

hough the 2016 presidential election is a year away, it's impossible to turn on the TV news or read a newspaper without being told of the horserace among candidates for both parties' nominations. There seems to be more campaign coverage than ever, yet there's little focus on the issues important to working people and to letter

carriers in particular. "You'll never hear a candidate in a debate or in a commercial say where they stand on the Postal Service and federal workers," NALC President Fredric Rolando said, "but that information is vital to the pay, benefits and jobs of our members. We will need to work with the next president, and now is the time to start thinking about who that should be."

Guided by a variety of factors, the NALC president and Executive Council will consider whether and when to make an endorsement among the various presidential candidates. These factors include the results of our *Postal Record* reader poll (see the postcard inserted in this issue), the findings of a scientific opinion poll of NALC members, and the conclusions of the Executive Council after a discussion of the quality of the candidates' responses to our questionnaire and of their electability, experience and relationship with the union.

As has been the standard practice for NALC, the endorsement will be based on issues affecting our jobs and our benefits and not on social or political issues that, while important, can be divisive to many Americans, including our members.

"Letter carriers perfectly reflect the political diversity of America," President Rolando said. "We come from all backgrounds, and we hold the whole range of political views, from the populist left to the Tea Party right. I see the diversity of opinion within our ranks wherever I travel, and I respect it. But the endorsement must be made based on the jobs, pay and benefits of letter carriers. Voters will make up their own minds on what's most important when they vote, but NALC's endorsement must be based on what is best for letter carrier issues." To help you and the entire NALC assess the presidential contenders, NALC mailed questionnaires focused on postal issues to all of the major candidates in August. In a cover letter accompanying the questionnaires, President Rolando said, "We are asking that all candidates for president who seek the endorsement of the NALC provide us with detailed responses to this questionnaire so that our members can have a full picture of each candidate."

Additionally, "Completion of this candidate questionnaire does not guarantee an endorsement by the NALC; the responses will be used to guide NALC's campaign activities, as well as our decisions about possible endorsement in both parties' primary elections and in the 2016 general election."

The union's Government Affairs Department made follow-up contacts with each campaign to confirm that the questionnaires had been received. Three candidates have answered the questionnaire in full: Hillary Clinton, Martin O'Malley and Bernie Sanders. Their answers appear on the following pages (presented in alphabetical order). Three candidates responded that they would not be answering the questions: Jeb Bush, Lincoln Chafee and John Kasich. Their responses are printed at the end of this layout. The campaigns of Ben Carson, Chris Christie, Ted Cruz, Carly Fiorina, Jim Gilmore, Lindsey Graham, Mike Huckabee, Bobby Jindal, George Pataki, Rand Paul, Marco Rubio, Rick Santorum, Donald Trump and Jim Webb have not responded so far. If any these candidates or future candidates respond in the weeks and months to come, their responses may be printed in a future issue of The Postal Record and/or posted to the NALC website.

"As we have decided in the past," President Rolando said, "we will not endorse any candidate who fails to respond to our questionnaire or whose answers do not address letter carrier issues in a satisfactory manner."

All NALC members are urged to complete and return the enclosed postcard indicating which candidate best represents the interests of letter carriers and their families.





Hillary Rodham Clinton Martin O'Malley

Responses from the candidates

1. Please specifically state your goals in running for office. What are your priorities?

Hillary Rodham Clinton

1. Americans have come back from tough economic times. Our economy and our country are in much better shape because families did whatever it took to make it work. Americans are starting to think about the future again. But we can all see that the deck is still stacked for those at the top. I'm running for President because everyday Americans and their families need a champion and I want to be that champion. I want to make being middle class mean something again. I'm going to take on four big fights in this campaign: (1) building an economy for tomorrow, instead of yesterday; (2) strengthening our families and communities; (3) fixing our broken political system; and (4) protecting our country.

While all of these fights are essential, the defining economic challenge of our time is raising incomes for hard-working Americans. I believe we need to address the three fundamental factors that have driven stagnant pay over recent decades. First, the deck is stacked against ordinary Americans. with an increasing share of income going to the top. We need to ensure workers share in rising productivity, raise the minimum wage, and make our tax code more progressive by closing loopholes that benefit hedge fund managers, CEOs, and corporations that shift jobs overseas, while cutting taxes for the middle class. We also need to defend the Federal Reserve against attempts to remove employment from its mandate. Second, we need to make investments that drive job creation, productivity, and growth. That includes investments in infrastructure that will put Americans back to work, investments in education to unlock the potential of every American, and investments in basic research to provide a solid foundation for the future. And finally, we need to make it much easier for every American to join and advance in the labor force by making quality child care more

Martin O'Malley

1. Our nation faces big challenges—from an economy that is severely out of balance, to a changing climate, to a criminal justice system in need of reform. With 15 years of executive experience, I have a record of getting things done in the face of immense challenges.

Right now, the most important thing we need to get done as a country is to restore the truth of the American dream: the idea that, when people work hard, they should be able to get ahead. I've never backed down from that fight. I fought to turn around a great American city crippled by drugs and violence. I fought to bring Maryland through the Great Recession even stronger than it was before. And, I've brought people together to make better choices, grounded in our progressive principles-to improve public schools, make college more affordable, raise wages, expand collective bargaining rights, strengthen our middle class, and create goodpaying jobs in growing and innovative industries like clean energy.

These are the better choices we should be making as a nation, to build an economy that works for everyone and a democracy where everyone's voice is heard.

With these priorities in mind, I have developed 15 goals that will serve as a guide, day in and day out, for an O'Malley Administration.

They are as follows:

- 1) Increase American families' median net worth by \$25,000 in 10 years.
- 2) Generate 100% of American electricity with renewable energy by 2050.
- 3) Cut the unemployment rate among young people in half within 3 years.
- 4) Reach full employment for American veterans by 2020.
- 5) Put 11 million New Americans on the pathway to citizenship through comprehensive immigration reform.
- Ensure that all higher education students have the option to graduate debt-free within 5 years.
- 7) Improve college and career

affordable, ensuring America is no longer the only developed nation without paid leave, and ensuring that workers are provided with fair schedules, fair wages and overtime pay. That's how we will create a full employment economy with a tight labor market that drives rising pay for workers, gives every worker pathways to good jobs, and ensures everyday Americans share in the rewards of their work. I will put forward detailed proposals on each of these fronts in the coming months.

And through all of this, we need to strengthen the ability of unions to organize and collectively bargain. Workers exercising their right to organize and bargain for higher wages and better conditions built the great American middle class. When more workers were in unions, more workers were in the middle class and their wages went up. And economists have said that the decline in union density is a key factor in the rise in income inequality. When workers have a voice on the job, we are all better off.

> readiness, and increase college completion rates by 25 percentage points within 10 years.

- 8) End childhood hunger in America by 2020.
- 9) Reform our criminal justice system to save and redeem lives.
- Cut deaths from gun violence homicides, suicides, and accidents in half by 2025.
- 11) Reduce deaths from drug overdoses by 25 percent by 2020.
- 12) Reduce infant mortality by 10 percent by 2020.
- Require banks to separate commercial and speculative banking within 5 years.
- 14) Restore America's competition and antitrust laws, directing the Justice Department to take action within one year in office.
- 15) Restore America's competition and antitrust laws, directing the Justice Department to take action within one year in office.

1. I am running for president because I believe that we need to create a political revolution in this country that is prepared to take on the billionaire class and create a government that represents all Americans, and not just corporate America and wealthy campaign donors.

This country faces more serious problems today than at any time since the Great Depression and, if you include the planetary crisis of climate change, it may well be that the challenges we face now are more dire than any time in our modern history.

In my view, the same old, same old politics as usual will not work.

The people of our country understand that—given the collapse of the American middle class and the grotesque level of income and wealth inequality we are experiencing—we do not need more establishment politics or establishment economics.

In other words, we need a movement that takes on the economic and political establishment, not one that is part of it.

We need a movement that will expand, not cut, the Postal Service by ending the disastrous pre-funding mandate and allowing post offices all over this country to offer innovative new products and services that the American people want and need.

We need a movement which will work with trade unions to end our disastrous trade policies, and that includes defeating the disastrous TPP.

We need a movement which says that every worker in America deserves a living wage, and that we will raise the minimum

2. Please provide any information (personal or professional) that demonstrates your commitment to the U.S. Postal Service and the men and women who are employed by USPS. Hillary Rodham Clinton Maintaining the most affordable and figining universal postal service in the

2. I value the contributions of the U.S. Postal Service and would take steps to maintain its long-term viability. The Postal Service has been a steady source of good jobs and solid benefits for middle class families. Just as important, Americans across the country rely on the professionalism and dependability of the Postal Service every day. You are everywhere in America and because of that, America is stronger. wage to \$15 an hour over the next few years; that we will provide pay equity to women workers and that we will end the international disgrace of being the only major country on earth that does not provide at least 12 weeks of family and medical leave, not to mention paid sick time and paid vacation time.

We need a movement that says that, when real unemployment is over 10 percent and youth unemployment is off the charts, we need to create and maintain at least 13 million decent paying jobs by investing \$1 trillion rebuilding our crumbling infrastructure.

We need a movement that says, in a highly competitive global economy, that everyone in this country who has the ability, the qualifications and the desire, will be able to get a college education regardless of the income of their families because we will make public colleges and universities tuition free—and we're going to pay for it through a tax on Wall Street speculation.

We need a movement that tells the Koch brothers and the billionaire class that they will not be able to continue buying candidates and elections and that we will overturn this disastrous Citizen's United Supreme Court decision and move toward public funding of elections.

We need a movement which understands that climate change is real, is caused by human activity and that we need to lead the world in transforming our energy system away from fossil fuels and into energy efficiency and sustainable energy.

We need a movement that, once and for all, will end institutional racism in our country and reform a very, very broken criminal justice system. We must not continue being the country in the world with more people in jail than any other disproportionately people of color. We must become the country in the world that invests in jobs and education, not in jails and incarceration.

And when we talk about bringing our country together, we cannot forget that there are 11 million people here who are undocumented. We must provide legal protections for them, we must pass comprehensive immigration reform and we must provide a path towards citizenship. And we must be clear that the racist and un-American idea that we are going to round up millions of people in the dead of night is unacceptable in this great country of ours.

We need a movement that tells corporate America and the wealthy that they will start paying their fair share of taxes.

We need a movement that tells Wall Street that when a bank is too big to fail, it is too big to exist. That we will reinstate Glass-Steagall and break up those huge banks which have a stranglehold over our economy. That we will create a financial system which provides affordable loans to small-and-medium sized businesses, and we will not maintain a financial system which is an island unto itself—designed to make huge profits for the few.

I voted against the war in Iraq, one of the worst foreign policy blunders in modern American history, because I did not believe George W. Bush, Dick Cheney and Don Rumsfeld. And I will stand with President Obama in preventing Iran from getting a nuclear bomb, and will do it in a way that prevents another war.

Maintaining the most affordable and efficient universal postal service in the world is essential to our future growth and competitiveness. That is why I cosponsored legislation in the Senate to protect city and rural letter carriers from having their work contracted out by USPS to private firms.

I also have a personal connection to the NALC, as I was honored to receive your endorsement and your support as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008. But my connection to the NALC extends beyond political endorsements to something more fundamental—a true partnership in defending and strengthening the labor movement in America. I know how hard you fight. The NALC championed an eight-hour workday, workers compensation laws, and fair pensions. These policies have strengthened families and lifted up working Americans. That is why I believe that when unions are



strong, America is strong. Labor unions helped build America's middle class, and organized labor remains critical to fulfilling

Martin O'Malley

2. The USPS provides a critical public good, particularly for families and business owners across the country who live or work where

Bernie Sanders

2. I have led the effort in the Senate in opposition to the Postal Service's disastrous plan that would have closed half of the mail processing plants, shut down 15,000 post offices, eliminated six day mail, moved to cluster boxes and curbside mail, and destroyed over 200,000 good paying jobs.

In 2011, I formed a coalition of more than two dozen Senators to oppose these horrendous cuts to the Postal Service. While we have not achieved everything we wanted, we have won some important victories. Six-day delivery is still the law of the land. Door-to-door delivery is still being provided to millions of Americans. While hours have been reduced at post offices throughout the country, something that I strongly opposed, we were able to stop the Postal Service from shutting down 15,000 post offices. While far too many mail processing plants have been closed, we have been able to keep about 100 of these plants open that would have otherwise been consolidated. And, in the process, we have saved tens of thousands of jobs.

I am proud to have worked with the letter carriers on the Postal Service Protection Act America's basic bargain: If you work hard and do your part, you should be able to get ahead and stay ahead. As President, I look

private shippers do not operate. As such, I oppose efforts to weaken or undermine the postal service.

I will always stand with America's letter carriers and postal workers. When the USPS

that I introduced in the Senate last Congress. This legislation would prevent the Postal Service from eliminating six-day delivery; reinstate overnight delivery standards for first class mail; stop the closure of mail processing plants and post offices; rescind the disastrous pre-funding mandate; and allow the Postal Service to offer innovative products and services to increase revenue.

As the Ranking Member of the Senate Budget Committee, I successfully passed an amendment this year by a vote of 85-12 that called on the Postal Service to reinstate overnight delivery standards and stop the closure of mail processing plants.

On August 26th, I wrote to the Postmaster General urging her to reinstate overnight delivery standards. In the letter, I wrote: "It is abundantly clear that the Postal Service's decision to shut down more than 140 mail processing plants a few years ago and to eliminate overnight delivery standards this year has been a disaster that is negatively impacting Americans all over this country. While I was encouraged that the Postal Service announced that it would delay closing even more mail processing plants forward to continuing our fight for labor unions, letter carriers, and the most efficient universal postal service in the world.

wanted to close the Easton Mail Processing Center in Maryland, I fought alongside workers to save over 100 secure, goodpaying jobs. I fought to save Easton and won. I will do the same as President.

this year, we must do a lot better than that."

Last year, I authored a letter with 50 other Senators, including 6 Republicans, urging the Postal Service to impose a moratorium on mail processing plant closures and to prevent the slowing down of mail delivery.

A few years ago, when one of the mail processing plants in my state of Vermont was on the chopping block, I held a town meeting with over 500 of my constituents to successfully convince the management of the Postal Service to keep this facility open and protect over 200 good paying jobs. Today, I am proud to say that mail processing plant in White River Junction is one of the most productive in the country.

Last year, I was honored to address the National Association of Letter Carriers convention in Philadelphia and to be recognized as an honorary letter carrier by President Rolando.

Enshrined in the Constitution, the Postal Service is one of the most important institutions in this country. It is the backbone behind the \$1 trillion mailing industry that employs some 8 million American workers. At a time when the middle class is collapsing, we must expand, not cutback on the Postal Service.

3. Have you met with NALC leaders or attended events with NALC local branches or NALC state associations? (Yes or No) If yes, please indicate which leaders/events (where and when):

Hillary Rodham Clinton

3. I have been honored to meet with NALC leaders and members throughout my career:

- 10/31/2008—Event at National Association of Letter Carriers Headquarters
- 7/21/2008—National Association of Letter Carriers Convention
- 4/30/2008—Indiana Standing Up for Jobs Town Hall Meeting; Sharon Patterson, President of NALC Local 1624 greeted
- 11/26/2007—Greet with New Hampshire Union Presidents; Wayne Alterisio, NALC attended
- 10/31/2007—Dinner with Labor Leaders Bill Young, President of NALC attended
- 10/8/2007—Remarks on Economic Prosperity; Bill Young, President of NALC greeted
- 9/12/2007—Meeting with NALC Executive Council
- 9/15/2005—Drop-By Reception for NALC

• 5/3/1994—Meet and Greet with NALC and other Labor Leaders

Martin O'Malley

3. We do not have past meetings on record, although I would welcome future opportunities to work with NALC leaders and local branches.

3. Yes. I am proud to have hosted several meetings and phone calls with President Rolando, and with all of my friends at the

Vermont Chapter of the National Association of Letter Carriers. Year after year I have had several meetings, with the Vermont letter carriers, including Kevin Donovan, Jim Posig, and many, many others. I was very proud to speak at the NALC convention in Philadelphia on July 25, 2014 and to be recognized as an honorary letter carrier. I look forward to continuing the close relationships I have with the letter carriers as president.

4. The Postal Accountability and Enhancement Act (PAEA), enacted in 2006, included a grossly unfair mandate for the Postal Service to "pre-fund" 75 years' worth of future retiree health benefits. As a result, USPS has been required to pay nearly \$5.6 billion annually over a 10-year period, a requirement that will cost even more after 2016. No other private company or government agency in America faces such a mandate. These annual payments have accounted for 86 percent of Postal Service losses since 2007. Please state whether you support or oppose the following ways to address this unfair mandate, and please indicate the rationale for your position: A Elimination the unique congressional mandate to pre-fund future rative health benefite. (Support or Oppose)

A. Eliminating the unique congressional mandate to pre-fund future retiree health benefits. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

4A. I am committed to working with the NALC. The Post Office needs relief. The requirement that the Post Office "pre-fund" employee retirement obligations has put severe fiscal strains

Martin O'Malley

4A. I strongly support eliminating the congressional mandate. I agree that it is outrageous; the mandate is a transparent effort by Congressional Republicans to undermine the Postal Service—which for generations was self-sustaining—and the unique public good it provides. Nor is there any rationale for

Bernie Sanders

4A. I strongly support.

The major reason why the Postal Service is suffering financially is because of a mandate signed into law in December of 2006, during a lame duck session of Congress which forces the Postal Service to pre-fund 75 years of future retiree health benefits over a 10-year period.

No other government agency or business

USPS at a time when it needs to be investing in its operations and its people. I am committed to devoting the time and staff resources necessary to work with the NALC to ensure we relieve the pre-funding mandate's unsustainable budgetary pressure on the Post Office's operations. This

the mandate's inflexible payment schedule, which has starved the Postal Service of its ability to invest in new technology or better customer service, and put vital services like six-day delivery at risk. As president I will urge Congress to end the mandate once and for all.

We should provide the USPS with more flexibility to provide services, not less, including postal banking. This would not

in America is burdened with this mandate which has cost the Postal Service about \$5.5 billion a year.

All of the so-called financial losses posted by the Postal Service since October 2012 are due to this pre-funding mandate.

In fact, excluding the pre-funding mandate, the Postal Service has actually made a profit of more than \$2 billion since the fall of 2012.

Further, before this pre-funding mandate was signed into law, the Postal Service was

issue is too important to the future of the USPS to simply offer empty rhetoric. We need real legislative solutions. As president, I will work with you to help strengthen the financial footing of the Post Office to ensure it continues to thrive in the 21st century.

only strengthen the postal service, it would provide greater financial security to the 68 million Americans who are unbanked or have limited access to financial services. And any reform proposal should address major drivers of the postal service's financial crisis, chief among them the Congressional mandate that the service prefund 75 years' worth of retiree health benefits over just 10 years.

profitable. From 2003 through 2006, the Postal Service made a combined profit of more than \$9 billion.

I strongly believe this pre-funding mandate is a poison pill that is bleeding the Postal Service to death. As president, I will end the pre-funding mandate and allow the Postal Service to thrive and prosper into the future. I have introduced legislation to do just that. As president, I will work to sign that legislation into law.

B. Fully integrating postal employee health insurance coverage (under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program, or FEHBP) with Medicare Parts A, B and D to decrease the unfunded liability. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

B. I support.

I strongly support strengthening Medicare and health coverage in retirement for Americans who have worked hard throughout their lives—especially for postal workers who have served the public so faithfully during their career. Integration could help strengthen coverage for workers, and also improve the finances of the USPS—both goals that that I support.

Martin O'Malley

B. I support integrating postal employee health insurance coverage with Medicare Parts A, B, and D, because doing so would largely resolve the prefunding requirement while also reducing insurance rates for letter carriers. While I would prefer to eliminate the mandate outright, I would support the expanded use of Medicare if this could be a consensus approach, and if the Postal Service and NALC believed the final legislation to be in the best interest of letter carriers and other postal workers.



B. I support. I was proud to work with Senator Tester, the NALC and all of the stakeholders

on this commonsense proposal. I agree with President Rolando that this change to a postalonly system fully integrated with Medicare would be a good way to vastly improve the

financial condition of the postal service without the need to cut vital services. In addition, it would also reduce healthcare and prescription drug costs for retirees.

C. Requiring the Office of Personnel and Management (OPM) to invest the Postal Service Retiree Health Benefits Fund (PSRHBF) in private stocks and bonds to more closely align it with private-sector best practice. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

C. I would be open to exploring the option of allowing or requiring PSRHBF investment in

Martin O'Malley

C. I support requiring OPM to diversify the benefits fund investments. It is unreasonable

Bernie Sanders

C. I support.

While I would support this proposal, as President I would first fight to eliminate the pre-funding mandate once and for all.

More importantly, in my opinion, is

private stocks and bonds.

As President, my goal will be to ensure that every public employee can retire with dignity. I will work side by side with

and unproductive to invest the benefits fund solely in low-yield Treasury securities. Instead, I would support allowing the fund to be held by the USPS and invested in a

the need for the Postal Service to recoup the overpayments it has made to the Civil Service Retirement System (CSRS). According to studies commissioned by the Postal Regulatory Commission and the USPS Inspector General, the Postal Service overpaid CSRS by between stakeholders on this issue and have already begun studying it with my staff. I am committed to working with the NALC.

diversified portfolio; or granting the fund permission to be invested in index funds through the Thrift Savings Plan.

\$50 and \$75 billion. Because of these overpayments, USPS has been forced to subsidize retirement accounts for the entire Federal government. This is simply not fair. As President, I would support returning these overpayments to the Postal Service.

5. The Postal Service serves 152 million business and residential customers six days a week—and sometimes seven days a week—using its affordable, universal service network. Please indicate whether you support or oppose the following policies, and please provide your rationale:

A. Maintaining six-day mail delivery to every American household and business. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

5A. I support.

The future of letter and parcel delivery is to provide service that is as fast and ubiquitous as possible. To limit delivery would run counter to this vision. We should not stray from the vision of a universal network that

Martin O'Malley

5A. I support maintaining six-day mail delivery. Eliminating six-day delivery would

Bernie Sanders

5A. I strongly support

The beauty of the Postal Service is that it provides universal service six days a week to every corner of America, no matter how small or how remote. Whether you are a low-income elderly woman living at the end of a dirt road in a rural area or a wealthy CEO has served our country well for 200 years. Among those who would be most affected by eliminating Saturday delivery are residents of rural communities, the elderly, and those who need medicines or other goods on weekends. Small businesses too—which are the engines of America's economy—would be deeply affected. Eliminating Saturday de-

negatively impact rural communities and small businesses in particular, causing costly and extended delays that make it more difficult to carry out basic business

living on Park Avenue, you get your mail six days a week. And the American people pay for this service at a cost far less than anywhere else in the industrialized world.

I am proud to have authored legislation to prohibit the Postal Service from eliminating six day delivery. In my view, the Postal Service cannot be saved by ending one of its major competitive advantages. Cutting livery would also pose additional costs on all those who, as a result, would be compelled to contract with more expensive carriers. There is no doubt that the Postal Service faces budgetary challenges, but we cannot address these challenges at the expense of our most vulnerable citizens or at the expense of the quality of USPS service.

functions such as paying bills or receiving income. Moreover, ending six-day delivery would hurt jobs, raise prices, and result in few savings.

six-day delivery is not a viable plan for the future. It will lead to a death spiral that will harm rural America while doing nothing to improve the financial condition of the Postal Service. Providing fewer services and less quality will cause more customers to seek other options. Rural Americans, businesses, senior citizens and veterans will be hurt by ending Saturday mail. B. Continuing door delivery service to the 35 million residential and business addresses that currently receive such service, to ensure that packages, letters, bills and medications are delivered straight to the door of these customers. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

B. I support.

Door-to-door delivery is a cornerstone of the American postal system. It is part of a unique universal delivery network that is

Martin O'Malley

B. I support continuing door delivery service to

Bernie Sanders

B. I support

In the Senate, I was proud to support the Schumer amendment in 2011 to protect

essential to residents and small businesses across the country. Grouped cluster mailboxes would not just mean fewer carriers—like the proposed elimination of Saturday delivery, their use would also disproportionately affect residents of rural communities, the elderly

existing customers. Door delivery is a hallmark of the USPS and a vital service that customers love. Losing it would hugely inconvenience

door delivery service. As a Senator from Vermont, I understand how important this service is particularly to senior citizens and persons with disabilities in the freezing cold and snow. Further, ending door delivery and disabled, and those who need medicines or other goods. Moreover, the modern emphasis on package delivery makes cluster boxes less desirable—packages often simply cannot fit inside them. Service cuts should never be made to a system that works.

residents and businesses across the country, while harming the elderly and sick.

would not only be a bad thing for businesses that depend on this service, it would also cause the Postal Service to lose revenue. If businesses lose this convenience, many of them will seek other alternatives.

C. Restoring the Postal Service's overnight delivery standard for local mail, a standard that was eliminated for all local mail in January 2015. (Support or Oppose)

Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

C. I support. For any network to remain valuable it must be fast and efficient—indeed, faster

Martin O'Malley

C. I support restoring the overnight

Bernie Sanders

C. I strongly support

The Postal Service Protection Act that I authored would reinstate strong overnight delivery standards for first class mail. Last

and more efficient than other competing networks. When efficiency is diminished, the resulting long-term reduction in overall network value will overshadow a short-term reduction in overhead costs. To remain

delivery standard. Restoring the overnight delivery standard would strengthen the competitiveness of the postal service by

spring, I offered an amendment to the Budget Resolution calling on the Postal Service to reinstate overnight delivery standards that passed the Senate by a vote of 85-12.

Last month, I wrote to the Postmaster General urging her to reinstate overnight viable, the Postal Service must preserve its high quality of services. That means local overnight delivery service should be returned to pre-2015 levels. We will work with all stakeholders to ensure that this happens.

improving the quality of their product and attracting new business.

delivery standards. This is what I wrote: "At a time when the Postal Service is competing with the instantaneous communications of e-mail and high-speed internet services, we should be putting in place policies to speed up the delivery of mail, not slow it down."

D. Maintaining the Postal Service's limited and regulated public-service monopoly on the delivery of letter mail, which allows for universal service at affordable postage rates, including to rural customers and customers in low-income urban areas that most likely would not be served universally in a deregulated postal market. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

D. I support.

I do not believe that we should be contracting, outsourcing, or privatizing work that is inherently governmental in nature, including letter delivery services, school services, and state and local government services. In the Senate, I cosponsored legislation to protect city and rural letter carriers from having their work contracted out by the U.S. Postal Service to private firms.

A major reason why the Postal Service is so valuable and important is that it serves its entire national network in fulfillment of its public-service mission. This network must be universal and must ensure high quality service to rural areas and lowincome urban areas. In a privatized market, delivery providers would cherry-pick the most profitable locations, leaving many Americans un-served. The Postal Service network should be universal and available to all Americans regardless of their zip code or income. As President, I will work to maintain the Postal Service's limited and regulated public-service monopoly on the delivery of letter mail—and to strengthen the Postal Service as a source of good jobs with good benefits.



D. I support maintaining the postal

Bernie Sanders

D. I strongly support

The Postal Service is one of our most popular and important government agencies. It provides universal service six days a week to every corner of America, no matter how small or how remote. It supports millions of jobs in virtually every other sector of our economy. It provides decent-paying union service's role in the delivery of letter mail. I am committed to protecting the Private Express Statutes and ensuring

jobs to some 500,000 Americans, and it is the largest employer of veterans.

Yet, the Postal Service is under constant and vicious attack. Why is that? The answer is simple. There are very powerful and wealthy special interests who want to privatize or dismember virtually every function that government now performs, whether it is Social Security, Medicare, public education or the Postal Service. affordable, reliable postal service to all customers.

They see an opportunity for Wall Street and corporate America to make billions in profits out of these services, and couldn't care less how privatization or a degradation of services affects ordinary Americans.

For over 230 years, and enshrined in our constitution, the Postal Service has played an enormously important role for the people of our country and for our entire economy.

E. Maintaining the Postal Service's exclusive access to household/business mailboxes, to secure the privacy and sanctity of the mail. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

people. First, access restrictions exist as a

Hillary Rodham Clinton

E. I support the Postal Service's exclusive access to Americans' mailboxes. USPS has a unique and vital responsibility to deliver mail to every home in America at affordable prices, and not just to deliver mail to the most profitable addresses. Ensuring exclusive access to mailboxes reflects this reality and provides important benefits to the American

safety measure: many mailboxes are slots that drop directly into people's homes or small businesses. Second, exclusive mailbox access also makes universal delivery possible. Without it, private delivery services would strip profitable types of mail delivery away from the Postal Service, leaving USPS stuck delivering less profitable types of mail to less profitable areas.

Martin O'Malley

E. I support maintaining exclusive access to mailboxes, which will continue to ensure the efficient and secure delivery of mail at affordable rates.

Bernie Sanders

E. I strongly support.

In my view, it makes absolutely no sense to give companies access to the private

mailboxes of the American people.

The Postal Service has exclusive access to mailboxes for a good reason. It is required to provide universal service to every home and business in America six days a week. According to the RAND Corporation, "relaxing the Mailbox Rule will have a negative effect on public safety and mail security," because it would increase the risk of for mail theft, identity theft, and explosive attacks. We cannot allow that to happen.

6. There are currently six vacancies on the nine-member Postal Service Board of Governors—the agency's board of directors—leaving the board without a working quorum. Two more vacancies will occur in December. Appointments have been driven by political factors instead of business factors and candidates' qualifications, and they have subsequently been blocked by Senate "holds." If elected, will you:

A. Seek to appoint board members who are committed to the public-service mission of the Postal Service, based on their qualifications and free of partisan considerations? (Yes or No)

B. Seek to appoint board members who possess a proven track record of promoting business growth and innovation? (Yes or No)

C. Seek to appoint board members who possess a proven track record of working well with unionized employees? (Yes or No)

Hillary Rodham Clinton

6. This is an incredibly important responsibility. Appointing members to the Board of Governors and to the Postal Regulatory Commission is perhaps the most direct way the President can implement postal policy, as well as other policies that affect or involve the Postal Service. As President, I will appoint members who are both highly qualified and passionately committed to lead a universal and sustainable Postal Service. I will appoint members who

bring expertise on relevant concerns such as technological developments, rural services, and consumer financial protection. I can promise that it will be a priority for me to appoint people on the Board who will pursue my presidential agenda, including the issues discussed in this questionnaire.

A. Yes.

B. Yes.

C. Yes.

Martin O'Malley

6A. Yes. B. Yes.

C. Yes.

Bernie Sanders

6A. Yes

B. Yes

C. Yes

7. With its unmatched networks and infrastructure, and its ability to reach every residential and commercial address in the U.S. at least six days a week, the USPS is well positioned to explore new ways of responding to the evolving needs of the country's households and businesses. Please indicate your level of support in the following areas, with regard to the services and products that could be offered by the Postal Service:

A. Allowing registered voters to receive and cast their ballots through the mail (i.e., vote by mail). (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

7A. I support.

We should be doing everything we can to make it easier, not harder, to vote. Voting by mail is a critical and safe way to increase

Martin O'Malley

7A. Yes. Expanding vote-bymail would strengthen the democratic process, increasing political participation and giving more hardworking citizens the opportunity to make their voices heard.

access to the ballot box—particularly for the elderly and disabled. During this campaign I have also called for setting a standard across the country of at least 20 days of early inperson voting, including opportunities for weekend and evening voting. And I believe

we should go even further to strengthen voting rights by establishing universal, automatic voter registration so that everyone is automatically registered to vote when they turn 18—unless they actively choose to opt out

Bernie Sanders

7A. I strongly support allowing registered voters to receive and cast their ballots through

the mail. In my view, we need to make it easier, not harder, to vote. This will also help to strengthen the Postal Service.

B. The shipping of beer, wine and spirits through the mail (which is currently prohibited). (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

B. I support.

The ban on shipping beer, wine, and spirits is an antiquated policy left over from the Prohibition era. Modernizing postal policy to allow such deliveries would expand Postal Service revenue while also making shipping more affordable for small wineries, breweries, and distilleries.

Martin O'Malley

B. Yes. Allowing wine, beer, and spirits to be shipped through the mail will improve the competitiveness of the USPS and generate millions in additional revenue each year.

Bernie Sanders

B. I strongly support the shipping of beer, wine and spirits through the mail. Not only would this be popular with the American people and good for microbreweries in my state and across the country, it would also generate new revenue for the Postal Service.

C. Serving the unmet needs of 68 million Americans in rural and low-income urban communities whom the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) says are "un-banked" or "under-banked" and therefore lack access to affordable financial services. (Support or Oppose)

Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

C. I support.

I am disturbed that many of the largest banks have shunned communities across America. Today, more than 1 in 4 Americans live outside or on the fringes of the traditional financial system. Without access safe, affordable, and secure financial products, too many hard-working Americans are fork-

Martin O'Malley

C. Yes. Postal banking would not only strengthen the postal service, but also

ing over their hard-earned wages to financial services providers operating in the shadows. These Americans pay nearly 10 percent of their annual income on alternative financial services and fees.

The Post Office is already doing good work to help Americans access affordable financial products in underserved areas. According to the Inspector General of the Postal Service, post offices in rural ZIP

provide greater financial security to the 68 million Americans who are unbanked or have limited access to financial services. The Postal Service already has a nationwide Codes sell 27 percent more money orders per capita than urban locations. Post Offices already provide underserved consumers access to remittance services, host ATMs, and partner with financial services providers to sell prepaid cards. I am very interested in seeing how the Post Office can build off of these partnerships, particularly with community banks and credit unions that serve a neighboring community.

network in place that could provide basic but vital financial services to underserved or rural areas. Enacting postal banking should be a pillar of any wealth building agenda.



C. I strongly support.

In my view, the Postal Service must adjust to the digital age and it must develop a very different business model than it currently has. The Postal Service Inspector General has found that almost \$9 billion a year could be generated by providing affordable financial services to tens of millions of Americans who desperately need it.

At a time when more than 68 million lower-

income Americans have no bank accounts or are forced to rely on rip-off check-cashing storefronts and payday lenders, these kinds of financial services would be of huge social benefit. I introduced legislation last Congress that would allow the Postal Service to do this.

8. The NALC is the exclusive bargaining representative for 204,000 city letter carriers; more than 92 percent of these workers have voluntarily chosen to join our union. If elected, will you support the right of the employees of the Postal Service to maintain their existing rights to organize and collectively bargain with USPS over wages and benefits? (Yes or No) Additional comments:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

8. I support.

A steady string of states, bankrolled by right-wing interests, have passed so-called "Right to Work" laws in recent years. Far from guaranteeing employment or expanding workers' rights, these laws depress wages and benefits, undercut organized labor, and further concentrate power in the hands of corporations and their allies—and in under-

Bernie Sanders

8. Yes

Of course. I will always support the fundamental right of employees to collectively bargain for better wages and benefits. We have got to make it easier, not harder, for workers to join unions. And, the last thing we should do is to take away the rights workers have already won. mining unions, they stifle all workers' voices.

Right-wing attacks on the labor movement are sadly nothing new. I have been disturbed to see repeated state-level attacks on prevailing wage, union dues deduction, binding arbitration, and collective bargaining emerge as part of a wholesale attack on working families. As President I will stand up against anti-union leaders who are determined to make workers scapegoats in times of economic hardship and, ultimately, to destroy the labor movement.

In my view, the most significant reason that the middle class is disappearing is that the rights of workers to join together and collectively bargain for better wages, benefits, and working conditions have been severely undermined.

We have got to turn that around. We can no longer tolerate bosses who fire workers for exercising their constitutional right to form a union. to continue fighting to strengthen the postal service, protect and expand the rights of letter carriers, and ensure access to quality

benefits for all of your members.

8. Yes. And I applaud and encourage NALC

Martin O'Malley

We can no longer tolerate bosses who threaten to go to China if their workers vote in favor of a union.

We can no longer tolerate bosses and managers who intimidate or threaten prounion workers.

And we can no longer tolerate bosses who refuse to negotiate a first contract with workers who have voted to join unions.

9. Since 2011, federal and postal employees have suffered more than \$159 billion in cuts to pay and benefits. These workers have been singled out to reduce the deficit and to offset other unrelated spending priorities.

A. Will you oppose proposals that threaten the pensions and health benefits of this country's federal and postal employees? (Yes or No) Additional comments:

B. Will you support legislation to restore fairness for federal employees hired after 2012, who must make—for the same pension benefits higher bi-weekly contributions than those who were hired before them (either 3.1 percent or 4.4 percent, versus 0.8 percent)? (Yes or No) Additional comments:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

9A. Yes.

We owe it to our seniors and our aging workers to ensure that they can retire in dignity. I believe in the importance of meeting our commitments to retired public employees, and that it is critical that we continue to protect defined benefit plans that provide secure retirement benefits for workers. That's why in the Senate I supported legislation, like the Pension Protection Act. I understand the added value of fully funded pension systems that can relieve some of the burden on Social Security funds.

B. I am committed to working with the NALC.

Federal employees have served as a scapegoat for too long. Our federal workforce keeps our country safe, ensures our planes and trains run on time, and delivers the mail that connects our communities and allows our businesses to thrive. We need to do more to increase the number of highly qualified federal employees, not motivate them to leave for the private sector. Yet, in the past several years our federal workers have faced across-the-board pay freezes, unpaid furloughs, and the elimination of benefits. As President, I will fight with the NALC—and all federal workers—to ensure that the federal budget is not balanced on the backs of the employees that make the federal government run.

Martin O'Malley 9A. Yes. B. Yes.

9A. Yes

For far too long, the extreme right wing has demonized, belittled, and sought to destroy the federal and postal workforce. That is wrong, that is unconscionable, and that has got to change.

The fact of the matter is that no other worker has been asked to sacrifice more on the altar of deficit reduction than our federal and postal workers.

For three long years, federal workers' wages were frozen (2011-2013), and today wages are still not even close to keeping up with inflation.

Two years ago, 750,000 federal workers had their pay cut by a combined \$1 billion when the Republicans shut down the federal government.

And arbitrary budget cuts are causing

enormous pain not just to federal workers, but to the elderly, the children, the sick, and the most vulnerable people in this country.

The time has come to fairly compensate public servants for the enormously important work that they do each and every day. And, that includes protecting the pensions and healthcare benefits of federal and postal workers.

B. Yes

It is unacceptable that federal workers hired since 2013 are paying substantially more for their retirement benefits than they should. This shortsighted policy is undermining the recruitment of the new federal workers that we need to protect and serve the public.

I understand that the \$18.2 trillion national debt is a serious problem that must be addressed. But, this problem was not caused by federal workers.

Our national debt has gone up because we went to war in Iraq and Afghanistan, but the Republicans "forgot" to pay for those wars which will add up to \$6 trillion to the national debt by the time we take care of the last veteran who served in those wars.

Our national debt has gone up because the Republicans passed over \$1 trillion in tax breaks to the wealthiest Americans and largest corporations, but "forgot" to pay for those tax cuts.

Our national debt went up because the Republicans passed an expensive Medicare prescription drug benefit written by the insurance companies, but forgot to pay for that.

And because of deregulation, the greed recklessness, and illegal behavior on Wall Street, drove us into the worst economic recession since the Great Depression.

10. Postal employees are covered by, and pay taxes to fund, the Medicare program. Please indicate your level of support for the following proposals to stabilize or strengthen Medicare:

A. Converting Medicare into a voucher-based program for private insurance (i.e., a premium support system). (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

10A. I oppose.

I agree with President Obama that converting Medicare to a voucher system would "end Medicare as we know it." So I will continue to oppose Republican efforts that seek to privatize or gut Medicare.

Converting Medicare to a voucher system would be bad for seniors and bad for America. As President, I will make sure that all Medicare beneficiaries receive the assistance they need and deserve.

Martin O'Malley

10A. I strongly oppose efforts to privatize Medicare. This is a dangerous idea that would increase costs and deliver less and lower quality care to America's seniors.

B. Raising the eligibility age for Medicare benefits. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

B. I oppose.

As President, I will make sure that all Medicare beneficiaries receive the assistance they need and deserve—and that includes opposing any effort to raise the eligibility age.

Martin O'Malley

B. I strongly oppose efforts to raise the eligibility age for Medicare. Doing so would shift costs for health care to seniors and employers, while increasing health spending overall—by twice as much as the net federal savings. Many older Americans would end up uninsured.

Bernie Sanders

10A. Oppose

We must never, ever end Medicare as we know it, as the Republican Party wants to do, by turning it into an insufficiently funded voucher program. We must never, ever force seniors to purchase health insurance from private companies whose main concern is making billions of dollars in profits. We must never, ever go back to the days when older Americans could not get the health care they need because they couldn't afford it. We must never, ever go back to the days when seniors risked death or financial ruin if they became seriously ill. Today, thanks to Medicare, 41 million seniors have health insurance coverage, the senior poverty rate has plummeted, and seniors are living healthier, longer lives. We must expand, not cut, Medicare.

Bernie Sanders

B. Oppose. We must never, ever raise the Medicare eligibility age from 65 to 67 or 70.

Instead of raising the Medicare eligibility age, instead of cutting Medicare, instead of privatizing Medicare, instead of limiting the number of Americans who qualify for Medicare, we must join every other major nation on earth in recognizing that health care is a right, not a privilege and that that right should be guaranteed to all, regardless of gender, income, age, or race.



C. Raising the payroll tax for Medicare benefits. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

C. As President, I will fight to protect and strengthen Medicare—just as I did in the Sen-

Martin O'Malley

C. Medicare is not "bankrupt" as some Republicans claim. In fact, the Affordable Care Act has significantly strengthened Medicare. To ensure Medicare's long-term strength as our population ages, we must take comprehensive action to reduce healthcare costs, while improving outcomes

Bernie Sanders

C. Today, the United States pays far more per capita for healthcare than any country on earth. That is because the U.S. does not have a national healthcare program that guarantees healthcare as a right. I ate in supporting the Meeting Our Responsibility to Medicare Beneficiaries Act of 2005 and the Medicare Quality Enhancement Act of 2007. In part, protecting Medicare requires

and the quality of care.

One underappreciated aspect of the Affordable Care Act is its support for innovative models of health care delivery in payment. In Maryland, we adopted a creative approach with our unique hospital rate setting commission: We obtained approval to put our hospitals on global budgets covering all payers, creating a strong incentive to reduce

would change that by enacting a Medicare for All single-payer healthcare program. Such a plan has been estimated to save Americans \$5 trillion over a 10 year period on healthcare expenses. It would accomplish these savings by eliminating payments to health insurance companies that put that we preserve its long-term sustainability. But I will fully reject any attempt to preserve Medicare's sustainability on the backs of working Americans. That is a non-starter.

preventable admissions and keep patients and communities healthy. We just learned that Maryland hospitals generated more than \$100 million in Medicare savings during the first year of this system, making it a national model for reducing costs while improving care. I will soon put forward a comprehensive platform for improving the value of Medicare and adopting comprehensive payment reform.

profits before people. Instead of paying co-payments, deductibles, and premiums to health insurance companies, Americans would be paying into this system through a progressive payroll tax that is based on the ability to pay.

D. Reducing the cost of Medicare by giving the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) the right to negotiate drug prices with pharmaceutical companies the way the Veterans Administration (VA) does. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

D. I support.

We need to address the skyrocketing cost of prescription drugs. And, as I've said for years, we need to allow Medicare to negotiate for lower drug prices and pass those savings onto Medicare beneficiaries. We could save billions of dollars per

Martin O'Malley

D. This is a proposal I am exploring, alongside other strategies for reducing skyrocketing prescription drug costs. The problem with

Bernie Sanders

D. Support

I recently introduced the Prescription Drug Affordability Act of 2015 that instructs the Secretary of Health and Human year for seniors and taxpayers. That's why I have announced a plan to hold the pharmaceutical industry accountable and to achieve lower drug costs for Americans. As President, I will stop direct-toconsumer advertising subsidies, require drug companies to invest in research, cap monthly and annual out-of-pocket costs for prescription drugs, ensure American

unaffordable drug prices is that patients are losing access to critical. life-saving therapies. Today, we're stuck in a vicious cycle: Drug companies charge astronomical prices for their products, and insurance companies

Services to negotiate drug prices with pharmaceutical companies to bring down costs for Medicare drug benefits. According to a 2013 report by the Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR), the federal government could save as much as \$541 consumers are getting value for their drugs, and allow Medicare to negotiate to lower drug prices. This isn't a new fight for me—in the Senate, I cosponsored legislation, including the Medicare Prescription Drug Gap Reduction Act and the Meeting Our Responsibility to Medicare Beneficiaries Act, which would have finally allowed Medicare to negotiate fair prices.

respond by limiting access in order to control costs. The patient loses both ways. We need to break the cycle, and I will be putting forward a plan to do so as part of my comprehensive health care proposal.

billion over ten years by negotiating for prices similar to those paid in other major industrialized countries. We must use our buying power to get better deals for the American people, just like other countries throughout the world do.

E. Making the Medicare program available as a "public option" to Americans purchasing health insurance through the health care exchanges established by the Affordable Care Act. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Families who no longer have to face the threat

of bankruptcy because of catastrophic health

care costs. Parents who now have health care

when only their children were covered before.

Women can no longer be charged higher rates

preexisting conditions can no longer be denied

solely because of their gender. People with

coverage. Americans can make the leap of

option would create healthy competition

were to administer the plan, afford every

American the choice to buy into a system

profits. We must adopt a Medicare-for-All, single

We must reward doctors based on the health

of their patients, not the number of procedures

We must have a health care system that's

margins, but to the people whose lives depend

And we must have a health care system that

accountable-not to stockholders and profit

for private insurers and, if Medicare

payer health care system.

they perform.

on it.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

E. Thanks to the Affordable Care Act, more than 16 million Americans have gained new coverage. The reduction in the uninsured rate across the country has been staggering, down to less than 12 percent for adults. These statistics translate into real change in people's lives.

Martin O'Malley

E. I support making Medicare available as a public option across the exchanges. A public

Bernie Sanders

E. Support

I support a Medicare for All single-payer healthcare plan to make healthcare a right, not a privilege, to all Americans.

It is unacceptable that the U.S. spends far more per capita on health care than any other advanced nation in the world.

I have long believed the United States must move to a system focused on health rather than

works for the average American, not just a small 11. Postal employees are covered by, and pay taxes to fund, Social Security. Please indicate your level of support for the following pro-

posals to stabilize, strengthen or change Social Security:

A. Converting Social Security to individual investment accounts for workers under age 55. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

11A. | oppose.

Social Security is an American success story. That is why I've fought to defend Social Security

Martin O'Malley

11A. I strongly oppose privatizing Social Security. I view proposals to privatize Social

Bernie Sanders

11A. Oppose. Social Security is the most successful social program in American history. It shouldn't be privatized; its benefits shouldn't be cut; and the retirement age shouldn't be raised.

Since it was established, Social Security has paid every nickel it owed to every eligible American, in good times and bad. As corporations over the last 30 years destroyed the retirement dreams of millions of older

for years, including when the Bush Administration tried to privatize it. Social Security represents a sacred commitment: a commitment that workers in America should be able to retire with dignity and that, if a worker suffers a disability or

Security for what they are—a massive benefits cut that will gut Social Security, add to the federal debt, and leave future generations without the critical protections

workers by eliminating defined-benefit pension plans, Social Security was there paying full benefits. When Wall Street greed and recklessness caused working people to lose billions in retirement savings, Social Security was there paying full benefits.

Why has there been such a concerted effort on the right to privatize Social Security, raise the retirement age or cut benefits? First, Wall Street stands to make billions in profits if workers are forced to go to private financial establishments for their retirement accounts.

changing jobs or starting a business without worrying about whether they will be able to buy insurance. This is a real accomplishment we should be proud of. As with any piece of major legislation, we can update and strengthen the law to provide greater choice and affordability. I look forward to working with the NALC on this critical issue.

that beneficiaries overwhelmingly like. But I would not support a feeforservice public option, which would not promote the kind of change that the health care system needs.

group of very powerful CEOs and lobbyists.

Instead of spending federal health care dollars on the multi-million dollar salaries of insurance company CEOs, it is time to use this money to guarantee health care to every man, woman and child in this country.

I believe all Americans deserve what seniors and the disabled have benefited from for the past 50 years: a streamlined health care system that can run smoothly, more efficiently and help people live healthy, productive lives.

dies, his or her family will be given the support that they deserve. Privatizing Social Security would undermine that commitment, and I will continue to strongly oppose plans that would privatize any part of Social Security.

Social Security has provided for decades. I have committed to fight against efforts to privatize Social Security as part of my comprehensive retirement security plan.

Second, as the Republican Party has moved far to the right and become more anti-government, there are more and more Republicans who simply do not believe government has a responsibility to provide retirement benefits to the elderly, or to help those with disabilities.

Needless to say, I strongly disagree with both of those propositions. In my view, at a time when the average Social Security benefit is just \$1,328 a month, our job is not to cut Social Security. Our job is to expand Social Security so that every American can retire in dignity.



B. Raising the eligibility age for Social Security benefits. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

B. I oppose. We need to reject years of Republican myth-making that claims we cannot afford Social Security and that the only solution must therefore be to cut benefits. I would oppose any plan that tries

Martin O'Malley

B. I oppose raising the retirement age. I believe raising the eligibility age is a back-door way

Bernie Sanders

B. Oppose

Today, the overwhelming majority of the American people not only oppose cutting Social Security, they support expanding Social Security by scrapping the cap on taxable income.

According to a recent NBC/Wall Street Journal poll, by a 3-1 margin, the American people want us to expand Social Security benefits-which is exactly what we need to do.

C. Lowering the eligibility age for Social Security benefits. (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

C. While we keep defending Social Security from attacks, we also need to enhance it to meet new realities. I'm especially focused on the fact

Martin O'Malley

C. I have not called for lowering the eligibility age for Social Security benefits. However, I have called for measures to expand Social Security so that it better serves women and low-wage workers. In addition to the proposals

Bernie Sanders

income. (Support or Oppose)

D. I believe that the highest income

Explain why:

C. This makes a lot more sense than raising the retirement age.

Today, over half of older workers between

Hillary Rodham Clinton

to close Social Security's shortfall on the backs of the middle class, whether in terms of middle-class tax increases or benefit cuts, accounting gimmicks like the chained CPI, or proposals to privatize Social Security.

As for raising the retirement age, it's important to remember that even as Americans are

to cut benefits for lower-income workers. It harms these workers in two ways: by forcing them to delay retirement in jobs that are often physically difficult, and by reducing lifetime

Yet, despite what the American people want, many Republicans have proposed raising the retirement age to 68 or 70 and slashing Social Security benefits.

Honestly, I have a hard time understanding what world these Republicans and their billionaire backers live in.

In my view, it would be a disaster to cut Social Security benefits by raising the retirement age.

It is unacceptable to ask letter carriers, construction workers, truck drivers, nurses

that we need to improve how Social Security works for women. For instance, the poverty rate among widowed and divorced women who are 65 years or older is nearly 70 percent higher than for the elderly population as a whole. I want

outlined below. I support increasing the special minimum social security benefit to 125 percent of the poverty line for Americans who have worked at least 30 years. This will help ensure that Social Security benefits are sufficient to keep retirees out of poverty. I will also reform Social Security to support, rather than penalize,

the ages of 55-64 have no retirement savings at all.

Today, 20 percent of seniors are trying to live on an average income of less than \$8,300 a year.

D. Raising the payroll tax for Social Security benefits, adjusting the wage cap on FICA taxes, or applying FICA taxes to non-wage

Social Security system. Social Security is an American success story-one that we must protect and enhance for future generations. As president, that is exactly what I will do.

living longer, work hasn't grown any easier for many Americans. If you're letter carrier, you deserve to be able to retire with dignity and not to work longer than you're physically able. Social Security should be designed to give all workers dignity in their retirement. That is why I'll oppose raising the retirement age.

payouts compared to wealthier retirees, who live five years longer on average than their lower-income counterparts.

and other working-class Americans to work until they are 69 or 70 years old before qualifying for full Social Security benefits.

The Republican plan to raise the retirement age is just a continuation of the war that is being waged by the Republicans against working-class Americans to reward billionaires on Wall Street.

At a time when more than one-third of our senior citizens rely on Social Security for virtually all of their income, our job must be to expand benefits, not cut them.

to change that. I am also open to exploring other responsible ways to enhance Social Security in a way that ensures all workers have a dignified retirement. I look forward to working with the NALC on this issue.

caregiving. Under my Social Security plan. I will provide up to five years of "caregiver credits" that would increase the 35-year wage base for those who spend an extended period of time providing full-time care for children, elderly parents, or other dependents.

Only 1 out of every 5 workers in this country have a defined benefit pension plan. We need to do everything we can to make sure that every American can retire in dianity.

But I will also reject any attempt to balance the long-term Social Security shortfall on the backs of middle-class families.

Americans should contribute more to the

D. As president, I will expand Social Security benefits by lifting the payroll tax cap for the highest earners, starting at \$250,000.

Bernie Sanders

D. In my view, we have got to demand that the wealthiest Americans in this country pay their fair share in FICA taxes. Today, a billionaire pays the same amount of money into Social Security as someone who makes \$118,500 a year. That's because the Social Security payroll tax is capped.

If we lift the cap and apply the payroll

Right now, millionaires are essentially done paying into Social Security by mid-February. Those in that upper income range can afford to contribute more to strengthen one of our most cherished programs. I will also

tax on all income over \$250,000 we can do four things. First, we can make sure that Social Security can pay every benefit owed to every eligible American for the next 50 years. Second, we can expand benefits by an average of \$65 a month. Third, we can lift seniors out of poverty by increasing the minimum benefits paid to low-income workers when they retire. Fourth, we can increase cost-of-living-expenses to keep modify the formula that determines the level of benefits that seniors receive, so lower and middle-income beneficiaries receive increased benefits.

up with the rising cost of healthcare and prescription drugs. Expanding Social Security by making the wealthiest Americans pay more, is not only the right thing to do from a moral perspective. It is what a large majority of the American people want us to do. And, even though the billionaires on Wall Street don't like it, if we stand together, that's exactly what we will do.

E. Increasing or reducing Social Security benefits (by adopting, for example, a chained Consumer Price Index (CPI) for cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs), or by adjusting the COLA formula to reflect the purchasing patterns of elderly Americans). (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

E. I oppose.

We need to keep defending Social Security from attacks and enhancing it to meet new realities. And, we need to reject years of Republican claims that we cannot afford it

Martin O'Malley

E. I support using the Consumer Price Index for the Elderly (CPI-E) instead of the Consumer

Bernie Sanders

E. Let's be clear: the chained CPI is not a "minor tweak." It is a significant benefit cut that will make it harder for permanently disabled veterans and the elderly to feed their families, heat their homes, pay for their prescription drugs, and make ends meet. This misguided proposal must be vigorously opposed.

Supporters of the chained-CPI want the American people to believe that the COLAs that disabled veterans, senior citizens, and the surviving spouses and children who have lost loved ones in combat are too generous.

That is simply not true. In two out of the last six years, disabled veterans and senior citizens did not receive any COLA. And, this year's COLA of 1.7% is one of the lowest ever. Reducing COLAs even further through the adoption of a chained-CPI would be an absolute disaster.

This nation has made a commitment to our military and our veterans: if you get permanently disabled defending this country, if you get

and that the only solution must therefore be to slash benefits. It's just not true. Reform must enhance the program for those who most need it. I'm especially focused on the fact that we need to improve how Social Security works for women. And, I will reject any plan that undermines Social Security.

Price Index for Urban Wage Earners (CPI-W) to determine Social Security's cost-of-living adjustments. The CPI-E provides a more accurate reflection of the higher cost of living

seriously wounded in battle, we will always be there for you. The Veterans Administration will provide you with the disability compensation benefits you need to live in dignity and those benefits will keep pace with inflation.

Today, more than 3.2 million disabled veterans receive disability compensation benefits from the Veterans Administration.

Under the chained CPI, a disabled veteran who started receiving VA disability benefits at age 30 would have their benefits cut by more than \$1,400 at age 45; \$2,300 at age 55; and \$3,200 at age 65.

I have challenged anyone who supports a chained-CPI, to go to Walter Reed. Visit with the men and women who have lost their legs, lost their arms, lost their eyesight as a result of their service in Afghanistan or Iraq. We made a promise to these veterans. Cutting their COLA's would be reneging on those promises and we cannot let that happen.

We have also made a commitment to the surviving spouses and children who have lost a loved one in battle by providing them That means I will oppose any plan that tries to close Social Security's shortfall on the backs of the middle class, whether in terms of middle class tax increases or benefit cuts, accounting gimmicks like a chained CPI, or privatization attempts.

for retirees than the current measure, which focuses on younger workers. Using the CPI-E will ensure that benefits do not erode for future generations of retirees.

with Dependency Indemnity Compensation benefits that average less than \$17,000 a year.

Like many of my colleagues in the Senate, I have attended the funerals of brave soldiers killed in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

I remember telling their grieving spouses and young children that our country would never forget their sacrifice and loss. It would be absolutely immoral to cut the very modest benefits they receive by adopting a chained-CPI.

Further, we have made a promise to every American: Social Security will be there for you in your old age, or if you become disabled. And, those benefits will also keep up with inflation.

Yet, under the chained CPI, average seniors who retire at age 65 would see their Social Security benefits cut by about \$650 a year when they reach 75 and more than \$1,000 a year once they turn 85.

We simply cannot renege on the promises we have made to our nation's seniors and veterans by cutting the very modest benefits that they have earned by adopting the chained-CPI.



The truth is that the formula for calculating Social Security cost-of-living adjustments does not accurately reflect the spending patterns of senior citizens. It shortchanges them because seniors by and large aren't spending their money on big-screen televisions, laptop computers or iPads.

Instead, a disproportionate amount of their income goes to pay highly inflated prices for healthcare and prescription drugs. A superlative measure of inflation for seniors would increase benefits, not cut them. That's why I have proposed legislation to increase COLAs by adopting a Consumer Price Index for the Elderly that takes into account what seniors are actually spending their money on.

F. Repealing or reforming the Government Pension Offset (GPO) and Windfall Elimination Provisions (WEP) of Social Security law, both of which reduce the Social Security benefits of public employees who have earned pension benefits from public employee pension plans such as the Civil Service Retirement System (CSRS). (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

F. I support.

No worker should be deprived of the Social Security benefits they have earned. That is

Bernie Sanders

F. Support

why I co-sponsored the Social Security Fairness Act in the Senate to repeal the GPO and WEP. We have a responsibility to ensure that workers who have devoted their lives to public service can retire with security and dignity.

I support repealing the GPO and WEP and have consistently supported legislation that would accomplish this goal. The GPO

Martin O'Malley

 F. I support efforts to repeal or reform these provisions.

 and WEP are unfair—they deprive public

and WEP are unfair—they deprive public employees of Social Security benefits they have earned and deserve.

12. Wages for American workers have stagnated despite significant productivity growth since the 1970s, and the share of national income going to workers has declined despite economic growth. Most economists agree that the decline in union membership over this period is a major factor driving these trends. Do you support reforming federal labor law to make it easier for workers to freely choose whether to create unions and to bargain collectively without interference from their employers? (Support or Oppose)

Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

12. I support.

The right to organize is one of our most fundamental human rights and yet this right is being chipped away at in our courts and in our political system. I believe that unions are critical to a strong American middle class. Throughout my career, I have stood with all workers as they exercise their right to organize and collectively bargain. For example, I was an original co-sponsor of the Employee Free Choice Act, actively opposed anti-collective bargaining provisions contained in the Department of Defense's proposed National Security Personnel System, and voted in favor of collective bargaining rights for TSA screeners. I stand proudly on the side of workers fighting for their continued right to organize and collectively bargain. Republicans and their corporate backers are waging a coordinated assault on unions. These efforts to undermine collective bargaining are undermining our economy, and they are weakening working families. As President, I will work with you to

fight back from the state level all the way up to the Supreme Court.

We know that American workers are more productive than ever before, but that their wages have not kept up with productivity. I have fought to raise the minimum wage for many years and will do so as President. A higher minimum wage doesn't just help those at the bottom of the pay scale; it has a ripple effect across the economy and helps millions of American workers and families. I also support state and local efforts to raise wages above the federal floor where it makes sense to do so. We also need to ensure workers have the collective bargaining power they need to fight for fair wages and decent benefits to help strengthen the middle class. I was pleased to see the President expand overtime protections—an important step in the right direction. Experience shows that policies like boosting overtime protections that are good for middle-class families are good for everyone. These policies are pro-growth and pro-family.

It is also vital that we modernize basic labor standards. Worker protections and basic labor standards have failed to keep pace with changes over the past half century. We need to raise wages and reduce poverty among working families, including supporting and strengthening collective bargaining, raising the minimum wage, eradicating wage theft, ensuring that employers do not misclassify true employees as "independent contractors" to skirt their obligations, and leveling the playing field for women and people of color.

I believe we can create an economy in which wages rise and workers are more productive by unstacking the deck, strengthening inclusive growth, and opening pathways into the workforce. And that will require an aggressive combination of approaches including public investments and other fiscal and tax policies, defending the Federal Reserve against attempts to remove employment from its mandate, and structural changes in the rules of our labor markets to strengthen the hand of workers and labor. In the coming months, I will be laying out additional proposals to raise wages for hardworking Americans.

12. I strongly support reforming federal labor law, and will use the full power and influence of the presidency to get the job done.

As president. I will not be silent when it comes to workers' rights to organize. When Republican governors or legislatures attack workers and their unions. I will stand with vou and rally to your defense. Nor will I be silent about the fact that, as a country, we've stood aside for generations as corporate interests dismantled collective bargaining rights, punctured the safety net, and are now attacking policies like workers compensation and prevailing wages laws. While every Congress passes legislation to make it easier for businesses to operate, it has been 80 years since we've passed major legislation defending-and strengthening-workers' fundamental right to organize.

Bernie Sanders

12. Strongly support.

The most significant reason that the middle class has disappeared is that the rights of workers to join together and collectively bargain for better wages, benefits, and working conditions have been severely undermined. We have got to turn that around.

That's why I will be introducing legislation to make it easier for workers to join unions and collectively bargain for higher wages and stronger benefits.

Under this legislation, when a majority

New labor legislation is far overdue. I will champion legislation to make it easier for workers to gain union representation by modernizing the organizing process, strengthening the enforcement power of the NLRB, and creating tougher penalties for employers who violate the law and stand in the way of democracy in their workplace. This includes lifting up alt-labor organizations, workers' centers, and collaborative labormanagement models to allow them to flourish and strengthen their fights on behalf of workers.

Short of legislation, there is an enormous amount the president can do to empower workers, and I will employ the full force of my executive authority as president. I will appoint strong advocates to agencies like the NLRB, EEOC, and DOL who will advocate for the best interests of working people. And I will strengthen President Obama's executive orders for federal contractors, to raise their

of workers in a bargaining unit sign valid authorizations cards to join a union, they must have a union. Period.

Under my bill, companies would not be allowed to deny or delay a first contract with workers who have voted to join a union. If companies refuse to seriously negotiate a first contract, this bill would require binding arbitration and the completion of a first contact in less than 6 months.

And, under this bill, we will significantly increase penalties on employers who discriminate against pro-union workers.

There should be no doubt that union membership is good for workers. Union

minimum wage to \$15 an hour and give preference in competitive contracts to model employers. I will also dedicate real resources to enforcement, crack down on misclassification and wage and hour violations, fight to raise civil penalties for labor violations, and ensure that investigators are engaging in strategic enforcement so that they can prevent violations before they happen.

However, strengthening workers' rights is only half of the equation. We must face headon the consolidation of corporate wealth and power that has led to poorer worker conditions and stagnating wages. I will implement and defend rules to hold companies responsible for how they treat their workers – including workers whom they effectively employ through contractors, franchisees, or third-parties. I will reject bad, secret trade deals. And I will aggressively enforce our nation's anti-trust laws and hold Wall Street accountable.

workers earn 27 percent more, on average, than non-union workers.

76 percent of union workers have guaranteed pensions, while only 16 percent of nonunion workers do.

About 83 percent of workers in unions have paid sick leave, compared to only 62 percent of nonunion workers.

If we do not stop the hemorrhaging of union jobs in America, in fact, if we do not substantially increase the number of union jobs in this country, we will not be able to rebuild the middle class or reduce the skyrocketing wealth and income plaguing America.

13. Over the past two years, more than 30 states have introduced bills or enacted laws that have made it more difficult to vote. These have included laws to require voter IDs, measures to reduce voting hours and days of early voting, and restrictions on voter registration drives by non-govern- mental organizations (NGOs).

A. Do you support these changes at the state level? (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

13A. I oppose.

The assault on voting rights threatens to block millions of Americans from fully participating in our democracy. We should be clearing the way for more people to vote, not putting up roadblocks. Congress should move quickly to pass legislation to repair the damage done to the Voting Rights Act and restore the full protections that American voters need and deserve. And we should also implement the recommendations of the bipartisan presidential commission to improve voting. I have called for setting a standard across the country of at least 20 days of early in-person voting, including opportunities for weekend and evening voting. And I believe we should go even further to strengthen voting rights by establishing universal, automatic voter registration so that everyone is automatically registered to vote when they turn 18—unless they actively choose to opt out.



13A. I oppose state efforts to limit voting rights. Our democracy depends on greater participation, yet in recent years we have sharply limited access to our most fundamental right. My administration would push to restore the Voting Rights Act and tear

Bernie Sanders

13A. I strongly oppose these changes. As a result of the Supreme Court's decision to gut the Voting Rights Act two years ago, a torrent of state legislation has been passed to disenfranchise people all over the country.

In my view, it is an abomination that Congress has not yet restored the full down barriers to voting like ID requirements. First and foremost, I have called for a constitutional amendment affirming the right to vote for all Americans. I would also give strong support to legislation that would (a) update the Voting Rights Act formula for determining which states must pre-clear changes to their voting laws, and (b) allow all

protections of the Voting Rights Act. But we must go further. We must make it easier, not harder, to vote. I have introduced legislation to make Election Day a national holiday, but that is only a first step. I have also introduced legislation to provide for automatic voter registration--the burden of registering voters must be on the state, not the individual voter. We must re-enfranchise states to stop discriminatory changes before they are implemented. The legislation recently introduced by Sen. Patrick Leahy and Rep. John Lewis, which I endorsed, takes the right approach, creating significant new tools to prevent and address discriminatory election policies nationwide.

the millions of Americans who have had their right to vote taken away by a felony conviction, and I have supported legislation to do so. We must expand early voting, and make no-fault absentee ballots an option for all voters. We also need to make sure that there are sufficient polling places and poll workers to prevent long lines from forming at the polls anywhere.

B. Would you support a national right to vote by mail in federal elections? (Support or Oppose) Explain why:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

B. I support.

As President, I will work to revitalize our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans. The assault on voting rights threatens to block millions of Americans

Martin O'Malley

B. As president I will support a right to vote by mail as part of a comprehensive effort to modernize voting and voter registration to make it easier for more people to vote. We did this in Maryland, establishing onfrom fully participating in our democracy. We should be clearing the way for more people to vote, not putting up every roadblock anyone can imagine. One way to increase voting among busy, hardworking Americans is to allow voting by mail.

site early voting and same-day registration, as well as online voter registration. We restored voting rights to more than 50,000 people with criminal records, and made it easier for young people to vote. I support all of these policies at the federal level, in addition to universal voter registration. Bernie Sanders

B. Support

I would support a national right to vote by mail in federal elections. In my view, we have got to do everything we can to make it easier, not more difficult, to vote.

And I applaud the Supreme Court's recent upholding Arizona's independent redistricting commission. While we did not move unilaterally in Maryland, I believe that it would be beneficial if every state together made Congressional redistricting a nonpartisan process.

14. Is your campaign available to meet with representatives of the NALC to work with us to develop policies and proposals to strengthen the Postal Service and to address the legitimate concerns of letter carriers and other postal employees? (Yes or No) Additional comments:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

14. As my campaign did during the 2008 election cycle and during my time in the Senate, I look forward to working with representatives of the NALC as we fight together for a fairer and better future.

Martin O'Malley

14. Yes.

Bernie Sanders

14. Yes. Of course. My staff and I have been proud to work with NALC on legislative and policy ideas to strengthen the Postal Service for several years and would be delighted to continue working with you to protect one of the most important institutions in this country.

15. Is your campaign interested in holding campaign events with members of the NALC in states holding primaries and caucuses? (Yes or No)

Additional comments:

Hillary Rodham Clinton

15. My campaign is absolutely interested in engaging members of the NALC in states that hold primaries and caucuses—as well as in communities across the country.

Martin O'Malley

15. Yes.

Bernie Sanders

15. Yes. That would be a great idea. I truly believe that our nation's letter carriers are the backbone of America. It would be a pleasure to do this.

The other candidates

Below are the candidates who responded but did not answer the questionnaire.



Jeb Bush

We have received and reviewed the candidate questionnaire from the National Association of Letter Carriers.

At this time, we do not plan to complete it. Should that decision change, we will let you know.



Lincoln Chafee

Thank you for your interest in my candidacy for President. I greatly value the support of many organizations and advocacy groups. Over my career



John Kasich

As an acrossthe-board rule we are not filling out any organizations' candidate questionnaires.

running for office at the local, state and federal levels I have filled out many candidate questionnaires. It is my policy in this campaign to ask organizations to judge me by the actions I have taken while serving in elective office over the last three decades.

I believe time and time again I have exercised good judgment, exhibited levelheadedness and shown careful foresight when making decisions. Actions do speak louder than words!

Thank you again for your interest in my campaign.

The following candidates were sent questionnaires but have not responded:

- Ben Carson
- Chris Christie
- Ted Cruz
- Carly Fiorina
- Jim Gilmore

- Lindsey Graham
- Mike Huckabee
- Bobby Jindal
- George Pataki
- Rand Paul

- Marco Rubio
- Rick Santorum
- Donald Trump
- Jim Webb