roosevelt was a member of our board and he very strongly endorsed the elimination of patronage among postmasters.

He had what he thought was a unique plan which was to write a grandfather clause and blanked all postmasters into the civil service. It was not taken up because the party out of power wouldn't permit it. But he did advocate it. It is our belief that the postal system will be much improved from top to bottom if you eliminate patronage.

I would like to comment on one of the statements that Congressman Gross made. This has to do with just the political nature of the postmaster himself, the very fact that he is a political person means that his office is a political institution and his post office is a political institution.

So it isn't really just the postmaster we are concerned with; it is the whole system. Beyond that, I have nothing else to say.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Couturier, is it your opinion that politics is as widespread across the country as it is commonly believed by many people?

Mr. COUTURIER. Not as widespread as commonly believed, but it is widespread. I remember one time I was teaching a course with one of the great scholars in this field. This was a course for low-ranking postal employees, and they were discussing an Executive order at that time. We got into a discussion of politics and the proper position for the rank and file. When we started out the general consensus of the group was that every promotion was politically tied.

When we got down to real discussions, it was not quite true. My personal opinion is that a great deal of this reform sprung from General Day's work in the merit promotion system. I think he eliminated a great deal of political logrolling, but I think it still does exist.

Mr. NIX. Let me ask you this. I am starting with the assumption that there are rules and requirements for promotion. There is an area of discretion, and it is in that field where political pressure might be exerted?

Mr. COUTURIER. Most frequently.

Mr. NIX. In the event that area were eliminated, do you think the problem would be solved?

Mr. COUTURIER. No; I don't. I have to go back in league history on this for a moment. We were the father of the concept of one out of three on the promotional list. We have now shifted our position on this. We have had enough experience with this to know that people can manipulate a system and do manipulate it. But our initial intent was, in the rule of one of three, to get politics out of promotions.

We now find it has not worked that well, and this had had some bad effects in terms of management decisionmaking.

I think you might have less politics if you had a one out of one appointment, but I think the burden on efficiency of the operation would be so great it would not be the wisest thing to do.

Mr. NIX. Since any system can be manipulated, then it is reasonable to assume that whatever system we devise could still be manipulated. There would still be charges of politics.

Mr. COUTURIER. I think so. But I think much less, that is the key. The other key is the atmosphere within the institution that it changes—the morale of the employees and the ability of the managers to manage.

Mr. NIX. One other question. In view of the prevalence of strikes—local governments, teachers, transit strikes—I would like to hear your comment on the probability of strikes if we change the system.

Mr. COUTURIER. This is a personal opinion that I have gained from my own personal experience in public employment. I am personally convinced that there will be strikes in the postal system.

I am personally convinced there will be strikes in the Federal service. My own guess is that they are most likely to occur in the large installations on nonfinancial issues, moral issues, grievance problems.

But, if I read the history of organized labor correctly, we are in for a great period of militancy among Federal employees. I think there will be an increase in strikes rather than a decrease.

Mr. OLSEN. Will the Chair yield for a question?

Mr. NIX. Yes.

Mr. OLSEN. What would be your prediction on that question if this organization became a corporation?

Mr. COUTURIER. A private corporation?

Mr. OLSEN. Yes.

Mr. COUTURIER. If the employees were made part of a truly private corporation, not a quasi-governmental one and the employees were put in the same positions as private industry, I think you would most probably have strikes much sooner, for two reasons.

First of all, presumably they would come under the labor relations laws, the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Act. Secondly, I think, in the initial stages of the reorganization, there would be a great deal of turmoil and fear on the part of the employees. There would be a great deal of opportunism on the part of some employees. From these things, I think there would be a great foment.

If this corporation had total budgetary freedom, I think you would find a strong push for substantial salary increases. And I think this would result in strikes much sooner.

Mr. OLSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Mr. Gross.

Mr. GROSS. I take it, then, you are not for the corporation idea?

Mr. COUTURIER. I can't say institutionally, because we have not, as an organization, examined the issue. My own personal opinion is that I don't think it gets to the root of the problem. In my judgment the root of the problem is—first, I think we must decide whether or not we want our postal system to be a social service or if we want it to be a profitmaking enterprise.

I think the history of our country is that we want it to be a social service, which means it will not be a profitmaking institution.

If it were a private corporation, it would still have to come to the Congress for funds in substantial amounts. I don't see how this would change the nature of the problem in the Post Office Department. This is my personal opinion.

Mr. GROSS. Would you say it might well open it to more evil—well, evil is not necessarily the word.

Mr. COUTURIER. That is hard to say. I think a lot would depend upon how the law was drafted, how the management was chosen, and what kind of authority the management would have.

For instance, I can see something like the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, which has a great deal of autonomy.

Mr. GROSS. Have you read the bill that I introduced?

Mr. COUTURIER. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. GROSS. What is your reaction to a long tenure, say 12 years for a Postmaster General, free from politics?

Mr. COUTURIER. Here, again, I am speaking personally, but I am afraid I have to disagree with you, Mr. Congressman. I am not against the long tenure, but I don't think it gets at the problem.

It is my experience in public administration that a man who is running an agency must have authority. He must have authority both within the administration and within the legislative body. Under this proposal, he loses his authority within the administration. He no longer has a mandate if he is appointed for a 12-year, 14-year term, or 6-year term. But, nevertheless, he still must come to Congress. And I think he is weakened because he then has to negotiate with a whole series of people.

Mr. GROSS. Well, what makes you think this would operate any differently than the General Accounting Office in the matter of divorcement from politics?

Mr. COUTURIER. Because the postal system is deeply involved. It is a political issue. It is deeply involved in services to the people, directly. You remember, for example, when they canceled the double deliveries of mail, this created a great furor in the Nation. The effect of that required some political support from the President in that instance.

The General Accounting Office is effectively an arm of the Congress, as I see it. It is not fraught with day-to-day political policy decisions—what kind of mail deliveries shall we have—

Mr. GROSS. Well, that is what we are trying to get away from here—the political decisionmaking in the Post Office Department.

Mr. COUTURIER. In the appointment of staff, that is right.

Mr. GROSS. Whether it be Democrat or Republican is beside the point. That is what we are trying to get away from.

Mr. COUTURIER. I am talking about a different kind of political situation. I am talking here not about staff. The staffing of the agency is one thing. The managing is another thing. The policy decision, whether that agency of the Post Office is going to deliver mail free or is going to charge \$10 for a letter—these are political decisions.

Mr. GROSS. But there is still Congress back of that?

Mr. COUTURIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. If they say service should be suspended on Saturday, that is the way it would be, regardless of whether the Postmaster General has a long tenure of office or doesn't have. They are still back of the setup. What we are trying to do is get this operation out of the crosscurrents of politics. Again, I believe you stated your opposition to senatorial confirmation of postmasters, but under the terms of the bill which I have introduced, I am trying to deal with the realities and the facts of life. I don't think that at the outset you are going to take away confirmation from the Senate, but if you put the Postmaster General, divorce him from politics and the general operation of the Post Office Department, I would not want to be a Senator who would try to apply politics to set up, under the terms of H.R. 5284, who would turn down the appointment of a postmaster for political capricious reasons. I would not want to be in the shoes of a Senator who voted that way.

Mr. COUTURIER. The only area I am disagreeing with you on is that I don't believe the Postmaster General would be removed from politics under such a system so long as he continued to come to the Congress for appropriations or policy decisions. And I think he ought to.

Mr. GROSS. Well, the General Accounting Office comes to Congress for appropriations.

Mr. COUTURIER. I know. And for policy decisions.

Mr. GROSS. It seems to me this agency of the Government has worked very well through the years. They come to Congress for appropriations, and their conduct is prescribed by Congress. The agency is bound by certain laws and so on and so forth.

No; I am afraid I can't agree with you on either count. I don't see how the Senate could turn down the appointment of a postmaster except for reasons that had not been discovered by the Post Office

Department or by the Postmaster General or whatever you want to call him, the manager of the total operation.

I just don't see how they can turn a man down, fail to confirm him for the office except for previously undiscovered reasons relating to his character, past reputation, so on and so forth. I wouldn't want to be a Member of the Senate and do this.

Mr. COUTURIER. You are saying that you won't eliminate politics from the appointment of postmasters unless you had this long tenure.

Mr. GROSS. Yes; I think this is true, but I was speaking in my last observation with respect to Senate confirmations. I don't think the Senate, initially at least, is going to surrender the right to have some voice in this business. This is a practical reality, but I see no problem there if we take the operation of the Post Office Department out of politics and provide for the appointment of postmasters from the career service.

Mr. COUTURIER. I think we agree. I think the only thing we disagree on—I am not convinced this kind of tenure for the Postmaster General will take the postmastership out of politics.

Mr. GROSS. Well, how else do you get it out of politics?

Mr. COUTURIER. Well, I believe if you eliminate the political aspects of appointments of staff—as it has been done throughout most of the rest of the Federal Establishment, you will not totally eliminate politics, but you will substantially. It is much less, and you change the climate of an organization from a political climate to a career climate, then I think you will do a great deal toward eliminating the political situation.

Mr. GROSS. Well, I don't see how you can continue the Postmaster General on the basis of Cabinet status and susceptibility to politics, and I think there ought to be more continuity.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. NIX. Just this observation. Whatever we do, we are not going to succeed in eliminating the problem that is in the forefront of our minds, and that is politics. And whatever we do, we are going to create other problems.

Mr. COUTURIER. That is right. I think you will go a long way toward eliminating politics, but I don't think you will totally eliminate it. I am sorry that is so; I wish it weren't so.

Mr. GROSS. If I thought that was true, I wouldn't be wasting a minute in this hearing room and on this bill if I thought that was true, that we couldn't eliminate at least an awful lot of the politics in the Post Office Department.

Mr. COUTURIER. I think we would eliminate almost all of it, but there would still be some. This is the nature of the animal.

Mr. GROSS. You agree that it must be accompanied with severe penalties or drastic penalties, don't you, in order to make it work?

Mr. COUTURIER. I don't know. I believe it was Congressman Pike's bill which said that any applicant who seeks political support would be disqualified.

I don't think that would work immediately, but I think over the long run it would be the most effective way of evoking some sort of sanction. I think it would succeed.

Mr. GROSS. I just happen to think Mr. Macy, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, ought to be wearing one hat and not two. I think this is carrying politics entirely too far. I think he ought to be the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and not the political

adviser to the President on personnel matters. I think this is as wrong as it can be.

Thank you very much.

Mr. COUTURIER. Thank you.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Couturier, nice to have you here.

Our next witness is Mr. Kit Haynes, legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Federation, Washington, D.C. We are glad to have you.

TESTIMONY OF KIT H. HAYNES, ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. HAYNES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to correct one thing: I am assistant legislative director.

Mr. NIX. I am in a mood to make promotions.

Mr. HAYNES. Thank you very much.

We appreciate the opportunity to present the views of the American Farm Bureau Federation with respect to legislation relative to the selection of postmasters.

The American Farm Bureau Federation is a general farm organization of more than 1,753,000 member families in more than 2,770 county farm bureaus located in 49 States and Puerto Rico. For obvious reason, each of these families has an interest in the mail service and the degree to which it serves their day-to-day needs.

Because of this continuing interest in an efficient and soundly operated postal service, Farm Bureau for many years has recognized the need for improvements in postal service and operational economics consistent with sound administrative procedures.

At our most recent annual meeting, at Chicago last December, voting delegates reaffirmed a policy on postal service which contains the recommendation that, "Postmasters should be selected on the basis of merit rather than political considerations."

The numerous bills now before this subcommittee relate to many aspects of Post Office Department personnel selection and administrative procedures with respect to which we have no policy. We shall not attempt to make recommendations on these provisions. In line with our established policy, we do endorse the proposal in a number of the bills that provides for postmasters to be selected on a merit basis.

Since the U.S. postal service was established by the Congress in 1789, it has grown into a business which in the 1969 fiscal year will reach an estimated volume of more than \$6.3 billion and will handle more than 85 billion pieces of mail or other transactions. The tremendous growth in mail volume reflects growth of the Nation, both in area and in population, and also reflects the growth and increasing complexity of the Nation's business operations.

Although agriculture is declining both in numbers of producers and in land area devoted to production, it certainly is keeping pace with other segments of the economy in terms of a growing complexity of production and marketing processes. As a result, farm families—like nonfarm families—are increasingly dependent upon an efficient postal service.

Any business which has attained the volume which our postal service has reached—either dollarwise or in terms of transactions—

requires and deserves the most skillful and imaginative management obtainable. It requires management personnel with both basic training in the skills required for efficient performance of duty and also that training acquired best by experience.

Selection of postmasters—top management in their respective areas—on a merit basis would help to provide the type of managers required for an efficient and progressive postal service responsive to the public interest.

We thank you for hearing our views on this important issue, and we respectfully recommend that you approve legislation to further improve the postal service.

Mr. NIX. Thank you Mr. Haynes. You mentioned only postmasters. Is it your view that other employees and supervisory positions could be appointed as a result of political pressures?

Mr. HAYNES. No, sir. Our delegates didn't get into that area. I would presume that they would apply the same principle to other employees in the service but, as I say, it is only a presumption because the policy that I stated is one sentence out of the whole policy and it did not get into other personnel.

Mr. NIX. Consistent with your personal views, don't you believe that we ought to take any action that is meaningful, and that it will be necessary to restructure the entire system? We can't go about it in a piecemeal manner and expect the kind of results that everyone seems to want. Don't you think that?

Mr. HAYNES. That would be my personal view, that it should be on a merit basis throughout the entire service. As I say, that is only a personal view.

Mr. NIX. In the event that a private corporation were established and substituted for the present system, there is very great likelihood of having the same trouble with strikes that local governments, municipalities, other organizations now must contend with.

Don't you think that would be one of the deterrents to our action in this field?

Mr. HAYNES. You mean the establishment of a public corporation?

Mr. NIX. Yes.

Mr. HAYNES. Well, that is another area in which our delegates did not deal with the issue and I would rather not make a comment on it for the reason that the Presidential Commission's report is due soon. And I would presume that at that time or at the next annual meeting the delegates would take another look at the whole thing and probably would adopt a new resolution or policy statement which would cover those things. And, as a staff member, I would prefer not to comment on it. I certainly couldn't comment as a spokesman.

Mr. NIX. I quite understand.

Mr. Gross?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Haynes, on the surface the two that are the subject to the greatest political influences are postmasters and rural carriers. We all know that politics is involved on down the line, more in some areas than others. On the surface we deal outright with postmasters and rural carriers.

Now, I assume you want to see rural carriers come from within the career service, do you not?

Mr. HAYNES. Well, this again, Mr. Gross, is a matter with which our board of delegates did not deal and in view of the fact that the

report is coming out and I would imagine that the delegates would like another look at the matter and probably adopt a policy, I would prefer, sir, not to comment.

Mr. GROSS. You wouldn't care to comment on the——

Mr. HAYNES. Well, I couldn't comment as a spokesman.

Mr. GROSS. Well, wouldn't you agree that rural carriers ought to come from within the career service?

Mr. HAYNES. Well, that is my personal judgment; yes, sir, but it is purely a personal judgment.

Mr. GROSS. Well, I appreciate that.

Mr. HAYNES. As I say, I cannot commit our delegates to something on which they have not adopted a policy.

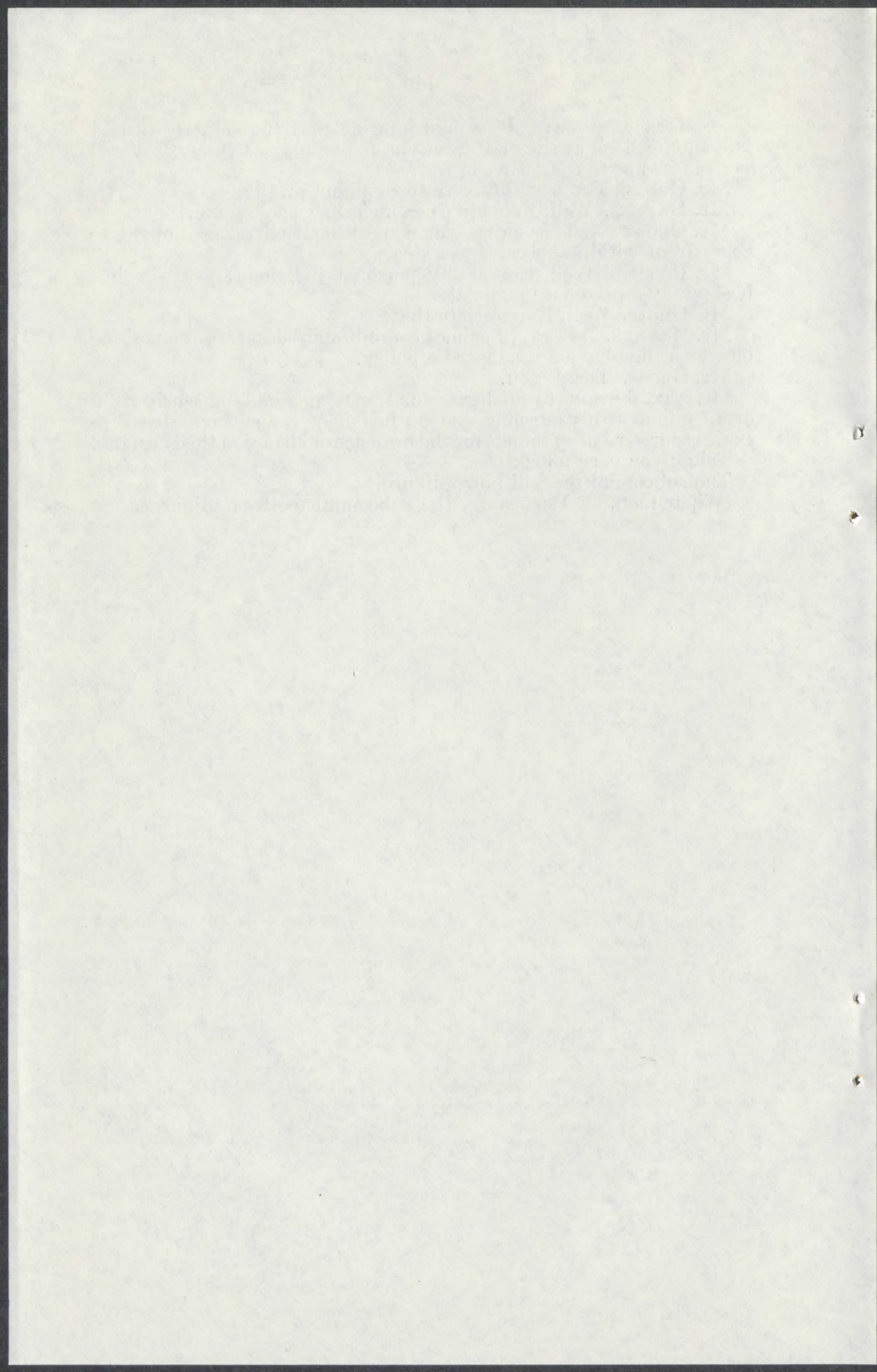
Mr. GROSS. Thank you.

Mr. NIX. I want to apologize for my unavoidable absence of 30 or 40 minutes this morning and on behalf of the subcommittee, to express our very deep thanks for the presence of all of you this morning.

Thank you very much.

The subcommittee will now adjourn.

(Whereupon, at 11:35 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.)



TAKING POLITICS OUT OF POSTMASTER AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE

THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1968

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTAL OPERATIONS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 10:02 a.m., in room 2216, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Robert N. C. Nix (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. NIX. The subcommittee will be in order.

Mr. Mortimer Caplin, president of the National Civil Service League, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue in the Kennedy administration, and now a senior partner in the distinguished law firm of Caplin & Drysdale, of Washington, D.C., will testify in reference to his own personal experiences in Government in reference to political patronage. The bills we are discussing all have as their objective the ending of the patronage system in reference to postmaster appointments.

This system has been a burden to Congress ever since the Civil War, when President Lincoln found that his time in the White House was taken up with postmaster appointments rather than fighting the war.

A system was arranged whereby a postmaster had to have the recommendation of his Congressman before he was hired. This system has dragged on ever since. It is an embarrassment to the Congress. It is not that politically appointed postmasters are incompetent—most of them are capable—but the employees of the Post Office feel that they are forever cut off from advancing themselves.

I have scheduled these hearings because I believe that every postal worker should be able to aspire to the top position in his post office. I don't think we should ever say to any American worker, "You cannot hope for better things; you had better be satisfied with your pension."

Mr. Caplin, I welcome you today as one of the best appointees of the late President John F. Kennedy; and, may I add, that your appointment, I suggest, was a political one.

TESTIMONY OF MORTIMER CAPLIN, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE LEAGUE, ACCOMPANIED BY JEAN J. COUTURIER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE LEAGUE

Mr. CAPLIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your most generous remarks. I want to extend my appreciation to you and the committee for inviting me to present the views of the National Civil Service

League on the important issue of eliminating political considerations in making postal appointments.

The league strongly supports current proposals to bring postmasters and rural letter carriers into the career merit system of civil service. We have consistently supported this position, and it fits foursquare with our purpose of fostering good government through efficient civil service concepts and quality public administration.

Our interest in this important reform stems from the work of the league's early leaders: Dorman Eaton, William Curtis, and Carl Schurz. They worked with Senator George H. Pendleton and drafted the famous 1883 Civil Service Act, which he authored, and saw it passed as the first major study and factfinding effort on the question of postmaster appointments.

Over the years we have regularly stated our view that postal appointments below top policy levels should be based on merit and fitness, free from political influence or control. Our many policy statements and frequent testimony given on request to Presidents, Congresses, and others over the years bore fruit. The merit system grew in the post office, as in all government. Today, however, the last great pool of patronage in the Federal Government is confined to approximately 70,000 public employees serving, in roughly equal numbers, as postmasters and as rural letter carriers. The current system of political clearance for postmasters and rural carriers is a throwback to the last century, when these employees were quite often the only local representatives of the Federal Government. Today their appointment, through political processes, is a source of trouble and embarrassment to many Members of Congress, and a severe impediment to the best management of the postal system.

Mr. Chairman, we specifically urge—

- (1) Abandoning the system of Presidential nomination and senatorial confirmation of postmasters, and removing residence requirements so as to provide opportunities for promoting and transferring able postmasters;

- (2) Establishment of full civil service provisions for appointment and promotion of both postmasters and rural letter carriers; and

- (3) Elimination of the adviser system for appointing rural letter carriers.

Our board of directors has again studied this question carefully. We have prepared a formal policy statement of the National Civil Service League entitled, "Abandoning Patronage in Postal Appointments."

To save your committee some time, I would like to present you with that statement at this time for inclusion in the record.

Mr. NIX. Without objection it will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The statement follows:)

ABANDONING PATRONAGE IN POSTAL APPOINTMENTS

The National Civil Service League at this time once again forcefully reiterates its long-standing call for the elimination of the historic patronage system governing the appointment of postmasters and rural letter carriers by the Federal Government. The League urges elimination of the archaic practices of political appointment in the belief that the public climate is receptive to this long overdue

reform and in the conviction that the general drive for efficiency and economy of Federal operations, sparked by President Johnson, is uniquely applicable to the multi-million dollar post office operations.

At no time has the postal service been faced with such critical public evaluation of its performance in delivering the mails. Technical improvements have been and are being made; but significantly contributing to the problem is the system of political preferment which impairs the development of a corps of postal managers fully qualified for the high level managerial competence called for by one of the world's largest enterprises.

In the early years of the nation's political and commercial life, the mail was the sole organized system of communication and local post offices a few miles apart represented virtually the only outpost of Federal Government in vast reaches of the nation. Then the appointment of the postmaster by political favor could be rationalized with the argument that there was a need to bring government closer to the people through a local representative of the dominant political party.

However, the expansion of the Federal services in many fields and to all sectors of the country as well as the demand for superior managerial talent in postal administration makes the opportunistic appointment of postmasters through a system of political preference totally obsolete. Moreover, in the light of contemporary demands for postal service, the present system of postmaster appointment—upon political advice with confirmation by the Senate—is no longer responsive either to postal or political considerations and no longer serves the Republic well. The time for urgent reform is already decades behind us.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As President-elect in 1860, the first problem Abraham Lincoln tackled was which newspaper publisher in Chicago would be named postmaster. Publicly acknowledged and accepted at that time was the understanding that the publisher who backed the right candidate would be offered the local postmastership as his reward. Times have changed, yet the system of appointment based on the same relationship of local politics to postal patronage has survived through today.

In the nineteenth century the postmaster, as the only political appointee, was the Federal Government in many communities. That he was appointed by the incumbent administration and served a quasi-political local role far beyond delivery of the mail was, though inefficient, consonant with the Jacksonian concept of spoils and consistent with the practices of local political power structures.

At that time the professional demands of his job were small and the political demands were large. There was no other department of the government which provided a Federal presence in local communities. Furthermore, the political role of the postmaster evolved in an era in which every significant Federal position, including that of top military leadership, was filled by political preferment. Since 1883, however, under the stimulus of the civil service reform movement, all this has changed and the concept of merit in the public service has now become an accepted and cherished component of our governmental structure. Our Federal civil service has become renowned for the range of its services and the expertise of its personnel.

Yet, by a strange quirk of fate and time, the great civil service refinements of the early twentieth century bypassed the postmaster. As government and the postal system grew in complexity and importance, the postmaster remained in a sacrosanct back water. By the mid-20's, Postmaster General Hays could recognize the incongruity of the purely political appointee named in the tradition of local patronage but no longer responsive to the requirements of the job. It wasn't until 1937, however, that the increasingly complex postal operation persuaded the Roosevelt administration and the Congress, albeit with some reluctance, to move in the direction of reform.

The resultant Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Act placed all postmasters under the coverage of civil service once they had received Senate confirmation. This represented some ostensible advance. Yet the practical effect was to continue the anachronism of the political postmaster wholly alien to a modern management environment.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

The accepted current system for appointing postmasters is not widely known. In essence, the system superimposes political advice and preference upon the examination and qualification standards which generally apply to Federal civil service positions.

Under the Ramspeck-O'Mahoney Act enacted in 1938, postmasters of the first, second and third class are selected under civil service procedures with appointment by the President upon confirmation by the U.S. Senate. Thus, the Civil Service Commission is responsible for developing registers of qualified applicants through open competition for the position of local postmaster. The Commission has centralized post office examination functions in its Postal Examining Division. When a postmaster vacancy occurs, written examinations are given for filling positions in PFS levels 5 through 9. For PFS level 10 and above, representing the larger communities, the competitive examination is unwritten and consists of a rating of the candidate's experience and qualifications against the established qualification standards. With verification of the applicants' claims in their applications. Following the rating process, the names of the top three eligibles are certified to the Postmaster General, who is authorized to select one of these subject to veterans' preference provisions. The Postmaster General recommends formal appointment by the President, who transmits his nominations for confirmation by the U.S. Senate. This description represents the formal procedure—what actually happens outside formal civil service channels is another story.

It is the requirement for Senate confirmation which draws the whole business of appointing postmasters into the political arena. The key to the procedure for selecting postmasters is the "advisor" system, which is in no way sanctioned or even recognized in law but which governs the process as surely as if it were written into the statutes. The advisor system rests on long tradition and historic precedent. The salient point here is that in de facto terms the advisor selects the local postmaster with the whole civil service procedure representing little more than a facade of false respectability.

A carefully accurate and up-to-date list of advisors is maintained in the Office of the Postmaster General. Usually the advisor is the local Congressman of the dominant party. By historic privilege, he reserves the right to "appoint" the local postmaster. Should the opposition party be in local power, then the advisor is a member of the majority party—a Senator, a State or County Chairman, or perhaps the Governor. Whoever the advisor may be, by well accepted political agreement, his word is law in this sphere and all other parties are bound to support the choice of the advisor.

Thus, when a vacancy occurs in a postmastership by resignation, retirement or death, the first one likely to know is the local county chairman of the political party then in power in Washington. Sometimes the local chairman hears directly from the Post Office, however informally, or if the outgoing postmaster is of the same political faith, the chairman may well be alerted long before the established postal authorities are aware that there will be a vacancy. The district Congressman, Senators and other political leaders in the state then get the word fast. Ultimately, the notice of a vacancy filters through to the Civil Service Commission by way of official post office channels.

A strangely schizophrenic pattern then follows. On the one hand, the Post Office Department arranges for an examination with the Civil Service Commission and is concerned with matters of qualification standards, nature of the examination, veterans' preference, and the like. At the same time, the local political organization is deeply locked in negotiations over the recommendation it shall make to the designated Congressional advisor, who in turn will impart the distilled wisdom of this procedure to the Post Office as governing the ultimate selection. These decision-makers unfortunately give but scant attention to the civil service standards being solemnly proclaimed by the Post Office Department and the Civil Service Commission.

A whole lexicon of euphemistic jargon has grown up to obscure the formal procedure. First, obviously, an acting postmaster must be named while the formalities of civil service selection procedures are being pursued. The advisor, in fact, names the temporary postmaster and there is no requirement that he meet any qualification standards because of the temporary nature of his appointment. But now begins the procedure of examinations solemnly conducted, often in some embarrassment by the Civil Service Commission. Thus, the permanent postmaster will be chosen from among the first three in a competitive examination unless, despite the Hatch Act, a career employee has achieved sufficient political stature to be recommended. It is at this point that the whole charade begins, turning the formal civil service process into a mockery. For, while the choice will be made among the top three in the examination, it becomes clear quite early that the political advisor will make that choice.

There are a number of other devices for making sure that the politically favored candidate finally gets the post.

Sometimes the examination has to be given more than once over a long period of time because available "advice" cannot recommend any of those who emerged from the examination among the top three.

New examinations are called for on technical grounds until the "right" name shows up.

Sometimes postal delivery areas have to be redrawn to assure the eligibility for examination of the person who, predictably, will be the beneficiary of the proper advice—or, conversely, to eliminate the better qualified individuals.

Sometimes the acting postmaster, already politically endorsed, is in office for a sufficiently long time for his experience as an incumbent to boost him into the top three on a subsequent examination so that once again advice can be pertinent.

The entire procedure, remarkable in its cynicism and even more remarkable in its transparency, often goes on for many months. Finally, the advisor's recommendation, gratefully received by a Post Office Department whose local office has been in a state of inefficient turmoil during this entire tedious process, finally appears on a long list of names which goes to the White House. From there the nomination goes to the Senate of the United States.

The President's nominations are referred to the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, which in turn reports the names of the nominees to both Senators from the subject states. At this point Senatorial courtesy takes over and no further move is made on the President's nominations until both Senators give notification that they have no objection to any of the recommended postmasters in their states. The senior Senator of the dominant party, prior to his no objection clearance, will refer the particular nominee to the advisor, who is likely to be his colleague in the other House. This serves as a double check, and the Senator does not release the name until he is satisfied that the person on the President's list is actually the selectee of the Congressman or other advisor. This solidifies the whole process and gives absolute assurance as to the political reliability of the nominee.

Finally, the entire Senate of the United States votes on the nominee who has been so scrupulously selected by his political peers. With the advice and consent of the Senate, a postmaster has now been chosen. Unfortunately, the results, after all this passage of time and slow grinding of mills, all too often give the postal establishment a local manager far less qualified than standard civil service procedures could provide in much less time, at much less expenditure, and with far less theatrics.

DEFICIENCIES OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM

Not surprisingly, the postmaster selected in this fashion is something short of the complete product of the civil service structure. Once confirmed by the Senate, he automatically achieves full civil service status. All of the fringe benefits, retirement advantages, and similar emoluments which the majority of public servants earn through the years of their progress through the ranks become his by fiat. His civil service tenure rights protect him from dismissal except for deficiencies of character or performance under civil service procedures.

The present system is inconsistent with the whole concept of merit in government employment. There is simply no assurance that the best or near best is finally chosen for the job.

The system has the potential for operating as a depressant on the morale and aspirations of the many devoted, able and experienced subordinate postal officers in local centers. They cannot aspire to the top of the hierarchy in the local office because this post is reserved for political appointment. Thus, an artificial ceiling is imposed on opportunities for advancement except in those occasional instances where a subordinate employee gains political favor and is the recipient of political preferment.

The system contributes to a political, nonprofessional atmosphere that tends to discourage young, vigorous talent from making careers in the postal service. Bright young men rarely consider seeking appointment in the Post Office Department. Yet this is precisely the type of person the Department requires. The available pool of talent shrinks yearly.

The system fosters a political climate in the post offices of our local communities with postal employees tending to assume a coloration of political activity sharply different from their civil service associates in other departments. Not only does the postmaster enter the career service through a back door in the system, but the manner of his selection erodes the prestige of the service among the largest single group of classified employees in the government.

The system absorbs the time of high officials who should be concerned with operating problems rather than devoting excessive energy in the endless negotiation and maneuvering incident to the processes of political conciliation. Even the President is not immune to these drains on his precious time. The system places the Civil Service Commission in the anomalous position of participating in a travesty on the concept of merit in public employment.

It may be further noted that on occasion politically appointed postmasters with strong and active political backing tend to feel they can resist supervision by headquarters superiors. This is particularly true since the creation during the past decade of regional offices staffed with career personnel. Such conflict of loyalties clearly impairs good management.

One further problem of vital importance deserves mention: The statutes impose a residence requirement on the appointment of all postmasters. This automatically requires that only local residents can be considered for any postmaster vacancy. Thus, the system does not permit flexible utilization and advancement of those postmasters who, whatever the defects of the political appointment process, prove in fact to be capable postal administrators. They cannot be advanced to higher responsibilities by transfer to another large city under present statutory limitations which were originally put in the law to protect the right of political designation by the local party.

It should also be noted that the advisor system described earlier for postmasters is used in selections to fill vacancies among the 35,000 rural letter carriers even though no Senate confirmation is involved. While these men do not have management responsibilities and the qualifications are different from those of postmasters, the retention of political selection is an anachronism which has no place in the Federal personnel system. The League, therefore, strongly urges the end of the advisor system for rural letter carriers as well as postmasters.

THE MYTH OF POSTAL PATRONAGE AS A SOURCE OF POLITICAL STRENGTH

The sanctity of the patronage system applying to postmasters has been passed from Congressman to Congressman and from party to party with all the untouchability of a graven tablet. Both its ethics and its effectiveness in practical political terms have been little discussed. Yet the notion that the right to name local postmasters and rural letter carriers represents an undeniable source of political strength to political leaders is distinctly a myth.

Thus, the modern, sophisticated politician knows that the patronage system often creates enemies of those who do not succeed in getting one of the few plums the system offers. Even the favored appointee may become an ingrate and the whole system often opens rifts in party ranks. To name one of the best as Postmaster, the party sacrifices his talent under the strict dictates of the Hatch Act. To name less than their best, the party runs the risk of identification with a local post office performing under second rate management.

The subterfuges and anomalies of the present advisory charade are becoming apparent to an increasing number of Congressmen. Many are now side stepping their advisory role. They either seek a career man to recommend or make an effort to put the burden on the Post Office with a truly open competitive examination. But at the local level the tradition dies harder. It is the local or county political organization of both parties as well as the member of Congress who must be sold on reform.

Another disadvantage of the present system concerns the diversion of legislative time entailed. While the total time devoted to postmaster confirmation in the Senate—two floor actions and a single committee action on each group of nominees—seems relatively brief, the assumption is deceptive. Approximately one postmastership in every sixteen becomes vacant annually. For each, the Congressional advisor and his staff devote an enormous amount of time in correspondence with applicants, with the Post Office, and with their local political organizations. Often trips and conferences at home and with party officials go on for weeks and not infrequently for months. Members of the Senate and House postal committees who have a policy role in all aspects of the career service become the focal point of advisory pressure. This deep and continual involvement of Congressional committees and their staffs in postmaster patronage not only consumes much of their time but also a negative effect on the creditability of the same personnel as guardians of the career-merit concept.

For all these reasons—the myth of political advantage, the inordinate diversion of time, and the growing realization of the need for top management strength—there is a mounting readiness in the Congress for reform on this front. We are

particularly encouraged by the recent strong recommendation of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, co-chaired by Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, that the patronage system applying to postmasters and rural mail carriers be finally and unequivocally abandoned. Many other legislators have submitted bills to this end

RECOMMENDATIONS

The entire history of the civil service, the postal establishment and the political system demands the elimination of this throwback to the last century. The following steps are basic essentials to effecting the elimination of the political appointment of postmasters and improving postal management:

(1) Repeal of the statutory requirement for confirmation of postmasters by the U.S. Senate and abandonment of the advisor process.

(2) Provision for appointment to postmaster rank exclusively through the merit system based on open competitive or promotional examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission.

(3) Elimination of the resident requirement and granting limited authority to transfer incumbent postmasters to other post offices.

(4) Elimination of the advisor system for appointing rural letter carriers and selection strictly through civil service merit procedures.

The ultimate tragedy of the postmaster system today is its simple failure to produce the kind of person the post office most needs. We urge the President to initiate and the Congress to enact these long overdue reforms.

Mr. CAPLIN. Thank you, sir.

The policy statement discusses the historical background of the issue, describes the present situation, and presents our recommendations for reform as I have just outlined.

Perhaps I can be most helpful to your deliberations by addressing myself briefly to my own experience as U.S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue during the period 1961-64. Internal Revenue went through a final transition from political appointments to a complete merit system with highly favorable results.

Until 1952, the two politically appointed Assistant Commissioners of Internal Revenue and the 64 collectors of Internal Revenue serving all districts in the United States were politically appointed. In that year, however, the merit system was extended to these important posts.

I would like to tell the committee about the tremendous boost this gave to the efficiency of the Service, the quality of the operation, and the morale of the staff.

This reform was achieved in 1952 through a bipartisan and reform effort. The enabling legislation was a direct result of previous work by your esteemed colleague, Congressman Cecil R. King; the contributions of the 1949 Hoover Commission; the dedication to good government of President Harry Truman; and the work of the citizens' reform movement.

Unfortunately, the 1952 reorganization plan had its roots in scandal. A 1951 congressional investigation uncovered certain inefficiencies, irregularities, and even fraud and other illegal acts. A politically appointed Assistant Commissioner and seven district collectors were removed from office because of fraud or malfeasance.

Public regard for the integrity of the tax system was seriously threatened. This, indeed, was a low point in Internal Revenue history, but I am happy to note that today Internal Revenue has risen to the top ranks of all Government agencies.

There were two positive aspects to the 1951 IRS investigation. First, of the 17 collectors who had achieved civil service status by serving in other positions, not one was included in those removed.

Second, the public—and, therefore, the reformers—were given an effective vehicle to help those in Congress and the executive branch achieve the reform that was needed.

A word or two of history is, perhaps, appropriate here. Prior to 1913, collectors of Internal Revenue were under the merit system. The operation was efficient and morale was high. In 1913, these posts and those of deputy U.S. marshals were removed from the classified civil service. Later, in 1922, there was the wholesale removal of collectors and customs officers from the classified civil service. Reform came slowly, but surely, after that.

The pressures for reform mounted and, in 1948, a House Appropriations Committee report called political appointment of collectors the most serious defect in the organization and operations of the Bureau. The report further stated that: "The Commissioner, who administers the entire Bureau, does not have effective control over the collectors."

Finally, the 1949 Hoover Commission report stated:

One of the chief handicaps to effective organization of the Department is the political appointment of Collectors. These appointments are regarded by some as sinecures. In any event, they form a bar to orderly development of experienced staff.

Finally in 1952, this work of the reformers resulted in the expansion of the merit system to include collectors and the Assistant Commissioners. With success achieved, the Internal Revenue Service put into effect its blue-ribbon program as a major effort to increase the effectiveness of the Service by increasing the caliber and productivity of the work force. Through this program, extended in later years, appointments to all executive ranks—starting with the position of Assistant District Director—have been filled by candidates competitively selected for executive development, either from the agency or on nomination of Treasury or civil service officials. In 1961, this concept was extended to all positions below the Commissioner. College recruitment was expanded; training courses were widely implemented; executive development programs were strengthened; and a careful, objective system of promotion selection was developed.

There is no question, Mr. Chairman, but that merit appointment for all positions, and the elimination of residence requirements and political endorsements, are fundamental to effective administration of the Internal Revenue Service. All employees can now aspire to the top positions. Effective control is no longer inhibited by the former system of semi-independent political officials in what should be subordinate offices.

In 1962, in its centennial history, the Internal Revenue Service praised the benefits of the merit system as follows:

A corps of career people, picked on the basis of competence and promoted on the basis of merit, promised more integrity and more continuity in actions and policies. Key officials could be transferred around within the system. This allowed more flexibility than did the old system, when Collectors had to be residents of the areas they served.

I personally doubt whether the tremendous organizational, technological, and occupational changes in the Revenue Service—necessitated by the rapid growth of our economy and the dramatic introduction of automatic data processing—would have been possible without the complete extension of the merit system initiated in 1952.

From this experience in Government, and in my current exposure as a volunteer officer of the National Civil Service League, I am convinced that a top-to-bottom system of merit career appointments is the cornerstone of an effective and progressive administration, whether it be in the Internal Revenue Service, the Customs Bureau, or in the Post Office.

I would be very happy to respond to any questions you have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NIX. Thank you, Mr. Caplin.

The question was raised a few days ago as to the areas in the appointment system of the Post Office where political influence was likely to be exerted. I suggested that one would then have to analyze the system; and in the area of discretion, in my opinion, would be the place where pressure might be exerted. Do you agree with that?

Mr. CAPLIN. Yes, sir. I would think that, certainly, the Postmaster General should continue as a Cabinet officer. I think that we have been fortunate in having responsible individuals serve in that post and I think they have exercised, in the main, a good balance in being responsive to the President's policies and at the same time trying to conduct a fair and efficient agency.

But beyond that, it would seem to me that—to create the climate of excellence, the climate of integrity, the climate of hope that should prevail in the Federal Establishment—the Congress, the Postmaster General, and the President himself ought to assure everyone below the top position that civil service concepts will prevail. I think this will give the public confidence. I think this will give the individual employee a real shot in the arm.

Mr. NIX. It has been suggested by my good friend, the gentleman from Iowa, that the tenure of a Postmaster appointment by the President should be at least 12 years and that the Postmaster should have no political function; he should not be placed in the position of "wearing two hats" as he terms it. I take it you do not share his views.

Mr. CAPLIN. No; I think that most every top policymaking official ought to be responsive to a shift in administration and I really hesitate, except for the judiciary, to shield any of them from public sentiment and public reaction.

I think members of the Executive, working through the President, should have that awareness and sensitivity.

I think that if you can strengthen that, by assuring that—for the remaining positions—recruiting, training, promotion, and opportunity will be on a strict civil service basis, you will take care of the deficiencies that now exist.

I don't think a 12-year term is appropriate.

Mr. NIX. Another question occurred to me. I touched upon it lightly a moment ago.

In the vast majority of positions in the Post Office, certain standards must be met before the appointment is made. Examinations must be taken. There are rules to comply with.

Now, certainly, criticism directed to that part of the system, I think, is not justified. What I sought to do in my mind was to eliminate those parts of the system that are as far above criticism as anything human can be and concentrate on those areas where the discretion of some individual in the Post Office has the right to select the rule of three,

where the appointing power has the authority to name one of three people.

I have been long disenchanted with that rule because I don't believe that I or anyone else can pick one of three men, presumably of equal talents, because of some little thing that weighs the balance in the favor of one. I raise the question that it might be that the one selected by me is neat. He makes a better appearance. But that is my prejudice. The other two might be neat and make a good appearance to others. So, I just can't see how such a method of selection is a proper one.

Mr. CAPLIN. Well, that is a very difficult problem to solve. I can see how many positions might solve themselves in terms of having one person whose, say, examination grade is that much higher than the rest, that he would automatically move into that position. Down on the lower levels of the ladder such an approach is easier to apply.

As you move along to the higher supervisory positions and the policy positions below the Postmaster General himself, you look for additional qualities. You look for balance, judgment, and integrity; and they all have to be thrown into the hopper.

The Postmaster General is obviously not in a position to evaluate the merits of people in different parts of the country. He doesn't have the personal contact and he doesn't have the time. He has to rely heavily upon the recommendations of intermediate subordinates.

Now what we did in the Revenue Service was to develop an Executive Selection Board and we picked the finest career personnel that we could to serve on that Executive Selection Board. It was a process of more than passing interest to me, and I personally participated in changing the board membership from time to time.

From my own experience, I made it a point of sitting down with the members of that board and impressing upon them the extreme importance of what they were doing; and tried to develop a tradition and a philosophy of fairness and equity. They would report to me on their nominations for top positions—district directors, regional commissioners, and the like.

They would send to me three names for each such position with files on each. I would review the files and frequently would ask to interview the men. I considered this a very important responsibility.

This was handled right down the middle. No political considerations entered this at all. These candidates were all career people who as a prerequisite for eligibility had gone through an executive development program; they first had to be selected for that, on a nationwide competition.

I am afraid we can't put all these factors into a computer. In the selection process there has to be a judgment factor for some positions. But I agree with you that as far as possible we should take steps to eliminate any personal prejudice, any predilections that might work against a candidate, any possibility of favoritism.

Mr. NIX. This subcommittee has before it a great number of bills, all of which in substance would make the organization structure of the Post Office Department. Some advocate the creation of a private corporation. I would like to know your opinion on that, Mr. Caplin.

Mr. CAPLIN. I find the suggestion very intriguing. From my prior experience I would certainly say that I would hesitate greatly to

suggest that the Internal Revenue Service be run by a private corporation or any group of private individuals. With the collections of over \$150 billion a year, even a small percentage would be a staggering sum.

In the post office system, too, because of its broad public service concept, its public utility concept, I have hesitations again. Nevertheless, I think it is something that might well be explored. I think that it ought to be examined by a commission, if you will, or some impartial body which would really analyze the effectiveness of public operations as compared to private.

Certainly, where private industry can do a job more efficiently and more effectively and still meet public demands, I would like to see private industry have that opportunity. This approach is the pulse-beat of our system of democracy and free enterprise. I think this is important as a general concept, but I hesitate to say that the Post Office Department is an area where private industry could adequately step in today.

I would first like to see a good, careful study by a qualified group. I don't think it is something that ought to be dismissed out of hand, particularly when the Postmaster General himself has made the suggestion.

Mr. NIX. You know, Mr. Caplin, I felt, after reading about the suggestion, the same as you expressed yourself a moment ago. But in addition to that, I felt that we ought to analyze the present system and by doing so we would be in a position to point out the defects there. Then let us study the other system and the possible defects in that, and weigh one against the other and see what we come up with. It occurs to me that in the event we come around to a private corporation, we are going to be met with all of the defects in other great private corporations. One of which is that we are going to have strikes—that is inevitable—and in that event will tie up everything in the Nation because of it. There are other areas where trouble must come about.

I would like very much to balance those contemplated evils against the evils that we have with us today in this system.

Mr. Waldie, do you have any questions?

Mr. WALDIE. No, I don't, Mr. Chairman. I apologize for being late.

Mr. NIX. That is quite all right.

I want to express my very deep appreciation, Mr. Caplin, to you for taking the time to come here today and for making the contributions that you have made.

I also want to say that your presence here today takes me back to a room in a hotel in Philadelphia during the beginning of the Kennedy race for the Presidency of the United States.

Robert Kennedy was there and later the President was there; also Larry O'Brien, and "Whizzer" White. Those are memories that are really beautiful. They were times I shall never forget. It was an experience. It has been one of the most rewarding that I could ever hope to have.

Mr. CAPLIN. Well, Mr. Nix, I appreciate your very kind words and I, too, have many of those memories.

I served as a law professor for a number of years at the University of Virginia and had Senators Bob Kennedy and Ted Kennedy as students. Through them I met Senator John Kennedy who came to visit his brother, Ted, at the University of Virginia. That was in

1959. Regardless of any party support or interest, you just had to admire this very fine human being.

It was quite exciting to see this man enter the political fray, campaign across this great land, grow in every respect, and to see him after a presidential election. To any candidate of either party, that is an enormous experience and one that stretches you to the utmost.

Mr. Nix. Definitely.

I want to again thank you very much for having come, Mr. Caplin. Mr. Couturier, I appreciate your having come back.

The following material will be placed in the record: A letter from Hon. William T. Cahill, dated March 8, 1968; a statement of Patrick J. Nilan, legislative director, United Federation of Postal Clerks; and a statement of the Government Employees' Council, AFL-CIO.

(The letter and statements are as follows:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., March 8, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT N. C. NIX,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations,
House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for permitting me the opportunity to testify before your Subcommittee on Postal Operations on February 7, 1968, with respect to procedures for appointing local postmasters.

I would like to supplement that testimony informally by describing a situation which further indicates the need for establishing a priority based upon career service.

As I had previously indicated, in 1967 there were four applicants for the office of postmaster at the Camden, N.J., Post Office who received basic qualifying scores under evaluation examination procedures. The two persons receiving the lowest scores were Mr. Fred Martin, who ultimately was appointed postmaster, and Mr. Daniel Lysak. According to the Civil Service evaluation, Martin got a basic score of 75 plus 5 points for veterans' service, for an overall grade of 80. Lysak received a basic score of 73 plus 5 points for veterans' service, for an overall grade of 78.

These respective evaluations are difficult to understand since Lysak has 25 years postal service, including 3 years in a high supervisory capacity as assistant postmaster. I have contacted the Postal Examining Division for an explanation of this evaluation. The Postal Examining Division has adopted the position that Lysak's career experience does not provide the requisite "quality, extent of responsibility, and diversity of experience" to compare with other candidates for postmaster who have held local public office.

In my judgment, this is another aspect of the situation described in my testimony which underlines the need for a merit promotion system.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM T. CAHILL.

STATEMENT OF PATRICK J. NILAN, LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, UNITED FEDERATION
OF POSTAL CLERKS, AFL-CIO

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the record, I am Patrick J. Nilan, national legislative director of the United Federation of Postal Clerks, AFL-CIO. I am very pleased to present this statement on behalf of the membership of our organization, concerning H.R. 8516 and related bills, which propose to eliminate political influence in the appointment of postmasters, and for other purposes.

I am presenting this statement on behalf of the Nation's 319,000 postal clerks for whom we are the exclusive national representative for labor-management relations with the Post Office Department. Our membership is exclusively in the postal clerk craft and employed in post offices in all 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, and Guam.

The membership of our organization has been on record for many years to have legislation enacted into law which would provide that the appointment of

postmasters and rural letter carriers be accomplished on the basis of merit, competitive examination, without political endorsements necessary, and from among the employees in the post office where such vacancies may exist. We want to compliment the chairman and members of this committee for arranging these hearings which would appear important, not only to postal employees, but the postal service, and also Members of Congress.

Our organization has historically been on record in support of promotions to all higher level or better paid positions in the postal service by career postal employees and regardless of race, creed, color, sex, or political consideration. We concur with the chairman of this committee in his desire to establish a true merit system within the postal service, and certainly the enactment of H.R. 8516, with a number of amendments which we shall suggest in this statement, would be a substantial improvement in employee morale, as well as operations of the postal service.

Certainly the postal service needs the best qualified and most experienced persons operating our post offices, as well as our postal system. This is particularly true because of the ever-increasing tremendous volume of mail which must be handled expeditiously as well as economically, and at the same time providing the very best possible service for the American public.

We suggest, Mr. Chairman, that a recent announcement by Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien indicates a most gratifying trend toward appointment of career postal employees to positions of postmaster throughout the U.S. postal service. The Postmaster General, on January 31, announced that during 1967, 42.6 percent of all postmaster appointments were career postal employees. There were 1,515 confirmations during 1967, with 42.6 percent of all postmaster vacancies being filled by career postal employees. This experience in 1967 showed marked improvement over even the previous year, 1966, when 38.3 percent of all postmaster vacancies were filled by career postal employees.

I believe you mentioned, Mr. Chairman, in your statement announcing hearings on this important legislation that approximately 50 bills had been sponsored in this general area of merit appointment of postmasters by both Democratic and Republican Members of the House of Representatives, which certainly indicates the strong bipartisan support for enactment of legislation which would accomplish the goals defined in H.R. 8516, H.R. 5284, and other similar legislation. It is gratifying to note that this issue is supported by members of the Congress from both sides of the aisle and as a result, when this legislation is reported for consideration by the Congress, this bipartisan support should assure its approval.

We believe, Mr. Chairman, that strong support for merit appointment of career employees to post offices has been increasingly evident in recent years, as new postmasters in many of the largest post offices in this country are career employees. Postmasters appointed in the last few years to the two largest post offices in the country, namely; New York and Chicago, are both career employees. The same is true of postmasters in Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Dallas, Philadelphia, Honolulu, Houston, and Baltimore. These post offices enjoy the leadership of dedicated, experienced, competent and qualified postal leadership.

We do suggest, however, that this committee seriously consider amending the legislation, such as H.R. 8516, pending before this committee, prior to reporting the legislation. One amendment which we suggest be given serious consideration is that merit appointment to postmaster vacancies should not be confined to only post offices of the first class. We feel that postmaster positions in second- and third-class post offices should also be held by career postal employees. Certainly, in these smaller offices it is equally important to have experienced and competent postal management which normally would result from the appointment of career postal employees with many dedicated years of serving the public in a particular community as an employee of that post office.

We would certainly urge this committee also to provide in the pending legislation that appointments to postmaster and rural carrier positions be made from within the particular post offices in which the vacancies exist. We recommend this, not only in the best interest of the postal service, which it would obviously be, but also in simple justice to the dedicated employees who have worked diligently in a post office, and are personally aware of the many problems and needs of the local community to be properly serviced by the post office concerned.

We certainly believe that competent career postmasters would result from a competitive examination concerned with the many and varied duties and responsibilities, as well as services provided by postal employees and the postal service to the patron. Such an examination should be a practical test of an employee's

knowledge of the postal service, and of course, proper credit should also be given for the years of experience by employee candidates in post offices.

We also believe, Mr. Chairman, that potential appointees to fill postmaster vacancies in first-, second-, and third-class post offices, should continue to be confirmed by the U.S. Senate, as it is our honest belief that the Congress necessarily must share the responsibility of postmaster appointments with the executive branch. The postal service, above all other agencies, provides a personal public service to every citizen of this great country of ours, and therefore the Congress of the United States should retain nominal control over final appointments to postmaster vacancies.

Before we conclude, Mr. Chairman, we want to suggest that this committee consider all facets of the suggested appointment of career Postmasters General. Frankly, we are not as concerned with the appointment of a career Postmaster General as we are with the appointments of career postmasters. It would appear reasonable that each administration in power, regardless of political affiliation should retain the authority and responsibility for the appointment of its top official in each Government agency and department, including the postal service. The Postmaster General necessarily must reflect, not only a service concept in operating the postal service, but also must be concerned with policy and operational decisions which the executive branch of Government must accept responsibility for with the American public.

Perhaps it would be well, Mr. Chairman, to point out that our most recent experience with a career Postmaster General which occurred quite a few years back, was not necessarily a completely enjoyable experience. We would never question his intense desire to provide a satisfactory postal service, but we did question the severe economic restrictions on service which he felt necessary to implement because of supposedly budgetary limitations.

However, I am confident this committee, and the Congress, will give most serious consideration to the question of a career Postmaster General appointment policy, and we are confident their final decision will be both wise and realistic.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we appreciate the opportunity to present this statement, and you may be certain we also appreciate the interest and dedication of this committee in having this important legislation considered by this session of the 90th Congress.

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, the Government Employees' Council and its 35 AFL-CIO unions desires to express its support of legislation removing from the political arena appointment of postmasters and rural letter carriers.

We are grateful to the chairman of the full committee, Representative Thaddeus J. Dulski, for his introduction of H.R. 8516. Approximately 50 other Members of the House of both political parties have presented bills to accomplish the same objective.

Since the inauguration of the postal system in the late 18th century, designation of postmasters has been a subject of political patronage and political controversy. When the amount of business transacted by the Post Office Department was small, the Nation could possibly afford the luxury of a patronage system. The size of our population and the volume of commerce did not require the types of administrative skills a postmaster must possess today.

In recent years, the volume of mail has spiraled beyond anything the founders of our Republic could envision. Directing the prompt and efficient processing of mail in this era requires the use of techniques unheard of when our society was in its infancy. Management of our gigantic postal operations demands maximum talent in the field of administration, particularly in larger offices. In short, as a nation, we can no longer appoint postmasters on the basis of politics.

Career postal workers have been named increasingly as postmasters in recent years. Postmaster vacancies were filled by career employees in 38.3 percent instances in 1966. The 1967 figure rose to 42.6 percent. This constitutes encouraging recognition of the role career postmasters should play in the efficient processing of mail. But it does not solve the entire problem.

If the Post Office Department is to attract the type of ability needed to fill these critical jobs, they must, in our view, be designated as career positions.

This means, in turn, that postmasterships should be awarded to present career workers on the basis of merit and competitive examination. It should no longer

be necessary to secure political endorsements to qualify for appointment. Individuals should be selected for postmaster jobs from the career staff in the post office where the vacancy exists.

These principles should apply to second- and third-class post offices, as well as first-class facilities. While the smaller offices do not process the same volume of mail as in the large urban areas, experienced and highly competent management is equally important.

The rationale for making such appointments from among the employees in the particular post office in question is simple. This method will recognize the ability of those who have labored long in the public service. It will provide also additional advancement in the career ladder, which does not exist at present.

In this connection, it is pertinent to refer to information supplied by Assistant Postmaster General Richard J. Murphy to this subcommittee in March 1967. He informed members that only about 10 percent of the Department's workers have much hope of promotion within 10 years. An additional 10 percent could serve 25 years or more without promotion.

Making all postmaster positions available to individuals already in service will provide prospect for advancement to those whose opportunities are severely limited.

Competitive examinations can be a useful tool in determining performance capability in two ways. First, they can provide a yardstick which enables the appointing authority to rank individuals according to scores. Second, they can be used to measure an individual's knowledge of postal operations and the skills required to put that knowledge to practical use. For these reasons, the examinations should be utilized as part of the selection process.

In this connection, the test should emphasize the candidate's ability to deal with his employees and the public. When the public service aspect of postal affairs and the need to deal with organized employees are as apparent as they are today, it is obvious that postmasters should possess particular strength in these areas.

An important part of the ranking process must include years of service in the department. This is an essential ingredient in recognizing the value of progressive performance, which comes with experience. It can be an important element in establishing ranking on an impartial basis.

Postal service is a unique function of our Government. It cannot be compared to any other operation inside or outside Federal service. Because of its public service aspects, a special importance attaches to public involvement in postal affairs. It would be totally impractical to expect the public to participate directly in postmaster appointments. However, this function has been served traditionally and well by Senate confirmation of postmasters. We recommend that this practice continue.

Some of the bills pending before the subcommittee deal with appointment of the Postmaster General and his term of office. Tradition and the vital importance of postal matters in today's society underscore the need for retaining this office as a member of the President's Cabinet. This means that the President must retain the right to appoint the Postmaster General, and that the individual's tenure should be decided by the President.

The Deputy Postmaster General is not in the same category. To provide continuing executive leadership and smooth transition from one postal administration to another, it is desirable that this position be filled by a career civil servant, who is not subject to political decisions.

With these comments, Mr. Chairman, the council commends the subcommittee for its intense interest in a vital problem of Government management. We urge favorable action on legislation outlined in this statement.

Mr. Nix. The subcommittee is now adjourned.

(Whereupon at 10:30 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.)

