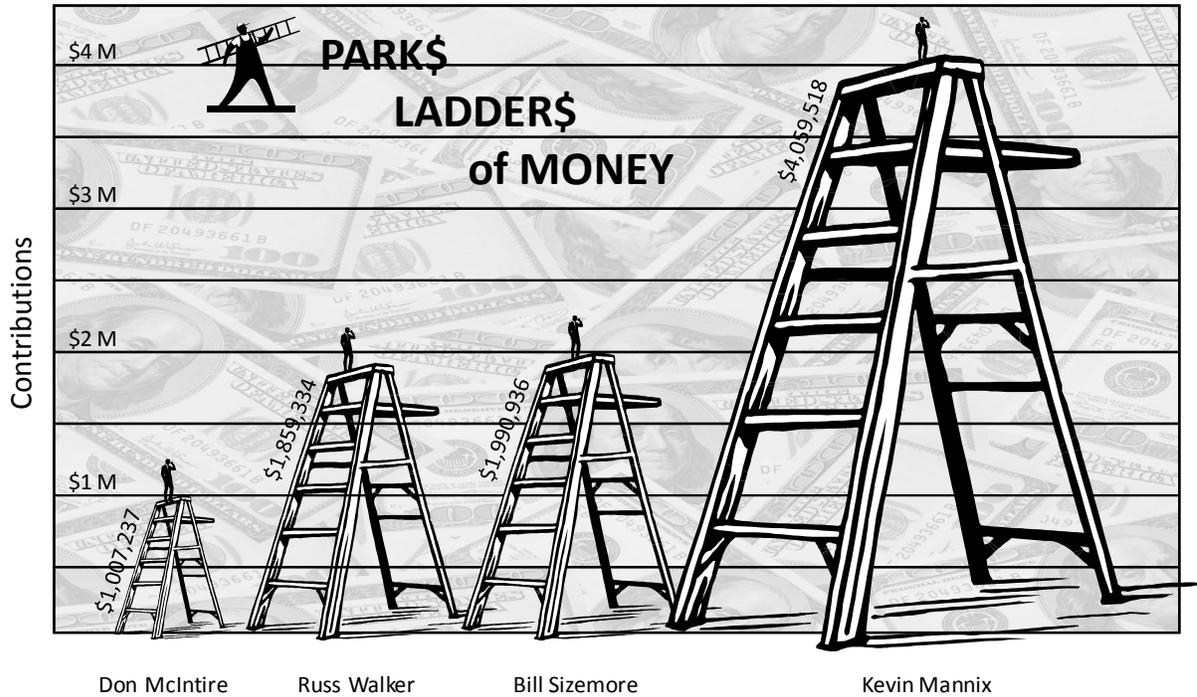


# Loren Parks

## Oregon's \$13 Million Man



Major Recipients of Campaign Contributions from Loren Parks

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Page</b>	<b>Section 1 – Introduction</b>
1	Can One Person Make A Difference in Politics? Yes, Especially With \$13 Million
2	Opposition Fundraising
2	Major Recipients of Parks Contributions
3	Parks – Working with Others (Or Not) and Public Perception
5	Report Overview
	<b>Section 2 – The Man</b>
6	Personal and Business
7	Parks Elementary School
8	Hypnosis Therapy
9	Two Settlements in Lawsuits Related to Parks’ Sexual Activity
	<b>Section 3 – The Money – Charitable Giving</b>
11	Grants to National Political Foundations as well as Sizemore and Mannix Foundations
11	We Care Oregon Foundation
12	<i>Chart 1</i> Side-by-Side Summary of Parks Foundation Grants to We Care Oregon Foundation and Payments by We Care Oregon to Mannix Law Firm
13	Oregon War Veterans Association
13	FreedomWorks Foundation
15	<i>Chart 2</i> – Side-by-Side Summary of Parks Foundation Grants to FreedomWorks Foundation and Payments by FreedomWorks Foundation to Mannix Law Firm
16	Americans for Tax Reform
16	Bill Sizemore’s Oregon Taxpayers United and American Tax Research Foundations
19	Kevin Mannix’s Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance Foundation
19	Kevin Mannix’s Criminal and Civil Justice Foundations
19	Other Political Grants from Parks Foundations
19	Health Care and Fish Habitat Support Grants
20	Defamation Lawsuit
21	Misuse of Nonprofit Foundation for Political Purpose – Case Settled for \$50,000
	<b>Section 4 – The Money – Political Contributions</b>
25	\$12,815,254 – Loren Parks’ Political Contributions 1992 through September 2009
25	<i>Chart 3</i> – Breakdown of \$12,815,254 by Year
27	<i>Chart 4</i> - Breakdown of \$12,815,254 by Candidate, Issue, and Status of Parks Position
30	Parks and Conservative PAC
30	<i>Chart 5</i> – Top 5 Contributors to Conservative PAC in 1994 and 1996

32	<i>Chart 6 – Conservative PAC Spending in 1994 and 1996 Primary and General Elections</i>
33	Loren Parks Key Donor in Launch of Bill Sizemore and Oregon Taxpayers United
35	Support for Don McIntire Proposals
36	<i>Chart 7 – Contributions from Loren Parks in Support of McIntire Proposals</i>
37	Support for Bill Sizemore Proposals and Oregon Taxpayers United
39	<i>Chart 8 – Contributions from Loren Parks and Conservative PAC in Support of Oregon Taxpayers United and Measures from Sizemore and Allies</i>
41	Term Limits – Only Early Support from Parks
42	Loren Parks and Gregg Clapper
46	<i>Chart 9 – Contributions from Loren Parks or Conservative PAC to Clapper PACs</i>
48	Mark Hemstreet, Gregg Clapper, and Loren Parks
49	Loren Parks and Kevin Mannix
55	<i>Chart 10 – Contributions from Loren Parks in Support of Mannix Candidate and Ballot Measure Campaigns</i>
56	Loren Parks Moves to Nevada
57	Loren Parks and Russ Walker
58	<i>Chart 11– Contributions from Loren Parks in Support of Russ Walker Campaigns and Ally Groups</i>
59	Other Partners
59	<i>Chart 12 – 2008 Contributions from Conservative Majority Project PAC</i>
59	Loren Parks Contributions to Candidates
61	<i>Chart 13 - Contributions from Loren Parks to Candidates</i>
62	<i>Chart 14 – Ballot Titles and Chief Petitioners of Initiative and Ballot Measures Supported or Opposed by Loren Parks Directly or Via Conservative PAC</i>
66	<b>Methodology</b>

# Loren Parks: Oregon's \$13 Million Man

## Section 1 – Introduction

### **Can One Person Make a Difference In Politics? Yes, Especially With \$13 Million**

In our one-person-one-vote system the importance of public participation in politics is stressed by groups of all political persuasions. Yet the role of major campaign contributors to candidates turns this one-person-one vote slogan on its head.

A 2005 survey of infrequent and nonvoters revealed that the top barrier to voting was “politics are controlled by special interests” cited by 66 percent of infrequent voters and 69 percent of nonvoters. Other barriers in the top five were “I am too busy with work or my family” and “the issues are too confusing” mentioned by 43 and 42 percent, respectively, of infrequent voters, and 46 and 48 percent of nonvoters.<sup>1</sup>

This report documents the extent that one donor, Loren Parks, has influenced Oregon politics by compiling a summary of his political contributions. While everyone can make a difference in politics and government with their vote, it sure helps to have just shy of \$13 million to contribute to Oregon candidates and ballot measures. This figure, \$12,815,254, is what Loren Parks has contributed as cash and in-kind contributions and loans since 1992 to political committees through petition circulation this fall on the referenda that will be on the January 26, 2010 ballot as Measures 66 and 67.

Oregon is one of a handful of states with no limits on the size of contributions to candidates and political committees that support candidates. No state imposes limits on contributions to initiatives or ballot measures. The legal underpinning of contribution limits is the possibility of corruption or the perception of corruption. This reasoning applies to candidate campaigns and has been upheld under the federal First Amendment. With ballot measures, however, the people through their popular vote determines whether or not a law is enacted. This means there is no one person who can be corrupted by large contributions to or against measure campaigns. For this reason, limits to ballot measure campaigns have been found unconstitutional.<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that the Oregon Supreme Court has ruled that limits on contributions to candidates are unconstitutional, a finding that requires a constitutional amendment to enable the setting of candidate contributions limits in our state.

Charitable giving from Parks family foundations are not included in this \$12,815,254 figure, but are discussed in Section 2.

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<sup>1</sup> “California Voter Participation Survey,” 2005, California Voter Foundation, overall findings <http://www.calvoter.org/issues/votereng/votpart/keyfindings.html> retrieved September 17, 2008

<sup>2</sup> California attempted to impose limits on contributions to candidate-controlled ballot measure committees so they were at the same level as limits imposed on the candidate, but this was successfully challenged in court.

## **Opposition Fundraising**

An estimated \$51,000,000 has been raised by political committees opposing measures supported by Loren Parks since 1992.<sup>3</sup> This figure also includes fundraising by opponents in Kevin Mannix's statewide races since Parks is such a major donor to Mannix candidate committees. This number does not include contributions to campaigns that opposed other candidates that have been supported with donations from Parks.

For example, Defend Oregon with major contributions from public employee unions raised \$15,503,689 to defeat Measures 58 through 64 on the November 2008 ballot against committees that received support from Loren Parks.

The private sector has also raised significant resources to defeat proposals supported by Loren Parks. Insurance companies raised \$5 million to defeat Bill Sizemore's Measure 42 regarding use of credit reports in setting insurance rates in 2006. Loren Parks was the top donor giving \$100,000 to Sizemore's signature gathering effort that put this proposal on the ballot. No committee formed to support Measure 42.

Oregon's unions, however, are the most frequent opponents to candidates and measures supported by Loren Parks. It is important to note that those dollars are coming from organizations that represent a large number of Oregon workers. This distinction was drawn by the *Oregonian* when they editorialized in 2002 against a \$250,000 contribution from Loren Parks to Kevin Mannix's gubernatorial campaign. Mannix's campaign had said that the Parks donation was equivalent to \$238,000 given to Ted Kulongoski's campaign from labor unions. The *Oregonian* wrote: "Voters are likely to see a difference in contributions from labor unions or business associations, compared to one from a secretive, rich individual who refuses to speak publicly about his support or political goals."<sup>4</sup>

Unions representing 320,000 Oregon workers, particularly in the public sector, have raised money in opposition to just the Kevin Mannix measures and candidate campaigns that have received significant support from Loren Parks. The AARP has also contributed to campaigns opposing measures supported by Loren Parks and they have 535,00 members in Oregon.<sup>5</sup>

## **Major Recipients of Parks Contributions**

The major recipients of contributions from Loren Parks have been Kevin Mannix, Bill Sizemore, Russ Walker, and Don McIntire receiving \$4,059,518, \$1,990,936, \$1,859,334 and \$1,007,237 respectively from Parks. Their campaigns and support from Loren Parks are summarized beginning on pages 49, 37, 57, and 35. Also see the cover graphic illustrating support from Loren Parks for campaigns in support of Mannix, Sizemore, McIntire, and Walker campaigns.

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<sup>3</sup> It isn't possible to arrive at an exact opposition fundraising figure since some opposition ballot measure campaigns have advocated against more than one measure, including some not supported by Loren Parks. It is also impossible to come up with an exact figure for special election ballot measures for which itemized contribution data is not available which means that identifying the major opposition committees is more difficult. This determination has been made on a conservative basis; to reduce the likelihood of double counting fundraising by one measure committee that just went to another committee. This latter problem is also why it is not possible to itemize top opposition donors over time.

<sup>4</sup> "The man behind Mannix," *Oregonian*, October 31, 2002

<sup>5</sup> Personal conversation with AARP Oregon office, October 12, 2009

(More details on activities of Bill Sizemore, Kevin Mannix, and Russ Walker are available at [www.commoncause.org/oregon](http://www.commoncause.org/oregon) in political histories of these major recipients of support from Loren Parks.)

Rob Kremer is a relatively new beneficiary of political contributions from Loren Parks. In January of 2007 Kremer formed the Conservative Majority Project PAC to support conservative candidates for legislative and statewide offices. Kremer is a charter school advocate who unsuccessfully ran for Superintendent for Public Instruction in the 2002 primary. Loren Parks did not give Kremer a contribution in that race.

Conservative Majority Project PAC raised a total of \$410,535 during the 2008 election cycle. Its major donor, giving \$370,000, was Loren Parks whose contribution comprised 90 percent of that committee's fundraising. In turn, Conservative Majority PAC gave \$371,301 with \$326,749 going to candidates and \$44,552 to party and issue PACs. Its major contribution was \$185,672 to Rick Dancer in his unsuccessful Secretary of State race against Kate Brown. Chart 12 on page 59 has more details.

### **Parks – Working With Others (Or Not) and Public Perception**

Loren Parks entered the political arena after the 1990 passage of Don McIntire's property tax Measure 5 and soon came to be called a new financial angel of Oregon's political right. For example in 1994 the Parks Foundation gave \$25,000 to the Oregon Tax Research Foundation whose director said the check came "out of the blue." Characterized as reclusive and independent-minded, Parks has occasionally responded to email questions from reporters but has rarely talked with reporters. Then-Rep. Bob Tiernan, R-Lake Oswego, said, "He [Parks] wants his privacy, and I'll respect that."<sup>6</sup>

Loren Parks formed Conservative PAC and was its major donor to the tune of \$1,410,000 in 1994 and 1996. Reports are that he approached campaigning like a business, sending handwritten faxes from vacation trips with instructions like "keep on Sizemore's back for signature and keep a tally." Parks' concern that Ruth Bendl who ran Canvasser Services that received Conservative PAC money for petition circulation would "panic and spend money like water" may have contributed to his eventually firing her.<sup>7</sup> As described on page 20, Bendl successfully sued Parks for defamation in 1996. This may have also contributed to the dissolution of Conservative PAC and, from then on, Parks primarily leaving it up to others to handle day-to-day operations of signature gathering and ballot measure campaigns.

Loren Parks contributed to signature gathering efforts working on 2008 ballot measures by making in-kind contributions to a petition circulation company. This gave Parks some level of control over signature gathering. With regards to Bill Sizemore initiatives, however, this was also a contribution pattern reported to be a way to navigate around the court injunction imposed on Sizemore. This injunction bars Sizemore from spending from political committee until a racketeering judgment has been paid. This judgment has grown to \$3.5 million in the wake of a

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<sup>6</sup> "Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives big boost," *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

<sup>7</sup> "Politics one of tycoon's obsessions" *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

2002 civil trial.<sup>8</sup> (Also see *A Political History of Bill Sizemore* available at [www.commoncause.org/oregon](http://www.commoncause.org/oregon).)

Loren Parks does have a long history of working with Gregg Clapper whose voice is characterized as “impish” in political advertising described as having “flair and bombast” from political committees with colorful names.<sup>9,10</sup> For example, in 1994 Parks gave \$12,665 to the Let’s Shine a Little Light on “Em and See if They Scamper PAC that ran independent expenditures against Craig Berkman when he unsuccessfully ran against Denny Smith in that year’s Republican gubernatorial primary. More recently Parks bankrolled Clapper advertising that attacked Ron Saxton in his 2006 against Kevin Mannix through his Neil Goldschmidt Real Good Friend Ron Saxton PAC. (Parks also gave \$760,000 to Mannix’s bid to win the Republican nomination to the general election. See full discussion of Clapper’s political activities supported with contributions from Loren Parks on beginning on page 42.)

Loren Parks was briefly a member of the Oregon Round Table formed by Mark Hemstreet in 1995. Hemstreet recruited Parks to join this small group of pro-business with the goal of creating a \$1.2 million war chest. Parks didn’t last long as group member, though his contributions outstripped this goal. Gregg Clapper said, “Loren wanted to do it his own way.”<sup>11</sup>

Parks’ impatience with working with others is also described on page 19 when he formed Oregon Fish Forever, but shortly thereafter quit and went his own way. After some early contributions from Conservative PAC to traditional Republican Party committees, Parks has typically rebuffed money requests from Republican leaders. It was also reported that Conservative PAC funded Gregg Clapper ads criticizing rural Republicans during the 1995 legislature for supporting light rail in the Portland area. Then-Senate President Gordon Smith was targeted and his spokesman called the ad “despicable” and that Clapper and Parks violated the principle of loyalty.<sup>12</sup>

Gregg Clapper calls Parks, a registered Republican, too much of a free spirit with a civil libertarian position on social conservative issues like abortion rights. In addition, Clapper points to Parks’ interest in retaining control and that, “Candidates change. If you do get them elected, you never know for sure how they’re going to act once they get to Salem.”<sup>13</sup> As discussed beginning on page 49, Kevin Mannix is a major exception.

Another reported characteristic of Loren Parks is frugality. For example, in 2000 Parks reportedly agreed with claims of Measure 81 supporters that malpractice and product liability lawsuits were out of control. But Parks did not contribute because he thought the campaign was wasting too much money on polling and consultants. On a personal level there are stories of Loren Parks complaining about the cost of a hamburger and mowing his own lawn. He has also been sued about an unpaid commitment of almost \$210,000. Yet he has been a generous donor to

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<sup>8</sup> “Petitioner sloppiness spurs calls for reform,” *Salem Statesman Journal*, July 31, 2006

<sup>9</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsessions” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>10</sup> “Gone in 30 seconds: Truth and originality,” *Oregonian*, May 12, 2002

<sup>11</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsessions,” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>12</sup> “Ads rile Republican leaders,” *Oregonian*, July 28, 1995

<sup>13</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

non-political interests ranging from fish habitat improvement to breast cancer research.<sup>14</sup> (See page 19.)

It is reported that Loren Parks is afraid of two things: big government and being sued. “I think he’s afraid of being sued by anybody,” said an unidentified source with knowledge of Parks’ business operation. Evidently Parks has structured his companies to limit the potential to be held liable in the event of a product malfunction.<sup>15</sup>

An interest in hypnosis, including treatment of sexual problems that has included Loren Parks’ personal involvement with patients has raised questions about his political partnership with social conservative Kevin Mannix. Gregg Clapper defends Parks in regard to his interest in sex therapy saying that, “it is a small part of his life.” Mannix said, “I’m not going there,” when asked about Parks’ personal life.<sup>16</sup> (See more details beginning on page 8.)

Don McIntire said, “He’s not a nut,” when asked about Loren Parks’ eccentricities. “But you know, he’s not your button-down, mainstream, pink tower, downtown Portland, BMW-driving, cutting-edge Pearl District hipster,” continued McIntire who welcomes Parks support in challenging the status quo.<sup>17</sup> “I don’t necessarily agree with all of Loren’s political choices, but I do admire him for stepping up to the plate,” McIntire said. “It’s clear, obviously, that he’s not in the game for personal gain. If more Oregon business people would put in just a fraction of what Loren Parks gives to political action, the state would be better off for it.”<sup>18</sup>

It has been reported that some in the conservative movement have made off-the-record comments that initiative political players like Kevin Mannix and Bill Sizemore are playing Parks “for a sucker” and count on him to write another check after being primed with emotional anti-government rhetoric. Others find this amusing, “Those people don’t know Loren. This is not someone who can be manipulated,” said a long-time fishing partner of Loren Parks.<sup>19</sup>

Even if opinions vary on who is really calling the political shots, it is clear that Loren Parks is Oregon’s single largest individual political donor. Given the historical significance of this fact, Common Cause Oregon offers this analysis of Loren Parks that is an update of a report done by our precursor group, Democracy Reform Oregon.

### **Report Overview**

Section 2 provides some personal background, a short description of Loren Parks’ business endeavors and a review of non-political interests. Sexual harassment lawsuits are a part of this personal story.

Section 3 summarizes Loren Parks’ charitable giving to a range of organizations, primarily through private family foundations. Some political organizations were legitimate recipients of

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<sup>14</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>15</sup> “Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives big boost,” *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

<sup>16</sup> “Mannix, contributor seem an unlikely pair,” *Oregonian*, April 12, 2006

<sup>17</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsession,” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>18</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>19</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

financial support from the Parks Foundation. However, family foundations are required to comply with strict rules against political activity, including work on ballot measures. A lawsuit by the Oregon Department of Justice alleging that the Parks Foundation engaged in illegal ballot measure advocacy resulted in a settlement as described in this section.

Section 4 provides a detailed analysis of contributions from Loren Parks to political committees in support of Oregon candidates, initiative signature gathering, and ballot measures. The primary candidate recipient of Parks' largess is Kevin Mannix. All of Kevin Mannix's political activities that have obtained support from Loren Parks are described beginning on page 49. Other candidates who have received contributions from Loren Parks are described beginning on page 50 and in charts 12 and 13.

The critical role Loren Parks played in continuing the efforts of Don McIntire and launching Bill Sizemore and Oregon Taxpayers United are discussed beginning on page 37. Other partners who have received Parks' contributions are discussed on page 59 and support from Loren Parks, Russ Walker and FreedomWorks, is discussed on pages 57 through 59.

Beginning on page 42 the Loren Parks contributions to Gregg Clapper political committees are detailed. Summary charts 2 and 3 are provided on page 25 and 27. As a reference, chart 14 beginning on page 62 recaps all the ballot measures that have received support from Loren Parks with their ballot titles, chief petitioner, and election results.

## **Section 2 – The Man**

### **Personal and Business**

Loren Parks was born in 1926, and grew up in Wichita, KA. He served in the U.S. Navy from 1944 to 1946—as an aviation electronics technician's mate, and then in the Shore Patrol. He holds a B.A. in psychology and a minor in French, which he completed at five universities over the course of six years. He says he can “speak French and Spanish rather well and can get along in Italian, Dutch, German, and Japanese.”<sup>20</sup>

In 1961, coming “from abject poverty,” Parks started his business in Aloha called Parks Medical Electronics, of which he is the sole stockholder. This medical device company reportedly sells a few dozen different products and grossed \$8 million of revenue in 2005.<sup>21</sup>

Parks is also the registered agent for Parks Metal Products formed in 1995.<sup>22</sup> Pat Abel, a 10-year employee of Parks Metal Products, was terminated without cause in November 2003. Abel, however, was a shareholder and was entitled to have his 44 shares of common stock bought out by the company. Parks, however, refused to pay and in March 2005 Pat Abel filed a lawsuit. The case went to an arbitrator that found Parks Metal Products breached the shareholder agreement and awarded Pat Abel \$208,738 in a settlement of the case.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>21</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>22</sup> [http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg\\_web\\_name\\_srch\\_inq.show\\_detl?p\\_be\\_rsn=663672&p\\_srce=BR\\_INQ&p\\_print=FALSE](http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg_web_name_srch_inq.show_detl?p_be_rsn=663672&p_srce=BR_INQ&p_print=FALSE) retrieved September 21, 2008

<sup>23</sup> Satisfaction of Judgment, Circuit Court of Oregon, Washington County, Case No. C05882CV, filed July 25, 2006

### **Parks Elementary School**

In January 1995 Loren Parks paid \$1 million for the former Mt. Hood Christian School in Gresham and formed his own elementary school. Parks wasn't available for comment but his spokesman, Gregg Clapper, said that the school "would put the fear of God in public education officials" and that a nonreligious curriculum focused on the basics was planned. Clapper said that Parks Elementary School would open by end of January, a timeline questioned by local public school officials who had rejected purchasing the building because it needed expensive repairs. The superintendent of Gresham Schools wished Parks well, especially due to rapid population growth in the district. Former Gresham area legislator, Ron Sunseri, predicted that the new school would be full and have a waiting list before it opens. The superintendent of Centennial School District, George Benson, agreed that in some cases private school children get a better education than public school students. "People who can afford to have their children attend private school are fortunate, since the teachers usually have a lower class load and the school doesn't have the issue of a diverse student population faced by public schools," said Benson.<sup>24</sup>

On January 30, the day Parks' spokesperson Gregg Clapper said the school would open, only a secretary and administrator, Eric Ross, had been hired with opening the doors for students delayed by at least a few weeks. Ross said, "Mr. Parks had the idea, the initiative and the funds. But beyond that he has had a lot to learn about starting a school." Ross is a former high school teacher who started Centennial High's agriculture program in 1970 as well as its small engine training program before he left in 1980. In the intervening years Ross worked for the Oregon State University Extension Service and was a nursery operator and safety officer with Wilco Farmers Cooperative before starting work at Parks Elementary School. Ross called Loren Parks to inquire about a teaching position and wasn't expecting to be an administrator, "But when Mr. Parks said I need somebody to run my school, we sat down and talked." Ross said his biggest need was for experienced elementary teachers.<sup>25</sup>

In July 1996, after one and one-half years of operation, Loren Parks notified in a letter to parents and staff that he was going to sell Parks Elementary to Nazarene Church. At that point Parks Elementary had 70 students in a building that as a Christian academy that had an enrollment of 600. Loren Parks wrote that enrollment wasn't high enough and implied that the school was losing money. One parent said "We feel betrayed and let down." The school secretary said, "'I fervently wish he [Parks] had spoken up sooner," and that "he can't tell me this is just a fluke. It would have had to be in the process for quite a while." Another parent said, "I think Parks thinks the school should have been pumping out geniuses already." Since Parks Elementary was a nonreligious back-to-basics school, parents were not interested in the option of the Nazarene Church operating the school.<sup>26</sup>

Parks Elementary, however, continued operation under a parents' management board until June 1997. One of Parks frustrations had been that the school didn't stick to the basics. He evidently visited a class where students were "cutting out paper shapes and talking about the distance

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<sup>24</sup> "Schools face a wealthy challenger," *Oregonian*, January 11, 1995

<sup>25</sup> "Parks Elementary gets an administrator," *Oregonian*, January 31, 1995

<sup>26</sup> "Education innovation appears near end," *Oregonian*, August 14, 1996

between planets” triggering his disgust. During the 1996-1997 academic year, however, students excelled on tests with parents citing tiny class sizes and frequent parent-teacher contact. In January of 1997, Parks evidently told parents he was still thinking of selling the building but hinted that he may help them move to a new location. “We’ve been quiet, saying ‘Yes, Mr. Parks, yes Mr. Parks,’ doing anything he asked because he has been dangling that carrot in front of us,” said one parent. “He does not care about the children.” Another parent said that Parks didn’t spend enough time at the school or give it a fair shake. “When he found things that he deemed were inappropriate,” said a parents’ board member, “the only communication was some kind of criticism or message that comes over the fax.”<sup>27,28</sup>

The building was sold to the Nazarene Church and conflicts between parents and church crews beginning repairs caused a sudden closure of the school a week earlier than planned in June 1997. Evidently a parent had called Gresham city officials who ordered that repairs be stopped until school was over and children were no longer on the site. In response Parks closed the school abruptly and advised the new owner to call police to evict any parents found on the property. In a statement Parks said that he was closing because the school was continuing to lose as much as \$15,000 a month. He wrote, “I gave them [parents] the opportunity [to cut expenses and do a better job of running a school than me] and put off the sale. It didn’t happen.” “They’re throwing 63 kids right out on their behinds with no notice,” said one parent. Another parent said that he appreciated Parks’ effort but that “there was a failure to keep parents apprised of sale details.”<sup>29</sup>

### **Hypnosis Therapy**

In his non-professional life Parks offers free psychological therapy in the form of exposition and recordings on the Internet at [www.psychresearch.com](http://www.psychresearch.com). Pages on this website discusses Parks’ extensive experience using hypnosis to treat a wide range of physical and emotional ailments, including sexual complaints of both men and women. Loren Parks told the *Associated Press* that he learned hypnoanalysis in 1956 from Leslie M. LeCron and Dr. David B. Cheek and that he also traveled to the Philippines to learn from faith healers.<sup>30</sup> LeCron and Cheek were coauthors of *Clinical Hypnotherapy*.<sup>31</sup>

On his website, Parks writes: “We don't know the power of the mind to heal, if circumstances are right. It's fantastic. Mental things are a snap. Physicals are tougher. Through extensive experimentation, a privilege I have because I don't charge and I don't have to conform to convention, I have discovered extremely rapid methods of healing many conditions. Since I ferried groups to the Philippines I know what can be done with a very powerful placebo, cures I can't get. But for run-of-the-mill mental illnesses and many so-called physical conditions, I can run circles around virtually all professionals no matter how many degrees they have, and the Philippine healers to boot.”

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<sup>27</sup> “Millionaire closes his back-to-basics school,” *Oregonian*, June 5, 1997

<sup>28</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsession,” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>29</sup> “Millionaire closes his back-to-basics school,” *Oregonian*, June 5, 1997

<sup>30</sup> “Influential Parks dabbles in politics, but hypnosis is real calling,” *Associated Press*, October 8, 2000

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.durbinhypnosis.com/cheek.lecorn.htm#NOTES%20FROM%20CLINICAL%20HYPNOTHERAPY:%20David%20Cheek,%20M.D.%20and%20Leslie%20M.%20LeCron,%20B.A.> retrieved September 16, 2008

At the bottom of many pages on his website, is this caveat: “The author of this page is not a state or medically-licensed professional.”<sup>32</sup>

The website’s discussions of sexual problems include stories of Parks personal involvement in mixing sexual activity and hypnosis that move beyond theory. He writes: “I know of no scholarly way to write these things so you’ll understand and benefit from my extensive personal experience as a bachelor and a lay therapist. I don’t mean to be vulgar. I’m not writing from theory. I’m writing to help you to a happier sex life.”<sup>33</sup>

One story is of a trip Parks took with a one of his secretaries that included hypnotic therapy, then going to bed with her, followed by more therapy and additional lovemaking. This woman later married and reported to Parks some years later that she said the therapy was still working.<sup>34</sup>

A San Diego doctor, Stephen Guffanti said that a five-minute session of hypnotherapy by Loren Parks in 1992 changed his life addressing food allergies and dyslexia. “If we could take Loren and turn him into a pill that I could give to all my patients,” said Guffanti. “It would be wonderful.” The past president of the American Society of Clinical Hypnosis, Melvin Gravitz, agreed that hypnosis has been effectively used by psychologists to treat a number of ailments. However, he said it would be “reprehensible” for a nonprofessional psychologist to attempt such a treatment.<sup>35</sup>

### **Two Settlements in Lawsuits Related to Parks’ Sexual Activity**

Loren Parks has settled two separate lawsuits pertaining to his sexual activity. One involved a woman who said Parks had sex with her when he was approached for hypnotic therapy. In her 1983 court filings she was described as “somewhat retarded.” Parks settled the lawsuit in 1986 with an acknowledgement that they’d had a sexual relationship.<sup>36,37</sup>

A woman employee at Parks Medical Electronics, Maria Guerin, filed a Bureau of Labor and Industry complaint in November 2001 against Loren Parks claiming that sexual harassment created a hostile work environment. Kevin Mannix briefly represented Parks against Guerin’s state complaint and was named as a witness to Parks taking a “look up and down my body in a lewd” manner when Parks introduced Guerin to Mannix during a fundraising visit.<sup>38</sup>

The state complaint was withdrawn and a federal lawsuit filed in May 2002. Specific charges were that Guerin was pressured to have sex with Parks during an overseas business trip and that he frequently sent her and fellow employees emails with sexually explicit graphics, statements, and jokes. The pressure for sex was linked to a co-worker’s resignation after being subjected to hostility from other employees after spurning sexual advances from Parks. Guerin said that Parks

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.psychresearch.com/about.html> retrieved September 16, 2008

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.psychresearch.com/Men%27s-sex-problems.html> retrieved September 16, 2008

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.psychresearch.com/sexwomen.htm> retrieved September 16, 2008

<sup>35</sup> “Parks dabbles in hypnotic healing,” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>36</sup> “Dirty old [money] man,” *Willamette Week*, May 15, 2002

<sup>37</sup> “Mannix, contributor seem an unlikely pair,” *Oregonian*, April 12, 2006

<sup>38</sup> “Woman files sexual harassment suit against conservative contributor,” *Oregonian*, May 15, 2002

first forced her to have sex while she was ‘trapped’ aboard a cruise ship in the Baltic Sea. “I did not want to have sex with him, but felt I had no choice,” said Guerin.<sup>39</sup>

Parks’ lawyers said Guerin’s claims were fictional and revealed a signed contract that included the phrases “We will be sleeping together on the trip for our mutual pleasure” and “Neither of us is obligated to continue an intimate relationship following the trip. All of this has been discussed with my supervisor.” A statement from Parks’ law firm said, “Many would consider Mr. Parks to be a wealthy man. Regardless of his economic status, Mr. Parks is also a frugal man. In order to save money, Mr. Parks suggested to Ms. Guerin that they share accommodations in their pleasure travels, an arrangement to which she readily agreed and about which she never expressed a concern... To avoid the very situation that now exists, she agreed to sign a statement that she shared his desire for a relationship that included sexual relations.”<sup>40,41</sup>

Guerin charged that “Parks placed false documents” in her personnel file “including “the alleged release of liability” after she left the company in November 2001. After she stopped sleeping with Loren Parks in 2000, he retaliated including “encouraging... coworkers to fabricate customer complaints” against her. In 2001 one email said that his friendship was contingent on access to her breasts and in another email Parks referred to himself in Spanish as a “dirty old man.” The case was settled in 2004.<sup>42,43</sup>

Long time collaborator Gregg Clapper was annoyed by media reports of Loren Parks’ sexual interests that lose sight of his contributions to causes such as enhancing fish habitat. “Look, this guy is a guy who is successful,” Clapper said, and “one of the most telling things he ever said was, ‘look I’ve been a success because of this country, and I want to give something back.’”<sup>44</sup>

Parks didn’t respond to interview requests and emailed, “I don’t grant interviews due to extremely bad past experiences with the *Oregonian*. “When asked about Loren Parks’ personal life Kevin Mannix said, “I’m not going there” but that Parks “doesn’t expect me to do anything that undermines my principles and values.”<sup>45</sup>

Criticism about Loren Parks flared during the 2006 Republican gubernatorial primary after Kevin Mannix aired an ad after contributions from Parks of \$250,000 (out of an eventual primary total of \$766,000) accusing Ron Saxton of “flip-flopping” on several issues. “Republican voters ought to ask themselves whether they are comfortable with a candidate who’s willing to sell his campaign to the highest bidder,” said Saxton’s campaign manger, Felix Schein. Schein also pointed out that Loren Parks “operates a questionable sex therapy Web site” and that he had been sued for sexual harassment. “It reeks of hypocrisy for Kevin Mannix to tout his values and respect for women and yet allow his campaign to be bought by Parks.” Parks responded by email: “I give to Kevin because I believe he is honest and is the best man by far to head our state. I haven’t asked Kevin for anything but more control over criminals, improvement of the fishery

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<sup>39</sup> “Woman files sexual harassment suit against conservative contributor,” *Oregonian*, May 15, 2002

<sup>40</sup> “Dirty old [money] man,” *Willamette Week*, May 15, 2002

<sup>41</sup> “The election about becoming loregon,” *Oregonian*, November 3, 2002

<sup>42</sup> “Dirty old [money] man,” *Willamette Week*, May 15, 2002

<sup>43</sup> “Mannix, contributor seem an unlikely pair,” *Oregonian*, April 12, 2006

<sup>44</sup> “Mannix, contributor seem an unlikely pair,” *Oregonian*, April 12, 2006

<sup>45</sup> “Mannix, contributor seem an unlikely pair,” *Oregonian*, April 12, 2006

and less waste in government...As for my website, I rarely talk to anyone who has been to my website. I work best with depression, headaches, fingernail biting and cancer. I do not do sex therapy and haven't for 15 years or more, and then only with girlfriends, not the public. I have been impotent for years. I am 79. Any wealthy person is subject to nuisance lawsuits."<sup>46</sup> Copyright dates of 2004-2009 are listed at the bottom of the home page on Parks' website, [www.psychresearch.com](http://www.psychresearch.com), with a visitor count of 81,291 as of September 12, 2009.<sup>47</sup>

### Section 3 – The Money – Charitable Giving

#### **Grants to National Political Foundations as well as Sizemore and Mannix Foundations**

Parks has a long track record of donating to charities through private foundations. The Psychological Research Foundation was established in 1977 and, though still listed on Loren Parks' website, [www.psychresearch.com](http://www.psychresearch.com), is no longer active.<sup>48</sup> The Parks Foundation is a family foundation formed in 1979. This dissolved in 2003 after Loren Parks moved to Nevada. A new Parks Foundation and the Parks Educational Foundation were established in Nevada in 2004 and are still active. All foundations file 990 reports with the IRS. Reports referred to in this section are these tax forms. Different organizations file these reports on different timelines depending on their fiscal year.

These and the other foundations discussed below are 501 (c) 3 organization that can accept tax-deductible contributions and may support or oppose ballot measures, with some limits, but may not be involved in candidate elections.

#### We Care Oregon

We Care Oregon was formed in 2006 and has a religious emphasis in its work with non-profit organizations in our state as described by its story from its website in the box below. We Care Oregon's president and CEO is Randy Carl who has an MBA and 25 years of managerial experience in the telecommunications and internet industries.<sup>49</sup>

#### **The We Care Story**

In 2006, We Care Oregon was born from the vision of a local philanthropist who desired to see Oregon's faith and community-based non-profit organizations grow in the impact of their vision. Inspired and encouraged by We Care America, We Care Oregon formed under the direction of local business owners and church leaders. We quickly developed our mission and vision to affect high-impact social change. Our involvement has proven to infuse vision, infrastructure and funding into local and international communities. It is our conviction to see the life-changing message of Jesus Christ delivered and lived out through our work and the services of our partner organizations.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> "Two GOP candidates for governor swap attacks," *Oregonian*, May 9, 2006

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.psychresearch.com> retrieved September 12, 2009

<sup>48</sup> "The man behind Mannix," *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>49</sup> About Us. Retrieved on September 12, 2009 from

[http://wecareoregon.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=27&Itemid=31](http://wecareoregon.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=27&Itemid=31)

<sup>50</sup> WeCare Story. Retrieved on September 12, 2009 from

[http://wecareoregon.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=27&Itemid=31](http://wecareoregon.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=27&Itemid=31)

We Care Oregon is a 501 (c) 3 group that has received \$1,357,000 making it the top recipient of support from the Parks Foundation and Parks Educational Foundation. The tax forms for 2006 filed by these foundations show \$232,000 given to We Care Oregon with \$1,125,000 granted in 2007 for a total to date of \$1,357,000. See left side of chart 1 below.

Gifts received by We Care Oregon on their 2006 and 2007 reports are \$163,288 and \$809,523 respectively for a total of \$972,811. These are calendar year reports while the Parks foundation reports go from September through August. Though these reporting schedules are not an exact match, it seems clear that the foundations of Loren Parks have been major donors to We Care Oregon.

The 2006 tax report of the We Care Foundation indicates grants of \$10,000 given to both Frontier Missions and Life Directions and \$2, 123 to Blue Sky Ministries. Other activities were grant-writing services to non-profits valued at \$34,890.

We Care Oregon’s 2007 tax reports lists grant awards of \$80,000 each that were made to Salvation Army Kroc Center and Family Building Blocks, \$75,000 to Life Directions, \$50,000 to Liberty House, \$25,000 to Oregon War Veterans Association, \$20,000 to Catholic Community Services, \$10,000 each to YWCA Salem Outreach Center and Friends of Pimpollo, and an additional \$3,950 to five other groups.

We Care Oregon’s 2007 tax reports also shows a \$126,000 payment to Kevin Mannix’s law firm for fundraising services. See right side of chart 1 below.

**Chart 1 – Side-by-Side Summary of Parks Foundation Grants to We Care Oregon Foundation and Payments by We Care Oregon Foundation to Mannix Law Firm**

<b>Grants from Parks foundations to We Care Oregon Foundation</b>		<b>Contract Work by Mannix Law Firm by We Care Oregon Foundation</b>	
2007 Report for August 2007 through August 2008 grants	\$1,125,000	2008 Report Not Yet Available	
2006 Report for August 2006 through August 2007 grants	\$232,000	2007 Report for 2007 calendar year for fundraising services	\$126,000
No previous grants from Parks foundations to We Care Oregon Foundation		No report – We Care Oregon formed in 2007	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,357,000</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>\$126,000</b>

The workload for We Care Oregon at the Mannix law firm seems to be significant. Assuming a payment rate of \$200 per hour work, 630 hours of fundraising services would have been provided to the We Care Oregon Foundation. Assuming a work year of 2080 hours (52 weeks times 40 hours/week), 630 hours would have represented 30 percent of the Mannix’s workload in 2007. This would have been in addition to the estimated 20 percent of Mannix’s time being devoted to legal services in 2007 provided to FreedomWorks Foundation described below.

The religious element in the purpose of We Care Oregon is described above and reflected in the list of organization served that ranges from Blanchett Catholic School, Blue Sky Ministries, Catholic Community Services, and Global Music Evangelism. Three groups that have received support, however, stand out due to their political activism: Freedom Works Foundation, Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance Foundation, and Oregon War Veteran’s Association. Each of these groups

have received support from Loren Parks and two are affiliated with recipients of support from Loren Parks, Russ Walker and Kevin Mannix.

#### Oregon War Veterans Association

The Parks Educational Foundation, controlled by Loren Parks, gave the Oregon War Veterans Association \$100,000 as reported on the Parks' foundation 2007 tax report that covered activity from September 2007 to September of 2008. The Oregon War Veterans Association is a 501 (c) 19 group. This is an Internal Revenue Service designation that allows the receipt of tax-deductible contributions while still engaging in partisan policy activity, though that can't be the group's primary purpose.

The Oregon War Veterans association federal tax form indicates that its primary purpose is advocating for veterans including development of legislation, home loan assistance, charitable networking and member services. Their 2006 report indicates that \$56,608 went to the Oregon Veterans PAC out of a total of \$119,165 in grant activity.<sup>51</sup> That 48 percent of foundation spending went to an affiliated political committee raises questions about whether Oregon War Veterans Association primary activity is political and getting close enough to the 50 percent guideline for allowable political activities that a complaint could be viable. Greg Warnock, Robin Brown, and Rob Bratian are listed as Oregon War Veterans Association officers and are also directors of the Oregon Veterans PAC that was formed in December of 2006.

Review of ORESTAR records of contributions to Oregon Veterans PAC is that \$21,561 was given by the Oregon War Veterans Association from March through June of 2007. This is a discrepancy with the \$58,608 is reported on the Oregon War Veterans Association tax forms.

The Oregon War Veterans Association's contribution of \$165,000 to the Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance against Measure 57 and for Measures 61 and 62 doesn't seem to fit into the Associations' stated focus on concerns facing veterans. However, an interest in this topic is indicated by a \$15,000 grant to the War Veterans Group from Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance, Inc. as reported on the latter group's 2008 tax report.

#### FreedomWorks Foundation

The second top recipient of grants from the Parks Foundation and Parks Educational Foundation is \$539,980 given to FreedomWorks Foundation or its predecessor Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation.<sup>52</sup> Support to FreedomWorks Foundation includes \$197,000 reported on 2007 forms filed by foundations controlled by Loren Parks, \$20,000 reported on 2006 tax forms, \$120,000 reported in 2005, \$172,980 on 2004 tax forms and \$30,000 reported in 2000 by Parks foundations. Most of the Parks foundation support, \$509,980, is listed on reports covering August 2004 through August 2008.

Citizens for a Sound Economy is a national group formed in 1984 that is now called FreedomWorks. FreedomWorks believes that individual liberty and the freedom to complete

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<sup>51</sup> 2006 990 form for Oregon War Veterans Association available at 990 finder for activity from November 2006 through 2007. This was the group's initial report and later reports are not yet available.

<sup>52</sup> This data is from 990 tax forms filed for 2001 activity through 2007 by Parks Foundation-Oregon, Parks Foundation-Nevada, and Parks Educational Foundation.

increases consumer choices and provides individuals with the greatest control over what they own and earn. FreedomWorks focuses on lower taxes and less government.<sup>53</sup> FreedomWorks is a 501 (4) organization which means that its donations are not tax-deductible. These groups can work on ballot measure politics without limit and may engage in candidate electioneering as long as it is not the group's primary purpose, with typical advice that such work should be less than half an organization's activities. There is also a FreedomWorks Foundation that is a 501 (c) 3 group to which contributions are tax-deductible. Groups in this IRS category can work on ballot measures with some limits but may not engage in candidate related political activity.

Russ Walker is head of the Oregon chapter of FreedomWorks. As described beginning on page 57, and in a new political history of Russ Walker available at [www.commoncause.org/oregon](http://www.commoncause.org/oregon), Parks has a history of supporting Walker's efforts, most recently signature gathering on Referendums 301 and 302 to overturn the increase of Oregon's \$10 corporate minimum tax to \$150 and increases in the marginal tax rates on income over \$250,000 for couples and \$125,000 for a single person. These have qualified and are now Measures 66 and 67 that will be on the January 26, 2010 special election ballot.

FreedomWorks Foundation was reported by the *Oregonian* to have contracted for legal services from Kevin L. Mannix, PC for a total of \$540,000 from 2004 through 2006.<sup>54</sup> Tax records for FreedomWorks Foundation indicate that these payments came to a higher total of \$624,678 with \$70,039 to the Mannix law firm for consulting (no other details provided) reported in 2004, \$200,089 for fundraising consulting reported on 2005 forms, \$268,650 for legal services in 2006, and \$85,000 for legal services reported on 2007 tax reports.<sup>55</sup> See the right side of chart 2 below.

Increased business was cited as why Kevin Mannix could pay off old debt to his candidate campaign beginning in 2007. Paying old loans and consolidating debt so that it was owed to just his law firm continued into 2008 as Mannix was preparing to run for the Republican nomination in the 5<sup>th</sup> Congressional District. Mannix's campaign manager did not reveal the source of those dollars due client confidentiality, but did say that none of the money came from Loren Parks.<sup>56</sup>

An *Oregonian* editorial raised questions about Mannix's mix of business and political fundraising. Though legal, the editorial characterizes his money shifts as "neither aboveboard nor wise." Mannix had been attacked for being in debt by Ron Saxton during their 2006 primary contest. The *Oregonian* wondered if Mannix was concerned that during his federal race opponents would run new TV ads "asking how he expected to clean up the federal budget when he can't do the same to his own finances." They acknowledged the legality of Mannix's legal and consulting services to FreedomWorks, but write: "Nothing [is wrong], 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 own Oregon voters an unlauded accounting of who's bankrolling his campaign."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> <http://www.FreedomWorks.org/know/> retrieved September 10, 2008.

<sup>54</sup> "Mannix pays old debt as he preps for the new race," *Oregonian*, March 18, 2008

<sup>55</sup> Earlier reports for FreedomWorks Foundation are not available via Guidestar at <http://www.guidestar.org/>

<sup>56</sup> "Mannix pays old debt as he preps for the new race," *Oregonian*, March 18, 2008

<sup>57</sup> "With Mannix, it's hard to follow the money," *Oregonian*, March 23, 2008

The *Oregonian* article and subsequent editorial did not include information on the \$509,980 in Parks foundation support for FreedomWorks Foundation reported on 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007 tax forms filed by the Parks Foundation and Parks Educational Foundation. See the left side of chart 2 below.

If this information had been reported, perhaps it would have increased the *Oregonian's* editorial concerns about “campaign contributions masquerading as attorney fees.”<sup>58</sup> It also doesn't appear that the *Oregonian* knew of the \$126,000 consulting done for the We Care Oregon group by the Mannix law firm during 2007 that may have assisted in Kevin Mannix paying off campaign loans in early 2008.

All the Parks foundation tax forms indicate that the report lists information for a tax year that begins in August of the report year through August of the following year. For example, the 2007 report indicates that it is for activities, included grants made, from August 2007 through August 2008.<sup>59</sup>

**Chart 2 – 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 by 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 on 2000 forms		2004 report for 2004 calendar year for consulting	\$70,939
		Reports for previous years no longer available on either Guidestar or 990 finder	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$509,980</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>\$624,678</b>

The workload for FreedomWorks Foundation 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

<sup>58</sup> “With Mannix, it’s hard to follow the money,” *Oregonian*, March 23, 2008

<sup>59</sup> This pattern is true for Parks Foundation and Parks Educational Foundation 2006, 2005, and 2004 990s. These are Nevada foundations. The 2003 990 for the Nevada Parks Foundation says it covers December 1, 2003 through August of 2004. This is during the period of time that the Oregon Parks Foundation was being disbanded. The 2002 990 for the Oregon Parks Foundation shows that it covers the time period from December 1, 2002 through November 2003. The bottom line is that for most 990s the report year coincides with the calendar year reporting of activities in the report. As allowed by law, this is not the case with Parks foundations. This needs to be factored into comparing 990 forms of Parks foundations with the 990 forms of other organizations.

FreedomWorks Foundation represented 17, 48, 65, and 20 percent of Mannix's workload in 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007 respectively.

As noted earlier, in 2007 an estimated 630 hours of fundraising services were provided to the We Care Oregon Foundation by the Mannix law firm. That would have represented 30 percent of the Mannix's workload in 2007.

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 provided in 2005 for FreedomWorks Foundation primarily required calling Loren Parks, the payment to the Mannix Law Firm seems particularly generous given the likely work involved. The rate of pay for fundraising services provided to We Care Oregon may also be higher than \$200/hour, but if the Mannix Law Firm was involved in securing the \$1,357,000 in support from foundations controlled by Loren Parks a higher rate of pay may well be justified.

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.<sup>60</sup>

#### Americans for Tax Reform

The third top recipient of support from either the Oregon or Nevada Parks Foundations and the Parks Educational Foundation is \$533,900 to Americans for Tax Reform. Contributions to Americans for Tax Reform breaks down to \$29,000 reported on 2007 tax form of one of the Parks foundation, \$260,000 reported on 2006 tax forms of both Parks foundations, \$141,000 reported in 2005, \$67,500 listed on 2004 reports, \$80,000 reported on 2001 forms, and \$156,400 reported on 2000 tax forms filed by foundations controlled by Loren Parks. Americans for Tax Reform is a Washington DC based group run by Grover Norquist. Its website says that it opposes all tax increases on principle.<sup>61</sup>

#### Bill Sizemore's Oregon Taxpayers United Foundation and American Tax Research Foundation

The fourth top recipient of support from foundations controlled by Loren Parks is Bill Sizemore's American Tax Research Foundation that received a total of \$527,000. This was recent support with grants of \$327,000 reported on 2007 forms and \$200,000 on 2006 forms filed by the Parks Foundation.

Bill Sizemore's Oregon Taxpayers United Foundation has received a total of \$342,000 from foundations controlled by Loren Parks. The first grant was for \$11,000 for work during 1993. Grants of \$100,000 each, however, were reported on the 1998 and 1999 tax forms for the Parks Family Foundation. Additional grants of \$80,000, \$25,000, \$18,500 and \$7,500 were reported in 2000, 2001, 2002, and 2004.

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<sup>60</sup> Oregon State Bar Association, Oregon Rules of Professional Conduct. Retrieved on October 19, 2009 from <http://www.osbar.org/docs/rulesregs/orpc.pdf>

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.atr.org/home/about/index.html> retrieved September 19, 2008

Bill Sizemore's use of his most recent foundation, American Tax Research Foundation, was characterized by the *Oregonian* as a personal ATM. "He [Sizemore] took out \$63,000 in cash and rang up \$74,000 on the foundation's debit cards. He bought a 2005 Pontiac Grand Prix for his wife, paid private school tuition for his son and braces for his daughter, and vacationed at the foundation's time-share in Mexico." "Personal living expenses out of the organization's funds are almost never payments for furthering the mission," says Sharon Wilson, director of the Center for Community Nonprofit Organizations at Temple University law school. "The IRS considers that a no-no."<sup>62</sup>

The *Oregonian* says that Bill Sizemore said that contributions from foundations controlled by Loren Parks were intended to pay his salary. Initially this was not how Parks remembered the situation. "At the time I made the donation, I did not know Bill Sizemore was involved in (the foundation)," Park said in an e-mail. "I thought I was making a legitimate contribution for tax research, and that I was just one of the contributors for tax research." But Loren Parks and Bill Sizemore then talked by phone and Parks changed his answer. "Bill's memory is a lot better than mine," wrote Parks, who has been critical of the press. "After all, I'm 82 and he is probably right. Bill is a friend. The *Oregonian* is not."<sup>63</sup>

Bill Sizemore was jailed in early December of 2008 until he filed federal and state tax forms for Americans Tax Research Foundation. Judge Janice Wilson also found Sizemore in contempt of court for the fourth time in legal action taken by the Oregon Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers due to his use of the Americans Tax Research Foundation. "From the very beginning of ATRF's existence, Mr. Sizemore used it to pass money to himself and his family from Mr. Parks and used ATRF's bank accounts as his personal piggy bank," Wilson said in her ruling.<sup>64</sup>

Judge Wilson took two hours to read her findings that repeatedly accused Bill Sizemore of lying under oath. Wilson said Sizemore's violations of previous injunctions "are disturbing because, together with Mr. Sizemore's willingness to lie under oath, they reflect not merely contempt of court in the legal sense but contempt for the court, the judicial branch of government and its processes and judgments—indeed for the rule of law. Mr. Sizemore is so blinded by his hatred of the unions who are plaintiffs in this case that he seems to have concluded that he is not required to follow the law." Judge Wilson also indicated suspicion that the unions hoped the timing of the contempt procedures would reduce support by voters of the five Bill Sizemore measures that were on the November 2008 ballot. "This whole case has been used by both sides in their mortal combat," the judge said.<sup>65</sup>

Judge Wilson's 42-page ruling outlined what the press characterized as a "dizzying array" of organizations used by Sizemore to conceal his funding sources. Wilson wrote, "The inescapable conclusion is that ATRF was a sham charitable organization set up to pass money provided by Loren Parks and Dick Wendt to compensate Mr. Sizemore for his work on initiative measures."<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> "Sizemore spending clashes with law," *Oregonian*, October 22, 2008

<sup>63</sup> "Sizemore spending clashes with law," *Oregonian*, October 22, 2008

<sup>64</sup> "Sizemore gets lecture, then jail," *Oregonian*, December 2, 2008

<sup>65</sup> "Sizemore gets lecture, then jail," *Oregonian*, December 2, 2008

<sup>66</sup> "Sizemore gets lecture, then jail," *Oregonian*, December 2, 2008

Bill Sizemore spent a day in jail before being released after following Judge Wilson's order to sign tax forms for Americans for Tax Research. Upon his release both he and his wife Cindy spoke to the press. "I think this was a political move on the part of the judge who wanted to send me a message," Sizemore said. "It was nothing more than that. I resent some of the things she said in her decision. "Are you guys [reporters] here to interview the political prisoner?" said Cindy Sizemore. "That's what he [Sizemore] is, a political prisoner. We're in the communist town of Portland."<sup>67</sup>

Bill Sizemore, however, put false answers on the tax forms that he signed to get out of jail. Sizemore's "no" answers that American Tax Research Foundation did not attempt to influence "a legislative matter or referendum" and that there were no family relationship between foundation officers and directors were both inaccurate. One of the directors of American Tax Research Foundation was his Sizemore's mother, Gene Foster.

Judge Wilson had always found that the main purpose of the foundation was to be a conduit of dollars from Loren Parks and Dick Wendt for Sizemore's work on ballot measures. Sizemore acknowledged the mistake about his mother's role, but disagreed that the foundation had paid him for political work saying, "We'll do our best to work out any differences with the judge's ruling."<sup>68</sup>

In February of 2009, the state Elections Division opened an investigation into whether Bill Sizemore violated election laws when putting five measures on the November 2008 ballot. The state's letter indicates that their investigation will use the December rulings against Sizemore by Judge Janice Wilson. Sizemore called the letter as a political ploy by the new Secretary of State Kate Brown. "If this is a straightforward inquiry, I have nothing to worry about," Sizemore said. "If she's [Brown] doing the public employees unions a favor, she'll find problems no matter what the facts are." Sizemore has moved to Redmond from Klamath Falls but had no comment on his relationship with Dick Wendt but said that he left "on, I believe, friendly terms."<sup>69</sup>

At a March 2009 hearing not attended by Bill Sizemore, Judge Janice Wilson banned his employment by or use of any nonprofit organization until he first convinces a judge of the legitimacy of the group and its financial arrangements. Sizemore was also ordered to repay \$500,000 in pay and other benefits he took from the American Tax Research Foundation for personal use and other illegitimate purposes. Oregon Attorney General John Kroger, elected in November 2008, supported the judge's decision as "an important step for clean elections in Oregon." The limits on Bill Sizemore's activities will last until November 2013.<sup>70</sup>

In April 2009, the Oregon Court of Appeals upheld a ruling against Bill Sizemore for contempt of court in relation to litigation by the Oregon Education Association and American Federation of Teachers. Also upheld was \$125,000 in attorney fees to be paid by Sizemore.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Sizemore signs tax forms, walks out of county jail," *Oregonian*, December 3, 2008

<sup>68</sup> "Sizemore put false answers on tax forms," *Oregonian*, December 5, 2008

<sup>69</sup> "Sizemore under state scrutiny," *Oregonian*, February 13, 2009

<sup>70</sup> "Court slaps tight limits on Sizemore," *Oregonian*, March 7, 2009

<sup>71</sup> "Appeals court upholds contempt ruling against Sizemore," *Oregonian*, April 2, 2009

### Kevin Mannix's Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance Foundation

Kevin Mannix's Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance Foundation received \$395,000 as reported on the 2007 reports of the Parks Foundation and Parks Educational Fund. These reports cover activities from September 2007 through August of 2008.

The 2008 report of the Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance Foundation shows total contributions of \$345,000 from Parks Foundation, \$100,000 from Parks Education Foundation, and \$150,000 from We Care Oregon for \$595,000 given during the 2008 calendar year. Since foundations controlled by Parks are the major donors to We Care Oregon it appears the Loren Parks is the ultimate source of essentially all of the money to the Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance Foundation.

The Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance Foundation reports grants in 2008 of \$15,000 to the Military Family Support Forum and \$22,500 to the Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance. The foundation also loaned \$26,000 to Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance, Inc. that is also controlled by Kevin Mannix.

The 2008 report of the Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance, Inc. shows a \$15,000 grant to the Oregon War Veterans Association. Another \$32,257 was spend to advocate for criminal justice reform using a website, mailings, and polling.

### Kevin Mannix's Criminal and Civil Justice Foundations

Two groups formed by Kevin Mannix, Criminal Justice Foundation and Civil Justice Foundation, received \$267,900 and \$93,900 respectively from Parks foundations for work from 1998 through 2001 for a total of \$361,800.<sup>72</sup> As described in *A Political History of Kevin Mannix*, activities of these Mannix foundations included payments to Mannix's law firms for a variety of activities.

### Other Political Grants from Parks Foundations

Other grants of a political nature have been \$65,000 for work in 1998 and 2000 by the American Constitutional Law Foundation and \$48,000 to the Pacific Legal Foundation for activities in 1994, 1995, and 1997. Oregonians in Action received \$5,000 in 2001. The Cascade Policy Institute received \$25,000 in three grants between 1992 and 1995. The Oregon Tax Research Foundation received \$25,000 in 1994, a gift characterized by the group's executive director, John Gram, as coming "out of the blue."<sup>73</sup>

### **Heath Care, Social Service, and Fish Habitat Support Grants**

Foundations controlled by Loren Parks have also made major contributions regarding health care and other community concerns. The Center for Natural Oncology in California has received \$326,327 for work from 2005 through 2007. In 1997, St. Vincent Medical Foundation received \$250,000 for breast cancer research. The Parks Elementary School received a total of \$120,000 in support from 1995 through 1997.

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<sup>72</sup> "Foundations directed by Mannix provide boon to his law firm," *Oregonian*, August 14, 2002 and review of Parks foundations' 990s.

<sup>73</sup> "Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives big boost," *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

The various foundations controlled by Loren Parks have also supported social service agencies such as \$250,000 donation in 2007 to Union Mission Association of Salem and a 2006 donation of \$100,000 to the Henderson Community Foundation

Loren Parks is reported to be an avid fisherman and generally interested in the outdoors. An outdoor guide who took him hunting said that Parks enjoyed himself so much that he bought a motor home and a high-powered weapon. Another indication of his intensity is that at one point Parks is reported to have owned 18 fishing boats.<sup>74</sup>

Through his foundations Loren Parks has given \$418,200 to Tillamook Anglers for work on fish habitat improvement beginning with a grant in 1993 and continuing from 2001 through 2007. The registered agent for this group is Jerry Dove.<sup>75</sup> Dove is evidently also a fishing buddy of Loren Parks who he characterized as, “Personally, he’s a frugal guy who will complain about the cost of a hamburger.” Dove continued, “But to those issues he believes in – and fisheries is one of them – he is charitable a guy as I know.” Other examples of Parks’ philanthropy in the environmental arena is supporting development of a fish hatchery in a Wilson River area prison camp and purchasing land for public boat launches on the Trask River.<sup>76</sup>

Jerry Dove also said that when first offered \$20,000 in support for Tillamook Anglers, Parks said, “I expect to tell you how to spend that money.” When Dove said that the group’s board would set its own spending priorities, Parks still gave him the check and said, “You’ve got a lot of guts.”<sup>77</sup>

Loren Parks formed Oregon Fish Forever with a former Republican legislator, Paul Hanneman in 1992.<sup>78</sup> This group closed in 1998, but before then it was reported that Parks had tired of the “drudge of rule-making” and quit. He then paid for television ads criticizing the state for not doing enough to protect salmon from predators that showed wildlife officials clubbing salmon. “He wants to shake things up faster,” said Paul Hanneman.<sup>79</sup>

### **Defamation Lawsuit**

In the summer of 1994 Ruth Bendl formed the signature gathering company Canvasser Services Inc.<sup>80</sup> This company operated through 1996 with spending of \$60,150 by Loren Parks’ Conservative PAC in 1994 and 1996. (See chart 5 on page 30.)

However, Loren Parks fired Ruth Bendl in August 1996. This prompted Bendl to file a defamation lawsuit against Parks, alleging that he accused her of fraud and dishonesty during petition circulation on six initiatives in 1996. Bendl asked for \$350,000 in damages. Parks

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<sup>74</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsessions,” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>75</sup> [http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg\\_web\\_name\\_srch\\_inq.show\\_detl?p\\_be\\_rsn=241129&p\\_srce=BR\\_INQ&p\\_print=TRUE](http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg_web_name_srch_inq.show_detl?p_be_rsn=241129&p_srce=BR_INQ&p_print=TRUE)

<sup>76</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>77</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsessions,” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>78</sup> [http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg\\_web\\_name\\_srch\\_inq.show\\_detl?p\\_be\\_rsn=209478&p\\_srce=BR\\_INQ&p\\_print=TRUE](http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg_web_name_srch_inq.show_detl?p_be_rsn=209478&p_srce=BR_INQ&p_print=TRUE)

<sup>79</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsessions,” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>80</sup> [http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg\\_web\\_name\\_srch\\_inq.show\\_detl?p\\_be\\_rsn=606599&p\\_srce=BR\\_INQ&p\\_print=TRUE](http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg_web_name_srch_inq.show_detl?p_be_rsn=606599&p_srce=BR_INQ&p_print=TRUE)

testified that Bendl was fired because signature gathering had ended. He said that he might have told Bendl that she mismanaged money but that he didn't call her a cheat or defrauder. "I probably wouldn't have used those words," Parks said. "It's not my style." In spring of 1998, a jury found in Bendl's favor and awarded her \$135,000. Bendl's response was that, "I feel vindicated."<sup>81</sup>

Loren Parks had also filed a countersuit charging Ruth Bendl from diverting about \$141,000 of his money into three other initiatives sponsored by Salem eye doctor Gordon Miller that was using Canvasser Services, Inc. as a vendor in 1996. Bendl said that she had Parks approval to work on more than his six priority initiatives, but Parks said that \$200,000 he left with his son when he was on vacation in June was earmarked just for his petitions. Parks also alleged defamation due to Bendl's telling officials of a possible money-laundering scheme. The jury ruled against Parks, but the judge said that he felt that the defamation case was "a very slim case at best."<sup>82</sup>

The lower court judge did overturn the verdict against Loren Parks, but Bendl's claims were upheld in a January 2000 decision by the Oregon Court of Appeals. "I was literally told that I was a thief, and it's nice to be vindicated," Bendl said. The \$135,000 judgment was restored to Bendl.<sup>83</sup>

In an interesting twist, Kevin Mannix's law firm, with support from the Parks Foundation, is reported to have defended Ruth Bendl and Canvasser Services in an appeal of a Employment Department ruling made in October 1997 that petition circulators hired by the company should have been paid as employees instead of independent contractors. Kevin Mannix wrote to Bendl that he could take the case due to a grant from the Parks Foundation, presumably to either Criminal or Civil Justice Foundations. Mannix's representation of Bendl, however, followed Bendl's successful defamation lawsuit against Loren Parks. About Parks support contributing to Mannix's being able to take her case, Bendl said, "I never fail to be astonished at him [Parks]. But he's got a vested interest. If this flops, it sets a precedent with the Employment Department." Canvasser Services is reported to have collected signature for Mannix's Measure 40 on the ballot in November 1996.<sup>84</sup>

### **Misuse of Nonprofit Foundation for Political Purposes – Case Settled for \$50,000**

In the course of the legal proceedings by Ruth Bendl in her defamation lawsuit against Loren Parks she raised questions with state elections officials and Multnomah County's district attorney's office. While not alleging any specific concerns about the practices of the Parks foundation contributions, two reviews were triggered by these conversations.

The state Elections Division explored whether or not a Parks Medical Electronics contribution to Washington, D.C.-based National Taxpayers Union in late 1993 ended up back in Oregon to assist Bill Sizemore's Oregon Taxpayers United in signature gathering for what became Measure

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<sup>81</sup> "Millionaire defamed employee, jury finds," *Oregonian*, May 9, 1998

<sup>82</sup> "Millionaire defamed employee, jury finds," *Oregonian*, May 9, 1998

<sup>83</sup> "Appeals court reinstates jury verdict; the finding restores a \$135,000 award for a fired political activist," *Oregonian*, January 6, 2000.

<sup>84</sup> "Kiss and make up," *Willamette Week*, June 24, 1998

5 on the November 1994 ballot. During the Bendl defamation trial Loren Parks testified, “there is no agreement” for an earmark of his contribution for any particular purpose, though he also said I have the expectation that it will come back to Oregon “in substantial amounts.” National Taxpayers United also said that it does not earmark money.<sup>85</sup> This evidently ended the review of this being a possible violation of campaign reporting laws, though the judge in the defamation trial, after excusing the jury,<sup>86</sup> told the attorneys that he was shocked by Parks testimony, “He [Parks] sent money...East to be funneled back to Oregon.” (Also see “*A Political History of Bill Sizemore*” at [www.commoncause.org/oregon](http://www.commoncause.org/oregon) for information on a better documented claim of a similar money flow involving contributions from Robert Randall to Oregon Taxpayers United that reportedly went to Americans for Tax Reform, led by Grover Norquist, and then back to Oregon.)

There were also concerns about possible tax law violations regarding the allowed charitable activities of the Parks Foundation that resulted in an audit by the Department of Justice. Reporting on this investigation began in May of 1998. Nonprofit 501 (c)(3) organizations cannot contribute to political candidates, but are allowed to lobby and support ballot measures subject to certain restrictions. However, a family foundation, which is how the Parks Foundation was organized, is completely prohibited from lobbying under IRS rules that are incorporated into Oregon state law pertaining to nonprofits. In this context, lobbying includes support for initiatives and ballot measures.

As reported in 1994 the Parks Foundation made grants totaling \$184,334 the previous year. The Clapper Agency received \$20,034 that Gregg Clapper aid “wasn’t political money” that paid for radio ads he characterized as being about government waste. Other grants reported in 1992 and 1993 went to Stan Ash and Ruth Bendl to produce “Taxpayer Speak-Out” for cable access television.<sup>87</sup>

In March of 1993 Gregg Clapper ran a radio commercial criticizing the pay and benefit package of the chancellor of Oregon’s higher education system. The ads cost \$5,000 and were paid for by the Oregon Taxpayer Education Foundation formed by Clapper. Clapper did not name the financial backer for the ads, but did identify the Foundation board that included Joe Foxall.<sup>88</sup> Foxall was a chief petitioner with Don McIntire of an unsuccessful petition in 1996.

In 1996 the Parks Foundation reported \$81,000 in grants including \$21,000 to Fed Up With Crime for educational activities and \$10,000 for wildlife preservation programs to Oregon Hunters Association. Several chapters of the Oregon Hunters Association contributed to 1996’s Measure 34 intended to repeal an earlier measure that restricted bear and cougar hunting. Fed Up With Crime supported Kevin Mannix’s “tough on crime” Measures 10, 11, and 17 in 1994.<sup>89</sup>

In August of 2000, the Department of Justice filed a lawsuit alleging 17 incidents where the Parks Foundation violated IRS and Oregon state law restrictions on the political activities of a

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<sup>85</sup> “Tax status of parks foundation gets review,” *Oregonian*, May 13, 1998

<sup>86</sup> “Money for something,” *Willamette Week*, May 13, 1998

<sup>87</sup> “Aloha conservative gives conservatives big boost,” *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

<sup>88</sup> “Park watch,” *Oregonian*, March 23, 1993

<sup>89</sup> “Tax status of parks foundation gets review,” *Oregonian*, May 13, 1998

family foundation. At least \$533,835 was alleged to have been illegally funneled through the Parks Foundation, which obtains its support from Parks or his company. Gregg Clapper, whose agency was alleged to have received about half of the money that may have been inappropriately transferred, said, “Loren’s foundation has been under investigation for years,” and “they’ve been hounding the hell out of him for some time.”<sup>90</sup>

Negotiations between the Department of Justice and Loren Parks’ attorneys came close to resulting in a settlement that could have avoided the lawsuit. Shortly before the settlement was finalized, however, the Parks Foundation paid for a Gregg Clapper radio ad in support of Measure 8, Don McIntire’s spending limit proposal on the November 2000 ballot. The Department of Justice spokes person said, “The ad was indication that the negotiations may not have been taken as seriously by the foundation as by the state.” Gregg Clapper said that he’s always had Parks Foundation attorneys approve any ad produced with their funds. Regarding the alleged Measure 8 commercial, “Our contention is, we’re allowed to say that,” Clapper said. “We don’t say how to vote on anything.”<sup>91</sup> A newspaper article, however, related these ads to Measure 8.<sup>92</sup>

The Department of Justice clearly considered the commercials funded by Parks Foundation to be political advertising. Some consider what constitutes a political ad a gray area, but the Department of Justice position in regard to these ads is bolstered by other case law in Oregon. For example, the Oregon Court of Appeals has found that “magic words” such as “vote for” is not required to trigger disclosure requirements for independent expenditures. This is often called the “reasonable person test” that means listening to the ad it would be clear that the commercial was advocating a political position. Applying this reasoning in this case undermines Clapper’s position. Also as noted below, many of the allegations referred to political activities in support of ballot measures did not involve political ads, but rather support for legislative lobbying and ballot measure advocacy not allowed to be supported by a family foundation.<sup>93</sup>

The complaint’s allegations were:

- \$4,500 to fund newspapers ads in favor of Measure 8 in 1993. This was a Bill Sizemore proposal to require voter approval for new or increased taxes.
- \$20,034 to fund production of six radio ads by The Clapper Agency in 1993.
- \$72,475 to fund production by Ruth Bendl of videotapes 1993 and 1996. The programs featured a ballot measure sponsor and instructions on how to assist the measure.
- Beginning in 1993, \$20,700 to Ruth Bendl at \$900 a month to produce public access cable TV programs using the videotapes described above.
- Beginning in 1994, \$17,250 to Ruth Bendl at \$750 a month to coordinate at least six initiative petition circulation campaigns for Loren Parks. Bendl was paid by Canvasser Services, Inc. whose activities were subsidized by the Parks Foundation by paying a disproportionate share of her compensation.

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<sup>90</sup> “Nonprofit accused of promoting ballot issues,” *Oregonian*, August 26, 2000

<sup>91</sup> “Nonprofit accused of promoting ballot issues,” *Oregonian*, August 26, 2000

<sup>92</sup> “Radio ads on budget omits some facts,” *Salem Statesman Journal*, August 26, 2000

<sup>93</sup> *State ex rel. Crumpton v. Keisling*, 982 P.2d 3, 10-11 (Or. App. 1999), *review denied*, 994 P.2d 132 (Ore. 2000)

- \$11,602 to Jeannette Basl who operated the Fed Up With Crime political committee in 1994 and 1995.
- \$46,356 to fund production of two radio ads by The Clapper Agency in 1995.
- \$12,307 to Greg Byrne for work on various initiatives on behalf of Canvasser Services Inc. between 1993 and 1996.
- \$2,100 to fund radio ads to oppose Oregon Senate Bill 1145 to Oregonians Fed Up With Crime that encouraged the public to express opposition to legislators and the governor in 1996.
- \$22,500 to Kevin Mannix that was not awarded pursuant to a procedure that should have been approved in advance by the Secretary of Treasurer in 1996 and 1997.
- \$63,000 to fund radio ads produced by the Are You Having Trouble Hearing What We're Saying Committee in 1997.
- \$4,000 to fund radio ads by The Executive Club in 1997.
- \$5,000 to Justice for All to support ballot measures related to proposed changes in the criminal justice system in 1998.
- \$200,000 to fund radio ads by The Clapper Agency in support of Measure 61 in 1998.
- \$10,963 to fund advertisements to attack Representatives Jim Hill and Lane Shetterly on legislative to repackage Measure 40 into a set of legislative referrals in 1999.
- \$22,048 to fund advertisements criticizing legislators who voted for a bill that amended sentencing provisions required by measure 11 in 1999M
- At least \$10,000 to fund radio ads in support of Measure 8, Don McIntire's proposal to limit state spending, in 2000.<sup>94</sup>

The Department of Justice stressed that recipients of the grants included in the complaint did nothing wrong in receiving the money. This included Kevin Mannix whose law firm received a grant for criminal justice issues. "I certainly think the attorney general should be energetic and aggressive in pursuing the laws," said Mannix. "But I think there is a real gray area. The attorney general has to be careful when it comes to free expression and issue advocacy." Greg Byrne, who received support from Loren Parks during his May 2000 primary race for Oregon Supreme Court and has done legal work for Bill Sizemore, objected to the lawsuit's characterization of a Parks Foundation going to him personally, since it went to his law firm. "My conclusion, unfortunately, is that there was a political motivation involved in the drafting of this complaint."<sup>95</sup>

In March 2001 Loren Parks agreed to pay \$50,000 to cover legal fees related to the Department of Justice investigation. The stipulated agreement barred the Parks Foundation from contributing to political committees and from paying for the production, publishing, or broadcasting political advertisements or other political materials.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> State of Oregon v. Parks Foundation, Parks Foundation Directors Loren Parks, Gary Parks and Ray Parks, Complaint for Violations of Oregon Nonprofit Corporation Act, Marion County Circuit Court, Case No. 00C17224, August 24, 2000

<sup>95</sup> "Nonprofit accused of promoting ballot issues," *Oregonian*, August 26, 2000

<sup>96</sup> Stipulated Judgment and Injunction: State of Oregon v. Parks Foundation, Parks Foundation Directors Loren Parks, Gary Parks and Ray Parks, Marion County Circuit Court, Case No. 00C17224, March 1, 2001

Loren Parks and his attorney could not be reached for comment. Gregg Clapper couldn't speak for Parks but did say, "I, like many other political observers, think Hardy Myers used his elected political office to go after a political enemy." Clapper continued, "Mr. Parks has consistently brought out that Hardy Myers is soft on crime, and Hardy Myers used his office to go after Mr. Parks." Hardy Myers ran against Kevin Mannix in attorney general races in 1996 and 2000 with major campaign contributions from Loren Parks. The Department of Justice spokesperson, Kristen Grainger, however, said, "He [Myers] has been screened from the case, so the decisions have been handled by the deputy attorney general. The attorney general was never personally involved." "Mr. Parks can still use his money as an individual to express his political views," continued Grainger. "He can't use his foundation to do that. He can't use tax-exempt dollars to do that."<sup>97</sup>

## Section 4 – The Money – Political Contributions

### **\$12,815,254– Loren Parks’ Political Contributions 1992 through Fall 2009**

Loren Parks is best known, however, for his involvement in Oregon politics as the state's largest individual contributor. Parks has given \$12,815,254 to candidates, petition circulation, and ballot measure campaigns beginning in 1992 and as reported through September 2009. This figure includes cash and in-kind contributions as well as loans, if applicable.

Chart 3 breaks down the \$12,815,254 by year while chart 4 provides an election-by-election breakdown of contributions made by Loren Parks.

**Chart 3 – Breakdown of \$12,815,254 in Contributions from Loren Parks from 1992 through September 2009 by Year**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Contributions</b>
1992	\$40,000	2001	\$115,000
1993	\$3,806	2002	\$1,532,489
1994	\$971,051	2004	\$6,600
1996	\$2,198,165	2005	\$100,000
1997	\$155,000	2006	\$1,731,500
1998	\$336,127	2008	\$3,602,500
1999	\$195,938	2009	\$85,000
2000	\$1,742,078	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$12,815,254</b>

Most of this money, \$12,283,512, came directly from Loren Parks. This analysis also includes \$488,141 in contributions from Parks Medical Electronics, \$18,601 from the Parks Foundation, and \$25,000 from another company Parks-Abel Metal Products.

Parks Medical gave \$1,100 to Bill Sizemore's Oregon Taxpayers United PAC in 1994 and \$216 to Oregonians for Fair Pensions that supported Bill Sizemore's Measure 8 requiring public employees to pay for part of their pension benefits that was on the ballot that November. Parks Medical also gave \$1,050 to Bob Tiernan and \$775 to Eileen Qutub's successful legislative

<sup>97</sup> "Parks' Foundation settles suit," *Oregonian*, March 2, 2001

racers. (See chart 13 for a complete summary of candidate contributions from Loren Parks, Parks Medical, Parks Medical Electronics, and Conservative PAC.)

During the 2008 elections, Parks Medical Electronics gave \$475,000 to four political committees. Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC received \$200,000, FreedomWorks Issues PAC and Taxpayer Defense Fund each received \$100,000, while Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance PAC got \$75,000. Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance PAC was formed by Kevin Mannix while the other PACs are controlled by Oregon director of FreedomWorks, Russ Walker.

In August of 2009 Parks Medical Electronics gave \$10,000 to the Oregon Republican Party.

The Parks Foundation gave \$4,500 to Oregonians for Fair Pensions in 1994 and \$14,101 in 1999 to Kevin Mannix's Justice for All II committee in support of Measures 69 through 75. These "son of Measure 40" measures were on a special election ballot in 1999.

The Parks-Abel Metal Products Company gave \$25,000 to Gregg Clapper's Don't Let The Whackos Get Away With The Lies This Time that opposed Measure 34 in 1996. That measure unsuccessfully attempted to repeal an earlier initiative restricting cougar and bear hunting.

The \$12,283,512 donated directly by Loren Parks went to a broad range of ballot measure efforts. Candidate contributions primarily went to Kevin Mannix, though the Conservative Majority PAC with 80 percent of its support coming from Loren Parks made major contributions in some 2008 candidate races. (See the discussion on page 30.)

It is possible that this \$12,815,254 total contributions figure is a bit low. Chart 3 above breaks down the \$12,815,254 in contributions from Parks by year. It is likely that the figures for 1998 and 1999 could be even higher since Conservative PAC received loans totaling \$159,000 in those years. Loren Parks was the major donor and treasurer of Conservative PAC and its contributions and spending are itemized for its 1994 and 1996 election in Elections Division summary books. But only total contributions and expenditures figures with no itemized listing of contributor or vendors are available for September Supplemental reports that were filed in 1998 and 1999. These Supplemental reports are no longer available due to archive policies that only retain records for six years.

If earlier contribution patterns are similar, then Loren Parks may well be the source of those \$159,000 in loans. Because this cannot be documented, however, they are not included. The contribution figures in this report include loans as well as cash and in-kind contributions. Parks' contributions to Conservative PAC, for example, were primarily made in loans but records indicate that they were not paid off. Another \$100,000 that isn't attributed to Loren Parks is a \$100,000 contribution to Conservative PAC in 1994 from Lind Waldock, which is a brokerage firm. It seems likely that this may have been a contribution of a Parks investment hold via the Lind Waldock firm. But this cannot be confirmed, so this amount is also not included in this analysis. (For more information on report methodology see page 66.)

Chart 4 breaks down the \$12,815,254 in campaign donations by candidate and issue from 1992 through the November 2008 general election, demonstrating the breadth of Parks’ political interests.

Chart 14 on page 62 is a summary of ballot titles, chief petitioners, and election results. In chart 4 below the “Parks Position” column indicates whether or not the election result went in the direction advocated by the political committees he supported.

**Chart 4 – Breakdown of \$12,355,254 in Political Contributions from Loren Parks from 1992 through September 2009 by Candidate or Issue and Status of Parks Position**

<b>1992</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$40,000	Yes on M 3– Let Incumbents Mosey Into The Sunset PAC	Won
<b>1993 Special Election</b>		
\$3,806	No on M 1 – We Can’t Believe They’d Even Ask PAC	Won measure failed
<b>1994</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$15,200	Denny Smith for Governor	Won in primary Lost in general
\$16,039	Legislative Candidates (See chart 13)	Chart 11
\$12,665	Independent ads against Craig Berkman in Republican gubernatorial primary – Let’s Shine a Little Light on ‘Em and See if They Scamper	Won Berkman lost
\$920,000	Conservative PAC Inc (See chart 6)	NA
\$1,331	Yes on M 8 - Oregonians for Fair Pensions	Won overturned as unconstitutional
\$216	Yes on M 8– from Parks Medical	
\$4,500	Yes on M 8– from Parks Foundation	
\$1,100	Oregon Taxpayers United PAC (Bill Sizemore’s organization)– from Parks Medical	NA
<b>1996</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$1,567	No on M 24 – Coalition for Initiative Rights (May election)	Won
\$175,996	No on M 24 - Those Rascal Politicians and Lobbyists Just Want To Grab More Power (May election)	measure failed
\$500	Kevin Mannix for Attorney General – Democratic Primary Against Hardy Myers	Lost
\$490,000	Conservative PAC Inc	NA
\$29,782	IP 55 - The Last Word PAC	Did not qualify
\$33,641	IP 63 - Tough on Crime 2 PAC	Did not qualify
\$150,000	No on M 32 - Send Back This Piece of Pork PAC	Won measure failed
\$20,949	IP 11 became M 33 - Respect Voter Approved Laws PAC	Lost
\$100,000	Yes on M 33 - You Wouldn’t Do it, So We Had To Do It PAC	Lost Measure failed
\$25,000	Yes on M 34 – Don’t Let The Whackos Get Away With The Lies This Time	
\$270,162	Yes on 40 - Justice for All PAC	Won overturned as unconstitutional
\$200,000	Yes on 40 – Only the Lawyers and Politicians Will Vote Against This One PAC	
\$71,689	Yes on M 41 - Truth in Compensation Act PAC – paid for signature gathering on IP 40	Lost

\$70,000	Yes on 42 - Education Accountability Act PAC	Lost
\$494,252	Yes on 45 - It's Good Enough for Us PAC	Lost
\$64,625	Yes on M 46 - True Majority PAC – paid for signature gathering on IP 30	Lost
<b>1997 Special Elections</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$5,000	No on M 50 - No on Shifty Fifty PAC (May)	Lost Measure passed
\$150,000	No on M 51 – Oregon Right To Die PAC (November)	Won Measure failed
<b>1998</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$8,645	Kevin Mannix for House	Won
\$114,700	Legislative and Judicial Candidates (See chart 13)	Chart 13
\$7,782	Isn't It Time We Start Election Republicans Who Vote Like Republicans	NA
\$85,000	Justice for All II PAC – IP 53 became M 61– Votes weren't counted because court decision found that it didn't qualify for the ballot	NA
\$100,000	No on light rail bond Measure 26-74- What Do You Say Next Time We Spend Billions PAC	Won measure failed
\$20,000	Yes on M 65 – Who Do You Want Making Up the Rules PAC	Lost measure failed
<b>1999</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$14,101	Yes on M 69-75 to Justice for All II PAC – contribution from Parks Foundation	4 Won 3 Lost
\$181,837	Yes on M 69-75 – This is About Crime Victims Not Greedy Defense Lawyers PAC	Parks supported all
<b>2000</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$150,000	No on M 79 – It's Just Another Power Grab PAC (May election – legislative referral)	Won measure failed
\$210,000	Kevin Mannix for Attorney General	Lost
\$50,000	Greg Byrne for Supreme Court	Lost
\$41,200	Justice for All II PAC	NA
\$176,500	Oregon Taxpayers United PAC	NA
\$132,200	No on 94 -If 94 Passes, Up To 1300 of Oregon's Most Violent Criminals Will Be Released PAC	Won measure failed
\$6,000	No on 94 – Crime Victims United PAC	
\$488,089	Yes on 95 – Let's Put The Children First This Time PAC	Lost
\$488,089	Yes on 91 and 8 – Paying A Tax On A Tax Just Isn't Fair PAC	Lost
<b>2001</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$115,000	Kevin Mannix candidate PAC 2001 September Supplemental	NA
<b>2002</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$10,000	Rob Patridge for State House	Won
\$15,000	Bob Tiernan for State Senate	Lost
\$10,000	The Leadership Fund - Senate Leadership Caucus PAC	NA
\$300,000	Kevin Mannix for Governor	

\$25,536	Let's Not Elect A Soft-On-Crime Democrat Contributing, Liberal-Judge Backing PAC – paid for an anti-Ron Saxton independent expenditure during the Republican gubernatorial primary	Lost
\$125,000	Oregon Republican Party – the same day this contribution was delivered to the party by Kevin Mannix, a check was cut by the party to Mannix's PAC	
\$125,000	Oregonians in Action PAC	NA
\$10,000	IP 60 - Say No to Part-Time Politicians Padding their Pockets with Pensions PAC	Did not qualify
\$50,000	IP 168 – Committee to Restore Term Limits PAC	Did not qualify
\$124,605	IP 67 became M 21 – None of the Above PAC	
\$133,348	IP 90 became M 22 – Judicial Accountability PAC	
\$600,000	Vote Yes on 21 & 22, Stop the Judges from (Bleep) You PAC	Lost
<b>2004</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$6,600	Justice for All II PAC	NA
<b>2005</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$100,000	Oregon Family Farm Association PAC – This contribution was given when this group was signature gathering on what became Measures 39 and 40	NA
<b>2006</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$75,000	Jack Roberts for Oregon Supreme Court	Lost
\$766,000	Kevin Mannix for Governor	
\$175,000	Neil Goldschmidt's Real Good Friend Ron Saxton PAC– paid for an anti-Ron Saxton independent expenditure	Lost
\$200,000	Oregon Family Farm Association PAC – In 2006 Oregon Family Farm Association PAC gave \$42,563 to the Yes on 39 Neighbors Helping Neighbors PAC and \$231,197 to the Yes on M 40 Our Courts PAC	M 39 Won M 40 Lost
\$100,000	Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy – this money was given when this group was contributing to the chief petitioner PAC signature gathering on what became M 40	
\$157,500	Yes on M 41 - Taxpayer Rights PAC – major contributor to signature gathering on IP 14	Lost
\$100,000	IP 23 became M 42 - Ban Insurance Discrimination PAC	Lost
<b>2008</b>		
<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Supported</b>	<b>Parks Position</b>
\$333,000	Kevin Mannix candidate PAC (\$158,000 loan after 2006 primary and \$175,000 in summer of 2008)	NA
\$10,000	Andy Erwin for Circuit Court Judge	Won
\$370,000	Conservative Majority Project PAC – formed by Rob Kremer focused on supporting conservative candidates (See chart 12)	NA
\$20,000	Vote Yes on 51 & 52 – Crime Victims Have Rights Too Legislative referrals on May ballot	Won
\$12,000	IP 2– True Elections for Judge PAC	Withdrawn
\$37,000	IP 32– Protect Your Right to Sign Petitions PAC	Withdrawn
\$175,000	IP 132– Hold Criminals Accountable PAC	Withdrawn
\$167,667	IP 51– Protect Citizens from Excessive Lawyer Fees PAC	Did not qualify
\$167,667	IP 53– Citizens Against Lawsuit Abuse APC	Did not qualify
\$123,000	IP 19 became M 58 – English Immersion PAC	Qualified
\$122,500	IP 3 became M 59 – Stop the Double Tax Committee PAC	Qualified

\$121,000	IP 20 became M 60 – Preserve Our Best Teachers PAC	Qualified
\$122,500	IP 40 became M 61 – Oregonians for Safe Neighborhood PAC	Qualified
\$179,166	IP 41 became M 62 – Crimefighters PAC	Qualified
\$125,000	IP 25 became M 64 – Bans Public Money for Politics PAC	Qualified
\$675,000	Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance – Yes on 61 & 62, No on 57	Lost
\$500,000	Oregonians for Honest Elections – No on 56, Yes on 58, 59,60 & 64	Lost
\$100,000	Taxpayer Defense Fund – No on 56 and 57, Yes on 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, & 64	Lost
\$100,000	FreedomWorks Issue PAC – No on 56 and 57, Yes on 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, & 64	Lost
\$200,000	Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy – No on 56 and 57, Yes on 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, & 64	Lost
<b>2009</b>		
\$75,000	Taxpayer Defense Fund For signature gathering on Referenda 301 and 302	Qualified
\$10,000	To Oregon Republican Party from Parks Medical Electronics	
<b>2010</b>		
\$100,000	IP 19 – Property Tax Exemptions for Seniors	Not Yet Qualified
<b>\$12,815,254</b>	<b>Total – 1992 through September 2009</b>	

### Parks and Conservative PAC

In 1994 Loren Parks gave campaign contributions directly to Denny Smith’s gubernatorial race and four legislative candidates, Bob Tiernan, Donald Moore, Francis Martinez and Randy Miller. Tiernan also received support from Parks Medical. Eileen Qutub got a small contribution from Park Medical and a larger contribution from Conservative PAC. Scott Bushnell also received a contribution from Conservative PAC. (See chart 13 on page 61 for a full summary of candidate contributions, except for Kevin Mannix’s contributions that are in chart 10.)

Most of Parks’ political activities in 1994 and 1996 related to ballot measures and were carried out through his Conservative PAC. (See chart 5 below.)

**Chart 5: Top 5 Contributors to Conservative PAC in 1994 and 1996**

Contributor	Contribution	Percentage
Loren Parks	\$1,410,000	88%
Lind Waldoock (brokerage firm)	\$100,000	6%
Income Earned From Lind Waldoock Account	\$41,354	3%
K.R. West Co Inc	\$35,000	2%
Canvassers Services	\$5,000	<1%
Top Five Contributors Subtotal	\$1,591,354	99.6%
Remaining Contributions	\$4,435	<1%
<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b>\$1,595,789</b>	

Based on 1994 and 1996 Primary and General Election campaign finance disclosure reports as filed with the Secretary of State. Figures may include cash and in-kind contributions as well as loans. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Loren Parks was Conservative PAC’s top donor, giving \$920,000 in 1994 and \$490,00 in 1996 for a total of \$1,410,000. These donations were loans but records don’t indicate that they were paid off.

Especially during petition circulation season leading up to the 1994 elections, Parks seems to have been quite involved in signature gathering efforts since much of the Conservative PAC's spending was on signature gathering activities. Exactly which petitions received financial support, however, are difficult to determine. Conservative PAC was reported to contribute to signature-gathering efforts for petitions that limited public salaries (Initiative 18), placed tougher penalties on felony convictions (became Measure 10 from Kevin Mannix), and required public employees to contribute to their pension funds (became Measure 8 from Bill Sizemore).<sup>98</sup> (See chart 6.)

A \$38,250 contribution to the Tough On Crime PAC that qualified Measure 10 is clearly identified. Contributions to Measures 5 and 8, however, appear on general election reports indicating that they were not in support of signature gathering on those efforts. It also appears that the Tough on Crime signature gathering fund I gave \$19,500 to qualify Measure 11. Initiative 18 to set salaries of some public officials and imposed a public vote requirement on some salary increases received \$10,000 from Conservative PAC, but did not qualify for the ballot.

Payments of \$17,000 to Kimball Management, a California based signature gathering firm, and \$10,150 to Canvasser Services, the signature gathering company formed by Ruth Bendl, were made by Conservative PAC, but with no indication of which petitions were being circulated. The reports by the chief petitioner committees are no longer available, so clarity can't be brought to this question by review of those records. And even if they were available they may still not be possible to ascertain which initiatives received signature gathering support because under the law in place at that time one political committee could collect signatures on more than one petition.

Conservative PAC also spent \$77,863 on temporary employment agencies that was reported to be for signature gathering workers. Which petitions were circulated by temp services is unknown.<sup>99</sup>

Conservative PAC spent \$131,286 on independent advertising against Craig Berkman who ran unsuccessfully against Denny Smith in the Republican gubernatorial primary was from the Let's Shine a Little Light on 'Em and See Them Scamper PAC. Loren Parks also made a direct contribution of \$12,665 to this PAC and a \$15,000 donation to Denny Smith during the 1994 primary.

During the 1994 general election, more money from Conservative PAC went to ballot measure campaigns, Republican candidates, Republican leadership PACs and other issue groups. The financial support for the Oregon Christian Coalition and Lon Mabon's Oregon Citizens Alliance PAC seem atypical given later opposition by Parks to a 1997 referral to repeal Oregon's assisted suicide program. This opposition took the form of Loren Parks giving \$150,000 to the Oregon Right to Die committee.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> "Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives a big boost," *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

<sup>99</sup> "Parks politics," *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

<sup>100</sup> "Millions collected for repeal of law on assisted suicide," *Oregonian*, October 7, 1997

In 1994 Conservative PAC also gave \$70,000 to the Either Vote On ‘Em Or Watch ‘Em Go Up PAC in support of Frank Eisenzimmer and Bill Sizemore’s Measure 5 to require voter approval for new or increased taxes. Measure 5 didn’t pass.

Also on the 1994 ballot was Bill Sizemore’s Measure 8 requiring public employees to pay for part of their pension benefits. Conservative PAC gave \$88,655 to the We Pay For All Of Ours, We Pay For All Of Yours PAC, Is It Too Much... PAC that supported Measure 8. Measure 8 passed muster with voters but was ruled unconstitutional.

Kevin Mannix’s Measures 10, 11, and 17 was supported by the Maybe if the Politicians Didn’t Give Themselves Pay Raises PAC that received \$78,655 from Conservative PAC.

During 1996 signature-gathering work by Canvasser Services and a payment to Lind Waldock brokerage firm were the major expenditures. The brokerage firm payment caused an inquiry from the state Elections Division. In response Loren Parks sent a letter explaining that this was an account with a commodity futures broker. “Please do not attempt to understand a commodity futures account,” Parks wrote. “The amount the account is worth can vary hundreds of thousands of dollars in a few days.” Parks told KATU in a rare interview that the PAC money was invested, “I have to loan it and take it out, and loan it and take it out, depending on what the market is doing and what I’m doing.”<sup>101</sup>

Conservative PAC spending is summarized below in chart 6.

**Chart 6 – Conservative PAC Spending in 1994 and 1996 Primary and General elections**

Category or PAC	1994	1996
Radio Advertising	\$13,949	
Temporary Employment Services – reported to be for signature gathering activities	\$77,863	
Kimball Management – signature gathering company	\$17,000	
Canvasser Services – signature gathering company	\$10,150	\$50,000
Let’s Shine a Little Light on ‘Em and See Them Scamper PAC – Independent Expenditure Against Craig Berkman in 1994 Republican Gubernatorial primary	\$131,286	
Citizens Bill of Rights PAC - Yes on IP 18 didn’t qualify	\$10,000	
Either Vote On ‘Em Or Watch ‘Em Go Up – Yes on M 5 (Sizemore & Eisenzimmer)	\$70,000	
We Pay For All Of Ours, We Pay For All Of Yours, Is It Too Much... – Yes on M 8 (Sizemore)	\$88,655	
Oregonians for Fair Pensions – Yes on M 8	\$5,000	
Pitch-In Committee – Yes on M 8	\$12,500	
Tough on Crime PAC signature fund – Yes on IP 47 became M 10	\$38,250	
Tough on Crime PAC signature fund I - Yes on IP 55 became M 11	\$19,500	
Tough on Crime PAC – Yes on M 10, 11, and 17 (Mannix)	\$18,000	
Maybe if the Politicians Didn’t Give Themselves Pay Raises – Yes on M 10, 11 and 17	\$78,655	
Oregon Christian Coalition	\$7,000	
Oregon Citizens Alliance PAC	\$2,000	
Committee to Build Better Oregon PAC (building industry)	\$5,000	
Executive Club Jeffersonian Leadership PAC	\$10,000	

<sup>101</sup> “Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives big boost,” *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

Patient Rights Oregon/USA	\$75,000	
Victory PAC – focused on electing Republicans	\$10,000	
Elect Scott Bushnell	\$4,537	
Elect Eileen Qutub	\$3,400	
Oregon Republican Party	\$45,000	
Project Ninety-Four – House Republican Caucus PAC	\$10,000	
Leadership Fund – Senate Republican Caucus PAC	\$10,000	
Lind Waldock (brokerage firm)	\$50,000	\$400,000
First Interstate Bank		\$24,589
IRS, Oregon Department of Revenue, and Employment Department		\$14,507
Legal Services	\$4,106	\$300
Miscellaneous other expenses	\$10,843	\$2,508
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$837,940</b>	<b>\$491,454</b>

In 1996 Parks was either the treasurer or director of the political committees that unsuccessfully attempted to qualify Initiatives 55 and 63 for the ballot and contributed \$29,782 and \$33,641 respectively for those signature-gathering efforts.

Parks did qualify Measures 33, 45, and 46 for the November 1996 ballot, but they were all defeated. Parks gave \$120,949 for Measure 33 (signature gathering and general election) intended to limit the ability of the legislature to change laws adopted using the initiative process. Measure 45 would have reduced pension benefits for public employees and raised their retirement age and received \$494,252 from Loren Parks. Ruth Bendl was a chief petitioner for these two measures. Since she ran Canvasser Services it may be that the \$50,000 spent by Conservative PAC in 1996 to that vendor went to petition circulation to qualify her measures, but it isn't possible to determine which initiatives received that support. (See chart 6.) Raymond Parks, Loren's son was a chief petitioner on Measure 46 that would have counted "no" voters as non-voters on tax measures. This campaign got \$64,625 from Parks. Both Measures 45 and 46 lost at the polls.

After 1994 and 1996 the level of hands-on involvement by Loren Parks in forming PACs and managing signature gathering declined. On Initiative 60 in 2002, however, Loren Parks returned to play the role of PAC director and, for the first and only time, was a chief petitioner for that campaign's unsuccessful petition circulation. This proposal did not qualify for the ballot, though Parks gave its PAC \$10,000. It would have prohibited legislators from receiving state funded pension benefits. After this initiative effort Loren Parks continued to make campaign contributions but left it up to others to be chief petitioners and form political committees.

### **Loren Parks Key Donor in Launch of Bill Sizemore and Oregon Taxpayers United**

Many inaccurately credit Bill Sizemore with 1990's Measure 5 when Sizemore's entry into Oregon politics followed that measure and earlier anti-tax work by Frank Eisenzimmer and Don McIntire. Support from Loren Parks, though, was a key element in making Bill Sizemore the political player he is in our state.

Oregon voters narrowly passed Don McIntire's Measure 5 in 1990, which capped and reduced in phases the amount of property tax dollars that could be dedicated for school funding. This was a constitutional amendment that shifted responsibility for school funding to the state from local

governments and addressed the disparity of money available between districts caused by differences in property values.

Shortly after the passage of Measure 5, Loren Parks called Don McIntire and asked “well, what do we do next.” McIntire had never heard of Loren Parks before who said, “I can give money” to help with future efforts. McIntire’s political colleague Frank Eisenzimmer met with Loren Parks a day or two later and Parks wrote a large check for the development of a term-limits initiative that became Measure 3 on the November 1992 ballot. Eisenzimmer called McIntire who can’t recall the exact amount, but believes it was as much as \$25,000. According to former Loren Parks ally Ruth Bendl, there was another meeting with Parks, Don McIntire, Frank Eisenzimmer, and Robert Randall that planned which conservative causes and candidates to support during the 1990s. Oregon Taxpayers United was chosen as a group to underwrite.<sup>102,103</sup>

Frank Eisenzimmer owned Cascade Athletic Club in East Multnomah County and in 1985 began to question tax exemptions for the Portland YMCA. Eisenzimmer and other health club owners charged that two YMCA branches were not serving charitable purposes and should not be eligible for a property tax exemption. The charge asserted that these branches at times were only open to adults and that such exclusions of children were inappropriate for a tax-exempt institution. The Multnomah County assessor ordered the YMCA to pay almost \$1 million in back taxes in 1986. Legal challenges ensued that were resolved after 5 years when the Oregon Supreme Court upheld the County’s decision. In 1992 the YMCA’s tax-exempt status was restored when it met the required charitable purposes guidelines.<sup>104</sup>

Frank Eisenzimmer was treasurer for the Protect Oregon Society PAC that supported Measure 5 in 1990. It appears that Eisenzimmer and fellow athletic club owner Don McIntire met during the YMCA property tax exemption challenge. Both McIntire and Eisenzimmer testified during the 1991 legislative session against a bill that would have assessed a fee on health club memberships for the purpose of funding teen pregnancy prevention programs. Eisenzimmer linked the bill directly to his involvement with Don McIntire on passing Measure 5 in a tone that some legislators viewed as verging on being a threat. McIntire’s testimony focused on this being bad public policy, a view that appears to have carried the day with legislators since there is no indication that this bill was enacted.<sup>105</sup>

Frank Eisenzimmer formed Oregon Taxpayers United in the summer of 1993 and hired Bill Sizemore as executive director shortly thereafter.<sup>106</sup> Sizemore is listed as the registered agent on Oregon Secretary of State Corporations Division records for both Oregon Taxpayers United and Oregon Taxpayers United Foundation in summer and fall of 1993.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>103</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsessions,” *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>104</sup> “Health clubs here won’t join in challenges to YMCA’s tax status,” *Portland Business Journal*, February 18, 2000.

<sup>105</sup> Minutes of April 18, 1991 House Committee on Business and Consumer Affairs Subcommittee [http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/legislative/legislativeminutes/1991/house/business\\_sub2/hse\\_business\\_sub2\\_04\\_18\\_91.txt](http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/legislative/legislativeminutes/1991/house/business_sub2/hse_business_sub2_04_18_91.txt) retrieved September 10, 2008.

<sup>106</sup> “Sizemore PACs a punch with his taxpayers group,” *Oregonian*, January 20, 1998.

<sup>107</sup> [http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg\\_web\\_name\\_srch\\_inq.show\\_detl?p\\_be\\_rsn=295218&p\\_srce=BR\\_INQ&p\\_print=FALSE](http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg_web_name_srch_inq.show_detl?p_be_rsn=295218&p_srce=BR_INQ&p_print=FALSE) and

“Loren was one of the two primary donors – Robert Randall was the other – who helped us launch Oregon Taxpayers United back in 1993,” said Sizemore. Sizemore also indicated that without support from Loren Parks the group wouldn’t have gotten off the ground.<sup>108</sup>

### **Support for Don McIntire Proposals**

In 1996 McIntire was chief petitioner for Initiative 55 that received \$29,782 from Loren Parks. This petition didn’t qualify for the ballot, but it would have limited the ability of the legislature to change citizen initiatives and referendum measures.

Parks again backed McIntire by contributing to a committee that ran ads opposing Measure 1 on 1993’s June Special Election. This Measure 1 made an exemption for urban-renewal bonds under then-current tax limits. Voters defeated the measure 3 to 1. (A contribution amount is not included in press coverage and these campaign finance disclosure reports are no longer available, so this is an example that Common Cause Oregon’s calculation of \$12,815,254 in contributions from Loren Parks is likely a bit low.) Similarly, Parks gave the We Can’t Believe They’d Even Ask Committee \$3,806 for a newspaper ad opposed to a sales tax referral on 1993’s November ballot. This was also numbered Measure 1 and was emphatically rejected by voters.<sup>109</sup>

Don McIntire and Ruth Bendl were PAC directors in a campaign that unsuccessfully opposed a legislative referral pertaining to property taxes. Voters enacted Measure 50 in a 1997 special election, though Loren Parks gave \$5,000 to the No on Shifty Fifty PAC.

Measure 50 was the legislative fix to Bill Sizemore’s Measure 47 to reduce and limit property taxes passed in 1996. However, legislative corrections were necessary because, “The measure’s [47’s] complexity has spawned two attorney general’s opinions to help figure out what it says.”<sup>110</sup> Sizemore supported Measure 50, but Parks and McIntire did not. “I think my good friend Bill got subsumed by the [legislative] process,” said Don McIntire.<sup>111</sup>

Don McIntire worked to qualify Measure 8 that limited state spending that lost with voters in November 2000. All indications are that Loren Parks did not contribute to that signature gathering effort. McIntire’s Yes on 8 PAC continued to work during the general election, but received no contributions directly from Loren Parks.

However, Parks gave \$488,089 to a Gregg Clapper committee that supported both McIntire’s measure 8 and Bill Sizemore’s Measure 91. That committee’s name was Paying a Tax on a Tax Just Isn’t Fair and its only donor was Loren Parks. (This figure is split in half between charts 7 and 8.)

Gregg Clapper and Don McIntire were also chief petitioners on Initiative 67 that became Measure 21 on the 2002 November ballot. That signature gathering effort was run by the None

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[http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg\\_web\\_name\\_srch\\_inq.show\\_detl?p\\_be\\_rsn=527579&p\\_srce=BR\\_INQ&p\\_print=F](http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg_web_name_srch_inq.show_detl?p_be_rsn=527579&p_srce=BR_INQ&p_print=F)  
ALSE retrieved September 6, 2008.

<sup>108</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>109</sup> “Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives a big boost,” *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

<sup>110</sup> “Sizemore enjoys new clout,” *Oregonian*, March 3, 1997

<sup>111</sup> “A debate on tax family values,” *Oregonian*, May 1, 1977

of the Above committee that received \$124,605 from Loren Parks. McIntire continued the None of the Above PAC during the general election, but during that period of time no contributions were received from Parks.

However, Loren Parks again provided financial support to the tune of \$600,000 to the Vote Yes on 21 & 22, Stop the Judges From (Bleep) You Pac formed by Gregg Clapper. Loren Parks had also contributed \$133,348 to qualify Measure 22 on the ballot. That measure required district elections for Oregon’s Supreme Court and Court of Appeals Judges and its chief petitioners were less frequent Parks’ allies, Steve Doell and Ted Ferrioli. Since this wasn’t a McIntire proposal this signature gathering contribution is not included below in chart 7.

Political committees for and against Measures 21 and 22 tied these proposals together in their campaigns and both were defeated by voters.

**Chart 7 – Contributions from Loren Parks in Support of Don McIntire Proposals**

<b>Contribution</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Ballot Title</b>	<b>Chief Petitioners</b>
\$3,806	June 1993	M 1	Allows Voter Approval of Urban Renewal Bond Repayment Outside Limit	Legislative Referral
Media reports a Parks contribution but doesn't give dollar amount	Nov 1993	M 1	Should We Pass a 5% Sales Tax for Public Schools with these Restrictions?	Legislative Referral
\$29,782	1996	IP 55	Amends Constitution: Expands Definition of "Legislation" Subject to Initiative and People's Referendum	Don McIntire Sandra P. Baker Joe W. Foxall
\$5,000 Don McIntire and Ruth Bendl were directors of No on Shifty Fifty PAC	1997	No on M 50	Amends Constitution: Limits Assessed Value of Property for Tax Purposes: Limits Property Tax Rates	Legislative Referral
\$244,044.50 ½ of \$488,089 contribution to Paying a Tax On A Tax Just Isn't Fair PAC	2000	M 8	Amends Constitution: Limits State Appropriations to Percentage of State's Prior Personal Income	Don McIntire Joe W. Foxall Ron Sunseri
\$124,605	2002	IP 67 became M 21	Amends Constitution: Revises Procedure for Filling Judicial Vacancies, Electing Judges; Allows Vote for "None of the Above"	Don McIntire Gregg K. Clapper
\$600,000	2002	M 21 and 22	Amends Constitution: Requires Supreme Court Judges and Court of Appeals Judges to be Elected by District	Steve Doell Ted Ferrioli Bob Smith
<b>\$1,007,237.50</b>	<b>Total</b>			

Though Don McIntire was a chief petitioner on another unsuccessful spending limit attempt, Measure 48 on the November 2006 ballot, Loren Parks was not a contributor to that effort. He didn't have to be since essentially all the money to qualify that measure and support its passage

came from Americans for Limited Government that was largely funded by New York businessman Howard Rich.<sup>112</sup>

### **Support for Bill Sizemore Proposals and Oregon Taxpayers United**

Loren Parks made contributions of \$1,100 in 1994 and \$176,500 in 2000 for Bill Sizemore's Oregon Taxpayers United PAC. Chart 7 summarizes Parks' contributions to initiative and measures committees on proposals from Bill Sizemore and allies.

In 1994 Loren Parks supported Measure 5 to require voter approval for new or increased taxes and Measure 8 that required public employees to use their salary to contribute to their pensions. One of the Measure 5 chief petitioners was Oregon Taxpayers United founder Frank Eisenzimmer while Bill Sizemore was a Measure 8 chief petitioner. Both Measures 5 and 8 were enacted by voters, though Measure 8 was later overturned due to being found unconstitutional as the result of a court challenge.

In 1994 Conservative PAC gave \$70,000 to a PAC called Either Vote On 'Em Or Watch 'Em Go Up that supported Measure 5. The Oregon Taxpayers United PAC was the primary Yes on 5 committee and Loren Parks gave them \$1,100 through Parks Medical.

Support from Loren Parks and Conservative PAC to Bill Sizemore's Measure 8 came in various forms. Loren Parks made a direct contribution of \$1,331 to Oregonians for Fair Pensions. The Parks Foundation and Parks Medical gave Oregonians for Fair Pensions contributions of \$4,500 and \$216, respectively. These contributions total \$6,047.

Conservative PAC gave \$5,000 to Oregonians for Fair Pensions and \$12,500 for the Pitch-In Committee that also supported Measure 5. In addition, Conservative PAC gave \$88,655 to the We Pay for All Of Ours, We Pay For All Of Yours, Is It Too Much...PAC that spent money on advertising in support of Measure 8. In all Conservative PAC gave \$106,155 to PACs supporting Measure 8.

Bill Sizemore and Oregon Taxpayers United were key players in the Measure 32 referendum on the ballot in 1996 to overturn a bill that authorized bonds for light rail in Portland and transportation projects elsewhere. Loren Parks' support for Measure 32 was a \$150,000 contribution to the Send Back This Piece of Pork committee formed by Gregg Clapper.

Gregg Clapper's The Paying a Tax On A Tax Just Isn't Fair PAC committee in 2000 supported McIntire's Measure 8 and Sizemore's Measure 91 in tandem. Its \$488,089 fundraising came only from Loren Parks and for the purposes of this analysis is divided between charts 5 and 6. Measure 8 was a state spending limit proposal that failed at the ballot.

Measure 91 would have made federal income tax payments fully deductible on state taxes. Measure 91 failed but a legislative referral, Measure 88, which increased state deductibility of federal income taxes did pass. This legislative action, however, was evidently not deemed adequate because Russ Walker and Sizemore allies Carol and Abner Bobo put Measure 41 on the ballot in 2006 with major signature gathering support from Loren Parks. (See page 57 for a

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<sup>112</sup> "Out-of-state cash fuels petitions," *Oregonian*, July 25, 2006

discussion of Russ Walker and his support from Loren Parks.) Russ Walker was the primary player in making yet another attempt at this idea with Measure 59 in 2008 that failed again with voters.

Becky and Stuart Miller were chief petitioners on Measure 95 to tie teacher pay to measurement of student learning. Becky Miller was a long-time employee of Bill Sizemore and Stuart is her husband. Gregg Clapper was treasurer for the Let's Put The Children First This Time committee that received all of its support, \$488,089 from Loren Parks. Measure 95 was defeated.

When asked to comment on the \$488,089 contribution he made to the Let's Put the Children First Committee, Parks wrote, "Paying more to the best teachers and less to the poorer ones, regardless of seniority, makes sense to me. Only the unions and poor teachers would complain. It's a threat to their stranglehold on our school system."<sup>113</sup> Most of the committees' reported expenditures were for radio ads often featuring the voice of Greg Clapper. Clapper said Parks was trying to offset the spending done by public employee unions in the political arena.<sup>114</sup>

After the 2000 election season Loren Parks backed away from support of Bill Sizemore until 2006, perhaps because of bad publicity linked to Sizemore's being found guilty of racketeering in connection to signature gathering fraud and violations of campaign finance laws. For example, Loren Parks ally Gregg Clapper said, "A cancer has been removed." After Bill Sizemore's Oregon Taxpayers United Foundation was closed by a judicial injunction in the spring of 2003. "There are other true believers in the fiscal conservative movement," Clapper said. "We play hard, and we play fair, and Bill is not among us."<sup>115</sup> (For more information see: *A Political History of Bill Sizemore: Profit vs. Policy Motives, Supporters and Opponents, Fair Fights or Fraudulent Tactics*, available at [www.commoncause.org/oregon](http://www.commoncause.org/oregon))

Loren Parks, however, supported Bill Sizemore's signature gathering to qualify Measure 42 with a \$100,000 contribution. Measure 42 banned the use of credit reports by insurance companies in setting rates. Sizemore did not run any general election campaign. Measure 42 lost with over \$5 million being spent in opposition from insurance companies.

During signature gathering for 2008 initiatives, Loren Parks was the major donor to six Bill Sizemore petitions. Four of these qualified for the ballot: Measures 58, 59, 60, and 64. Initiative 2 dealt with judicial elections and Initiative 32 would have required verification of every petition signature and both were withdrawn.

Bill Sizemore was the sole chief petitioner on Measure 64, but was joined by Russ Walkers, Oregon director of FreedomWorks as a fellow chief petitioner and committee director on Measures 58, 59 and 60. Russ Walker, however carried on campaign efforts during the fall of 2008 on all these measures. For this reason, in terms of tracking the money, support from Loren Parks for these measures is assigned to Russ Walker. See chart 11 and discussion on page 57.

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<sup>113</sup> "Outsider Outspends Sponsors of Teachers' Pay Measure," *The Oregonian*, Steven Carter, 10/27/2000.

<sup>114</sup> "Ballot Items Become Money Magnets the Measures:" *The Oregonian*, Dave Hogan and Steve Mayes, 11/3/2000.

<sup>115</sup> "Judge halts Sizemore funding." *Oregonian*, May 1, 2003.

Bill Sizemore played essentially no role during the 2008 general election season and his involvement as a chief petitioner was used by opponents to defeat these measures. Opponents also highlighted the extent to which many of these measures were repeats from previous elections.

Only Measure 58 that would have affected English as a second language instruction is a new idea. Variations of Measures 59, 60, and 64 have been voted down in previous elections. Measure 59 would have allowed taking one’s entire federal tax deduction off on state taxes. Measure 60 would have required teacher pay and retention decisions to be based on classroom performance, not seniority. Measure 64 would have provided penalties for use of public funds for political purposes.

Loren Parks also gave \$500,000 to Oregonians for Honest Elections, a committee formed by Tim Rohrer late in September of 2008. This PAC opposed Measure 56 and supported Measures 58, 59, 60, and 64. Bill Sizemore became a director of Oregonians for Honest Elections in late November of 2008.

Measure 56 was a legislative referral that reduced the impact of the double majority requirement in tax measures by applying this standard only to March and September elections. The double majority requirement is that a tax or bond measure only passes if a majority of registered voters vote yes instead of just a majority of votes cast. The double majority requirement gives inappropriate power to people who don’t bother to vote. It is unique to Oregon and was brought to us by Bill Sizemore in Measure 47 in 1996. Measure 56 was adopted by voters in November 2008.

In the fall of 2008 Loren Parks gave \$100,000 in in-kind of support for Bill Sizemore’s Initiative 19 pertaining to property tax exemptions for seniors. If qualified by its chief petitioner PAC, the Give Seniors A Break committee led by Bill Sizemore and Tim Rohrer, it would appear on the November 2009 ballot. This pattern of in-kind contributions to a Sizemore chief petitioner committee, also seen during the 2008 signature gathering season, appears designed to navigate around the court injunction barring Sizemore from spending money from political committees until his racketeering judgment has been paid.<sup>116</sup>

**Chart 8 – Contributions from Loren Parks and Conservative PAC in Support of Oregon Taxpayers United and Measures from Bill Sizemore and Allies**

<b>Contribution</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Ballot Title</b>	<b>Chief Petitioners</b>
\$1,100	1992	Oregon Taxpayers United		
\$70,000 from PAC funded by Conservative PAC – chart 6	1994	M 5	Amends Constitution: Bars New or Increased Taxes Without Voter Approval	Frank Eisenzimmer Elmer Specht

<sup>116</sup> “Petitioner sloppiness spurs calls for reform,” *Salem Statesman Journal*, July 31, 2006

\$6,047 Direct support from Parks and donations from Parks Medical and Parks Foundation	1994	M 8	Amends Constitution: Public Employees Pay Part of Salary for Pension	Bill Sizemore Jeanette Basl Barbara Ash
\$106,155 from PACs funded by Conservative PAC – chart 6		M 8		
\$150,000	1996	M 32	Authorizes Bonds for Portland Region Light Rail, Transportation Projects Elsewhere	Referendum
\$244,044.50 ½ of \$488,089 contribution to Paying a Tax On A Tax Just Isn't Fair PAC	2000	M 91	Amends Constitution: Makes Federal Income Taxes Fully Deductible On Oregon Tax Returns	Bill Sizemore
\$488,089		M 95	Amends Constitution: Student Learning Determines Teacher Pay; Qualifications, Not Seniority, Determine Retention	Becky Miller Stuart Miller
\$176,500		Oregon Taxpayers United		
\$100,000	2006	M 42	Prohibits Insurance Companies from Using Credit Score or "Credit Worthiness" in Calculating Rates or Premiums	Bill Sizemore Grace I. Sizemore
\$12,000	2008	IP 2	Prohibits Appointed Judge From Being Considered An Incumbent In The Election First Following Judge's Appointment	Bill Sizemore Timothy Trickey
\$37,000		IP 32	Limits Grounds For Rejecting Initiative, Referendum, Recall Petition Signatures; Modifies Procedures For Verifying Submitted Signatures	Bill Sizemore Timothy Trickey
\$500,000		Oregonians for Honest Elections that Opposed Measure 56 and supported Measures 58, 59, 60 and 64		
\$100,000	2010	IP 19	Establishes Property Tax Exemption For Senior Citizen's Primary Residence; Reduces Local Government Property Tax Revenue	Bill Sizemore Tim Rohrer
<b>\$1,990,936</b>	<b>Total</b>			

Bill Sizemore was also chief petitioner on Measure 63 to the November 2008 ballot that would have removed the requirement for building permits for projects of less than \$35,000. The major donor to that signature gathering effort was Hire Calling Public Affairs that has ties to Richard Wendt. Wendt is head of Klamath Falls based door and window manufacturer Jeld-Wen. Measure 63 lost.

### **Term Limits – Only Early Support from Loren Parks**

Loren Parks gave \$15,000 to Measure 3 in 1992 that successfully imposed term limits for Oregon legislative and statewide elected officials and congressional offices. As noted above, a reported \$25,000 contribution was given by Parks to Measure 3's chief petitioner Frank Eisenzimmer to assist with its preparation for a total of \$40,000 in support for term limits.

Measure 3's provisions applying term limits for federal offices were overturned in 1995 by the U.S. Supreme Court. They ruled that an amendment to the U.S. Constitution was required to impose limits on federal office holder terms. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, was silent on term limits for state positions and those provisions of Measure 3 remained.<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless in 1996 Bill Sizemore was a treasurer of a Yes on Measure 48 committee that unsuccessfully tried to state and federal elected officials to vote for term limits. The itemized report on chief petitioner committee donors is no longer available, but there is no indication that Loren Parks gave to this signature gathering effort. Records definitely show that he did not give to this campaign during the general election season.

During the 2001 legislative session, however, a bill was enacted to allow for an expedited legal review of the constitutionality of term limits for state offices. In January 2002 the Oregon Supreme Court found the Measure 3 limits on state office holders unconstitutional because it violated the "single subject rule" for constitutional amendments.<sup>118</sup> As the legal action worked its way through the courts, signature gathering began on Initiative 168. The major donor was Americans for Term Limits in Wisconsin giving \$141,735 and US Term Limits gave \$13,250. Loren Parks also gave \$50,000 to this petition circulation effort, but this initiative did not qualify for the ballot.

Initiative 20 to restore term limits did not qualify for the November 2004 ballot. Loren Parks made no contributions for this signature gathering effort. Its primary donor was US Term Limits with a \$354,239 contribution.

Another attempt to restore term limits in Oregon was Measure 45 on the November 2006 ballot. Loren Parks did not contribute to this effort. Rather, the major donor was US Term Limits that gave \$510,000 to qualify this measure for the ballot.

Evidently voter interest in term limits had waned with time and Measure 45 was defeated. Loren Parks interest, as indicated by campaign contributions, ended after the initial Measure 3 campaign. This could mean that Parks' interest in this issue waned, but it could well be that he realized his support wasn't necessary with large contributions coming from outside Oregon from Americans for Term Limits and the Washington D.C.- based US Term Limits.

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<sup>117</sup> "Basics on Term Limits," November 1998, Oregon Legislative Policy, Research & Committee Services, <http://www.leg.state.or.us/comm/commsrvs/termlimit.pdf> retrieved September 5, 2008.

<sup>118</sup> "Background Brief," May 2004, Legislative Community Services, [http://www.leg.state.or.us/comm/commsrvs/background\\_briefs2004/General%20Government/EJ\\_Term\\_Limits2004.pdf](http://www.leg.state.or.us/comm/commsrvs/background_briefs2004/General%20Government/EJ_Term_Limits2004.pdf) retrieved September 5, 2008.

## **Loren Parks and Gregg Clapper**

Gregg Clapper moved to Oregon from Alaska in 1987 where he owned three radio stations. In 1988 he bought a radio station in Gresham.<sup>119</sup> Clapper became an active member of the Gresham Area Chamber of Commerce spearheading its most successful membership drive in its history in 1989.<sup>120</sup> In July of 1990, however, Clapper resigned from the Chamber board because it endorsed a tax base measure, a position that he didn't feel represented the interests of small businesses. Clapper also attempted to change the board election process of the Gresham Chamber, calling the current board a group of elitists.<sup>121</sup>

In 1991 Gregg Clapper worked with Frank Eisenzimmer in filing a complaint against the Oregon Education Association alleging that it is illegal for that group to urge teachers to boycott businesses that supported Don McIntire's Measure 5 that put a constitutional limit on property taxes in November 1990. Eisenzimmer was the treasurer for the Protect Oregon Property Society that supported Measure 5 and his health club was on the Education Association's boycott list. The Oregon Education Association said that it was not pursuing a full-fledged boycott but only put a notice in a member newsletter. Moreover, they pointed out the constitutional right to pursue boycotts. The Secretary of State Elections Division did not identify any violations and the complaint was dismissed.<sup>122</sup>

In January of 1993 Gregg Clapper is characterized as a former radio station owner and in the news again linked to a radio advertisement saying that the state should "stop the lying" and tell taxpayers that "there is no billion-dollar shortfall in Salem." Governor Barbara Robert's chief of staff Patricia McCaig objected to this characterization calling it nonsense. McCaig pointed out that Measure 5 was forcing the state to cover \$1.6 billion in school costs creating shortfalls between available funds and the cost of providing state services and the school costs. The radio ad also implied that the state observes the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday as a way of paying back state employees that were major contributor's to Robert's gubernatorial campaign. McCaig characterized this innuendo as offensive to "all kinds of people." Clapper said that the ad cost \$5,000 and that it was funded by "me and a couple of other guys" who he would not identify.<sup>123</sup>

The Businessmen's Executive Club PAC began operation in 1983 and Gregg Clapper was its treasurer when this committee closed in April of 1993. What appears to be a successor committee was the Executive Club Jeffersonian Leadership PAC that formed later in 1993 and operated until summer of 1995. Joe Foxall was that committee's treasurer and this PAC received a \$10,000 contribution from Conservative PAC in 1994. Overall, though, neither of these committees did any significant fundraising.

After forming a friendship with Loren Parks in 1993, however, Clapper became a more significant political consultant producing and narrating many radio ads during the 1994 election season. During that primary he ran an ad campaign targeting moderate Craig Berkman in what was an unsuccessful gubernatorial run against Denny Smith in the Republican nomination

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<sup>119</sup> "Radio KRDR may resume broadcasting in September under new ownership," *Oregonian*, August 15, 1988.

<sup>120</sup> "Gresham chamber recruits record number of members," *Oregonian*, December 18, 1989.

<sup>121</sup> "KKGR owner asks chamber elections," *Oregonian*, August 21, 1990.

<sup>122</sup> "Filing blasts OEA boycott over tax limit," *Oregonian*, May 31, 1991.

<sup>123</sup> "In radio ads, Gresham man says state lies about budget," *Oregonian*, January 26, 1993.

contest. Craig Berkman protested both the independence and accuracy of these ads. “I think citizens should be free to speak out,” Berkman said, “but the measure out to be, is it truthful, is it truly independent.” Denny Smith said he had no involvement in the ad and Gregg Clapper also denied any connection to the Smith campaign and said the ads were produced because Berkman “was such a sleazeball on [1990] Measure 5.” Berkman said that the Parks financed ad “was false, and they knew it to be false; and it had an impact on the campaign.”<sup>124</sup>

During the 1994 general election what were reported to be Clapper ads ran in support of Kevin Mannix’s mandatory minimum sentences Measure 11, Sizemore’s Measure 8 to curtail public-employee union pensions as well as the Eisenzimmer/Sizemore Measure 5 to require voter approval of tax increases. All these were funded by Conservative PAC that, in turn, received most of its support from Loren Parks.<sup>125</sup>

Gregg Clapper also formed a Yes on Measure PAC, Oregon Death with Dignity, but this did not receive support from Loren Parks. An attention-getting feature of Clapper PACs is colorful names. For example, the anti-Berkman independent ads in 1994 were paid for by the “Let’s Shine a Little Light On ‘Em and See if They Scamper” committee.<sup>126</sup>

During the 1996 primary Parks contributed just shy of \$176,000 to finance radio ads produced by Clapper for the purpose of attacking two state senators who were backing Measure 24. The measure sought to require initiative petitioners to gather an equal amount of signatures in each congressional district, which Clapper argued would make it more difficult for citizens to get initiatives on the ballot. Senators Paul Phillips, R-Tigard, and Greg Walden, R-Hood River, were criticized as being part of a ‘cozy political deal’ by accepting work from the campaign in support of Measure 24. Greg Walden’s radio station was paid for advertising time and Phillip’s worked at the campaign for Pacific West Communications. Clapper came up with another colorful and descriptive name for PAC making this independent expenditure, The Those Rascal Politicians and Lobbyists Just Want to Grab More Power committee.<sup>127</sup>

Loren Parks gave \$150,000 to a Clapper committee formed to oppose Measure 32, a referendum that successfully overturned legislation adopted during the 1995 session that authorized bonds for light rail in the Portland area as well as transportation projects elsewhere. The Send Back This Piece of Pork committee also received support from Bill Sizemore’s Oregon Taxpayers United PAC.

During the 1995 legislature Gregg Clapper ran advertisements reported to have been funded by Parks’ Conservative PAC against Republican legislators criticizing them for supporting state funding for light rail projects in Portland. Targeted were Senate President Gordon Smith, R-Pendleton, (now Oregon’s U.S. Senator) Rep. Bob Repine, R-Grants Pass, and House Speaker Bev Clarno, R-Bend. “Loyalty probably is the most important commitment in politics, and they

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<sup>124</sup> “Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives big boost,” *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

<sup>125</sup> “Roberts’ campaign gains voice of far right,” *Oregonian*, October 10, 2001.

<sup>126</sup> “Roberts’ campaign gains voice of far right,” *Oregonian*, October 10, 2001

<sup>127</sup> “Businessman backs ads attacking Measure 24,” *Oregonian*, April 14, 1996

[Clapper and Parks] have violated that principle,” said Smith spokesman Dan Lavey, calling the ads “despicable.”<sup>128</sup>

Loren Parks was the major donor to Measure 33 on the November 1996 ballot. This was a constitutional amendment that would have limited the ability of the legislature to change laws enacted by voters using the initiative process. Measure 33 narrowly lost. Parks gave \$20,949, about one-quarter of total fundraising, for the signature gathering effort. Parks was the only donor giving \$100,000 to the You Wouldn't Do It, So We Had To Do It political committee that supported Measure 33.

Gregg Clapper was the chief petitioner on 1996's Measure 34 that unsuccessfully tried to repeal a 1994 measure regulating bear and cougar hunting. A Parks company, Parks-Abel Metal Products, gave \$25,000 to the Don't Let The Whackos Get Away With The Lies This Time PAC formed by Clapper.

Loren Parks' contributions have not always been completely in line with traditional “right-wing” causes. Groups such as the Catholic Church, Oregon Hospice Association, Oregon Association of Hospitals and Health Systems, and Oregon Medical Association rallied for a repeal of the 1994's Measure 16—Death with Dignity— raising \$2.25 million. The repeal was Measure 51 on a November 1997 special election. Parks gave \$150,000 to the Oregon to Die PAC that, in turn, was the only donor to a Clapper PAC, the Don't Let Them Shove Their Religion Down Your Throat committee. Other committees opposing Measure 51 raised even more money and this repeal attempt failed.<sup>129</sup>

(It has been reported that Gregg Clapper received contributions from Loren Parks to support Measure 16 in 1994.<sup>130</sup> Gregg Clapper was treasurer for Oregon Death With Dignity PAC. But Loren Parks did not make any contributions to this committee whose fundraising was essentially all from the Oregon Right to Die committee. The Oregon Right to Die chief petitioner report is no longer available and it is possible that Parks or Conservative PAC could have contributed for petition circulation on what became Measure 16, but that isn't possible to determine.)

In 1998 Parks contributed \$100,000 to defeat the \$475 million bond issue for the south-north light rail project. The money passed through the political action committee What Do You Say Next Time We Spend Billions, which was separate from group spearheaded by anti-light rail spokesman Bob Tiernan called Don't Buy the Lie. The bond failed with voters.

Also in 1998 Loren Parks was the sole donor giving \$7,782 to Clapper's Isn't It Time We Start Election Republicans Who Vote Like Republicans PAC, presumably intended to support certain Republican candidates. (See charts 12 and chart 13 on page 61 for information on candidate contributions from Loren Parks.)

During the 2000 primary election Parks made a \$150,000 contribution to defeat Measure 79, which would have raised the number of signatures sufficient to put a constitutional amendment

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<sup>128</sup> “Ads rile Republican leaders,” *Oregonian*, July 28, 1995

<sup>129</sup> “Millions collected for repeal of law on assisted suicide,” *Oregonian*, October 7, 1997

<sup>130</sup> “Mannix's richest fan seems his unlikeliest,” *Oregonian*, April 12, 2006

on the ballot from 8 to 12 percent of voters in a gubernatorial election. Parks was joined in funding the no on 79 campaign by other frequent conservative donors, Mark Hemstreet and Wes Lamatta. Hemstreet owns the Shilo Inn chain and LeMatta is an executive from Columbia Helicopter that specializes in logging.<sup>131</sup>

During Kevin Mannix's 2000 campaign for attorney general Gregg Clapper produced a controversial ad featuring Kip Kinkel in an attack on Hardy Myers. See page 52 for more details.

Also during the fall of 2000 Gregg Clapper received \$132,200 from Loren Parks and formed a PAC to oppose Measure 94, a repeal of Kevin Mannix's Measure 11 adopted in 1994. The PAC name was If 94 Passes, Up to 1200 of Oregon's Most Violent Criminals Will Be Released. Measure 94 lost at the polls. In turn, Clapper's no on 94 PAC made an in-kind contribution of \$62,761 to Kevin Mannix's attorney general campaign. Loren Parks also gave \$6,000 to Steve Doell's Crime Victims United PAC that also opposed Measure 94.

During the 2002 Republican gubernatorial primary Gregg Clapper supported Jack Roberts instead of Kevin Mannix. Roberts was considered to be the frontrunner with particular support by those who felt that Kevin Mannix was too conservative to win in the general election. Indeed, Clapper characterized in the media as "far right," said that he didn't believe Kevin Mannix could not win in November because of his anti-abortion views. For this reason, Clapper joined the Roberts campaign as a political consultant in the fall of 2001. Clapper's exact role wasn't clear and Roberts campaign manager wouldn't say whether Clapper had really been hired to help persuade Loren Parks to stop supporting Kevin Mannix. Though Parks gave contributions totaling \$115,000 to Mannix in 2001 before he entered the governor's contest, Clapper said that Parks wouldn't make any primary season contributions.<sup>132</sup>

Clapper was correct in predicting that Mannix wouldn't win in November. But who he supported in the primary, Jack Roberts, was defeated by Mannix in May. After this primary win, Loren Parks opened his wallet for the Mannix gubernatorial campaign giving a total of \$300,000.

Gregg Clapper formed a PAC in May 2002 to run independent expenditure ads against Ron Saxton. That committee, the Let's Not Elect a Soft-On-Crime, Democrat Contributing, Liberal-Judge Backing PAC spent \$25,536, all of it contributed by Loren Parks, on radio ads attacking Ron Saxton for wanting to "take the teeth" out of Measure 11. The ads also identified Saxton as a campaign donor to a judicial candidate who later wrote an Oregon Supreme Court decision that on a 6-1 vote overturned a murder conviction as well as involvement in his law firm's political donations to some Democratic candidates. Saxton stated, "I think it's [the ad] very inaccurate and very unfair, but things that are very inaccurate and unfair are sometimes effective."<sup>133</sup>

Questions were raised about the genuine independence of Clapper's anti-Saxton ads from the Jack Roberts campaign given Clapper's earlier involvement in that campaign and evidence that information from Roberts was used in developing the advertisements. However, Clapper left the Roberts campaign in January and both he and Roberts' campaign manager denied any

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<sup>131</sup> "Big spenders show support for initiatives," *The Oregonian*, May 12, 2000

<sup>132</sup> "Roberts' campaign gains voice of far right," *Oregonian*, October 10, 2001

<sup>133</sup> "Attack-ad duo takes shots at Saxton," *Oregonian*, May 8, 2002

cooperation in regard to production of the anti-Saxton ads.<sup>134</sup> But his primary season ads didn't carry the day for Roberts. Indeed, ironically enough, Mannix' primary victory may have been aided by Clapper's attacks on Ron Saxton.

Independent advertising by Gregg Clapper with financial support from Loren Parks also played a role in the 2006 Republican primary. Clapper formed the Neal Goldschmidt's Real Good Friend Ron Saxon committee that received all of its \$175,000 in contributions from Parks. Their target as in 2002, Ron Saxton, was the same. But in 2006 the intended beneficiary was now Kevin Mannix. This time around, however, Saxton ran to the right of his 2002 campaign as a moderate and beat Mannix in the Republican primary. Saxton lost to Kulongoski in November of 2002.

Clapper's anti-Saxton ads linked Ron Saxton to Neil Goldschmidt through connections to Goldschmidt's wife and brother. During Saxton's 2002 run in the Republican gubernatorial primary he received support from Diana Snowden, Goldschmidt's wife, who is a Republican. Saxton was also chair of the Portland School Board when Goldschmidt's brother, Steve, was a controversial director of human resources for the school district. Connecting Saxton to Neil Goldschmidt was damaging since two years earlier Goldschmidt had been exposed in *Willamette Week* for his sexual abuse of a 14-year-old girl. The Clapper ad also criticized Saxton for past contributions to Democratic candidates.

Saxton's campaign manager raised questions about the independence of the ads, "Is it any coincidence that Kevin Mannix's largest contributor, Loren Parks, is now funding a negative campaign against Ron Saxton?" Clapper indicated that he turned to Parks for support for an independent advertising effort after not succeeding in convincing the Mannix campaign to publicize connections between Saxton and Goldschmidt. Mannix political consultant Jack Kane said, "We're not tied to this at all. It is truly independent."<sup>135</sup>

The Saxton campaign responded with ads focused more on Loren Parks than Kevin Mannix or issues. The Saxton ads highlighted Parks as an out-of-state millionaire "trying to buy the Oregon governorship for Mannix" and cite references on Parks website to his past activities as an "amateur sex therapist." Parks was featured in responding advertisements from the Clapper independent expenditure PAC defending his philanthropic contributions in addition to his support for political campaigns.<sup>136</sup>

Chart 9 summarizes contributions from Loren Parks to political committees for which Gregg Clapper was either treasurer or a director. Please note that some of the donations in this chart are also in charts 6, 7, 8, and 10 because those charts include support from Parks to McIntire, Sizemore, Mannix, and Walker ballot measures that took the form of contributions to a Clapper political committee that supported many of their efforts.

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<sup>134</sup> "See Jack sling," *Willamette Week*, May 15, 2002

<sup>135</sup> "Ad cranks up rhetoric of GOP primary race," *Oregonian*, April 18, 2006

<sup>136</sup> "Negative ads from outside groups lead candidates to stray from issues," *Eugene Register-Guard*, May 14, 2006

**Chart 8 – Contributions from Loren Parks or Conservative PAC to Gregg Clapper PACs**

<b>Contribution</b>	<b>PAC Name</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Ballot Title</b>	<b>Chief Petitioners</b>
\$3,806	We Can't Believe They'd Even Ask	1993	No on M 1	Should We Pass a 5% Sales Tax for Public Schools With These Restrictions	Legislative Referral
\$12,665	Let's Shine a Little Light on 'Em and See if They Scamper	May 1994	Independent ads against Craig Berkman in Republican gubernatorial primary		
\$70,000 from Conservative PAC	Either Vote On 'Em or Watch 'Em Go Up	Nov 1994	M 5	Amends Constitution: Bars New or Increased Taxes Without Voter Approval	Frank Eisenzimmer Elmer Specht
\$88,655 from Conservative PAC	We Pay For All of Ours, We pay for All of Yours, Is it too Much....	1994	M 8	Amends Constitution: Public Employees Pay Part of Salary for Pension	Bill Sizemore Jeanette Basl Barbara Ash
\$78,655 from Conservative PAC	Maybe if the Politicians Didn't Give Themselves Pay Raises	1994	M 10, 11, and 17	See chart 14 for ballot titles	Kevin Mannix See chart 14 for other chief petitioners
\$175,996	Those Rascal Politicians and Lobbyists Just Want to Grab More Power	May 1996	No on M 24	Amends Constitution: Initiative Petition Signatures Must Be Collected from Each Congressional District	Legislative Referral
\$150,000	Send Back This Piece of Pork	1996	No on M 32	Authorizes Bonds for Portland Region Light Rail, Transportation Projects Elsewhere	Referendum
\$100,000	You Wouldn't Do It, So We Had To Do It	1996	Yes on M 33	Amends Constitution: Limits Legislative Change To Statutes Passed By Voters	Ruth Bendl Claudine Gilmore
\$25,000	Don't Let The Whackos Get Away With The Lies This Time	1996	Yes on M 34	Wildlife Management Exclusive to Commission; Repeals 1994 Bear/Cougar Initiative	Gregg K. Clapper
\$200,000	Only the Lawyers and Politicians Will Vote Against This One	1996	Yes on M 40	Amends Constitution: Gives Crime Victims Rights, Expands Admissible Evidence, Limits Pretrial Release	Kevin L. Mannix Doris D. Kouns Robert B. Kouns
\$7,782	Isn't It Time We Start Election Republicans Who Vote Like Republicans	1998	Committee formed to support certain Republican candidates		
\$100,000	What Do You Say Next Time We Spend Billions	1998	No on M 26-74	Tri-Met South/North Light Rail Bond	Tri-Met Bond Measure
\$20,000	Who Do You Want Making Up the Rules	1998	Yes on M 65	Amends Constitution: Creates Process For Requiring Legislature To Review Administrative Rules	David J. Hunnicutt Lawrence B. George
\$181,837	This is About Crime Victims Not Greedy Defense Lawyers	1999	Yes on Measures 69 through 75 – See chart 14 for Ballot Titles		Legislative Referral

\$150,000	It's Just Another Power Grab	May 2000	No on M 79	Amends Constitution: Increases Signatures Required To Place Initiative Amending Constitution On Ballot	Legislative Referral
\$132,200	If 94 Passes, Up to 1200 of Oregon's Most Violent Criminals Will Be Released	2000	No on M 94	Repeals Mandatory Minimum Sentences For Certain Felonies, Requires Resentencing	Jo Ann Bowman Cathi Lawler Lorraine Heller
\$488,089	Let's Put The Children First This Time	2000	Yes on M 95	Amends Constitution: Student Learning Determines Teacher Pay; Qualifications, Not Seniority, Determine Retention	Becky Miller Stuart Miller
\$488,089	Paying A Tax On A Tax Just Isn't Fair	2000	Yes on M 91 and 8	See Chart 14 for Ballot Titles	91 - Sizemore 8 - Don McIntire Joe W. Foxall Ron Sunseri
\$25,536	Let's Not Elect a Soft-On-Crime Democrat Contributing, Liberal Judge Backing	2002	Independent ads against Ron Saxton in Republican gubernatorial primary		
\$10,000	Say No to Part-Time Politicians Padding Their Pockets With Pensions	2002	IP 60	Amends Constitution: Prohibits Legislative Assembly Members From Receiving Pension Or Retirement Benefits Funded By State, Local Government	Loren E. Parks Gregg K. Clapper  Did not qualify
\$124,605	None of the Above	2002	IP 67 M 21	See Chart 14 for Ballot Titles	21-Don McIntire Gregg Clapper
\$600,000	Vote Yes on 21 & 22, Stop the Judges From (Bleep) You	2002	Yes 21 & 22		22-Steve Doell Ted Ferrioli Bob Smith
\$175,000	Neil Goldschmidt's Real Good Friend Ron Saxton	2006	Independent ads against Ron Saxton in Republican gubernatorial primary		
\$20,000	Crime Victims Have Rights Too	May 2008	Yes on M 51 and 52	See Chart 14 for Ballot Titles	Legislative Referrals
<b>\$3,420,133</b>	<b>Total</b>				

### **Mark Hemstreet, Gregg Clapper and Loren Parks**

In 1995 Mark Hemstreet, owner of Shilo Inns, recruited Parks for a \$100,000 membership in a group called the Oregon Round Table. This was after Hemstreet garnered media attention in 1994 for contributing \$469,000 to ballot measures and candidates. The Round Table was intended to direct contributions from wealthy businessmen in support of pro-business political initiatives. Among the group's primary objectives was establishing an "employers' bill of rights," reducing the amount of civil litigation, more greatly empowering employers to hire and fire at will, and expanding an employer's right to drug test. Combining the individual mega-

donors was intended to act “as a counterweight to liberal interest groups” presumably stemming from forms of organized labor and public employee unions.<sup>137</sup>

Parks was too independent for the group, however, and did not participate for long. Gregg Clapper commented, “Loren wanted to do it his own way.”<sup>138</sup>

Mark Hemstreet and Gregg Clapper, however, continued their friendship. They have been embroiled in legal challenges related to 30 hunting violation citations brought by the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife in 2005. Hemstreet, owner of Shilo Inns, paid \$3,000 in restitution in a settlement that also dropped charges against Hemstreet. Gregg Clapper was also cited for the alleged wildlife crimes that occurred on the Shilo Ranch in Wallowa County, but those charges were also dropped in 2006.<sup>139</sup> Clapper was cited for possession of less than an ounce of marijuana. Clapper’s appeal on the basis that police had conducted an illegal search was rejected.<sup>140</sup>

The story would have ended there, but Hemstreet filed a federal lawsuit that charges Oregon state police with free speech and civil rights violations and racketeering. Clapper is joining Hemstreet in seeking economic damages of \$105,000. The racketeering claim was dismissed but as of end of 2007 the case on the free speech and malicious prosecution claims continued.<sup>141</sup>

### **Loren Parks and Kevin Mannix**

Loren Parks was reportedly introduced to Kevin Mannix in the fall of 1993 through Bob Tiernan. Tiernan was a Republican legislator from Lake Oswego who joined Mannix as a chief petitioner on Measures 10, 11, and 17 that received financial support from Loren Parks. Parks also contributed to Tiernan’s candidate campaigns for the legislature and a seat on the Oregon Supreme Court. At the time Mannix was a Democrat from Salem. However, Mannix changed political parties after losing in the 1996 Democratic primary for Attorney General against Hardy Myers.

Kevin Mannix said “Loren wanted to support anti-crime efforts,” and reflected about Parks that “He’s one of the folks who says, ‘You can’t take it with you, so why don’t you do something good with it while you’re here?’”<sup>142</sup>

Kevin Mannix’s first foray into statewide politics was as the champion of 1994’s “tough-on-crime” Measures 10, 11, and 17 that received support from Loren Parks via Parks’ Conservative PAC. In all, Conservative PAC gave \$154,405 to four committees. (See chart 5.) One of these PACs gave \$38,250 for the signature gathering on what became Measure 10 and another gave \$19,500 to assist in putting Measure 11 on the ballot. (As noted in the discussion of Conservative PAC spending on page 30 there appear to be other signature gathering expenses that can’t be attributed to any one initiative qualification effort.) During the general election campaign another

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<sup>137</sup> “Tycoons group aims for power in politics,” *Oregonian*, May 31, 1995

<sup>138</sup> “Politics one of tycoon’s obsessions,” *Oregonian*, October 3, 2000

<sup>139</sup> “Shilo Inn owner strikes a deal to end hunting case,” *Oregonian*, December 9, 2006.

<sup>140</sup> “Court rejects political advisor’s drug-case appeal,” *Oregonian*, December 6, 2007.

<sup>141</sup> “Judge drops one claim filed by Hemstreet,” *Oregonian*, November 21, 2007.

<sup>142</sup> “Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives a big boost,” *Oregonian*, June 20, 1994

committee gave \$18,000 in support of Measures 10, 11, and 17. A contribution of \$78,655 went to Clapper yes on 10, 11, and 17 PAC named Maybe If the Politicians Didn't Give Themselves Pay Raises. All these measures passed.

This begins a long history of Parks support for Kevin Mannix's candidate and ballot measure campaigns as summarized in chart 10.

In 1996, Loren Parks gave \$504,303 to support two initiatives for which Mannix was a chief petitioner and Mannix's attorney general run against Hardy Myers in the Democratic primary. During 1996 contributions to statewide candidates were capped at \$500 and Parks gave up to that limit for Mannix's candidate campaign. Initiative 63 was another minimum sentencing proposal that didn't qualify for the ballot, but received \$33,641 from Loren Parks for its signature gathering effort.

Also in 1996, Measure 40, a constitutional amendment that expanded admissible evidence and established crime victim rights, received a \$270,162 from Justice for All II PAC during petition circulation and the general election. In addition, another Clapper committee, Only the Lawyers and Politicians Will Vote Against This One, received a \$200,000 contribution from Parks.

Measure 40 passed, but was overturned by the Oregon Supreme Court in June 1998 on the basis of what has become known as violating the single amendment rule. That case, *Armatta v. Kitzhaber*, found that "though it purported to be a single amendment to the Oregon Constitution, Measure 40 contains two or more constitutional amendments that must be voted upon separately under Article XVII, section 1," another section of the state Constitution.<sup>143</sup>

In 1998 Kevin Mannix returned to the legislature as a Republican representative from his previously held House seat. Loren Parks gave \$8,645 to his legislative contest.

Also in 1998 Loren Parks gave \$85,000 for petition circulation of Initiative 53 that became Measure 61. Kevin Mannix and Steve Doell were chief petitioners on this effort that was considered to be a follow up to Measure 11 setting minimum sentences for a new set of crimes, particularly related to property offenses.

However, the signature-gathering margin on Initiative 53 was very close resulting in a lawsuit against Secretary of State Phil Keisling. Based on two statistical sampling steps, the signature-gathering threshold was not met for Initiative 53. But election officials qualified the measure because it fell within ½ of 1 percent of margin for statistical error as allowed by administrative rule. The Oregon Supreme Court found that this administrative rule violated state law and that Measure 61 should not have been qualified for a November 1998 vote. However the Supreme Court did not remove the measure from the ballot, leaving it up to Keisling to resolve the issue. Kevin Mannix objected, "They [the Supreme Court] are not just opening up a can of worms, they are opening a box of snakes." The challenging attorney said, "Close, but no cigar" and

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<sup>143</sup> *Armatta v. Kitzhaber*, 327 Or 250, 959 P2d 49 (1998) <http://www.publications.ojd.state.or.us/S44995.htm> retrieved March 28, 2008.

considered it ludicrous that Mannix, a champion of law and order, would suggest fudging the law in regard to number of signatures required to qualify for the ballot.<sup>144</sup>

The Secretary of State asked the court to reconsider its decision, especially since overseas absentee ballots had already been mailed out, but they declined. So Keisling decided to not count Measure 61 votes. Political committees for and against Measure 61 were established but never went into full operation and weren't required to report their fundraising.

The 1999 legislature adopted a bill supported by both Kevin Mannix and union lobbyists to change Secretary of State procedures for evaluating duplicate signatures on initiative petitions. The details of this step were part of the controversy regarding the overturned qualification of Measure 61 for the 1998 ballot. Bill Sizemore objected to the new signature verification process, even though it was based on long established statistical methods. Kevin Mannix said, "This is a fairer process than the one we had before."<sup>145</sup>

Kevin Mannix and Bill Sizemore agree, however, in their disapproval of reforms designed to combat signature-gathering fraud adopted in HB 2082 by the 2007 legislative session. Bill Sizemore said that, "It's clearly unconstitutional, and they probably know it. Bill Bradbury works for the public employee's unions. They want all my initiatives shut down, and that's all they are doing."<sup>146</sup> "It is the most drastic restriction ever perpetrated by a power elite of legislators," said Kevin Mannix who advised participants in an unsuccessful lawsuit against HB 2082. The Secretary of State's spokesman said, "It shows the new law is designed to make it more difficult for people to break the law but easier for people to get their idea onto the ballot by legal methods."<sup>147</sup>

Mannix's top priority during the 1999 legislative session, however, was re-passing the overturned package of crime-victim's rights that passed in 1996 as Measure 40 as a set of referrals that were sometimes called the "sons of 40" proposals. He broke Measure 40 down into 8 bills to avoid *Armatta* violations of the single amendment rule and won legislative enactment of seven referrals of constitutional amendments to the voters. These referrals became measures 69 through 75 on the November 1999 special election ballot.

Loren Parks gave \$14,101 to Justice for All II for its Yes on Measures 69 through 78 campaign through the Parks Foundation. Another \$181,837 went to Gregg Clapper PAC, This is About Crime Victims Not Greedy Defense Lawyers.

Election results were mixed on the "sons of 40" proposals with four measures passing and three failing. Political observers offer various opinions about what the results meant, but the prevailing wisdom suggests that voters were sending a message that they wanted to balance crime-victims' rights with fairness in the criminal justice system.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> "Ruling casts doubt on measure 61," *Oregonian*, October 8, 1998

<sup>145</sup> "Initiative rule faces challenge," *Salem Statesman Journal*, February 5, 2000

<sup>146</sup> "New law cuts off 14 citizen initiatives," *Oregonian*, February 1, 2008.

<sup>147</sup> "Judge lets new petition rules stand," *Salem Statesman Journal*, January 10, 2008.

<sup>148</sup> "Experts ponder crime-issues vote," *Oregonian*, November 4, 1999

In 2000 Kevin Mannix again ran for attorney general, but this time as a Republican since he had changed parties in 1998. Early in 1997 Oregon Supreme Court struck down the limits on candidate campaigns that were in place during the 1996 elections. This is reflected in the contribution from Loren Parks jumping from \$500 to \$210,000 for Mannix's re-match with Hardy Myers. Parks also gave \$41,200 to a Mannix-controlled Justice for All II committee that, in turn, gave to the Kevin Mannix for Attorney General PAC. Mannix lost this race.

During Kevin Mannix's 2000 run against Hardy Myers for Attorney General, Gregg Clapper produced ads featuring Kip Kinkel, the Springfield Thurston High School student who killed his parents and two fellow students. The Mannix ads claimed that Hardy Myers supported sentencing guidelines that could have set Kinkel free in four years compared to his sentence of 111 years due to Measure 11. Serving only four years could have occurred before Measure 11 if prosecutors had not been able to convince a judge to try Kinkel as an adult. However, the likelihood of Kinkel not being tried as an adult in those circumstances was considered to have been highly unlikely. In addition, as a legislator in 1989, Kevin Mannix voted for pre-Measure 11 steps to toughen sentencing guidelines that were developed by a committee chaired by then-legislator Hardy Myers.

"I think it is a serious distortion to describe what might have happened to Kip Kinkel under the pre-ballot Measure 11 as the Hardy Myers sentencing plan," said Myers. The sentencing guidelines focused on adults and Mannix "voted for them." Kevin Mannix defended the ads featuring Kinkel saying, "they may simplify things, but they don't distort them." The former principal of Thurston High School said, "I'm frankly a little bit appalled that such a sensitive matter would be used in such a race."<sup>149</sup>

The Kinkel ads were pulled by the Mannix campaign after being criticized as inflammatory and unfair by editorial boards across Oregon. Indeed, some consider the Kinkel ads a factor in Mannix's loss.<sup>150</sup>

That Mannix and Clapper resorted to such negative advertising may be linked to urging by Loren Parks. An email from Parks to Kevin Mannix said, "I want Hardy out of there in the worst way, and I will do all I can to knock him down for the crap he's pulled on me. Remember, I told you you have to get people (expletive) off about something, not just boost yourself." The email was accidentally sent to an anti-Mannix website operated by Ernie Delmazzo who gave it to the *Oregonian*.<sup>151</sup>

The antagonism by Loren Parks against Hardy Myers may be linked to the Department of Justice of lawsuit against Loren Parks alleging illegal use of his foundation for political purposes even though Myers was not personally involved so as to avoid any appearance of a conflict of.<sup>152</sup> Parks would not talk with *Oregonian* reporters, but did send a written statement comparing the Department of Justice lawsuit to the Nixon White House's targeting of political enemies.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> "Political ads use Kinkel case," *Oregonian*, October 18, 2000

<sup>150</sup> "Roberts' campaign gains voice of far right," *Oregonian*, October 10, 2001

<sup>151</sup> "Politics one of tycoon's obsessions," *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

<sup>152</sup> "Nonprofit accused of promoting ballot issues," *Oregonian*, August 26, 2000

<sup>153</sup> "Politics one of tycoon's obsessions," *Oregonian*, October 8, 2000

As discussed on page 42, Gregg Clapper, with \$132,200 from Loren Parks, formed a committee to oppose Measure 94 on the November 2000 ballot that attempted, unsuccessfully, to repeal Mannix's mandatory sentencing Measure 11. This Clapper committee made a \$62,761 in-kind contribution to Kevin Mannix's attorney general candidate candidacy in 2000. The \$132,300 expenditure is listed in chart 8 summarizing spending by Clapper committees while only the \$62,761 pass through contribution to Mannix's candidate committee is listed in chart 10.

As reported on Mannix's 2001 September Supplemental report related to his run for attorney general, Loren Parks gave another \$115,000 after the November 2000 election.

Kevin Mannix began a third run for statewide office jumping into a contested Republican gubernatorial primary against Jack Roberts and Ron Saxton in 2002. Both were considered more moderate and likely to succeed with a November electorate than Mannix. Concern about Mannix's general election viability may be why Loren Parks made no contributions to Mannix until after he won the May primary.

Loren Parks made a post-election, late May contribution of \$25,000 to Mannix. This was followed by general election contributions of \$250,000 and \$25,000 for a total of \$300,000 during that entire campaign. The \$250,000 was considered to be the largest one-time contribution by an individual to an Oregon campaign.<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, Mannix lost to Ted Kulongoski.

Loren Parks did not make contributions to any candidates prior to the May 2002 Republican primary. But Parks did contribute \$25,536 to a Gregg Clapper committee, the Let's Not Elect a Soft-On-Crime, Democrat Contributing, Liberal-Judge Backing PAC that attacked Ron Saxton. More details are on page 45 and this contribution is listed in chart 9 and is not in chart 10.

During the 2002 general election Loren Parks also gave \$125,000 to the Oregon Republican Party. The *Oregonian* reported during the 2006 primary (when Mannix was running again for governor) that Mannix picked up the \$125,000 check and delivered it to Republican Party headquarters. Party executive director Darryl Howard said that Mannix handed him the check with the comment that his campaign needed help. First Mannix asked that a \$125,000 check be written to his Justice for All II committee, but "Kevin was told we couldn't do that," said Howard. Howard's wife was then the party's bookkeeper and they both told him it would be illegal to give the money to another Mannix committee when they understood from Mannix that the purpose of the money was to support his gubernatorial campaign. The check was then written to Mannix's candidate committee while Mannix waited. Mannix denied asking that the party check be written to Justice for All II or that he had any prior arrangement with Loren Parks that the \$125,000 check to the Republican Party would end up in his candidate PAC. After taking over as Party chair in 2003 Kevin Mannix fired Darryl Howard, though Howard says that he resigned.<sup>155</sup>

In 2004 the only contribution from Loren Parks was \$6,600 to Mannix's Justice for All II committee. As noted on 56, this was shortly after Parks moved to Nevada.

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<sup>154</sup> "Millionaire gives Mannix \$250,000, possibly setting an Oregon record," *Oregonian*, October 30, 2002

<sup>155</sup> "Mannix freely mixes business, politicking," *Oregonian*, April 9, 2006

Kevin Mannix ran for the Republican gubernatorial nomination again in 2006, this time against Jason Atkinson and Ron Saxton. Unlike in 2002, Loren Parks supported Mannix during the primary contributing a total of \$766,000.

In addition, Parks gave \$175,000 to the Neil Goldschmidt's Real Good Friend Ron Saxton committee formed by Gregg Clapper. More details are on page 46, but this approach used Goldschmidt's status as a political poison pill since the revelation by *Willamette Week* two years prior of Goldschmidt's sexual abuse of a girl. Since it was considered an independent expenditure, however, is listed in chart 9 and not in chart 10 that focuses on direct support to Kevin Mannix's political efforts.

After the 2006 election Loren Parks gave a total of \$333,000 to Mannix's candidate committee.

During the 2008 petition circulation season, Parks was the major donor to three initiatives for which Kevin Mannix was a chief petitioner. The successful petitions were Initiatives 40 and 41 that became Measure 61 and 62. Measure 61's signature gathering effort received \$122,500 from Loren Parks. Parks gave \$179,166 to the campaign to qualify Measure 62 for the November 2008 ballot. Measure 61 requires mandatory prison sentences for identify theft, forgery, and drug related burglary charges. It will face Measure 57, a less costly and rehabilitation-oriented proposal referred by the legislature on the November ballot as an alternative to Mannix's Measure 61. Measure 62 diverts 15 percent of lottery profits from its current purposes to criminal justice activities.

Loren Parks also gave \$175,000 to Initiative 132. Kevin Mannix was a chief petitioner and provided financial support for this anti-crime proposal. The PAC for Initiative 132 was Hold Criminals Accountable. This initiative was withdrawn, but this PAC gave \$70,359 to Initiatives 51, 53, and 134. Initiative 134 was also withdrawn, but it was an attempt to repeal various reforms designed to combat fraud in the signature gathering process adopted during the 2007 legislative session.

Russ Walker is chief petitioner on Initiatives 51 and 53 that received major contributions from Loren Parks and are discussed below on page 58. Mannix's law firm also supported these proposals. Walker's chief petitioner committees also supported signature gathering on Mannix's measures 61 and 62. In general there seem to have been cooperative efforts between Mannix and Walker on their respective 2008 initiatives. Since Walker was the chief petitioner, however, the support from Loren Parks to Initiative 51 and 53 are listed in chart 11 on page 58.

During the general election, Loren Parks contributed another \$600,000 to Kevin Mannix's Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance PAC with another \$75,000 going to that committee from Parks Medical Electronics. The Anti-Crime Alliance supported Measures 61 and 62 and opposed Measure 57. Measure 57 was a legislatively referred alternative to Measure 61 designed to be less costly and more rehabilitation and treatment oriented.

What Loren Park hasn't supported have been Kevin Mannix's initiatives related to regulation of obscenity, Measures 19 and 31 in 1994 and 1996. Nor did Parks contribute for signature gathering on Initiative 54, a 2008 Mannix proposal to regulate strip clubs.

**Chart 10 – Contributions from Loren Parks and Conservative PAC in Support of Kevin Mannix Candidate Campaigns and Measures**

<b>Contribution</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Ballot Title</b>	<b>Chief Petitioners</b>
\$38,250 From PAC funded by Conservative PAC to qualify M 10 – chart 5	1994	M 10	Amends Constitution: Legislature Cannot Reduce Voter-Approved Sentence Without 2/3 Vote	Kevin L. Mannix Robert J. Prinslow Bob Tiernan
\$19,500 From PAC funded by Conservative PAC to qualify M 11 – chart 5		M 11	Amends Constitution: Legislature Cannot Reduce Voter-Approved Sentence Without 2/3 Vote	Kevin L. Mannix Robert J. Prinslow Bob Tiernan
\$18,000 From PAC funded by Conservative PAC for 10, 11, & 17 – chart 5		M 17	Amends Constitution: Mandatory Sentences for Listed Penalties; Covers Persons 15 and Up	Kevin L. Mannix Robert J. Prinslow Bob Tiernan
\$78,655 From PAC funded by Conservative PAC for 10, 11, & 17 – see chart 5				
\$500	1996	Mannix for Attorney General – Democratic Primary Against Hardy Myers		
\$33,641		IP 63	Establishes Minimum Presumptive Sentences, Increases Minimum Sentences for Listed Crimes	Kevin L. Mannix Bob Tiernan Thomas W. Cutsforth
\$270,162 Justice for All PAC II	1996	M 40	Amends Constitution: Gives Crime Victims Rights, Expands Admissible Evidence, Limits Pretrial Release	Kevin L. Mannix Doris D. Kouns Robert B. Kouns
\$200,000 Only the Lawyers and Politicians Will Vote Against This One				
\$8,645	1998	Mannix for State Representative		
\$85,000		IP 53/M61	Changes Minimum Sentences For Listed Crimes, Including Certain Repeat Offenses	Kevin Mannix Steve Doell
\$14,101 from Parks Foundation to Justice for All II	1999	M 69-75	See chart 14 for ballot titles	Legislative Referral
\$181,837 This is About Crime Victims Not Greedy Defense Lawyers PAC				

\$210,000	2000	Kevin Mannix for Attorney General – Running as Republican Against Hardy Myers		
\$41,200		Justice for All II PAC that contributed to Mannix for Attorney General		
\$62,761		If 94 Passes, Up To 1300 of Oregon’s Most Violent Criminals Will be Released that contributed to Mannix for Attorney General		
\$115,000	2001	Kevin Mannix for Attorney General – September Supplemental Report		
\$300,000	2002	Kevin Mannix for Governor – Parks contributions came after primary win.		
\$125,000		Oregon Republican Party – on the same day this contribution was delivered to the party by Kevin Mannix, a check was cut by the party to Mannix’s PAC		
\$6,600	2004	Justice for All II PAC		
\$766,000	2006	Kevin Mannix for Governor – Republican primary		
\$333,000	2008	Contributions to Mannix candidate PAC after 2006 primary and 2008		
\$175,000		IP 132 withdrawn	Modifies Criminal Sanction Laws; Prioritizes Certain DNA Processing; Requires Jails To Check Inmates' Criminal History	Kevin Mannix Julia Allison Wayne Brady
\$122,500		To IP 40 that became M 61	Creates Mandatory Minimum Prison Sentences For Certain Theft, Identity Theft, Forgery, Drug, And Burglary Crimes	Kevin L. Mannix Steve Doell Duane Fletchall
\$179,166		To IP 40 that became M 62	Amends Constitution: Allocates 15% Of Lottery Proceeds To Public Safety Fund For Crime Prevention, Investigation, Prosecution	Kevin L. Mannix Steve Doell Duane Fletchall
\$675,000		Contributions to Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance PAC that opposed Measure 57 and supported Measures 61 and 62. Loren Parks gave \$600,000 and Park Medical Electronics gave \$75,000.		
<b>\$4,059,518</b>		<b>Total</b>		

### Loren Parks Moves To Nevada

By May of 2003 Loren Parks had purchased a house in Henderson, Nevada, intending to distance himself from Oregon. Bill Sizemore said Parks told him that “the deck is too stacked in this state...that conservatives can’t get a fair shake and that we can’t win because the judges are corrupt and the unions control the political process.”<sup>156</sup>

This move from Oregon is reflected in reduced level of campaign contributions from Loren Parks in 2004 and 2005. Park gave \$6,600 in 2004 to Kevin Mannix’s Justice for All II PAC.

In 2005, the only Parks contribution was \$100,000 to the Oregon Family Farm Association PAC. During this period of time this group was collecting signatures on what became Measures 39 and 40 on the November 2006 ballot. Now-State Senator Larry George was treasurer of the Oregon Family Farm Association PAC. Committee directors at that time were David Hunnicutt and Ross Day who are affiliated with Oregonians in Action. Jason Williams of Taxpayer Association of Oregon was a director of the Oregon Family Farm Association PAC until October of 2006. Measure 40 was one priority of Oregon director of FreedomWorks, Russ Walker, as discussed below.

<sup>156</sup> “Parks, a major donor in conservative issues, buys home in Nevada,” *The Oregonian*, May 15, 2003

Larry George observed that seeking support from Loren Parks is atypical. “Typically, in Republican circles, you go and meet the big giver face to face and develop a relationship, and if they like you, they will write you a check,” said George. “With Parks, you send him an email, and if he likes the issue, he’ll support you.”<sup>157</sup>

Towards the end of 2008 contributions from Loren Parks in ORESTAR are not identified as being from outside Oregon. This is because the address provided for Parks is the post office box in Aloha for Parks Medical Equipment even though the employer listing shows this company with a Las Vegas address.

### **Loren Parks and Russ Walker**

Russ Walker formed Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy political committee in September of 2000. Organizational registrations for Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy and an affiliated Foundation were filed in 1999.<sup>158</sup> Citizens for a Sound Economy is a national group formed in 1984 that is now called FreedomWorks. FreedomWorks believes that individual liberty and the freedom to complete increases consumer choices and provides individuals with the greatest control over what they own and earn. FreedomWorks focuses on lower taxes and less government.<sup>159</sup>

Support from Loren Parks to Russ Walker and ally efforts began in 2006 with a \$100,000 contribution to Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy. During this period of time the group was assisting in signature gathering for what became Measures 40 and 41. Russ Walker was chief petitioner on Measure 40 along with former Sizemore allies, Abner and Carol Bobo. The Oregon Family Farm Association PAC gave \$205,792 for the Measure 40 qualification process. Russ Walker said that the Oregon Family Association paid for signature gathering on what became Measure 40 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.<sup>160</sup>

The Oregon Family Farm Association also gave \$52,444 to the petition circulation on Measure 39 that prohibited governments from condemning private property if it was intended to be conveyed to another private property. This measure passed.

In 2006 Loren Parks gave another \$200,000 to the Oregon Family Farm Association PAC. In turn this group made contributions to the Neighbors Talking To Neighbors PAC that supported Measure 39 as well as provided financial support to the Our Courts committee run by Russ Walker working to pass Measure 40.

Measure 40 was a repeat of Measure 22 to require election of Oregon’s top judges by district that was on the ballot, unsuccessfully, in November of 2002. Measure 39 was enacted by voters in November 2008.

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<sup>157</sup> “The man behind Mannix,” *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>158</sup> [http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg\\_web\\_name\\_srch\\_inq.show\\_det?p\\_be\\_rsn=616838&p\\_srce=BR\\_INQ&p\\_print=FALSE](http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg_web_name_srch_inq.show_det?p_be_rsn=616838&p_srce=BR_INQ&p_print=FALSE) and [http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg\\_web\\_name\\_srch\\_inq.show\\_det?p\\_be\\_rsn=722306&p\\_srce=BR\\_INQ&p\\_print=FALSE](http://egov.sos.state.or.us/br/pkg_web_name_srch_inq.show_det?p_be_rsn=722306&p_srce=BR_INQ&p_print=FALSE) retrieved September 10, 2008

<sup>159</sup> <http://www.FreedomWorks.org/know/> retrieved September 10, 2008.

<sup>160</sup> “Parks again donates to Oregon causes,” *Oregonian*, November 30, 2005

Russ Walker was also chief petitioner with Carol and Abner Bobo on Measure 41, a repeated attempt to allow for full deduction of federal exemptions on state forms. This idea had failed in 2000 when it was Measure 91 pushed by Bill Sizemore. Loren Parks was the top contributor for the Measure 41 signature gathering effort giving \$157,500. Parks did not make any general election contributors for Measure 41 that failed again with voters in November of 2006. Freedomworks was the major donor to the Measure 41 campaign.

In 2008 Russ Walker was a chief petitioner on Initiatives 51 and 53 that did not gather enough signatures to qualify for the ballot this November. Initiative 51 would have limited contingency fees that could be charged for legal representation in civil cases. Initiative 53 would have required, under specified circumstances, a court sanction on lawyers deemed to have filed frivolous lawsuits. Loren Parks was a top donor to both of those petition circulation efforts giving \$167,667 to each of those campaigns. In-kind contributions were also received by Kevin Mannix’s law firm. In addition, contributions from Walker’s chief petitioner committees aided Mannix’s petition circulation of Measures 61 and 62.

Russ Walker was chief petitioner with Bill Sizemore on Measures 58, 59 and 60. Measure 58 would have prohibited public schools from teaching students in any language other than English for two years. Measure 59 would have allowed Oregonians to take an deduct all of their federal taxes on their state forms. Measure 60 would have shifted determination of teacher pay away from seniority towards unspecified classroom performance. Both Measures 59 and 60 were repeat of previous attempts at these proposals. All of Russ Walker’s 2008 ballot measures were defeated by voters in November 2008.

**Chart 11 – Contributions from Loren Parks in Support of Russ Walker Campaigns and Ally Groups**

<b>Contribution</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Ballot Title</b>	<b>Chief Petitioners</b>
\$100,000 to Oregon Family Farm Association PAC during their signature gathering on M 39 and M 40	2005	M 39	Prohibits Public Body from Condemning Private Real Property If Intends to Convey to Private Party	Ross Day David J. Hunnicut
\$200,000 to Oregon Family Farm Association PAC during general elections on M 39 and M 40	2006	M 40	Amends Constitution: Requires Oregon Supreme Court Judges and Court of Appeals Judges To be Elected by District	Russ Walker Abner J. Bobo Carol A. Bobo
\$100,000 to Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC during their signature gathering on M 40 and M 41		M 41	Allows Income Tax Deduction Equal to Federal Exemptions Deduction to Substitute for State Exemption Credit	Russ Walker Abner J. Bobo Carol A. Bobo
\$157,500 M 41 signature gathering				

\$167,667	2008	IP 51	Limits Amount Of Contingent Fees That Lawyers May Charge Clients For Representation In Civil Case	R. Russell Walker Michael Reeder Glenn Pelikan
\$167,667		IP 53	Court Must Sanction, Under Specified Circumstances, Attorneys Who File Frivolous Pleadings Or Motions In Lawsuits	R. Russell Walker Michael Reeder Glenn Pelikan
\$123,000		M 58	Prohibits Teaching Public School Student In Language Other Than English For More Than Two Years	Bill Sizemore R. Russell Walker Alan Grosso
\$122,500		M 59	Creates An Unlimited Deduction For Federal Income Taxes On Individual Taxpayers' Oregon Income-Tax Returns	Bill Sizemore Timothy Trickey R. Russell Walker
\$121,000		M 60	Teacher "Classroom Performance," Not Seniority, Determines Pay Raises; "Most Qualified" Teachers Retained, Regardless Of Seniority	Bill Sizemore R. Russell Walker
\$125,000		M 64	Penalizes Person, Entity For Using Funds Collected With "Public Resource" (Defined) For "Political Purpose" (Defined	Bill Sizemore
\$400,000			\$200,000, \$100,000, and \$100,000, respectively to Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC, FreedomWorks Issues PAC, and Taxpayer Defense Fund from Parks Medical Electronics	
\$75,000	2009	Support from Loren Parks to Taxpayer Defense Fund that, in turn, gave to referenda committees that became Measures 66 and 67		
<b>\$1,859,334</b>	<b>Total</b>			

### Other Partners

In 1996 Loren Parks contributed \$71,689 and \$70,000 to Gordon Miller's Measures 41 and 42. Miller was a Salem eye doctor who also put his own funds behind these proposals. Measure 41 pertained to how public employee earnings were described while Measure 42 required testing of public school students. Both failed with the voters.

In 1998 Loren Parks gave \$20,000 to David Hunnicut and Larry George's Measure 65 that would have required the legislature to establish a process to review administrative rules. This effort was defeated.

Loren Parks gave \$6,000 to Steve Doell's Crime Victims United PAC that opposed Measure 94, an unsuccessful attempt to repeal Measure 11 that was on the ballot in November 2000. Steve Doell has been a chief petitioner on several measures that Loren Parks has supported. In 1998 Doell joined Kevin Mannix as a chief petitioner for what became Measure 61, though as discussed on pages 43 votes on this proposal were not counted. Doell is also chief petitioner with Kevin Mannix on 2008's Measures 61 and 62.

Steve Doell was also chief petitioner in 2002 of Measure 22 to require Oregon's appellate level judges to be elected by district as discussed on page 36.

Rob Kremer is a relatively new beneficiary of political contributions from Loren Parks. In January of 2007 Kremer formed the Conservative Majority Project PAC to support conservative candidates for legislative and statewide offices. Kremer is a charter school advocate who unsuccessfully ran for Superintendent for Public Instruction in the 2002 primary. Loren Parks did not give Kremer a contribution in that race.

Conservative Majority Project PAC raised a total of \$410,535 during the 2008 election cycle. Its major donor giving \$370,000 was Loren Parks whose contribution comprised 90 percent of that committee's fundraising. In turn, Conservative Majority PAC gave \$371,301 with \$326,749 going to candidates and \$44,552 to party and issue PACs. Its major contribution was \$185,672 to Rick Dancer in his unsuccessful Secretary of State race against Kate Brown. Chart 12 below summarizes all contributions made by Conservative Majority Project PAC during the 2008 election season.

**Chart 12: Contributions to Candidates and PACs from Conservative Majority Project PAC in 2008 elections**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Contribution</b>	<b>Won or Lost</b>
Rick Dancer	\$185,672	Lost Secretary of State race
Matt Lindland	\$95,093	Lost legislative race
Common Sense for Oregon PAC	\$25,000	Not applicable
Matt Wingard	\$25,000	Won legislative race
Al Pearn	\$12,790	Lost legislative race
Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy PAC	\$6,542	Not applicable
Benton Victory Campaign	\$6,000	Not applicable
Oregon Family Farm Association PAC	\$5,510	Not applicable
John Lim	\$4,479	Won legislative race
Jim Weidner	\$1,887	Won legislative race
Marc Lucca	\$1,828	Lost legislative race
Oregon Republican Party	\$1,500	Not applicable
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$371,301</b>	

In August of 2009 Parks Medical Electronics gave \$10,000 to the Oregon Republican Party.

**Loren Parks Contributions to Candidates**

Kevin Mannix has received far more money for his election contests from Loren Parks than any other candidate. Mannix contributions from Parks are included above in chart 10.

Other candidates besides Kevin Mannix have received contributions from Loren Parks, though at a much lower level, as summarized below in chart 13. After Mannix, Bob Tiernan is the candidate who has received the most financial support directly from Parks, \$86,050, for his legislative races and unsuccessful run in 1998 for the Oregon Supreme Court. Jack Roberts got \$75,000 for his unsuccessful Supreme Court race in 2006. In 2000 Parks gave Greg Byrne \$50,000 for his unsuccessful bid for a seat on Oregon's highest court. Greg Byrne has done legal work for Bill Sizemore and also received contributions from Mark Hemstreet, Wes LeMatta, Robert Randall, and Seneca Jones Timber.

In 1994, candidate contributions were made by Loren Park’s Conservative PAC with additional support from Park Medical. In 2008, Parks Medical Electronics made a \$10,000 donation in a Washington County judicial race. Otherwise, all candidate contributions came directly from Loren Parks.

The Conservative Majority Project PAC that got 90 percent of its 2008 election season fundraising from Loren Parks candidate contributions totaling \$313,959 as described above. Because these are not directly from Loren Parks, however, they are not included in chart 13.

In 1998 Parks gave a total of \$114,700 to candidates, with \$45,200 going to seven candidates. Included in chart 10 with other contributions to Kevin Mannix is \$8,645 for Mannix’s successful return to the House. This relatively increased interest in legislative elections could be due to an interest in ensuring that the 1999 legislative session refer back to the voters elements of Measure 40 repackaged to avoid *Armatta* challenges that more than one part of the Constitution was being amended. Also in 1998 Loren Parks gave \$7,782, the only contribution, to Gregg Clapper’s Isn’t It Time We Start Election Republicans Who Vote Like Republicans committee.

As noted earlier, a concern about the direction of the Oregon Supreme Court in the wake of the *Armatta* case may have contributed to Loren Parks making significant contributions to Supreme Court candidates in 1998 and 2000 and then supporting attempts to change judicial elections through ballot measures in 2002 and 2006.

Republicans have been the only recipients of candidate campaign contributions from Loren Parks, except for support for Kevin Mannix when he was a Democratic running for attorney general in 1996.

Only in 1994 is there any indication that Loren Parks was interested in giving to the Republican leadership committees. In that year Conservative PAC gave \$10,000 each to the House and Senate Republican Caucus PACs. Conservative PAC also gave \$45,000 to the Oregon Republican Party in 2004. When he gave \$125,000 to the Oregon Republican Party in 2002 that was reported to have ended up in the Kevin Mannix for Governor PAC.

**Chart 13 – Contributions from Loren Parks to Candidates, see chart 10 for contributions to Mannix**

1994					
Contributions	Candidate	Party	Office	Primary	General
\$4,537 Conservative PAC	Scott Bushnell	Republican	House	Won	Lost
\$1,030	Francis Martinez	Republican	House	Won	Lost
\$2,500	Randy Miller	Republican	Senate	Won	Won
\$684	Donald Moore	Republican	House	Won	Lost
\$3,400 Conservative PAC \$775 Parks Medical	Eileen Qutub	Republican	House	Won	Won
\$15,200	Denny Smith	Republican	Governor	Won	Lost
\$10,000 \$1,050 Parks Medical	Bob Tiernan	Republican	House	Won	Won

1998					
\$6,200	Alan Brown	Republican	House	Won	Lost
\$7,000	Scott Bushnell	Republican	House	Won	Lost
\$7,000	Jerry Grisham	Republican	Senate	Won	Lost
\$16,500	Tan Hermens	Republican	House	Lost	NA
\$5,000	Tim Knopp	Republican	House	Won	Won
\$2,500	David Mayfield	Republican	House	Won	Lost
\$1,000	Sharon Rao	Republican	House	Won	Lost
\$60,000	Bob Tiernan	Nonpartisan	Supreme Court	Advanced to General	Lost
\$2,000	Ron Grensky	Nonpartisan	Lower Court Judge	Lost	NA
\$7,500	Tom Hart	Nonpartisan	Lower Court Judge	Advanced to General	Won
2000					
\$50,000	Greg Byrne	Nonpartisan	Supreme Court	Advanced to General	Lost
2002					
\$10,000	Rob Patridge	Republican	House	Won	Won
\$15,000	Bob Tiernan	Republican	Senate	Won	Lost
2006					
\$75,000	Jack Roberts	Nonpartisan	Supreme Court	Advanced to General	Lost
2008					
\$10,000	Andy Erwin	Nonpartisan	Lower Court Judge	Advanced to General	
<b>\$313,875</b>	<b>Total to Candidate Campaigns, excluding Mannix Candidacies</b>				
<b>Would increase to \$640,624 if \$326,749 of 2008 candidate contributions made by Conservative Majority Project PAC that got 90% of its funds that election season from Loren Parks were included. See chart 12 above.</b>					

Chart 14 is provided as a reference guide on ballot measures discussed in this report.

**Chart 14 – Ballot Titles and Chief Petitioners of Initiative and Ballot Measures supported or opposed by Loren Parks directly or via Conservative PAC**

1992				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
M 3	Amends Constitution: Limits Terms for Legislature, Statewide Offices, Congressional Offices	Frank A. Eisenzimmer Frances Hyson Tom DeArmond	70	30
1993 June and November Special Election				
M 1 June	Allows Voter Approval of Urban Renewal Bond Repayment Outside Limit	Legislative Referral	27	73
M 1 Nov.	Should We Pass a 5% Sales Tax for Public Schools With These Restrictions	Legislative Referral	25	75
1994				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
IP 18	Amends Constitution: Sets Some Public Officials' Salaries; Increases Require Election	Alfred Jack Feder John C. Tefeller	Did not qualify	
M 5	Amends Constitution: Bars New or Increased Taxes Without Voter Approval	Frank Eisenzimmer Elmer Specht	45	55

M 8	Amends Constitution: Public Employees Pay Part of Salary for Pension	Bill Sizemore Jeanette Basl Barbara Ash	50.04	49.06
M 10	Amends Constitution: Legislature Cannot Reduce Voter-Approved Sentence Without 2/3 Vote	Kevin L. Mannix Robert J. Prinslow Bob Tiernan	65	35
M 11	Amends Constitution: Mandatory Sentences for Listed Penalties; Covers Persons 15 and Up	Kevin L. Mannix Robert J. Prinslow Bob Tiernan	66	34
M 17	Amends Constitution: Requires State Prison Inmates to Work Full Time	Kevin L. Mannix Robert Y. Thornton Bob Tiernan	71	29
<b>1996</b>				
<b>Number</b>	<b>Ballot Title</b>	<b>Chief Petitioners</b>	<b>Yes (%)</b>	<b>No (%)</b>
M 24 May election	Amends Constitution: Initiative Petition Signatures Must Be Collected from Each Congressional District	Legislative Referral	44	56
IP 55	Amends Constitution: Expands Definition of "Legislation" Subject to Initiative and People's Referendum	Don McIntire Sandra P. Baker Joe W. Foxall	Did not qualify	
IP 63	Establishes Minimum Presumptive Sentences, Increases Minimum Sentences for Listed Crimes	Kevin L. Mannix Bob Tiernan Thomas W. Cutsforth	Did not qualify	
M 32	Authorizes Bonds for Portland Region Light Rail, Transportation Projects Elsewhere	Referendum	47	53
M 33	Amends Constitution: Limits Legislative Change To Statutes Passed By Voters	Ruth Bendl Claudine Gilmore	49.5	50.5
M 34	Wildlife Management Exclusive to Commission; Repeals 1994 Bear/Cougar Initiative	Gregg K. Clapper	26.5	73.5
M 40	Amends Constitution: Gives Crime Victims Rights, Expands Admissible Evidence, Limits Pretrial Release	Kevin L. Mannix Doris D. Kouns Robert B. Kouns	59	41
M 41	Amends Constitution: States How Public Employee Earnings Must Be Expressed	Gordon Miller	35	65
M 42	Amends Constitution: Requires Testing of Public School Students; Public Report	Gordon Miller	35	65
M 45	Amends Constitution: Raises Public Employees' Normal Retirement Age; Reduces Benefits	Ruth Bendl Barbara Gonzalez	35	65
M 46	Amends Constitution: Counts Non-Voters As "No" Votes on Tax Measures	Raymond Carl Parks Barbara Gonzalez Bernard Robert Levin	12	88
<b>1997 May and November Special Elections</b>				
<b>Number</b>	<b>Ballot Title</b>	<b>Chief Petitioners</b>	<b>Yes (%)</b>	<b>No (%)</b>
M 50	Amends Constitution: Limits Assessed Value of Property for Tax Purposes: Limits Property Tax Rates	Legislative Referral	56	44
M 51	Repeals Law Allowing Terminally Ill Adults to Obtain Lethal Prescriptions	Legislative Referral	40	60

1998				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
IP 53/M 61	Changes Minimum Sentences For Listed Crimes, Including Certain Repeat Offenses	Kevin Mannix Steve Doell	Ballots not counted, found not to have qualified	
M 26-74	Tri-Met South/North Light Rail Bond	Tri-Met Bond Measure	48	52
M 65	Amends Constitution: Creates Process For Requiring Legislature To Review Administrative Rules	David J. Hunnicut Lawrence B. George	47.5	52.5
1999 November Special Election				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
M 69	Amends Constitution: Grants Victims Constitutional Rights In Criminal Prosecutions, Juvenile Court Delinquency Proceedings	Legislative Referral	58	42
M 70	Amends Constitution: Gives Public, Through Prosecutor, Right To Demand Jury Trial In Criminal Cases	Legislative Referral	42	58
M 71	Amends Constitution: Limits Pretrial Release Of Accused Person To Protect Victims, Public	Legislative Referral	58	42
M 72	Amends Constitution: Allows Murder Conviction By 11 To 1 Jury Verdict	Legislative Referral	45	55
M 73	Amends Constitution: Limits Immunity From Criminal Prosecution Of Person Ordered To Testify About His Or Her Conduct	Legislative Referral	46	54
M 74	Amends Constitution: Requires Terms Of Imprisonment Announced In Court Be Fully Served, With Exceptions	Legislative Referral	53	47
M 75	Amends Constitution: Persons Convicted Of Certain Crimes Cannot Serve On Grand Juries, Criminal Trial Juries	Legislative Referral	58	42
May 2000				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
79	Amends Constitution: Increases Signatures Required To Place Initiative Amending Constitution On Ballot	Legislative Referral	41	59
2000				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
M 8	Amends Constitution: Limits State Appropriations To Percentage of State's Prior Personal Income	Don McIntire Joe W. Foxall Ron Sunseri	43.5	56.5
M 91	Amends Constitution: Makes Federal Income Taxes Fully Deductible On Oregon Tax Returns	Bill Sizemore	45	55
M 94	Repeals Mandatory Minimum Sentences For Certain Felonies, Requires Resentencing	Jo Ann Bowman Cathi Lawler Lorraine Heller		
M 95	Amends Constitution: Student Learning Determines Teacher Pay; Qualifications, Not Seniority, Determine Retention	Becky Miller Stuart Miller	35	65

2002				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
IP 60	Amends Constitution: Prohibits Legislative Assembly Members From Receiving Pension Or Retirement Benefits Funded By State, Local Government	Loren E. Parks Gregg K. Clapper	Did not qualify	
IP 168	Amends Constitution: Limits State Legislators To Six Years As Representative, Eight Years As Senator, Twelve Years Overall	Ted Piccolo	Did not qualify	
M 21	Amends Constitution: Revises Procedure for Filling Judicial Vacancies, Electing Judges; Allows Vote for "None of the Above"	Don McIntire Gregg K. Clapper	44	56
M 22	Amends Constitution: Requires Supreme Court Judges and Court of Appeals Judges to be Elected by District	Steve Doell Ted Ferrioli Bob Smith	49	51
2006				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
M 39	Prohibits Public Body from Condemning Private Real Property If Intends to Convey to Private Party	Ross Day David J. Hunnicut	67	33
M 40	Amends Constitution: Requires Oregon Supreme Court Judges and Court of Appeals Judges To be Elected by District	Russ Walker Abner J. Bobo Carol A. Bobo	43.5	56.5
M 41	Allows Income Tax Deduction Equal to Federal Exemptions Deduction to Substitute for State Exemption Credit	Russ Walker Abner J. Bobo Carol A. Bobo	37	63
M 42	Prohibits Insurance Companies from Using Credit Score or "Credit Worthiness" in Calculating Rates or Premiums	Bill Sizemore Grace I. Sizemore	35	65
May 2008				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
M 51	Amends Constitution: Enables Crime Victims To Enforce Existing Constitutional Rights In Prosecutions, Delinquency Proceedings; Authorizes Implementing Legislation	Legislative Referral	75	25
M 52	Amends Constitution: Enables Crime Victims To Enforce Existing Constitutional Rights In Prosecutions, Delinquency Proceedings; Authorizes Implementing Legislation	Legislative Referral	75	25
November 2008				
Number	Ballot Title	Chief Petitioners	Yes (%)	No (%)
IP 2	Prohibits Appointed Judge From Being Considered An Incumbent In The Election First Following Judge's Appointment	Bill Sizemore Timothy Trickey	Withdrawn	
IP 32	Limits Grounds For Rejecting Initiative, Referendum, Recall Petition Signatures; Modifies Procedures For Verifying Submitted Signatures	Bill Sizemore Timothy Trickey	Withdrawn	

IP 132	Modifies Criminal Sanction Laws; Prioritizes Certain DNA Processing; Requires Jails To Check Inmates' Criminal History	Kevin Mannix Julia Allison Wayne Brady	Withdrawn	
IP 51	Limits Amount Of Contingent Fees That Lawyers May Charge Clients For Representation In Civil Case	R. Russell Walker Michael Reeder Glenn Pelikan	Did not qualify	
IP 53	Court Must Sanction, Under Specified Circumstances, Attorneys Who File Frivolous Pleadings Or Motions In Lawsuits	R. Russell Walker Michael Reeder Glenn Pelikan	Did not qualify	
M 58	Prohibits Teaching Public School Student In Language Other Than English For More Than Two Years	Bill Sizemore R. Russell Walker Alan Grosso	44%	56%
M 59	Creates An Unlimited Deduction For Federal Income Taxes On Individual Taxpayers' Oregon Income-Tax Returns	Bill Sizemore Timothy Trickey R. Russell Walker	36%	64%
M 60	Teacher "Classroom Performance," Not Seniority, Determines Pay Raises; "Most Qualified" Teachers Retained, Regardless Of Seniority	Bill Sizemore R. Russell Walker	39%	61%
M 61	Creates Mandatory Minimum Prison Sentences For Certain Theft, Identity Theft, Forgery, Drug, And Burglary Crimes	Kevin L. Mannix Steve Doell Duane Fletchall	49%	51%
M 62	Amends Constitution: Allocates 15% Of Lottery Proceeds To Public Safety Fund For Crime Prevention, Investigation, Prosecution	Kevin L. Mannix Steve Doell Duane Fletchall	39%	61%
M 64	Penalizes Person, Entity For Using Funds Collected With "Public Resource" (Defined) For "Political Purpose" (Defined	Bill Sizemore	49%	51%
<b>November 2010</b>				
<b>Number</b>	<b>Ballot Title</b>	<b>Chief Petitioners</b>		
IP 19	Establishes Property Tax Exemption For Senior Citizen's Primary Residence; Reduces Local Government Property Tax Revenue	Bill Sizemore Tim Rohrer	Not Yet Qualified	

### Methodology

Contribution figures were compiled from Oregon Secretary of State's Election Division records with four exceptions.

Chief petitioner committee finance reports are not incorporated into Elections Division summary goods and due to archives retention policies are not retained for more than six years. In addition, prior to 1996 political committees could collect signatures on more than one initiative, complicating analysis. But in a *Willamette Week* article, there is reference to a \$25,000 contribution to prepare the initiative that became Measure 3, the term limits proposal on the November 1992 ballot.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>161</sup> "The man behind Mannix," *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

Two contributions to special election campaigns are from media reports since itemized contribution data from special elections are also no longer available.

Two newspapers reported that Loren Parks was a major donor in opposition to Measure 51, a legislative referral to repeal Oregon's assisted suicide law that was on a 1997 special election ballot. One lists a \$300,000 contribution from Loren Parks to the Don't Let Them Shove Their Religious Right Down Your Throat committee. Another notes a \$150,000 contribution to Oregon Right to Die. The \$150,000 figure is included in this analysis.<sup>162,163</sup>

In 1993 a \$3806 contribution from Parks to the We Can't Believe They'd Even Ask was reported by the *Oregonian*.<sup>164</sup> This committee formed to oppose Measure 1, a sales tax legislative referral, on a November 1993 special election ballot. This article also refers to a contribution from Loren Parks to a committee formed to oppose a legislative referral that allowed an exemption from McIntire's 1990's Measure 5 for urban renewal bonds if approved by voters. This referral was put before voters on a May 1993 special election and was defeated. The article, however, does not specify a dollar figure for Parks' contribution for this May election. For this reason, if anything the \$10,705,254 total figure could be a bit low.

September Supplemental Reports for 2001 are no longer available due to archive retention policies and the \$115,000 contribution from Loren Parks to Kevin Mannix's candidate committee is based on information from the National Institute on Money in State Politics.

Where contribution figures are indicated for campaigns for which official records are no longer available due to not being included in Elections Division summary books and archive retention policies, data is from Money in Politics Research Action Project databases. These figures could have changed due to amendments or audits. Newspaper reports and review of Democracy Reform Oregon databases indicate that Loren Parks did not make political contributions before 1992.

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<sup>162</sup> "Millions collected for repeal of law on assisted suicide," *Oregonian*, October 7, 1997

<sup>163</sup> "The man behind Mannix," *Willamette Week*, April 19, 2006

<sup>164</sup> "Aloha manufacturer gives conservatives a big boost," *The Oregonian*, June 20, 1994