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WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT
WORKSHEET



- X - MEDIA
- H - INTERNAL

Subject Codes:

Name of Document: BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULED
APPOINTMENTS FOR DEC 09 81

PR 007.01
EG 024

1. Subject: Meeting with Sec. of Transportation,
Drew Lewis, to discuss the air traffic
controllers situation

2. Meeting with the Republican Congressional
Leadership to discuss the farm bill, the
foreign assistance bill, and the continuing
resolution.

FG 031
PL 005.04
LG
AG

3. Photo session with U.S. Ambassadors:
A. MELVIN EVANS - TRINIDAD
B. FRANCIS T. MCNAMARA - GABON
C. JEAN GERARD - UNESCO
D. JAMES LILLEY - TAIWAN

FO 003.02
FI 004
PR 005
FO 002
CO 160
CO 052

4. Meeting with Congressman Thomas F. Hartnett,
President of the Republican Freshman Class

LT 087
CO 034.01

5. Meeting Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill
and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas GEOGHEGAN
to receive an Irish walking stick

EG 034
GI 002

6. Luncheon with Congressman Thomas P.
O'Neill

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
RMMATT	RSZ	8210115		C 8210115

Referral Note:

WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT
WORKSHEET

n 1/2/84

- X - MEDIA
- H - INTERNAL

Subject Codes:

Name of Document: BRIEFING PAPERS FOR
PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULED
APPOINTMENTS FOR DEC 0981

Subject: Meeting with March of Dimes
representatives and Foster Child to
sign message recognizing January
as the March of Dimes Defects Prevention
Month.

WE 001.01
HO 073

Confidential

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
RMMATT	RSZ	8210115		C820115

Referral Note:

bcf

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE
Wednesday, December 9, 1981

✓ 9:00 am (15 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Baker, Meese, Deaver) <i>9:15-9:25 FRIEDERSDORF</i>	<i>9:19-9:38 RUSH</i>	Oval Office
9:15 am T (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Lewis</u> (Craig Fuller)	<i>9:23-9:38</i>	Oval Office
9:30 am (60 min)	<u>Meeting with GOP Congressional Leaders</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	<i>JB, DARMAN 10:40-10:45</i>	Cabinet Room
10:30 am (15 min)	<u>Senior Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
10:45 am (45 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u> <i>11:31-11:32 DARMAN, bcf</i>	<i>10:45-11:30</i>	Oval Office
11:30 am (15 min)	<u>Ambassador Photos</u> (Admiral Nance) <i>& Jim Lilly FAMILY</i>	<i>11:34-11:48</i>	Oval Office
11:45 am (10 min)	Sign Statement Supporting January as March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month (Elizabeth Dole)	<i>11:50-11:59 PHOTO (WIRE PHOTOS + 1 FILM CEN)</i>	Oval Office
11:50 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with Cong. Thos. F. Hartnett</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	<i>(R-SC) 12:01-12:04</i>	Oval Office
11:55 am (5 min)	<u>Presentation of Blackthorn Walking Sticks</u> to the President and Speaker O'Neill (Max Friedersdorf)	<i>12:05-12:15 PHOTO opp.</i>	Oval Office
12:00 m (75 min)	<u>Luncheon with Speaker O'Neill</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	<i>12:20-1:30</i>	Residence <i>2ND FLOOR DINING ROOM</i>
1:15 pm (5 hours)	<u>Personal Time</u>	<i>1:30-</i>	Residence
6:30 pm (10 min)	<u>Newsweek Photo with Mrs. Reagan</u> (Sheila Tate)		Residence
6:40 pm (20 min)	<u>The President and Mrs. Reagan dropby at</u> <u>Senior Citizens Christmas Tour of WH</u>		Residence
7:30 pm	<u>Private Dinner</u>		Residence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1981

MEETING WITH SECRETARY LEWIS

DATE: December 9, 1981
TIME: 9:15 a.m. (15 min.)
PLACE: Oval Office

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER *CF*

I. PURPOSE

The meeting is scheduled to allow you an opportunity to review a plan for allowing the striking air traffic controllers to return to federal jobs.

II. BACKGROUND

Drew Lewis will recommend the following actions:

1. remove the three-year disbarment to federal employment for discharged strikers,
2. declare that the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) would apply traditional suitability standards on an individual basis with regard to rehiring discharged strikers,
3. using the "efficiency of service standards," indicate that discharged air traffic controllers will be deemed unsuitable for FAA employment

Secretary Lewis is concerned about possible adverse reactions by the air controllers who remained on the job. However, all parties directly involved in this matter (OPM, Department of Labor and Transportation) are in agreement with the three-point plan.

III. PARTICIPANTS

- V.P. BUSH*
- Secretary Drew Lewis
 - Edwin Meese III
 - James A. Baker III
 - Michael Deaver
 - Craig L. Fuller
 - *FRED FIELDING*

IV. PRESS PLAN (no press) — *WH PHOTO*

V. SEQUENCE

Secretary Drew Lewis will present his plan.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1981

MEETING WITH REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

DATE: Wednesday, December 9, 1981
LOCATION: The Cabinet Room
TIME: 9:30 - 10:30 a.m. (one hour)
FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf *M.L.F.*

I. PURPOSE

To discuss the three remaining major legislative items pending in the first session of the 97th Congress: the farm bill, the continuing resolution and the foreign assistance bill.

II. BACKGROUND

Farm Bill: A compromise four-year bill that is roughly \$3.5 billion over the President's budget has been approved by Senate and House conferees. Secretary Block and Dave Stockman would recommend the President sign this bill. Its fate in the House is uncertain and we will have to work hard to insure sufficient votes for passage.

Continuing Resolution: A new continuing resolution that achieves the President's goal of \$4 billion in FY 82 outlay savings will be considered on the House Floor tomorrow and chances of passage are good. If the continuing resolution passes the House, it will likely be passed by the Senate.

Foreign Assistance: The House is expected to consider the foreign assistance authorization bill today and the foreign assistance appropriations on Friday. The Senate has passed both the authorization and appropriation at the \$11.6 billion requested by the President. The House reported bill calls for \$11.5 billion (see Attachment A).

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Attachment B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE *Sub*

SUBJECT: Photo Session with US Ambassadors
Wednesday, December 9 -- 11:30 a.m.
Oval Office

Attached are 3x5 cards with pertinent information
for your photo session with:

Ambassador Melvin Evans	-	Trinidad
Ambassador Francis T. McNamara	-	Gabon
Ambassador Jean Gerard	-	*UNESCO, Paris

*UN Economic, Scientific & Cultural Organization

Our Ambassadors -- and their families -- are most
appreciative of your taking the time to meet and
be photographed with them prior to departure for
their respective posts.

PHOTO SESSION

AMB. MELVIN HERBERT EVANS (TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO)

PARTICIPANTS: FAMILY - MARY PHYLLIS EVANS (WIFE)
- CORNELIUS DUNCAN EVANS
(27 YR. OLD (SON))
WH - ADM. JAMES W. NANCE Tyson
NSC - ROGER W. FONTAINE
STATE - JONATHAN RICKERT

- ELECTED TO 96TH CONGRESS AS DELEGATE FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS 1978
- REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FOR U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS 1976
- GOVERNOR OF THE U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS 1969

Fischer

PHOTO SESSION

AMB. FRANCIS TERRY McNAMARA (GABON)

PARTICIPANTS: FAMILY - NHU DE (WIFE)
WH - ~~JAMES W. NANCE~~ C. Tyson
NSC - FRED WETTERING

- CAREER DIPLOMAT SINCE 1955; 54 YEARS OLD
- ACTIVE NAVY SERVICE, COMBAT IN WWII & KOREA.
- TWO VIETNAM TOURS, 1968-71, 1974-75.
- ALSO SERVED TOURS IN FIVE AFRICAN COUNTRIES. LAST POST SERVED AS CONSUL GENERAL IN QUEBEC CITY, 1975-79.
- HOLDS 8 COMMENDATIONS FROM STATE, INCLUDING 4 SUPERIOR HONOR AWARDS AND 2 MERITORIOUS HONOR AWARDS.

Fischer

PHOTO SESSION

AMB. JEAN GERARD (UN ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, & CULTURAL ORGANIZATION) (PARIS)

PARTICIPANTS: FAMILY - JAMES W. GERARD V (SON)
WH - ADM. JAMES W. NANCE
C

- FROM NEW YORK; ALT. DELEGATE TO 1980 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
- ATTORNEY WITH CADWALADER, WICKERSHAM, & TAFT 1977 - (NEW YORK)
- ACTIVE IN WOMEN'S NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB (1967-80)
- RECEIVED SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION MEDAL (1970)

Fischer

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE *Bud*

SUBJECT: Photo Session with James R. Lilley
To be Joined by the Vice President
Wednesday, December 9 -- 11:30 a.m.
Oval Office

Attached is 3x5 card with pertinent information for your photo session with Jim Lilley -- to be joined by the Vice President.

This will be the last of the four photos with outgoing Ambassadors.

- Bush
- JCF

James Lilley
Mrs. James (Sally) Lilley
Michael Lilley
Jeffrey Lilley

(Dir. American Inst. in Taiwan)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1981

MEETING WITH: March of Dimes

LOCATION: Oval Office
11:45 a.m. - 11:55 a.m.

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

PURPOSE: To sign a message supporting January as March of Dimes (MOD) Birth Defects Prevention Month.

BACKGROUND: Through the MOD, polio was eliminated in the mid-50's. Since then, MOD has worked to prevent birth defects which strike a quarter-million infants each year and is the nation's most serious child health problem. MOD contributions last year totaled \$75 million and were used for research, medical services, education and community services. James Roosevelt's father, Franklin D. Roosevelt, a polio victim, founded MOD in 1938. The 1982 MOD National Poster Child is 5½-year-old Richard Wagner of Vancouver, Washington. Born with multiple birth defects, he is partially paralyzed and walks with crutches and lower leg braces. An avid sports fan, Richard plays basketball and soccer and swims.

PARTICIPANTS: See attached list.

PRESS COVERAGE: Press pool photo coverage and MOD film crew

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- 11:45 a.m. You and Mrs. Reagan will be joined in the Oval Office by Richard Wagner, his family, James Roosevelt, and MOD officials for a brief conversation prior to photographs.
- 11:50 a.m. The Press Pool enters the Oval Office. You sign the MOD message and make brief remarks in support of the MOD campaign.
- 11:55 a.m. The Press departs the Oval Office, followed by the MOD group.

Attachments: Participants/Talking Points

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS -- MARCH OF DIMES

March of Dimes Officials:

James Roosevelt (Member Board of Trustees)

Charles L. Massey (President)

Clyde E. Shorey, Jr. (Vice President, Public Affairs)

Oren Teicher (Director, Corporate Communications)

Poster Child and Family:

Richard Theodore Wagner (Poster Child)

John Wagner (Father)

Barbara Wagner (Mother)

John Robert Wagner (Brother)

Michael Wagner (Brother)

David Wagner (Brother)

Deirdre Schroder (friend of family)

ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

- The President
- The First Lady
- Elizabeth H. Dole
- Virginia H. Knauer

Fischer

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 4, 1981

MEETING WITH CONGRESSMAN THOMAS F. HARTNETT

DATE: Wednesday, December 9, 1981

PLACE: The Oval Office

TIME: 11:50 a.m. (5 Minutes)

FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

I. PURPOSE

To congratulate Congressman Hartnett on being elected the new President of the Republican Freshman Class.

II. BACKGROUND

Congressman Hartnett of South Carolina was elected on November 18 as President of the 53-Member Republican Freshman Class, succeeding Congressman Hank Brown of Colorado who resigned.

Hartnett, who is a member of the Armed Services Committee, is the only Republican to represent South Carolina's 1st Congressional District (southeast including Charleston).

Due to its size, the Republican Freshmen form a significant voting block. Their essentially unanimous support of the President has been crucial to the Administration's ability to prevail in the House.

Congressman Hartnett has attended various White House functions and met the President at a White House breakfast with other members of the Republican Freshman Class on March 4, 1981. He has not met with the President on an individual basis.

III. PARTICIPANTS

~~The President~~

~~The Vice President~~

~~Congressman Hartnett~~

~~Congressman Robert H. Michel, Republican Leader~~

~~Congressman Trent Lott, Republican Whip~~

Staff

~~Max L. Friedersdorf~~

DFK

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT AND SPEAKER THOMAS P. O'NEILL
MEETING WITH TOM & MARTHA GEOGHEGAN

DATE: Wednesday, December 9
PLACE: The Oval Office
TIME: 12:00 p.m. (10 minutes)
FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

I. PURPOSE

To receive a blackthorn walking stick, made in County Clare, Ireland, as a gift from the Geoghegans.

II. BACKGROUND

These traditional blackthorn walking sticks are from Dromoland Castle, County Clare, Ireland. Each stick is individually cut from the tall, thorny blackthorn bush. The sticks being presented are more of a stockman's cane, used to walk among horses or cattle.

There is also a rumor among golfers that these sticks were the inspiration for the earliest games of golf, with the larger knot or burl handle being used much as a golf driver or other wood club of today.

The Geoghegans are 39-year residents of Washington. Tom is a veteran newsman, who for the past 28 years has been Press Relations Representative for the U.S. Steel Corporation in Washington. They are presenting the individually initialed walking sticks "in the interest of enabling our leaders to keep the peace among the many tribes of Washington."

III. PARTICIPANTS

— The President
— Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill
— Tom Geoghegan
— Martha Geoghegan

— Max L. Friedersdorf
— Kenneth M. Duberstein

— Deaver
— Fischer

Re presented O'Neill
with box of golf
balls for birthday
gift.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

LUNCHEON WITH SPEAKER THOMAS P. O'NEILL

DATE: Wednesday, December 9
PLACE: The Cabinet Room
TIME: 12:15 p.m. (1 hour)

FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

I. PURPOSE

To receive, along with Speaker O'Neill (who will be observing his 69th birthday) blackthorn walking sticks made in Ireland, and to discuss the remainder of the legislative agenda for this year.

II. BACKGROUND

Following your first veto confrontation with the Congress, this birthday luncheon will provide an opportunity to re-enforce your working relationship with the Speaker.

Congress may adjourn as early as this weekend, but must act on the Continuing Resolution and the Second Budget resolution before going home. In addition, the House will be considering Foreign Assistance legislation this week.

Senator Baker is ready to make his appointments to the Social Security Commission, but the Speaker has been delaying his selection of appointments. He wants the group to report prior to the 1982 elections and has also expressed some interest in making non-Congressional appointments to the Commission.

III. PARTICIPANTS

- The President
- Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill

- Ed Meese
- Jim Baker
- Mike Deaver
- Max L. Friedersdorf
- Kenneth M. Duberstein

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE
Wednesday, December 9, 1981

9:00 am (15 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Baker, Meese, Deaver)	Oval Office
9:15 am T (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Lewis</u> (Craig Fuller)	Oval Office
9:30 am (60 min)	<u>Meeting with GOP Congressional Leaders</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	Cabinet Room
10:30 am (15 min)	<u>Senior Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
10:45 am (45 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:30 am (15 min)	<u>Ambassador Photos</u> (Admiral Nance)	Oval Office
11:45 am (10 min)	<u>Sign Statement Supporting January as March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month</u> (Elizabeth Dole)	Oval Office
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11:55 am (5 min)	<u>Presentation of Blackthorn Walking Sticks to the President and Speaker O'Neill</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	Oval Office
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6:40 pm (20 min)	<u>The President and Mrs. Reagan dropby at Senior Citizens Christmas Tour of WH</u>	Residence
7:30 pm	<u>Private Dinner</u>	Residence

Why One PATCO Man Didn't Strike

By ANTHONY JOSEPH SKIRLICK Jr.

(Los Angeles Air Route Traffic Control Center Palmdale, Calif.)

FORUM

AS A WORKING radar air traffic controller and as a dues-paying member of PATCO, I would like to clear the air on a petition being circulated by the striking faction of PATCO in an effort to obtain 250,000 signatures appealing to President Reagan to rehire all fired controllers and start negotiations again. This drive by the illegal faction of my union must be revealed once and for all for what it is.

In the summer of 1980, PATCO broke rank with its affiliate, the AFL-CIO, and endorsed Ronald Reagan. Organized labor's candidate was Carter. Carter had had dealings with PATCO already, however, and Carter had developed tough anti-strike postures developed by Langhorne Bond, administrator of FAA.

PATCO endorsed Reagan with the hope he would "give" them a fat juicy contract and a vote for Reagan would not be a wasted vote for he was a sure winner. Nobody likes to go with a loser. PATCO had no more philosophical connection with Reagan than they had with in-laws on Jupiter.

But before this endorsement, in January 1980, PATCO committed its version of Original Sin. During a meeting of the Executive Council of PATCO in Chicago, six out of seven members of the executive board foisted a coup d'etat on the union by, in secrecy, tossing out of office the elected but moderate president, John Leyden.

Leyden was replaced by then vice president Robert Poli, and one of the six executive board members became vice president. Neat trick without the even casual approval of the 15,000 members who put Leyden into office in the first place.

The haste of this action was widely questioned by many members but it was not debated or mentioned in any regional or national union publications, giving Poli the tremendous political advantage of being the incumbent for the Spring 1980 election.

Poli, gentleman gorilla warrior of the "new right," had seized an entire union by questionable means and AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland just burped. The union membership was silenced into

submission . . . except for a tiny minority who remained watchfully silent, and an even smaller minority who openly questioned the utter rubbish flowing out of the PATCO national office.

I was part of that vocal minority and raised objections in writing.

Poli's demands were quite simple: an across-the-board \$10,000 per year raise, 32-hour work week, outrageous cost-of-living indexing allowances, and other demands that in the first year would cost taxpayers at least three-quarter billion dollars! Issues of safety and equipment were thrown in to shun total public outrage to the side. In fact, quite truthfully, safety was never a viable consideration . . . wages and benefits were the only considerations. It was more money, coupled with a 20 percent decrease in the workweek, and a tremendously reduced time until retirement. This from individuals already hauling in between \$40,000 to \$50,000 per year. Plus nine free round-trip airline familiarization flights per year, and no one single loss of job due to a layoff in 20 years.

Pan-to Lane Kirkland thinking about some poor textile worker in the South trying to get a 50-cent-an-hour raise on top of the five dollars an hour she's making. PATCO was acting like a cheated, down-trodden group of coal miners from the 1930's. And this was done with a straight face.

To say there were no legitimate union demands would of course be a lie. Indeed, PATCO had an excellent case to get a 36-hour-workweek at 25-35 of the very busiest facilities of the over 300 air traffic facilities in the U.S. This would have given almost 4000 people well-deserved recognition for the labor they put forth in some of this planet's hell holes such as L.A. Approach, Chicago Approach, or Atlanta Tower.

A special "extra" credit of retirement, say three months credit, for every year spent at one of these mental-burn centers would have been negotiable. So that if a person were frozen at the front lines shooting it out with enormous traffic volumes he could retire at 50 percent regardless of age in 18½ to 20 years. But if he chose to prolong his active career, he could go to facilities that had less volume, less tension, but fewer perks. It would have created an incentive system within the air traffic service in which, as the commercial goes, you had to "earn it."

There is a big difference between working Palmdale Tower and L.A. Tower, just as there is a difference between working

Carnegie Hall and the Pistol Whip Saloon in Bull Gulch, Nevada. Same musician's union, but an entirely different type of gig.

But, by blunderous leadership, the union decided that in order to get massive support for a strike, it would have to offer outlandish prizes from a plundered FAA to all controllers whether they handled one airplane every 20 minutes or 20 airplanes in one minute.

So, Reagan got elected in a landslide and PATCO's plans were a bit stalled until the Reagan administration got its soldiers in place. PATCO grumbled a bit, had a runathon for a popular disease, and started whipping up the troops in earnest by March, 1981. A preview strike was held in Chicago in the summer of 1980 as a sort of muscle-flexing exercise. Made a lot of pilots and passen-

continued

gers angry. Made a lot of PATCO locals mad. Just a little hint of what a union let loose on the American public could do. A shot across the bow. Poli turned his head. Kirkland said nothing about one of his affiliates staging a wild-cat slowdown.

PATCO had created a neo-Nazi group called "choir boys." These brown shirts, as I characterized them, organized the strike at the local levels. It was a position of high prestige, a kind of corps d'elite, appointed not elected individuals, who were to insure the proper methods of bringing this nation's air transport system into a chaotic tailspin, disrupting the entire country.

Then, the strike. Remember the strike? In some ways the PATCO pitch for shutting down the whole air traffic system made some sense if you didn't let things like bulldozing away the income of thousands of workers keep you up at night. The strike would be over quickly and you could celebrate on the Colorado River in your \$12,000 ski-boat getting blasted on Bud, sneaking a non-union Coors in once in a while. All of us were tempted by the siren's sweet song.

Very few opposed and questioned the plans of the hotheads about us. Those who did were laughed out of union meetings. Those who opposed the strike were denied access to national publications of the union to present alternatives or to voice opposition to striking.

In the early summer of 1981 the fun and games ended in the U.S. air traffic system because the light-hearted harassment started

involving live air traffic. Unresponsive reactions to control actions between sectors in an occupation where absolute trust in the person next to you is essential began destroying the integrity of the U.S. air traffic system in a real and serious manner.

Fights on the sectors, verbal abuse, meetings in the chief's office, became commonplace. The subtle ways a person can "give you one" in this business is known probably only by those who do this job. But this, too, was part of the choir boy program to "encourage" everyone to walk out at the appointed hour. Since I was most vocal in opposition to their plans, I received garbage in my locker, cat calls, insults, and was harassed while controlling live air traffic over the L.A. Basin.

My case was not isolated. It was happening everywhere in the U.S.

government, not wanting to fuel the fire further, reacted to this chaos with handslaps. Justice Department people reacted to the call for a strike by the union by turning their heads the other way, not wanting to get tangled up in First Amendment questions, though at that time the union was in violation of specific statutes which stated that advocacy of a strike is illegal. From May to August of 1981, skies in the U.S. were the un-safest in this nation's history, and morale was at its lowest in the air traffic service. Something had to give.

To authorize a strike, the union needed 80 percent of working controllers, both union and non-union members alike. By the first of June, through informal polls, the union knew how many were going and how many were not going within a few percentage points. That informal number never varied by more than five points in both the June 23 and August 3 vote. Everybody knew who the strikers and non-strikers were. There were, of course, a few surprises on both sides of the fence, but very few.

On June 23, 1981 the first strike vote was taken. It was not a strike vote in the union sense, however. At strike halls — which I never did go to — you were to sign-in at the door. That meant you were a striker and then you were permitted inside. If you were not a striker, the word was out that you should not show up at the hall because you'd never get in and you might never get out of the parking lot in one piece. That was the strike vote. No secret ballot in which you could privately make the decision of your life. Everyone knew who voted which way.

Find a union, any union, even in communist Poland, that votes in the above manner and I will show you a band of thugs.

Even with all that pressure, on June 23, PATCO fell short of the necessary 80 percent by nearly 900 votes. Thirty-five percent of those who voted for the strike were developmentalists. Ninety-nine percent of the 25 percent not voting for the strike were seasoned journeymen controllers. Robert Poli reluctantly signed a preliminary contract on the morning of June 23, and the Reagan administration sighed in relief. The contract as signed by Poli was for 42 months and had some innovative clauses giving extra pay for those who administer training, increased night differential... basically doubling the pay raise the other

federal workers were going to get in October.

Coupled with Reagan's tax plan which benefits higher paid individuals such as those in the \$40,000-\$50,000 bracket, it was reasonable in the administration's viewpoint. I voted it down because 42 months was too long for any contract and some of the pay increases for premium pay would be nullified if other federal pay regulations were not first changed. On June 23, if Poli had believed the contract would be rejected, he could have simply walked out and signed nothing, to come back another day and iron out some details. The union rejected it by 96 percent, not by 75 percent as the strike vote indicated. It was a strange set of numbers. I cautioned my regional vice president, by letter, that the contract rejection vote was not necessarily synonymous with a mandate to strike. Then the ugly nightmare started anew. There was going to be another strike vote in August. The pressure began to flare up again.

The negotiations began again, but these negotiations were simply a front until Poli got his 80 percent. He got 81.5 percent in his "new math" method. As soon as he heard he had the number, he left Drew Lewis in almost mid-sentence and stomped out with about 12,000 people.

Basically, the same people who were not striking in June did not strike in August so the government knew quite well what it was dealing with. Poli, and those who struck, departed the air traffic system on August 3, 1981 and haven't been back since.

As Poli has said: "The only illegal strike is one that doesn't work". One wonders if he has any remorse for what he has caused.

Those of us at work contacted our striking friends and told them that traffic was running smoothly and we had to convince them we were not lying. Poli, meanwhile, held a magical, charismatic spell

over his people, making television appearances that were quite powerful and seemingly convincing. By the first Saturday of August, most of the controllers who were to be fired were indeed fired. Many thought that it was all an act, that they'd be back. Reagan was going to "give in". He did not.

Meanwhile, the air traffic system on the West Coast operated without many monumental problems though the tremendous increase in see-and-be-seen flying

continued

has taken on greater dimensions. Safety problems were reported by myself in a normal manner and I was not once chastised for anything I wrote or said during that period or up until the present time.

Those of my profession who chose not to report incidents live by a code of ethics that are too soft by my standards but understandable since I saw deals when the striking faction was here that went unreported and I'll see deals and unsafe conditions that will go unreported in the future. It's an unspoken reality of this job. Or else you'd surely go out of your mind from perfectionistic thinking that would destroy your ability to operate and make decisions in an environment that necessitates the help of a computer with one of the most complex programs ever developed and some of the most advanced radar systems ever conceived.

The alternative of having a raving PATCO maniac giving you a bad handoff knowingly was and still is a worse option than saying to yourself that this is a bad situation and I know it but I'll just sweat through it the best I can. We have really nothing to hide because we can't hide anything. You can buy a \$19 radio and listen to us. You can go to an airport and watch it happen. You can fly in a plane and see it first-hand if you are a pilot. If it looks unsafe you have the option of saying so to the FAA, PATCO, National Transportation Safety Board, Aviation Safety Institute in Ohio, NASA at Moffett Field in San Jose, Airline Pilot's Association, Airline Transport Association. You can buy radio time, an ad on TV, or in the

newspaper, you can write a book about it.

The PATCO argument that the system is unsafe can be likened to the kid who pours gasoline over a house, sets it on fire, runs out into the street and then criticizes those trying to put out the fire, saying they are using the wrong kind of water buckets and their throwing technique is bad.

When PATCO was at work 100 percent, there were delays and there were major airline accidents. There will be accidents while the striking faction is gone. If they come back, there will be accidents. It's a fact of life. So what is PATCO's point?

The U.S. airspace system has continued to operate at high levels for a variety of reasons. The main reason it operates so well is that 50 percent of the controllers who

stayed at their posts were AFL-CIO members of PATCO. PATCO has been responsible in the main for the systems operating as it does, this much to the displeasure of my striking fellow union members. Second, the non-union controllers who stayed on have done an admirable job in a non-vindictive way though they were under enormous pressure before the strike. And supervisors, who many of us thought were over-the-hill, have filled in with stunning competency that would bewilder the strikers.

Fourth, military personnel have replaced many of the strikers. These people are certified by FAA and many work civilian traffic on a normal day-to-day basis anyway at joint-use facilities such as Yuma. Yuma Approach, an all-Marine control facility, works as much civilian traffic as military on some days, and according to pilots and we controllers, these Marine controllers are the pride of sector 10 at L.A. Center. They are that damn good! PATCO, however, looked at this option by the government as a one-way street to self-destruction of the air traffic system although 90 percent of them came to FAA directly out of military control facilities.

A fifth reason for the success of the system was it was overstaffed in the first place. Acres of FAA dead wood were rooted out of their hiding places, from safe computer cubbyholes where they dreamed up unnecessary programs to area offices where minute changes of procedures flowed like honey. These dead wood types were rounded up by the Reagan cowhands and forced to do the job they were originally hired to do: control airplanes, not desks. A sixth reason for success was that retired people were brought in to pull flight progress strips and deliver them to the sectors freeing highly qualified individuals to do the actual control work. Many senior citizen groups would be rightfully proud of these individuals for helping out. Some of the more recently retired people are working live traffic, and laid-off airline pilots have been hired to "run strips" and work the simulators as new controller trainees come aboard. A seventh and most significant reason is FAA's massive flow control program that

began three years ago and which was fully implemented August 3, 1981. From a central location in Washington, major flows of U.S. air traffic were directed, leaving the tactical separation up to the individual sectors. Flow controllers at individual centers continue with extraordinary skill to perfect their act which was given a full green light during the first week of August. An eighth reason that FAA tailored staffing to the traffic of each individual facility. In large facilities, FAA tailored staffing so that overlapping crews with nothing to do are all but absent. With overtime being used (and that is now being reduced to a voluntary level at many facilities) you found a whole shift of extra people. A ninth reason why the system works is it is staffed primarily by the most experienced journeyman controllers available. Remember, PATCO's 12,000 strikers are composed of 35 percent developmentals, many who were not even checked-out on one handoff position. They were innocent pawns in PATCO's war plans. A tenth reason is morale. It has never been higher. It shows what can be done with a group of highly motivated and skilled people who have a purpose. PATCO claims we are scabs and we have no principles and the only reason we are here is for the paycheck. What did PATCO originally go on strike for in the first place? Baseball cards? Bad radio frequencies? If we are mercenaries, then — by their own public demands — the PATCO strikers are a mob of hypocritical thieves. We simply stayed on our jobs. We had no promises of big pay increases above what was originally offered PATCO back on August 3, 1981. We were not bribed into staying here by some pie-in-the-sky contract. We stayed here because, for many of us, this is the only job we know and love. Following some salt and pepper bearded demagogue onto the concrete was, for many of us, not our cup of tea. My job means too much to me after 13 years. Since the Reagan administration acted so swiftly, maybe too swiftly, the strikers were left to stew in their own juices. We have stayed despite knowing that the radical faction of PATCO has an "official hit list." If they ever return we suspect they will find ways to weed us out of our jobs. Though some airlines have used the excuse of the controller strike for layoffs, many were seasonal anyway and many have been on the drawing board for years. To blame every disruption to airline

continued
profitability on the controller strike is an unfair slap to the government and those working. This excuse may look good as a reason for a deduction on a Wall Street tax sheet but it bypasses the fact the entire airline industry has been suffering for the past few years from problems of credit for

new airliners and the geometric escalation of fuel prices that most lines have yet to settle down with. So, though passengers will get more ground delays, they are not sitting at 4000 feet over the Empire State Building for an hour trying to get into Kennedy while thousands of pounds of kerosene are needlessly burned in the process. Larger airliners are flying less often but with fuller loads. In the aircraft industry, the most secure and one of the highest paying jobs has been that of a controller at the busier facilities. By striking for even more on top of more, PATCO eliminated itself from the ball game despite massive warnings in personal interviews with their supervisors during the Spring of 1981, despite warnings from the Senate and Congress, despite being told by the choir boys exactly what to expect in terms of arrests and firings, despite caution from their own peers in the union, and finally despite the stern, unexpected ultimatum from the President of the United States on August 3, 1981. The AFL-CIO members of PATCO who stayed on their jobs are responsible for the air traffic system working today along with other non-union members and supervisors. This group is composed of about 98 percent highly-

seasoned journeyman controllers. Over one third who struck were developmentals. A good percentage of those who struck were journeymen who changed their minds within ten days of the strike and who would have gladly come back to work at almost any cost. The rest, well you can still see them once in a while on TV screaming and shouting. I have sympathy for these individuals. They have indeed suffered enough for their big mistakes, but bringing these people back must be done by the courts, not by FAA or by petitions to the President. The system is working and as each day goes by it works better. Bringing these harassed people back must be done slowly, and carefully . . . trickling them back at facilities where there are great shortages and in most cases offering them jobs outside the region they were fired from, under a three-year probationary status. These steps must be taken to insure the safety of the air space system and the integrity of those who stayed on. We, the working members of PATCO, want to remain a union, clean our own house up, pay our fines, help those permanently fired to subsist until they find employment elsewhere, impeach the idiots who caused this anarchy, and seek a trusteeship relationship with Lane Kirkland overseeing it until we get ourselves back together again. Busting our union is not the answer. Changing the leadership is. Changing the name to the United States Air Traffic Controller Association and expelling members who advocate strikes as a self-policing bylaw would be a healthy start.

B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1981

MEETING WITH REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

DATE: Wednesday, December 9, 1981

LOCATION: The Cabinet Room

TIME: 9:30 - 10:30 a.m. (one hour)

FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf *M. L. F.*

I. PURPOSE

To discuss the three remaining major legislative items pending in the first session of the 97th Congress: the farm bill, the continuing resolution and the foreign assistance bill.

II. BACKGROUND

Farm Bill: A compromise four-year bill that is roughly \$3.5 billion over the President's budget has been approved by Senate and House conferees. Secretary Block and Dave Stockman would recommend the President sign this bill. Its fate in the House is uncertain and we will have to work hard to insure sufficient votes for passage.

Continuing Resolution: A new continuing resolution that achieves the President's goal of \$4 billion in FY 82 outlay savings will be considered on the House Floor tomorrow and chances of passage are good. If the continuing resolution passes the House, it will likely be passed by the Senate.

Foreign Assistance: The House is expected to consider the foreign assistance authorization bill today and the foreign assistance appropriations on Friday. The Senate has passed both the authorization and appropriation at the \$11.6 billion requested by the President. The House reported bill calls for \$11.5 billion (see Attachment A).

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Attachment B

IV. PRESS PLAN

Photo opportunity and White House photos

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Republican Leaders enter Northwest Gate and proceed to the West Lobby before joining the President in the Cabinet Room.

Attachment: Agenda - See Attachment C
Talking Points - See Attachment D.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND OUR NATIONAL SECURITY

The Reagan Foreign Assistance (FA) requests represent a fundamental departure from the past (see attached comparison of Carter and Reagan requests for FY '82). While reducing the proposed Carter budget by \$1.8 billion, Reagan has increased Security Assistance (SA) from 49% to 63% of the total while reducing bilateral Development Assistance (DA) from 28% to 23%, and contributions to Multilateral Development Banks (MDB) from 23% to 14%.

Seventy percent of requested funds (all of SA plus 50% of DA) are allocated to regions in which the United States has critical objectives, such as:

- Enhancing the prospects for Mideast peace;
- Protecting our access to the Persian Gulf oil resources;
- Strengthening Europe's Southern flank;
- Helping North African countries resist Libyan pressures while laying the groundwork for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force.
- Helping Caribbean Basin nations forestall economic collapse and resist Cuban subversion;

These objectives can be met only if the House enacts a Foreign Assistance bill. Otherwise we will be locked into the FA levels in the Continuing Resolution, which essentially perpetuate Carter Administration programs and priorities. This means weakening America's defenses and scuttling every significant Reagan foreign policy initiative. Specifically, a failure to enact a bill will:

- Drastically reduce our ability to sell needed military equipment on affordable terms to Korea, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Oman, Thailand, Tunisia, and Jordan.
- Jeopardize a continuing U.S. basing rights in Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and the Philippines as well as access to bases in Kenya, Somalia and Oman;
- Preclude essential economic support to ensure stability in such countries as Sudan, Liberia, and those of the Caribbean Basin.

The Reagan FA programs are designed to increase the chances for peace and stability in areas of critical importance to the U.S., and protect U.S. access to strategic minerals and waterways.

EITHER WE HELP FRONTLINE NATIONS PROTECT OUR COMMON INTERESTS OR WE RISK CRISES IN WHICH WE MAY HAVE NO OPTION BUT TO INTERVENE. A VOTE AGAINST THE SMALL INVESTMENT NEEDED NOW WOULD BE THE WORST POSSIBLE ECONOMY WHEN MEASURED AGAINST THE HUGE POTENTIAL COSTS IN AMERICAN LIVES AND TREASURE.

BUDGET COMPARISONS

<u>Budget Authority (in \$ Millions)</u>	<u>81 CR</u>	<u>82 Carter</u>	<u>82 Reagan</u>	<u>Net Change Reagan/81</u>	<u>Net Change Reagan/Carter</u>
Security Assistance	2743	3377	3839	+1096	+462
Bilateral Economic	2605	3649	2559	-46	-1090
Multilateral Development	1266	3007	1579	+313	-1428
SUBTOTAL	6614	10033	7977	+1363	-2026
Off Budget FMS Guarantees	<u>2546</u>	<u>2931</u>	<u>3064</u>	+518	+133
TOTAL	9160	12964	11041		

(as % of total)

Security Assistance	58	49	63		
Bilateral Economic	28	28	23		
Multilateral Development	14	23	14		

PARTICIPANTS

The President
 The Vice President
 The Director of OMB, David Stockman
 The Secretary of the Treasury, Donald Regan
 The Chairman of the CEA, Murray Weidenbaum
 Assistant Secretary of State, James Buckley
 The Secretary of Agriculture, John Block

SENATE

Howard Baker, Majority Leader of the Senate
 James McClure, Chairman of the Republican Conference
 Jake Garn, Secretary of the Republican Conference
 John Tower, Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee
 Bob Packwood, Chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee
 Paul Laxalt
 Strom Thurmond, President Pro Tempore of the Senate
 Charles Percy, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee
 Mark Hatfield, Chairman of Appropriations Committee
 Jesse Helms, Chairman of Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry Committee

HOUSE

Bob Michel, Minority Leader of the House
 Trent Lott, Minority Whip of the House
 Jack Kemp, Chairman of the Republican Conference
 Clair Burgener, Secretary of the Republican Conference
 Edward Madigan, Chairman of Republican Research Committee
 Jack Edwards, Vice Chairman of Republican Conference
 Dick Cheney, Chairman of Republican Policy Conference
 Guy VanderJagt, Chairman of National Republican Congressional Committee
 John Rhodes, Dean of House Republicans
 Bill Broomfield, Ranking Republican on Foreign Affairs Committee
 Silvio Conte, Ranking Republican Member, Appropriations Committee
 James Quillen, Ranking Republican on Rules Committee
 William Wampler, Ranking Republican on Agriculture Committee
 Tom Evans, Vice Chairman National Republican Congressional Committee

STAFF

Ed Meese, Jim Baker, Mike Deaver, Dave Gergen, Larry Speakes,
 Martin Anderson, Bud Nance, Lyn Nofziger, Jonna Lynn Cullen, Ken
 Duberstein, Powell Moore, Max Friedersdorf, Bob Thompson,
 Richard Richards, Craig Fuller, Dick Darman

REGRETS

Senator Ted Stevens

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

- Before adjournment there are three major pieces of legislation that are pending: the farm bill, the continuing resolution and the foreign assistance bill.
- With regard to the farm bill, I am hopeful that the House and Senate will approve the conference report. This bill would be roughly \$3.5 billion above the budget, but incorporates compromise language which was agreed to by Jack Block and Dave Stockman.
- On the continuing resolution, I wish to compliment the House and Senate Leaders, especially Mark Hatfield (Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee), and Silvio Conte (Ranking Republican, House Appropriations Committee), for the compromise they have worked out which achieves the \$4 billion in FY 1982 outlay savings.
- I am supporting this compromise and will be most pleased to sign the continuing resolution if it passes the House and Senate.
- Foreign assistance authorization and appropriations bills may be considered on the House Floor this week. This is my budget request and it reflects our foreign policy. This budget request represents the minimum funding necessary to uphold our credibility and commitments to our allies. Assistance of the Republican leaders is very important for obtaining adequate support from GOP colleagues to assure passage of foreign assistance legislation.
- Let's now have the legislative reports from the House (Bob Michel) and the Senate (Howard Baker)....Bob, how about the House going first this week...

C

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE *Sub*

SUBJECT: Photo Session with US Ambassadors
Wednesday, December 9 -- 11:30 a.m.
Oval Office

Attached are 3x5 cards with pertinent information
for your photo session with:

Ambassador Melvin Evans	-	Trinidad
Ambassador Francis T. McNamara	-	Gabon
Ambassador Jean Gerard	-	*UNESCO, Paris

*UN Economic, Scientific & Cultural Organization

Our Ambassadors -- and their families -- are most
appreciative of your taking the time to meet and
be photographed with them prior to departure for
their respective posts.

PHOTO SESSION

AMB. MELVIN HERBERT EVANS (TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO)

PARTICIPANTS: FAMILY - MARY PHYLLIS EVANS (WIFE)
- CORNELIUS DUNCAN EVANS
(27 YR. OLD SON)
WH - ADM. JAMES W. NANCE
NSC - ROGER W. FONTAINE
STATE - JONATHAN RICKERT

- ELECTED TO 96TH CONGRESS AS DELEGATE FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS 1978
- REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN FOR U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS 1976
- GOVERNOR OF THE U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS 1969

PHOTO SESSION

AMB. FRANCIS TERRY McNAMARA (GABON)

PARTICIPANTS: FAMILY - NHU DE (WIFE)
WH - JAMES W. NANCE
NSC - FRED WETTERING

- CAREER DIPLOMAT SINCE 1955; 54 YEARS OLD
- ACTIVE NAVY SERVICE, COMBAT IN WWII & KOREA.
- TWO VIETNAM TOURS, 1968-71, 1974-75.
- ALSO SERVED TOURS IN FIVE AFRICAN COUNTRIES. LAST POST SERVED AS CONSUL GENERAL IN QUEBEC CITY, 1975-79.
- HOLDS 8 COMMENDATIONS FROM STATE, INCLUDING 4 SUPERIOR HONOR AWARDS AND 2 MERITORIOUS HONOR AWARDS.

PHOTO SESSION

AMB. JEAN GERARD (UN ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC,
& CULTURAL ORGANIZATION)
(PARIS)

PARTICIPANTS: FAMILY - JAMES W. GERARD V (SON)
WH - ADM. JAMES W. NANCE

- FROM NEW YORK; ALT. DELEGATE TO 1980 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
- ATTORNEY WITH CADWALADER, WICKERSHAM, & TAFT 1977 - (NEW YORK)
- ACTIVE IN WOMEN'S NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB (1967-80)
- RECEIVED SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION MEDAL (1970)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 8, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES W. NANCE *Bud*

SUBJECT: Photo Session with James R. Lilley
To be Joined by the Vice President
Wednesday, December 9 -- 11:30 a.m.
Oval Office

Attached is 3x5 card with pertinent information for your photo session with Jim Lilley -- to be joined by the Vice President.

This will be the last of the four photos with outgoing Ambassadors.

D

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1981

MEETING WITH: March of Dimes

LOCATION: Oval Office
11:45 a.m. - 11:55 a.m.

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE 

PURPOSE: To sign a message supporting January as March of Dimes (MOD) Birth Defects Prevention Month.

BACKGROUND: Through the MOD, polio was eliminated in the mid-50's. Since then, MOD has worked to prevent birth defects which strike a quarter-million infants each year and is the nation's most serious child health problem. MOD contributions last year totaled \$75 million and were used for research, medical services, education and community services. James Roosevelt's father, Franklin D. Roosevelt, a polio victim, founded MOD in 1938. The 1982 MOD National Poster Child is 5½-year-old Richard Wagner of Vancouver, Washington. Born with multiple birth defects, he is partially paralyzed and walks with crutches and lower leg braces. An avid sports fan, Richard plays basketball and soccer and swims.

PARTICIPANTS: See attached list.

PRESS COVERAGE: Press pool photo coverage and MOD film crew

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- 11:45 a.m. You and Mrs. Reagan will be joined in the Oval Office by Richard Wagner, his family, James Roosevelt, and MOD officials for a brief conversation prior to photographs.
- 11:50 a.m. The Press Pool enters the Oval Office. You sign the MOD message and make brief remarks in support of the MOD campaign.
- 11:55 a.m. The Press departs the Oval Office, followed by the MOD group.

Attachments: Participants/Talking Points

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS -- MARCH OF DIMES

March of Dimes Officials:

James Roosevelt (Member Board of Trustees)

Charles L. Massey (President)

Clyde E. Shorey, Jr. (Vice President, Public Affairs)

Oren Teicher (Director, Corporate Communications)

Poster Child and Family:

Richard Theodore Wagner (Poster Child)

John Wagner (Father)

Barbara Wagner (Mother)

John Robert Wagner (Brother)

Michael Wagner (Brother)

David Wagner (Brother)

Deirdre Schroder (friend of family)

ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

The President

The First Lady

Elizabeth H. Dole

Virginia H. Knauer

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH THE
1982 MARCH OF DIMES NATIONAL POSTER CHILD, JAMES ROOSEVELT
AND MARCH OF DIMES OFFICIALS

- Nancy and I are pleased to welcome you here today to recognize January as the March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month.
- This yearly campaign is so important in our quest to prevent and treat birth defects which affected 250,000 babies last year.
- The work of the March of Dimes is only made possible through the generosity of millions of Americans who gave \$75 million in 1981 for research, medical services and education.
- As I said in the message I just signed, the volunteer spirit is a hallmark of the March of Dimes. It is a uniquely American spirit which moves our citizens to accept personal responsibility for the health of children today and in the future.
- Richard represents children everywhere who have and can benefit from the commitment of the American people to solving our leading child health problems. His courage and spirit stand for our present accomplishments in fighting birth defects and give promise of an even brighter future through medicine and research. I understand Richard is active in sports such as basketball, soccer and swimming.
- I hope that, through their contributions, all Americans will be as active in supporting the March of Dimes as Richard is in his daily life.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month
January 1982

Birth defects represent the nation's number one child health problem and in 1982 will strike one out of every twelve newborn infants with some form of mental or bodily damage.

Through the March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation, remarkable progress is being made in discovering the causes and preventing and treating birth defects in the newborn and the unborn.

During 1981, laboratory research and medical science produced new ways to treat birth defects in the mother's womb. Actual cases made medical history, and because of its funding and support, the March of Dimes shares in these accomplishments.

The work of the March of Dimes is made possible through the generosity of millions of our citizens and the dedicated efforts of tens of thousands of volunteers. This uniquely American volunteer spirit is a hallmark of the March of Dimes, for the people of our great nation accept personal responsibility for the health of children today and in the future.

I urge all Americans to observe January as March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month.

E

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1981

MEETING WITH CONGRESSMAN THOMAS F. HARTNETT

DATE: Wednesday, December 9, 1981
PLACE: The Oval Office
TIME: 11:50 a.m. (5 Minutes)
FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

I. PURPOSE

To congratulate Congressman Hartnett on being elected the new President of the Republican Freshman Class.

II. BACKGROUND

Congressman Hartnett of South Carolina was elected on November 18 as President of the 53-Member Republican Freshman Class, succeeding Congressman Hank Brown of Colorado who resigned.

Hartnett, who is a member of the Armed Services Committee, is the only Republican to represent South Carolina's 1st Congressional District (southeast including Charleston).

Due to its size, the Republican Freshmen form a significant voting block. Their essentially unanimous support of the President has been crucial to the Administration's ability to prevail in the House.

Congressman Hartnett has attended various White House functions and met the President at a White House breakfast with other members of the Republican Freshman Class on March 4, 1981. He has not met with the President on an individual basis.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Congressman Hartnett
Congressman Robert H. Michel, Republican Leader
Congressman Trent Lott, Republican Whip

Staff
Max L. Friedersdorf

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

No specific agenda.

Attachment: Talking Points

ATTACHMENT

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING
WITH CONGRESSMAN HARTNETT

- Congratulate him on his election as President of the House Republican Freshmen.
- The virtual unanimous support of the Administration on key votes by the 53 Freshman Class Members has been crucial to our historic legislative successes.
- As we work together to achieve our common goal and election mandate of a sound economy and a strong national defense, I am counting on continued strong support from the Republican Freshmen.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT AND SPEAKER THOMAS P. O'NEILL
MEETING WITH TOM & MARTHA GEOGHEGAN

DATE: Wednesday, December 9
PLACE: The Oval Office
TIME: 12:00 p.m. (10 minutes)
FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

I. PURPOSE

To receive a blackthorn walking stick, made in County Clare, Ireland, as a gift from the Geoghegans.

II. BACKGROUND

These traditional blackthorn walking sticks are from Dromoland Castle, County Clare, Ireland. Each stick is individually cut from the tall, thorny blackthorn bush. The sticks being presented are more of a stockman's cane, used to walk among horses or cattle.

There is also a rumor among golfers that these sticks were the inspiration for the earliest games of golf, with the larger knot or burl handle being used much as a golf driver or other wood club of today.

The Geoghegans are 39-year residents of Washington. Tom is a veteran newsman, who for the past 28 years has been Press Relations Representative for the U.S. Steel Corporation in Washington. They are presenting the individually initialed walking sticks "in the interest of enabling our leaders to keep the peace among the many tribes of Washington."

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill
Tom Geoghegan
Martha Geoghegan

Max L. Friedersdorf
Kenneth M. Duberstein

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House photographer only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

No specific agenda.

Attachment: Talking Points

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING
WITH SPEAKER O'NEILL AND THE GEOGHEGANS

- Express thanks for the traditional Irish blackthorn sticks.

- Ask the Speaker if the use of the walking stick, instead of his regular driver, might improve his golf game.

- Suggest that you and the Speaker might have to use the sticks to prod the Congress into action next year.

6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE
Wednesday, December 9, 1981

9:00 am (15 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Baker, Neese, Deaver)		Oval Office
9:15 am (15 min)	T <u>Meeting with Secretary Lewis</u> (Craig Fuller)	(TAB A)	Oval Office
9:30 am (60 min)	<u>Meeting with GOP Congressional Leaders</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	(TAB B)	Cabinet Room
10:30 am (15 min)	<u>Senior Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
10:45 am (45 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
11:30 am (15 min)	<u>Ambassador Photos</u> (Admiral Nance)	(TAB C)	Oval Office
11:45 am (10 min)	Sign Statement Supporting January as March of Dimes Birth Defects Prevention Month (Elizabeth Dole)	(TAB D)	Oval Office
11:50 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with Cong. Thos. F. Hartnett (R-SC)</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	(TAB E)	Oval Office
11:55 am (5 min)	<u>Presentation of Blackthorn Walking Sticks to the President and Speaker O'Neill</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	(TAB F)	Oval Office
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Luncheon with Speaker O'Neill</u> (Max Friedersdorf)	(TAB G)	Residence
1:15 pm (5 hours)	<u>Personal Time</u>		Residence
6:30 pm (10 min)	<u>Newsweek Photo with Mrs. Reagan</u> (Sheila Tate)		Residence
6:40 pm (20 min)	<u>The President and Mrs. Reagan dropby at Senior Citizens Christmas Tour of WH</u>		Residence
7:30 pm	<u>Private Dinner</u>		Residence



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 8, 1981

MEETING WITH SECRETARY LEWIS

DATE: December 9, 1981
TIME: 9:15 a.m. (15 min.)
PLACE: Oval Office

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER *CF*

I. PURPOSE

The meeting is scheduled to allow you an opportunity to review a plan for allowing the striking air traffic controllers to return to federal jobs.

II. BACKGROUND

Drew Lewis will recommend the following actions:

1. remove the three-year disbarment to federal employment for discharged strikers,
2. declare that the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) would apply traditional suitability standards on an individual basis with regard to rehiring discharged strikers,
3. using the "efficiency of service standards," indicate that discharged air traffic controllers will be deemed unsuitable for FAA employment

Secretary Lewis is concerned about possible adverse reactions by the air controllers who remained on the job. However, all parties directly involved in this matter (OPM, Department of Labor and Transportation) are in agreement with the three-point plan.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Secretary Drew Lewis
Edwin Meese III
James A. Baker III
Michael Deaver
Craig L. Fuller

IV. PRESS PLAN (no press)

V. SEQUENCE

Secretary Drew Lewis will present his plan.

Why One PATCO Man Didn't Strike

By ANTHONY JOSEPH SKIRLICK Jr.
(Los Angeles Air Route Traffic Control Center Palmdale, Calif.)

FORUM

AS A WORKING radar air traffic controller and as a dues-paying member of PATCO, I would like to clear the air on a petition being circulated by the striking faction of PATCO in an effort to obtain 250,000 signatures appealing to President Reagan to rehire all fired controllers and start negotiations again. This drive by the illegal faction of my union must be revealed once and for all for what it is.

In the summer of 1980, PATCO broke rank with its affiliate, the AFL-CIO, and endorsed Ronald Reagan. Organized labor's candidate was Carter. Carter had had dealings with PATCO already, however, and Carter had developed tough anti-strike postures developed by Langhorne Bond, administrator of FAA.

PATCO endorsed Reagan with the hope he would "give" them a fat juicy contract and a vote for Reagan would not be a wasted vote for he was a sure winner. Nobody likes to go with a loser. PATCO had no more philosophical connection with Reagan than they had with in-laws on Jupiter.

But before this endorsement, in January 1980, PATCO committed its version of Original Sin. During a meeting of the Executive Council of PATCO in Chicago, six out of seven members of the executive board foisted a coup d'etat on the union by, in secrecy, tossing out of office the elected but moderate president, John Leyden.

Leyden was replaced by then vice president Robert Poli, and one of the six executive board members became vice president. Neat trick without the even casual approval of the 15,000 members who put Leyden into office in the first place.

The haste of this action was widely questioned by many members but it was not debated or mentioned in any regional or national union publications, giving Poli the tremendous political advantage of being the incumbent for the Spring 1980 election.

Poli, gentleman gorilla warrior of the "new right," had seized an entire union by questionable means and AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland just burped. The union membership was silenced into

submission . . . except for a tiny minority who remained watchfully silent, and an even smaller minority who openly questioned the utter rubbish flowing out of the PATCO national office.

I was part of that vocal minority and raised objections in writing.

Poli's demands were quite simple: an across-the-board \$10,000 per year raise, 32-hour work week, outrageous cost-of-living indexing allowances, and other demands that in the first year would cost taxpayers at least three-quarter billion dollars! Issues of safety and equipment were thrown in to shun total public outrage to the side. In fact, quite truthfully, safety was never a viable consideration . . . wages and benefits were the only considerations. It was more money, coupled with a 20 percent decrease in the workweek, and a tremendously reduced time until retirement. This from individuals already hauling in between \$40,000 to \$50,000 per year. Plus nine free round-trip airline familiarization flights per year, and no one single loss of job due to a layoff in 20 years.

Pan-to Lane Kirkland thinking about some poor textile worker in the South trying to get a 50-cent-an-hour raise on top of the five dollars an hour she's making. PATCO was acting like a cheated, down-trodden group of coal miners from the 1930's. And this was done with a straight face.

To say there were no legitimate union demands would of course be a lie. Indeed, PATCO had an excellent case to get a 36-hour-workweek at 25-35 of the very busiest facilities of the over 300 air traffic facilities in the U.S. This would have given almost 4000 people well-deserved recognition for the labor they put forth in some of this planet's hell holes such as L.A. Approach, Chicago Approach, or Atlanta Tower.

A special "extra" credit of retirement, say three months credit, for every year spent at one of these mental-burn centers would have been negotiable. So that if a person were frozen at the front lines shooting it out with enormous traffic volumes he could retire at 50 percent regardless of age in 18½ to 20 years. But if he chose to prolong his active career, he could go to facilities that had less volume, less tension, but fewer perks. It would have created an incentive system within the air traffic service in which, as the commercial goes, you had to "earn it."

There is a big difference between working Palmdale Tower and L.A. Tower, just as there is a difference between working

Carnegie Hall and the Pistol Whip Saloon in Bull Gulch, Nevada. Same musician's union, but an entirely different type of gig.

But, by blunderous leadership, the union decided that in order to get massive support for a strike, it would have to offer outlandish prizes from a plundered FAA to all controllers whether they handled one airplane every 20 minutes or 20 airplanes in one minute.

So, Reagan got elected in a landslide and PATCO's plans were a bit stalled until the Reagan administration got its soldiers in place. PATCO grumbled a bit, had a runathon for a popular disease, and started whipping up the troops in earnest by March, 1981. A preview strike was held in Chicago in the summer of 1980 as a sort of muscle-flexing exercise. Made a lot of pilots and passen-

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gers angry. Made a lot of PATCO locals mad. Just a little hint of what a union let loose on the American public could do. A shot across the bow. Poll turned his head. Kirkland said nothing about one of his affiliates staging a wildcat slowdown.

PATCO had created a neo-Nazi group called "choir boys." These brown shirts, as I characterized them, organized the strike at the local levels. It was a position of high prestige, a kind of corps d'elite, appointed not elected individuals, who were to insure the proper methods of bringing this nation's air transport system into a chaotic tailspin, disrupting the entire country.

Then, the strike. Remember the strike? In some ways the PATCO pitch for shutting down the whole air traffic system made some sense if you didn't let things like bulldozing away the income of thousands of workers keep you up at night. The strike would be over quickly and you could celebrate on the Colorado River in your \$12,000 ski-boat getting blasted on Bud, sneaking a non-union Coors in once in a while. All of us were tempted by the siren's sweet song.

Very few opposed and questioned the plans of the hotheads about us. Those who did were laughed out of union meetings. Those who opposed the strike were denied access to national publications of the union to present alternatives or to voice opposition to striking.

In the early summer of 1981 the fun and games ended in the U.S. air traffic system because the light-hearted harassment started

involving live air traffic. Unresponsive reactions to control actions between sectors in an occupation where absolute trust in the person next to you is essential began destroying the integrity of the U.S. air traffic system in a real and serious manner.

Fights on the sectors, verbal abuse, meetings in the chief's office, became commonplace. The subtle ways a person can "give you one" in this business is known probably only by those who do this job. But this, too, was part of the choir boy program to "encourage" everyone to walk out at the appointed hour. Since I was most vocal in opposition to their plans, I received garbage in my locker, cat calls, insults, and was harassed while controlling live air traffic over the L.A. Basin.

My case was not isolated. It was happening everywhere in the U.S.

government, not wanting to fuel the fire further, reacted to this chaos with handslaps. Justice Department people reacted to the call for a strike by the union by turning their heads the other way, not wanting to get tangled up in First Amendment questions, though at that time the union was in violation of specific statutes which stated that advocacy of a strike is illegal. From May to August of 1981, skies in the U.S. were the un-safest in this nation's history, and morale was at its lowest in the air traffic service. Something had to give.

To authorize a strike, the union needed 80 percent of working controllers, both union and non-union members alike. By the first of June, through informal polls, the union knew how many were going and how many were not going within a few percentage points. That informal number never varied by more than five points in both the June 23 and August 3 vote. Everybody knew who the strikers and non-strikers were. There were, of course, a few surprises on both sides of the fence, but very few.

On June 23, 1981 the first strike vote was taken. It was not a strike vote in the union sense, however. At strike halls — which I never did go to — you were to sign-in at the door. That meant you were a striker and then you were permitted inside. If you were not a striker, the word was out that you should not show up at the hall because you'd never get in and you might never get out of the parking lot in one piece. That was the strike vote. No secret ballot in

which you could privately make the decision of your life. Everyone knew who voted which way.

Find a union, any union, even in communist Poland, that votes in the above manner and I will show you a band of thugs.

Even with all that pressure, on June 23, PATCO fell short of the necessary 80 percent by nearly 900 votes. Thirty-five percent of those who voted for the strike were developmentals. Ninety-nine percent of the 25 percent not voting for the strike were seasoned journeymen controllers. Robert Poll reluctantly signed a preliminary contract on the morning of June 23, and the Reagan administration sighed in relief. The contract as signed by Poll was for 42 months and had some innovative clauses giving extra pay for those who administer training, increased night differential... basically doubling the pay raise the other

federal workers were going to get in October.

Coupled with Reagan's tax plan which benefits higher paid individuals such as those in the \$40,000-\$50,000 bracket, it was reasonable in the administration's viewpoint. I voted it down because 42 months was too long for any contract and some of the pay increases for premium pay would be nullified if other federal pay regulations were not first changed. On June 23, if Poll had believed the contract would be rejected, he could have simply walked out and signed nothing, to come back another day and iron out some details. The union rejected it by 96 percent, not by 75 percent as the strike vote indicated. It was a strange set of numbers. I cautioned my regional vice president, by letter, that the contract rejection vote was not necessarily synonymous with a mandate to strike. Then the ugly nightmare started anew. There was going to be another strike vote in August. The pressure began to flare up again.

The negotiations began again, but these negotiations were simply a front until Poll got his 80 percent. He got 81.5 percent in his "new math" method. As soon as he heard he had the number, he left Drew Lewis in almost mid-sentence and stomped out with about 12,000 people.

Basically, the same people who were not striking in June did not strike in August so the government knew quite well what it was dealing with. Poll, and those who struck, departed the air traffic system on August 3, 1981 and haven't been back since.

As Poll has said: "The only illegal strike is one that doesn't work". One wonders if he has any remorse for what he has caused.

Those of us at work contacted our striking friends and told them that traffic was running smoothly and we had to convince them we were not lying. Poll, meanwhile, held a magical, charismatic spell

over his people, making television appearances that were quite powerful and seemingly convincing. By the first Saturday of August, most of the controllers who were to be fired were indeed fired. Many thought that it was all an act, that they'd be back. Reagan was going to "give in". He did not.

Meanwhile, the air traffic system on the West Coast operated without many monumental problems though the tremendous increase in see-and-be-seen flying

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has taken on greater dimensions. Safety problems were reported by myself in a normal manner and I was not once chastised for anything I wrote or said during that period or up until the present time.

Those of my profession who chose not to report incidents live by a code of ethics that are too soft by my standards but understandable since I saw deals when the striking faction was here that went unreported and I'll see deals and unsafe conditions that will go unreported in the future. It's an unspoken reality of this job. Or else you'd surely go out of your mind from perfectionistic thinking that would destroy your ability to operate and make decisions in an environment that necessitates the help of a computer with one of the most complex programs ever developed and some of the most advanced radar systems ever conceived.

The alternative of having a raving PATCO maniac giving you a bad handoff knowingly was and still is a worse option than saying to yourself that this is a bad situation and I know it but I'll just sweat through it the best I can. We have really nothing to hide because we can't hide anything. You can buy a \$19 radio and listen to us. You can go to an airport and watch it happen. You can fly in a plane and see it first-hand if you are a pilot. If it looks unsafe you have the option of saying so to the FAA, PATCO, National Transportation Safety Board, Aviation Safety Institute in Ohio, NASA at Moffett Field in San Jose, Airline Pilot's Association, Airline Transport Association. You can buy radio time, an ad on TV, or in the newspaper, you can write a book about it.

The PATCO argument that the system is unsafe can be likened to the kid who pours gasoline over a house, sets it on fire, runs out into the street and then criticizes those trying to put out the fire, saying they are using the wrong kind of water buckets and their throwing technique is bad.

When PATCO was at work 100 percent, there were delays and there were major airline accidents. There will be accidents while the striking faction is gone. If they come back, there will be accidents. It's a fact of life. So what is PATCO's point?

The U.S. airspace system has continued to operate at high levels for a variety reasons. The main reason it operates so well is that 50 percent of the controllers who

stayed at their posts were AFL-CIO members of PATCO. PATCO has been responsible in the main for the systems operating as it does, this much to the displeasure of my striking fellow union members. Second, the non-union controllers who stayed on have done an admirable job in a non-vindictive way though they were under enormous pressure before the strike. And supervisors, who many of us thought were over-the-hill, have filled in with stunning competency that would bewilder the strikers.

Fourth, military personnel have replaced many of the strikers. These people are certified by FAA and many work civilian traffic on a normal day-to-day basis anyway at joint-use facilities such as Yuma. Yuma Approach, an all-Marine control facility, works as much civilian traffic as military on some days, and according to pilots and we controllers, these Marine controllers are the pride of sector 10 at L.A. Center. They are that damn good! PATCO, however, looked at this option by the government as a one-way street to self-destruction of the air traffic system although 90 percent of them came to FAA directly out of military control facilities.

A fifth reason for the success of the system was it was overstaffed in the first place. Acres of FAA dead wood were rooted out of their hiding places, from safe computer cubbyholes where they dreamed up unnecessary programs to area offices where minute changes of procedures flowed like honey. These dead wood types were rounded up by the Reagan cowhands and forced to do the job they were originally hired to do: control airplanes, not desks. A sixth reason for success was that retired people were brought in to pull flight progress strips and deliver them to the sectors freeing highly qualified individuals to do the actual control work. Many senior citizen groups would be rightfully proud of these individuals for helping out. Some of the more recently retired people are working live traffic, and laid-off airline pilots have been hired to "run strips" and work the simulators as new controller trainees come aboard. A seventh and most significant reason is FAA's massive new control program that

began three years ago and which was fully implemented August 3, 1981. From a central location in Washington, major flows of U.S. air traffic were directed, leaving the tactical separation up to the individual sectors. Flow controllers at individual centers continue with extraordinary skill to perfect their act which was given a full green light during the first week of August. An eighth reason that FAA tailored staffing to the traffic of each individual facility. In large facilities, FAA tailored staffing so that overlapping crews with nothing to do are all but absent. With overtime being used (and that is now being reduced to a voluntary level at many facilities) you found a whole shift of extra people. A ninth reason why the system works is it is staffed primarily by the most experienced journeyman controllers available. Remember, PATCO's 12,000 strikers are composed of 35 percent developmentals, many who were not even checked-out on one handoff position. They were innocent pawns in PATCO's war plans. A tenth reason is morale. It has never been higher. It shows what can be done with a group of highly motivated and skilled people who have a purpose. PATCO claims we are scabs and we have no principles and the only reason we are here is for the paycheck. What did PATCO originally go on strike for in the first place? Baseball cards? Bad radio frequencies? If we are mercenaries, then — by their own public demands — the PATCO strikers are a mob of hypocritical thieves. We simply stayed on our jobs. We had no promises of big pay increases above what was originally offered PATCO back on August 3, 1981. We were not bribed into staying here by some pie-in-the-sky contract. We stayed here because, for many of us, this is the only job we know and love. Following some salt and pepper bearded demagogue onto the concrete was, for many of us, not our cup of tea. My job means too much to me after 13 years. Since the Reagan administration acted so swiftly, maybe too swiftly, the strikers were left to stew in their own juices. We have stayed despite knowing that the radical faction of PATCO has an "official hit list." If they ever return we suspect they will find ways to weed us out of our jobs. Though some airlines have used the excuse of the controller strike for layoffs, many were seasonal anyway and many have been on the drawing board for years. To blame every disruption to airline

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profitability on the controller strike is an unfair slap to the government and those working. This excuse may look good as a reason for a deduction on a Wall Street tax sheet but it bypasses the fact the entire airline industry has been suffering for the past few years from problems of credit for

new airliners and the geometric escalation of fuel prices that most lines have yet to settle down with. So, though passengers will get more ground delays, they are not sitting at 4000 feet over the Empire State Building for an hour trying to get into Kennedy while thousands of pounds of kerosene are needlessly burned in the process. Larger airliners are flying less often but with fuller loads. In the aircraft industry, the most secure and one of the highest paying jobs has been that of a controller at the busier facilities. By striking for even more on top of more, PATCO eliminated itself from the ball game despite massive warnings in personal interviews with their supervisors during the Spring of 1981, despite warnings from the Senate and Congress, despite being told by the choir boys exactly what to expect in terms of arrests and firings, despite caution from their own peers in the union, and finally despite the stern, unexpected ultimatum from the President of the United States on August 3, 1981. The AFL-CIO members of PATCO who stayed on their jobs are responsible for the air traffic system working today along with other non-union members and supervisors. This group is composed of about 98 percent highly-

seasoned journeyman controllers. Over one third who struck were developmentals. A good percentage of those who struck were journeymen who changed their minds within ten days of the strike and who would have gladly come back to work at almost any cost. The rest, well you can still see them once in a while on TV screaming and shouting. I have sympathy for these individuals. They have indeed suffered enough for their big mistakes, but bringing these people back must be done by the courts, not by FAA or by petitions to the President. The system is working and as each day goes by it works better. Bringing these harassed people back must be done slowly, and carefully . . . trickling them back at facilities where there are great shortages and in most cases offering them jobs outside the region they were fired from, under a three-year probationary status. These steps must be taken to insure the safety of the air space system and the integrity of those who stayed on. We, the working members of PATCO, want to remain a union, clean our own house up, pay our fines, help those permanently fired to subsist until they find employment elsewhere, impeach the idiots who caused this anarchy, and seek a trusteeship relationship with Lane Kirkland overseeing it until we get ourselves back together again. Busting our union is not the answer. Changing the leadership is. Changing the name to the United States Air Traffic Controller Association and expelling members who advocate strikes as a self-policing bylaw would be a healthy start.

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