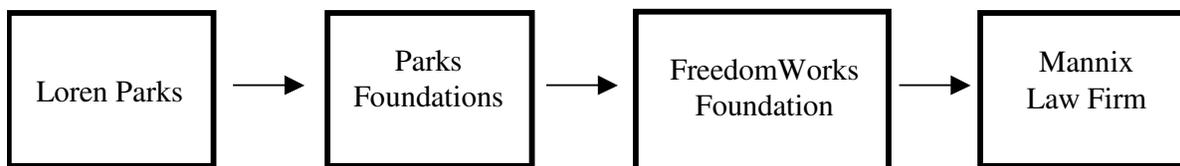


A Political History of Russ Walker and FreedomWorks SUMMARY

FreedomWorks

Lower Taxes, Less Government, More Freedom



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October 2009



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PURPOSE

This report has been prepared because over the past decade, Walker has established himself as a leading figure in conservative politics, working closely with Loren Parks, Kevin Mannix, Bill Sizemore and other Oregon conservatives. This analysis focuses on Walker's local and national political connections, the effect of his ballot measure advocacy, and the political consequences for Oregon of Walker's ability to mobilize national resources under the guise of grassroots political participation. More details as well as background footnotes and citations for newspaper quotes are included in the full report that is available at www.commoncause.org/oregon.

INTRODUCTION

Russ Walker is a native Oregonian who worked for Oregon Right to Life and in 2000 became Oregon State Director for Citizens for a Sound Economy, now known as FreedomWorks. The organization has been criticized for having an agenda primarily set by corporate contributors and for its claims to grassroots activism being "a fig leaf for corporate lobbying." FreedomWorks only has three state level staff in Florida, North Carolina, and Russ Walker in Oregon.

Walker is well placed within conservative circle, drawing support from and supporting key Oregon conservatives. Walker's top donor for ballot measures supported by FreedomWorks – all rejected by voters – is Nevada-based businessman Loren Parks, who directly or through Parks Medical Electronics has donated \$1,1,859,334 through September of 2009. Two foundations controlled by Parks contributed \$532,980 to FreedomWorks Foundation since 2000 with major support coming in tax reports filed from 2004 through 2007. In this same time frame FreedomWorks Foundation has made \$624,678 in payments for services to Kevin Mannix's law firm. Walker has partnered with Mannix on several ballot measures and has also worked with Bill Sizemore and others.

In partnership with Ross Day and Kevin Mannix, Russ Walker more recently qualified Measures 66 and 67 for a January 26, 2010 special election. The referenda require public votes on HB 2649 – increasing marginal tax rates imposed on top individual income tax brackets – and HB 3405 increasing the \$10 minimum corporate tax rate.

Walker's continued ballot measure advocacy, leadership within the Oregon Republican Party, and his regional and national political connections keep him an important figure in Oregon politics despite the rejection of all but two of his ballot measures by voters.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES – PETITION CIRCULATION FOR MEASURES 66 AND 67

Russ Walker, Kevin Mannix, and Ross Day Partnership

Russ Walker partnered with Kevin Mannix and Ross Day in gathering signatures on Referendums 301 and 302 to require public votes on HB 2649 and HB 3405, bills passed by the 2009 legislature to increase the marginal tax rates imposed on top personal income tax brackets and to increase from \$10 the minimum corporate tax rate. Their signature gathering effort was successful and Measures 66 and 67 will be on the ballot on a January 26, 2010 special election.

Business Support for Referenda Signature Gathering

Support came from mainstream business lobbyists and their clients as it became clear that two referendums would be filed. “It is a new thing in Oregon to have the business community in Oregon united with the grass-roots, fiscal conservative community. That is a big deal,” said Russ Walker state director of FreedomWorks in Oregon. Kevin Looper director of Our Oregon, a political non-profit primarily funded by unions, said that the campaign will be more of a challenge with support from some major business players, “But I never assumed we were going to just be up against the right-wing reactionaries.” Looper also said, “The overall campaign can be succinctly summarized as greed vs. need.”

Top contributors to the Referendum Petition 301 and Referendum Petition 302 PACs are summarized below in charts 1 and 2. The largest donor to both of these committees was Oregonians Against Job-Killing Taxes giving \$280,036 and \$330,036 for a total of \$610,072. The second highest contributor is Russ Walker’s Tax Defense Fund giving support valued at \$97,140 to each referendum PAC for a total of \$194,280.

Chart 1: Top 5 Contributors to Referendum Petition 301 PAC

Contributor	Contribution	Percentage
Oregonians Against Job-Killing Taxes (See chart 3 for donors to this PAC)	\$280,036	58.3%
Taxpayer Defense Fund (See chart 4 for donors to this PAC)	\$97,140	20.2%
VOTE LLC	\$50,000	10.4%
Americans for Prosperity	\$16,621	3.5%
Taxpayers Association of Oregon/TAO PAC	\$8,722	1.8%
Top Contributors Subtotal	\$452,519	94.3%
Miscellaneous Contributions of \$100 or less	\$728	0.2%
Remaining Contributions	\$25,850	5.6%
Total	\$480,098	

Based on disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of State through September 25, 2009. Figures may include cash and in-kind contributions as well as loans. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Chart 2: Top 5 Contributors to Referendum Petition 302 PAC

Contributor	Contribution	Percentage
Oregonians Against Job-Killing Taxes (See chart 3 for donors to this PAC)	\$330,036	68.7%
Taxpayer Defense Fund (See chart 4 for donors to this PAC)	\$97,140	20.2%
Americans for Prosperity	\$16,621	3.5%
Taxpayers Association of Oregon/TAO PAC	\$8,722	1.8%
Common Sense for Oregon, Inc	\$4,735	1.0%

Top Contributors Subtotal	\$457,254	95.2%
Miscellaneous Contributions of \$100 or less	\$728	0.2%
Remaining Contributions	\$22,115	4.6%
Total	\$480,098	

Based on disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of State through September 25, 2009. Figures may include cash and in-kind contributions as well as loans. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

The largest single donation to Oregonians Against Job-Killing Taxes (see chart 3) was \$100,000 from the Oregon Bankers Association. Associated Oregon Industries and its affiliated PAC, however, gave a total of \$125,000 as reported by the day signatures were due on September 25, 2009. Common Sense for Oregon, Inc., a joint effort of Ross Day, Kevin Mannix, and Russ Walker gave \$50,000 in support to Oregonians Against Job-Killing Taxes.

Chart 3: Top 15 Contributors to Oregonians Against Job-Killing Taxes

Contributor	Contribution	Percentage
Associated Oregon Industries/Associated Oregon Industries PAC	\$125,300	11.1%
Oregon Bankers Association	\$100,000	8.8%
Weyerhaeuser Company	\$51,194	4.5%
Common Sense for Oregon, Inc	\$50,000	4.4%
Roseburg Timber	\$45,000	4.0%
Associated General Contractors of America, Inc	\$38,497	3.4%
ChamberPAC (Medford Area Chamber of Commerce PAC)	\$36,500	3.2%
Plum Creek	\$36,000	3.2%
Portland Business Alliance/Alliance-PAC	\$28,838	2.5%
Oregon Restaurant Association/ORAC PAC	\$27,600	2.4%
Oregon Local Grocery PAC	\$26,544	2.3%
Longview Timberlands LLC	\$26,000	2.3%
Oregon Auto Dealers Association/OADA PAC	\$25,527	2.3
Oregon Forest Industries Council/OFIC PAC	\$25,253	2.2%
Oregonians for Affordable Housing (Building industry PAC)	\$25,000	2.2%
Top Contributors Subtotal	\$667,253	58.9%
Miscellaneous Contributions of \$100 or less	\$8,601	0.8%
Remaining Contributions	\$457,432	40.4
Total	\$1,133,286	

Based on disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of State through September 25, 2009. Figures may include cash and in-kind contributions as well as loans. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

The top donor to Russ Walker's Taxpayer Defense Fund was Loren Parks, based in Nevada but still owner of an Aloha based medical equipment manufacturing company, who gave \$75,000. FreedomWorks in Washington, D.C. provided \$22,752. See chart 4 below.

Chart 4: Top 5 Contributors to Taxpayer Defense Fund

Contributor	Contribution	Percentage
Loren Parks	\$75,000	39.4%
FreedomWorks, Inc	\$22,752	11.9%
Oregonians Against Job-Killing Taxes	\$20,000	10.5%
John Bryan	\$10,000	5.3%
Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC	\$8,140	4.3%
Top Contributors Subtotal	\$135,892	71.4%

Miscellaneous Contributions of \$100 or less	\$44,504	23.4%
Remaining Contributions	\$10,050	5.3%
Total	\$190,446	

Based on disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of State through September 25, 2009. Figures may include cash and in-kind contributions as well as loans. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

OVERVIEW OF WALKER’S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

1999-2001 – Phone Company Deregulation and Banning Internet Taxes

Citizens for a Sound Economy’s work in Oregon began in 1999 with supporting lobbying by US West on a telephone deregulation bill. Walker first registered as a lobbyist and formed the Oregon for a Sound Economy PAC in 2000, the same year the *Washington Post* reported that US West gave \$1 million as Citizens for a Sound Economy began work on telephone deregulation. During the 2001 legislative session Russ Walker testified in support of SB 660 that banned imposing a tax on Internet access or use of the Internet.

2002-2004 - Early Interest in Limiting Legal Fees, PERS Reform, and Measures 28 & 30

In 2002, Russ Walker was active in a number of areas. He filed initiative 101 to limit attorney contingency fees, but the initiative was never approved for circulation. He formed the Citizens for PERS Reform PAC that got most of its support from Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC and from Citizens for a Sound Economy. The PAC and its primary donor launched an education campaign criticizing Oregon’s PERS pension system for public employees. His Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC was also a key player, along with Taxpayers Association of Oregon and Kevin Mannix-led Oregon Republican Party in successfully opposing Measure 28, a legislative referral for tax increases.

In 2003 Walker filed initiative 59 to end the public employee pension system, but it was never approved to circulate. He also formed Taxpayers Defense Fund PAC that successfully qualified a referendum to overturn the state legislature’s revenue package adopted to avoid \$500 million in cuts to education, human services, and public policy. The referendum became Measure 30 and passed in a February 2004 special election. Transparency of contributions to the Taxpayer Defense Fund signature gathering effort was hindered by most of the money being funneled through Russ Walker’s Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC that reported its contributions on a later timeline. Key partners were Kevin Mannix and Jason Williams of Taxpayer Association of Oregon. Russ Walker’s position was “no” on Measure 30 to ensure that HB 2152 did not go into effect and this was how Oregonians voted.

Helping Ralph Nader

During the summer of 2004, Citizens for a Sound Economy was an unlikely player in the attempt to qualify Ralph Nader for Oregon’s presidential ballot. Nader supporters had held an unsuccessful nominating convention in April of 2004. A second convention was held in June with support from some conservatives who hoped Nader would draw votes away from Democratic candidate Senator John Kerry. Walker, who labeled Nader “socialistic,” joined with the Oregon Family Council in urging phone calls to boost convention attendance. Nader did not qualify for the presidential ballot in Oregon.

2005-2006 – Vice Chair of Oregon Republican Party, Measures 40 and 41

In July of 2005 Russ Walker was elected as vice chairman of the Oregon Republican Party, a position he still holds. During 2005 Walker filed nine initiatives, but focused petitioning efforts on two that became Measures 40 (election of judges on district basis) and 41 (same state tax deduction as federal tax deduction). Neither measure passed. Six of the initiatives that didn't qualify focused on limiting spending, an issue that Don McIntire and Taxpayers Association of Oregon put on the ballot as Measure 48 that also lost at the polls. In 2006 Russ Walker's Citizens for PERS Reform PAC changed its name to FreedomWorks Issues PAC.

Support for Legislative Candidates Kim Thatcher and Larry George

During the May 2004 primary election, Russ Walker's Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy was the top donor giving to Kim Thatcher in her successful attempt to defeat incumbent Vic Backlund in the Republican primary in House District 25. The \$42,929 from Walker's political committee comprised over 43 percent of Thatcher's primary fundraising.

Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC gave \$54,790 to Larry George in his victory in the May 2006 Republican primary against incumbent Senator Charles Starr. George went on to beat Democrat Rick Ross in the November general election. This \$54,790 to Larry George represented 27 percent of his fundraising in the May 2006 election.

Larry George told reporters he would not have defeated Charles Starr without help from FreedomWorks. "If they're going to run as a fiscal conservative, they have to vote as a fiscal conservative," said Russ Walker.

Attacks On and From Future PAC

During the fall of 2004 the Oregon chapter of FreedomWorks filed a complaint with the Secretary of State objecting to advertisements by Future PAC, the leadership committee devoted to electing Democrats to the Oregon House, claiming that their group "supports opposing a national sales tax on Oregon." In 2007, FreedomWorks sent postcards attacking Democrats after legislators from both political parties agreed to put the corporate kicker into a rainy day fund. Democrats charged that official photos of legislators were leaked to FreedomWorks in violation of state law prohibiting the use of public resources for campaign purposes.

FreedomWorks Oregon and Cigarette Taxes

During the fall 2007 discussion of Measure 50 to increase cigarette taxes to pay for children's health care Russ Walker, Oregon director of FreedomWorks, said, "Most smokers are working-class people with modest incomes and Measure 50 would force this minority to shoulder the entire burden of paying for the health insurance of others." Walker's comment after the loss of Measure 50 was, "The primary reason is there's not an appetite out there for more taxes" without any mention of the record opposition spending by tobacco companies or support to FreedomWorks by Philip Morris tobacco company.

LightsOnOregon

In 2008, FreedomWorks Oregon launched a campaign to promote clean energy sources and to expose "how anti-energy radicals are opposed not just to energy development but to our modern way of life." Their website, lightsonoregon.org, included blog entries about gas taxes and

support for the Bradwood Landing LNG facility near Astoria. A report released by LightsonOregon and FreedomWorks Foundation raised concern about radical environmentalists including several groups opposed to the LNG terminal along the Columbia River. The website coincided with “drill baby drill” sloganeering of Michael Steele, now head of the Republican National Party.

2008 – Working with Bill Sizemore and Kevin Mannix on 6 Measures

Russ Walker was a chief petitioner on nine initiatives intended for the November 2008 ballot. Bill Sizemore was a co-petitioner on four of these initiatives while Kevin Mannix was a fellow chief petitioner on one of the Walker initiatives.

Loren Parks was the major donor to the chief petitioner committees that put Measures 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, and 64 on the ballot giving 77 percent or \$793,166 of the \$1,035,382 reported by these PACs. Hire Calling Public Affairs affiliated with Richard Wendt provided 99 percent or \$175,000 to the signature gathering effort behind Measure 63.

Three of Walker’s initiatives qualified for the November 2008 ballot, Measures 58, 59, and 60. Measure 58 would have limited non-English speaking students to two years of instruction in their own language. Measure 59 would have made federal income taxes fully deductible on an Oregonian’s state tax return. Measure 60 required that teacher pay and layoff decisions be based on classroom performance. Voters did not pass any of these measures in November of 2008.

Russ Walker’s FreedomWorks Issues PAC, Taxpayer Defense Fund, and Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC, took positions against Measures 56 and 57 and in support of Measures 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61,62,63, and 64. These committees raised a total of \$485,661 with \$400,000 from Parks Medical Electronics that is owned by Loren Parks.

Measure 56 was a legislative referral requiring that a majority of voters rather than votes cast to apply to May and November property tax measures. The “double majority” requirement based on votes on property tax measures unique to Oregon – was adopted with passage of Bill Sizemore’s measure in 1996. Voters rejected Walker’s position and passed Measure 56. Measure 57 was a legislatively referred alternative to Measures 61 and 62. This lower cost more rehabilitation-oriented measure was adopted while voters rejected both Measures 61 and 62. These votes were counter to the positions of Walker’s PACs, but since they were priority topics for others, their contributions are not factored into charts 5 through 7.

Voters also did not agree with Walker on Measures 63 and 64. Measure 63 would have allowed home improvement projects of \$35,000 or less to not obtain a building permit. Measure 64 would have imposed penalties for use of political funds collected with public resources.

Chart 5 below provides a summary of Russ Walker’s ballot measure efforts with total fundraising, election results, and whether or not voters agreed with Walker’s positions.

Chart 5: Summary of Walker Measures, Pro and Con Contributions and Vote Results with Walker position

Year	BM	Ballot Measure Caption	Walker Signature Gathering	Pro Walker dollars	Anti Walker dollars	Yes vote	No vote	Walker position
2003	28	Temporarily increases tax rates on personal, corporate income; triggers repeal of certain state budget cuts	Not applicable-Legislative Referral	\$41,972	\$571,934	46%	54%	WON
2004	30	Enacts temporary personal income tax surcharge; increases, changes corporate, other taxes; avoids specific budget cuts	\$610,550	\$684,908	\$744,010	41%	59%	WON
2006	40	Amends Constitution: Requires Oregon Supreme Court Judges to be elected by district	\$422,245	\$544,605	\$425,965	43%	57%	LOST
	41	Allows income tax deduction equal to federal exemptions deduction to substitute for state exemption credit	\$249,070	\$21,032	\$1,768,761 (1/2 of spending against M 41 and 48)	37%	63%	LOST
	58	Prohibits teaching public school student in language other than English for more than two years	\$142,254	\$6,287	\$66,625	44%	56%	LOST
	59	Creates an unlimited deduction for federal income taxes on individual taxpayers' Oregon income-tax returns	\$155,656	No specific PAC formed to support Measure 59	\$104,868	36%	64%	LOST
	60	Teacher "classroom performance," not seniority, determines pay raises; "most qualified" teachers retained, regardless of seniority	\$155,620	No specific PACs formed to support or oppose Measure 60		39%	61%	LOST
	63	Exempts specified property owners from building permit requirements for improvements valued at/under 35,000 dollars	\$179,936	\$30,006	\$507,317	46%	64%	LOST
	64	Penalizes person, entity for using funds collected with "public resource" (defined) for "political purpose" (defined)	\$153,036	No specific PAC formed to support Measure 564	\$1,062,821	49%	51%	LOST
Campaigns for and against Measures 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63 and 64				\$485,661	\$15,503,689	Walker/FreedomWorks had 2 wins when their position carried the day and 7 losses when their position was not supported by voters		
Total Dollars			\$2,065,367	\$1,814,470	\$20,755,991			
			Combined signature gathering & general election \$3,879,837					

TOP AGGREGATE DONORS FOR AND AGAINST WALKER CAMPAIGNS

Top Donors to Walker - Aggregate Totals for 2000 through 2008

Top donors to the ballot measures supported by Russ Walker as well as Walker's ongoing PACs from 2000 through 2008 are summarized below in chart 6.

Loren Parks either directly or in contributions from his company, Parks Medical Electronics, has given \$1,784,334 to Russ Walker’s ballot measure campaign priorities since 2005.

The Oregon Family Farm Association PAC was a major donor to qualify Measure 40, the unsuccessful effort to elect by district appellate level judges, and continued support during that general election campaign in 2006. They gave a total of \$738,720.

Hire Calling Public Affairs affiliated with Dick Wendt gave \$385,250 while Dick Wendt gave \$30,000 and his company, Jeld-Wen, gave \$55,100. Total contributions came to \$470,350.

Support from Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy and its affiliated political committees are obviously major donors giving a total of \$728,585 to Russ Walker campaign activities. Support from Washington D.C. from Citizens for a Sound Economy and FreedomWorks came to \$369,333.

Business support came from Wes LeMatta’s Columbia Helicopters, A-DEC Inc, the Newberg based dental equipment company and numerous timber interests.

Chart 6: Top 15 Contributors to Walker Ongoing PACs and Ballot Measure Campaigns, 2000-2008, includes cash and in-kind contributions and loans

Total Contributions	Contributor – Parks, Affiliates and Pass-Throughs	Supported
\$1,784,334 This figure increases to \$1,859,334 with \$75,000 for Measures 66 & 67 petition circulation	Loren Parks - \$1,384,334 Parks Medical Electronics \$400,000	2006 – Yes on 40, 41, and 48 2008 – Support for Initiatives 51 and 53 that did not qualify for the ballot 2008 – No on 56 and 57. Yes on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64
\$738,720	Oregon Family Farm Association PAC	2006 – Yes on 40
\$728,585	Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy/Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC/Taxpayer Defense Fund PAC	2003 – No on 28 2004 – No on 30 Legislative Candidate Contributions in 2004 and 2004 2006 – Yes on 40 and 41 2008 – No on 56 and 57. Yes on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64
\$470,350	Hire Calling Public Affairs - \$385,250 Jeld-Wen - \$55,100 Dick Wendt - \$30,000	2004 – Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC 2006 – to Oregon Family Farm Association that supported Measure 40 2008 – No on 56 and 57. Yes on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64
\$369,333	Citizens for a Sound Economy/FreedomWorks	2006 – Yes on 40, 41, and 48 2008 – Support for Initiatives 51 and 53 that did not qualify for the ballot 2008 – No on 56 and 57. Yes on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64
\$199,100	Columbia Helicopters/Wes Lematta	2003 – No on 28 2004- No on 30 2006 – Yes on 40 and 41

		2008 – Support for Initiatives 51 and 53 that did not qualify for the ballot
\$159,100	A-DEC Inc	2004- No on 30 2006 – Yes on 40 2008 – Support for Initiatives 51 and 53 that did not qualify for the ballot
\$147,375	Seneca Jones Timber/Sawmill Co.	2004- No on 30 2006 – Yes on 40
\$102,312	Oregonians in Action/Oregonians in Action PAC	2006 – Yes on 40 2008 – No on 56 and 57. Yes on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64
\$99,438	Taxpayer Association of Oregon and affiliated PACs	2003 – No on 28 2004 – No on 30 2006 – Support to Judicial Integrity Coalition that gave to M 40 campaign
\$94,000	Swanson Group	2003 – No on 28 2006 – Yes on 40
\$86,773	Requires Legislative Supermajority to Declare Emergency PAC	2008 – helped qualify Measures 58, 59, 60 and 64
\$75,250	Norman Brenden	2006 – Yes on 40
\$75,100	Seneca Sawmill Co	2004 – No on 30
\$72,791	Goli Ameri for Congress	2004 – No on 30

Top Donors Against Walker - Aggregate Totals for 2000 through August 2008

The Oregon Education Association and other public employee unions are major contributors against Russ Walker’s ballot measures. The largest contribution amounts were linked to defeat the positions of Walker’s committees in 2008 pertaining to Measures 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64.

The Oregon Education Association’s aggregated contributions since 2003 are \$6,411,519. The National Education Association has given \$3,093,617. These organizations represent over 3 million teachers including 47,000 workers in Oregon. Their combined fundraising is \$9,505,136

Local 503 of Service Employees International Union, its international, and affiliated PACs have given \$2,653,819. Their membership in Oregon is 40,000 workers.

The American Federation of Teachers and its affiliated PACs have given \$1,123,680. Their membership in Oregon is 11,000. AFSCME Council 75 and its national partner has given \$1,105,248 and represents 25,000 workers.

Other unions that have been major contributors against Russ Walker’s positions on ballot measures include Oregon School Employees Association, Oregon AFL-CIO, Laborers Political League and the PAC of Local 483, Electricians Local 48, United Food and Commercial Workers, as well as the Nurses Union political committee

The unions who have opposed Russ Walker ballot measures represent approximately 320,000 workers in Oregon. The American Association of Retired People (AARP) has also been a major donor opposing Russ Walker’s measures giving \$711,387. In Oregon there are 535,000 AARP members.

Chart 7: Top 15 Contributors against Walker Ongoing PACs and Ballot Measure Campaigns, 2003-2008, includes cash and in-kind contributions and loans

Total Contributions	Contributor	Supported
\$9,505,136	Oregon Education Association Current Oregon membership – 47,000 workers National Education Association NEA – national membership is 3.2 million	2003 – Yes on 28 2004 – Yes on 30 2006 – No on 40, 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$2,653,819	Service Employees International Union Local 503/Oregon Public Employees Union PAC/Service Employees Union International SEIU Current membership in Oregon – 40,000 workers	2003 – Yes on 28 2004 – Yes on 30 2006 – No on 40, 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$1,123,680	American Federation of Teachers PACs Current membership – 11,000 workers	2003 – Yes on 28 2004 – Yes on 30 2006 – No on 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$1,105,248	AFSCME Council 75/National AFSCME Current membership – 25,000 workers	2003 – Yes on 28 2004 – Yes on 30 2006 – No on 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$932,296	Oregon School Employees Association/Voices of Involved Classified Employees/VOICE PAC/School Employees Exercising Democracy/SEED PAC Current membership – 20,000 workers	2003 – Yes on 28 2004 – Yes on 30 2006 – No on 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$922,457	Don't Silence Our Voices Committee	2008 – Given to Defend Oregon
\$711,387	American Association of Retired People/AARP Oregon – There are 535,000 AARP members in Oregon	2004 – Yes on 30 2006 – No on 41 and 48
\$485,158	Oregon State Council of Service Employees	2004 – Yes on 30 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$477,372	Oregon AFL-CIO/Oregon AFL-CIO Political Education Committee Current membership – 145,000 workers 55,000 Working America members and 90,000 members of affiliated unions	2003 – Yes on 28 2004 – Yes on 30 2006 – No on 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$229,916	The Better Way to Fight Crime PAC	2008 – Given to Defend Oregon
\$212,500	Laborers' Political League Education Fund/PAC 483 of Laborers Local 483	2006 – No on 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$177,489	Our Oregon	2006 – No on 40, 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$145,296	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers/Local 48 Electricians PAC Current membership – 4,000 workers	2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57

\$115,944	CareOregon	2004 – Yes on 30 2006 – No on 41 and 48 2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57
\$100,000	United Food and Commercial Workers Current membership – 20,000	2008 – No on 58, 59, 60, 61, 62,63, and 64. Yes on 56 and 57

FREEDOMWORKS AND CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

History

In 2003 there was a split between Citizens for a Sound Economy and Americans for Prosperity. Citizens for a Sound Economy continued under that name and announced an expansion of state level efforts and highlighted that “Citizens for a Sound Economy is leading a grassroots-driven signature drive [to put Measure 30 on the ballot] to roll back the recent tax hike in Oregon.”

Former Republican Congressman from Texas and House Majority Leader Dick Armey became chairman of Citizens for a Sound Economy in early 2003. Armey visited Oregon in May 2003 to appear at the 3rd annual “Day at the Capitol” held by the Oregon chapter of Citizens for a Sound Economy. Walker, Citizens for a Sound Economy Northwest Director, spoke on two themes: the need for PERS reform and pledging resistance from the Oregon chapter of Citizens for a Sound Economy against any legislative attempt to increase taxes. Returning to Oregon in November, Armey lent aid to Walker’s efforts to defeat Measure 30 in an appearance on the Lars Larson radio show and at a town hall meeting in Clackamas County.

FreedomWorks formed in 1984 through a merger of Citizens for a Sound Economy and Empower America. Dick Armey is chair of FreedomWorks and its current president is Matt Kibbe. Long time advocate of the flat tax and chair and chief executive of Forbes, Steve Forbes is a FreedomWorks board member.

Who calls the shots - Salem office or Washington, D.C.?

Walker has responded to criticism that his group’s political committees are controlled from Washington D.C. by comparing FreedomWorks to groups such as the Sierra Club that have national and state offices. Except for Walker, however, all committee directors have been Washington, D.C. based employees of Citizens for a Sound Economy/FreedomWorks. Matt Kibbe is president and CEO of Freedomworks, Rob Jordan is vice president for federal and state campaigns. Former Oregon committee directors include past staff person Andrew Smith and Molly Byrne who is still FreedomWorks’ vice president of development. The extent that national staff post materials on FreedomWorks’ other state websites only reinforces this impression. Another factor to consider is the extent to which finance support for its political campaigns come as support, typically in-kind contributions, from Washington D.C. Since 2000 this supports totals \$486,996.

Grassroots or Corporate Agendas?

Another question raised about FreedomWorks and its precursor group is whether it works on issues because it gets financial support from corporate interests or is a membership-driven grassroots group? For example, the National Journal characterized Citizens for a Sound Economy’s “grass roots” activism as a “fig leaf for corporate lobbying efforts.”

The *Washington Post* obtained internal Citizens for a Sound Economy documents outlining corporate support and links to advocacy by Citizens for a Sound Economy that were confirmed by conversations with several of the companies. Examples included the following:

- Citizens for a Sound Economy began opposition to a federal Florida Everglades restoration program after it received support from the state's three major sugar interests that would lose thousand of acres used for growing sugar cane. From October through December of 1998, U.S. Sugar Corp. and Florida Crystals Corp. each gave \$280,000 while the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida gave \$140,000.
- The tobacco company Philip Morris gave \$1 million at the same time Citizens for a Sound Economy was opposing cigarette taxes, a stance that has also be taken by the Oregon office of the group.
- Exxon Corporation gave \$175,000 for "global climate" issues that arrived after Citizens for a Sound Economy claimed that global warming was based on "junk science."
- Receipt of at least \$460,000 from Florida business interests for work on tort reform that was credited by the Associated Industries of Florida in their legislative victory.
- Three insurance companies and two trade associations in New Jersey supported a Citizens for a Sound Economy project in that state regarding the auto insurance market.
- Microsoft Corporation committed \$380,000 to the Citizens for a Sound Economy foundation in May of 1999. Later that year Citizens for a Sound Economy lobbied Congress to reduce the antitrust enforcement budget at the Justice Department.

"It's part of a rent-a-mouthpiece phenomenon," said Gary Ruskin of the Congressional Accountability Project. "There are mercenary groups that function as surrogates when industry feels it's not advantageous for it to speak directly." It should be noted that unions support non-profit groups that work on progressive issues.

Holding Republicans Accountable

When Dick Armey spoke at a rally in Oregon in 2003 he told participants that he left Congress due to frustration with fellow Republicans who wouldn't follow the party line on conservative issues. "I called them bed wetters," said Armey and later suggested this label would also apply to the 11 moderate Republicans in the Oregon House who joined in the bipartisan effort to pass the revenue bill that became Measure 30 brought to voters by the Oregon office of Citizens for a Sound Economy.

Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC was Kim Thatcher's top donor giving \$42,929 that was over 43 percent of her total primary fundraising of \$99,069. "She's worked with us on a number of different issues," said Walker of Keizer, Northwest director of Citizens for a Sound Economy. Walker's PAC gave Thatcher another \$1,000 during the 2004 general election.

Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC gave \$54,790 to Larry George for his May 2006 Republican primary against incumbent Senator Charles Starr. George went on to beat Democrat Rick Ross in the general election. The \$54,790 to Larry George from Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy represented 27 percent of his fundraising in the May 2006 primary election. Larry George told reporters he would not have defeated Charles Starr without help from

FreedomWorks. In addition to their financial support they put up a website criticizing Starr for his support for the temporary income tax surcharge when he was a member of the House in 2003.

A political commentator called the defeat of Charles Starr, “a continuation of the purge” referring to the 2004 defeat of Vic Backlund and Mary Gallegos who also voted for the revenue package in 2003. Those tax increases did not go into effect due to the Russ Walker’s referendum that became Measure 30, the vehicle for voters to turn down these tax increases. “If they’re going to run as a fiscal conservative, they have to vote as a fiscal conservative,” said Russ Walker.

During the 2009 legislative session Russ Walker not only pledged referenda circulation but also also vowed to punish Republican Representatives Greg Smith, R-Heppener, and Bob Jenson, R-Pendleton. Jenson provided the needed 36th vote to pass the increase to the corporate minimum tax of \$10. Smith opposed that bill but both he and Jenson voted for the increase on the marginal tax rate for higher income individuals. “I swear to God they [Smith and Jenson] will not come back to this building.”

Not a Major Lobbyist in Salem

Russ Walker for the Oregon office of Citizens for a Sound Economy and then FreedomWorks was registered as a lobbyist from February of 2000 through the end of 2003 and then again in February of 2007 through the end of that year.

During 2007 Russ Walker reported \$2,500 in spending as a lobbyist. The lobbying entity, FreedomWorks, however, is listed on records from the Oregon Government Ethics Commission but with a blank regarding expenditures. This doesn’t mean they spent no money but indicates that a full report was not filed.

In 2003 Russ Walker’s lobbying entity Citizens for a Sound Economy reported expenditures of \$9,410. In 2002 Citizens for a Sound Economy reported \$1,684 in spending. During the 2001 legislative session Russ Walker testified in support of SB 660 that was introduced at the request of Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy with bipartisan sponsorship. SB 660 banned imposing a tax on internet access or use of the internet. The original bill included a restriction on Oregon jurisdictions collecting such a tax imposed in other states that was presumably deleted due to enforcement difficulties. Walker was registered as a lobbyist from 2000 through 2003, but the level of effort by Citizens for a Sound Economy isn’t clear since no report is available on their spending as the lobbying entity.

FreedomWorks Foundation, Kevin Mannix, and Loren Parks

Loren Parks has been a major donor to ballot measures from both Russ Walker and Kevin Mannix. In addition, foundations controlled by Loren Parks have given money to FreedomWorks Foundation in Washington, D.C., a group that, in turn, has paid the Mannix law firm for various services.

Tax records for FreedomWorks Foundation indicates payments to the Mannix law firm totaling \$624,678 from 2004 through 2007. In 2004 the payment to the Mannix law firm was \$70,939 for unspecified consulting. The payment listed on the 2005 report was \$200,089 for fundraising

consulting. Legal services by Mannix’s firm worth \$268,650 was reported in 2006 with another \$85,000 of legal services reported on FreedomWorks Foundation’s 2007 tax form. These grants are listed on the right side of chart 8 below.

In this same time frame, two foundations controlled by Loren Parks gave \$509,980 to FreedomWorks Foundation. These grants were from the Parks Foundation and Parks Educational Foundation, private family foundations under the control of Loren Parks and his sons. As shown on the left side of chart 8 below, contributions from these Parks family foundations to FreedomWorks Foundation were \$20,000 reported on 2006 tax forms, \$120,000 reported in 2005, \$172,980 on 2004 tax forms and \$30,000 reported in 2000. The 2006 report lists activity that occurred in late 2006 through August of 2007. The 2005 report primarily covers activities in 2006, while the 2004 report indicates payments primarily in 2005.

Chart 8 – Side-by-Side Summary of Parks Foundation Grants to FreedomWorks Foundation and Payments by FreedomWorks Foundation to Mannix Law Firm

Grants from Parks foundations to FreedomWorks Foundation			Contract work by Kevin L. Mannix, PC for FreedomWorks Foundation	
2007 Report for August 2007 through August 2008 grants	\$197,000		2008 Report Not Yet Available	
2006 Report for August 2006 through August 2007 grants	\$20,000		2007 Report for 2007 calendar year for legal services	\$85,000
2005 Report for August 2005 through August 2006 grants	\$120,000		2006 report for 2006 calendar year for legal services	\$268,650
2004 Report for August 2004 through August 2005 grants	\$172,980		2005 report for 2005 calendar year for fundraising consulting	\$200,089
There is a gap in dollars from Parks Foundations to Freedomworks with the only other contribution being \$30,000 reported in 2000			2004 report for 2004 calendar year for consulting	\$70,939
			Reports for previous years no longer available on either Guidestar or 990 finder	
Total	\$509,980		Total	\$624,678

During the spring of 2008 when Kevin Mannix was running in the Republican Fifth Congressional District primary and coming up with the money to pay off outstanding campaign loans, the *Oregonian* editorialized against Mannix’s mixing of business and political fundraising. Though legal, the editorial characterized his recent money shifts as “neither aboveboard nor wise.” Discussing the legal work for FreedomWorks they acknowledge that there is nothing wrong with those payments. But then they write, “Nothing, that is, if the money was truly compensation for legal work as opposed to campaign contributions masquerading as attorney fees. But even if the fees were entirely legitimate, doesn’t the candidate owe Oregon voters an unlaundered accounting of who’s bankrolling his campaign?”

The *Oregonian* article and subsequent editorial did not include information about \$509,980 in recent grants to FreedomWorks Foundation from the Parks Foundation and Parks Educational Foundation. If this information on grants to FreedomWorks had also been reported, it may well have increased the *Oregonian*’s concerns about “campaign contributions masquerading as attorney fees.”

The work load at the Mannix Law Firm seems to be significant. Assuming a payment rate of \$200 per hour work for FreedomWorks Foundation would mean 355 hours in 2004, 1000 hours in 2005, 1343 hours in 2006, and 425 hours in 2007. Assuming a work year of 2080 hours (52 weeks times 40 hours a week) this would mean that work for the FreedomWorks Foundation represented 17, 48, 65, and 20 percent of Mannix's workload in 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007 respectively.

Given other activities by Kevin Mannix, for example, running for office and working on ballot measures it seems possible that there was a higher rate of pay for consulting work provided to the FreedomWorks Foundation. Especially if fundraising work primarily involved talking with Loren Parks, the payment to the Mannix Law Firm seems particularly generous given the likely work involved. The rationale for a potentially higher rate of pay for legal services provided to FreedomWorks Foundation in 2006 and 2007 than the \$200/hour used in this analysis isn't clear. It should be noted that the Oregon Rule of Professional Conduct 1.5 prohibits lawyers from charging excessive fees.

National FreedomWorks – Mortgage Bailout, Tea Party and Health Care Reform Protests
In May 2008 the *Wall Street Journal* exposed the AngryRenter.com website as a project of FreedomWorks rather than a grassroots group. The website asked renters to sign an online petition to express their outrage against any bailout of homeowners due to the mortgage crisis.

Tea Party protests that began in the spring of 2009 were characterized as grassroots efforts but there were reports of orchestration by FreedomWorks in the form of coordinating conference calls, writing press releases, and distributing talking points. FreedomWorks responded to this criticism by comparing themselves to MoveOn.org. In Oregon there were Tea Party protests on April 15th across Oregon with 3,000 and 1,000 attending rallies in Salem and Portland. Walker said, "This is a shot across the bow" to legislators discussing possible tax increases.

Disruption of health care town halls hosted by members of Congress during the 2009 summer recess garnered significant media attention. The protests were characterized by the *Washington Post* as being spurred by a loose network of activists ranging from informal alliance to well funded veteran advocacy groups. They characterize FreedomWorks as one of the most prominent organizers. The Campaign for America's Future has traced how AHIP (America's Health Insurance Plans) a national trade association is interacting with FreedomWorks, Americans for Prosperity, and other groups that oppose health care reform.

ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO WALKER PACS AND OPPOSITION CONTRIBUTIONS 2000-2008.

Walker formed Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC in 2000. Support in 2002 primarily came from the PACs of several Republican legislators as well as other PACs such as Oregonians for Food and Shelter, Oregonians in Action and the Oregon Republican Party. Walker also formed Oregon Citizens for PERS Reform PAC in 2002, advocating for changes in the public employee retirement system. This PAC got most of its money from the national and state offices of Citizens for a Sound Economy. The 2004 contributions to Oregon Citizens for PERS Reform PAC were minimal and this committee changed its name to FreedomWorks Issues PAC in 2006.

2003 Special Election

Measure 28 was a compromise temporary tax increase referred to voters by the legislature. The Yes on 28 campaign raised \$571,934, largely from public employee unions. The Oregon Republican Party, Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy and Taxpayers Association of Oregon raised \$41,971 in opposition. Voters rejected the measure 55-45.

2004 Special Election

The 2003 legislative session passed HB 2152, a compromise budget agreement with modest tax increases to avoid \$500 million public services cuts. Walker joined with the Taxpayer Association of Oregon to qualify Measure 30, a referendum on HB2152. He distanced himself from Bill Sizemore during the campaign due to the latter's legal problems. Voters rejected the tax package 59-41 in a special February 2004 election. Russ Walker, Jason Williams, and Kevin Mannix received an award from Grover Norquist's group Americans for Tax Reform for their leadership in putting Measure 30 on the ballot and campaigning for its defeat.

Given the fiscal impact of the referendum, signature-gathering received close scrutiny by anticipated supporters of the law and opponents of Russ Walker's position against the temporary tax surcharge. The Voter Education Project, supported in large part by unions, filed a legal challenge to the explanatory wording on the referendum petition calling it "bureaucratic gobbledegook" because it cites over a dozen state statutes. The project also filed a complaint that California-based Arno Political Consultants, hired by Walker to manage the signature gathering drive, paid signature gatherers bonuses that violated the ban on payment per signature.

The Taxpayer Defense Fund, the chief petitioner committee that carried out the signature gathering effort, raised a total of \$610,550 with 55 percent, \$337,608, provided as in-kind contributions from Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy. The latter received over \$75,000 from the national organization for signature gathering. Analysis by Money in Politics Research Action Project indicates the fund met the letter but not the spirit of Oregon's disclosure laws and that the use of in-kind contributions from ally groups made the Taxpayer Defense Fund, in effect, a "shell" committee.

The Taxpayer Defense Fund raised \$239,334 urging a "no" vote on Measure 30. Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy raised \$445,574 on its "no on 30" campaign. Washington DC based Citizens for a Sound Economy was the top donor to both. Frequent donors to conservative causes were major donors to Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy including Wes LeMatta and his company Columbia Helicopters, A-Dec owned by the Austin family, Jeld-Wen owned by the Wendt family, and timber interests Seneca Sawmill and Freres Lumber.

Our Oregon, the PAC formed to run the "yes on 30" campaign, raised \$744, 010. The top four donors, giving between \$100,500 and \$157,531, were public employee unions representing 134,000 members affected by anticipated revenue cuts. Others were also concerned about revenue cuts as indicated by major donations of \$76,292 and \$35,147, respectively, from AARP and the Oregon Business Association and its affiliated PAC. Compared to ballot measure contests in 2006 and 2008, the \$744,010 raised by Our Oregon is relatively minimal.

2004

Non-Special Election Fundraising

Russ Walker and Citizens for a Sound Economy filed Initiative 50 on PERS reform in June of 2003 it was never approved for circulation and no signature were collected to qualify it for the November 2004 ballot. As ongoing issue political committees, however, Walker's two political committees did fundraising in 2004 after the February election.

Contributions to Legislative Candidates

Both of these PACs turned to legislative candidate politics in 2004 giving a total of \$109,115. Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC gave Kim Thatcher 43 percent of her total fundraising (\$42,929) in her successful defeat of incumbent Republican legislator Vic Backlund, the latter targeted for supporting the bill overturned by the passage of Measure 30. This group also gave to two unsuccessful house races as well as two unsuccessful senate races.

2006

Fundraising by Walker's Issue PACs and Legislative Candidate Contributions

Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC raised \$253,056, with the largest contributions coming from Loren Parks and Hire Calling Public Affairs, with whom Jen-Weld founder Richard Wendt is affiliated, who gave \$100,000 and \$75,000 respectively.

Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC gave \$54,790 to Larry George – 27 percent of his total fundraising - in his May 2006 Republican primary run against incumbent Senator Charles Starr. George went on to beat Democrat Rick Ross in the November general election.

Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC support for Republican candidates has been consistent and reinforced by its director Russ Walker being named as vice chairman of the Oregon Republican Party in July of 2005. However, the group did not make any contributions to the 2006 gubernatorial contest that involved Kevin Mannix, Ron Saxton, and Jason Atkinson in the primary and Mannix and incumbent Governor Ted Kulongoski in the general election.

Signature-Gathering

In a preview of the 2005 legislative session, Russ Walker said FreedomWorks/Oregon was working on a spending limit initiative. Though Walker considered legislative action doubtful, he liked that approach because only legislators could refer a ballot measure that amends more than one section of the state constitution. In September of 2005 Russ Walker was characterized in the press as being the group that would lead a spending limit initiative, but while Walker got media coverage on this topic, the Oregon office of FreedomWorks decided to support Don McIntire's Measure 48, though they gave no support to that signature gathering effort and nominal support during the general election. McIntire's Taxpayer Association of Oregon Spending Limit PAC received almost all of its funding from Americans for Limited Government, which is an Illinois-based group that received most of its support from New York businessman Howard Rich. This group gave \$943,077 to this spending limit signature gathering campaign. The second donor giving \$40,000 was Grover Norquist's Americans for Tax Reform. Contributions to Measure 48

are included in the full report, but not in the summary chart 5 or factored into the aggregate donor tables 6 and 7 that focus on Russ Walker's political activities.

Walker was chief petitioner with Bill Sizemore allies, Abner and Carol Bobo on two initiatives that would become Measures 40 and 41, both similar to previous failed ballot measures. Measure 40, requiring Oregon Supreme and Appeals Court judges be elected from districts, was a repeat of 2002's Measure 22. Loren Parks, who had supported the issue in 2002, did so again through his support of the Oregon Family Farm Association PAC.

Russ Walker said that the Oregon Family Farm Association paid for petition circulation to get Measure on the ballot. "It [support from farm association] allowed the campaign to kind of get launched and get out there collecting the signatures," said Walker. The Oregon Family Farm Association PAC gave \$205,792 to the Measure 40's chief petitioner committee. That Association got \$300,000 from Loren Parks as reported on their 2005 and 2005 filings.

Measure 41, to allow Oregon taxpayers to deduct on their state taxes the amount they could deduct on their federal taxes, was a reworking of Bill Sizemore's unsuccessful 2002 Measure 91. While Walker claimed the measure was his idea, Sizemore wrote it with the understanding Walker would do the fundraising. Loren Parks was the top donor, giving \$157,500 to the signature gathering effort. Russ Walker's Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC was the second highest donor giving \$45,000. Walker's Judicial Accountability PAC working to qualify Measure 40 provided \$20,000 in support to the Measure 41 petition effort.

Ballot Measure Contributions

The Oregon Family Farm Association PAC gave \$522,928 in support of Measure 40 during the November general election. FreedomWorks Issue PAC raised \$22,011 in their effort to pass Measure 41 with most of the money, \$19,886, coming from its national office.

The No on Constitutional Amendment 40 campaign raised \$425,965. Though this was less money raised by the Our Courts PAC, their position carried the day with voters who defeated Measure 40. The two top donors to the no on 40 campaign giving \$50,000 and \$30,000 respectively, was the Oregon Education Association and Local 503 of the Service Employees International Union. Law firms were also major donors to oppose Measure 40.

The Defend Oregon Coalition ran a campaign against both Measure 41 and 48 that raised \$3,537,523. Public employee unions were major donors with Oregon Education Association giving \$814,03, Local 503 of Service Employees International Union giving \$357,730, and American Federation of Teachers-Oregon Issue PAC giving \$275,500. Major contributions of \$399,712 and \$235,382 came from national American Association of Retired People and AARP Oregon. These groups were generally concerned about the budget implications of these measures, but a particular concern about Measure 41 is that 98 percent of seniors would not have see any tax relief.

The relatively small amount raised by FreedomWorks on Measure 41 suggests Walker may have seen its primary value as prompting opposition spending, especially since advocates for Measure 48 did follow though with a fall campaign effort raising \$1.4 million

Signature Gathering

Walker filed 9 initiatives for the November 2008 ballot from March through October of 2006. Bill Sizemore joined Walker as chief petitioner for Measures 58, 59 and 60, and Initiative 34, eliminating prevailing wage requirements, which was never approved. Walker was a chief petitioner on initiatives to create state tuition tax credits, restrictions of legal fees and sanctions for frivolous lawsuits that were withdrawn and never approved for circulation. Kevin Mannix and his political patron Loren Parks were major donors to Walker's signature gathering PACs working on two of these (51 and 53). Walker's Initiatives 51 and 53 PACs assisted signature gathering for Mannix's Measure 61 and 62. Since these measures were Mannix priorities, however, information on their signature gathering and general election contributors are included in the full report but not in the summary chart 5 or the aggregate donor tables 6 and 7.

Contributions from Loren Parks to Walker's 2008 signature gathering efforts totaled \$826,834 with \$335,334 going towards Initiatives 51 and 53 and \$491,500 to qualify Measures 58, 59, 60, and 64.

The 2007 legislature adopted HB 2082 with new signature gathering rules to give the state Elections Division more tools to enforce Measure 26's ban on paying petition circulators per signature. Opponents were particularly concerned about the requirement that signers write out all the required information on each petition they sign.

Tim Trickey, who operates Democracy Direct, says that several of his experienced signature gatherers refused to register as petition circulators, citing fears of harassment. Trickey also called paperwork requirements of HB 2082 "harassment" and said he may get out of the business. Ted Blaszk, owner of Democracy Resources, frequently gathers signatures for labor unions and progressive causes, sees no problem in complying with HB 2082. "It certainly will have no hindrance in my ability to gather signatures."

Most of the initiatives supported by Russ Walker, Bill Sizemore, and Kevin Mannix qualified for the November 2008 ballot, several of them with signatures gathered before the HB 2082 rules went into effect at the beginning of 2008.

Ballot Measure Money

The November 2008 ballot included nine ballot measures on issues ranging from mandatory minimum sentences for identity theft, forgery and other crimes (Measure 61) to waive building permit requirements on improvements of \$35,000 or less (Measure 63). Most PACs on different sides of the numerous ballot measures supported or opposed several proposals. The largest political committee was Defend Oregon that raised \$15, 503,689 with major contributions from public employee unions to support Measure 56 and 56 and oppose Measures 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63 and 64. Three Russ Walker committees opposed the positions held by Defend Oregon. FreedomWorks Issues PAC raised \$126,501, Taxpayer Defense Fund raised \$112,612, while Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC raised \$246,548. Parks Medical Electronics, owned by Loren Parks, was the major donor to these three PACS giving \$400,000.

The ballot measures supported by Russ Walker lost with voters in November of 2008.