

50765 9847

# Californians Against Unfair Tax Increases

## MEMORANDUM

TO: David Townsend  
FROM: Max Besler  
RE: Field Operations Final Report  
DATE: November 17, 1988

=====  
Under the rubric of Field Operations fell three categories of campaign activity: Endorsement gathering, the Speaker's Bureau and grassroots organizing.

This is a resume and critique of those activities.

### I. ENDORSEMENT GATHERING

Our goal was to deflate the argument that CAUTI was exclusively an arm of the tobacco industry created to protect its own narrow interests, by gaining endorsements from a broad-based coalition of interest groups and legislators.

We established seven target endorser categories:

- \* Law enforcement groups.
- \* Business/Trade organizations.
- \* Labor groups.
- \* Ideological/Civil Libertarian groups (i.e. Republican and Democratic organizations, National Organization of Women).
- \* Groups likely to be the target of other "sin tax" initiatives.
- \* Federal, State and local legislators. (A special consultant contacted state legislators).
- \* Minority groups. (Special consultants were hired to contact Black, Asian and Hispanic groups).

Californians Against Unfair Tax Increases  
No on Proposition 99,  
a committee sponsored by the Tobacco Industry

P.O. Box 1498  
Sacramento, California 95812  
(916) 448-8507 FAX (916) 448-5249

50765 9848

Over 3,000 letters were sent to organizations and legislators (2,200 went to city councilmembers alone) seeking endorsements with follow-up calls and visits made to selected targets.

Endorsing groups were asked the following:

- \* To provide a written endorsement.
- \* To provide speakers for the Speakers Bureau.
- \* To print articles outlining the No on 99 position in newsletters or to sign op/ed pieces.

By election day we had gathered the endorsements of 60 groups and 18 legislators or individuals.

### Critique

From the onset we found that few groups outside the tobacco stream of commerce had any interest enlisting in this battle. In fact, even organizations with a bottom-line stake in defeating Prop. 99 - such as Southland Corporation - decided that they could lose customer and employee good will by getting involved in the campaign.

There were notable successes in gaining endorsements of relatively broad-based groups such as the California Chamber of Commerce, California Manufacturers Association, California Taxpayers Association and the California Republican Party.

But, anti-smoking sentiment was great enough to keep at arm's length the overwhelming majority of other groups that could have helped to advance our arguments to a wider audience. And in two instances - the California State Sheriff's Association and the California Peace Officer's Association - that fervor was used as a political wedge to cause a position change from opposition to neutrality.

There are four general observations about endorsement gathering for this campaign:

- \* Our greatest boost in gathering endorsements came from Philip Morris. PMUSA has been a patron to a number of groups over the years. That cultivation yielded 38 endorsements in this campaign.
- \* A downside to this endorsement list, was that out of 60 organization endorsements, 46 were from minority groups, a fact of life that helped underscore the opposition's contention that

cigarette companies disproportionately play to minorities.

- \* Minority consultants to the campaign were of limited use in gaining endorsements. Our Hispanic consultant provided four endorsements. Our Asian consultant provided two. Although consultants to the Black community travelled extensively to meet with target Black organizations, their efforts gained us only six endorsements. And those came in the closing days of the campaign - too late to make any contribution.
- \* Taking the pro-tobacco side of issues such as Prop. 99 creates enough risk that the vast majority of organizations balk at taking a tobacco-favorable position. The only effective means of gaining real access to organizations or gaining their endorsements, is likely obtained through patient organizational work such as that done by PMUSA. Since Prop. 99 clones are probable in other states, tobacco company strategy should include identifying those groups where support might be developed, and then providing the budget to form close ties.

## II. SPEAKER'S BUREAU

There were two goals for this program:

- \* Brief speakers from endorsing organizations to make public appearances.
- \* Use Field Representatives to speak before service organizations (i.e. Rotary, AAUW, chambers of commerce).

Overall, 42 speaking engagements were made before service clubs and chambers of commerce.

### Critique

As noted above, organizational enthusiasm for taking a public position on Prop. 99 was low. Only three endorsing groups did more than a basic endorsement, and no organization was willing to provide us with someone for the Speaker's Bureau.

This required us to rely on paid spokespersons to deliver our message.

We found that getting speaking engagements before service

clubs such as Rotary was difficult for two reasons.

- \* Most clubs schedule speakers months in advance. In our case, the majority of clubs had already scheduled speakers during the summer months for Fall appearances.
- \* Many service clubs shy away from political or controversial subjects.

Gaining appearances before chambers of commerce was an easier task, although endorsements even here, were far from a sure thing.

- \* Some chambers - San Diego, for instance - have a membership that is anti-smoking to such a degree that they will vote for a measure such as Prop. 99 even if there are sound tax and business reasons to oppose it.
- \* Chambers of commerce over the years have extended their memberships to groups (hospital administrators and educators, for example) whose interests may collide with those of private businesspeople. One tactic employed by the other side was to make use of the health subcommittees of local chambers to offer a Yes on 99 counterpoint to the No position suggested by legislative subcommittees. The net result of such a stalemate was for some chambers to go neutral.

### III. GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATION

This was the most extensive and elaborate element of Field Operations. We sought to accomplish the following:

- \* Create an intelligence network that could report on the activities of the CHC.
- \* Develop a media-watch network that would respond to newspaper articles with letters to the editor, and be prepared to call in questions and comments on radio talk shows.
- \* Develop a network to distribute literature to smokers throughout the state.
- \* Lay the foundation for a post election grass roots network.

What we accomplished in the campaign was this:

- \* Distributed the following:
  - \* 325,000 Winning Against Unfair Taxes brochures.
  - \* 130,000 Proposition 99, More Taxes, More Crime brochures in English and Spanish.
  - \* 10,000 bumper strips.
  - \* 8,000 vending machine stickers.
  - \* 1,200 van signs.
  - \* 5,000 window signs.
- \* Established a network of approximately 4,000 volunteers. These volunteers distributed literature, signed petitions, put up signs and formed the backbone of our media watch network.
- \* Monitored county boards of supervisors and selected city councils to counteract resolutions brought before them to support Prop. 99. In three cases we were able to prevent resolutions from being enacted.
- \* Attended Smokers' Rights meetings sponsored by R. J. Reynolds to brief attendees. These meetings also became a valuable source of volunteers to the campaign.
- \* Maintained contact with 280 smoke shop owners in the state. During the pre-qualification phase of the campaign they gave us a snapshot of signature-gathering activities conducted by the CHC.  
  
For the campaign proper, they became one of the major sources of literature distribution.
- \* Conducted briefings for the California Association of Tobacco and Candy Distributors, California Coin Machine Association and other organizations. Through these organizations literature, signs and stickers were distributed to member wholesalers.
- \* Worked with Philip Morris representatives to make use of a wide array of their resources. Among the programs conducted were these:

- \* Insertion of 1,000,000 Cashtray brochures into cigarette cartons.
- \* Use of the PM sales force to distribute CAUTI literature, signs, stickers and bumper strips to retailers throughout the state.
- \* Communicating by mail, and subsequently by phone to PM activists in California.
- \* Created lists of volunteers active in the campaign with, when possible, level and character of activity.

Critique

Directing an intricate system of wholesalers, cigarette companies, retailers, vendors, trade organizations and volunteers, as well as field staff presented an opportunity to make certain that all bases were covered. It also presented some interesting challenges.

These are some observations about this portion of the campaign:

- \* There is a deepening reservoir of sentiment among many smokers that their right to smoke has been steadily eroding. This campaign served as a politicizing flash point for a great many of them. It served to focus their anger at a specific target, Prop. 99, and at a specific group, the organizations comprising the CHC, for singling them out for a specific, unfair tax.

Some level of post-campaign organizing is necessary to make use of volunteers ready to work on other measures threatening their smoking rights. This should be done soon before their zeal diminishes.

- \* The Winning brochure was too large for most bag stuffing. The Proposition 99 brochure was a more useful size. We found that the information contained in the Winning brochure was far more than the great majority of voters wanted. Of the two brochures, Proposition 99 was more useful for field operations.
- \* Many materials were slow in coming because of the lead time necessary to gain clearance. In the case of the Proposition 99 brochure, the delay prevented us from making most effective use of the piece.

LIST OF GROUPS AND LEGISLATORS OPPOSING PROP.99

Governor George Deukmejian

Paul Gann

National Association of Black & Minority Chamber of Commerce

Latino Peace Officer's Association

CA Hispanic Chambers of Commerce

U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce

Mexican American Political Association

American G.I. Forum

Officers for Justice Peace Officers' Association

CA Taxpayers Association

Alcohol Beverage Merchants Association of CA

National Minority Business Council

Asian Pacific American Chamber of Commerce

National Association of Real Estate Brokers

California Package Store and Tavern Owners Association

National United Affiliated Beverage Association

National Association of Black County Officials

California Chamber of Commerce

Assemblyman Dick Floyd

Assemblyman Bill Baker

Assemblyman Nolan Frizzelle

Assemblyman Bill Leonard

Assemblywoman Cathie Wright

Senator Ed Royce

California Republican Party

California Republican Assembly

Senator Quentin Kopp

California Coin Machine Association

California Manufacturers Association

California Warehouse Association

Senator Jim Ellis

Assemblyman Dennis Brown

Assemblyman Tom Hannigan

Assemblyman Ross Johnson

Assemblyman Gil Ferguson

Assemblyman Bill Jones

Fresno City & County Chamber of Commerce

Oakland Black Officers Association

Black Peace Officers of Santa Clara County

Southern California Grocers Association

Chinese American Citizens Alliance

Chinese Americans for Responsible Government

Mayor Ben Bay - Anaheim

Mayor George J. Takahashi - Marina

Councilwoman Jean McHenry - Perris

National Association of Minority Women in Business

Asian American Voters Coalition

West Coast Black Publishers Association

Mexican American Grocers Association

National Coalition of 100 Black Women, Inc.

Hispanic National Bar Association  
Hispanic Business Committee for Fair Taxation  
Woman's Council of Realtors  
Women in Action  
The Business Connection  
A.F.S. - Financial Services & Investment Group  
Men and Women of Tomorrow  
100 Black Men of Los Angeles  
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority  
Lyman Doster, Los Angeles Police Department  
National Business League  
Filipino-American Action Group  
Filipino-American Chamber of Commerce  
Filipino Democrats Club  
Zambales Association - San Diego  
Japanese American Republicans - San Diego  
The Filipino Press  
National Congress of Vietnamese in America  
Vietnam Veterans Association  
Vietnam Marines Association  
Republican National Hispanic Assembly  
Filipino-American Association of San Diego North County  
Filipino-American Society of CPA's  
San Diego Community Leader  
Asian Pacific American Coalition

Page 4 - Groups Opposing Prop. 99

Vietnamese American Law Friendship Foundation

Indochinese-American Voters General League

The National Association of Negro Business and Professional  
Women's Club's, Inc.

11/16/88 (Final tally)

50765 9857