

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Ogilvy & Mather
Savarese and Associates

February 26, 1988

TO: Jeff Ross

RE: RESOURCE ASSESSMENT FOR TARGETED STATES

As you requested, we have prepared the following assessment of potential resources through our coalition groups, labor contacts and personal relationships in TI-selected states. This is a preliminary list and does not detail all possible contacts. Once the two states are selected, we can provide a more detailed accounting.

While we have listed resources in every candidate state, there are certain states where we can be more helpful. We have put two asterisks next to those states which provide the optimum resource base from our standpoint. We have placed one asterisk by those states that have a good resource base.

** MICHIGAN

Michigan is a strong labor state. Industrial unions are particularly strong, with United Auto Workers dominating. Savarese has a relationship with the Secretary-Treasurer of the State Federation. Jarvis is from Michigan and has a good relationship with Governor Blanchard.

The following coalition groups can be useful in Michigan.

- LCLAA
- CLUW
- AAM
- CfED
- League of Rural Voters

** OHIO

Once again, industrial unions are strong in this state, in particular Steelworkers and Auto Workers. Other strong unions include AFSCME and CWA.

Aside from union contacts, we have good personal relationships in Ohio. We have worked with Ira Arlook, head of Ohio Public Interest Coalition (OPIC), who sits on CTJ's

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Board of Directors. In addition, David Wilhelm is based in Ohio. Harry Kaiser of O&M has worked for Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur and has ongoing relationships with Ohio labor unions.

The following coalition groups can be helpful in Ohio:

- APRI
- CfED

* ILLINOIS

We have relationships with SEIU and AFSCME, two of the dominant unions in the state. In addition, industrial unions are big, particularly the Steelworkers. Savarese has contact with Bob Creamer of the Illinois Public Action Council (IPAC), the leading tax group in the state. There is a sizable Hispanic population in Chicago.

The following coalition groups can be helpful in Illinois:

- CHN
- LCLAA-in the Chicago area
- CLUW-in the Chicago area
- AAM
- CfED

** MASSACHUSETTS

TI has hired a labor consultant in Massachusetts. Jim Golden was President of the Sheet Metal Worker local in Boston. Two of the dominant unions are AFSCME and SEIU. Savarese has a close relationship with the Director of the AFSCME Statewide Council, Joe Bonavita. He also has worked with Joe Buckley, International Representative in New England for SEIU. In addition, Tom Donahue, Jr. is close to State Fed President Arthur Osborne and has addressed their convention. He also worked for Senator Kennedy and has contacts throughout Massachusetts.

The following coalition groups can be helpful in Massachusetts:

- CfED
- CHN

FLORIDA

Florida is a Sun Belt right-to-work state where the State AFL-CIO has a history of divisive politics. In the tax area, Florida has no income tax and we do not have a relationship with any tax reform group. The sizable Hispanic population tends to be conservative.

The following coalition groups can be helpful in Florida:

- LCLAA-in Miami area
- CfED
- AAM-small membership that could be activated if necessary

TEXAS

This is also a right to work state where the labor/liberal community is not particularly strong. There is no income tax in Texas. Economic problems have forced the formation of a tax study commission and Bob McIntyre has presented testimony before this panel. There is no tax reform group in place. While Leslie Dawson is from Texas and has excellent political and labor contacts, the overall political climate would not be conducive to our program. However, if the business community became active in a pro-income tax campaign (Gaylord Armstrong's position) Texas could jump to a two-star state.

The following coalition groups can be helpful in Texas:

- AAM
- CfED-not well connected but their arguments work very well here
- League of Rural Voters-close ties with Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower
- CHN-have a board member in Texas
- LCLAA

NEW JERSEY

There is a serious organized crime problem in a number of important labor unions in this state. The dominant clean union is CWA, who represents state employees. The labor situation in this state does not fit our model for coalition work. However, labor unions -- especially the Teamsters and the Building Trades are very strong. In order to do anything here, a strong local labor consultant would need to be retained before a program could even be conceptualized.

The following groups can be helpful in New Jersey:

- APRI
- LCLAA
- CfED-their arguments work well here

NEW YORK

New York is divided into two labor movements--New York City and the state.

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In the city, the power centers are the building trade unions and the public sector unions, particularly AFT, AFSCME, SEIU. The needle trades and Teamsters are strong. AFT has a huge membership in New York City. In the state, AFSCME dominates the union scene. We have a working relationship with the statewide AFSCME leadership.

Our biggest problem in New York is that the State AFL-CIO has retained Mike Griffin as a consultant. He is also on retainer with several other key unions. Another problem with New York is the strength of NYPIRG. This public interest group has strong anti-tobacco sentiments.

There has never been a dominant tax reform group in New York because of the nature of city politics.

The following groups can be helpful in New York:

- CHN
- CLUW-New York City

LOUISIANA

This is a Southern right-to-work state. The labor movement is controlled by Victor Bussie, President of the State Fed, and all deals have to be made with him. We do not have a strong personal relationship with Bussie. There is no such thing as tax reform in the state.

The following groups can be helpful in Louisiana:

- AAM
- CfED-not well-connected, but arguments work well here

MISSOURI

This is a conservative border state. There is no history of a tax reform group. Labor has only modest strength in this state.

The following groups can be helpful in Missouri:

- AAM
- CHN-have a board member in this state

VIRGINIA

This is possibly the weakest state for labor as a whole in the country. Philip Morris has a large facility in Richmond, making BC&T the most important union statewide. Danny LeBlanc, Secretary-Treasurer of the State Fed, comes

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from BC&T and has been particularly helpful to Ray Scannell on tobacco issues.

No standard coalition building opportunities exist in Virginia, however, we can activate BC&T on tax issues.

The following coalition groups can be helpful in Virginia:

- AAM
- CfED-their arguments work well here

** PENNSYLVANIA

Unions are strong here, particularly public sector and industrial unions. We have a solid working association with AFSCME. Through Sam Dawson, we have close relationships with Steelworker officials and have contributed to the unemployed Steelworker food bank. Julius Uehlein, who is a Steelworker, is President of the State Fed. Tom Donahue, Jr. knows Uehlein well and has addressed the AFL-CIO COPE conference.

Pennsylvania's public interest group (PENN-PIC) does tax work in this state. We have worked with this group in this past.

The following coalition groups can be helpful in Pennsylvania:

- CLUW-two Steelworkers serve on the board
- CHN
- CfED

* OREGON

Tom Donahue, Jr. has developed contacts with labor leaders in Oregon and has addressed the State AFL-CIO Convention. He is currently working with the AFSCME President in Oregon. The bulk of the state employees belong to SEIU, although they have recently changed leadership. Oregon's distance from Washington, D.C. is a negative factor to consider in a targeting program. CfED can be helpful in Oregon.

NORTH CAROLINA

This a tobacco state, where BC&T is important in the ranks of labor. However, they are not as strong as BC&T in Virginia because of RJR. Traditionally, North Carolina has been a poor labor state. We have a good relationship with Chris Scott, President of the State Fed.

The following coalition groups can be helpful in North Carolina:

- CHN
- APRI

* WASHINGTON

The Machinists and AFSCME are the two dominant unions in the state. Tom Donahue, Jr. has met with the President of the State Fed. He and Harry Kaiser have addressed a number of key local union representatives. We have an ongoing relationship with a tax reform group to adopt an income tax. Support for an income tax is the overriding policy concern of our liberal/labor friends. Again, distance raises difficulty in building steady coalitions. CfED can be helpful in Washington.

* WISCONSIN

This is a strong labor state. In particular, AFSCME, Steelworkers, UAW and Building Trades are key here. Wisconsin has a history of clean government and progressive taxation with one of the fairest tax structures in the country.

The following groups can be helpful in Wisconsin:

- AAM-are not active but can put us in contact with a group called Wisconsin Farm Unity
- CfED
- CHN

COLORADO

We do not have a strong resource base in Colorado. It is not a big union state and most of our coalition groups are not active here. Those groups that can be helpful are AAM and CfED, whose arguments work well here.

cc: Susan Stuntz