

PRESS CONFERENCE
TODAY, AUGUST 15, 2005
10:00 AM
at the
SKWWC LAW OFFICES
200 Second Avenue W
Seattle

“Voters Education Committee” found to have violated the law
with their anti-Senn ads

PRESS PACKET MATERIAL

Richmond, Judy

From: Richmond, Judy
Sent: Wednesday, September 15, 2004 7:59 AM
To: Engstrom, Rob
Subject: RE: wa results

Tracking: Recipient Delivery Read
Engstrom, Rob Delivered: 9/15/2004 7:59 AM Read: 9/15/2004 8:32 AM

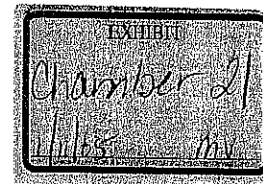
Late night for you.

-----Original Message-----

From: Engstrom, Rob
Sent: Wednesday, September 15, 2004 2:33 AM
To: Richmond, Judy; Bokar, Steve
Subject: wa results

Judy and Steve,
We are down 54-46 right now with just over 50% of the vote in. I think we'll close, but not enough. Tough race, thanks for all your help. It is appreciated.

Rob



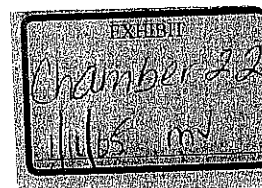
U.S. Chamber of Commerce
000920

12/17/2004

Leavitt, Marnie

From: Engstrom, Rob
Sent: Wednesday, September 15, 2004 2:27 AM
To: Anderson, Stan; Rickard, Lisa; 'sanderson@mwe.com'
Cc: Shaffer, Judy
Subject: wa results

At this point, with 54% of the vote reporting, we are down 54-46%. I think it will lighten up a bit, but it is unlikely that we can pull it out. Interestingly, we are winning King County (Seattle) by 4k votes right now and there are more coming in. Seattle is where we got the most media coverage. We are going back in the field to do a survey and provide options should a general election program be appropriate.



U.S. Chamber of Commerce
001088

12/21/2004

Engstrom, Rob

From: Scott W. Reed [sreed@chesenterp.com]
Sent: Monday, September 13, 2004 7:32 AM
To: Engstrom, Rob
Subject: Re: wa

Be glad to. Easy.

----- Original Message -----

From: Engstrom, Rob
To: Scott Reed (E-mail)
Sent: Friday, September 10, 2004 8:06 PM
Subject: wa

Cut the deal on wa.....we're good. Everyone here is cool, need your help reinforcing that being this aggressive and going after bullies like her is what makes us a player and is recognized and gets us respect. Can you help reinforce with this? thanks again for your guidance.



U.S. Chamber of Commerce
000943

12/21/2004



**PUBLIC OPINION
STRATEGIES**

Turning Questions Into Answers.

MEMORANDUM

TO: INSTITUTE FOR LEGAL REFORM
FROM: BILL MCINTURFF AND LORI WEIGEL
RE.: KEY FINDINGS FROM DEMOCRAT PRIMARY VOTERS SURVEY STATEWIDE
IN WASHINGTON
DATE: AUGUST 16, 2004

Public Opinion Strategies is pleased to present the key findings from the first phase of research in Washington among N=350 "likely" Democrat primary voters throughout the state (margin of error \pm 5.24%). Interviews were collected August 11-12, 2004.

THE BOTTOM LINE

Deborah Senn enters this race with a basic name awareness advantage over Mark Sidran. However, as voters learn more about each candidate, they are more inclined to side with Mark Sidran. Erasing the name advantage certainly helps [less than half (44%) have heard of both candidates and fully one quarter (25%) have heard of neither candidate right now]. What also helps is pointing out Sidran's relevant experience as a prosecutor and City Attorney for Seattle - as voters make the link that Senn simply doesn't have that kind of legal experience.

However, the knock-out really only comes in eroding the foundation of Senn's record. She says she has been tough against insurance companies, but guess what? She actually made sweetheart deals and made mistakes that led to uninsured families NOT being able to get insurance with reputable companies.

There's a real opportunity to add some definition to this race. Almost one third (31%) of voters are undecided in the initial ballot. Sidran needs to increase his name recognition and educate voters on his City Attorney record - particularly his work on cleaning up the city. However, Senn has been smart in linking herself to Gregoire who has a handy lead on the gubernatorial ballot (55% to 26% for Sims), and in taking an activist approach against companies - legal reform has NO place in this debate. Key voter groups like Seattle women only move when they are educated on Senn's record as Insurance Commissioner.



VEC01080

KEY FINDINGS

The main issues for Washington Democrat primary voters are making healthcare more affordable (38%), improving public schools (28%), and attracting new jobs and businesses (19%). Limiting the number of frivolous lawsuits and lowering malpractice costs to keep good doctors in the state are not top-of-mind issues. Besides fighting crime and illegal drugs, Washington Democrat primary voters believe that the top priorities of the Attorney General are enforcing environmental laws and prosecuting polluters (20%), protecting consumers against price gouging by gasoline producers or prescription drug companies (an issue which Senn has made a hallmark of her campaign - 18%) and protecting battered women and abused children (17%).

Legal reform - even medical malpractice issues - are NOT on the map in this race.

The Candidates:

- Deborah Senn is better known than Mark Sidran overall (69% and 50% name ID, respectively) and among all voter sub-groups. The only sub-group that Sidran enjoys comparable name recognition to Senn is among voters in King county, Sidran's home base where he has served as Seattle's city attorney. Among King county voters 83% have heard of Senn versus 78% who have heard of Sidran. The open-ended comments off the first ballot test demonstrate that the advantage of name ID is the main reason for her lead over Sidran on the ballot.

Media Market	% Heard of	
	Senn	Sidran
Portland	41%	17%
Seattle	75%	61%
Spokane	68%	10%
Yakima	40%	18%
King County	83%	78%

- However, while Senn enjoys the name ID and initial ballot lead, both candidates still have work to do to increase their name recognition. One quarter (25%) of the respondents have not heard of either candidate.
- Among the 30% of voters who have formed an opinion of Sidran, he has a 2:1 favorable-to-unfavorable image ratio (21% favorable, 9% unfavorable). He fares better among older men (26% favorable, 9% unfavorable) and Strong Democrat men (30% favorable, 9% unfavorable). Noticeably, among voters in the King county area who know Sidran best, he has lower than a 2:1 favorable-to-unfavorable ratio (38% favorable, 22% unfavorable).
- Senn enjoys almost a 3:1 favorable- to-unfavorable image ratio overall among the 47% of Democrat primary voters who have formed an opinion of her, (35% favorable, 12% unfavorable). She fares better among Liberal Democrats (40% favorable, 12% unfavorable), and the Spokane media market (35% favorable, 0% unfavorable).

The Ballot:

- Deborah Senn leads on the initial ballot by seven points (37% Senn, 30% Sidran), with an additional and significant 31% undecided. The level of vote intensity for each candidate is basically the same – 14% of voters say they will ‘definitely’ vote for Senn while 13% say they will ‘definitely’ vote for Sidran.
- Gender is playing a role in this race. Sidran has a four point advantage among men (39% to 34% Senn), while he trails by 14 points among women (24% to 39% Senn). (Please note that women usually comprise 56%-61% of the Democrat primary turnout). The real battleground among women is in the Seattle media market, as outlined below. Moreover, among teachers’ union households, Sidran is behind by 29 points (18% to 47% Senn).
- Across media markets, as you might expect, Sidran fares best in the Seattle market (and King County), where he is better known:

Media Market	% On Initial Ballot		
	Senn	Sidran	Diff
Portland	57%	14%	-43%
Seattle	33%	36%	+3%
Spokane	55%	9%	-46%
Yakima	31%	18%	-13%
King County	31%	47%	+16%
Seattle Men	32%	43%	+11%
Seattle Women	33%	30%	-3%

- In fact, name recognition is driving Senn’s lead at this time. Among the 44% of voters who have heard of both candidates, Sidran has a 19 point lead (51% Sidran to 32% Senn and 17% undecided).*
- The other important dynamic is the top-of-the-ticket gubernatorial race. Senn appears to have been successful in linking herself to Gregoire. Among the majority of Democrat primary voters who choose the current Attorney General Christine Gregoire for Governor, Senn has a ten point lead (31% Sidran, 41% Senn). Among those who choose Sims, the situation is reversed (41% Sidran, 32% Senn). Gregoire’s image among voters who are undecided on the Attorney general primary race is a solid 9:1 ratio (63% favorable, 7% unfavorable).
- Those voters who say they will vote for Sidran cite three main reasons in the open-ended question following this ballot: 1) They like his track record and previous work; 2) they are more familiar with Sidran than Senn; and 3) his experience as a prosecutor and his work in Seattle makes him better equipped to do a good job as Attorney General than Senn. Some voters also expressed dissatisfaction with Senn’s performance as Insurance Commissioner:

*GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: Grays Harbor
His experience as city attorney. The lack of experience that Deborah brings to job and I think Mark will be more aggressive on consumer affairs. Nothing else.*

*GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: King
One, he is a proven administrator. Two, he will reform the Attorney Generals office and make sure we do not lose big lawsuits. In other words he will run the department properly.*

*GENDER: Male/Retired AGE: 65+, COUNTY: King
I don't know. More familiarity. Just a little better impression of him over Deborah.*

*GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: King
Deborah, when she insurance commissioner I wasn't happy with her and I don't want to see her move up is all. Mark is up for City Council he did a good job and he seems to me he is ready to move up. He did a good job on the City Council and I like his views. That's all.*

- Those respondents who say they would vote for Senn on the initial ballot overwhelmingly cite name recognition and a superficial awareness of her past work as Insurance Commissioner, indicating that her support is fairly soft. A majority say they have simply heard more about her, or they are more familiar with her than with Sidran. A few choose her based on gender. A handful of Senn voters regard their vote as against Sidran, more than for Senn.

*GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 35-44, COUNTY: Pierce
Mostly heard her speak and I'm familiar with her. That's it. Not familiar with Sidran.*

*GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: Kitsap
I believe she has been a real good insurance commissioner. I think that's it.*

*GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: Yakima
It's just that I know a little about Senn and her background, and I know nothing of Sidran or his issue positions. I really can't say that I'll actually vote for Senn, I've just never heard of the other guy.*

*GENDER: Female/Emp AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: King
Women know how to get things done. She's a woman and she would have had a lot more obstacles than him. Women can see the whole picture, while men see just one thing.*

*GENDER: Female/Emp AGE: 65+, COUNTY: Skagit
Because I didn't like the things he instituted in the city of Seattle. That's it. I didn't like his no panhandling. He tried to get rid of the homeless. I don't know that much about Deborah Senn though. That's it.*

*GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: King
Better than the alternative. That's about it. I don't have anything necessarily favorable about her. That's basically it.*

Biographical Information:

- Following the initial ballot, voters heard two biographical descriptions of each candidate. These descriptions were culled from publicly available materials from the candidates' web sites, media interviews and speeches. Respondents were asked whether that information would make them more or less likely to vote for that candidate:

Mark Sidran began in public service as a Deputy Prosecutor in King County, where he prosecuted homicide, domestic violence and other crimes. As Seattle City Attorney for eleven years, he started the state's first Domestic Violence Unit, to better protect victims and hold abusers accountable. Sidran created an Environmental Protection Unit to crack down on polluters and got eleven million dollars to help the City clean up the landfill. He also pushed successfully for tougher laws against drunk driving and to keep our parks and streets safe.

76% TOTAL LIKELY
33% VERY LIKELY

Mark Sidran says he will be an Attorney General driven by principle, not politics. He says he is the only candidate with experience managing a large law firm and is the only candidate with any experience as a prosecutor. He promises to double the number of lawyers prosecuting swindlers and scam artists. He has been endorsed by Governor Gary Locke, former Governor Booth Gardner, former Mayor Norm Rice, talk show host Al Franken, and all sixteen Democrat county prosecutors. Sidran was raised in Seattle, where his parents operated a neighborhood pharmacy. He graduated from Harvard University and then received his law degree from the University of Washington. He and his wife live in Seattle.

79% TOTAL LIKELY
34% VERY LIKELY

Deborah Senn served eight years as state insurance commissioner. As Insurance Commissioner, she successfully fought insurance companies to expand health care coverage; she rejected more than fifty requests for rate increases by insurance companies; she helped push a law to protect victims of domestic violence from insurance rate increases; and she helped speed cleanup of toxic-waste sites covered by insurance. Ralph Nader called her the best Insurance Commissioner in the U.S..

82% TOTAL LIKELY
39% VERY LIKELY

As Attorney General, Senn says she will be "the people's lawyer" and promises a more activist approach. She will continue with Christine Gregoire's efforts, plus go after gasoline manufacturers, prescription drug companies and money lenders to protect consumers. She has been endorsed by the Washington Education Association, the State Council of Firefighters, the AFL-CIO and dozens of other unions, former Governor Mike Lowery, and former Seattle Mayor Paul Schell. She grew up in Chicago and received a law degree from Loyola University, before moving to Washington.

77% TOTAL LIKELY
39% VERY LIKELY

- Notably, among undecided voters and Seattle women, the two candidates' bios match up very well:

BIO SECTION	% very likely to vote for that candidate	
	UNDECIDED	SEATTLE WOMEN
Sidran background	27%	36%
Sidran as AG/endorsements	29%	35%
Senn background	29%	36%
Senn as AG/endorsements	31%	39%

- The ballot was then re-tested after voters heard these biographical descriptions of each candidate. In this informed ballot, Sidran and Senn are tied with 41% each and only 18% are undecided. And, once again, the level of intensity for each candidate is comparable: 16% 'definitely' voting for Senn and 14% 'definitely' voting for Sidran.
- Sidran has a ten point lead among men up from the previous four point lead (now at 47% Sidran to 37% Senn). While there is movement among women, Sidran still trails by seven points (36% Sidran to 43% Senn).
- Across media markets, Sidran begins to widen the gap in Seattle (the largest media market constituting 76% of the state), and he moves to win Yakima as well.

Media Market	% On Interim Ballot		
	Senn	Sidran	Diff
Portland	46%	39%	-7%
Seattle	38%	43%	+5%
Spokane	65%	22%	-43%
Yakima	31%	44%	+13%
King County	36%	45%	+9%
Seattle Men	35%	49%	+14%
Seattle Women	40%	37%	-3%

- We learn from the open-ended responses after this ballot that respondents who choose Sidran are reacting to his experience as a prosecutor, as City Attorney for Seattle and his stance on the issues of pollution and domestic violence. Many respondents like that he has a Harvard education and is originally from Seattle. In addition, the endorsements, particularly those of Al Franken and Governor Locke, appear to be effective in influencing voters' decision.

GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: Skagit
He served in the prosecutors office. Well, just that he has had experience working in a law office and knowing the ins and outs of things and the fact that he is endorsed by Gary Locke. I just like Gary Locke, his pragmatic approach to things.

GENDER: Female/Home AGE: 25-34, COUNTY: King
Well, I like the fact that he managed the law firm and I like the fact that he went to Harvard. He was Attorney General in Seattle. That's it

GENDER: Female/Emp AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: Benton

The endorsements by the people in the office and other prosecutors and the Governor. His experience in the prosecutors' office makes me believe that he is more suitable for the job. That's it.

GENDER: Female/Home AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: Cowlitz

One thing that really zoomed in on me was his stance on domestic violence. He was endorsed by Governor Locke, and I have respect for Governor Locke. The endorsement for Deborah by Mike Lowery didn't impress me.

- And for those voters favoring Deborah Senn after hearing the biographical descriptions most cite Senn's work against insurance companies and her efforts to reject rate increases as their main reason for their vote. In addition, many respondents cite her work on domestic violence, against drug companies and her work in general as Insurance Commissioner. Some also mention her endorsements, particularly Ralph Nader and the Labor Unions and the fact that she says she will continue Gregoire's work.

GENDER: Female/Retired AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: Pierce

Well, I've always admired the work she's done as insurance commissioner. I've been on her side for a long time. I don't know. I just have a positive outlook on all the work she's done, and the people who have worked with her and supported her. And, I like her judgment. I know she'll do a good job.

GENDER: Female/Emp AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: Thurston

Just because she did such a good job as insurance commissioner. That she seemed to not be afraid to take on the insurance companies, and she seemed really courageous in doing that. I don't really have any other reasons.

GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 25-34, COUNTY: King

Well, I think she did a good job as insurance commissioner, that she does more regulating, and that she is a good solid progressive liberal I don't know. That's it.

GENDER: Male/Retired AGE: 65+, COUNTY: Whatcom

Well, the work on insurance companies, holding the line with insurance. I think you had something in there about the pharmaceutical companies. It seems like she's going to bat for us. I figure she's done a lot of good for us. She came to Bellingham and I met her, I think she's done a good job. That's about it.

GENDER: Male/Retired AGE: 65+, COUNTY: King

I think her experience and performance as insurance commissioner was very effective and I liked it. Well, I just thought she was effective and her experience was of the like for being Attorney General. I think she would be a very good successor to Christine Gregoire. Nothing.

GENDER: Female/Retired AGE: 65+, COUNTY: Snohomish

I don't know. I guess the fact that Ralph Nader said she was the best insurance commissioner. Paul Schell endorsed her. The AFL-CIO. The Washington Education Association. I think she might go after the corporations more.

Messages:

- Voters were then read a series of messages about each candidate and asked if what they heard made them more or less likely to vote for that candidate. Each respondent heard eight contrast messages about Deborah Senn and six contrast messages about Mark Sidran:

Messages Tested Against Sidran - Sorted By % Much Less Likely	% Much Less Likely	% Total Less Likely	% No Diff
Sidran has a record of being anti-union. A city commission slammed his office for retaliating against employees who engaged in union activity in the City Attorney's office.	36%	62%	30%
Sidran is backed by millions of dollars coming from doctors and big business who are trying to buy a more pro-business Attorney General.	33%	56%	36%
According to the State Republican party chairman, Sidran contacted a number of members of their party about running for Attorney General as a REPUBLICAN.	29%	47%	42%
As City Attorney, Sidran ran roughshod over the city's homeless, essentially kicking them out of downtown Seattle by pushing for laws to outlaw panhandling or even sitting on a sidewalk during business hours. These laws were called a form of prejudice by	28%	54%	31%
As City Attorney of Seattle, Sidran unfairly targeted African American local businesses and hip-hop clubs by pushing for rules to hold owners responsible for violence inside or outside of their establishment. He also pushed for laws and police policies!	20%	37%	37%
Sidran has a record of being pro-business. Just two years ago, he tried to become the President of the Greater Washington Chamber of Commerce, and he has been endorsed by the Washington Association of Businesses.	14%	36%	46%

Messages Tested For Sidran	% More Likely	% No Diff
When downtown and neighborhood business districts in Seattle faced a downward spiral, Sidran fought for common sense solutions – not just for civility, but for expanding drug, alcohol and mental health treatment to get at the root of why many homeless are	61%	26%
Much like Rudy Guiliani cleaned up New York City, Sidran successfully cleaned up downtown Seattle when he was City Attorney, by pushing for common sense laws to get rid of uncivil behavior like public urination and aggressive pan handling that was driving	52%	29%

- The most convincing messages against Sidran are his alleged anti-union positions and potential backing by “big business.”

Among Union households, the message that *Sidran has a record of being anti-union. A city commission slammed his office for retaliating against employees who engaged in union activity in the City Attorney's office* scores 46% much less likely to vote for Sidran, compared to 31% much less likely among non-Union households.

	% Much Less Likely	% Total Less Likely	% No Diff
Messages Tested Against Senn - Sorted By % Much Less Likely			
As Insurance Commissioner, Senn suspended most of a seven hundred thousand dollar fine against an insurance company in exchange for the company paying the salaries and benefits of four new staff members for her office, and then tried to cover up the deal.	43%	65%	28%
Senn's regulations and rules on insurance companies backfired and ended the ability for uninsured working families to get health insurance from reputable companies for over two years, until the Governor was forced to step in and clean up the mess she had made.	36%	63%	28%
As Insurance Commissioner, Senn was accused by her employees of over one hundred separate violations. Employees were so dissatisfied that they organized into a union for the first time in the history of the Commission office.	34%	63%	29%
As Insurance Commissioner, Deborah Senn made a deal with an insurance company guilty of ripping off Washington policy holders by allowing them to pay the salaries of four new staff members for her office - a move that the Seattle Times said could lead to conflicts of interests between the watchdog office and the companies it is supposed to oversee.	32%	62%	29%
On Senn's watch, the Washington Insurance Commission office lost its national accreditation for poor staffing and lack of oversight for over two years, and did not regain it until a new Insurance Commissioner took over the office.	28%	59%	31%
Senn has been criticized by a union leader of the Washington Federation of State Employees for hiring her campaign managers and political friends on the Insurance Commission rather than more qualified but non-political employees.	24%	57%	37%
Critics say Deborah Senn wrecked the individual health insurance market in the state by creating such severe regulations that insurance companies left the state, limiting individuals' choices and forcing the Governor to take away the insurance commissioners' ability to regulate insurance	23%	47%	37%
On Senn's watch, the Washington Insurance Commission office lost its national accreditation for not having enough examiners to oversee the financial solvency of insurance companies in the state.	23%	55%	40%
According to the Seattle Times, as Insurance Commissioner, Deborah Senn almost doubled the budget for her top administrators and public relations staff to nearly three million dollars.	23%	46%	39%
As Insurance Commissioner, Senn's top aide was fined fifteen hundred dollars by the state ethics commission for campaigning for Senn during work hours on state time.	20%	43%	49%
Senn received thousands of dollars in campaign contributions from chiropractors and other medical specialists who benefitted from rulings she made as Insurance Commissioner.	20%	48%	48%

	% More Likely	% No Diff
Messages Tested For Senn		
As Insurance Commissioner, Senn worked hard to increase the number of Washington residents with health care coverage. In fact, the number of uninsured dropped while she was in office.	55%	27%

- The most convincing messages for making voters less likely to vote for Senn is clearly attacking her record as Insurance Commissioner by demonstrating that she was willing to make sweetheart deals with insurance companies and the mess she created for the uninsured. One potential area that was obliquely referred to in the materials, but which we could not find supporting specifics for is certainly that the mess she created in the individual market also INCREASED THE COST OF INSURANCE. In our experience, this message may be even more compelling than the closing out of the individual market that occurred as a direct result of her actions.

The staffing issues test well, but again could simply open the door to a similar attack against Sidran which is fairly effective against him among union household voters.

- Following this message series, where Democrat primary voters heard a series of contrast messages about each candidate, Sidran pulls ahead by a 17 point margin of 48% to Senn's 31%. Twenty one percent (21%) of voters are still undecided. Sidran also begins to widen the gap on intensity – now 19% will 'definitely' vote for Sidran versus 14% 'definitely' voting for Senn.
- On the final ballot, Sidran wins every media market except Spokane, where Senn's lead is within the margin of error:

Media Market	% On Final Ballot		
	Senn	Sidran	Diff
Portland	27%	55%	+28%
Seattle	31%	49%	+18%
Spokane	39%	34%	-5%
Yakima	30%	42%	+12%
King County	29%	50%	+21%
Seattle Men	33%	48%	+15%
Seattle Women	29%	50%	+21%

- This is the FIRST time Sidran establishes a lead with women (+18 advantage; 49% Sidran and 31% Senn) including with Seattle women (50% Sidran and 29% Senn). From a net negative of three points, Sidran now beats Senn among this key sub-group of Seattle women by 21 points. This certainly indicates that a contrast is needed rather than just pure positive on Sidran in order to move these voters.
- Those voters who switched to support Sidran on the final ballot are more likely to be women (30%), younger voters ages 18-44 (31%), less educated voters (34%), more conservative Democrats (52%), voters in the Portland media market (47%) and the Southwest region of the state (34%), as well as those who had not originally heard of him (35%).

We asked voters who switched their initial voting decision what made them change their minds:

- Voters moving to Sidran (24%) give three main reasons: His work in cleaning up Seattle, his experience as a prosecutor (while she has none), and the new information about Senn's poor record as Insurance Commissioner.

GENDER: Female/Emp AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: Skagit

I really like what you had said about his positive approach to city problems, taking care of things that are going on and making people responsible for their actions, despite the color of your skin or if you're homeless, you have to be responsible for your behavior. I think that's plenty.

GENDER: Female/Emp AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: Benton

For Mark Sidran the people really support him and the other candidate has people who don't really want to work for her. She also wants to be an Attorney General and she's never been a prosecutor so I don't think that she is qualified. That's it.

GENDER: Female/Emp AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: Island

About the homeless running around, and him putting them in, improving their life. I think he is better qualified as Attorney General. I didn't hear anything good about the lady.

Male/Emp AGE: 35-44, COUNTY: Walla Walla

Well, basically her experience and illegal issues when she was on the job. I think that's it and her management issues. That's all.

Male/Emp AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: Snohomish

Just more education about him. If these things are true. I have not been aware of the candidates for attorney general. Just what he's done for downtown Seattle. I agree with him that it's been a problem. The panhandlers and the appearance of the streets and the increase of fines against drunk drivers. I think that's all.

GENDER: Female/Retired AGE: 65+, COUNTY: King

Well, I didn't know of her record, I thought it was much better than that. That's all.

- Voters moving to Senn's side (9%) say they like her work on health care and they do not like that Sidran is anti-union.

GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 65+, COUNTY: Kitsap

Simply because just the statements that you read describing Sidran they were more negative about Sidran than about Senn. More negative about pro-business, African-American, and the homeless. Senn is more pro-people based on those statements. More people oriented than Sidran. He's cold and calculating. As you read the statements, I was forming a picture of Sidran of being cold and calculating. I guess that's it.

GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 25-34, COUNTY: Kitsap

I don't prefer anybody anti-union, when I am a union member myself. That's it.

GENDER: Male/Emp AGE: 35-44, COUNTY: Franklin

You gave me some advice that wasn't printed in the papers, that I haven't read up on. Senn is pro union and I am. Sidran sounds like he is anti union. That's it.

*GENDER: Female/Retired AGE: 55-64, COUNTY: King
 Because she worked with Gregoire, and she did good with her. He's done some stupid things. And I like women better in politics. Because she cares about the health care system, and is trying to get people into it.*

*GENDER: Male/Retired AGE: 45-54, COUNTY: Pierce
 Well, just the fact that she took on the evil insurance companies I like what the other candidate did too, but the job is more oriented towards the insurance companies.*

- As you might expect, the two positive messages about Sidran are the most convincing reasons among those respondents who moved to vote for Sidran on the final ballot:

Messages Tested For Sidran	% More Likely	% Move to Sidran on Final Ballot
When downtown and neighborhood business districts in Seattle faced a downward spiral, Sidran fought for common sense solutions – not just for civility, but for expanding drug, alcohol and mental health treatment to get at the root of why many homeless are on the streets.	61%	75%
Much like Rudy Guiliani cleaned up New York City, Sidran successfully cleaned up downtown Seattle when he was City Attorney, by pushing for common sense laws to get rid of uncivil behavior like public urination and aggressive pan handling that was driving away tourists and shoppers. In addition, he worked to make our streets safer by increasing penalties on drunk drivers and unlicensed drivers.	52%	70%

- The messages that work best against Senn overall are also the top rated messages among those who move to supporting Sidran.

Messages Tested Against Senn - Sorted By % Much Less Likely	% Much Less Likely	% Move to Sidran on Final Ballot
As Insurance Commissioner, Senn suspended most of a seven hundred thousand dollar fine against an insurance company in exchange for the company paying the salaries and benefits of four new staff members for her office, and then tried to cover up the deal from the State Legislature.	43%	66%
Senn's regulations and rules on insurance companies backfired and ended the ability for uninsured working families to get health insurance from reputable companies for over two years, until the Governor was forced to step in and clean up the mess she had created.	36%	54%
As Insurance Commissioner, Senn was accused by her employees of over one hundred separate violations. Employees were so dissatisfied that they organized into a union for the first time in the history of the Commission office.	34%	50%

Coalitions/Endorsements:

□ On the second night of interviewing, we tested perceptions of groups and how they could influence voting decisions in the AG race. These groups were the 'Washington Education Association', the 'Washington AFL-CIO' and the 'Washington Association of Businesses'.

□ Reactions to the 'Washington Association of Businesses' is a modest net negative. While there's not a positive reaction among Democrat primary voters – just 12% say it would make them more likely to vote for a candidate - its also not really a hindrance (just 28% say it would make them less likely to vote for a candidate who received their support or endorsement). Fifty six percent (56%) say it would make no difference.

There is no intensity to the negative even among key voter groups, including undecided voters. However, it does not give Sidran any sort of boost either. A different sponsoring organization would appear to make sense. We should compare notes about the sponsoring organization for any potential advertising.

□ The 'Washington Education Association' is the organization to which voters are most receptive. Sixty eight percent (68%) say it would make the more likely to vote for the candidate for Attorney General (32% 'much more likely').



Buying Justice

Robert Lenzner Matthew Miller, 07.21.03

For years the trial lawyers had state courts wrapped around their fingers. Now big business is striking back. It is waging a secret election-campaign war on judges who favor plaintiffs in tort cases.

Justice C.P. (Chuck) McRae is adored by trial lawyers--and reviled by business. A colorful, cocky figure who drives a motorcycle to the courthouse and dresses in cowboy boots, blue jeans and lots of leather, he was once president of the Mississippi Trial Lawyers Association. Nearly all of his \$700,000 campaign fund in 2000 came in the form of \$5,000 gifts from plaintiff attorneys who stand a chance of appearing before him. McRae says he is proud of "defending the have-nots against the haves for more than 11 years," a populist sentiment that unsettles business execs. He was "the dominant force on the court and in line to be the next chief justice," says Chip Reno, director of Stop Lawsuit Abuse, a local pro-business lobby.

That is, McRae was, until voters threw him out of office last November. Chuck McRae, 57, ends his 11-year tenure next January, passing the gavel to a pro-business corporate lawyer and Republican named Jess Dickinson. Dickinson was swept into office on a down-and-dirty, name-calling campaign bankrolled by \$1.2 million he raised from doctors and small-business owners--an unheard of sum for a judicial election. But he also had a hidden helper: Unbeknownst to some Mississippi voters, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce pumped \$1 million more into anti-McRae ads, funneling it through local groups such as Mississippians for Economic Progress.

McRae's ouster is part of a secret war on judges now being waged by the chamber. It has spent \$100 million since 2000 and will spend \$50 million or more this year. The prime objective: to vote out judges supported by trial lawyers, labor unions and the Democratic Party and install new judges sympathetic to insurance companies, multinational corporations and the Republican Party. The chamber also is taking aim at state attorneys general, trial lawyers and state legislators.

So far the chamber has won in 21 of 24 judicial elections in eight states--and prevailed in 11 attorney general races. It helped win 7 open seats in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Texas and elsewhere and helped reelect 11 pro-business jurists. And it ousted 3 incumbents--2 in Alabama and 1 in Mississippi (Justice McRae). Sixty-three judges in 28 states are standing for reelection next year, and the chamber hopes to throw at least 10 of them out of office, aiming in particular at antibusiness courts in West Virginia, Texas, Mississippi and Ohio.

West Virginia Supreme Court Justice Warren McGraw will be among the targets. In five years McGraw has sided with the court majority in favoring workers in compensation claims 88% of the time. In one case the court ruled that a worker with bronchitis was eligible for workers' compensation. She went on to get "permanent total disability," which typically awards \$400,000 over a lifetime. No wonder the fund for state workers' compensation now runs \$3.6 billion in the red.

Judge McGraw also ruled, in a startling case in 1999, that workers could sue their employers if they feared a future accident--without having been injured at all. This gave rise to cases that lawyers describe as "No proof? No problem!" McGraw's son, lawyer Warren McGraw II, has brought more cases under this ruling than he can count. For moral support the judge can turn to his older brother, Darrell V. McGraw Jr., who sat on the state supreme court from 1977 to 1989. Darrell is now West Virginia's attorney general, and he has filed dozens of antitrust and consumer-protection cases against companies; his office has argued hundreds of cases before his brother's bench.

The judge declines comment; his brother, Darrell, says of the chamber's war, "It's reprehensible. It's dangerous to the American concept of self-governance and democracy." But the chamber's scrappy, driven president, Thomas Donohue, says business merely is trying to even the score with trial lawyers, who until now have dominated judicial elections and enjoyed a cozy, symbiotic relationship with jurists. "We led. We succeeded. Now the money is rolling in from drug companies, heavy manufacturers, large retailers, insurance companies, even banks," he declares.

Insurance giant American International Group, Home Depot and DaimlerChrysler are chipping in. The influx of money has raised the stakes: In 2000 candidates spent \$46 million in state judicial elections--or \$430,000 per race, up 60% from the previous election, says a study by the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University Law School and the National Institute on Money in State Politics. The chamber thus has reshaped the once sedate, lawyer-friendly game of electing judges, roiling it with vituperative politics replete with attack ads, whisper campaigns and allegations of election-law violations.

This is a dirty business. The Brennan Center says ads have "grown increasingly negative and controversial, and in some cases [have] fallen far beneath the level of dignity most Americans associate with their judicial system." Adding to the intrigue, the chamber cloaks its efforts by sidestepping disclosure laws that require revealing contributions. Instead of donating cash to candidates, it provides ad money and couches the effort as "informational" and policy-based. "We're seeing that politics is rearing its ugly head," says professor Lester Brickman of the Cardozo Law School in New York. "But politics has always been present, if shrouded in black robes. Now it's out in the open."

Lawsuits brought by Mississippi and an Ohio group charge the chamber with illegal tactics in election advertising. The American Bar Association last month issued a blistering report entitled "Justice in Jeopardy," attacking "the corrosive effects of excessive money in judicial campaigns." It was striking back at the chamber's \$10 million TV ad campaign in five states last year, which asserted that judges and lawyers impose a "lawsuit abuse tax" of almost \$2,000 a year on every family of four in the U.S. One spot shows a needy mother and child waiting in a long line at the courthouse, while a smarmy trial lawyer saunters up to the front. "It's a cheap trick," says ABA President Alfred P. Carlton Jr., "offensive imagery, non sequiturs and factual inaccuracies."

But chamber-backers such as Maurice (Hank) Greenberg, the 78-year-old chairman of AIG, the nation's largest insurer, say there isn't any choice but to wage all-out war. In February AIG took a jolting \$1.8 billion charge for the 2002 fourth quarter, blaming "egregious jury awards and settlements for litigation related to asbestos, medical malpractice and other damages." AIG's stock fell from \$55 to \$47 in a week, wiping out \$23.5 billion in market value. Though the stock recovered, Greenberg remains riled. "A bubble economy translated into a bubble on awards," he huffs. "It's coming out of our companies, out of the insurance industry, and it is being divided among the lawyers and some of the plaintiffs." The costs of litigation and liability claims exploded from 0.6% of GDP in 1950 to 2% of GDP by 2001--\$200 billion a year. The annual toll could hit \$300 billion by 2005. Lawyers typically pocket a third of the loot.

Tort litigation is big business in Illinois, particularly in Madison County (pop. 260,000). A jury there last year awarded \$250 million (including \$200 million in punitive damages) to a lone man claiming asbestos exposure at a U.S. Steel plant. Never mind that the plant was in Indiana, the man lives in Indiana and U.S. Steel is based in Pennsylvania. Rather than appeal, U.S. Steel settled the case for considerably less.

Illinois has no restrictions or limits on back-scratching between judges and trial lawyers. Lawyers can donate any amount they like to judges--and then have their cases tried before them. One day last fall Stephen M. Tillery, a partner at the St. Louis, Mo. law firm of Korein Tillery, and 18 others contributed a combined \$10,000 to the successful reelection campaign of Madison County trial court Judge Nicholas Byron. Tillery's firm also donated small sums to two judges on the state's Fifth District Appellate Court.

Cut to March 2003: Judge Byron presides over a jury that levies \$10.1 billion in damages (\$7.1 billion compensatory, \$3 billion punitive) against Philip Morris, the tobacco giant now known as Altria, on behalf of a class of smokers using light cigarettes that were promoted as less dangerous than regular ones.

The lead lawyer in the case: Stephen Tillery. Should the Altria verdict be upheld, Tillery will collect a hefty portion of the \$1.8 billion in legal fees. The case is now under appeal at, of all places, the Fifth District Appellate Court, which is "just as bad as Madison County," says Edward Murnane, president of the Illinois Civil Justice League, which, despite its civic-sounding name, is a pro-business group funded by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Because the Illinois court is now 4-to-3 antibusiness, Murnane says, his group will target the sole state supreme court seat up for election in 2004.

In another case in Marion, Ill., trial lawyers said State Farm deceived 4.7 million policyholders by authorizing the use of cheapie parts to repair their cars. Judge John Speroni, himself a former attorney for State Farm, ordered the insurer to pay policyholders \$1 billion plus interest. If the lawyers take the typical 30% cut, each plaintiff will get \$202--while the lawyers will rake in \$408 million.

The war on the judges began in 2000, when Donohue, who had run the American Truckers Association and took over the chamber in 1997, visited Bernard Marcus, the firebrand founder of Home Depot, at the company's base in Atlanta. The now-retired Marcus stunned Donohue with his outrage, complaining of getting hit with a new lawsuit every day. "Every time I sit down with a CEO I'm told their major economic problem is the trial lawyers," Marcus told Donohue, adding, "I have never seen such fear and intimidation in my life."

Marcus helped him raise \$8 million to target judges in the 2000 elections; that expanded to \$20 million in 2001 and to \$40 million in 2002. Much of the money went to the Institute for Legal Reform, a tax-exempt chamber unit that runs this anti-judge "voter education" effort. Thus, 60% of the money is tax-deductible for the companies that gave it.

In 2000 state officials in Mississippi and a grass-roots organization in Ohio accused the U.S. Chamber of Commerce of improperly trying to influence the elections. In Mississippi, Attorney General Michael Moore, who played a critical role in the \$244 billion national tobacco settlement, charged that the chamber had pushed beyond the boundaries of "issue advocacy" by promoting the four candidates it supported. The case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, which denied review; a federal appeals court then ruled in the chamber's favor.

In 2002 the chamber conducted its strongest blitz yet, backing candidates who won all nine of the state supreme court seats that the business group had sought. But this time it took a lower profile, masking its role and allying with groups such as the American Taxpayers Alliance, the Civil Justice League in Illinois and Stop Lawsuit Abuse in Mississippi, funding some of them.

As it braced for war, the chamber targeted eight antibusiness states, including Alabama, Ohio, Illinois and Mississippi. It ordered up detailed evaluations of rulings by every high court judge in each targeted state, grading them for positive or negative impact on the state's economy. Then the chamber's Institute for Legal Reform, whose board members include chiefs of major corporate donors to the judge-ousting campaign, recommended which judges to target. Tom Donohue made the final decision.

In Alabama, where judges had been infamously bad for business, the chamber swept the five seats of the nine-member supreme court up for reelection in 2000. Of those wins, the victory by chamber-supported Lyn Stuart over incumbent Justice Ralph Cook was crucial to insurance companies. A mid-1990s decision by Cook let the jury say life insurance companies defrauded their customers by charging the maximum state-regulated premium, costing the companies tens of millions of dollars. Next year a likely target will be Alabama Supreme Court Justice Douglas Johnstone, who has expanded corporate liability in 69% of his relevant decisions, according to research by a chamber consultant.

In Ohio the high court's ruling in two cases—one in 1999, one in 2000—forced employers to cover their employees' damages if they were involved in a car accident with an uninsured driver on their own time, resulting in \$1.5 billion in additional liabilities. So the chamber took the low road in 2000. It ran ads bluntly suggesting that incumbent state Supreme Court Justice Alice Resnick could be bought by trial lawyers and unions. "Alice Resnick: Is Justice for Sale?" one ad's voiceover asked, as paper money rained down on the scales of justice. The spot claimed that Resnick had done the bidding of trial lawyers and unions almost 70% of the time, in return for contributions of \$750,000. A second ad accused her of changing a vote to please a contributor. "But the chamber never produced any evidence to substantiate [the accusation]," according to the Brennan Center report. Despite the assault, Resnick won.

The chamber fared better in Ohio in 2002. The state legislature had passed a sweeping reform of tort laws, but the Ohio Supreme Court invalidated it, ruling the bills unconstitutional. Now the court has a 3-to-2 pro-business majority, after the chamber helped elect two conservative Republicans: Evelyn Stratton, an incumbent, and Maureen O'Connor, who was Ohio's lieutenant governor. It looks as if business could use a little help. Last year an Ohio jury awarded \$261 million in damages (including \$250 million punitive) to 250 investors because a Prudential stockbroker had moved their investments out of the stock market in late 1998 without their permission.

Donohue's assault team won big in Illinois in 2002, helping Rita Garman, a Republican appellate judge, win an open Supreme Court seat and defeat Democrat Sue Myerscough by a vote of 53% to 47%. The American Taxpayers Alliance, the chamber ally, ran TV ads alleging Myerscough wanted to turn the court into "a social service agency." ATA, based in Washington, D.C., is run by Scott Reed, who ran Robert Dole's 1996 presidential campaign and founded Chesapeake Enterprises, a consultancy that is close to the chamber.

The toughest battles are playing out in Mississippi, where litigation over asbestos and the faulty diet drug fen-phen are huge sources of revenue. In one case in 2001 a jury in Holmes County Court awarded \$150 million to

six plaintiffs who never became ill from asbestos exposure--they simply feared they would some day. In a three-county district presided over by trial court Judge Lamar Pickard, lawyers have filed some 4,000 separate fen-phen cases. Typically these lawyers gather plaintiffs by distributing circulars listing a hotline number and hiring legmen to work the smaller rural towns in search of more "victims." To settle such complaints nationwide, Wyeth (formerly American Home Products) has dished out \$12.8 billion thus far, but it is far from done. The plaintiff lawyers have landed up to \$3.8 billion, assuming a traditional 30% lawyer's fee.

In 2000 the chamber pushed too hard. Voters reacted so badly to chamber-paid ads for then-chief justice Lenore Prather that Prather asked the chamber to stop running the spots. The chamber refused--and Prather lost the race. It had better luck in 2002 dogging Justice Chuck McRae, who has a record of expanding liabilities on behalf of the plaintiff in 92% of his cases, a chamber consultant says. In addition to the chamber's \$1 million that it channeled to local groups, the Law Enforcement Alliance of America, which is associated with the National Rifle Association, pumped in another \$500,000 for ads attacking McRae; it also ran negative ads on several other candidates in the last weeks of other elections that year. In smearing McRae, one television ad said he was soft on child molesters: "When a 3-year-old was sexually assaulted, the Mississippi Supreme Court upheld the murderous conviction. Only Judge Chuck McRae voted to reverse it. No wonder *Reader's Digest* named him one of America's worst judges."

In response, Citizens for Truth in Government, a front group for trial lawyers, ran an ad charging McRae's Republican rival, Dickinson, had been sued for hitting a customer in the face with a whiskey bottle (in a bar where he worked years earlier) and, separately, for not paying his bills. Dickinson calls the ads "a total distortion of the facts," and asserts that in response McRae supporters spread the word at black churches that he wanted to retain the Confederate flag--and told white churches he wanted to ban it. McRae denies this.

The mutual mudslinging turned out badly for McRae. The incumbent judge got only 23% of the vote to Dickinson's 53%. A third candidate, Larry Buffington, who also was backed by a group of trial lawyers, got 24%. Chuck McRae will serve out his term until January 2004. Once Dickinson takes his seat, the Mississippi Supreme Court will have a 5-to-4 pro-business majority.

The plaintiff lawyers may be demonized even more if a federal investigation results in criminal charges. The U.S. Attorney in Jackson, Miss. is investigating the relationship between two leading trial lawyers, Richard Scruggs and Paul Minor, and Justice Oliver E. Diaz Jr., who won a seat on the state supreme court in 2000. Both Scruggs and Minor guaranteed two bank loans totaling \$150,000 to Diaz. The federal grand jury on this investigation has been extended six months.

Scruggs, a brother-in-law of Senator Trent Lott (R-Miss.), says in an interview he guaranteed an \$80,000 Diaz loan--and paid it off--in direct response to the Chamber of Commerce's war on Diaz. At an investment seminar in June 2002, Scruggs, who stands to share a portion of the \$12.3 billion due to attorneys involved in the 1998 national tobacco settlement, said that "in certain jurisdictions, the judiciary is elected with verdict money. The trial lawyers have established relationships with the judges that are elected. ... It's almost impossible to get a fair trial."

But even some chamber backers are uncomfortable with this crusade. DaimlerChrysler says it supports "voter education," not a war on judges. But this ugly battle will go on for a while; judges ordinarily sit for 6 to 12 years before they face reelection. Says Tom Donohue: "We want to play a full-court press--challenge [the trial lawyers] in the courts, in the voting booth, in the court of public opinion and in the state legislatures and Congress. Then they have to play everywhere at the same time. They become more visible and have to defend themselves."

Charts

The Chamber's Battleground

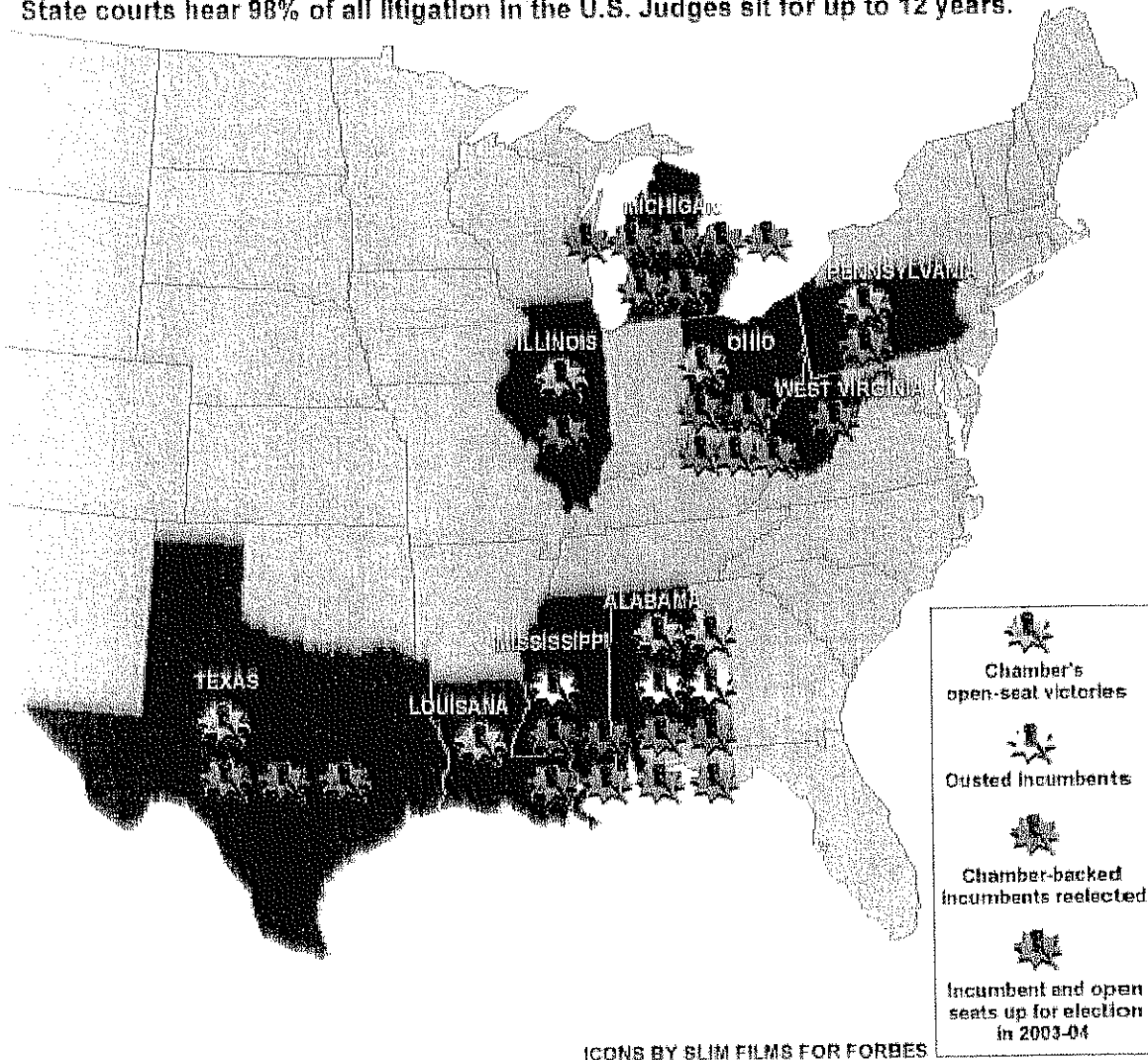


The Chamber's Battleground

07.21.03

[Back to Buying Justice](#)

Since 2000 the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has won 21 of 24 judicial elections and 11 state attorney general races. Pro-business courts can reverse huge verdicts levied against corporations and uphold tort reform laws passed by state legislatures. Thirty-eight states elect judges—many by retention, where the judge runs unopposed. State courts hear 98% of all litigation in the U.S. Judges sit for up to 12 years.



[Back to Buying Justice](#)

From: on behalf of Engstrom, Rob <REngstrom@USChamber.com>
To: 'Bob Doyle' <rwdoyle@sutters-mill.com>, Bruce Boram <bruceboram@msn.com>, Ann McCord <ann@mccordandco.com>, Engstrom, Rob <REngstrom@USChamber.com>
Subject: RE: new attached

We have legal ok on this end. Bruce, are your legal folks good? Thanks

-----Original Message-----

From: Bob Doyle [mailto:rwdoyle@sutters-mill.com]
Sent: Sunday, August 29, 2004 7:33 PM
To: Bruce Boram; Ann McCord; Engstrom, Rob
Subject: Fw: new attached

....and this one even more...

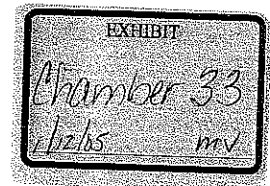
----- Original Message -----

From: "Neil Kammerman" <nkammerman@hotmail.com>
To: <rwdoyle@sutters-mill.com>
Sent: Sunday, August 29, 2004 7:19 PM
Subject: new attached

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VEC00885

McBride, Sean

From: David Postman [dpostman@seattletimes.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 21, 2004 4:40 PM
To: McBride, Sean
Subject: Chamber letter

here's the letter.

September 16, 2004

Mr. Thomas J. Donohue
President and CEO
U.S. Chamber of Commerce
1615 H Street, NW
Washington, DC 20062-2000

Dear Tom:

As chambers of commerce in Washington, we work collaboratively to strengthen our state's economy and to represent business interests at the local, regional and state levels. We have also worked successfully with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce over the years on national business priorities such as trade policy and transportation funding. Continuing our good working relationship is jeopardized by the recent revelations that the U.S. Chamber's Institute for Legal Reform dumped \$1.5 million into the "Anti-Deborah Senn Ad Campaign" without our prior knowledge and, more importantly, without any attempt to consult us about the wisdom of such an effort. In the final analysis, disclosure of the funding source for this ad campaign, only after legal action was threatened, became the singular focus of our print and electronic media, completely diverting the public's attention that would otherwise have been focused on the different attributes and records of the two Democratic candidates for Washington state Attorney General.

The events of last weekend, when disclosure of the ad funding source was made public, presented serious credibility problems for those of us who have tried to be good partners with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and are working very hard to brand the chamber name as a positive force for change in our communities, state and region. We believe business has an important and legitimate role to play in the formulation of public policy. It should be done in a forthright, public and transparent manner that enhances rather than undermines the legitimacy of our democratic process.

We have developed some solid grassroots, public policy and political action programs, which are having a positive impact in a traditionally very independent and populist state where citizens and voters measure us closely by what we say and do.

Washingtonians don't like surprises or what they perceive as outside interference. Unfortunately, that is what has happened with this ill-advised ad campaign.

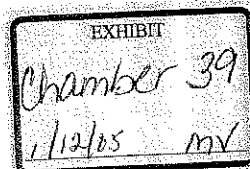
Therefore, we want to register our strong dissatisfaction with the campaign itself as well as the complete lack of consultation and communications with us on behalf of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. We insist that you include us in the decision-making process when it comes to state and local issues just as we work with you on issues at the federal level which are vital to our state, region and national competitiveness and survival.

Through our signatures on this letter, you will see it as an opportunity to strengthen our relationship and realize that a good partnership requires recognition that we have vital roles in the effort to strengthen our chamber federation.

Finally, we request a meeting with you to discuss ways in which we can develop a more viable partnership in the future for the benefit of the business community we serve.

Thank you and we look forward to your response and plan to remedy this serious and troubling situation.

Sincerely,



U.S. Chamber of Commerce
001062

The Greater Seattle Chamber
The Association of Washington Business
The Spokane Regional Chamber
The Kelso Longview Chamber
The Bellevue Chamber
The Tacoma-Pierce County Chamber