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April 22, 1975

20-Year Fight Right-to-Work Drive: A Friend to Workers Or a Menace to Them?

Ten Big Unions Say Menace, Seek to Curtail 2 Groups In Federal Court Action

Liberty Bell and Prof. Petro

By WALTER S. MOSSBERG

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ARLINGTON, Va. — In a shiny new glass-and-steel office building here in the Washington suburbs, 60 people—armed with computers, press releases and \$3.5 million a year—work every day to drive George Meany wild.

They form the spearhead of something called the "Right-to-Work" movement, largely consisting of two closely linked groups, the National Right to Work Committee and the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation.

The two organizations, which share office space in the building, spend their time lobbying in Congress and the press against programs and policies prized by organized labor, and helping individual workers sue their unions on various grounds. Each month, they turn out dozens of brochures, films and other items that refer to labor leaders as "union czars," "arrogant dictators" and "elite rulers."

In return, unions fire harsh words at the committee and foundation. Last year's United Auto Workers convention unanimously condemned the groups as "the tip of the ultra-right iceberg" and "the advance men of neo-fascism." The delegates pledged to "fight against these sinister forces whose design is to destroy the free labor movement."

"We're Not Against Unions"

That is strong stuff indeed, especially when it describes a nonprofit movement that claims as its sole purpose the protection of the right of workers to choose freely whether to join unions. "We're not against unions at all," contends Reed Larson, top operating officer of both the committee and the foundation, merely against "compulsory" membership.

His contention now is being tested in court. For after 20 years of conflict with the right-to-work groups, 10 big unions are suing them. The unions—led by the UAW, the Machinists, and the State, County and Municipal Employees—allege violations of federal labor laws. They seek a sharp curtailment of the groups' legal-aid activities and a formal declaration that they are primarily anti-union campaigners.

The suit, now in its early stages in federal court in Washington, promises to be dramatic. It features longtime civil-rights activist Joseph L. Rauh Jr. as the unions'

counsel and a former U.S. attorney, Whitney North Seymour Jr., on the right-to-work side.

Last week one explosive issue in the case was decided by the Supreme Court—in the unions' favor. Mr. Rauh had demanded disclosure of a sampling of the names of the foundation's financial backers; he said he needed the names to prove his charge that the foundation mainly funnels employers' money into suits by their employees against their unions—a practice barred by federal labor law. A lower court ordered disclosure of 190 names, and the foundation appealed, saying disclosure would have a "chilling effect" on future donors.

May Risk Jail for Contempt

But the Supreme Court refused to stay the order, and it will take effect by the end of next week. Foundation officials are considering putting themselves purposely in contempt of court, risking jail sentences, so that they can start a new round of appeals designed to avoid disclosure of the names.

"If the word starts getting around that by sending a contribution in here, your name's going to go on a list at the union hall," Mr. Larson says, "it could make it very hard to raise funds."

Conservative politicians and commentators have rallied to the right-to-work groups' cause, likening the situation to a 1950s case involving the state of Alabama. In that case Alabama was barred from obtaining a list of contributors to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, on the ground that obtaining it would subject the fund's supporters to possible retaliation from anti-civil rights forces. Columnist William F. Buckley Jr. recently charged that Mr. Rauh's demand for the names "once again jeopardizes his reputation as a true friend of civil liberty."

Illustrious defenders of the right-to-work groups were a lot harder to come by in 1955 when some businessmen and disgruntled railroad workers formed the National Right to Work Committee to oppose the concept of the union shop; such a contract provision requires all employees to join the union picked by a majority as bargaining agent. (Unions favor such provisions as a way to guarantee their bargaining strength and guard against "free riders" who otherwise would get union services without paying dues. The committee views them as compelling some workers to join the union who otherwise wouldn't do so.)

Sought State Laws

The group's plan was to get more states to pass laws banning the union shop, a step permitted by section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. In 1958 the right-to-work cause was encouraged when a drive supported by business groups placed the union-shop issue on the ballot in six states. But only one of the states, Kansas, voted to ban the union shop. To try to salvage the cause, the committee called in Mr. Larson, a Kansas right-to-work activist, to take over its then tiny operation.

A lanky, balding former electrical engineer, the 52-year-old Kansan has led the committee out of hard times and obscurity. Using sophisticated fund-raising techniques, he has broadened its roster of contributors and beefed up its lobbying operations.

Two of the biggest developments since

Please Turn to Page 22, Column 1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



TO:

John McChesman

FROM:

DONALD A. WEBSTER

I seem to recall
that you were going
to call Hugh Newton
at Marsh's request.
We're taking a look
at his request -
Do you have any
other input from him.
Could you let me know
before you leave -

DW

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE 3/25/75

TO: Don Webster

FROM: WAYNE H. VALIS

For your information _____

Per our conversation _____

Other:

For your
recommendations.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

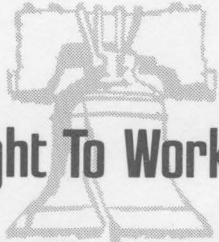
March 19, 1975

MEMO FOR: WB
FROM: WV *WAN*
SUBJECT: Enclosed Materials

Perhaps Vickerman or Webster should arrange a meeting between the National Right to Work Committee briefing team and appropriate White House staffers on the subject of unionism and the expansion of union member rights.



*talk to Dan about it
see what he thinks
(B)*



National Right To Work Committee

A COALITION OF EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS

HEADQUARTERS AT THE NATION'S CAPITAL

March 10, 1975

Mr. William Baroody
Office of the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



Dear Mr. Baroody:

Russ Rourk says you will handle this one.

I am sure you saw the two latest Star articles on public employee unionism. You may have missed the resolution by the Governors Conference (unanimous approval).

In addition, a number of members spent two hours last week on the floor of the Senate discussing compulsory sector bargaining laws. Attached is a copy of the CR containing their remarks.

We look forward to providing some important input to the White House on this issue.

Sincerely,

Hugh C. Newton
Director of Information

attachments

HCN:lh

"WJB has seen"

456-1414

February 25, 1975

Mr. John O. Marsh Jr.
Counselor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear John:

Despite the phone call (which I really didn't arrange!), I do appreciate your taking a few minutes to talk with me following your talk at last week's Labor Relations luncheon group meeting.

As I mentioned, I do hope you will find the time to meet with several key people on the subject of public employee bargaining legislation (more appropriately described by noted Labor Law Professor, Dr. Sylvester Petro, as compulsory public sector bargaining laws).

While what I am talking about here may not be as immediately important as the "energy crisis," a growing body of Americans believe that the single most destructive element in today's economic and political affairs is the monopoly power of giant labor unions, fostered and protected by special privilege legislation.

Last fall's election results furthered the possibility of extending such a destructive element in the private field to the public employment field. Evidence of this can be seen in the front page, 8-column article in the Star last month.

What I have in mind is a briefing team composed of Dr. Petro, Reed Larson of the National Right to Work Committee and David Denholm of Public Service Research Council. I am confident that the dialogue opened up by such a briefing will make a substantial contribution to a better public understanding of the fundamental issues involved in so-called public employee collective bargaining labor legislation. By the way, the growth of that understanding should be helped considerably by a pending Senate floor discussion by several U.S. Senators on the meaning and ramifications of the enactment of compulsory sector bargaining laws.

Mr. John O. Marsh, Jr.
February 25, 1975
Page Two

I look forward to hearing from you and working with your Russ Rourk in setting up this session.

Sincerely,

Hugh C. Newton

P.S. By the way, that daughter I mentioned who lives in Harrisonburg is the goddaughter of a fellow W & L'er -- Gil Bocetti, the football star. Gil now runs his own substantial title insurance company in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

enclosures

HCN:lh

cc: Reed Larson, Andy Hare, National Right to Work Committee

CB, RL,



MARVIN MANDEL
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MARYLAND
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21404

MAR 4 - P.M.

March 3, 1975

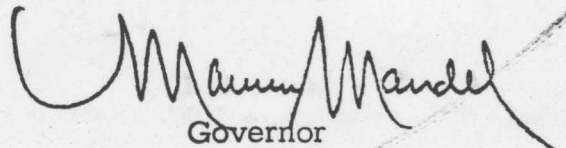
Mr. Reed Larson
National Right to Work Committee
8316 Arlington Boulevard
Suite 600
Fairfax, Virginia 22030

Dear Mr. Larson:

This will acknowledge receipt of your recent letter in which you let me know of your organization's feelings about public employee bargaining legislation.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of a resolution that was adopted unanimously by the National Governors' Conference during its recent Winter Meeting in Washington, D. C. The resolution, in my view, accurately reflects the feelings of Governors and of the states on this sensitive issue.

Sincerely,


Governor

PUBLIC EMPLOYEE RELATIONS

The United States Congress is considering legislation which would provide to State and local government employees the right to organize and collectively bargain. This legislation would substantially replace individual state laws and procedures which now regulate these activities with a uniform federal law.

The National Governors' Conference opposes federal intervention in this area. It is the belief of the Nation's Governors that matters relating to the employees of State and local governments are within the sole jurisdiction of these units and are not properly the subject of federal legislation.

The National Governors' Conference, in adopting this statement, takes no position on the principle of collective bargaining for public employees but states its firm commitment to the view that this is an area which should be left to the discretion of the several States.

RESOLUTION BY:

Committee on Executive Management and Fiscal Affairs

National Governors' Conference

Adopted - February 20, 1975

Public Service Union's Ranks, Power Grow During Hard Times

By John Fialka

Washington Star Staff Writer

NEW YORK — Dominic Mastrotta, a senior typewriter repairman, will never forget it.

There he was, sitting in storehouse B-53 of the New York Department of

First of Two Articles

Purchasing, in the shadow of the Brooklyn Bridge, working away as he has for the past 22 years. Three guys wearing business suits suddenly walked in and announced that the city was going to abolish the entire typewriter repair unit. Mastrotta and his 12 co-workers were to be permanently laid off.

Never mind the 25,000 typewriters the men used to repair: The city was going to contract out the repair work or maybe just throw away the machines when they broke down. The city's budget was in terrible shape, Mastrotta was told, and the jobs had to be cut.

Unbelievable. Nobody had threatened to lay off a permanent city employe since Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia tried it during the Depression. Even he didn't succeed. The city's payroll grew during his tenure.

MASTROTTA'S feeling that, somehow, it couldn't be happening was finally sunk by a pink slip that arrived in the following day's mail. His last day of work was to be Dec. 20. But then, strange things began to happen.

At the last minute, on Dec. 19, the city revoked the dismissal. But the jubilation in storehouse B-53 was shortlived, for on Jan. 15 the repair unit again received pink slips. This time the last day would be Jan. 31.

Mastrotta had knots in his stomach. One fellow repairman spent the weekend vomiting. The strain was almost unbearable. On Jan. 29 the city again revoked the layoffs, at least until June.

In June, according to the latest rumors, the city might abolish the entire Department of Purchasing.

"It is a cold type of thing," complains Mastrotta.

What Mastrotta and his fellow workers went through is a kind of psychodrama likely to be played across the nation this year as dozens of big cities and state governments discover the public sector can no longer afford to live in the style to which it has become accustomed.

Inflation and soaring energy bills have become the irresistible force, forcing mayors in New York, Newark, Phoenix, Chicago, Cleveland, Atlanta and a host of other cities to plan layoffs. Governors in Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Minnesota, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut, among others, are also seeking ways to prune state payrolls.

What makes it all the more complex is that here, as well as elsewhere, the budget cutters come up against a seemingly immovable object: the organized politicized public worker union.

Nowhere is the struggle more clearly defined than in New York, the largest bastion of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the nation's largest union of public employes: A giant union in a giant city with giant problems.

AFSCME has emerged in the last 15 years to become the fifth largest member of the AFL-CIO, with close to 700,000 members. In an era when the proportion of unionized workers among the nation's work force has been declining, AFSCME has been signing up new members at the almost unheard of rate of 1,000 every week.

One of the reasons for this growth is that the United States is slowly becoming a nation of bureaucrats. In 1960, one out of every nine non-farm

workers worked for local, state or federal governments. Today the ratio is one in six.

The governmental growth during the last 15 years has been focused almost entirely in the state and local sector. While the federal government has enlarged slightly, from 2.2 million to 2.7 million workers, state and local governments have exploded, jumping from 6 million to 12 million workers — the fastest growing labor sector in the country.

These are the teachers demanded for the war baby boom and the post-Sputnik era; the extra social workers, policemen and other public services demanded by a society that suddenly became socially conscious in the 1960's.

But the crashing economy of the '70s has placed all this in a harsher reality — for local governments as well as the man in the street. In New York, as elsewhere, the administrators reached for the scalpel — a gauntlet not ignored by the AFSCME leadership which knows a bread-and-butter challenge when it sees one.

The result has been a confrontation of giant interests, an exercise in old-fashioned muscle-flexing, traditional emotionalism, sophisticated and complex negotiation. AFSCME, an intense mix of rough and tumble trade unionism and modern-day communications awareness, moved quickly and, in the process, demonstrated why the union has become a major force nationwide.

On Nov. 22, Mayor Abraham Beame stunned the city by announcing that he had discovered the city would have a \$430 million budget deficit and that 510 permanent city jobs would have to be sacrificed.

Vic Gotbaum, director of AFSCME's 110,000 member New York City unit, expressed outrage. Beame's plan, he charged, called for the "death of the city." If he had anything to say about it, not one permanent worker was going to be cut. Gotbaum, as it developed, had considerable to say about it. The layoffs were canceled.

Not Afraid to Raise Hell

Wurf Puts Emphasis on Organizing

To hear Jerry Wurf tell it, the muscle in the U.S. labor movement was built by mavericks, men who knew how to organize and who were not afraid to raise hell in the political arena.

Wurf, 55, is the driving force behind the phenomenal growth of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. As the union's president, Wurf may either be among the last of the old breed or the precursor of a new generation of labor mavericks, depending upon



ber of AFL-CIO unions for failing to organize new workers. "That's not how alliances are made. That's not how friends are made," confided one of Wurf's several enemies on the council. "He should keep that stuff within the family."

● He has attacked the AFL-CIO's leader, George Meany, for using "draconian measures" to keep the AFL-CIO neutral during the 1972 presidential bid of Sen. George McGovern, and has also criticized

Organizing Illinois, a Case Study in Exercising Union Power

By John Fialka

Washington Star Staff Writer

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—This city, like most capital cities, has long become inured to the sound of people ranting

Second of Two Articles

and marching in the streets, trying to sell one special interest or another to the state legislature.

Last fall a decidedly different demonstration took place. Prison guards from Joliet, mental health workers from facilities in rural downstate areas, social workers from Chicago's inner city and data processing clerks from the nearby squat, glassy office buildings poured out of a fleet of buses—some 2,000 strong.

They were the people who run the bureaucratic machinery. They were about to prove to the legislature that they had become familiar with the state's political machinery as well.

The shouting, the marching, the placards, the packed galleries were really icing on the cake. The homework had been done. Nearly every member of the Illinois house of representatives had been buttonholed in his home district.

By the end of the day the House had voted 124 to 5 to override the governor's veto blocking a bill to give each of the state's 60,000 employees a thumping \$100 a month pay raise.

A few months ago, this would have been only a dream. To think that one could marshal a politically-powered union out of the diverse, complacent, generally conservative and sometimes patronage-riddled ranks of state employees here was, as one state legislator put it, "mind boggling."

BUT THE DREAM hit the streets here on Nov. 20. And the same scene

may happen soon in other state capitals if one of the nation's fastest growing unions, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) has its way.

With 700,000 members and 1,000 a week signing up, AFSCME ranks as one of the largest unions, in the nation in terms of raw numbers. But its strength and influence are felt in wider terms and, more and more, it can indeed be expected to have its way.

While the growth has been phenomenal, harnessing the growth into unions has never been easy. State and local governments have always been shadow areas of the labor movement, areas where there were few if any laws protecting the perquisites of union power: collective bargaining, dues checkoff, the agency shop and the right to strike.

In some states where there are now such laws, AFSCME has set up collective bargaining anyway. The labor contracts are de facto and the strikes that sometimes lead up to them have later been declared illegal.

The union's activity in Illinois constitutes a significant case study in the development and expansion of labor power in an inhospitable environment.

The turning point was the fulfilling of a campaign pledge in 1973 by the victor in the gubernatorial race, Dan Walker, a Democrat. Walker signed an executive order making Illinois the 17th state to allow state employees some form of collective bargaining. Walker had been backed by AFSCME.

THE SIGNING opened the way for a full scale organizing campaign. Two of the union's councils, a total of 15,000 workers, were merged into one unit and Richard Wilson was brought

in from Washington by AFSCME to direct the operation.

Wilson, 42, like many AFSCME operatives, is a disciple of the late Walter Reuther, former head of the United Auto Workers, and perhaps the last romantic figure in the maturing U.S. labor movement.

For Wilson, running a union is not a job, it is a mission. And organizing is not just another chore, it is more like a cult, a thing to be pursued relentlessly at whatever cost.

It is the potential that excites Wilson. "There are thousands and thousands of new workers out there, waiting to be organized. It's just like the CIO in the thirties," he exults.

Wilson automatically thinks in terms attracting the press, holding demonstrations, starting political action, finding some dramatic new issue that would galvanize the attention of those about to be organized.

In some areas, as in organizing prison guards, the old issues had been doing pretty well. Steve Culen, another former UAW member, explains that signing up guards is not much different than signing up assembly line workers:

"You deal in the same basic principle: The Boss is a sonofabitch. Right?"

But Wilson felt he had to do something more to reach the huge army of clerks who often seemed to be im-



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 94th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 121

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1975

No. 36

Senate

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by Hon. GARY W. HART, a Senator from the State of Colorado.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Department claimed yesterday that the August 1973 halt of U.S. bombing in Cambodia, which Congress ordered—and I did not vote for that particular pro-

PRA:

The Chaplain, the L. R. Elson, D.D., of prayer:

Hear the words Proverbs:

Keep thy heart for out of it are t
Proverbs 4: 23.

O Lord, our God, b with the divine spirit work better for the N ing kingdom. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF PRESIDENT PRO

The PRESIDING will please read a co Senate from the Pr (Mr. EASTLAND).

The legislative cler letter:

PRESIDE
Washington

To the Senate:

Being temporarily al on official duties, I a HART, a Senator from to perform the duties absence.

JAI
Pr

Mr. GARY W. HART thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, March 5, 1975, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

On March 6, eight U.S. Senators, led by former Salt Lake City mayor Jake Garn, held a lengthy colloquy on proposed compulsory public sector "bargaining" legislation. We feel their remarks deserve your attention, even though the colloquy received little, if any, media coverage. (See next page.)

-- Reed Larson
Executive Vice President
NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK
COMMITTEE

THEIR BEING NO OBJECTION, THE SENATE resumed the consideration of legislative business.

AID TO CAMBODIA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on February 25, in a letter to the Speaker of the House, the President said that "an independent Cambodia cannot survive" without the supplemental aid he requested and posed the question: "Are we to deliberately abandon a small country in the midst of its life and death struggle?" The day before, Assistant Secretary of State Philip Habib told a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee that only if the aid requested was provided can "that nation survive." Now Secretary Habib has made a "summary of negotiating efforts on Cambodia" available to the Congress and the media. The State

Department claimed yesterday that the August 1973 halt of U.S. bombing in Cambodia, which Congress ordered—and I did not vote for that particular pro- public discussion of legitimate policy issues relating to Indochina. And blames-manship will not help to build a cooperative working relationship between Congress and the executive branch on foreign policy matters. The question is not who lost Cambodia, if the present government falls, but who got us into Cambodia, for what purpose and what its cost in men, money, refugees, and destruction has been.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Chair recognizes the Senator from Michigan.

(The remarks made by Mr. GRIFFIN at this point appear in today's RECORD under Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.)

S 3181

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senator from Utah is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

Mr. GARN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a member of my staff, Daniel Wall, may have the privilege of the floor during the colloquy this morning.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

GOVERNMENTAL SOVEREIGNTY OR COMPULSORY PUBLIC SECTOR BARGAINING

Mr. GARN. Mr. President, in a letter to L. L. Stewart, president of the National Federation of Federal Employees, President Franklin Roosevelt said:

... militant tactics have no place in the functions of any organization of government employees. . . . A strike of public employees manifests nothing less than an intent on their part to obstruct the operation of government until their demands are satisfied. Such action, looking toward the paralysis of government by those who have sworn to support it, is unthinkable and intolerable.

For 200 years Americans have recognized and fought for the representative, ordered, and sovereign government that President Roosevelt stood for in his statement. Yet forces are mounting which threaten this Government and the elements which support it. I refer to the drive to carry compulsory bargaining even deeper into the public sector. The battle cry has reached Capitol Hill, and as all of us in Congress know, a serious legislative drive will soon be underway to enact compulsory bargaining laws—laws that any objective analysis will show to be violently incompatible with a sovereign, responsible government.

The key ingredients we will doubtless see in forthcoming public sector collective bargaining legislation are:

First, Federal imposition of compulsory public sector bargaining on all governments—in other words, the law would force a sovereign government to negotiate as an equal with a private organization—in this case, a labor union.

Second, Monopoly bargaining privileges—that is, individual public employees would be compelled to accept unwanted union officials as their "exclusive representatives" in dealing with their own government employer.

Third, Compulsory membership where all public employees, including those who do not want the alleged "services" of the union, will have to join or pay money to the union—or lose their right to work for their own government.

It is my purpose and that of several of my colleagues to take a careful look today at a wide range of legislative proposals covering public employees. We contend that these proposals, if enacted, will severely damage the public interest. Our quality of life will be diminished through the wanton disregard of the individual rights of millions of Americans. And, the free spirit of democracy will be crushed by those who seek to compromise it.

What has led us to the point where we can actually seriously discuss the transfer

of any of the sovereign functions and powers of government to a private, independent organization not subject to public control and rarely subject to public scrutiny?

The answer can be found in the enormous growth of employment in Federal, State, and local governments. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that public employment has grown faster than any other sector of the economy. There are now some 14 million government workers—three million Federal employees and 11 million State, county, and municipal employees—and their number is growing by leaps and bounds. Public employment unions, having discovered that government unionism holds the most lucrative potential of all, are the fastest growing and best organized labor unions in the country. From 1951 to 1972, government work forces grew by 151 percent, payrolls by 596 percent, union membership by 130 percent, and strikes by public employees by 1,000 percent. And, I might add that one need not be a Philadelphia lawyer to realize the cost of these strikes to the taxpayer both in terms of higher taxes and in terms of disruption to the community.

Therefore, it is hardly unexpected that Americans have begun to take a closer look and active interest in labor relations of State, local, and Federal Governments. And, as a result, several States and legislatures have passed legislation governing labor relations of public employees. What have we reaped from this activity? Where has it left us and where will it take us?

Legislators have usually been persuaded to adopt the "orderly process" of collective bargaining from the private sector. The enactment of such laws are usually justified in the name of peace and tranquility. Union supporters assure the public employee/employer conjugal bliss and reduced "industrial strife." Yet the facts support the contrary.

Virtually every "solution" has created more unionization problems than have been solved. Conflicts, unrest and illegal strikes continue to mount. Moreover, the concessions employees are not able to get at the bargaining table they frequently try to get from the legislatures. The solutions, for the most part, often do nothing more than merely add to the power and privileges of union organizers.

The prohibition of public employees from striking is based on a sound premise which recognizes their unique position and potential ability to paralyze the community by a strike action. However, the record shows that officials of public employee unions openly flout laws which stand as obstacles to their quest to take over control of public services—openly flout them and then brag about their illegal actions. Seldom has this resulted in any significant legal penalty, however, because of fear on the part of public officials that strong punishment will be met with even more intensive retaliation. In New York City a few years ago, officials of public employee unions convincingly proved that they can put a major U.S. metropolis out of business whenever they choose to do so. What happened in New York City has also happened in re-

cent years in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Albuquerque and dozens of other major cities.

Further, the majority of economists recognize the power of labor unions to force up wages and costs year after year without corresponding advances in productivity. This monopoly element, as we have recently seen first hand, is a prime cause of inflation.

Moreover, it is widespread knowledge that many candidates and elected officials have depended on contributions from labor organizations. Many newly elected Members of Congress are indebted to organized labor for their financial backing that helped them win elections. All unions including public employee unions are out for political control. Yet, the implications of political power in the hands of the public sector are far more threatening than for other unions.

And of course there is the fundamental question of whether employees should be forced to relinquish their bargaining rights to unions which they do not want.

Contrary to the evidence, a wide range of proposals will be presented for our consideration based on the hypothesis that compulsory collective bargaining for government employees "safeguards the public interest and contributes to the effective conduct of public business." Despite the profound differences between the public and private sectors, there are those who approve extension to the public sector of the same kind of compulsory collective bargaining legislation which has been operative in the private sector for some 40 years.

When the Federal Government sanction was given to exclusive union representation and compulsory unionism in private employment for private industry in 1935—through the National Labor Relations Act—it thereby extended to a private organization—a union—the power of government.

But several public employee legislative proposals would go far beyond NLRA. Bills suggested by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and the National Education Association would force a wide aggregation of union power and special privilege on every government unit in the country outside of the Federal Government. Among a long list of special privileges these proposals would: grant monopoly status to a union without secret ballot elections, authorize strikes of public employees, permit union officials to engage in coercive acts, authorize and approve full compulsory union membership and obligate every State, political subdivision, town, city, county, borough, district, school board, board of regents, public or quasi-public corporation or any other entity which is tax supported to abide by its provisions and to obey the decisions of a national public employment relations commission.

Today's discussion will look into all aspects of these various legislative proposals as well as the development of a new spoils system through public employee political action, the rights of State and municipal governments and their

employees, compulsory arbitration and the role of individual freedom in an orderly society.

This discussion will also define the distinctions between the public sector and the private sector. The public and the private sectors are as different as night and day. And, a fundamental problem lies in the fact that private sector models are being applied to the public sector where they are not appropriate. By definition collective bargaining suggests a parity of powers which is essential to the bargaining process. In the public sector this parity is nonexistent. Management in the private sector is granted a greater degree of economic leverage than its counterpart in the public sector. Because of market restraints, it is possible for an employee of private industry to negotiate himself out of a job. However, because government supplies essential services for the public, it is not possible for him to "lock out" the employees or go out of business.

The most fundamental question we will address in this dialog is whether government sovereignty can survive in the wake of compulsory public-sector bargaining. Noted law professor Dr. Sylvester Petro states:

There is an absolute and ineradicable incompatibility between government sovereignty and compulsory public-sector bargaining, an incompatibility which must necessarily weaken if not ultimately destroy effective governing power and the integrity of government vis a vis the general citizenry, since the necessary consequence of according public-employee unions exclusive bargaining status is to encourage among government employees a tendency to repress their loyalties primarily in the units which they have been induced to believe are their protagonists.

Obviously, what we need asked and answered is whether the government—by its nature, a monopoly and the protector of all citizens' rights and liberties, has the authority legally or morally, to transfer any of its functions to a private, independent organization. When public officials acting under authority granted to them by other public officials, give union organizers the right to say who will perform public service and how those services will be performed, do not we have a situation in which the authority of government has been divested from the public?

Unwelcome as it may be in many quarters, and unrealistic as it may seem in others, the proper labor relations policy for any government might well be one which rejects collective bargaining in every form.

Last September, the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of North Carolina held constitutional a State law which declared contracts between government and unions in that State to be void. In its decision the Court said:

... to the extent that public employees gain power through recognition and collective bargaining, other interest groups with a right to a voice in the running of the government may be left out of vital political decisions. Thus, the granting of collective bargaining rights to public employees involves important matters fundamental to our democratic form of government. The setting of goals and making policy decisions

are rights inuring to each citizen. All citizens have the right to associate in groups to advocate their special interests to the government. It is something entirely different to grant any one interest group special status and access to the decision-making process.

It is our hope that the discussion today will generate a serious national dialog about compulsory public-sector bargaining laws and governmental sovereignty. I would like to suggest that the American people and their representatives take a hard look at the validity of legislation that sanctions compulsory unionism. I, for one, intend to introduce legislation to protect this country against universal adoption of compulsory public sector bargaining laws, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

I want to make it clear that I am not opposed to voluntary unionism, or the right of individual public employees to organize and join unions if they so desire. But I am a great believer in the right of free people to decide whether they wish to do that or not. I am also a great believer in the right of the States to decide whether they shall have compulsory unionism or not.

I am not proposing or intending to propose national right-to-work laws. There are only 14 States that do so, and that is their right, to make such decisions on their own. They should not be mandated by the Senate or by Congress in efforts to oppose their will on all the local governments of this country. As a former mayor, I could not tolerate that intrusion into my ability as the chief administrative officer of a city to make such decisions, and be held accountable to the citizens of my city for those decisions.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's 15 minutes have expired.

Mr. GARN. I ask unanimous consent that Elizabeth Yee be accorded the privileges of the floor during the remainder of the discussion on this subject.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Under the previous order, the Senator from South Carolina is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, my colleagues here today will address the question of whether the Federal Government should impose upon the States and their political subdivisions a system of compulsory public sector collective bargaining. More broadly, we will be considering whether it is in fact in the public interest and is sound public policy for any government to be compelled to recognize and bargain with unions.

I believe that in consideration of this issue, we must pay careful attention to the question of the effect that such a system of compulsory bargaining would have on the sovereignty of government.

In this area, I would like you to consider what sovereignty consists of, whether it can exist where government is forced to submit itself and its decision-making processes to the negotiating table. I hope that at the conclusion of these remarks, it will be crystal clear that governmental sovereignty is absolutely essential and that it is so diametrically opposed to any system of com-

pulsory public sector collective bargaining that it would not only be a grave error for us to legislate such a system for the States and their political subdivisions, but an equally grave error for this body to approve any system whereby the agencies of the executive branch of the Government of the United States would be compelled to bargain with unions representing its employees.

I wish to say at the outset that I do not believe that this position reflects on my part or on the part of my colleagues any antiworker sentiment whatsoever. We are faced with a very difficult question of public policy, and I believe the interest of the entire public, including all the employees of Government at all levels in America, is best served by systems of redress of grievances and terms of employment under which elected representatives hold and retain complete and ultimate control of the decision-making process. Employees of Government, like all employees, have the right of association in unions to present their position on these matters. However, because of the uniquely different character of Government employment, it is clear that collective bargaining is a system completely inappropriate to determining the terms and conditions of employment.

However, the question is sovereignty and the different nature of government which makes compulsory collective bargaining completely out of the question.

First of all, Government is a monopoly. There is not, and there cannot be, any competition with Government in its activities. There are those who will argue that Government is engaged in many activities in direct competition with the private sector. However, rather than being an argument against the concept of monopoly in Government, this should be considered an argument against these activities of Government, and we should reserve that discussion for another day. I do not think anyone will seriously question the necessity of a governmental monopoly on national defense, law enforcement, judicial proceedings, taxation, the coinage of money, or a long list of functions which belong entirely to the people through their elected representatives.

Second, in Government, as opposed to the private sector, there is no profit motive. I regard the profit motive as one of the single most important forces in giving America its tremendous productive capacity. It is at the very heart of our system of competitive free enterprise, a system which has produced a higher standard of living and more goods and services at lower prices than any other economic system, but we must submit that the profit motive is absent from considerations of Government employer-employee relations. In short, if we or any other body of elected officials pay our employees less money, not 1 cent of that money goes into our pockets. Our commission, as is that of every other elected public body, is to provide necessary services to the people in the best and most efficient manner possible. To provide those services, we must employ people, and the better people we employ, the better service we can provide. Thus it is in our interest and in the public interest

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to employ and keep in our employment the very best employees. In order to do this, we must keep ever mindful that the total compensation of our employees and their working conditions must be comparable with those in the private sector.

Now we come to the last and most crucial difference between public and private employment. That is the very nature of Government itself. The ruling principle of action in the private sector is free contract. That is, every action that takes place between free individuals in a free society is done by mutual agreement. This is true in employment, in purchase, in all of our obligations. However, the ruling principle of action in Government is force. Government is government only because it and it alone has the power to rule by compulsion. This is the way it must be because only through compulsion can Government insure the ordered, peaceful society upon which all other segments of society depend for their existence.

This is the crux of the question, can any government exist as government once it has lost its sovereignty? Furthermore, can any government retain sovereignty when it must submit important decisions of public policy to collective-bargaining negotiations with unions?

The answers to these questions are simple and clear, because of the very nature of unions and collective bargaining.

A collective-bargaining relationship—any and every collective bargaining relationship—depends on establishing an adversary relationship between employer and employee. Unions, in order to win and hold the loyalty of their members, must demand more than the employer is willing to offer. If a union were to accept only what the employer offered, it would serve no useful purpose for its members and soon it would have no members. So unions by virtue of their very nature and to preserve their existence, must make demands. The only instrument that unions have at their disposal to support their demands is the withdrawal of the services of their members—the strike. The strike is, even when it is peaceful, the use of force. It cannot be defined or construed any other way. No government can call itself sovereign if it permits the use of force to enforce demands against it. We can see from this that there can be no true collective bargaining without strikes and there can be no true government with strikes.

This is the essential question we must face. Are we to have sovereign government, or are we to have public sector collective bargaining? We cannot have both. I am confident that the vast majority of the American people will agree with this position.

For us, my colleagues, the question is equally simple. We must decide whether we as the elected representatives of the people are going to continue to run our Government, or whether we are going to turn it over to a relative handful of professional union organizers.

I am firmly convinced that we must do

everything in our power to resist any attempts to institute a system of compulsory public sector collective bargaining at any level of Government. I do not doubt for a moment that the future of our system of government depends on it.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senator from Arizona is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

UNIONIZATION OF FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, I commend my colleagues, the Senator from South Carolina and the very able and distinguished Senator from Utah; the Senator from South Carolina, who served with distinction as Governor, and who has great knowledge in the field which he is discussing, and who has worked with the employees both at the State and the local levels. I am very pleased to follow him in discussing this subject, so important to all the people of America, and my colleague from Utah, the former mayor of Salt Lake City, that great city that stands as a symbol of good government in this country of ours, and who performed admirably as its mayor, and who is now a U.S. Senator. We are proud that we have him with us, with his knowledge of the affairs of municipalities that has proven to be very helpful to us, having had recent experience in these particular fields, because we are in a period of changing times, some better and some otherwise. However, we know that there are different issues that face our municipalities today than, perhaps, when some of us served in our particular States several years ago.

Mr. President, Congress is now confronted by demands from union spokesmen to sanction the forced unionization of the 14½ million individuals employed by the States, local jurisdictions, and the Federal Government. These incredible demands were dramatized last November 6 by the first meeting of the AFL-CIO's new Public Employees Department. That meeting was featured by an address by the labor federation's president, George Meany, who said:

Certainly, it's against the law to strike the civil service, but it's AFL-CIO policy to ignore those laws.

Now, just imagine that.

Mr. President, I was appalled by the irresponsibility of that statement.

Mr. Meany advised our 14½ million civil servants to "quit working for the guy who's kicking you around." Is that not a fine way to address these people?

You stop the job. You shut it down. You take the consequences, and you fight. And if the guy happens to be the mayor of a city or the governor of a state, it doesn't make a damn bit of difference.

That is the end of the quote, that particular quote. I think that is a shameful quote.

It was reassuring to note that Mr. Meany was censured on the editorial page of the New York Times. That newspaper is influential. I do not always agree with it, but it observed in its edition of November 10:

The accent Mr. Meany chose to put on militant action to bring Governors and

Mayors to heel—with or without a law—raised new doubts that the general welfare would benefit from a Federal mandate to strengthen civil service unions.

On November 11 the New York Daily News editorialized as follows:

The 94th Congress must screw up its courage and take a firm stand against such reckless labor adventuring. Government workers are entitled to representation and bargaining. But strikes against the public should be taboo—period. And that goes also for compulsory union membership. We simply cannot afford these callous, indefensible threats to the health, safety and economy of the nation. Nor should civil service workers be compelled to pay tribute to unions to hold jobs won on merit.

Mr. President, I think that illustrates exactly what we are discussing today.

These people are proud public servants. They want to hold their jobs on the basis of their merit, their work, they want to go forward, they want to earn a right to go forward.

Mr. President, today public employees in 34 of the 50 States are shielded from compulsory unionism by constitutional provisions, laws and executive orders.

Those States are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, and Wyoming.

Mr. President, the people of these States have afforded their friends and neighbors that work for their governments this protection that is so vital to their State and the future of their particular communities, and certainly vital to this great Nation of ours.

Obviously, the safeguards now enjoyed by civil servants in those States would be eliminated by a new Federal law authorizing the forced unionization of citizens employed by the States and their political subdivisions.

Mr. President, the erection of barriers against involuntary union membership in the public sector was strongly recommended by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. In March 1970, that distinguished bipartisan body published its recommendations dealing with employer-employee relations in the public sector.

Mr. President, it is advantageous for us to recall that this Commission was created by the Congress in 1959. Its members represent the general public and the legislative and executive branches of Federal, State, and local governments. The Commission oversees the operation of our federal system with its division of powers, and it submits carefully studied recommendations relating to improvement of the system.

In their 1970 report members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations declared:

While recognition of the right to membership is fundamental, of equal importance is the principle that no public employee should be required or coerced into joining an organization as a condition of employ-

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ment . . . the right to refrain is just as basic and precious as the right to join, and the Commission supports this position.

Some authorities contend that State legislation should not include language that gives employees the option of not joining an employee organization. They point out that the States should not mandate the "choice" provision since it would preclude employer and employee representatives from negotiating union and closed shop agreements. The preferable approach, according to this argument is for the State laws to remain silent on this matter, thereby providing a greater degree of flexibility for public agencies and employee organizations to arrive at agreements tailored to fit their own special circumstances.

The Commission believes these contentions ignore the fact that in the public service the right to join an employee organization must be accompanied by the right not to join. When the right to join becomes a duty, obviously freedom of choice becomes merely a catchword.

The union shop and the closed shop may or may not be appropriate for various crafts and trade portions of private industry. But given the size of many governmental jurisdictions and agencies the diversity of employee skills, and the intense competition between and among public employee organizations, this arrangement is wholly unsuitable in the public service.

A similar view of impropriety of compulsory unionism in the Federal service was expressed 13 years ago by then-Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg. He spoke out in defense of prohibition against the union shop and the closed shop in Executive Order 10988, issued by the late President John F. Kennedy to authorize collective bargaining in the Federal service.

Addressing members of the American Federation of Government Employees, Secretary Goldberg said:

I know you will agree with me that the union shop and closed shop are inappropriate to the Federal government. And because of this, there is a larger responsibility for enlightenment on the part of the government union. In your own organization you have to win acceptance by your own conduct, your own action, your own wisdom, your own responsibility, and your own achievements . . . so you have an opportunity to bring into your organization people who come in because they want to come in and who will participate, therefore, in the full activity of your organization.

Now, Mr. President, that was Secretary Goldberg addressing this Government employees' organization, so this is not a partisan issue, this is an issue of righteousness, this is an issue of freedom.

Significantly, the ban on forced unionism in the Federal service has been maintained by President Kennedy's three successors. A similar prohibition was incorporated by the Congress in the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970.

Mr. President, if we permit ourselves to be stampeded on the issue of authorizing involuntary unionism in the public sector, exposing 14½ million public employees to union coercion, then the American people will recognize clearly that the Congress merits their contempt.

Mr. President, we should listen to the voice of the American people. We should take the actions by the people that are close to the scene of activity, to under-

stand what is happening. They are the ones that have made the decisions as to what to be done in their particular States, particular localities.

Mr. President, I think it would be highly irresponsible for us to take an action that is contrary to their best interest.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senator from Nevada is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time allotted to the Senator from Nevada under the special order be allotted to the Senator from Utah (Mr. GARN).

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GARN. Mr. President, I wish to amplify my previous remarks with some specific examples of the effect of laws passed by Congress that are not nearly as severe as the matter we are condemning today, that being mandatory collective bargaining and binding arbitration, and the effect these laws have had on the cities and States of this country. I refer specifically to the imposition of the Fair Labor Standards Act upon municipal and State and county governments of this country last year, despite the position of the National League of Cities Board of Directors representing 15,000 cities across this country, despite the fact that the Governors' Conference took a similar position in opposition to the Congress of the United States imposing the Fair Labor Standards Act and the provisions of it on local government, despite the fact that we testified opposed to it—Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and I, he being a Democrat, I being a Republican—despite the fact that the National League of Cities Board of Directors representing 15,000 cities, both liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, came back and testified before House and Senate committees in opposition, so that a very united bipartisan, nonpartisan effort opposed this, nevertheless it was imposed upon the cities of this country at a tremendous cost to the taxpayers of this country. I use my own city as an example.

It will require us to pay time and a half to firemen for sleeping. There will be no additional firemen, no better quality of fire service, and just in my relatively small city a cost of \$3 million a year to the local taxpayers for nothing. There is an additional half million dollars because of rules that are involved with telling us how to run our personnel management system.

I will put in a specific example here. Most people know that in Salt Lake City you have very distinct seasons. You have hard winters and warm summers. So our park department employees would work a lot of overtime on the parks and golf courses during the summer and build up overtime, I might add this was on a voluntary basis. They enjoyed taking that compensatory time off in the middle of the winter when they were not needed. They would take 5 or 6 weeks off at a time and enjoy the long periods. The snow removal crews would do the op-

posite and would take the time off during the summer. So it enabled us to balance our work force. The employees loved it. As I said, it was voluntary and 85 percent of the employees chose to work in that manner. It saved the taxpayers some money.

Now, because Congress, due to the influence of the national labor organizations, has decided to ignore all of the mayors and Governors of this country, because I do not suppose we have as much political power, they changed those rules and said that you cannot grant compensatory time off unless you grant it during the week in which the overtime was incurred, or the following week, or you have to pay it in cash in time and a half.

That is an imposition of another half million dollars of cost on Salt Lake City government.

Congress in their great wisdom passed revenue sharing. Salt Lake City received \$4 million in revenue sharing. Because of the imposition of the Fair Labor Standards Act, Congress has taken \$3.5 million of it away. But more importantly, it has taken away the right of an elected mayor and a city council to make decisions in their own community, in their own sovereign community, and he held accountable to the voters of that community for their actions. So the Congress giveth and they taketh away. We have a net of a half million dollars left.

Well, we were ignored. We were not listened to by the Congress. A small group of labor leaders obviously had more effect on the outcome of this imposition of the Fair Labor Standards Act than the representatives of all of the cities in this country. So we decided to take it to court. We did, and we have received an injunction, a restraining order, from the imposition of this law. We are going to find out whether the Congress of the United States has the constitutional right to impose their will on the locally elected officials of this country.

The Governors Conference is supporting the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors in this effort.

I wish to add that I hope the American people will wake up to what is being done, to demonstrate the arrogance of some people in the labor movement to impose their will, despite the feelings of the elected representatives of this country.

I wish to report to the Senate a meeting held this week with the Congressional Cities Conference Workshop on Collective Bargaining held March 3, 1975, 2 p.m. to 4:30 p.m., at the International Ballroom East, Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

I refer to a memorandum addressed to me from Commissioner Jennings Phillips, Jr., of Salt Lake City, Utah.

This concerns the Congressional Workshop on Collective Bargaining held during the League of Cities Conference at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Present were: Robert LaFortune, mayor, Tulsa, presiding; Robert Moss, General Counsel, House Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor; and George P. Sape, Associate Counsel, Senate Committee on

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Labor and Public Welfare, representing Donald Elisburg.

I want the arrogance of this statement to be carefully noted in the RECORD:

In the introductory remarks, both Mr. Moss and Mr. Sape advised those present that regardless of what the Supreme Court's decision was on the suit brought by the League of Cities contesting the right of Congress to interfere with the employment practices of the cities and counties of this country, it was their opinion that Congress would move ahead to impose such regulations on the cities and counties.

After questions by those present, Mr. Moss and Mr. Sape stated Congress could very well make collective bargaining and the right to strike a condition of getting a federal grant.

That is really something, when employees of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States are telling mayors of this country that even if we win a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States declaring the very act of the Congress to be unconstitutional, that Congress will go ahead and stuff it down our throats anyway.

Mr. Moss and Mr. Sape were extremely arrogant and in essence said that we could do nothing to stop it and had just as well sit back, relax, and enjoy it.

I submit that it is time the American people awakened to what is being imposed upon them. If they want to have Government close to the people, if they want their local mayor and city council, county commissioners, Governors, and legislators able to be anything but local stooges for the Federal Government, then we cannot tolerate further extension of the power of the Federal Government into the internal affairs of local and State government. We cannot tolerate a bill that imposes mandatory collective bargaining and binding arbitration on the cities and counties of this country.

We need to work to repeal the imposition of the Fair Labor Standards Act which interferes with the sovereign right of a mayor or a Governor to administer the affairs of his own city or State.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senator from Wyoming is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, I have consistently supported efforts to require private sector unions to conduct a secret ballot vote among their members before calling a strike. I have also supported efforts to require that each new offer from management be voted on by the membership. I believe that these measures are necessary to instill the greatest amount of democracy into union affairs. Under this system, a strike could not be called unless a majority of members desired it, and union leaders would not be allowed to reject management offers without first consulting the membership. This would go a long way toward placing control of their own affairs back in the hands of the workers instead of a few union leaders.

Mr. President, in the public sector we are faced with increasing union demands for a federally mandated system of compulsory collective bargaining. A ma-

yor concern has to be the question of strikes.

The undesirability of public sector strikes and the reasons for this are obvious to all of us. One needs only to look at the havoc wrought by these strikes—such as those in San Francisco and Baltimore—to realize their danger.

In Baltimore—police, prison guards, and sanitation workers on strike at the same time. The result: Garbage piled in the streets; individuals attempting to take their own garbage to the dumps harassed and physically threatened by strikers, in one instance fired upon—an uprising of inmates at the city prison subdued only with the assistance of non-rebellious inmates—looting and arson erupt within hours after the police walk off the job, resulting in millions of dollars of property damage and at least one death. And the national president of the union threatens Governor Mandel that Baltimore City would burn to the ground unless their demands were met.

In San Francisco—the city crippled by a massive strike of its employees. Public transportation shut down—schools experiencing 25 percent attendance and on a half-day schedule—San Francisco General Hospital operating on an emergency-only basis, all but 150 critically ill patients moved to other locations—over 100 million gallons of raw sewage a day being pumped into the bay. After the settlement, a local labor leader tells the strikers:

I want to compliment you on the way you mounted your picket lines—the way you kept this city in turmoil until our demands were met.

One would think that something really terrific had been accomplished, without ever giving a thought to the havoc and the pain and suffering that resulted from this illegal strike.

The scene has been repeated across the country: a firemen's strike in Albuquerque that resulted in residents attempting to put out fires with garden hoses; a prolonged teacher strike in Wisconsin that led to deep divisions and outbreaks of violence within the community; a recent bus strike in Washington that, as reported in the Washington Post, most adversely affected low-income individuals that relied on the buses to get jobs far from their homes; a recent case in New York City where the leadership of the firefighter's union called a strike after the membership had voted against it.

As a rule, have we been able to prevent these work stoppages? Experience shows that we have not. Learned opinion holds that under a system of compulsory public sector collective bargaining these strikes are, in fact, unavoidable.

Experts in the field of labor relations have reached this conclusion. Theodore H. Kheel, the well-known arbitrator, has said that "collective bargaining and strikes are like siamese twins." Robert Hillman, former labor commissioner for the city of Baltimore, at a conference on public sector labor relations held this past December at the University of Maryland said, "collective bargaining means strikes." He further characterized as

"hypocritical" those who believe strikes can be prevented through the enactment of legislation which obligates government to bargain with unions.

Labor leaders have echoed this and, as their actions demonstrate, have shown a total lack of regard for the law and society by engaging in illegal strikes. George Meany, speaking at the founding convention of the AFL-CIO's new Public Employee Department, said:

If you just quit working for the guy who's kicking you around. And if that guy happens to be the mayor of the city or the Governor of a State, it doesn't make a damn bit of difference.

Actual experience with public sector collective bargaining further verifies this. The State of Michigan, for example, enacted public sector bargaining legislation in 1965. In the 7 years prior to this, they had experienced one strike. In the 3 years that immediately followed, there were 103 illegal strikes. In fact, a statistical compilation of all States shows an average of 1.92 strikes per State per year before the enactment of compulsory collective-bargaining legislation and 6.58 strikes per State per year thereafter.

Let me repeat those figures: The average statistical compilation of all States prior to the enactment of this legislation was 1.92, and after the enactment of compulsory collective-bargaining legislation, that figure rose to 6.58 per State per year thereafter.

Legislated strike bans have proven ineffectual, as have penalties for illegal strikes. The vast majority of public sector strikes have been and continue to be illegal. The penalties against both the union and the individuals striking have rarely been enforced, even in those States where the law has been written so as to make these penalties automatic and mandatory. Prime among the reasons for this has been the tendency to include in the "negotiated" settlement of a strike a clause granting amnesty to the strikers and their union.

The simple fact is that collective bargaining and strikes are inseparable. Public sector unions are going to strike when and where they feel like it.

The recent trend has been to give up the fight altogether and legalize public sector strikes, much to the delight of the unions. The State of Pennsylvania undertook such a course of action in 1971, and in 1972 had the dubious honor of leading the Nation in the number of public sector strikes.

The point being conveniently ignored by the proponents of compulsory public sector collective bargaining is that public sector collective bargaining is the reason for public sector strikes. This fact is inescapable. A union must satisfy its membership. To do this, that union must make demands. This establishes the adversary relationship that unions thrive on. To maintain this adversary relationship and insure the success of their demands, the union must show a willingness to strike, for the strike is their equalizer. The establishment of a willingness to strike necessitates actually going on strike when the situation demands it.

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We, as legislators, have a responsibility to our constituents to see that public safety is maintained and that Government services continue uninterrupted. To fulfill this responsibility, we must oppose the injection of compulsory public sector collective bargaining into our society.

SUMMARY

Faced with increasing union demands for compulsory public sector collective bargaining, a major concern has to be the question of public sector strikes.

The undesirability of public sector strikes and the reasons for this are obvious.

We have been unable to prevent them. Experts on labor relations and union leaders have declared them unavoidable. Actual experience has echoed this. Strike bans and penalties have been ineffectual.

The reason for public sector strikes is public sector collective bargaining. The rational course is to oppose compulsory public sector collective bargaining.

Mr. President, I was very much interested in the observations of the distinguished junior Senator from Utah. Here is a man who has had firsthand experience in the managing of a great city. He is a man who knows what he is talking about. He is a man who has experienced firsthand what some of the laws that are passed by Congress can do to a city in America. I am a believer in the right of people to join unions. I am well aware, as every interested American must be that unions have moved the standard of living and the welfare of workers forward in a very marked fashion in this country in the last 100 years.

I think the words of the distinguished junior Senator from Utah and others here today who have talked on this subject ought to be listened to by every Member of this body. They ought to be read by every Member of the other body, and before we pass legislation that guarantees public employees the right to strike, we had better see what we are doing. I hope that this Congress will act responsibly in this area and not take a step that, some say, would be a step forward, but, in fact, would be a very sad, step backward for America.

This is a great country. The rights of individuals are protected here as they are nowhere else on Earth.

I yield the floor.

Mr. McCURE. Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Ford). Under the previous order, the Senator from Idaho (Mr. McCURE) is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

Mr. McCURE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order of appearance between Mr. BUCKLEY and myself be reversed and that he be recognized at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from New York is recognized.

Mr. BUCKLEY. I thank the distinguished Senator from Idaho.

Mr. President, I wish to address, in my remarks, one aspect of this discussion, namely, whether or not the Federal Government has any authority or any right to intervene in what is basically the business of the States and their political subdivisions.

Mr. President, I find it disturbing to read predictions in the newspapers that this Congress will soon enact what is described as "a new Federal law granting collective bargaining rights" to the more than 11 million employees of the Nation's States, counties, cities and towns.

During the current session numerous bills have been introduced here for the purpose of mandating collective bargaining at all levels of government. Such legislation was submitted to the 93d Congress and to several of its predecessors.

But somehow, we are seeing steam generated behind them.

I recognize that this legislation has been the subject of public hearings conducted by committees and subcommittees of the Senate and House of Representatives.

It would be a grave mistake, in my view, for the Federal Government to attempt to dictate to the States and their political subdivisions with respect to their own employees.

If a given State bargains, or refuses to bargain, with its own civil servants, that is the State's business and not the business of the Federal Government.

If a given State grants monopoly bargaining privileges to labor unions comprised of its own employees, or withholds such privileges, that is the State's business and not the business of the Federal Government.

If a given State either prohibits or sanctions the mandatory unionization of State workers who do not want to be represented by labor unions, that also is the State's business and not the business of the Federal Government.

If a given State decides to permit employees of the State and its political subdivisions to engage in strikes, that, too, is the State's business and not the business of the Federal Government.

Several proposals now pending in the Congress would compel all of the 50 States and their political subdivisions to recognize and bargain with unions purporting to represent their employees. These proposals would also extend monopoly bargaining privileges to recognized unions. They would legalize the practice of requiring workers on public payrolls to pay dues or fees to labor unions as a condition of employment. And the measures to which I refer would put the Federal Government's stamp-of-approval on strikes by State, county, and municipal employees—including public schoolteachers.

The very fact that serious consideration is likely to be accorded—in fact, is being accorded—these proposals illustrates how far we have strayed from the principles which guided the Nation's Founding Fathers.

The men who established our form of government sought to diffuse sovereign power. George Washington said:

Government is like fire, a dangerous servant and a fearful master.

Students of our country's history will remember that ratification by the States of our Constitution was assured only by adoption of the first 10 amendments to that document. Throughout our national life those amendments have been popularly known as the "Bill of Rights" and

have been deemed to be that body within the Constitution that protects the citizens and protects the States from the kind of domination out of a centralized government that ultimately represents a threat to all our liberties.

The 10th amendment explicitly declares:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Nowhere, Mr. President, do I find in the Constitution anything that remotely suggests that the Federal Government would have the authority to dictate the way in which the individual sovereign States would conduct their own relationships with their own employees.

Mr. President, the imposition by the Congress of a collective bargaining straitjacket on the States and local jurisdictions would be an indefensible violation of the authority reserved to the States by the 10th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

It would extend still further the already dangerous concentration of power in the Federal Government and would continue the transformation of our once-sovereign States into the status of mere administrative units for the administration of Federal policy. This is precisely the result that the Constitution was designed to prevent, a concentration, namely, of power that would ultimately threaten the freedoms of our people.

Such a law would supersede and override constitutional provisions and statutes adopted by a majority of the States in the Union. Within recent years many States have enacted comprehensive collective bargaining laws for the benefit of public sector employees.

A distinct advantage of our form of government is that it encourages the use of the States as laboratories in which varied ideas and theories can be tested without committing the entire Nation to a certain policy or course of action. The collective bargaining process is now being tested in the public sectors of many of our States, and even if it had the constitutional authority to impose its will, Congress ought not to try to interfere. It would, in fact, be well advised to permit that testing to continue.

To date no less than 34 States have chosen to outlaw compulsory unionism in their public sectors. By what authority will we, as Federal legislators, tell the States they may not prohibit the forced unionization of public employees over whom they exercise jurisdiction?

In 1959 the Congress created the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to monitor the operation of the American federal system and also formulate recommendations pertinent to the system's improvement. The Commission periodically chooses specific intergovernmental issues for study and invites review and comment by spokesmen for all affected levels of government, representatives of interested groups, and technical experts. Members of the Commission then debate the selected issue and formulate its policy position on the issue.

In 1970 the Commission published its findings and recommendations after

conducting a 1-year study of employer-employee relations in the public sector. In unmistakable language, the Commission's report expressed vigorous opposition to:

Any Federal effort to mandate a collective bargaining, meet and confer, or any other labor-relations system for the employees of State and local jurisdictions or for any sector thereof. Little would be left of the Federal principle of divided powers were such legislation enacted. No interpretation of the commerce power, of the State as proprietor, or of the "general welfare" clause can, in our opinion, serve as a legitimate constitutional basis for this kind of drastic infringement upon the basic authority of the States and localities as governments in a federal system.

Mr. President, it is germane to observe that agencies of the Federal Government are not yet obligated by law to engage in bargaining with their employees. Under the prevailing circumstances, imposition by the Congress of such an obligation on the States and their political subdivisions would be anomalous—not to say gratuitous.

The failure or refusal of the Congress to apply a labor relations law to its own agencies and departments and their employees was not overlooked by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Its report concluded:

In the absence of overwhelming evidence of the unwillingness or inability of State and local governments to act, the Federal Government should refrain from preemptive action. Such evidence clearly is lacking at present. States and localities have developed and are developing their own response to the challenge of employee militancy, especially teacher militancy. Given the nature of this challenge, experimentation and flexibility are needed, not a standardized, Federal, preemptive approach . . .

The Federal Government clearly has an interest in the development of stable and equitable labor-management relations at the other levels. This interest can be best served, however, by avoiding actions that would exacerbate these relations and by focusing on ways and means of directly encouraging the establishment of strong, innovative personnel systems.

The Commission, whose members represent the public and the executive and legislative branches of Federal, State and local governments, is a respected and permanent bipartisan body. Among its members who fashioned the 1970 report on employer-employee relations in the public sector were Senator MUSKIE of Maine, former Senator Ervin of North Carolina, the late Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, Congressman ULLMAN of Oregon, Congressman FOUNTAIN of North Carolina, and the former Congresswoman from New Jersey, Mrs. Florence P. Dwyer.

Mr. President, I appeal to my colleagues to heed the Commission's recommendation. We are bound by our oaths to reject all legislation designed to compel the States and localities to bargain with labor unions purporting to represent their employees.

I might add, Mr. President, that only 2 weeks ago, at the National Governors' Conference, the Committee on Executive Management and Fiscal Affairs adopted the following resolution, which I shall read in its entirety. It is headed "Public

Employee Relations," and reads as follows:

The United States Congress is considering legislation which would provide to State and local government employees the right to organize and collectively bargain. This legislation would substantially replace individual state laws and procedures which now regulate these activities with a uniform federal law.

The National Governors' Conference opposes federal intervention in this area. It is the belief of the Nation's Governors that matters relating to the employees of State and local governments are within the sole jurisdiction of these units and are not properly the subject of federal legislation.

The National Governors' Conference, in adopting this statement, takes no position on the principle of collective bargaining for public employees but states its firm commitment to the view that this is an area which should be left to the discretion of the several States.

Mr. President, I know it has become unfashionable in this body to suggest that there are any constitutional limitations remaining to Federal action. The courts have cooperated in a gradual expansion of the commerce clause, so that it bears no conceivable relationship to what our founders intended, and the same thing has been said about the general welfare clause. And although each one of us is sworn to defend the Constitution, I believe we ought to remind ourselves once in a while as to what is in the Constitution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from New York has expired. Under the previous order, the Senator from Idaho (Mr. McCLURE) is recognized.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, let me begin by expressing my commendation to those who have already spoken, particularly to the freshman Senator from Utah (Mr. GARN), the former mayor of the great city of Salt Lake City, and to the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND) for his comments, and also to commend the additional comments by the Senators from Arizona, Wyoming, and New York, who have just concluded.

Mr. President, the nature of our discussion here today brings to mind an enduring observation by the 17th century philosopher, Baruch Spinoza, on the role of government in a free society:

The object of government is not to change men from rational beings into beasts or puppets, but to enable them to develop their minds and bodies in security, and to employ their reason unshackled . . . in fact, the true aim of government is liberty.

This philosophy quickly found its way into our own national law and discourse.

It is not a long step from Spinoza's ideal government to the Declaration of Independence, in which the Founding Fathers wrote:

That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed.

Our society, our Constitution, and supposedly every law and statute enacted by Congress in the past 200 years is built

on this concept of government and the governed.

Yet, I am afraid, we have wandered far astray in the field of labor relations law; and, if we are careless in our actions to come, we might not only jeopardize the freedoms we are supposed to protect, we might even jeopardize the Government itself.

As we have already noted, union professionals are trying to build a case for Federal legislation affecting labor relations in the public sector—in the Federal Government, as well as every State, county and borough across the country.

They will undoubtedly attempt to sell these proposals to us in the name of liberty and worker rights.

They will discuss the right to join a union—and it must be noted here that that is a right already protected by the U.S. Constitution—and various other claimed rights, such as the "right" of Government employees to strike against their Government.

But they will ignore other rights, rights which may not seem too important to them, but which in one way or another affect all of us. While it is true that each person has a different focus and perspective on his own and the Nation's needs, there are some insights common to all. Everyone will agree that the protection of his freedom is basic to all other propositions. Most people see that the best way to protect their own freedom is to insist on the protection of freedom for others.

For many, the most precious freedom of those guaranteed by the Constitution is that of religion. They insist that without it any adherence to freedom in other forms is folly. Representatives of several religious groups have come to me explaining that compulsory unionism would force them to violate their religious convictions. Because of this I offered an amendment to the 1970 Postal Reorganization Act providing that:

No individual who is a member of a religious sect or division thereof, the established and traditional tenets or teachings of which oppose a requirement that a member of such sect or division join or financially support any labor organization as a condition of employment, if such individual pays to the Treasurer of the United States a sum equal to the initiation fees and periodic dues uniformly required as a condition of acquiring and retaining membership in a labor organization which is representative of the employee unless said individual and said labor organization mutually agree upon some other condition of employment.

This amendment was accepted by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. Although the section to which it was amended was ultimately removed from the bill for very different reasons, Congress made it clear that it did not intend to undermine religious beliefs. It seems to me that those people who profess to believe in the separation of church and state ought to be in the forefront of this fight to prevent an incursion by the state into what is for some a religious matter. This will give those people a chance to show that what they really believe in is a separation of church and state—not a separation of church and people.

It is important to stress here again that government, by definition, is unique. It is a uniquely privileged and powerful monopoly, whose very existence is derived from the consent of the governed.

As the distinguished scholar Russell Kirk wrote last year in *Education* magazine:

By its nature, government is a monopoly. In any community nowadays, ordinarily, there exists but one police force, one fire department, one department of sanitation, one post office system . . . one apparatus for the collection of revenue and the disbursing of public funds.

If the people employed in such a monopoly are subject to the will of officers in a union, in some emergency the authority of government might be defied successfully by the men who dominate the union.

Then he warned, even the most essential public services, including the ordinary enforcement of law and keeping of the peace—

Would depend upon the mood and the ambitions of the people controlling the union.

The real government might be the union itself.

Harsh words, but not unrealistic if we fall into the trap of granting to public sector union officials monopoly control of the public sector workforce through the concession of monopoly representation privileges and compulsory union shop taxing powers, coupled with the right to strike in those unions.

If we grant them monopoly status, we have, as Dr. Kirk has eloquently pointed out, in effect, created a system of dual governments—one legitimate, appointed by the authority of the people, and the other a de facto government, accountable to no one except possibly the political system it feeds on.

The citizen taxpayer, subject to abuse by both governments, could exercise some control over the one, but would be virtually powerless to control the monopoly of the other.

As union officials gain a bigger and mightier foothold, and are able to exercise more control over the selected government, we could be faced with the actual day-to-day operation of vital government services at the whimsy of a union bureaucracy.

Government is unique. Its function is to serve the cause of liberty. We cannot have liberty and compulsory monopoly unions in control of the public service workforce, coupled with the right to strike. The measure of any proposition must be its impact upon a free people. It would be ironic if we were to move into the bicentennial period by inaugurating a program so alien to all that our Founding Fathers fought for.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS) is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum on the time of the Senator from North Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McCLURE. Mr. President, I ask

unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Chair will recognize the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS).

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I will be allowed to yield 2 minutes of my time to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CURTIS. I thank my distinguished friend.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair might inform the Senator from North Carolina that the quorum call was taken from his time of 15 minutes.

Mr. HELMS. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I wish to join with the distinguished Senator from Utah and others in calling attention to the Senate the problems involved in these efforts for unionization of Government employees at all levels of Government.

Within the last day or two, there was an account that appeared in the *Washington Star* concerning what has happened in the State of Illinois.

I believe in the right of people to join the union, I do not think that should be interfered with. I do not believe in the principle of compulsory unionism either by coercion or by a matter of law.

I also wish to point out that there are certain essential services of Government which by their very nature call for restraint.

So, whatever might be our attitude toward strikes involving nongovernmental activities, I am of the opinion that it is not according to sound public policy that these Government unions should be allowed to strike.

We will be faced with this problem in reference to the postal service before long and I think it is important that we look at all of the problems involved and not permit this to further deteriorate a very poorly administered and run postal service.

In saying that, I want to set the record straight, I am sure that there are just countless honest and dedicated postal workers. Yet there is something wrong somewhere. Our Postal Service continues to deteriorate.

I want to again commend the distinguished Senator from Utah for taking the lead in promoting thought on this important subject.

I thank my distinguished friend from North Carolina.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

NORTH CAROLINA'S SOLUTION

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, we have just heard it from our colleagues—about the threat to the basic political institutions of the country posed by the compulsory public-sector bargaining proposals being offered for our consideration.

We have discussed here today, in particular what compulsory public sector bargaining on all levels of Government by Federal legislators would mean.

These proposals would compel through Federal action individual public employees to accept an unwanted union as their "exclusive representative" in dealing with their own government, and most likely—as a consequence of compulsory monopoly representation—would cause workers to pay tribute to union officials in order to keep their jobs.

Antistrike provisions and the myriad other technical details union officials propose really only obscure these basic problems—each of which threatens both individual and government sovereignty.

Mr. President, there are very few among us, I think who would argue with these other points made here today:

That strikes against the government cannot be tolerated by a free society.

That government must—by definition—be responsive to and fully accountable to the people at all times.

That the only true function of government is the preservation of liberty.

And that public sector employees are indeed different from their counterparts in industry, both in terms of the rights and privileges they enjoy and the nature of their noncompetitive employment.

I believe that there is a viable solution without passing Federal laws. We can preserve government sovereignty and individual freedom in the public sector without being unrealistic, and certainly without being "unfair" to public employees.

In fact, in my State of North Carolina we have devised and implemented a viable solution at the State level. All public-sector collective bargaining is prohibited in the State of North Carolina.

We recognize that all public employees—and all Americans—are protected in their right to join lawful employee associations by the first amendment.

We have rejected, however, the notion that governments should be duty bound to recognize and bargain with these associations. Experience has taught us that the one thing which gives growth and strength and pressuring power to a union is to recognize that union, treat with it and enter into exclusive agreements with it. Each such agreement is a prelude to successive negotiations, accommodations, and agreements until the union grows to become uncontrolled and uncontrollable.

Now, Mr. President, the North Carolina General Statutes, section 95-98 reads as follows:

Contracts between units of government and labor unions, trade unions or labor organizations concerning public employees declared to be illegal.—Any agreement, or contract, between the governing authority of any city, town, county, or other municipality, or between any agency, unit, or instrumentality thereof, or between any agency, instrumentality, or institution of the State of North Carolina, and any labor union, trade union, or labor organization, as bargaining agent for any public employees of such city, town, county or other municipality, or agency or instrumentality of government, is hereby declared illegal, unlawful, void and of no effect.

Mr. President, this North Carolina statute is a good law. It has successfully restrained the growth of public sector

union power in North Carolina. Yet it has not led to continuous struggles with public employee disputes and conflict. And the statute has withstood challenges in the courts.

In a September 1974 decision the U.S. District Court for the middle district of North Carolina held constitutional this North Carolina law which declares invalid any contracts between a sovereign government and a union in that State.

The court said, that—

To the extent that public employees gain power through recognition and collective bargaining, other interest groups with a right to a voice in the running of the government may be left out of vital political decisions. Thus, the granting of collective bargaining rights to public employees involves important matters fundamental to our democratic form of government. The setting of goals and making policy decisions are rights inuring to each citizen. All citizens have the right to associate in groups to advocate their special interests to the government. It is something entirely different to grant any one interest group special status and access to the decision-making process.

Simply put, the court made a very affirmative statement of the rights of all citizens and groups of citizens to have equal access to their own Government.

While the North Carolina law puts a statutory prohibition on recognition and contract-making, it does not preclude representatives of employee associations from petitioning their government over conditions in the workplace. What it does preclude is government granting monopoly status to a particular union, trading away its own sovereignty, and depriving individual workers of their precious liberty to deal with their own government.

A strict nonrecognition policy, such as exists in North Carolina, would prevent any compromise of necessary government sovereignty.

Second, as the court found last September, it would keep the channels of redress open to all employees—not just to a monopoly bargaining organization.

Third, it would allow government administrators to create and conduct responsible, humane, and effective public employee personnel policies—a responsibility which, when subject to adversary collective bargaining, is less imaginative, and less progressive.

The attention of government administrators would thereby be focused—as it should be—on dealing effectively with the employees and their interests, rather than dealing with the union and its interests.

Among the most important considerations, however, is the fact that nonrecognition would prevent the abuses of human liberty which has been created by the National Labor Relations Act's "exclusive recognition" and compulsory unionism policies.

The North Carolina experience seems to be a good place to start. It shows that the States can handle the problem on their own without Federal intervention. I commend this law to my colleagues as the way to go in the States which they represent.

Mr. President, the decision of the U.S. district court on the North Carolina law, provides further insights into its

working and value, and I ask unanimous consent that the decision be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the decision was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[No. C-286-WS-72]

IN THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA, WINSTON-SALEM DIVISION

Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Unit of the North Carolina Association of Educators, an unincorporated association, and Jacqueline A. Ballentine, individually and on behalf of other similarly situated teachers in the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School System, Plaintiffs, v. A. Craig Phillips, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Frank Crane, Commissioner of Labor for the State of North Carolina; Robert B. Morgan, Attorney General of the State of North Carolina; and John C. Kiger, Omeda Brewer, Eunice Burge, Richard Janeway, Mary Lauerman, William F. Maready, Alan R. Perry, Carol G. Thompson, As Members of the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School Board, and the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School Board, and David W. Darr, Henry L. Crotts, G. P. Swisher, Dr. W. L. Thompson, Jr., and Leonard Warner as Members of the Forsyth County Board of Commissioners, and the County of Forsyth, Defendants
Before Craven, Circuit Judge, Gordon, Chief Judge, and Ward, District Judge.
Argued July 12, 1974, decided September 17, 1974.

William G. Pfefferkorn of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for the plaintiff.

Edwin M. Speas, Jr., Assistant Attorney General, North Carolina Department of Justice, Raleigh, North Carolina, for defendants A. Craig Phillips, Frank Crane, and Robert B. Morgan; William F. Womble, Jr., of Womble, Carlyle, Sandridge & Rice, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School Board; and P. Eugene Price, Jr., County Attorney, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for Forsyth County Board of Commissioners, and the County of Forsyth.

OPINION OF THE COURT

Ward, District Judge:
This case presents a renewed attack on North Carolina General Statute 95-98 which provides that contracts between state governmental units and public employee labor organizations shall be void.¹ Previously, in *Atkins v. City of Charlotte*, 296 F. Supp. 1068 (W.D.N.C. 1969), a three-judge court upheld the constitutionality of that statute while declaring related sections to be unconstitutional.²

¹ N.C.G.S. 95-98 reads as follows:
"Contracts between units of government and labor unions, trade unions or labor organizations concerning public employees declared to be illegal.—Any agreement, or contract, between the governing authority of any city, town, county, or other municipality, or between any agency, unit, or instrumentality thereof, or between any agency, instrumentality, or institution of the State of North Carolina, and any labor union, trade union, or labor organization, as bargaining agent for any public employees of such city, town, county or other municipality, or agency or instrumentality of government, is hereby declared to be against the public policy of the State, illegal, unlawful, void and of no effect."

² The statutes declared unconstitutional in *Atkins*, supra, were N.C.G.S. 95-97, which prohibited fire fighting employees of a governmental unit from becoming members of or from assisting a labor organization which was affiliated with a national or international labor organization that had collective

In the instant case, plaintiffs request injunctive and declaratory relief against the statute on the grounds that it operates to violate their rights of freedom of association guaranteed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution and of equal protection and due process guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Jurisdiction is premised upon 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201 and 1343 and 42 U.S.C. § 1983. A three-judge court has been properly convened pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§ 2281 and 2284.

Plaintiff Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Unit of the North Carolina Association of Educators is an unincorporated labor association representing professional employees, including teachers and administrators. The individual plaintiff is a teacher in Forsyth County and a member of the association. She wishes to represent all teachers in the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School System. The defendants are State officials, the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School Board, the Forsyth County Board of Commissioners, and the County of Forsyth.

The discontinuation of a salary supplement plan in 1972 supplied the irritant which caused plaintiffs to bring this action. In 1967, the school officials proposed the plan whereby the teachers in the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County school district would receive a portion of a school tax as part of their salary supplement. Since the supplement was tied to a county tax, it would increase along with the tax base of the county. The school board approved the plan. In 1972, the County Commissioners terminated the plan when they adopted the final budget for the county. Plaintiffs admit that no one source can be blamed for the discontinuation of the plan. They say that the determination of local school salaries results from input by the State Board of Education and the local units composed of the school board and county commissioners. Plaintiffs suggest that one of the reasons for the termination of the salary supplement was the discovery of the statute, N.C.G.S. 95-98, by the governmental officials between 1967 and 1969. Plaintiffs claim that upon this discovery, the school officials became increasingly intransigent in their discussions with the teachers' association. They would like to blame a drop in their membership to their claimed growing ineffectiveness in discussions with the school officials after the purported discovery of N.C.G.S. 95-98.

In this case, there never was a signed contract between the teachers' organization and the school board. Defendants suggest that plaintiffs lack standing because there is no contract which is rendered void by N.C.G.S. 95-98. We agree that the plaintiffs never had a contract or agreement with the school. However, we read that fact as the basis of their complaint. They say that the school refuses to enter into a contract with them, or even engage in meaningful discussion, because of the statute. Viewed in this light, the question before this court is not moot and plaintiffs have standing to litigate the issue.

Plaintiffs allege that the statute is unconstitutional because of the detrimental effect it has on their ability to associate in a labor organization. They contend the statute renders nugatory their right to associate since it voids any contract obtained by the association. Thus, they say, it becomes fruitless for the organization to discuss matters with the school, and the individual teachers in turn become disenchanted with their organization.

Accepting those consequences as true, we cannot accept the premise that plaintiffs' alleged right of association requires that state governmental units negotiate and en-

bargaining as one of its purposes, and N.C.G.S. 95-99, which provided a criminal penalty for violation of the related sections of the chapter.

ter into contracts with them. The Constitution does not mandate that anyone, either the government or private parties, be compelled to talk to or contract with an organization. What Judge Craven wrote in *Atkins*, supra, at 1077, is controlling and bears repeating:

"We find nothing unconstitutional in G.S. § 95-98. It simply voids contracts between units of government within North Carolina and labor unions and expresses the public policy of North Carolina to be against such collective bargaining contracts. There is nothing in the United States Constitution which entitles one to have a contract with another who does not want it. It is but a step further to hold that the state may lawfully forbid such contracts with its instrumentalities. The solution, if there be one, from the viewpoint of the firemen, is that labor unions may someday persuade state government of the asserted value of collective bargaining agreements, but this is a political matter and does not yield to judicial solution. The right to a collective bargaining agreement, so firmly entrenched in American labor-management relations, rests upon national legislation and not upon the federal Constitution. The State is within the powers reserved to it to refuse to enter into such agreements and so to declare by statute."

The other cases considering the problem raised here have likewise rejected plaintiffs' argument. *Newport News F.F.A. Loc. 794 v. City of Newport News, Va.*, 339 F. Supp. 13 (E.D. Va. 1972); *Hanover Tp. Fed. of Teach. L. 1954 v. Hanover Com. Sch. Corp.*, 457 F.2d 456 (7th Cir. 1972). While the First Amendment may protect the right of plaintiffs to associate and advocate, not all of their associational activities have the protection of that amendment. The State is not required to provide plaintiffs with a special forum in order to advocate their views. It is under no duty to provide a "guarantee that a speech will persuade or that advocacy will be effective." *Hanover Tp. Fed. of Teach. L. 1954 v. Hanover Com. Sch. Corp.*, supra, at 461.

Plaintiffs' reliance on *Healy v. James*, 408 U.S. 169, 92 S.Ct. 2338, 33 L.Ed.2d 266 (1972), in support of the request for reconsideration of *Atkins* is misplaced. *Healy* concerned a college's denial of recognition to a student group. The Court held that the nonrecognition abridged the student group's First Amendment rights. The college had denied the group a formal meeting place, and the use of college bulletin boards and the college newspaper. Significantly, it had granted those rights to other student groups. The court noted that "the group's possible ability to exist outside the campus community does not ameliorate significantly the disabilities imposed by the President's action." (408 U.S. at 183, 33 L.Ed.2d at 280). Thus the restriction in *Healy*, supra, directly affected the student group's right of advocacy and ability to organize in a situation where the college had granted those rights to other groups. In the present case the statute we are concerned with does not differentiate between public employee labor associations, nor does it restrict in any material way the ability to organize.

In *Healy*, supra, the college's action materially and discriminatorily affected the student group's right to speak and advocate. Here the statute has no such effect. All that it does is to render void contracts between the labor association and the State. As stated previously, the First Amendment does not guarantee that an organization's advocacy will be effective; it only protects the right to speak.³

³ In *Aurora Ed. Ass'n E. v. Board of Ed., Etc., Kane County, Ill.*, 490 F.2d 431 (7th Cir. 1973), the court distinguished *Hanover Tp. Fed. of Teach. L. 1954 v. Hanover Com. Sch. Corp.*, supra, from the issue before it

The State, as a matter of public policy, has chosen not to enter into enforceable contracts with public employee organizations. That policy decision cannot be regarded lightly, or as merely the result of anti-union animus. The decision of whether to permit public employees to engage in collective bargaining with the government involves far greater interests than the mere right to association claimed by the plaintiffs here. Professor Sylvester Petro in "Sovereignty and Compulsory Public-Professor Bargaining," 10 *Wake Forest Law Review* 25 (1974), ably and thoroughly discusses the case against the recognition of public employee labor organizations and bargaining with them. Even in an article more sympathetic to plaintiffs' position, Professor Summers discusses serious problems which cannot be avoided if collective bargaining problems which cannot be avoided if collective bargaining is permitted. See Summers, "Public Employee Bargaining: A Political Perspective," 83 *Yale Law Journal* 1156 (1974). There the author views collective bargaining by public employees as part of the political decision-making process. As such it cannot be fairly compared with collective bargaining in the private sector. While he sees collective bargaining in the public sector as giving the public employees a chance to give unity, clarity, and persuasion in discussing their views with a governmental body, he also notes that, at present, permitting public employee collective bargaining might well over-shift the balance of power because of the inability, in some instances, of present governmental structure to effectively deal with a collective bargaining situation. Moreover, to the extent that the public employees gain power through recognition and collective bargaining, other interest groups with a right to a voice in the running of the government may be left out of vital political decisions. Thus the granting of collective bargaining rights to public employees involves important matters fundamental to our democratic form of government. The setting of goals and making policy decisions are rights inuring to each citizen. All citizens have the right to associate in groups in order to advocate their special interests to the government. It is something entirely different to grant any one interest group special status and access to the decision-making process. As Professor Summers notes at 1193-94:

"In the private sector the parties may agree at the bargaining table to expand the subjects of bargaining, but a public employee union and a public official do not have the same freedom to agree that certain decisions should be removed from the ordinary political processes and be decided by them in a special forum. The private employer's prerogatives are his to share as he sees fit, but the citizen's right to participate in governmental decisions cannot be bargained away by any public official.

"In legal terms the principal question in the private sector is what the mandatory concerning whether a school could penalize a teacher who merely believed that teachers should be given the right to strike. It said at 434:

"Whatever else may be said about the case, it dealt with the question whether a public body is under a constitutional duty, apart from statute, to bargain collectively with the labor representative of its employees. There was no occasion to consider in that case, and the court did not consider, the problem of this case, that is, whether a public body may interfere with its employees' freedoms to think and to speak—which from the beginning of time have been recognized as wholly different from the freedom to associate and to seek to use the strength which comes from union in assembly and action. See Wyzanski, "The Open Window and the Open Door," 35 *Cal.L.Rev.* 336 (1947)."

subjects of bargaining are, i.e., what decisions the employer must share with his employees. The principal question in the public sector is what the permissible subjects of bargaining are, i.e., what decisions may be made through the specially structured political process."

Viewed in this context, plaintiffs' purported right to associate via collective bargaining must compete with equally, if not more, important rights belonging to the citizenry.

The actual decision of how to accommodate public employees in the decision-making process without denying the right of association to others is a legislative decision. Both legally and logically that decision is the prerogative of the legislature, which is much better suited to make it than are the federal courts, whose many duties cannot, under our system of government, include those of legislation. In North Carolina, the legislature has decided to resolve the competing interests by voiding contracts between the state and public employee labor organizations.

Plaintiffs also urge that N.C.G.S. 95-98 violates equal protection and due process. We disagree. While an unwarranted or unjustified interference with a First Amendment right may also be a violation of a Fourteenth Amendment right, *McLaughlin v. Tilendis*, 398 F.2d 287 (7th Cir. 1968); *Shelton v. Tucker*, 364 U.S. 479, 81 S.Ct. 247, 5 L.Ed.2d 231 (1960), we have concluded that the statute in question does not violate plaintiffs' right of freedom of association under the First Amendment. From our previous discussion it follows, and we so hold, that plaintiffs' Fourteenth Amendment rights are not violated.

Plaintiff's request for injunctive and declaratory relief is, therefore, denied.

[No. C-286-WS-72]

IN THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA, WINSTON-SALEM DIVISION

Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Unit of the North Carolina Association of Educators, An Unincorporated Association, and Jacqueline A. Ballentine, Individually and on Behalf of Other Similarly Situated Teachers in the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School System, Plaintiffs, v. A. Craig Phillips, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Frank Crane, Commissioner of Labor for the State of North Carolina; Robert B. Morgan, Attorney General of the State of North Carolina; and John C. Kiger, Omeda Brewer, Eunice Burge, Richard Janeway, Mary Lauerman, William F. Maready, Alan R. Perry, Carol G. Thompson, As Members of the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School Board, and the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County School Board, and

"The Tenth Amendment of the United States Constitution reserves to the states those powers not delegated to the federal government. The Amendment is a clear expression of the desire that the states would retain their sovereignty within our federal form of government. The decision by the State of North Carolina to void contracts between public employee organizations and governmental units is a matter entrusted to the state's sovereign discretion. See *Atkins*, supra, as quoted above. It cannot be emphasized enough that in speaking of a state's sovereignty, the term means more than prerogatives belonging to some inanimate object, rather it signifies the right of the people of a state to govern themselves under the form of government of their choosing. Therefore, since the prospect of public employee collective bargaining impinges upon those rights, it truly is important that the legislature, elected by the people, determine whether to permit such collective bargaining, and if so; on what terms.

David W. Darr, Henry L. Crotts, G. P. Swisher, Dr. W. L. Thompson, Jr., and Leonard Warner as Members of the Forsyth County Board of Commissioners, and the County of Forsyth, Defendants

ORDER

For the reasons set forth in an Opinion of the Court entered contemporaneously herewith,

It is ordered that the relief requested by the plaintiffs in the prayer for relief be and the same hereby is denied, and the action is dismissed.

For the Court:

HIRAM H. WARD,
U.S. District Judge.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1974.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCHWEIKER) is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

SENATE RESOLUTION 100—SUBMISSION OF A RESOLUTION RELATING TO DISCRIMINATION IN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE

(Referred to the Committee on Commerce.)

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and Senator WILLIAMS, and Senators ALLEN, BAYH, BEALL, BENTSEN, CASE, CLARK, CRANSTON, DOMENICI, FONG, GARN, PHILIP A. HART, HARTKE, HUMPHREY, LEAHY, MATHIAS, MCGEE, MCGOVERN, MONDALE, MOSS, MUSKIE, NELSON, PACKWOOD, PROXMIRE, RIBICOFF, ROTH, HUGH SCOTT, STAFFORD, STONE, TUNNEY, and WECKER, I submit today a sense of the Senate resolution condemning blacklisting in international trade.

In recent weeks, it has become clear that Arab investors are using their vast economic leverage to dictate the ethnic composition of international business institutions. Two of Britain's most prestigious investment banking houses N M Rothschild & Sons and Co., were excluded from bond issue at the request of Arab Foreign Bank and International Trading, Contracting and Management Co. Lazard Freres banking institution as a result of Manhattan, was \$25 million bond issue a company funded by Lebanon. And apparently U.S. companies have been on the Arab boycott list, and have even tried to get off.

The standard apologies are that companies cannot be denied the right to do business anyway, the Arabs have been on the boycott list for years. In ourselves, Mr. President, it is not simply a business matter. It is now an weapon, deployed to dictate the composition of international firms.

And while the Arabs maintain boycott lists for countries were never a threat—until the oil money suddenly the Arab countries as the only flourishing

economy, and the Arab boycott lists are now backed up with massive economic leverage. So it is an entirely new situation, Mr. President, and I do not think we can afford to silently acquiesce to these discriminatory tactics.

I was gratified by President Ford's strong reaction to this situation last week, and I commend him for it. But I think we in the Senate also have a responsibility to face this issue, and to put the world on notice that the full force of this Government's influence will be used to counter discriminatory demands. If we accept these economic strong-arm tactics today, I predict we will face an uglier choice next month or next year—and the stakes will be higher then.

The Senate can make two responses to blacklisting tactics, Mr. President: We can condemn these tactics unconditionally and urge individuals and institutions to resist them, and we can prepare detailed legislative countermeasures. The resolution we introduce today accomplishes the former objective, and I hope the Senate moves promptly to consider legislation in this area.

Today's resolution does not push us into any precipitous action in the Middle East, and it allows sufficient flexibility so current diplomatic efforts are not impeded.

But it also suggest very clearly certain legislative approaches which might be considered if these tactics continue. First, individual Americans—and American institutions—must be encouraged to say "no" to discriminatory demands. One way to accomplish this is to insure that those who take discriminatory actions to obtain approval from the blacklisters immediately forfeit all U.S. Government assistance from such agencies as the Commerce Department, the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. This would give

practice of commerce as it has flourished in this country";

Whereas the Export Administration Act of 1969 declares "it is the policy of the United States . . . to oppose restrictive trade practices or boycotts fostered or imposed by foreign countries against other countries friendly to the United States . . ."; and

Whereas acquiescence, by individuals, institutions, or nations, to such discrimination undermines international commerce and the fundamental rights of every American citizen: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) Discrimination in international commerce against individuals or institutions on religious, racial, or ethnic grounds must not be tolerated, and all Americans are urged not to cooperate in any way with such discriminatory practices.

(2) Every individual or institution approached to participate in any such discriminatory practice should be required to make a full report of such action to the appropriate agency of the United States Government, which should make this information a matter of public record.

(3) Appropriate agencies of the United States Government should discourage such discriminatory practices and review all forms of Government support, subsidy, or assistance to American companies which acquiesce in such discrimination.

(4) The United States Government should examine its relationships with countries which practice such discrimination, and the President should advise the Congress as to any justification for continuing any foreign aid, sales of defense articles or services (whether for cash or by credit, guarantee, or any other means) or other assistance programs for the benefit of any country practicing such discrimination.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I yield 5 minutes of my time to the distinguished Senator from Florida (Mr. STONE), who is one of the sponsors of my resolution.



For additional copies and information write:
THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE
8316 Arlington Boulevard
FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA 22030

Reported
Union Campaign
Contributions
to Members of
The House Education
and Labor Committee
... 94th Congress



Research findings of the
National Right to Work Committee,
March 1975.

REPORTED UNION CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 94TH CONGRESS

Source: Clerk of the House

*Michael Blouin (D-Iowa)	\$36,900	4
*Paul Simon (D-Ill.)	\$34,400	4
John Dent (D-Pa.)	\$29,275	2,3,4
*Robert Cornell (D-Wis.)	\$29,175	4
Frank Thompson (D-N.J.)	\$26,300	2,3,4
*Ron Mottl (D-Ohio)	\$23,830	4
Lloyd Meeds (D-Wash.)	\$22,550	2,4
Peter Peyser (R-N.Y.)	\$21,555	4
William Clay (D-Mo.)	\$18,850	2,3,4
John Brademas (D-Ind.)	\$18,700	2,4
*Ted Risenhoover (D-Ok.)	\$18,600	4
William Lehman (D-Fla.)	\$18,550	5
*Leo Zeferetti (D-N.Y.)	\$15,062	4
James O'Hara (D-Mich.)	\$14,300	2,4
Phillip Burton (D-Cal.)	\$13,050	2,4
Dominick Daniels (D-N.J.)	\$12,550	2,3,4
*George Miller (D-Cal.)	\$12,000	4
*Tim Hall (D-Ill.)	\$11,150	1,4
William Ford (D-Mich.)	\$10,650	2,3,5
Mario Biaggi (D-N.Y.)	\$ 7,400	2,3,4
Joseph Gaydos (D-Pa.)	\$ 6,450	2,4
Ike Andrews (D-N.C.)	\$ 6,250	
*Edward Beard (D-R.I.)	\$ 5,350	1,4
Patsy Mink (D-Hawaii)	\$ 3,560	2
Ronald Sarasin (R-Conn.)	\$ 2,350	
Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.)	\$ 2,125	2,3,4
Al Quie (R-Minn.)	\$ 2,000	
Alphonzo Bell (R-Cal.)	\$ 1,900	
Marvin Esch (R-Minn.)	\$ 1,900	
Augustus Hawkins (D-Cal.)	\$ 1,400	2
John Ashbrook (R-Ohio)	\$ 500	
*Bill Goodling (R-Pa.)	\$ 500	
Carl Perkins (D-Ky.)	\$ 500	2,3,4
John Buchanan (R-Ala.)	None	
John Erlenborn (R-Ill.)	None	
Edwin Eshelman (R-Pa.)	None	
*James Jeffords (R-Vt.)	None	
*Larry Pressler (R-S.D.)	None	
*Virginia Smith (R-Neb.)	None	

TOTAL \$429,632

* First term Congressman elected in 1974.

1 Public statements indicate support of compulsory unionism in public sector.

2 Voted in 1970 against the Right to Work provision in the Postal Reorganization Act.

3 Has sponsored legislation which would compel federal, U.S. postal service, or state, county and local government employees to support unions in order to work for their own government.

4 Received ten percent or more of total campaign contributions from union sources.

5 Total campaign contributions not available on March 1, 1975.

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Michael Blouin (D-Iowa)	Active Ballot Club 1775 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74	500.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen Comm on Pol. Ed. 2800 Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	10/26/74	100.00
	Carpenters' Legislative Improv. Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	10/10/74	500.00
	Int'l Union of Operating Engineers Engineers PAC 1125 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/26/74	250.00
	Iowa State Council of Machinists & Aerospace Workers - Voluntary Political Fund 2000 Walker Des Moines, Iowa 50317	10/31/74	200.00
	Laborer's Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/31/74	250.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League General Fund 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/28/74 11/2/74	500.00 1,000.00
	Marine Engineer Beneficial Assoc. Political Action Account 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	10/30/74	1,000.00
	National Education Assoc. PAC 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/30/74 11/1/74	500.00 500.00
	Sheetmetal Workers PAL 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/19/74	400.00
	Transportation Political Ed. League 14600 Detroit Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44107	10/28/74	200.00
	United Assoc. of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing & Pipefitting Indus. 901 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	10/31/74	300.00
	United Auto Workers - CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	11/5/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Michael Blouin (cont'd)	United Steelworkers of America PAF 5 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	10/30/74	2,000.00
	Voluntary Fund—Indus. Union Dept. 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	illegible	500.00
	Political Action League Sheet Metal Workers Int'l Assoc. 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20061	illegible	200.00
	Tempo Fund—Amer. Federation of Musicians 641 Lexington Ave. New York, NY 10022	not given	500.00
	Cedar Rapids Building & Trades Council Reference & Safety Book 5110 J. St., S.W. Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52404	not given	750.00
	Active Ballot Club 1775 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/28/74	500.00
	AFL-CIO COPE 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/12/74 10/4/74	1,000.00 700.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of N.A. COPE 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	9/20/74	400.00
	Amalgamated Political Ed Comm. 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	9/28/74	300.00
	Cedar Rapids Building & Trade Council Reference & Safety Book 5110 J St., SW Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52404	10/11/74	500.00
	DRIVE Chapter 238 5110 J St. S.W. Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52404	10/11/74	1,000.00
	Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers COPE 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	9/26/74	100.00
	Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1362 COPE 370 Blairs Ferry Rd, N.E. Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52402	10/1/74 10/12/74	100.00 500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Michael Blouin (cont'd)	Int'l Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers Political League 200 Maryland Ave., N.E. Washington, DC 20002	9/27/74	100.00
	ILGWU — Campaign Comm. 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	9/11/74	250.00
	Ironworkers Political Action League 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/3/74	500.00
	JDC-PACE (Jones, Dubuque & Clayton Counties) Union for Teachers Suite 108 American Tower Building 911 Locust St. Cubuque, Iowa 52001	9/21/74	200.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League General Fund 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	9/28/74	1,000.00
	National Education Assoc. — PAL 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	9/27/74	1,000.00
	Northeast Iowa Political Action Comm for Ed. Elkader, Iowa 52043	10/8/74	100.00
	UAW Region Five CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	9/3/74 10/11/74	2,500.00 1,000.00
	Carpenters' Legislative Improv. Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	10/10/74	500.00
	AFL-CIO COPE 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/17/74	300.00
	Comm. On Political Education Second Congressional District of Iowa 708 Old Marion Road, N.E. Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52402	10/19/74	500.00
	ILGWU — Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	10/15/74	150.00
	Laborer's Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/15/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Michael Blouin (cont'd)	AFL-CIO COPE 815 16th Street Washington, DC 20006	7/31/74	2,500.00
		8/26/74	1,500.00
	Industrial Union Dept. c/o Jake Clayman 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	8/7/74	500.00
	IBEW - COPE 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	7/20/74	200.00
	Machinists' Non-Partisan Pol League General Fund 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	6/19/74	2,000.00
	Meat Cutters COPE Local P-3 Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52400	8/7/74	150.00
		8/23/74	200.00
	American Federation of Musicians 641 Lexington Ave. New York, NY 10022	8/20/74	500.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	8/2/74	1,000.00
	Service Employees Int'l Union-COPE 900 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	8/12/74	250.00
	Sheet Metal Workers Int'l Assoc. 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	8/19/74	200.00
	Transportation Pol Ed. League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44107	8/9/74	300.00
	UAW - CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI	7/11/74	2,500.00
	Cedar Rapids Building & Trades Council 5110 J St., S.W. Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52404	8/31/74	750.00
		Total	\$36,900.00
Paul Simon (D) Illinois	Engineers Political Education Comm. 1125 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/28/74	250.00
	Inter. Ladies' Garment Workers Union 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	11/5/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Paul Simon (D) Illinois (cont'd)	Political Educational Fund of the Building & Construction Trades Department 815 16th Street, N.W. - Room 603 Washington, DC 20006	11/6/74	200.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund - Regular Acc't. 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	11/12/74	1,000.00
	Freedman, Borowsky and Lorry-Counselors at Law AFL-CIO Maritime Committee - Philadelphia, PA 100 Indiana Avenue, N.W. - Suite 301 Washington, DC 20001	11/14/74	250.00
	Coal Miners Political Action Comm. Voluntary Contribution Fund - UMW 900 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	11/14/74	500.00
	Committee on Political Education AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	1/16/74	2,500.00
	United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund Washington, DC 20006	2/12/74	2,000.00
	United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund Washington, DC 20006	1/30/74	1,000.00
	Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Inter. Dist. 7, P.O. Box 63, Marshall, ILL 62441 Wayne A. Turner, Rep., B. J. Schafer, Secy-Treas.	2/28/74	125.00
	UAW V. Cap 8000 East Jefferson Detroit, Mich. 48214	2/26/74	500.00
	National Education Assoc. Political Action Committee 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	3/16/74	1,000.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Avenue - Room 405 Washington, DC 20036	3/16/74	250.00
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	4/11/74	250.00
	National Education Association Political Action Committee 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	4/20/74	1,000.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Paul Simon (D) Illinois (cont'd)	IBEW-COPE 1125 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/20/74	250.00
	Signalmen's Political League C. M. Chamberlain, Pres. 601 West Golf Road Mr. Prospect, ILL	5/23/74	200.00
	Illinois Legislative Committee Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks 405 North Clark Avenue Palatine, Ill.	3/16/74	1,000.00
	Transportation Political Ed. League 15401 Detroit Avenue Cleveland, Ohio	3/16/74	500.00
	Committee on Political Education AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	1/16/74	2,500.00
	United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund Washington, DC 20006	2/12/74	2,000.00
	Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Inter. District 7 - P.O. Box 68 Marshall, ILL 62441	2/28/74	125.00
	UAW V. Cap 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	2/26/74	500.00
	Brotherhood of Railway & Airline Clerks 10816 South Wood St. Chicago, ILL 60643	9/18/74	1,000.00
	Communication Workers of America 1925 K St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/18/74	500.00
	United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund 5 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	9/20/74	2,000.00
	Action Committee For Rural Electrification Box 19066 Washington, DC 20036	9/25/74	600.00
	Retail Clerks International Assn. Active Ballot Club 1775 K St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/25/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Paul Simon (D) Illinois (cont'd)	United Auto Workers V Cap 8000 East Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	10/4/74	2,000.00
	Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/8/74	2,500.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League General Fund - 1300 Connecticut Ave. Washington, DC 20036	10/10/74	500.00
	People Qualified Contribution Comm. AFSCME State Employees	10/10/74	250.00
	Railway Labor Executives Assoc. Political League-Railway Labor Building 400 First St., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	10/22/74	200.00
	Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Political Action Committee 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	10/22/74	300.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America - COPE Acct. 2800 North Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	10/22/74	500.00
	Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Inter. P.O. Box 68 Marshall, IL 62411	10/22/74	400.00
	United Steelworkers of America 212 State St. Building Granite City, IL 62040	10/22/74	2,000.00
	Hotel and Restaurant Employees & Bartenders International Union - Voluntary Contributions 120 East Fourth St. - 13th Floor Cincinnati, Ohio 45202	10/23/74	500.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave. Washington, DC 20036	8/28/74	1,500.00
	Total		\$34,400.00
John Dent (D) Pennsylvania	Laborers Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/30/74	2,000.00
	Machinist Non-Partisan Pol. League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/30/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
John Dent (D) Pennsylvania (cont'd)	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen COPE 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, ILL 60657	10/30/74	500.00
	Transportation Workers Union Political Fund 99 University Place New York, NY 10003	10/30/74	500.00
	United Auto Workers V CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Street Detroit, Mich. 48214	10/31/74	200.00
	Transportation Political Education League 14600 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44107	11/6/74	500.00
	Nat'l. Education Assoc. 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/6/74	200.00
	Bricklayers Political Action Comm. 815 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	11/6/74	200.00
	P.E.F. Bldg. & Construc. Trade PAC 815 16th Street, N.W. Room 603 Washington, DC 20006	11/6/74	500.00
	PAC — Operating Engin. Dist 3 — 300 Seco Road Monroeville, Penna.	11/6/74	\$ 175.00
	MEBA PAC C. A. Black 17 Battery Place New York, NY	11/7/74	2,500.00
	Comm. of Pol. Ed. — AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/8/74	150.00
	United Steelworkers of America PAF, Walter Burke Washington, DC	11/8/74	1,000.00
	DRIVE, Political Fund F. E. Fitzsimmons, Director 25 Louisiana Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	11/8/74	1,000.00
	Eng. Political Ed. Committee J. C. Turner, Treas. 1125 17th Street Washington, DC 20036	11/8/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
John Dent (D) Pennsylvania (cont'd)	IBEW-COPE J. D. Keenan, Treas. 1125 - 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	11/11/74	300.00
	MEBA, Pol. Action Fund C. A. Black 17 Battery Place New York, NY	11/27/74	1,000.00
	Sheetmetal Workers, Intn'l. PAC, 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	11/27/74	750.00
	Maintenance of Way, Political League H. C. Crotty, Pres. 12050 Woodward Ave. Detroit, Mich. 48203	10/18/74	300.00
	NMU-PLOW 346 West 17th Street New York, NY 10011	10/22/74	500.00
	Seafarers Pol. Action Committee Gene Greene 674 4th Ave. Brooklyn, NY 11232	3/26/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee J. C. Turner, Treas. 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	5/30/74	250.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee Charles E. Nichols, Dir. & Treas. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	6/3/74	750.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund Charles A. Black 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	6/4/74	2,500.00
	Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of US & Canada — Charles W. Hauck 4929 Main Street Kansas City, MO 64112	6/11/74	300.00
	IBEW-COPE J. D. Keenan, Treas. 1125 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	6/12/74	300.00
	Nat'l Education Assoc., PAC Richard E. Maxwell 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	6/14/74	200.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
John Dent (D) Pennsylvania (cont'd)	Railway Labor Exec. Assoc. Political Lge. C. M. McLutosh 400 1st Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20001	6/17/74	200.00
	S.E.I.U. Cope-Fund - PCC George Hardy, Pres. 900 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	6/17/74	300.00
	Transportation Political Education League J. R. Snyder, Nat'l Legal Dir. 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44107	6/13/74	1,000.00
	Railway Clerks Political League C. L. Dennis, Chairman 6300 River Road Rosemont, ILL 60018	6/19/74	500.00
	Painters & Allied Trades S. Frank Raftery, Chairman 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	6/26/74	\$ 100.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee Louis Stulberg 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	6/25/74	500.00
	Graphic Arts International Union Political Cont. Comm. Edward V. Danshire - 1900 L St. Washington, DC 20036	6/25/74	200.00
	United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund Walter Burke, Treas. 5 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	6/7/74	1,000.00
	Committee on Political Education - PA AFL-CIO, COPE Michael Johnson, Dir. 101 Pine Street Harrisburg, PA	7/2/74	1,000.00
	Industrial Union Dept. AFL-CIO Jacob Claymore, Secy-Treas. 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	7/3/74	500.00
	Political Action Committee Education Conn. Union of Tele. Workers Joseph E. LaChonce, Chm. Hamden, CT 06518	7/12/74	100.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
John Dent (D) Pennsylvania (cont'd)	Laborer's Political League W. V. Reed 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	7/24/74	1,000.00
	Sheet Metal Workers International Assoc. Political Action League-Edward Carlaugh, Chm. 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	7/15/74	200.00
	DRIVE Political Fund F. E. Fitzsimmons, Dir. 25 Louisiana Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	7/19/74	1,500.00
	Comm. on Fed. Employee Political Ed. Dennis Garrison, Secy. 1325 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	7/26/74	200.00
	Amalgamated Political Education Comm. Murray H. Finley, Chm. 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	7/26/74	250.00
	Fire Fighters COPE W. H. McClennan, Pres. 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	7/9/74	300.00
	Engineers Political Education Comm. J. C. Turner, Treas. 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	7/23/74	250.00
	Comm. Workers of America COPE-PAC Louis B. Knechts, Chm. 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	7/30/74	200.00
	Carpenters Leg. Imp. Comm. C. E. Nichols, Director 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	8/6/74	750.00
	Seafarers Political Action Comm. 675 4th Ave. Brooklyn, NY 11232	9/4/74	500.00
	Comm. on Pol. Ed. AFL-CIO L. Kirkland Secy-Treas. 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/11/74	1,000.00
	UAW-CAP Ray Ross, Dir. 8000 E. Jefferson St. Detroit, MI 48214	9/14/74	300.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
John Dent (D) Pennsylvania (cont'd)	COPE-URCLPWA — Ike Gold 87 So. High Street, Akron, Ohio 44308	10/3/74	250.00
	American Federation of Teachers—COPE Rachelle Horowitz, Dir. 1012 14th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/18/74	250.00
	Total		\$29,275.00
Robert Cornell (D) Wisconsin	Local 482 PEP Comm. Neenah, Wisc.	10/31/74	\$ 150.00
	Local 298 COPE Green Bay, Wisc.	10/31/74	180.00
	Boilermakers AFL-CIO Legislative Committee Kewaunee, Wisc.	10/31/74	220.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/31/74	250.00
	United Transportation Union, Wisconsin Legislative Board 735 Division St. Altona, Wisconsin	11/16/74	300.00
	Ironworkers Political Action League 1750 New York Ave. Washington, DC	11/16/74	500.00
	United Paperworkers Political Action Fund 163 Horace Harding Expressway Flushing, NY	11/17/74	415.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave. Washington, DC	10/29/74 11/16/74	1,000.00 500.00
	AFL-CIO COPE 815 16th St., Washington, DC	10/29/74	500.00
	Chicago Joint Board Political Action Comm. 333 So. Ashland Blvd. Chicago, ILL	10/29/74	200.00
	NEA Political Action Committee 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/31/74	500.00
	Amalgamated Political Education Comm. 15 Union Square New York, 3, NY	10/31/74	300.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Robert Cornell (Cont'd)	COPE-AFL-CIO- 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	7/5/74	3,500.00
	COPE, WISC, AFL-CIO 6333 W. Blue Mound Rd. Milwaukee, WI	8/11/74	1,750.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, ILL	8/23/74	500.00
	IBEW-COPE 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC	8/30/74	150.00
	WISC AFL-CIO COPE 6333 W. Blue Mound Rd. Milwaukee, WI	8/30/74	2,500.00
	United Paperworkers Political Education Prog. 163 Horace Harding Expwy. Flushing, NY	9/4/74	500.00
	United Steelworkers of America P&F Washington, 6, DC	9/17/74	1,000.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY	9/19/74	250.00
	Ind. Union Dept., Volunteer Fund 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/1/74	500.00
	Wisconsin Progressive Labor Committee 3520 West Oklahoma Ave. Milwaukee, WI	10/1/74	400.00
	Action Comm. for Rural Electrification Box 19066 Washington, DC	10/4/74	300.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	10/10/74	\$ 1,000.00
	UAW-V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI	10/10/74	3,000.00
Brewery Workers — COPE 2189 North 48th St. Milwaukee, WI	10/10/74	300.00	
Carpenters Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	10/10/74	500.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Robert Cornell (cont'd)	AFL-CIO COPE 815 16th St. Washington, DC	10/19/74	750.00
	NEA Political Action Committee 1201 16th St. Washington, DC	10/19/74	500.00
	UAW V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI	10/19/74	1,250.00
	United Paperworkers Int'l-Political Action Prog. 163 Horace Harding Expwy. Flushing, NY	10/19/74	1,000.00
	Laborers' Political League 905 16th St. N.W. Washington, DC	10/19/74	500.00
	Retail Clerks Int'l Ass'n-Active Ballot Club 1775 K St. Washington, DC	10/24/74	500.00
	OCAW Political & Legislative Box 2812 Denver, CO	10/15/74	300.00
	AMCBW-COPE 2800 Sheridan Rd. N. Chicago, ILL	10/15/74	250.00
	8th District COPE Appleton, WI	10/19/74	300.00
	AFL-CIO Political Action Account 843 E. South Appleton, WI	10/19/74	300.00
	National PEOPLE Comm. AFSCME - Box 6587 Washington, DC	10/19/74	250.00
	CWA COPE 1925 K Street Washington, DC	10/19/74	750.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, OHIO	10/19/74	300.00
	Wisconsin AFL-CIO COPE 6333 West Blue Mound Road Milwaukee, WI	10/24/74	1,100.00
	COPE Convention Green Bay, WI	10/15/74	260.00
	Total		\$29,175.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Frank Thompson (D) New Jersey	Drive Political Fund 25 Louisiana Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	10/26/74	\$ 500.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	10/29/74	300.00
	Retail Store Employees-Active Ballot Club of Local 1262 1389 Broad St. Clifton, NJ 07013	10/29/74	250.00
	United Steelworkers-PAC 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/29/74	500.00
	TWUA Political Fund 99 University Place New York, NY 10003	10/30/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/30/74	250.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters, COPE 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, ILL 60657	10/30/74	500.00
	Political Education Fund Building & Construction Trades Dept. 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74	400.00
	SEIU Cope Fund 900 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74	1,000.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	11/1/74	500.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	11/1/74	250.00
	Hotel & Restaurant Employees TIP Fund 120 East Fourth Street Cincinnati, Ohio 45202	11/1/74	500.00
	Transportation Political Education League 14600 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44107	11/4/74	300.00
	Bricklayers Action Committee 815 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	11/4/74	200.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Frank Thompson (D) New Jersey (cont'd)	Active Ballot Club 1775 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/6/74	250.00
	CWA-COPE-PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/26/74	250.00
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/14/74	500.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation 674 Fourth Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	5/20/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	5/20/74	250.00
	I.L.G.W.U. Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	5/22/74	250.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	3/20/74	2,000.00
	COPE, AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/7/74	2,500.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation 675 Fourth Ave. Brooklyn, NY 11232	9/13/74	500.00
	Fire Fighters — COPE 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/30/74	200.00
	Laborer's Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/30/74	2,000.00
	IBEW-COPE 1125 Fifteenth St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/2/74	\$ 500.00
	National Education Ass'n PAC 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/4/74	2,000.00
	Local 1199 Brotherhood Fund 310 W. 43rd Street New York, NY 10033	10/10/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT	
Frank Thompson (D) New Jersey (cont'd)	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44107	2/4/74	500.00	
	COPE-AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/15/74	1,000.00	
	N.J. State Carpenters Non-Partisan Political Comm. c/o James E. Moss Lafayette, New Jersey 07848	10/21/74	300.00	
	Committee on Federal Employees Political Education 1325 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	5/28/74	500.00	
	United Auto Workers V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, Mich. 48214	5/28/74	500.00	
	Laborer's Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/28/74	1,000.00	
	Amer. Federation of Teachers Comm. on Political Ed. — Million Dollar Fund 1012 14th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	6/3/74	250.00	
	NMU PLOW 346 W. 17th Street, New York, NY 10011	6/4/74	500.00	
	MEBA Pol. Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	6/12/74	1,500.00	
	People Qualified Contrib. Comm. AFSCME Box 6587 Washington, DC 20009	6/14/74	500.00	
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	6/17/74	1,000.00	
	Carpenter's Legis. Imp. Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	7/23/74	600.00	
		Total		\$26,300.00
	Ron Mottl (D) Ohio	COPE AFL-CIO B. Kirkland Secy. 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/29/74	2,500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Ron Mottl (D) Ohio (cont'd)	Cleveland Teachers Union #279 COPE Fund-J. O'Meara, Secy. 602 Engineers Bldg. Cleveland, Ohio 44114	10/29/74	250.00
	Laborers Political League J. Curran, Director 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/29/74	500.00
	UAW V. CAP L. Woodcock, Treas. 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	10/29/74	1,000.00
	Machinist Non-Partisan Political League E. Glover, Chairman 1300 Connecticut Washington, DC 20036	10/28/74	500.00
		10/28/74	500.00
	Plumbing-Pipefitting U.A. Political Education Committee—M. Ward, President 901 Massachusetts Washington, DC 20001	10/25/74	500.00
	URCLWA — COPE Fund Committee Ike Gold, Treas. 87 South High St. Akron, Ohio 44308	10/25/74	250.00
	Building Construction Political Education Fund R. Georgine, Secy. 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/25/74	200.00
	Active Ballot Club-1 Retail Store Employees No. 880 2828 Euclid Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44115	10/29/74	250.00
	OCAW Volunteer Fund 499 Kenilworth Bay Village, Ohio 44140	10/29/74	300.00
	Amalgamated Meatcutters COPE 2800 N. Sheridan Chicago, IL 60657	10/29/74	300.00
	Ohio DRIVE 2020 Carnegie Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44115	4/16/74	500.00
		4/16/74	500.00
	Cleveland AFL-CIO COPE Suite 411 — Manger Hotel Cleveland, Ohio 44114	4/18/74	120.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Ron Mottl (D) Ohio (cont'd)	REPEC - Rural Electrification Pol. Education Committee 155 E. Superior Street Chicago, IL 60611	4/18/74	300.00
	UAW V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	4/18/74	1,000.00
	Retail Store Employees #880 Active Ballot Club No. 1 2828 Euclid Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44113	4/24/74	120.00
	District Council #78 People Committee 1925 St. Clair Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44114	4/24/74	100.00
	Machinist Non-Partisan Pol. League 1300 Connecticut Ave. Room 405 Washington, DC 20036	4/29/74	500.00
	Cuyahoga-Medina Counties, UAW Community Action Council 17250 Hunnel Road Brookpark, Ohio	5/1/74	120.00
	Local 1250 UAW Political Action 17250 Hunnel Road Brookpark, Ohio	5/4/74	120.00
	Transportation Political Ed. League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44107	6/1/74	500.00
		7/8/74	500.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League — General Fund 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	7/5/74	2,000.00
	Firemen-Oilers Political League 200 Maryland' Washington, DC 20002	7/11/74	200.00
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	6/28/74	500.00
	IBEW COPE 1125 15th Street Washington, DC 20005	7/30/74	150.00
	International Brotherhood-Painters Allied Trades Washington, DC	7/23/74	200.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Ron Mottl (D) Ohio (cont'd)	Railway Labor Executives, 400 1st Street Washington, DC 20001	8/13/74	200.00
	Boilermakers-Blacksmiths Legislative Ed. Comm. LEAP Kansas City, Kansas	8/7/74	500.00
	Local - 1005 Refund-Hall Rent 5615 Chevrolet Blvd. Parma, Ohio 44130	3/18/74	125.00
	Painters District Council #6-COPE Fund 1280 West 3rd Street Cleveland, Ohio 44129	4/8/74	100.00
	Amalgamated Political Education Comm. M.H. Finley, Chairman 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	9/3/74	300.00
	Sheet Metal Int. Assoc. #65 Paul Ristau, Mgr. 3515 Prospect Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44115	9/4/74	200.00
	Iron Workers Pol. Action Comm. John Lyons, Pres. 1750 New York Ave. Washington, DC 20005	9/5/74	500.00
	Comm. on Political Education-AFL-CIO L. Kirkland, Treas. 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/12/74	2,500.00
	CWA-COPE-PCC L.B. Knecht, Treas 1925 K Street Washington, DC 20006	9/6/74	200.00
	Active Ballot Club P. Hall, Secy. Suffridge Building Washington, DC	9/18/74	500.00
	ILGWU, Campaign Comm. L. Sutlberg, Chairman 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	9/18/74	250.00
	UAW V. Cap L. Woodcock, Treas. 8000 W. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	9/17/74 9/17/74	1,000.00 1,000.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT	
Ron Mottl (D) Ohio (cont'd)	Ohio DRIVE J. Presser, Treas. 2020 Carnegie Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44115	9/24/74	1,000.00	
	Hotel-Restaurant Employees J. Gibson, Treas. 120 East 4th Street Cincinnati, Ohio 45202	10/16/74	500.00	
	Molders Political Fund A.J. Trizna, Pres. 1225 E. McMillan St. Cincinnati, Ohio 45206	10/18/74	200.00	
	American Fed. Teachers, COPE R. Horowitz, Dir. 1012 14th St. Washington, DC 20005	10/18/74	250.00	
	UAW Local 1005 5615 Chevrolet Blvd. Parma, Ohio 44130	10/22/74	275.00	
	Total		\$23,830.00	
	Lloyd Meeds (D) Washington	Nat'l Education Assoc. Political Action Comm. 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	11/4/74	200.00
		Nat'l Education Assoc. Political Action Comm. 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	11/4/74	1,100.00
		Action Comm. For Rural Electrification P.O. Box 19066 Washington, DC	11/4/74	500.00
		Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Avenue Cleveland, OH 44107	11/4/74	300.00
Seafarers Political Activity Donation 675 Fourth Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232		11/4/74	500.00	
National PEOPLE Committee P.O. Box 6587 Washington, DC 20009		11/4/74	100.00	
Communications Political Action Committee P.O. Box 83 - Ben Franklin Station Washington, DC 20044		11/4/74	100.00	
Boilermakers-Blacksmiths Legislative Education Action Program 400 First Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20001		11/4/74	500.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Lloyd Meeds (D) Washington (cont'd)	Sailors Union of the Pacific Sailors Political Fund 450 Harrison Street San Francisco, CA	11/8/74	200.00
	Amalgamated Political Education Committee 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	11/8/74	400.00
	OCAW Political & Legislative League 304 Freeway Cntr, Building 3605 Long Beach Blvd. Long Beach, CA 90807	11/8/74	300.00
	Political Educational Fund of the Building & Construction Trades Department 815 16th Street, N.W. Room 603 Washington, DC 20006	11/8/74	\$ 300.00
	IBEW - COPE 1125 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	11/6/74	100.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	11/6/74	200.00
	Committee on Federal Employees Political Education Washington, DC	11/6/74	100.00
	NMU - PLOW 346 West 17th Street New York, NY 10011	11/4/74	250.00
	Fire Fighters COPE Washington, DC 20006	11/4/74	100.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers Workmen of North America 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	11/4/74	400.00
	Active Ballot Club 1775 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/11/74	250.0
	United Steelworkers of America 424 Evergreen Bldg. 15 So. Grady Way Renton, WA 98055	11/18/74	500.00
	Edward V. Donahue, Chairman Political Contributions Comm. Graphic Arts International Union 1900 L Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	1/21/74	200.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Lloyd Meeds (D) Washington (cont'd)	Patrick Nilan American Postal Workers Union 817 14th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	1/21/74	100.00
	Joseph D. Keenan IBEW - 1125 - 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	1/21/74	200.00
	Dave Sweeney, Political Director DRIVE Political Fund 25 Louisiana Avenue Washington, DC 20001	1/22/74	1,000.00
	Charles E. Nichols Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee 101 Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20001	1/25/74	300.00
	A. H. Chesser Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44107	1/28/74	500.00
	Phil Carlip Seafarers Political Activity Donation 674 Fourth Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	1/30/74	500.00
	C. L. Dennis, Chairman Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	2/4/74	400.00
	Joe Davis, Chairman Washington State Committee on Political Ed. State Branch AFL-CIO-COPE 2800 1st Avenue Seattle, WA 98121	1/31/74	1,000.00
	J. C. Turner, Secy-Treas. Engineers Political Education Comm. 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	2/6/74	500.00
	Thomas C. Burkholder OCAW Political & Legislative League 203 West Holly Bellingham, WA 98225	2/6/74	100.00
	Maintenance of Way Political League 12050 Woodward Avenue Detroit, MI	2/11/74	200.00
	CWA-COPE-PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	2/11/74	100.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Lloyd Meeds (D) Washington (cont'd)	Louis Stulberg ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	2/14/74	250.00
	B. J. Shaefer OCAW Political & Legislative League P.O. Box 2812 Denver, CO 80201	2/14/74	200.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	1/24/74	\$ 500.00
	American Federation of Teachers Washington, DC	2/13/74	100.00
	Washington State Comm. Political Ed. State Branch AFL-CIO 2800 1st Avenue Seattle, WA 98121	2/19/74	1,000.00
	Washington Fed. of State Employees AFL-CIO 201 W. 5th Ave., Room 401 Olympia, WA	1/29/74	200.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political Comm. 1300 Connecticut Ave., Room 405 Washington, DC	1/31/74	500.00
	Painters and Allied Trades Washington, DC	2/7/74	100.00
	Wash. State Ass'n. of Electrical Workers 1718 Melrose Ave. Seattle, WA 98122	2/12/74	200.00
	Everett Fire Fighters Local #350 2801 Oakes Everett, WA	2/15/74	100.00
	Amalgamated Transit Union Everett, WA 98201	2/14/74	100.00
	COPE Volunteer Fund - AFL-CIO Seattle, WA	2/15/74	100.00
	Washington State Machinist Non-Partisan Political League 5527 Airport Way So. Seattle, WA 98108	2/13/74	200.00
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th Street Washington, DC 20006	2/15/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Lloyd Meeds (D) Washington (cont'd)	People Qualified Comm. (AFSCME) P.O. Box 6587 Washington, DC 20009	3/4/74	200.00
	Leonard Woodcock UAW V. Cap. 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI	2/25/74	500.00
	Geneva M. Barnes, Acting Director Committee on Fed. Employees Pol. Ed. 1325 Mass. Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC	2/25/74	100.00
	Morris D. Langberg Local 302 Voluntary Political Fund Union of Operating Engineers Western Ave. & Clay Streets Seattle, WA 98121	2/19/74	500.00
	Jacob Clayman Industrial Union Department Vol. Funds 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	2/21/74	250.00
	Washington State Machinist Non-Partisan Political League Seattle, WA 98121	3/13/74	200.00
	National Ed. Ass'n.-Pol. Activities Comm. 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	3/6/74	200.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation 674 4th Avenue Brooklyn, NY	missing	500.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	8/29/74	1,500.00
	National Education Ass'n. Pol. Action Comm. 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	9/4/74	500.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	10/9/74	600.00
	Washington State Comm. on Pol. Ed.-AFL-CIO 2800 First Ave., South Seattle, WA 98121	9/9/74	500.00
	AMF-TEMPO Political Cont. Comm. 220 Mount Pleasant Ave. Newark, NJ 07104	9/19/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Lloyd Meeds (D) Washington (cont'd)	Industrial Union Dept. Voluntary Funds 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	10/21/74	\$ 250.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Conn. Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/21/74	200.00
	Washington State Labor Council AFL-CIO 2800 First Ave., South Seattle, WA 98121	10/21/74	1,000.00
	Total		\$22,550.00
Peter Peysen (R) New York	Active Ballot Club' 1775 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC	10/29/74	1,000.00
	Building & Const. Trades Dept. Pol. Ed. Fund 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/29/74	300.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	10/29/74	250.00
	Laborers' Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/29/74	250.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	10/29/74	300.00
	Transportation Workers of Greater NY Political Contribution Comm. Local 100 1980 Broadway New York, NY 10023	10/29/74	500.00
	Painters & Allied Trades-Pol. Action Together 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	11/8/74	300.00
	AFL-CIO COPE 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/25/74	2,500.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League District 15 7 East 15th Street New York, NY	10/25/74	100.00
	Machinist Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	10/25/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Peter Peysen (R) New York (cont'd)	Active Ballot Club Retail Food Clerks Union Local 1500 221-10 Jamaica Ave., Queens Village, NY 11428	10/15/74	500.00
	American Federation of Teachers COPE 1012 14th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/15/74	250.00
	VOTE/COPE 150 State Street Albany, NY 12207	10/16/74	4,280.00
	Committee on Political Education (AMCOPE) Amalgamated Meatcutters & Butcher Workmen 2800 N. Sheridan Rd. Chicago, IL 60657	10/18/74	400.00
	COPE - Local 1-2, utility Workers Union of America AFL-CIO 386 Park Ave. South New York, NY 10016	10/16/74	200.00
	AFL-CIO COPE 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/16/74	2,500.00
	Communication Workers of America Local 1103 791 Central Avenue Scarsdale, NY 10583	9/19/74	500.00
	Laborers' Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/24/74	500.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation SPAD 674 4th Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	6/1/74	500.00
	Engineers Political ED. Comm. 1125 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	6/14/74	250.00
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	6/14/74	250.00
National Education Assoc. Pol. Action Comm. 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	8/6/74	2,000.00	
Carpenters' Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	8/15/74	600.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Peter Peyser (R) New York (cont'd)	Int'l. Union of Operating Engineers' 1360 Pleasantville Road Briarcliff Manor, NY 10510	4/4/74	1,000.00
	DRIVE Political Fund 25 Louisiana Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	4/4/74	1,000.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improv. Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	4/9/74	500.00
	Local 1177-Communications Workers of Amer. 299 Broadway New York, NY 10007	5/1/74	25.00
	IBEW-COPE 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC	5/1/74	200.00
	Retail Clerks Union, Local 888 229 Park Avenue New York, NY 10003	5/14/74	100.00
	Total		\$21,555.00
William Clay (D) Missouri	TWVA Political Fund 99 University Place New York, NY	10/27/72	250.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave. Washington, DC 20036	10/27/72	500.00
	Committee on Political Education - AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	10/28/72	1,000.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee 101 Constitution Ave. Washington, DC	10/28/72	500.00
	Laborers Political League 905 10th Street Washington, DC	10/28/72	500.00
	International Brotherhood, Electrical Workers Local #1 5850 Elizabeth Ave. St. Louis, MO 63110	10/28/72	100.00
	Political Education Fund, Building & Construction Trades Department 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	10/28/72	400.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
William Clay (D) Missouri (cont'd)	American Federation of Teachers Committee on Political Education Million Dollar Fund Washington, DC	10/28/72	100.00
	Acre Committee Sillie Ramsey, Tres. Troy, Missouri	10/28/72	100.00
	Industrial Union Dept. Voluntary Funds Washington, DC	10/31/72	1,000.00
	Active Ballot Club Washington, DC	10/31/72	250.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers Workmen of North America 2800 N. Sheridan Rd. Chicago, ILL	10/31/72	500.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, ILL	11/1/72	200.00
	CWA Cope-Pcc 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC	11/1/72	250.00
	Political Action Fund, Mapes 1644 Eleventh St., N.W. Washington, DC	11/1/72	300.00
	People Qualified Contributions Comm. AFSCME Washington, DC	11/20/72	750.00
	Ken Worley UAW-Region 5 130 S. Beniston - Suite 308 St. Louis, MO 63105	7/17/74	1,000.00
	I.L.G.W.U. Campaign Committee Floyd Edmonds 4031 N. Market St. Louis, MO	7/24/74	200.00
Committee - Political Education AFL-CIO 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	7/24/74	2,000.00	
Teamsters Joint Council No. 13 D.R.I.V.E. Edwin Dorsey 300 S. Grand St. Louis, MO	7/23/74	300.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
William Clay (D) Missouri (cont'd)	Howard F. Dow-Machinists Non-Partisan Political League - 1300 Connecticut Ave. Washington, DC 20036	8/12/74	500.00
	Victoria Slopah-Machinists Non-Partisan Political League District #9 St. Louis, MO	8/12/74	500.00
	U.A. Political Education Committee Washington, DC (United Association of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing & Pipefitting Industry of the U.S. & Canada)	10/25/74	\$ 250.00
	Public Affairs Council - Nat'l. Fed. of Federal Employees Washington, DC 20006	10/25/74	50.00
	Amalgamated Transit Union Committee on Political Education 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/25/74	100.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation Brooklyn, NY 11232	10/25/74	300.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, ILL 60657	10/25/74	400.00
	Bottlers, Local 1187 Education Fund 1611 South Broadway St. Louis, MO 63104	10/25/74	50.00
	Building & Trades Educational Fund Washington, DC 20006	10/25/74	300.00
	American Postal Workers "Political Action Fund" 517 14th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	7/18/74	250.00
	Amalgamated Political Education Committee 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	6/1/74	500.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44107	6/1/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 Seventeenth St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	6/1/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT	
William Clay (D) Missouri (cont'd)	Non-Partisan Transportation Action Committee	6/7/74	100.00	
	Missouri Action Committee for Rural Electrification (ACRE)	6/9/74	300.00	
	Laborer's Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	6/10/74	500.00	
	MEBA Political Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	6/13/74	1,000.00	
	CWA-COPE-PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	6/14/74	250.00	
	CWA-CAC 2334 Olive Street St. Louis, MO 63103	6/21/74	250.00	
	National Education Assn.-Political Action Committee 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	5/2/74	500.00	
	Political Action Fund NAPFE 1644 Eleventh Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20001	5/7/74	500.00	
	People Qualified Contribution Committee (AFSCME) P.O. Box 6587 Washington, DC 20009	5/22/74	500.00	
	Fire Fighters COPE 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/31/74	300.00	
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation; S.P.A.D. 674 Fourth Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	5/8/74	500.00	
	Total			\$18,850.00
	John Brademas (D) Indiana	UAW Community Action Voluntary Fund 1125 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/30/74	100.00
ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019		10/30/74	250.00	
Transportation Political Education League 14600 Detroit Avenue Cleveland, OH 44107		11/1/74	300.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
John Brademas (D) Indiana (cont'd)	NEA-PAC 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	11/1/74	1,000.00
	Amalgamated Political Education Committee 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	11/4/74	400.00
	Communications Workers of America COPE-PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74	500.00
	Industrial Union Department AFL-CIO-IUD Voluntary Funds 815 16th Street Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74	200.00
	DRIVE Political Fund 25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20001	11/8/74	1,000.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	11/4/74	500.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 200036	10/30/74	500.00
	Political Educational Fund of the Building & Construction Trades Department 815 16th Street, N.W. Room 603 Washington, DC 20006	10/28/74	300.00
	Textile Workers Union of America Political Fund 99 University Place New York, NY 20003	10/28/74	250.00
	Political Fund Committee American Postal Workers Union 817 14th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	3/22/74	200.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee (EPEC) 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	3/7/74	250.00
	IBEW-COPE 1125 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	3/1/74	300.00
	TEMPO Fund American Federation of Musicians 641 Lexington Avenue New York, NY 10022	8/30/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
John Brademas (D) Indiana (cont'd)	Committee on Political Education (COPE) AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/14/74	2,000.00
	People Qualified Contribution Committee AFSCME P.O. Box 6587 Washington, DC 20009	5/16/74	250.00
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/20/74	\$ 250.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Avenue Cleveland, OH 44107	5/14/74	500.00
	International Brotherhood of Painters & Allied Trades Political Action Together-Political Fund 1750 New York Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/21/74	150.00
	Committee on Federal Employees Political Education 1325 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 607 Washington, DC 20005	5/16/74	200.00
	Carpenters' Legislative Improvement League 101 Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20001	5/8/74	500.00
	IBEW-COPE 1125 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	5/6/74	250.00
	Action Committee on Rural Electrification (ACRE) P.O. Box 19066 Washington, DC	5/8/74	500.00
	Laborers' Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/3/74	500.00
	Engineers' Political Education Committee (EPEC) 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	5/1/74	250.00
	Political Fund Committee American Postal Workers Union 817 14th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	5/3/74	200.00
	National Education Association Political Action Committee 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	8/1/74	400.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
John Brademas (D) Indiana (cont'd)	Seafarers Political Activity Donation SFAD 675 Fourth Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	10/19/74	500.00
	National Education Association Political Action Committee 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/22/74	100.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers Workmen of North America - COPE 2800 North Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	10/11/74	300.00
	Active Ballot Club, Retail Clerks Inter. 1775 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/5/74	250.00
	COPE AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/11/74	1,000.00
	United Steelworkers Political Action Fund 5 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	9/18/74	1,000.00
	UAW V Cap 8000 East Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	9/27/74	500.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	4/8/74	1,000.00
	Industrial Union Department Voluntary Fund AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	4/23/74	500.00
	Local Union #364, Political Education Fund 2405 E. Edison Road, P.O. Box 6128 South Bend, Indiana 46615	5/20/74	400.00
	AFL-CIO Citizenship Fund Elkhart County Labor Council 317 W. Lexington Elkhart, Indiana 46514	5/16/74	350.00
	UAW V Cap 8000 East Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	5/22/74	550.00
		Total	
Ted Risenhoover (D) Oklahoma	AFL-CIO COPE Washington, DC	9/14/74	3,250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Ted Risenhoover (D) Oklahoma (cont'd)	DRIVE Political Fund Chapter 886 Detroit, Michigan	8/16/74	750.00
	Action Committee for Rural Electrification (ACRE) P.O. Box 19066 Washington, DC	10/24/74	400.00
	Operating Engineers #627 Voluntary Political Fund 1315 S. 73rd East Ave. Tulsa, OK 74112	10/24/74	500.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	10/24/74	500.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/24/74	500.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, OH 44107	10/24/74	500.00
	National Education Association Political Action Comm. 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/24/74	500.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund Regular Acct. 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	10/24/74	500.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League (General Fund) 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/24/74	500.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers Workmen of North America - COPE Acct. 2800 North Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	10/24/74	200.00
	UAW V Cap 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	10/24/74	200.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10010	10/24/74	250.00
	Committee on Political Education AFL-CIO Political Contribution Committee Washington, DC 20006	10/24/74	2,000.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Ted Risenhoover (D) Oklahoma (cont'd)	U. A. Political Education Committee (United Assoc. of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Industry of the U. S. and Canada) Tulsa, OK	11/16/74	500.00
	Active Ballot Club Washington, DC	11/16/74	500.00
	GWA Cope Fund Washington, DC	11/5/74	300.00
	UAW V. CAP Tulsa, OK	12/9/74	500.00
	Action Comm. for R.E. (ACRE) Washington, DC	12/24/74	750.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	12/26/74	\$ 250.00
	CWA COPE PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	12/30/74	1,000.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	12/30/74	2,500.00
	Carpenters Legislative Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	12/30/74	500.00
	DRIVE Political Action Fund Detroit, MI	9/16/74	750.00
	Total		\$18,600.00
William Lehman (D) Florida	UAW V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	11/8/74	500.00
	American Federation of Teachers Committee on Political Education 1012 14th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/15/74	250.00
	Firemen & Oilers Political League Comm. 200 Maryland Ave., N.E. Washington, DC	10/24/74	100.00
	Comm. on Political Education AFL-CIO 816 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	1/25/74	1,000.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
William Lehman (D) Florida (cont'd)	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC	2/7/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	8/5/74	250.00
	Political Action Committee American Postal Workers 817 14th St., N.W. Washington, DC	8/9/74	50.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio	8/16/74	500.00
	Carpenters Legislative Impv. Comm. 101 Constitution Ave. Washington, DC 20001	9/5/74	400.00
	IBEW Committee on Political Education 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	9/5/74	100.00
	SWA Committee on Political Education 9125 K St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/5/74	1,000.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	9/5/74	1,000.00
	National Education Assoc. Political Action Comm. 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	9/5/74	500.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio	9/5/74	500.00
	UAW V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI	8/26/74	1,000.00
	IBEW COPE Fund 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	8/26/74	200.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Comm. 675 Fourth Ave. Brooklyn, NY	8/26/74	500.00
Industrial Union Dep. Volunteer Fund 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	8/26/74	500.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
William Lehman (D) Florida (cont'd)	Rural Electric Political Action Comm. P.O. Box 19066 Washington, DC	8/28/74	500.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improv. Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	8/29/74	600.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	9/17/74	500.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	9/19/74	1,000.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	9/19/74	250.00
	COPE - TIGER 1809 Brickell Ave. CTA Towers Miami, FL	9/19/74	50.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio	9/20/74	300.00
	Hotel & Restaurant Employees TIP 120 E 4th St. Cincinnati, Ohio	9/20/74	750.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improv. Comm. 100 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	9/23/74	300.00
	Boilermakers-Blacksmiths Legislative Education Action Program LEAP 401 1st St., N.W. Washington, DC	9/23/74	500.00
	State & County Municipal - COPE 1155 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC	9/25/74	250.00
	CWA COPE PCC 1925 K St., NW Washington, DC	9/25/74	1,000.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	9/25/74	500.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	9/25/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT	
William Lehman (D) Florida (cont'd)	Political Fund Comm. American Postal Workers 817 14th St., N.W. Washington, DC	9/25/74	500.00	
	IBEW COPE 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC	9/25/74	150.00	
	Active Ballot Club 1775 K St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/3/74	500.00	
	Amalgamated Political Education Comm. 15 Union Square New York, NY	10/3/74	300.00	
	Industrial Union Dep. Voluntary Funds 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/3/74	250.00	
	United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund 2 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	10/7/74	1,000.00	
	UAW V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	10/7/74	500.00	
	Total		\$18,550.00	
	Leo Zeferetti (D) New York	Seafarer's Political Activity Fund 675 4th Ave., Brooklyn, New York 11232	No Date	1,000.00
		Brooklyn Longshoreman's Political Action & Educational Fund 343 Court Street Brooklyn, New York 11231	10/25/74	(in kind cont.) 3,687.96
Communications Workers of Amer. Local 1109 Cope Fund 17 Neptune Avenue Brooklyn, NY		10/25/74	300.00	
AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006		10/25/74	3,000.00	
Laborers Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006		10/28/74	500.00	
Machinist Non-Partisan Political Activity Fund 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036		10/28/74	300.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Leo Zeferetti (D) New York (cont'd)	MEBA – District #2-Voluntary Action Fund 650 4th Ave. Brooklyn, NY	10/31/74	1,500.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	10/31/74	300.00
	Retail Clerks Union – Local #888 Active Ballot Club 229 Park Ave., New York, NY	11/22/74	500.00
	Service Employees Int'l Union Cope Fund 900 17th Street Washington, DC	11/1/74	250.00
	Transportation Workers Union-COPE Fund Local 100 1980 Broadway New York, NY 10023	10/28/74	925.00
	Brooklyn Longshoremens Political Action and Education Fund 343 Court St. Brooklyn, NY 11231	10/25/74	300.00
	AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/18/74	2,500.00
	Total		\$15,062.96
James O'Hara (D) Michigan	Political Education Fund of the Building & Construction Trades Dept. 815 16th St., N.W. – Suite 603 Washington, DC 20006	10/29/74	300.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	10/29/74	500.00
	Bricklayer's Action Committee 815 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	11/7/74	200.00
	Committee on Political Education AFL-CIO 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/12/74	100.00
	Political Action Committee, Int'l Union, United Plant Guard Wkrs, of America Kelly Road, Roseville, MI 48066	9/25/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
James O'Hara (D) Michigan (cont'd)	Political Action Committee Fund, Painters District, Council No. 22 22655 South Chrysler Dr. HazelPark, MI 48030	9/30/74	50.00
	Lakeshore Federation of Teachers 29103 Harper St. Clair Shores, MI 48080	10/7/74	200.00
	UAW V CAP 8000 East Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	10/7/74	1,000.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League General Fund 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20361	10/8/74	150.00
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	6/13/74	250.00
	National Education Assoc. Political Action Committee 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	7/10/74	500.00
	Industrial Union Dept. Voluntary Funds 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	5/6/74	500.00
	Carpenters' Legislative Improvement Committee 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	7/26/74	600.00
	Marine Engineers' Beneficial Assoc. Political Action Fund 400 First St., N.W. – Suite 700 Washington, DC 20001	8/2/74	1,000.00
	Seafarers Political Activity 675 Fourth Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	9/27/74	500.00
	PACE – Political Action for Cooperative Effectiveness 888 17th St., N.W. – Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006	9/30/74	300.00
	Committee on Political Education – AFL-CIO 1034 North Washington Ave. Lansing, MI 48906	10/1/74	2,000.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America – COPE Acct. 2800 North Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	10/3/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
James O'Hara (D) Michigan (cont'd)	Action Committee for Rural Electrification P.O. Box 70 - 319 North Lake St. Boyne City, MI 49712	10/7/74	500.00
	National Education Assoc. PAC 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/7/74	500.00
	American Federation of Teachers Committee on Political Education Million Dollar Fund 1012 14th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/10/74	250.00
	Laborer's Political League 8550 West Bryn Mawr Ave. Chicago, IL 60631	10/10/74	1,000.00
	NMU-PLow - National Maritime Union Political & Legislative Organization on Watch 346 West 17th St. New York, NY 10011	10/15/74	500.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	10/15/74	250.00
	Amalgamated Political Education Committee 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	10/17/74	400.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave. Washington, DC 20001	10/18/74	300.00
	Textile Workers Union of America, Political Fund 99 University Place New York, NY 10003	10/18/74	250.00
	CWA-COPE-PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/21/74	200.00
	Active Ballot Club 2550 West Grand Blvd. Detroit, MI	10/21/74	500.00
	Port Huron Education Assoc. COPE 411 Quay' Port Huron, MI 48060	10/21/74	150.00
	Active Ballot Club 2550 West Grand Blvd. Detroit, MI	10/16/74	250.00
	Romeo Ed. Assoc. - PAC 11492 Crestline Drive Romeo, MI 48060	10/7/74	25.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
James O'Hara (D) Michigan (cont'd)	Greater Detroit Building Trades Council 10800 Puritan Detroit, MI	10/15/74	100.00
	Utica Education Association PAC Utica, MI	10/16/74	100.00
	Roseville Federation of Teachers COPE 17063 East Ten Mile Road East Detroit, MI 48021	10/31/74	25.00
	Central Macomb Political Education Council 37 Church Street Mount Clemens, MI 48043	11/14/74	100.00
	Total		\$14,300.00
Phillip Burton (D) California	United Steel Workers, Political Action Committee 5 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	10/31/74	200.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	10/31/74	200.00
	CWA-COPE PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/31/74	300.00
	Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Bartenders Int'l Union COPE - PAC 120 E. 4th Street Cincinnati, Ohio 45202	10/28/74	500.00
	Building & Construction Trades Dept. PAC Political Education Fund 815 16th Street Washington, DC 20006	10/31/74	400.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America - COPE 2800 North Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	11/1/74	500.00
	AFL-CIO COPE 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/6/74	150.00
	MM & P - PAF 1910 Sunderland Place, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	12/12/74	1,000.00
	Committee on Federal Employee Political Education 1325 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	missing	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Philip Burton (D) California (cont'd)	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee United Brotherhood of Carpenters 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	2/11/74	500.00
	Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers 1125 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	2/4/74	250.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee Int'l Ladies Garment Workers Union 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	1/30/74	250.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 8130 Baldwin Street Oakland, CA 94621	2/15/74	500.00
	Maintenance of Way Political League 12050 Woodward Ave. Detroit, MI	2/11/74	250.00
	Pacific Coast Marine Firemen O.W. & W. Assn. Marine Firemens Union 240 2nd Street San Francisco, CA 94105	1/30/74	200.00
	TEMPO Fund American Federation of Musicians 641 Lexington Avenue New York, NY 10022	2/20/74	250.00
	Fighting Fund Comm. for NMU Members NMU of America 36 7th Avenue New York, NY 10011	1/30/74	500.00
	Operating Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	2/4/74	500.00
	SPAD-Seafarers Int'l Union of N.A. 675 4th Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	2/20/74	500.00
	SIEU COPE Fund Service Employees Int'l Union 900 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20006	2/11/74	500.00
	United Auto Workers Voluntary CAP Fund 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	2/20/74	750.00
Transportation Political Education League United Transportation Union 15401 Detroit Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44107	2/11/74	500.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT	
Philip Burton (D) California (cont'd)	Supporters of Engineers #3 SELFEC Operating Engineers Local #3 474 Valencia St. San Francisco, CA 94103	1/17/74	500.00	
	Sheet Metal Workers Int'l Union Political Action League 100 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	2/23/74	500.00	
	Political Action Together c/o Int'l Brotherhood of Painters 1750 New York Ave. Washington, DC 20006	3/12/74	500.00	
	Amalgamated Political Education Comm. 15 Union Square New York, NY 10003	3/12/74	400.00	
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	7/18/74	1,000.00	
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	10/3/74	600.00	
	Marine Cooks & Stewards Voluntary Defense Fund 350 Fremont Street San Francisco, CA 94105	10/24/74	150.00	
	IBEW - COPE 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/24/74	250.00	
	Moldors & Allied Workers Political Fund 1225 E. McMillan St. Cincinnati, OH 45206	10/24/74	200.00	
	Total			\$13,050.00
	Dominick Daniels (D) New Jersey	Machinist Non-Partisan League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	11/1/74	\$ 250.00
		Letter Carriers' Fund c/o S. Rademacher 100 Indiana Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	11/1/74	500.00
United Steel Workers Political Action Fund Washington, DC		12/16/74	750.00	
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers' Workmen of North America-COPE acct. 2800 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60657	10/23/74	500.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Dominick Daniels (D) New Jersey (cont'd)	N. J. State Carpenters Non-Partisan Political Committee R.F.D. #1 Lafayette, NJ 87849	10/13/74	300.00
	Retail Store Employees Union Local 1262 Active Ballot Club General Fund 1309 Broad Street Clifton, NJ 07013	10/23/74	200.00
	United Steel Workers of America Political Action Fund Washington, 6, DC	10/23/74	750.00
	Educational and COPE Fund of Local 284 Laundry Workers, Cleaners & Dyers Union	4/16/74	50.00
	N. J. Teamsters Drive 591 Summit Avenue Jersey City, NJ	4/30/74	750.00
	Seafarers Political Donation 675 4th Ave. Brooklyn, NY 11232	9/25/74	500.00
	Committee on Political Education AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	10/11/74	1,000.00
	National Federation of Federal Employees Public Affairs Council 1737 H Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/29/74	50.00
	Political Education Fund of the Building & Construction Trades Dept. 815 16th Street, N.W. Room 603 Washington, DC 20006	10/30/74	400.00
	SIEU COPE Fund 900 17th Street Washington, DC 20006	10/16/74	250.00
	ILGWU Campaign Comm 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	10/16/74	250.00
	TWUA Political Fund 99 University Ave. New York, NY	10/24/74	250.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20016	9/27/74	1,000.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Dominick Daniels (D) New Jersey (cont'd)	Industrial Union Dept. Volunteer Funds 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/4/74	500.00
	Communications Workers of America Committee on Political Education 355 Chestnut Street Union, NJ 07083	4/29/74	250.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation 674 Fourth Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	4/29/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	5/17/74	250.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	5/28/74	750.00
	Fire Fighters COPE 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	6/7/74	\$ 300.00
	People Qualified Contribution Comm. AFSCME P.O. Box 6587 Washington, DC 20009	7/12/74	200.00
	Contribution in Kind—500 10¢ Stamps American Postal Workers Union Political Fund Committee 817 14th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20005	7/26/74	50.00
	Marine Engineers Beneficial Assn. Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	8/16/74	1,500.00
	Railway Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	8/23/74	500.00
	Total		
George Miller (D) California	Oil Chemical Atomic Workers Political & Legislative League-Voluntary Fund Denver, Colorado	10/28/74	550.00
	United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund 5 Gateway Center Pittsburg, CA 94565	10/28/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
George Miller (D) California (cont'd)	CWA COPE-PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74	200.00
	Committee on Political Education AFL-CIO 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74	500.00
	Transportation Political Education League 14600 Detroit Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44107	11/6/74	500.00
	Carpenters Political Action Fund 995 Market, St., Suite 1460 San Francisco, CA 94103	11/6/74	200.00
	Active Ballot Club-Retail Clerks Int'l Assoc. 1775 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	12/27/74	500.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation 675 4th Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	9/11/74	500.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	9/16/74	1,000.00
	United Auto Workers V. Cap 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	10/10/74	1,500.00
	Service Employees Int'l Union-COPE Fund 900 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20009	9/19/74	1,000.00
	Committee on Political Education COPE 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/2/74	2,000.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/10/74	500.00
	National Maritime Union-Political & Legislative Organization on Watch 346 West 17th St. New York, NY 10011	10/15/74	250.00
	CWA COPE PCC 1925 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/15/74	300.00
	International Ladies Garment Workers Union Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	10/21/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
George Miller (D) California (cont'd)	National Education Assoc. Political Action Comm. 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	8/16/74	500.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery New York, NY 10004	7/11/74	250.00
	Carpenters' Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	8/6/74	500.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44107	7/29/74	500.00
	Total		
Tim Hall (D) Illinois	United Transportation Union c/o Thomas J. Duggan 330 S. Wells St. Chicago, IL 60606	10/25/74	300.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee c/o Morris Bialis, V.P. 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	10/28/74	250.00
	Building & Construction Trades Dept, Political Education Fund 815 16th St., N.W. Rm 603 Washington, DC 20006	10/25/74	200.00
	UAW V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI	11/1/74 9/24/74	500.00 1,800.00
	CWA COPE APCC 1925 K St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/4/74	100.00
	Active Ballot Club 1775 K. St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	8/23/74	500.00
	United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund Washington, DC	9/13/74	500.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League General Fund 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	9/30/74	500.00
	COPE AFL-CIO 815 16th St. N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/16/74	2,500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Tim Hall (D) Illinois (cont'd)	Service Employees Int'l Union AFL-CIO 509 South Wabash Ave. Chicago, IL	9/16/74	250.00
	COPE AFL-CIO 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	7/5/74	2,500.00
	UAW V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	10/9/74	500.00
	United Steelworkers of America Lewis Center 615 East Michigan St. Milwaukee, WI	10/15/74	500.00
	IBEW-COPE 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/22/74	250.00
	Total		
William Ford (D) Michigan	Carpenters' Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	7/1/74	750.00
	Patrick J. Nilars, Treas. Political Action Fund American Postal Workers Union 817 14th St., N.W. Washington, DC	7/12/74	250.00
	C. M. McIntosh, Treas., Railway Labor Executives Assn. Political League 400 First St., N.W. Washington, DC	7/12/74	200.00
	Hal C. Davis, Pres. American Fed. of Musicians 641 Lexington Ave. New York, NY	7/12/74	250.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation, SPAD 674 Fourth Ave. Brooklyn, NY 11232	4/17/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Comm. 1125 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC	5/28/74	250.00
	ILGWU 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	7/26/74	200.00
	American Federation of Teachers Committee on Political Education Washington, DC	8/15/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
William Ford (D) Michigan (cont'd)	Committee on Federal Employees Political Education Washington, DC	8/15/74	500.00
	Sheet Metal Workers' Int'l Assoc. Political Action League 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/17/74	300.00
	SEIU COPE Fund - PCC 900 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/17/74	500.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America 2800 N. Sheridan Rd. Chicago, ILL 60657	10/8/74	500.00
	Nat'l. Ed. Assoc. PAC 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/22/74	200.00
	Textile Workers Union of America AFL-CIO & CLC 99 University Place New York, NY 10003 Sol Stetin, General President	10/22/74	250.00
	Michigan Doctors Political Action Comm. Box 769 East Lansing, MI	7/12/74	800.00
	Joseph D. Kennan, IBEW-COPE 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	4/10/74 7/17/74	200.00 250.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15401 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44107	7/18/74	500.00
	Action Committee for Rural Electrification P.O. Box 19066 Washington, DC	7/18/74	500.00
	Laborers' Political League 905 16th St., N.W. - 5th Floor Washington, DC 20006	10/14/74	1,000.00
MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	7/26/74	1,000.00	
Seafarers Political Activity Donation 675 Fourth Ave. Brooklyn, NY 11232	8/22/74	500.00	

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
William Ford (D) Michigan (cont'd)	American Postal Workers Union Detroit Local — Suite 516 1200 Sixth Ave. Detroit, MI	4/10/74	300.00
	Michigan Federation of Teachers 14625 Greenfield Detroit, MI	4/10/74	150.00
	UAW V. CAP 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	4/18/74	500.00
	Total		\$10,650.00
Mario Biaggi (D) New York	MEBA & AFL-CIO — Dist. #2 Voluntary Political Action Fund 650 4th Ave. Brooklyn, NY 11232	11/5/74	1,000.00
	Active Ballot Club Retail Clerks Union 299 Park Ave. New York, NY 10003	11/5/74	250.00
	United Cement Masons Local 780 178 E 85th Street Bronx, NY	11/20/74	100.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	10/28/74	200.00
	Int'l Brotherhood of Painters & Allied Traders 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	1/12/74	500.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation 674 4th Ave. Brooklyn, NY 11232	1/22/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Comm. 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	6/18/74	250.00
	Railways Clerks Political League 6300 River Road Rosemont, IL 60018	7/1/74	500.00
	Laborers' Political League 905 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	7/23/74	500.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY	9/20/74	1,000.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Mario Biaggi (D) New York (cont'd)	Brooklyn Longshoremen Political Action & Education Fund 143 Court St. Brooklyn, NY	9/27/74	200.00
	NMU — PLOW 346 W. 17th St. New York, NY 10011	9/27/74	100.00
	Local 1-2 Utility Workers Union of Amer. COPE 386 Park Ave. So. New York, NY	9/25/74	200.00
	UFT — COPE 260 Park Ave. So. New York, NY	10/2/74	300.00
	Thomas McGuire, Pres. & Bus. Mgr. Local 15-245 N. 14 St., NY, NY 2780 University Ave. Bronx, NY 10464	9/20/74	100.00
	John Tierney, Sec-Treas. Lathers Union 2500 University Ave. 1322 3rd Ave. Bronx, NY NY, NY	9/24/74	100.00
	SEIU COPE Fund 900 17th St. Washington, DC 20006	9/9/74	250.00
	Hotel & Rest. Employee Union 120 E. 4th St. New York, NY	9/15/74	500.00
	Comm. on Federal Employers Political Education 1325 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, DC	9/15/74	100.00
	NMU Political & Legislative Organization Watch 346 W. 17th St. New York, NY	10/15/74	250.00
	Transportation Political Education League 15431 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio	10/3/74	500.00
	Total		\$ 7,400.00
	Joseph Gaydos (D) Pennsylvania	Political Education Fund of the Building & Construc. Trades Dept. 815 16th St., N.W. — Room 603 Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74
	Active Ballot Club 1775 K St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	12/4/74	250.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Joseph Gaydos (D) Pennsylvania (cont'd)	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	12/27/74	1,000.00
	United Auto Workers V. CAP 6000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 48214	9/23/74	300.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of N.A. 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	10/22/74	300.00
	NMU-PLOW 326 W. 17th Street New York, NY 10011	10/22/74	250.00
	TWUA Political Fund 99 University Place New York, NY 10003	10/22/74	250.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/24/74	250.00
	Seafarers Political Activity Donation 674 4th Avenue Brooklyn, NY 11232	3/25/74	500.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	4/1/74	500.00
	Laborers Political League 605 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	4/4/74	500.00
	Engineers Political Education Comm. 1125 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	5/20/74	250.00
	United Steelworkers of America 5 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	8/27/74	1,500.00
	ILGWU Campaign Committee 1710 Broadway New York, NY 10019	8/2/74	300.00
		Total	
Ike Andrews (D-North Carolina)	Carolinas DRIVE Chapter 1 Greensboro, NC	10/30/74 11/26/74	500.00 500.00
	Sheet Metal Workers Int'l Assoc. PAL 1750 New York Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/4/74	200.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT	
Ike Andrews (cont'd)	Active Ballot Club 1775 K St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/5/74	250.00	
	Transportation Political Ed. League 14600 Detroit Ave. Cleveland, Ohio 44107	11/1/74 11/5/74	300.00 300.00	
	Engineers Political Ed. Comm. 1125 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	11/1/74	250.00	
	IBEW - COPE Chicago, IL 60618	11/1/74	200.00	
	IBEW Comm on Pol Education 1125 15th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20005	10/24/74	100.00	
	NMU Political & Legislative Org. on Watch 346 West 17th St. New York, NY 10011	10/24/74	250.00	
	OCAW Political & Legislative League Vol. Fund P.O. Box 2812 Denver, Colorado 80201	10/21/74	300.00	
	Public Employees Organized to Promote Legislative Equality P.O. Box 6587 Washington, DC 20009	10/17/74	100.00	
	Action Comm. for Rural Electrification P.O. Box 19066 Washington, DC	not given	500.00	
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	not given	500.00	
	Committee on Political Education AFL-CIO 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	not given	1,000.00	
	National Education Assoc. PAC 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	not given	1,000.00	
		Total		\$ 6,250.00
	Edward Beard (D-Rhode Island)	Active Ballot Club Suffridge Bldg. Patrick Hall - Secy Treas. Washington, DC	11/9/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Edward Beard (Cont'd)	Boilermakers Local #29 LEAP Committee Samuel Cerino — James Dunne Massachusetts	11/9/74	100.00
	AFL-CIO Comm. on Political Education 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/25/74	1,000.00
	National People Committee AFSCME P.O. Box 6587 Washington, DC 20009	11/9/74	250.00
	Service Employees Int'l Union COPE Fund PCC 900 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/9/74	200.00
	MNU — PLOW 346 West 17th Street New York, NY 10011	10/20/74	250.00
	TWVA Political Fund 99 University Place New York 3, NY	10/20/74	250.00
	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League 1200 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/20/74	500.00
	UAW V. CAP Leonard Woodcock 8000 E. Jefferson Detroit, MI 45814	10/21/74	1,000.00
	International Brotherhood of Painters & Allied Trades Michael Silvestri Washington, DC 20000	10/21/74	1,000.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen 2800 N. Sheridan Road (COPE Acc't) Chicago, IL 60657	10/22/74	300.00
		Total	
Patsy Mink (D) Hawaii	William J. Holayter, Director Machinist Non-Partisan Political League General Fund 1300 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	11/6/74	\$ 500.00
	United Steelworkers of America, Political Action Fund 5 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	11/6/74	500.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Patsy Mink (D) Hawaii (cont'd)	Jack Kanno, UPW, Local 646 AFSCME, AFL-CIO 1426 N. School St. Honolulu, HA 96817	11/6/74	25.00
	James T. Housewright, President Active Ballot Club, Retail Credit Int'l Assoc. 1775 K Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/6/74	250.00
	Political Action Committee for Education 1649 Kalakua Avenue, Room 208 Honolulu, HA 96814	9/18/74	35.00
	John K. Cabral 2305 S. Beretania (Nat'l Rep. Amer. Fed. Gov't. Emp.—AFL-CIO) Honolulu, HA 96814	2/4/74	175.00
	Hawaii Boilermakers Lodge 204, LEAP Fund 555 Paiea Street Honolulu, HA 96819	2/8/74	350.00
	Marine Cooks & Stewards Voluntary Defense Fund 350 Fremont St. San Francisco, CA 94105	2/20/74	70.00
	COPE-Intr. Brotherhood of Elec. Workers 1125 15th Street, N.W. Washington, DC	4/28/74	105.00
	Hunter P. Wharton Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 17th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	8/15/74	250.00
	Committee on Political Education Amalgamated Meat Cutter & Butcher Workmen of North America 2800 N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60857	10/1/74	300.00
	Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO 815 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20006	10/15/74	1,000.00
		Total	
Ronald Sarasin (R) Connecticut	Carpenters Legislative Improv. Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	8/22/74	600.00
	IUOE Local Union 478 1965 Dixwell Ave. Hamden, Conn. 06514	5/17/74	750.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Ronald Sarasin (R) Connecticut (cont'd)	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY	9/24/74	1,000.00
	Total		\$ 2,350.00
Shirley Chisholm (D-New York)	Machinists Non-Partisan Political League' District 15 7 E. 15th Street New York, NY 10003	11/1/74	100.00
	Transportation Workers Union-Local #100 Political Contributions Committee 1980 Broadway New York, NY 10023	11/1/74	925.00
	Retail Store Employees Union Local 1262 Active Ballot Club 1389 Broad St., Clifton, NJ 07013	11/1/74	200.00
	Active Ballot Club of Retail Clerks Int'l Suffridge Building Washington, DC	11/4/74	250.00
	AM Committee on Political Education, Amalgamated Meat Cutters 2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	12/16/74	400.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 17th St., N.W. Washington, DC	7/19/74	250.00
	Total		\$ 2,125.00
Al Quie (R-Minnesota)	Laborers' Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/4/74	500.00
	National Education Assoc. Pol. Act. Comm. 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/22/74	1,000.00
	MEBA Political Action Fund 17 Battery Place New York, NY 10004	10/14/74	500.00
	Total		\$ 2,000.00
Alphonzo Bell (R) California	Political Education Fund of the Building & Trades Dept. 815 16th St., N.W. #603 Washington, DC 20006	10/25/74	300.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Alphonzo Bell (R) California (cont'd)	Active Ballot Club Retail Clerks Int'l - 1775 K St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	11/1/74	250.00
	Laborers Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20006	9/9/74	500.00
	Carpenters Legislative Improvement Comm. 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	7/18/74	600.00
	Engineers Political Education Committee 1125 Seventeenth St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	5/14/74	250.00
	Total		\$ 1,900.00
Marvin Esch (R-Michigan)	School Alliance Political Act. Comm. 3847 Raleigh Drive Okemos, MI 48864	10/17/74	100.00
	Ann Arbor Education Association-PAC 2648 Finwick Court Ann Arbor, MI 48104	10/23/74	500.00
	NEA - PAC 1201 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/16/74 9/20/74	1,000.00 100.00
	Eastern 10 - MEA Political Action Council 106 East Main Street Dundee, MI 48131	10/25/74	200.00
		Total	
Augustus Hawkins (D) California	Carpenter's Legislative Improvement Committee 101 Constitution Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20001	5/10/74	500.00
	United Steelworkers of America PAC Walter Burke, Secy-Treas. 5 Gateway Center Pittsburgh, PA 15222	11/8/74	250.00
	Political Education Fund of the Building & Trades Dept. 815 16th St., N.W. - Room 603 Washington, DC	11/8/74	300.00
	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America 2800 North Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60657	10/11/74	100.00

CANDIDATE	CONTRIBUTOR	DATE	AMOUNT
Augustus Hawkins (D) California (cont'd)	Engineers Political Education Comm. Hunter Wharton, Gen. Pres. 1121 17th, N.W. Washington, DC	8/6/74	250.00
		Total	\$1,400.00
John Ashbrook (R-Ohio)	Laborers Political League 905 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/17/74	500.00
		Total	\$ 500.00
Bill Goodling (R) Pennsylvania	National Education Association Political Action Committee 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20036	10/7/74	500.00
		Total	\$ 500.00
Carl D. Perkins (D) Kentucky	AFL-CIO 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, DC	10/24/74	\$ 500.00
		Total	\$ 500.00
John Buchanan (R) Alabama	No Union Contributions		
John Erlenborn (R) Illinois	No Union Contributions		
Edwin Eshelman (R) Pennsylvania	No Union Contributions		
James Jeffords (R) Vermont	No Union Contributions		
Larry Pressler (R) South Dakota	No Union Contributions		
Virginia Smith (R) Nebraska	No Union Contributions		



For additional copies and information write:
THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE
8316 Arlington Boulevard
Fairfax, Virginia 22030

[4/7/75]

to: john vickerman
white house

John, for your info re
the briefing we are going
to set up. ads also will
be running tuesday and
wednesday on op ed
page of star.



From
Hugh Newton

25 Country Clubs Share \$638,000

ASSESS, From C1

has increased sharply, while the "use value" has remained virtually the same, the tax benefits have soared.

In Montgomery, for example, 18 clubs drew a \$165,777 tax break in 1970, according to a study prepared for consumer advocate Ralph Nader.

By 1975, however, 20 clubs are receiving the tax bene-

If the club violates the consent order or refuses to enter into one, the attorney general can issue a cease and desist order to halt the discrimination. Attorneys general can revoke the tax exemption of clubs that break this order until the clubs comply with the law.

"The country clubs have been getting preferential (tax) treatment," says Frank Ecker, a former Rockville mayor who now is the Montgomery County public advo-

cate for assessments and taxation. "It's a form of subsidization."

He said the growing disparity between the "fair market value" of the golf course lands and the "use value" has resulted because the state law does not tell assessors how to place a value on the "use" of fairways and putting greens. Nor does either the state law or the open-space agreements signed by the clubs stipulate what percentage

the use value should be of the fair market figure, he said.

Thus, in Montgomery, when the 20 clubs now receiving the tax break signed their respective agreements, most of them in 1966, they paid taxes on use assessments that were an average of 54.7 per cent of fair market value.

However, current use assessments only total 28.3 per cent of 1975 fair market values.

Ecker and so-
islators from
supported a H
gates bill at t
General Assem
that would ha
that use asses
least 50 per ce
market value.

"I live in my
assessment go
Ecker. "Is a g
different?"

"I've talked
club members
open space (t

e \$638,000 Maryland Tax Break

se value should be of
air market figure, he

is, in Montgomery,
the 20 clubs now re-
g the tax break signed
respective agreements,
of them in 1966, they
taxes on use assess-
that were an average
7 per cent of fair mar-
lue.

rever
ents
f 197

Ecker and some state leg-
islators from Montgomery
supported a House of Dele-
gates bill at the Maryland
General Assembly this year
that would have required
that use assessments be at
least 50 per cent of the fair
market value.

"I live in my house and its
assessment goes up," says
Ecker. "Is a golf club any

great," says Ecker, "but
many (nonmembers) say un-
der the circumstances they
can drive by (the clubs) and
that's it"—the only benefit
they receive from the open
space.

David E. Betts, an attor-
ney for the Montgomery
clubs, said it would be
"slightly ridiculous" to set a
50 per cent minimum with

least 50 per cent of the fair
market value would result
in higher dues for country
club members, not all of
whom are rich.

Betts said it would be a
"very, very great hardship
to hit them all at once. I
don't think it would be un-
fair to bring it up to 50 per
cent, but don't do it tomor-
row."

Betts said the count
club tax breaks are need
and that clubs aid finan
ally pressed local gover
ments because they m
imize "the drain on oth
recreational facilities," u
"infinitesimal services," a
keep open land from bei
transformed into housi
developments that requi
costly public services su

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[4/8/75]



Little

or an American supersonic
 and the SSTs been approved,
 would have caused a 30
 ase in skin cancer by 1990.
 ne speed of the planes, it's
 t which they travel," ex-
 Kenneth J. Arrow of Har-
 vere surprised to find that
 an aircraft industry had
 e research on the matter.
 e basic problem as automo-
 s, but up there in the strato-
 really more dangerous. The
 refutable.

ists, economists, chemists
 ologists who met at Woods
 found that they were start-
 nch on this most manifest-
 ecological ills. The ozone,
 far from the second hand-
 les, of the Sierra Club,
 ureaucrats and real estate

blanket is both metaphor
 of the most profound sort.
 brothers never worried if
 imitating Icarus but, more
 entury later, the sun is hav-
 ge in melting the wax feath-
 Hawks's latitudes.

ct the ozone shield, the
 gue that a 10-year, \$100 mil-
 n is needed to redesign jet
 reduce nitrous oxide emis-
 be the aircraft companies
 and moan as did their
 brethren in Detroit, but the
 cheap.

top layer of the ozone has
 ted, then scientists need to
 he plethora of aerosol cans,
 sprays are floating up to
 one. The National Academy
 s promises a sober, non-
 report on that next year.
 le, wait your turn.

Y JR.

Victims

man scruple. The history
 ver so fond of talking about
 option" that surrounded
 shek. There is no doubt that
 re is no doubt that he cavil-
 n means of eliminating cor-

ts of New York City could
 will to reduce the criminal
 New York quite readily. All
 s that you shoot everybody
 stealing. It is quite literally
 e. Thieu's toleration of cor-
 earned him the contempt of
 ican peacocks of civic right-
 ne wonders whether they
 e admired him more if he
 orruption the way they deal
 orth Vietnam, or China?

ombination of ruthlessness
 city is powerful. Cortes
 h him to Mexico 508 soldiers,
 16 horses, 10 bronze guns, 4
 and 13 shotguns, and con-
 mpire of brave but easygo-
 The North Vietnamese, day
 veloped an arms edge over
 Vietnamese and calmly con-
 reat superhighways down
 rade the unlimited supply of
 red on them by Moscow and
 n as Congress slowly closed

y observable sin committed
 the leaders of the Third
 France committed a dozen.
 a special sort of callousness
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 tics appropriate to resisting
 an merit life under Hitler,
 e kind of life towards which
 enamese are now headed.
 entitled to conclude that the

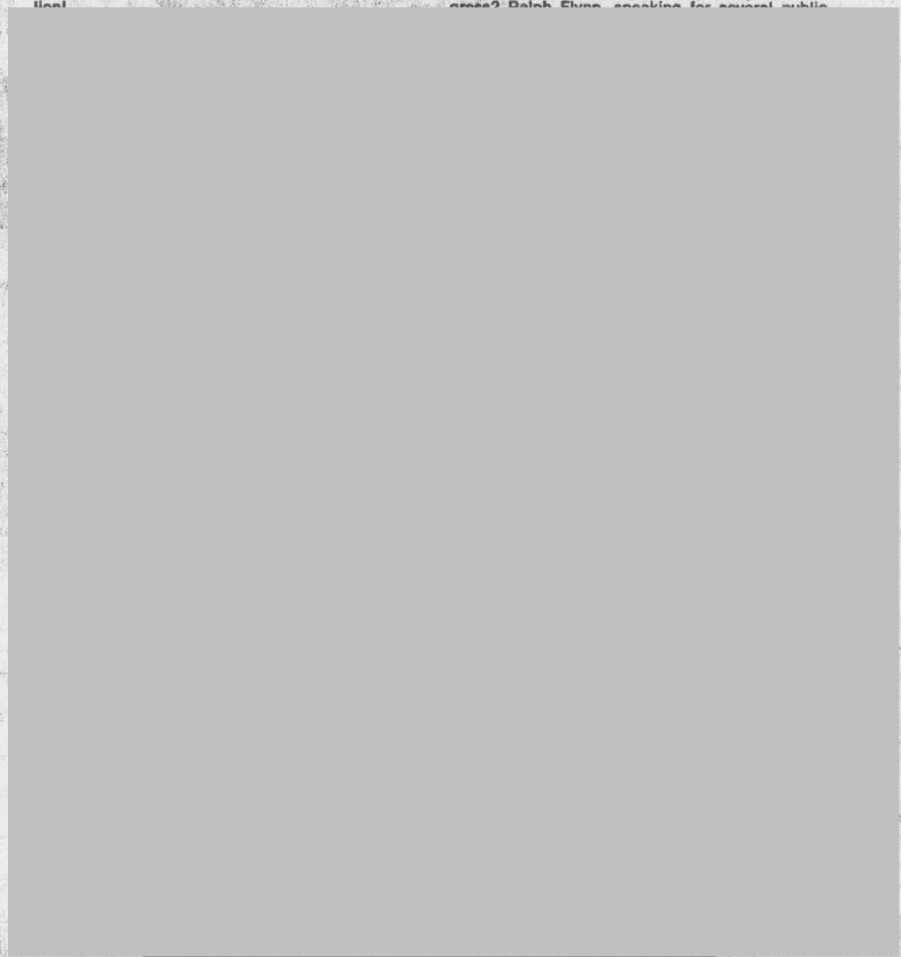
A Half Billion For A Half Million!

Half a billion dollars—that's the annual pot of gold at the end of the rainbow for Big Labor.

And at a cost of just \$429,632 the investment appears sound. The \$429,632 went to the 1974 political campaigns of 33 members of the 29-member House Labor and Education Committee, according to reports filed with the Clerk of the House. That half million, by the way, is just the tip of the iceberg—unreported "in-kind" union contributions to these 33 Congressmen raises the actual total nearer to \$5 million. But that's still a good buy for union professionals: half a billion for only \$5 million!

In judgment of legislation which would grant additional powers and privileges to the people who gave all that money? Perhaps. But on the municipal level not long ago it was disclosed that unions embracing a third of a million city employees provided major financial help to elect the man who had a decisive voice in determining their benefits and *The New York Times* said editorially, "Whether or not the law condones it, here is a real conflict of interest."

How serious is the possibility of public sector compulsory unionism legislation passing this Congress? Ralph Elmer, speaking for several public



For information write Research, National Right to Work Committee, 8316 Arlington Blvd., Fairfax, Va. 22030

THE NATIONAL



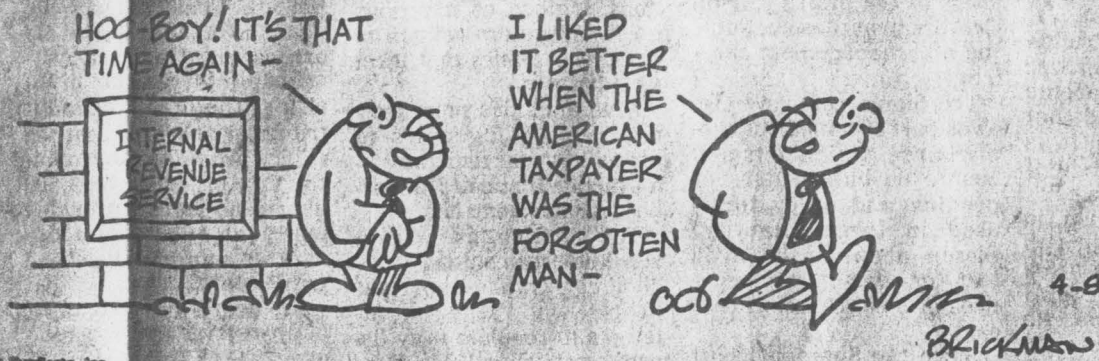
RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS:

8316 Arlington Boulevard • Fairfax, Virginia 22030

A national coalition of citizens from all walks of life dedicated to the belief that every American should have the right, but should not be compelled to join or pay money to labor organizations for the Right to Work.

small society



Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.

CROSBY S. NOYES

Bad Time for Rhetoric of U.S. Courage

would suppose, an awkward time
 ing a major speech to the world on
 oreign policy. You can't help
 onald Ford is up to the occasion.
 ve been times in the past, to be

Leave aside the thesis that the agony of
 Vietnam is the result of our original sin in
 trying to help a small country defend itself
 against aggression. It is still the ruin of an
 enterprise that has cost the United States an

Nor will it be easy for the President to ig-
 nore the arguments of his own secretary of
 state of a strong causal relationship between
 the disasters we have suffered in Asia and
 our problems elsewhere.



A Half Billion For A Half Million!

[4/9/75]

Write!

ask, "May I check your that the president has done money we have sent him is, business. care should be taken in the farewell properly. "Sorry 't stay longer" may sound realist. At the same time, "k soon" may appear, in most erly optimistic. A simply et to write" should generally

a U.S. Marine Corps Band for the occasion, equal care devoted to the musical selection. Farewell songs, such as "I'll Without You Very Well," et the wrong mood. A cheery tune, like "So Long, It's to Know You," strikes a far able note. er to maintain this cheery, ambience, the ambassador, under any circumstances, availability of subsequent the president is airborne. emergencies, the ambassa- er the departing president a the Airport Bus Terminal. es, he should cite "the rush to the airport" — no matter ur.

this directive will eliminate complaints by ambassadors in uch as the one referred to h language has no place in cables.

Proposal

nt of social justice... Another advocating complacent ac- high rates of serious crime public might eventually be- traged that it will be willing increasing infringements on liberties and freedoms." dy have disturbing evidence hard Nixon's cry for the re- the death penalty for certain been taken up by a number slators. wartz, for all his supposed out civil liberties and freed- up his paper with a crime which, while not so bereft of ss" as the Banfield proposal hetto youth, is most certain- e. says we ought to pay more to the fact that "most crimes tted by young men in their venties... By the time a man e 40, his criminal career is over."

proposes, then, that if an 18- bs a liquor store, statistical res that he be imprisoned. He argues: h it may seem at first glance cruel to imprison a convict- old rapist or armed robber, the statistical likelihood of offender committing at least al serious crime is so high it y arguable that it is even to the potential victim of a violent crime not to remove from society until the aging s diminished his criminal erving from prison at age 40, d offender would still be a oung man and could expect le years available to him to life and pursue vocational or "

didn't say what leads him am that the "aging process" ars in prison would turn an " 18-year-old into a respon- ding 40-year-old. "cure" is prob- nce that an-

A Half Billion For A Half Million! —Part 2

Or Why Americans Have Lost Faith In Their Government

The evidence has been overwhelming for many years that the American people need and want a Congress that will curb rather than enlarge the excessive powers and privileges of top union officials. And the American people need and want a

You can help by supporting the National Right to Work Committee, a nationwide coalition of nearly 100,000 concerned citizens from all walks of life who believe union membership should be voluntary, not compulsory.

For information write Research, National Right to Work Committee, 8316 Arlington Blvd., Fairfax, Va. 22030

THE NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS:

8316 Arlington Boulevard • Fairfax, Virginia 22030



A national coalition of citizens from all walks of life dedicated to the belief that every American should have the right, but should not be compelled to join or pay money to labor organizations for the Right to Work.

e small society



Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.

SMITH HEMPSTONE

After Vietnam: A Destiny Less Manifest

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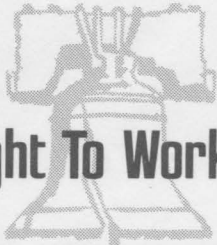
goal: t

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were refugees because they were fleeing from the American bombing, has yet to explain the southward framed flight of millions

illogical. Again, the problem — and the failure — was in execution. A withdrawal in the face of the enemy never is easy, when there

A Half Billion FOR A Half Million! —Part 2



National Right To Work Committee

A COALITION OF EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS

HEADQUARTERS AT THE NATION'S CAPITAL

April 15, 1975



Mr. John Vickerman
Office of the White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C.

Dear John:

I have put down 10:00 a.m., Wednesday, May 28 as the date for our Right to Work briefing on public employee bargaining legislation.

A few days before the meeting, I will call to confirm the session. We do hope that you will be able to arrange to have several of the key Domestic Council people on hand. It seems to us that the administration should be especially concerned with what is, we believe, the single most destructive element in today's economic and political affairs -- the monopoly power of giant labor unions, fostered and protected by special privilege legislation. If that power is extended to public employees, we will indeed be in deep trouble. And as I said earlier, we at the Right to Work Committee feel that we need meaningful communication and understanding with the White House to avoid a repeat of what happened in 1970 over postal reorganization and Right to Work.

It is too bad that we cannot fit into the schedule sooner but I do appreciate the effort you have made. We look forward to meeting with you and others at the White House in a friendly and cooperative give-and-take session on compulsory public employee bargaining legislation.

Sincerely,

Hugh C. Newton
Director of Information

HCN:lh

HUGH C. NEWTON AND ASSOCIATES
PUBLIC RELATIONS

618 SOUTH LEE STREET (OLD TOWNE) TELEPHONES: (703) 573-8555 (703) 549-5825
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314

*Lynd May
WCB*

April 25, 1975



*#102
10 am -
Confirmed*

*10 a.m. -
labor ✓
John Reed ✓
Dunlop's office ✓*

Mr. John Marsh
Office of the White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear John:

At your request, John Vickerman has set up a briefing for the National Right to Work Committee and some of the key and interested staffers of the domestic council.

You may find the attached of interest - two ads in the Washington Star on union political spending and the front page feature on the National Committee and Foundation on its battle with "Ten Big Unions."

Best wishes and thanks.

Sincerely,

Hugh C. Newton

HCN/sd

Encl.

cc: John Vickerman

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Paul Leach



May 16, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ROGER SEMERAD
DOMESTIC COUNCIL

JOHN READ
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

FROM:

JOHN C. VICKERMAN
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT:

Meeting with National Right To Work Committee

Thank you for agreeing to meet with the National Right to Work Committee at 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, May 28. We will hold the session in Room 102 of the Old Executive Office Building -- this is Bill Baroody's Conference Room.

Hugh C. Newton, Director of Information for the above Committee, and two or three other gentlemen interested in the question of federal employee unions have a presentation they would like to make, and there will probably be some discussion afterwards. I would guess that the whole meeting should last no longer than 45 minutes.

Thanks and see you then.

Copy to:
✓ Bill Baroody