House Bill 3270

Sponsored by Representative BUCKLEY; Representatives ACKERMAN, BARNHART, DINGFELDER, HASS, HOLVEY, HUNT, MARCH, NOLAN, ROSENBAUM, SHIELDS, TOMEI, WIRTH, WITT

SUMMARY

The following summary is not prepared by the sponsors of the measure and is not a part of the body thereof subject to consideration by the Legislative Assembly. It is an editor's brief statement of the essential features of the measure **as introduced.**

Sets limits on amounts that may be contributed to political candidates and political committees. Limits amount candidate may contribute to candidate's own campaign. Modifies limits for contributions to other candidates if candidate contributes specified amount to candidate's own campaign.

Limits independent expenditures. Requires filing of statement by person making certain independent expenditures.

Prohibits direct corporate and labor union contributions.

Directs Secretary of State to establish political contribution handle registration system to identify contributors.

Requires transfer of unexpended balance of contributions to Secretary of State following end of election cycle. Establishes Voters' Pamphlet Operating Account. Directs moneys transferred to secretary to Voters' Pamphlet Operating Account. Continuously appropriates moneys to Secretary of State for purpose of preparing voters' pamphlet.

Provides civil penalties.

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21 22 Takes effect only if amendment to Oregon Constitution allowing regulation of campaign contributions proposed by House Joint Resolution 44 (2005) is approved by people at next regular general election or Oregon Constitution otherwise allows provisions of bill.

A BILL FOR AN ACT

- Relating to elections; creating new provisions; amending ORS 260.005, 260.007, 260.041, 260.044, 260.083, 260.402 and 260.737; appropriating money; and prescribing an effective date.
- 4 Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon:
 - SECTION 1. Sections 2 and 3 of this 2005 Act are added to and made a part of ORS chapter 260.
 - SECTION 2. (1) The purpose of this 2005 Act is to restore democracy in Oregon and reduce corruption and the appearance of corruption by limiting political campaign contributions and independent expenditures in candidate races and by increasing timely public disclosure of the sources of those contributions and expenditures. These limits and disclosure requirements are needed so that corporations, unions and wealthy individuals do not exercise undue and disproportionate influence over the results of elections and upon the policies and decisions of candidates and public officeholders. Consistent with the United States Constitution, this 2005 Act applies to campaigns for all public offices in Oregon, except federal offices.
 - (2) The Legislative Assembly declares that Oregon can make consistent progress in education, health care, economic development, living wage jobs and natural resource issues only by curtailing the power of private economic interests to unduly dominate our political process. The Legislative Assembly declares that changes in the election laws are necessary to restore fairness in political campaigns and achieve a government that represents the views and needs of all Oregonians instead of allowing only a powerful few to call the tune by providing funds to enable some candidates to overwhelm others.
 - SECTION 3. The Legislative Assembly finds that:

- (1) The democratic process has not functioned properly in Oregon due to the lack of reasonable limits on political campaign contributions and expenditures, including expenditures made independently of candidates, on races for state and local public office. Oregon is one of only five states in the United States with no limits on political campaign contributions. All of the prohibitions, limits and reporting and disclosure requirements of this 2005 Act are reasonable and necessary to curb the undue influence of large contributions and expenditures.
- (2) Because Oregon candidates are now forced to treat campaign fundraising as an "arms race" to be won at all costs, they have become unduly beholden to large contributors and the special interests able to contribute large amounts to their campaigns. Contributions to candidates in contests for statewide public office and for the Legislative Assembly have increased from \$4.2 million in 1996 to \$27.9 million in 2002. Less than four percent of the contributions were in amounts of \$50 or less, and 75 percent of the moneys came from only one percent of the contributors.
- (3) Large contributions distort the political process, impair democracy and have the adverse effects of:
- (a) Corrupting public officials and causing them to take actions that benefit large contributors at the expense of the public interest;
- (b) Causing public officials to grant special access and accord undue influence to large contributors;
- (c) Significantly impairing the opportunity for voters to hear from candidates who do not accept large contributions and for those candidates to communicate with voters; and
- (d) Fostering the appearance of corruption and undermining the public's faith in the integrity of elected officials and the political process.
- (4) Candidates engage in the money "arms race" due to their accurate perception that expenditures influence the outcome of elections. In contests for the Senate, the candidate spending the most money won in 87 percent of the races in 2002 and in 94 percent of the races in 2004. The two exceptions in 2002 and the only exception in 2004 were former legislators who still spent an average of \$195,000 each. In contests for the House of Representatives, the candidate spending the most money won in 92 percent of the races in 2002 and in 90 percent of the races in 2004. The five exceptions in 2002, including two incumbents, spent an average of \$167,000 each.
- (5) Oregon candidates have become overly dependent upon large contributions from very few donors. In the 2002 legislative races, over 98.5 percent of Oregon registered voters made no contributions at all. In the primaries, 49 percent of the moneys contributed came from three percent of the donors in contributions averaging over \$4,100 each. In the general election, 69 percent of the moneys contributed came from six percent of the donors in contributions averaging just under \$6,700 each. For the primary and general election campaigns combined, only 3.6 percent of the funds came from those contributing \$50 or less.
- (6) Candidate campaigns spent almost \$15 million in the 2002 contest for Governor alone, easily surpassing the \$2.4 million spent in 1998, the \$6.9 million spent in 1994, and the \$3.2 million spent in 1990. In 2002, each major party candidate spent over \$4 million, and the average spent in the primaries by the four losing candidates taken seriously by the press was \$1.5 million.
 - (7) Contributions are made also to obtain access to and the favor of whichever candidate

is elected. In 2002, almost 40 percent of moneys contributed to the legislative leadership political committees came from donors who contributed to both the Republican leadership committees and to the Democratic leadership committees. Nearly one-third of contributions to winning Oregon candidates after the close of the last reporting period in 2000 were first-time contributions from donors who had financially supported the losing candidate in the same race.

- (8) Contributions to and expenditures for candidate campaigns in excess of those allowed by this 2005 Act are considered to be large contributions and expenditures in Oregon.
- (9) Corporations have been granted state-conferred advantages for the purpose of economic gain and the amassing of wealth, including perpetual life, limited liability and the issuance of securities. The use of corporate treasury funds for political purposes distorts the democratic process, threatens the integrity of the elections process and overwhelms the voices of ordinary citizens. Corporate spending on politics does not necessarily reflect public support for the political agenda of the corporation. Therefore, corporate use of treasury funds for political purposes should be restricted to the maximum extent allowed by the United States Constitution and the Oregon Constitution.
- (10) Examples of the undue influence exercised due to large campaign contributions include:
- (a) In 2004, the Oregon State Lottery Commission disregarded its own study showing that Canadian provinces pay video poker outlets commissions of 15 percent of the moneys taken in, instead of the 32 percent paid in Oregon and continued to allow video poker outlets in Oregon to keep an extra \$85 million per year that should be going to schools. The commission answers to the Governor and the Legislative Assembly, and the Oregon Restaurant Association, whose clients were on the receiving end of the extra \$85 million, contributed over \$1.2 million to their candidacies in the last three elections.
- (b) Enron Corporation took over Portland General Electric in 1997 and in 2001 received from the Public Utility Commission the largest electricity rate increase in Oregon history-over \$400 million per year. The commission also refuses to make Portland General Electric pay back any of the more than \$700 million Portland General Electric has charged Oregon ratepayers since 1997 for federal and state income taxes that in fact neither Enron nor Portland General Electric has ever paid. The commission answers to the Governor and the Legislative Assembly, and Portland General Electric and Enron have contributed almost \$400,000 to candidates for the Legislative Assembly and both major political parties.
- (11) Even if corporate contributions and expenditures were prohibited, corporations could channel political spending through individuals, in the form of large salaries, bonuses or other compensation or gifts, and thereby continue to exercise undue influence over candidates and public officeholders, who would be aware of the sources of the funds.
- (12) Allowing unlimited individual contributions accords undue influence to wealthy individuals, regardless of their sources of wealth, who can use that influence to obtain access to public officeholders and benefits from government not available to others. In the 2002 contest for Governor, one individual contributed \$415,000 to the Republican candidate and another \$125,000 to the Oregon Republican Party. The same candidate received another \$200,000 from an individual and another \$150,000 from another individual, with \$100,000 more from that contributor's son. Each of these individual contributors were executive officers of corporations.

- (13) Even if all other contributions were prohibited or limited, large contributions by candidates to their own campaigns would also have the adverse effects noted above because candidates with personal wealth could overwhelm the efforts of other candidates and compel those candidates to become beholden to large contributors and special interests in order to compete. Statewide campaigns in Oregon governed by the federal contribution limits have been dominated by candidate personal wealth. In 1996, for example, the winning candidate for an Oregon seat in the United States Senate, Gordon Smith, spent over \$2 million of his personal wealth, defeating Tom Bruggere, who spent \$1 million of his personal wealth. Further:
- (a) Regardless of the source of wealth, allowing unlimited use of personal funds undermines the goal of robust public debate by discouraging nonwealthy candidates from competing for office, thereby depriving voters of the opportunity to support candidates reflecting a full range of views and experiences; and
- (b) Candidates should be banned from loaning money to their own campaigns because solicitations of campaign funds to repay the loans would result in direct financial gain for the candidates.
- (14) Contribution limits can also be circumvented when adults use minors to make additional contributions. It is thus necessary to further limit campaign contributions and expenditures by persons under 16 years of age and to prohibit contributions by persons under 12 years of age because such contributions and expenditures are very likely to be dictated by adults as a means of circumventing the limits.
- (15) Candidates should not be allowed to carry over campaign funds from one election cycle to another because the accumulation of such "war chests" distorts and corrupts the election process by deterring other candidates from competing for public office and thereby unfairly entrenching incumbents in future elections. For example, in 2002 incumbent members of the Legislative Assembly entered their races with over \$785,000 in funds carried over from previous campaigns. Every incumbent Senator running for re-election won, as did every incumbent member of the House of Representatives, except one who switched parties in 2001. Further, the carried-over funds do not necessarily reflect the current views of the contributors on the merits of the candidates in the later race.
- (16) Reasonable limits on contributions to political committees and to political parties are also necessary to avoid the adverse effects of large contributions described in this section and to ensure that contributors cannot evade the limits on contributions to candidate committees by making unlimited contributions to political committees and political parties that support or oppose their candidates.
- (17) Contributions from individuals of \$50 dollars or less to small donor committees pose little or no risk of corruption because contributions to these committees will reflect public support for the committee's political positions and will not enable the contributors to exercise undue influence over elected officials or over the results of elections.
- (18) In 1994, voters in Oregon approved Ballot Measure 9, establishing contribution limits similar to those in this 2005 Act by an affirmative vote of 72 percent. The Supreme Court in 1997 found that those limits were not permitted under the Oregon Constitution. This 2005 Act takes effect at a time when the Oregon Constitution does allow the limitations contained in this 2005 Act.
- (19) When the Ballot Measure 9 limits were in effect during the 1996 election cycle, candidates were able to amass sufficient funds to campaign effectively and have their voices rise

to the level of public notice, using the contributions allowed by Ballot Measure 9. A more recent example shows that the contribution limits contained in this 2005 Act will allow effective campaigns. In 2004, Tom Potter won the election for Mayor of Portland, in a race involving over 350,000 registered voters, while limiting his campaign to contributions from individuals not exceeding \$25 per individual in the primary and \$100 per individual in the general election campaign. The reasonable limits in this 2005 Act will increase competition for public office, foster a greater robustness of political debate in Oregon and alleviate the adverse effects described in this section.

- (20) Limiting contributions will encourage candidates to spend more time in direct contact with voters in the candidates' districts and less time raising funds from large contributors. This will improve the understanding by candidates of public needs and policy solutions.
- (21) So-called independent expenditures supporting or opposing one or more candidates must also be regulated and disclosed in order to avoid circumvention of the limits on political contributions. For example, in 2004 independent expenditures supporting or opposing federal candidates amounted to more than \$500 million and provided conduits for corporations, unions and wealthy individuals to circumvent limits on contributions to candidates for federal office.
- (22) When campaign contribution limits were in place in Oregon's 1996 election cycle, independent expenditures increased from a negligible level to over \$1.85 million, as large donors evaded the contribution limits by funding noncandidate organizations that conducted express advocacy and electioneering campaigns to support or oppose candidates. These large expenditures corrupt the political process in the same manner as large contributions with the same adverse effects described in this section because candidates and elected officials are aware of the sources of the independent expenditures supporting or opposing their candidacies, and the expenditures allow the sources of the expenditures to exercise undue influence over the outcome of elections. These influences are even more severe than in the case of direct, publicly reported contributions to a candidate campaign because the connections between the candidate and those funding independent expenditure campaigns are known to the candidate but far less apparent to the public. Further, the candidate can publicly disavow the independent expenditures, which nevertheless remain effective in influencing voters and in helping the candidate.
- (23) The effective exercise of the right to vote requires timely access to understandable information about contributions and expenditures to influence the outcome of elections. Therefore, this 2005 Act requires:
- (a) More effective reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures, including independent expenditures, which is particularly necessary in light of Oregon's distribution of vote-by-mail ballots weeks prior to election day; and
- (b) Effective and prompt disclosure of the identities of large donors in communications to voters by independent expenditure campaigns, including the businesses of those donors.
- (24) As all levels of government in the United States are adopting more controls on political campaign contributions and expenditures, the courts are issuing many new decisions on whether the variety of new controls are consistent with the United States Constitution. Enacting a law and completing judicial review of its provisions through all levels of the courts takes a minimum of several years. If any specific limitation or threshold or time pe-

riod or age limit in this 2005 Act is ultimately found to conflict with the United States Constitution or with the Oregon Constitution, the public interest will best be served by:

- (a) Swiftly adjusting the conflicting provision so that the conflict is removed; or
- (b) If adjustment is not possible, then severing the conflicting provision so that remaining provisions remain fully in effect.
- (25) Under the limits specified in this 2005 Act, the people of Oregon will have ample opportunities to express their opinions and level of support for or opposition to candidates, to form and fund effective organizations to express political views and to enjoy the freedoms of speech and association.
- SECTION 4. ORS 260.005, as amended by section 9, chapter 542, Oregon Laws 2003, is amended to read:
 - 260.005. As used in this chapter:

- (1) "Business entity" means a corporation, partnership, limited liability company, proprietorship or other form of business organization that creates an entity that is legally separate from individuals.
 - [(1)(a)] (2)(a) "Candidate" means:
- (A) An individual whose name is printed on a ballot, for whom a declaration of candidacy, nominating petition or certificate of nomination to public office has been filed or whose name is expected to be or has been presented, with the individual's consent, for nomination or election to public office;
- (B) An individual who has solicited or received and accepted a contribution, made an expenditure, or given consent to an individual, organization, political party or political committee to solicit or receive and accept a contribution or make an expenditure on the individual's behalf to secure nomination or election to any public office at any time, whether or not the office for which the individual will seek nomination or election is known when the solicitation is made, the contribution is received and retained or the expenditure is made, and whether or not the name of the individual is printed on a ballot; [or]
 - (C) A public office holder against whom a recall petition has been completed and filed; or
- (D) For purposes of sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act, a public officer against whom a prospective recall petition has been filed and not expired under ORS 249.875.
- (b) For purposes of this section and ORS 260.035 to 260.156, "candidate" does not include a candidate for the office of precinct committeeperson.
 - (3) "Candidate survey" means a publication:
- (a) That shows the positions of candidates for nomination or election to a public office on selected bills, proposals or issues;
- (b) That has been provided by the sponsor of the publication to candidates in manner that allows candidates a reasonable time to respond;
- (c) That consists of the questions posed and the responses of all responding candidates; and
- (d) That may include descriptions of the bills, proposals or issues and the positions on the bills, proposals or issues taken by the sponsor of the publication.
- [(2)] (4) "Committee director" means any person who directly and substantially participates in decision-making on behalf of a political committee concerning the solicitation or expenditure of funds and the support of or opposition to candidates or measures. The officers of a political party shall be considered the directors of any political party committee of that party, unless otherwise

1 provided in the party's bylaws.

[(3)(a)] (5)(a) Except as provided in ORS 260.007 and section 7 of this 2005 Act, "contribute" or "contribution" includes:

- (A) The payment, loan, gift, forgiving of indebtedness, or furnishing without equivalent compensation or consideration, of money, services other than personal services for which no compensation is asked or given, supplies, equipment or any other thing of value:
- (i) For the purpose of influencing an election for public office or an election on a measure, or of reducing the debt of a candidate for nomination or election to public office or the debt of a political committee; or
 - (ii) To or on behalf of a candidate, political committee or measure; and
- (B) Any unfulfilled pledge, subscription, agreement or promise, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution.
- (b) Regarding a contribution made for compensation or consideration of less than equivalent value, only the excess value of it shall be considered a contribution.
 - (6) "Coordinated expenditure" means:
- (a) An expenditure made by a person and coordinated with a candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee;
- (b) An expenditure made with the cooperation of, with the prior consent of, in consultation with or at the request or suggestion of a candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee or its agent;
- (c) An expenditure for the production, dissemination, distribution or publication of any broadcast or any written, graphic or other form of political advertising or campaign communication prepared by or for a candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee or its agent;
- (d) An expenditure based on information provided to the person making the expenditure by a candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee or its agent about the plans, projects or needs of the candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee; or
- (e) An expenditure by a person who, in the election cycle during which the expenditure is made:
- (A) Has served as a member, employee, fundraiser, agent or advisor to the candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee;
- (B) Has received any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee or its agent; or
- (C) Has retained the professional services of any person who has provided campaignrelated services to the candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee.
 - [(4)] (7) "County clerk" means the county clerk or the county official in charge of elections.
- (8) "Dominant contributor" means a person who contributes more than \$500 during an election period to any candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee, political party committee or person making independent expenditures.
- (9) "Election cycle" means the period of time between one general election and the next general election, including the primary election or other nominating election to select candidates. For an election other than the general election, "election cycle" means the period of time between an election at which a candidate is elected and the next election for that

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same office, not including any intervening primary or nominating election, any recall election or any special election called to fill vacancies.

(10) "Election period" means:

- (a) The period beginning the day after a general election and ending on the day of the next primary election;
- (b) The period beginning the day after a primary election and ending on the day of the next general election;
- (c) For any special election called to fill a vacancy, the period beginning the day that the special election is called or declared and ending on the day of the special election; and
 - (d) For a recall election:
- (A) The period beginning the day that the prospective recall petition is approved for circulation and ending on the day that the completed recall petition is filed; and
- (B) The period beginning the day that the recall election is called or declared and ending on the day of the recall election.
 - (11) "Electioneering communication" means communication that:
- (a) Is distributed within 30 days before regular ballots are distributed to voters in a primary election or 60 days before regular ballots are distributed to voters in a general election or any other election at which a candidate for public office is elected;
- (b) Unambiguously refers to a candidate for nomination or election at that election or to a political party with at least one candidate for nomination or election at that election;
- (c) Is distributed so as to include electors who are eligible to vote for the candidate or for one or more of the candidates of the political party referred to in paragraph (b) of this subsection;
- (d) Is distributed by means of payment to any communication medium, including television, radio, magazines, newspapers, outdoor advertising, direct mail, door-to-door delivery or any other medium that receives actual or promised payment from the sponsor of the communication in an amount exceeding \$1,000 for distributing one or more communications; and
 - (e) Does at least one of the following:
 - (A) Includes the candidate's image;
- (B) Refers to the candidate's prior or current position on a public policy issue, including votes, statements or actions, or the position of the political party of the candidate, when the position has been raised in any public communication as distinguishing the candidate from other candidates for the same nomination or office;
- (C) Refers to the candidate's personal history or activities, when the history or activities have been raised in any public communication as distinguishing the candidate from other candidates for the same nomination or office; or
- (D) Promotes or supports a candidate or political party or attacks or opposes a candidate or political party.
- [(5)] (12) "Elector" means an individual qualified to vote under section 2, Article II of the Oregon Constitution.
- [(6)] (13) Except as provided in ORS 260.007 and section 7 of this 2005 Act, "expend" or "expenditure" includes the payment or furnishing of money or anything of value or the incurring or repayment of indebtedness or obligation by or on behalf of a candidate, political committee or person in consideration for any services, supplies, equipment or other thing of value performed or furnished

- for any reason, including support of or opposition to a candidate, political committee or measure, or for reducing the debt of a candidate for nomination or election to public office. "Expenditure" also includes contributions made by a candidate or political committee to or on behalf of any other candidate or political committee.
- (14) "Express advocacy communication" means a communication to electors that expressly advocates the election or defeat of one or more clearly identified candidates, including but not limited to expressions such as "vote for," "vote against," "elect," "re-elect," "retain," "return," "choose," "defeat," "reject," "send home," "support," "oppose," "should be in office," "should not be in office" or "deserves your vote."
 - [(7)] (15) "Filing officer" means:

- (a) The Secretary of State, regarding a candidate for any state office or any office to be voted for in the state at large or in a congressional district or regarding a measure to be voted on in the state at large.
- (b) The county clerk, regarding a candidate for any county office or any district or precinct office within the county, or regarding a measure to be voted for in one county or in a district situated wholly within one county.
- (c) The chief city elections officer, regarding a candidate for any city office, or a measure to be voted for in a city only.
- (d) The county clerk of the county in which the office of the chief administrative officer or administrative board is located regarding a candidate for office for any district or regarding a measure to be voted on in a district, when the district is situated in more than one county.
 - (e) In the case of an irrigation district formed under ORS chapter 545:
- (A) The county clerk, regarding any candidate for office or any measure at an irrigation district formation election where the proposed district is situated wholly in one county;
- (B) The county clerk of the county in which the office of the secretary of the proposed irrigation district will be located, regarding any candidate for office or any measure at an irrigation district formation election where the proposed district is situated in more than one county; or
- (C) The secretary of the irrigation district for any election other than an irrigation district formation election.
- [(8) "Independent expenditure" means an expenditure by a person for a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate that is not made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of the candidate. As used in this subsection:]
 - [(a) "Agent" means any person who has:]
- [(A) Actual oral or written authority, either express or implied, to make or to authorize the making of expenditures on behalf of a candidate; or]
- [(B) Been placed in a position within the campaign organization where it would reasonably appear that in the ordinary course of campaign-related activities the person may authorize expenditures.]
 - [(b) "Clearly identified" means:]
- [(A) The name of the candidate involved appears;]
- [(B) A photograph or drawing of the candidate appears; or]
- 42 [(C) The identity of the candidate is apparent by unambiguous reference.]
- [(c) "Expressly advocating" means any communication containing a message advocating election or defeat, including but not limited to the name of the candidate, or expressions such as "vote for," "elect," "support," "cast your ballot for," "vote against," "defeat" or "reject."]

- [(d) "Made with the cooperation or with the prior consent of, or in consultation with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or any agent or authorized committee of the candidate":]
- [(A) Means any arrangement, coordination or direction by the candidate or the candidate's agent prior to the publication, distribution, display or broadcast of the communication. An expenditure shall be presumed to be so made when it is:]
- [(i) Based on information about the candidate's plans, projects or needs provided to the expending person by the candidate or by the candidate's agent, with a view toward having an expenditure made; or]
 - [(ii) Made by or through any person who is or has been authorized to raise or expend funds, who is or has been an officer of a political committee authorized by the candidate or who is or has been receiving any form of compensation or reimbursement from the candidate, the candidate's principal campaign committee or agent; and]
 - [(B) Does not include providing to the expending person upon request a copy of this chapter or any rules adopted by the Secretary of State relating to independent expenditures.]
 - (16) "Independent expenditure" means an expenditure, by a person other than a principal campaign committee, on an express advocacy communication or on an electioneering communication and that is not a coordinated expenditure.
- [(9)] (17) "Initiative petition" means a petition to initiate a measure for which a prospective petition has been filed but that is not yet a measure.
- [(10)] (18) "Judge" means judge of the Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, circuit court or the Oregon Tax Court.
- [(11)] (19) "Mass mailing" means more than 200 substantially similar pieces of mail, but does not include a form letter or other mail that is sent in response to an unsolicited request, letter or other inquiry.
- [(12)] (20) "Measure" includes any of the following submitted to the people for their approval or rejection at an election:
 - (a) A proposed law.

- (b) An Act or part of an Act of the Legislative Assembly.
- (c) A revision of or amendment to the Oregon Constitution.
- 30 (d) Local, special or municipal legislation.
 - (e) A proposition or question.
 - (21) "Membership organization" means a nonprofit organization:
 - (a) That has individual members who have paid dues to join or maintain membership in the organization; and
 - (b) That is incorporated or unincorporated but not formed or operated for the purpose of commercial enterprise.
 - [(13)] (22) "Occupation" means the nature of an individual's principal business or, if the individual is employed by another person, the nature of the individual's principal business or the business name and address of the employer.
 - (23) "Officeholder scorecard" means a publication that:
 - (a) Shows the votes on selected bills or proposals of all of the members of a government body that takes recorded votes; and
 - (b) May include descriptions of the bills or proposals and the positions on the bills or proposals of the person publishing the scorecard.
 - [(14)] (24) "Person" means an individual, corporation, limited liability company, labor [organ-

- *ization*] **union**, association, firm, partnership, joint stock company, club, organization or other combination of individuals having collective capacity.
 - [(15)(a)] (25)(a) Except as provided in section 7 of this 2005 Act, "political committee" means a combination of two or more individuals, or a person other than an individual, that has:
 - (A) Received a contribution for the purpose of supporting or opposing a candidate, measure or political party; or
 - (B) Made an expenditure for the purpose of supporting or opposing a candidate, measure or political party.
 - (b) For purposes of paragraph (a)(B) of this subsection, an expenditure does not include:
 - (A) A contribution to a candidate or political committee that is required to report the contribution on a statement filed under ORS 260.058, 260.063, 260.068, 260.073, 260.076 or 260.102 or section 6, chapter 542, Oregon Laws 2003, or a certificate filed under ORS 260.112; or
 - (B) An independent expenditure for which a statement is required to be filed by a person under ORS 260.044 (1).
 - (26) "Political nonprofit organization" means a nonprofit corporation or association that:
 - (a) Was formed for the express purpose of promoting political ideas;
 - (b) Was not formed by one or more business entities or labor unions;
 - (c) Does not engage in business activities except those incidental to its political purpose;
 - (d) Has no shareholders or other individuals or entities affiliated with the nonprofit organization so as to have a claim on the assets or income of the nonprofit organization;
 - (e) Does not serve as a conduit for contributions or expenditures by corporations, other business entities or labor unions;
 - (f) Has not, directly or indirectly, accepted any donation of money or any thing of value, including discounts on products or services, from any corporation, other business entity or labor union; and
 - (g) Has not received any payment for providing products or services to corporations, other business entities or labor unions.
 - (27) "Political party committee" means a political committee established by a major or minor political party as described in ORS 248.006 or 248.008 or by assembly of electors qualified under ORS 249.735 to nominate candidates for election to public office.
 - (28) "Prominently disclose" means:

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- (a) Comprehensible to a person with average reading, vision and hearing abilities;
- (b) If printed material, printed in at least 8-point type;
- (c) If video material, readable on the regular screen, other than closed captioning, for a sufficient time to be read by a person with average vision and reading ability; and
 - (d) If auditory material, spoken at a maximum rate of five words per second.
- [(16)] (29) "Public office" means any national, state, county, district, city office or position, except a political party office, that is filled by the electors.
- [(17)] (30) "Recall petition" means a petition to recall a public officer for which a prospective petition has been filed but that is not yet a measure.
- [(18)] (31) "Referendum petition" means a petition to refer a measure for which a prospective petition has been filed but that is not yet a measure.
- 43 [(19)] (32) "Slate mailer" means a mass mailing that supports or opposes a total of three or more candidates or measures.
- 45 [(20)(a)] (33)(a) "Slate mailer organization" means, except as provided in paragraph (b) of this

1 subsection, any person who directly or indirectly:

- (A) Is involved in the production of one or more slate mailers and exercises control over the selection of the candidates and measures to be supported or opposed in the slate mailers; and
- (B) Receives or is promised payment for producing one or more slate mailers or for endorsing or opposing, or refraining from endorsing or opposing, a candidate or measure in one or more slate mailers.
- (b) Notwithstanding paragraph (a) of this subsection, "slate mailer organization" does not include:
 - (A) A political committee organized by a political party; or
- 10 (B) A political committee organized by the caucus of either the Senate or the House of Repre-11 sentatives of the Legislative Assembly.
 - (34) "Small campaign items" means:
 - (a) Small items worn or carried by individuals, including, but not limited to, buttons, pins, stickers, bracelets and pens;
 - (b) Signs smaller than six square feet;
 - (c) A communication where the required prominent disclosure would violate any federal law or regulation; or
 - (d) A distribution of 100 or fewer substantially similar pieces of literature.
 - (35) "Small donor committee" means a political committee that:
 - (a) Accepts contributions only from individuals; and
 - (b) Does not accept contributions from individuals that exceed an aggregate amount of \$50 per calendar year.
 - [(21)] (36) "State office" means the office of Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, Attorney General, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor and Industries, Superintendent of Public Instruction, state Senator, state Representative, judge or district attorney.

SECTION 5. ORS 260.007 is amended to read:

- 260.007. [As used in this chapter, "contribute," "contribution," "expend" or "expenditure" does not include:]
- [(1) Any written news story, commentary or editorial distributed through the facilities of any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine or other regularly published publication, unless a political committee owns the facility;]
- [(2) An individual's use of the individual's own personal residence, including a community room associated with the individual's residence, to conduct a reception for a candidate or political committee, and the individual's cost of invitations, food and beverages provided at the reception;]
- [(3) A vendor's sale of food and beverages for use in a candidate's or political committee's campaign at a charge less than the normal comparable charge, if the charge is at least equal to the cost of the food or beverages to the vendor;]
- [(4) Any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses an individual, including a candidate, makes on behalf of a candidate or political committee;]
- [(5) Any loan of money made by a financial institution as defined in ORS 706.008, other than any overdraft made with respect to a checking or savings account, if the loan bears the usual and customary interest rate for the category of loan involved, is made on a basis that assures repayment, is evidenced by a written instrument and is subject to a due date or amortization schedule. However, each indorser or guarantor of the loan shall be considered to have contributed that portion of the total amount of the loan for which that person agreed to be liable in a written agreement, except if the indorser or

1 guarantor is the candidate's spouse;]

- [(6) Nonpartisan activity designed to encourage individuals to vote or to register to vote;]
- [(7) Any communication a membership organization or corporation makes to its members, share-holders or employees if the membership organization or corporation is not organized primarily for the purpose of influencing an election to office;]
- [(8) The payment of compensation for legal and accounting services rendered to a candidate or political committee if the person paying for the services is the regular employer of the individual rendering the services and the services are solely for the purpose of insuring compliance with the provisions of this chapter; and]
- [(9) The payment by a state or local committee of a political party of the costs of preparation, display or mailing or other distribution incurred by the committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of three or more candidates for any public office for which an election is held in this state. This subsection does not apply to costs incurred by the committee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations or in newspapers, magazines or similar types of general public political advertising.]

As used in this chapter, "contribute," "contribution," "expend" and "expenditure" do not include:

- (1) Volunteer personal services, including services provided by the candidate, for which no compensation is asked or given, including unreimbursed travel expenses incidental to the services;
- (2) Any bona fide news story, commentary or editorial distributed through the facilities of any media organization, including any television or radio station, newspaper, magazine or other regularly published periodical, if the media organization:
- (a) Is not paid by any person for distributing the news story, commentary or editorial, apart from normal advertisers;
- (b) Is not owned or controlled by one or more candidates, political committees or political parties; and
- (c) Does not distribute the news story, commentary or editorial to electors by unsolicited mailings or other means of distribution not sought by the recipient, including any paid advertisement in any other medium;
- (3) Nonpartisan activity solely to encourage individuals to vote or to register to vote, without expressing a preference regarding the outcome of any election;
- (4) Communication to its members, and not to the public, by a membership organization not organized primarily for the purpose of influencing the outcome of elections for the nomination or election of a candidate for public office, including communication of an officeholder scorecard or candidate survey;
- (5) Production and distribution by paper or electronic format, but not by paid advertising on television or radio, to the public at a cost of less than \$20,000 of an officeholder scorecard or candidate survey; or
- (6) Funds provided to a principal campaign committee by entities of government pursuant to a system of public funding.
- 42 <u>SECTION 6.</u> Sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act are added to and made a part of ORS chapter 260.
 - SECTION 7. As used in sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act:
 - (1) "Contribution" or "contribute" means:

- (a) The payment, loan, gift, forgiving of indebtedness or furnishing without equivalent compensation or consideration of money, services, supplies, equipment or any other thing of value to, on behalf of or for reducing the debt of a candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee; and
- (b) Any unfulfilled pledge, subscription, agreement or promise, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution.
 - (2) "Expenditure" or "expend" means:

- (a) The payment or furnishing to anyone of money or any other thing of value in consideration for any services, supplies, equipment or other thing of value performed or furnished for any reason, or the incurring or repayment of indebtedness or obligation, including the creation of an account payable:
- (A) For the purpose of influencing the nomination or election of a candidate for public office; or
- (B) By, on behalf of or for reducing the debt of a candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee, political party committee or person making independent expenditures; and
- (b) Any unfulfilled pledge, subscription, agreement or promise, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure.
- (3)(a) "Political committee" means a person, other than an individual, or any combination of individuals or persons that in any calendar year receives a contribution in an amount exceeding \$200 or makes an expenditure in an amount exceeding \$1,000 to support or oppose one or more candidates or political parties.
- (b) "Political committee" does not include a principal campaign committee or any committee that does not support or oppose one or more candidates or political parties.
- <u>SECTION 8.</u> (1) A corporation or labor union may not make any contribution to a principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee.
- (2) Except as specifically allowed in sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act, a person may not make a contribution to a principal campaign committee, political committee or political party.
- (3) A principal campaign committee, political committee, political party committee or other person may not accept a contribution or make a contribution or expenditure in violation of any provision of sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act.
- (4) During an election period, an individual may not contribute an aggregate amount exceeding:
 - (a) \$500 to a candidate for statewide public office.
 - (b) \$100 to a candidate for any other public office.
- (5) During a calendar year, an individual may not contribute an aggregate amount exceeding:
 - (a) \$50 to a small donor committee.
- (b) \$500 to any other political committee, other than a principal campaign committee or a political party.
 - (c) \$2,000 to a political party committee.
 - (d) \$2,500 to all principal campaign committees, political committees, small donor committees, political parties and political nonprofit organizations.
 - (6) During an election period, a political committee, other than a small donor committee

or a political party committee, may not contribute an aggregate amount exceeding:

- (a) \$2,000 to a candidate for statewide public office.
- (b) \$400 to a candidate for any other public office.

- (7) During a calendar year, a political committee, other than a small donor committee or a political party committee, may not contribute an aggregate amount exceeding \$2,000 to a political party, including all subdivisions of the political party.
- (8) A small donor committee may contribute any amount to a principal campaign committee, other political committee or political party.
- (9) During an election period, a political party committee may not contribute and aggregate amount exceeding:
 - (a) \$50,000 to a candidate for statewide public office.
 - (b) \$10,000 to a candidate for any other public office.
- (10) For purposes of this section, a contribution to a candidate includes a contribution to the candidate's principal campaign committee.
- (11) During an election period, an individual who is at least 12 years of age, but under 16 years of age, may not contribute an aggregate amount exceeding:
 - (a) \$50 to any principal campaign committee, political committee, or political party; or
 - (b) \$500 to all candidates, political committees and political parties.
- (12) An individual under 12 years of age may not contribute to a candidate, political committee or political party committee.
- (13) A political committee organized exclusively to support or oppose a measure, and that receives a contribution or makes an expenditure in an aggregate amount exceeding \$200 in any calendar year, may not make contributions or expenditures supporting or opposing any candidate for nomination or election to public office during the calendar year.
- (14) A membership organization may transfer to one small donor committee not more than 40 percent of the dues paid by each individual member of the organization. A membership organization may not transfer more than \$50 per individual member per calendar year. Transfers made under this subsection count as contributions from each individual duespaying member, but do not count against the aggregate limit specified in subsection (5)(d) of this section.
- (15) This section does not apply to contributions to candidates for nomination or election to federal office.
- <u>SECTION 9.</u> (1) Except as provided in subsection (7) of this section, during an election period:
- (a) A candidate for statewide public office may not contribute an aggregate amount exceeding \$50,000 from the candidate's personal funds to the candidate.
- (b) A candidate for any other public office may not contribute an aggregate amount exceeding \$10,000 from the candidate's personal funds to the candidate.
- (c) If a candidate is not the incumbent for the public office sought, the candidate may contribute from the candidate's personal funds to the candidate an additional aggregate amount that does not exceed 50 percent of the applicable limit specified in paragraph (a) or (b) of this subsection.
- (2) During an election cycle, if a candidate has contributed an aggregate amount exceeding \$5,000 from the candidate's personal funds to the candidate:
 - (a) For the remainder of the election cycle, the candidate shall file a statement of con-

tributions received with the filing officer not later than three business days after the candidate receives a contribution. The statement shall include the information required under ORS 260.083 with respect to contributions.

- (b) Every communication for which the candidate makes an expenditure shall prominently disclose the name of the candidate and the amount that the candidate has contributed from the candidate's personal funds to the candidate during the election cycle. The information required to be disclosed under this paragraph shall be current to within 10 days of the printing of printed material or within five days of the transmitting of a video or audio communication. This paragraph does not apply to communications that are small campaign items.
- (3) If the provisions of subsection (1) of this section are not in effect, during an election period, an individual or political committee may make contributions to a candidate in an amount described in subsection (4) of this section if, during the election period, an opposing candidate for the same nomination or office contributes from the opposing candidate's personal funds to the opposing candidate an aggregate amount exceeding:
 - (a) \$50,000 in the case of a candidate for nomination or election to statewide office.
 - (b) \$10,000 in the case of a candidate for nomination or election to any other public office.
- (4) An individual or political committee may make a contribution under subsection (3) of this section in an amount equal to the amount of the applicable contribution limit specified in section 8 (4) to (9) increased by a factor equal to the amount contributed by the opposing candidate to the opposing candidate, divided by the applicable amount specified in subsection (3) of this section, but not less than a factor of two.
- (5) If, during an election period, a candidate contributes from the candidate's personal funds to the candidate an amount exceeding an applicable amount specified in subsection (3) of this section, the filing officer who receives statements under subsection (2) of this section shall immediately notify in writing all other candidates for the same nomination or office.
- (6) The contribution limits specified in section 8 of this 2005 Act are modified as specified in this section on the date the written notice is given under subsection (5) of this section.
- (7) A candidate may not make a loan from the candidate's personal funds to the candidate's principal campaign committee.
- (8) If subsection (7) of this section is not in effect, every loan by a candidate to the candidate's principal campaign committee that has not been repaid at the close of the election period is considered a contribution and may not be repaid to the candidate from moneys remaining in the principal campaign committee.
 - (9) For purposes of this section:

- (a) An expenditure by a candidate relating to the candidate's nomination or election to public office is considered a contribution to the candidate's principal campaign committee and an expenditure by the principal campaign committee.
- (b) A contribution to a candidate includes a contribution to the candidate's principal campaign committee.
- (10) This section does not apply to contributions to candidates for nomination or election to federal office.
- SECTION 10. (1) A principal campaign committee, political committee or political party may not make an expenditure to support or oppose a candidate in violation of any provision of sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act.

(2) A coordinated expenditure is considered:

- (a) A contribution to the candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee by the person making the expenditure; and
- (b) An expenditure by the candidate, principal campaign committee, political committee or political party committee.
- (3) A candidate or political party may seek a determination that an expenditure is a coordinated expenditure benefitting an opposing candidate or political party by filing a petition with the circuit court of the county in which the candidate resides or in which the expenditure was made. The court shall schedule the petition for hearing not later than the third business day after its filing and service upon the opposing candidate or political party. The court shall give precedence on its docket to petitions filed under this section as circumstances may require.
- (4) This section does not apply to contributions to or expenditures by candidates for nomination or election to federal office.
- <u>SECTION 11.</u> For purposes of the contribution and expenditure limits and prohibitions described in sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act:
- (1) All political committees, except small donor committees, established, financed, maintained or controlled by the same corporation or its affiliates or subsidiaries, or substantially the same group of corporations, are treated as a single political committee.
- (2) All political committees established by the same labor organization unit at any level, provided that the unit has authority to make an independent decision as to which candidates to support or oppose, are treated as a single political committee.
- (3) All political committees established by substantially the same group of persons or combinations of persons are treated as a single political committee.
- (4) All political committees established by the same political party or subdivision of a political party are treated as a single political party committee.
- (5) This section does not apply to candidates for nomination or election to federal office.

 SECTION 12. (1) A corporation or labor union may not make an independent expenditure to support or oppose a candidate or political party.
- (2) A person may not make an independent expenditure to support or oppose any candidate or political party, in violation of sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act.
 - (3) In a calendar year:
- (a) An individual may not make independent expenditures in an aggregate amount exceeding \$10,000.
- (b) Notwithstanding paragraph (a) of this subsection, an individual may make additional independent expenditures to support or oppose a candidate if an opposing candidate for the same nomination or office has reported making a contribution from the opposing candidate's personal funds to the opposing candidate's principal campaign committee under section 9 of this 2005 Act. An individual may make additional independent expenditures under this paragraph in an aggregate amount that does not exceed 20 percent of the amount reported by the opposing candidate under section 9 of this 2005 Act.
- (4) In a calendar year, an individual who is at least 12 years of age, but under 16 years of age, may not may not make independent expenditures in an aggregate amount exceeding \$500.
 - (5) An individual under 12 years of age may not make an independent expenditure.

- (6) Political committees, including small donor committees, and political parties may make independent expenditures from amounts received in compliance with the provisions of sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act.
- (7) A political nonprofit organization may make independent expenditures from its organizational treasury if:
- (a) The organization makes expenditures only from funds contributed to the organization by individuals in amounts that comply with the limits applicable to contributions from an individual to a political committee; and
- (b) The organization reports the expenditures in compliance with the disclosure and reporting requirements of subsections (8) to (10) of this section.
- (8) If a person makes independent expenditures in an amount exceeding \$2,000 during the accounting period described in this subsection, every communication disseminated by the person after the \$2,000 threshold is exceeded shall prominently disclose the name, primary business and amount contributed by each person during the election cycle who has contributed to the person an amount that is equal to or greater than the amount contributed by the fifth largest dominant contributor to the person during the election cycle. The accounting period begins on the date of the most recent general election before an independent expenditure was made and ends on the date that the \$2,000 threshold is exceeded. The information required to be disclosed under this subsection shall be current to within 10 days of the printing of printed material or within five days of the transmitting of a video or audio communication. This subsection does not apply to communications that are small campaign items.
- (9) In addition to the reporting requirements set forth in ORS chapter 260, a person that makes one or more independent expenditures in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000 during an election cycle shall report the expenditures and the sources of funding for those expenditures in the same manner and schedule as a political committee must report such contributions and expenditures under ORS chapter 260.
- (10) A person that makes an independent expenditure in an amount exceeding \$5,000 shall report the expenditure and the sources of funding for the expenditure to the appropriate filing officer not later than five business days after the expenditure is made.
- (11) This section does not apply to candidates for nomination or election to federal office.

 <u>SECTION 13.</u> (1) Subject to subsection (2) of this section, a corporation, other business entity or labor union may establish and administer a separate political committee.
 - (2) A political committee established under subsection (1) of this section:
- (a) Shall consist solely of voluntary contributions from the employees, officers, share-holders or members of the organization within the limits established by section 8 of this 2005 Act for contributions by individuals to a political committee;
- (b) Shall file a statement of organization under ORS 260.042 and comply with all laws pertaining to political committees; and
- (c) Shall include in any solicitation for contributions directed to the political committee a statement that contributions are not required and that an individual's response will not affect the individual's employment, will remain confidential and will not be provided to the individual's supervisors or managers.
- (3) A corporation, other business entity or labor union that establishes a political committee under this section may not use more than \$500 per calendar year of treasury funds

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to create and administer the committee. Amounts expended under this subsection shall be reported as contributions to the committee.

- (4) This section does not apply to candidates for nomination or election to federal office.

 SECTION 14. (1) The Secretary of State shall establish and maintain a political contribution handle registration system.
 - (2) A person may apply to the secretary for assignment of a political contribution handle. A handle shall consist of a simple, unique combination of letters and numbers for each person.
 - (3) An application for a political contribution handle shall identify:
 - (a) An applicant who is an individual by name, residence address, year of birth, occupation and employer; or
 - (b) An applicant who is a person other than an individual by name, type of business entity, business address, business phone number, business Internet address, if any, and all types of business in which the person engages.
 - (4) Upon receipt of a completed application, the secretary shall issue the applicant a political contribution handle.
 - (5) A person who makes an aggregate amount of contributions exceeding \$500 in an election cycle shall obtain a political contribution handle and provide the handle to the recipient of any subsequent contribution made by the person.
 - (6) Any person issued a political contribution handle under this section shall update the information listed on the person's application on file with the secretary not later than 30 days after any change to the information.

SECTION 15. A corporation, other person or employer may not, directly or indirectly:

- (1) Require any employee or contractor to make any contribution or independent expenditure to support or oppose any candidate; or
- (2) Provide or promise any benefit or impose or threaten any detriment because an employee or contractor did or did not make a contribution or expenditure to support or oppose any candidate.
- SECTION 16. (1) Except as provided in subsection (2) of this section, a candidate for public office in an election cycle who has an unexpended balance on contributions at the end of the election cycle shall transfer the unexpended contributions to the Secretary of State. The candidate shall transfer the unexpended contributions not later than 60 days after the end of the election cycle.
- (2) A candidate may retain an amount of unexpended contributions that the candidate determines is necessary to pay the obligations of the principal campaign committee and to terminate its operations. A candidate elected to office as a state Senator or state Representative may not retain more than \$10,000 of the unexpended contributions for use for office expenses during the immediately following regular session of the Legislative Assembly.
- (3) This section does not apply to candidates for nomination or election to federal office. SECTION 17. (1) Except as provided in subsections (2) and (3) of this section, the Secretary of State or Attorney General may impose a civil penalty under ORS 260.995 for each violation of section 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 or 16 of this 2005 Act.
- (2) The Secretary of State or Attorney General may impose a civil penalty in an amount that is not less than five times the amount of the contribution or expenditure made in excess of the applicable limit or prohibition, and not more than 20 times the amount of the contri-

bution or expenditure made in excess of the applicable limit or prohibition.

- (3) Any person subjected to a violation of section 13 (2)(c) or 15 of this 2005 Act has civil cause of action against the violator and shall, upon proof of violation, recover damages in an amount of not less than \$50,000 per incident of violation.
- (4) A elector may enforce the provisions sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act by bringing a civil action in a representative capacity for the collection of the civil penalty described in subsection (2) of this section, payable to this state. A civil action may be brought under this subsection only if:
- (a) The elector notifies the Secretary of State and Attorney General 30 days before the filing the civil action; and
- (b) At the end of the 30-day period, neither the Secretary of State or Attorney General has brought an enforcement action covering the same claim.
- SECTION 18. (1) If, in the absence of this section, there would be entered in any court any order impairing the effectiveness of any provision of this 2005 Act on the ground that any of the numeric limits or thresholds, percentage limits or thresholds, time periods or age limits specified this 2005 Act conflict with the United States Constitution or Oregon Constitution, then the Legislative Assembly hereby:
- (a) Increases the conflicting numeric limit or threshold by increments of \$100 as many times as necessary to render it consistent with the United States Constitution or Oregon Constitution;
- (b) Increases the conflicting percentage limit or threshold by increments of one percent as many times as necessary to render it consistent with the United States Constitution or Oregon Constitution;
- (c) Increases or decreases the conflicting time period by increments of one day as many times as necessary to render that time period consistent with the United States Constitution or Oregon Constitution;
- (d) Decreases the conflicting age limit by increments of one year as many times as necessary to render it consistent with the United States Constitution or Oregon Constitution; and
- (e) Declares that for purposes of this section, a prohibition shall be considered a numeric limit of zero.
- (2) If, in the absence of this section, there would be entered in any court any order impairing the effectiveness of any part of this 2005 Act on the ground that the United States Constitution or Oregon Constitution requires that any type of individual or entity be wholly or partially exempt from any of the prohibitions or limitations in this 2005 Act, then the Legislative Assembly declares that the provisions of this 2005 Act shall be given a narrowing interpretation so as to avoid invalidation of any provision of this 2005 Act and to preserve its effectiveness to the maximum degree consistent with the United States Constitution or Oregon Constitution.
- **SECTION 19.** ORS 260.083, as amended by section 14, chapter 542, Oregon Laws 2003, is amended to read:
- 260.083. (1) A statement filed under ORS 260.058, 260.063, 260.068, 260.073, 260.076 or 260.118 or section 6, chapter 542, Oregon Laws 2003, shall list:
- (a) Under contributions, all contributions received. Except as provided in ORS 260.085, the statement:

- (A) Shall list the name, year of birth, occupation, employer and residence address of each person, and the name and address of each political committee, or the political contribution handle issued to the person or political committee under section 14 of this 2005 Act, that contributed an aggregate amount of more than \$50 on behalf of a candidate or to a political committee and the total amount contributed by that person or political committee[. The statement]; and
- **(B)** May list as a single item the total amount of other contributions, but shall specify how those contributions were obtained.
- (b) Under expenditures, all expenditures made, showing the name of the payee and the amount and purpose of each.
 - (c) Separately, all contributions made by the candidate or political committee.
- (d) All loans, whether repaid or not, made to the candidate or political committee. The statement shall list:
- (A) The name and address of each person shown as a cosigner or guarantor on a loan and the amount of the obligation undertaken by each cosigner or guarantor[. The statement also shall list]; and
 - (B) The name of the lender holding the loan.

- (2) If an expenditure in an amount exceeding \$50 is a prepayment or a deposit made in consideration for any services, supplies, equipment or other thing of value to be performed or furnished at a future date, that portion of the deposit that has been expended during the reporting period shall be listed as an expenditure and the unexpended portion of the deposit shall be listed as an account receivable.
- (3) Anything of value paid for or contributed by any person shall be listed as both an in-kind contribution and an expenditure by the candidate or committee for whose benefit the payment or contribution was made.
- (4) If a candidate, political committee or chief petitioner under ORS 260.118 makes an expenditure that must be reported as an in-kind contribution and an expenditure as provided in subsection (3) of this section, the candidate or political committee making the original expenditure shall, in any statement filed under ORS 260.058, 260.063, 260.068, 260.073 or 260.118 or section 6, chapter 542, Oregon Laws 2003, identify the expenditure as an in-kind contribution and identify the candidate or political committee for whose benefit the expenditure was made.
- (5) Except as provided in subsection (8) of this section, expenditures made by an agent of a candidate or political committee on behalf of the candidate or committee shall be reported in the same manner as if the expenditures had been made by the candidate or political committee.
- (6) If a political committee makes an expenditure that qualifies as an independent expenditure [under ORS 260.005 (8)], the listing of the expenditure under this section shall identify the candidate or candidates who are the subject of the independent expenditure and state whether the independent expenditure was used to advocate the election or defeat of the candidate or candidates.
- (7) If a candidate, political committee, chief petitioner under ORS 260.118 or an agent of a candidate, political committee or chief petitioner makes an expenditure for the purpose of paying any person money or other valuable consideration for obtaining signatures on an initiative, referendum or recall petition, the statement described in this section shall list the total amount paid by the candidate, political committee, chief petitioner or agent for the purpose of obtaining signatures. The statement is not required to list the name or address of any person as payee or the amount paid to any person.
 - (8)(a) A vendor who enters into a contract with a candidate or political committee to prepare

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- or produce brochures, mailings, polls, other opinion research or television, radio or newspaper advertising, or to provide mail handling and postage, is not considered an agent of the candidate or political committee for purposes of subsection (5) of this section. The Secretary of State by rule may designate other specific products or services that would qualify a vendor for an exemption from reporting under this subsection.
- (b) [Nothing in this section shall] **This section does not** require a vendor described in this subsection to disclose the vendor's internal or subcontracting costs for providing the specific product or service under paragraph (a) of this subsection.
- (9) The Secretary of State shall accept statements described in this section in a simple spreadsheet, database or electronic format. A statement submitted in a format described in this subsection is not required to contain separately calculated subtotals.
- (10) Not later than five business days after receiving a statement filed under this section, the secretary shall make the statements and all political contribution handle information available on the Internet in an interactive database format. The format shall enable the user to determine the sources and amounts of reported contributions:
- (a) Made by or to each principal campaign committee, political committee, political party and person making independent expenditures; and
- (b) Made by each contributor who has contributed at an aggregate amount exceeding \$500 during the election cycle.
- [(9)] (11) As used in this section, "address" [shall have] has the meaning given that term in rules adopted by the Secretary of State.

SECTION 20. ORS 260.402 is amended to read:

- 260.402. (1) [No person shall] A person may not make a contribution to any other person or an expenditure, relating to a nomination or election of any candidate or the support or opposition to any measure, in any name other than that of the person who in truth provides the contribution or makes the expenditure.
- (2) [No person shall] Except as provided in subsection (3) of this section, a person may not knowingly receive [the] a contribution, [or] enter the contribution or expenditure or cause [it] the contribution or expenditure to be entered in accounts or records in another name than that of the person by whom it was actually provided or made. [However, if the contribution is received from the treasurer of any political committee, it shall be sufficient to enter it as received from the treasurer.]
- (3) If a person receives a contribution from a political committee, the person may enter the contribution into accounts or records as received from the political committee.
- SECTION 21. Section 22 of this 2005 Act is added to and made a part of ORS chapter 246.

 SECTION 22. (1) The Voters' Pamphlet Operating Account is established in the State Treasury, separate and distinct from the General Fund.
- (2) All moneys received by the Secretary of State under section 16 of this 2005 Act shall be paid over to the State Treasurer and deposited in the Voters' Pamphlet Operating Account.
- (3) Moneys deposited to the credit of the Voters' Pamphlet Operating Account are continuously appropriated to the Secretary of State for the purpose of paying the expenses of carrying out the functions and duties of the Secretary of State relating to voters' pamphlets under ORS chapter 251.
- **SECTION 23.** ORS 260.041 is amended to read:
- 45 260.041. (1) Notwithstanding ORS 260.005 [(15)] (25) and except as provided in ORS 260.043, a

candidate shall designate a political committee as the candidate's principal campaign committee. A candidate may designate only one political committee as the candidate's principal campaign committee.

(2) A political committee may not be designated as the principal campaign committee of more than one candidate.

SECTION 24. ORS 260.044, as amended by section 10, chapter 542, Oregon Laws 2003, is amended to read:

- 260.044. (1) A person shall file a statement of expenditures made if the person makes expenditures in a total amount of more than \$50 in support of or in opposition to a candidate, a measure or a political committee.
- (2) A statement filed under subsection (1) of this section shall be filed for the reporting period described in ORS 260.063 or 260.073 during which the total amount of expenditures exceeds \$50. The accounting period for the statement required by subsection (1) of this section begins on the date that an expenditure is made. The statement shall specify the candidate, measure or political committee supported or opposed by the expenditure. The Secretary of State by rule shall prescribe the form of the statements. If a statement is filed for the reporting period for the supplement to the second preelection statement, a second statement for the same expenditure does not need to be filed in the post-election reporting period.
- (3) Notwithstanding ORS 260.005 [(15)] (25), a person who solicits and receives a contribution or contributions shall be a political committee and shall file a statement of organization under ORS 260.042 and the statements required by ORS 260.063, 260.073 or 260.076. The statements filed under this subsection shall be filed for the reporting period described in ORS 260.063, 260.073 or 260.076 during which any contribution was received. The accounting period for the statement required by this subsection begins on the date that a contribution is received.
 - (4) For purposes of this section:

- (a) An expenditure does not include a contribution to a candidate or political committee that is required to report the contribution on a statement filed under ORS 260.058, 260.063, 260.068, 260.073, 260.076 or 260.102 or section 6, chapter 542, Oregon Laws 2003, or a certificate filed under ORS 260.112;
- (b) An expenditure does not include a contribution to a candidate who is not required to file a statement of organization under ORS 260.043; and
- (c) A person is not a political committee under subsection (3) of this section if all contributions received by the person are designated to a candidate or political committee and are required to be reported as contributions by a candidate or political committee on a statement filed under ORS 260.058, 260.063, 260.068, 260.073, 260.076 or 260.102 or section 6, chapter 542, Oregon Laws 2003, or a certificate filed under ORS 260.112.
- (5) A person shall be a principal campaign committee if the person, in preparing to become a candidate in the general election, receives a contribution, receives a loan, whether repaid or not, or makes an expenditure in a total amount of more than \$2,000 before the date of the primary election. A person described in this subsection shall file the statements required by ORS 260.058 as if the person were a candidate in the primary election. This subsection does not apply to a candidate in the primary or nominating election.

SECTION 25. ORS 260.737 is amended to read:

260.737. (1) A slate mailer organization shall not send a slate mailer unless all of the following are satisfied:

[23]

- (a) The name and address of the slate mailer organization shall be shown on the outside of each piece of the slate mailer in a legible size and type.
- (b) The following notice shall appear in a legible size and type at the top or bottom of the front side of the slate mailer:

NOTICE TO VOTERS

9 THIS DOCUMENT WAS $\underline{\text{NOT}}$ PREPARED BY A POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEE OR PARTY

CAUCUS COMMITTEE.

CANDIDATES AND MEASURES MARKED WITH AN * PAID FOR APPEARANCE IN THIS DOCUMENT.

- (c) Each candidate that has paid to appear in the slate mailer and each measure on whose behalf payment has been received to appear in the slate mailer shall be designated by an asterisk of legible size immediately following the name of the candidate or the name or number of the measure in each instance where the name of the candidate or the name or number of the measure appears in the slate mailer.
- (2) The Secretary of State by rule shall define "legible size" and "legible size and type" as used in this section.
- (3) For purposes of ORS 260.735 and this section, "address" means the address of a residence, office, headquarters or similar location where the slate mailer organization or a responsible officer of the slate mailer organization may be conveniently located. If the slate mailer organization is a political committee, the address shall be the address of the political committee included in the statement of organization under ORS 260.039 or 260.042.
- (4) The Secretary of State by rule may define the term "payment" as used in this section and ORS 260.005 [(20)] (33) and 260.735.

SECTION 26. Sections 7 to 18 of this 2005 Act and the amendments to statutes by sections 4, 5, 19, 20 and 23 to 25 of this 2005 Act apply to contributions and expenditures made on or after the effective date of this 2005 Act.

SECTION 27. The provisions of this 2005 Act supersede any provision of law with which they may conflict. For the purpose of determining the constitutionality of any provision of this 2005 Act, every section, subsection, paragraph and subparagraph of this 2005 Act shall be evaluated separately. If any section, subsection, paragraph or subparagraph is held invalid, the remaining sections, subsections, paragraphs and subparagraphs shall not be affected and shall remain in full force and effect. The courts shall sever those sections, subsections, paragraphs and subparagraphs necessary to render this 2005 Act consistent with the United States Constitution and the Oregon Constitution. Each section, subsection, paragraph and subparagraph is considered severable, either individually or in any combination.

SECTION 28. (1) Except as provided in subsection (2) of this section, this 2005 Act does not take effect unless the amendment to the Oregon Constitution proposed by House Joint Resolution 44 (2005) is approved by the people at the next regular general election held throughout this state. This 2005 Act takes effect on the effective date of that constitutional

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(2) If, 30 days after the November 2006 general election, the Oregon Constitution does not allow limitations on political campaign contributions or expenditures, this 2005 Act shall nevertheless be codified and shall take effect on the date that the Oregon Constitution is found to allow, or is amended to allow, limitations on political campaign contributions or expenditures.