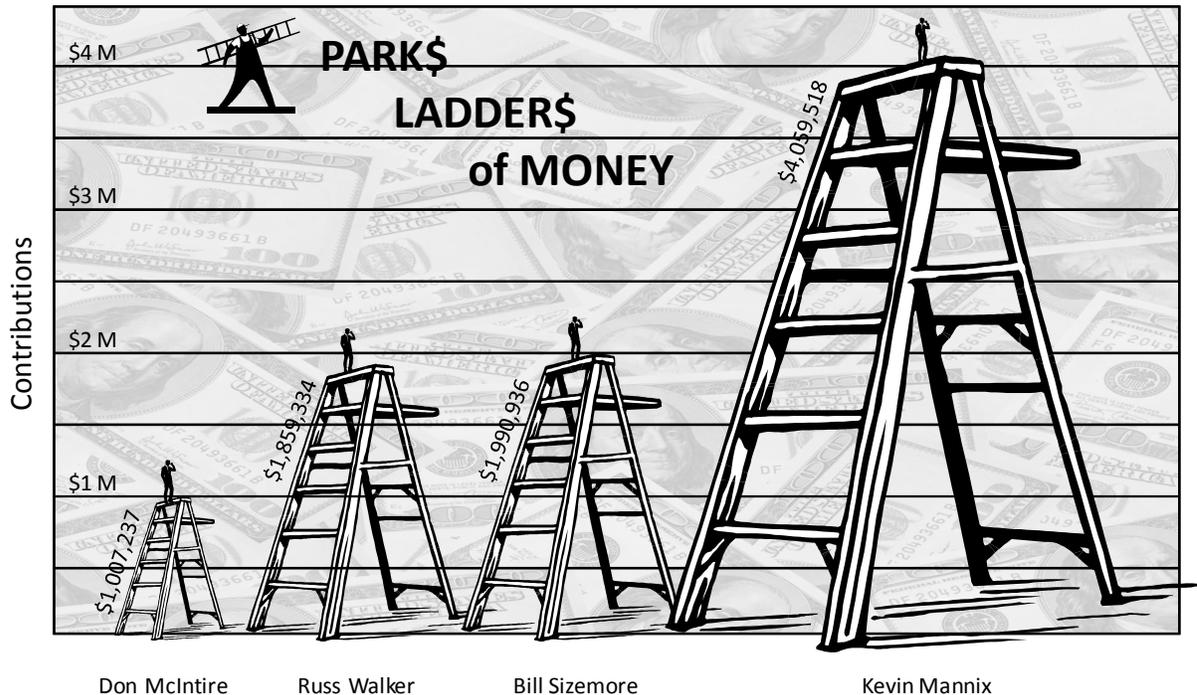


# Loren Parks

## Oregon's \$13 Million Man

### SUMMARY



Major Recipients of Campaign Contributions from Loren Parks

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

## **SUMMARY**

### **Introduction**

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

The role of major campaign contributors turns the one-person-one-vote slogan on its head. This is especially the case when one donor has given almost \$13 million.

This is a summary of **Loren Parks: Oregon's \$13 million Man**, a report that documents the extent that one donor, Loren Parks, has influenced Oregon politics through the \$12,815,254 in cash and in-kind contributions as well as loans he has made to political committees since 1992 through the fall of 2009. Most of this, \$12,283,512 has come directly from Loren Parks. Parks Medical Electronics has given \$488,141, while \$25,000 came from Parks-Abel Metal Products and \$18,601 from the Parks Foundation. While everyone can make a difference in politics and government with their vote, it sure helps to have \$13 million to contribute to Oregon candidates and ballot measures.

Parks' presence in Oregon politics has manifested itself in a number of ways. Full details with background footnotes and newspaper citations to quotes are in the full report available at [www.commoncause.org/oregon](http://www.commoncause.org/oregon).

#### **Opposition Fundraising**

An estimated \$51,000,000 has been raised by political committees opposing measures supported by Loren Parks since 1992 and fundraising by opponents of Kevin Mannix statewide candidate campaigns that have received significant support from Parks. The sources of these funds range from insurance companies contributing to defeat Bill Sizemore's Measure 42 to the unions representing 320,000 Oregon workers, particularly in the public sector, that have opposed Kevin Mannix measures and candidate campaigns as well Russ Walker measures that have received significant support from Loren Parks. Another group with 535,000 members in Oregon who has opposed measures supported by Parks is the AARP representing retired people.

#### **Conservative Activist Funding**

Kevin Mannix, Bill Sizemore, Don McIntire and Russ Walker have been the major recipients of Loren Parks' contributions. Their financial support from Parks total \$8,917,025, either in direct contributions or support through long time ally Gregg Clapper's committees. Parks' newest beneficiary is Rob Kremer, founder of the Conservative Majority Project PAC for supporting conservative candidates. This committee received \$370,000 from Parks during the 2008 elections and, in turn, made major contributions to candidates including \$185,672 to Rick Dancer.

#### **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.

Characterized as reclusive and independent-minded, Parks has occasionally responded to email questions from reporters but has rarely talked with reporters.

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.” Lawsuits may have contributed to his dissolution of Conservative PAC. Since then, he primarily leaves it up to others to handle day-to-day campaign operations.

Loren Parks has often contributed to signature gathering efforts by making in-kind contributions to a petition circulation company. This gives Parks some level of control over signature gathering. With regards to Bill Sizemore initiatives in 2008 and 2010, however, this is 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 2002 civil trial.

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. Clapper said, “Loren wanted to do it his own way.”

After some early contributions from Conservative PAC to traditional Republican Party committees, Parks has typically rebuffed money requests from Republican leaders. Conservative PAC-funded Gregg Clapper ads criticizing rural Republicans, including then-Senate President Gordon Smith, in 1995 for supporting light rail prompted the latter’s spokesperson to call the ad “despicable” and that Clapper and Parks violated the principle of loyalty.

Frugality is another reported Loren Parks’ characteristic. In 2000 Parks reportedly agreed with claims of Measure 81 supporters but 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 Parks complaining about the cost of a hamburger and mowing his own lawn. Yet he has been a donor to non-political interests ranging from fish habitat improvement to breast cancer research.

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, “it is a small part of his life.” Kevin Mannix said, “I’m not going there.”

Don McIntire said, “He’s not a nut” when asked about Parks’ eccentricities. “I don’t necessarily agree with all of Loren’s political choices, but I do admire him for stepping up to the plate. It’s clear, obviously, that he’s not in the game for personal gain.”

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.

## **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.

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.

Parks is also the registered agent for Parks Metal Products formed in 1995. In 2005, in response to a lawsuit Parks paid an employee he had terminated without cause a settlement of \$208,738 for breach of the company shareholder agreement.

### **Parks Elementary School**

In 1995 Loren Parks paid \$1 million for the former Mt. Hood Christian School in Gresham and formed his own elementary school. According to his spokesman, Gregg Clapper, the school “would put the fear of God in public education officials” and that a nonreligious curriculum focused on the basics was planned. However, low enrollments – 70 students in a facility for 600 – and other issues including not sticking with educational basics frustrated Parks. Parks sold the building in 1997 while classes were still being held and advised the new owners to call the police and evict parents after the latter complained of construction taking place before the school year ended prompting Parks to abruptly close the school early.

### **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). 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 as well as including stories of Parks personal involvement in mixing sexual activity and hypnosis that move beyond theory. At the bottom of each website page is this caveat: “The author of this page is not a state or medically-licensed professional.” The past president of the American Society of Clinical Hypnosis, Melvin Gravitz, said it would be “reprehensible” for a nonprofessional psychologist to attempt such a treatment.

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

Loren Parks has settled two separate lawsuits pertaining to his sexual activity:

- In a 1983 court filing, a woman, described in the filings as “somewhat retarded,” said Parks had sex with her when he was approached for hypnotic therapy. Parks settled the lawsuit in 1986 with an acknowledgement that they’d had a sexual relationship.
- Parks Medical Electronics employee Maria Guerin filed a Bureau of Labor and Industry complaint in November 2001 against Loren Parks claiming sexual harassment created a hostile work environment. The state complaint was withdrawn and a federal lawsuit filed in 2002 charging Guerin was pressured to have sex with Parks during an overseas business trip, that Parks frequently sent her and fellow employees emails with sexually explicit graphics, statements, and joke, and that false documents were placed in her personnel file including a release of liability. The case was settled in 2004.

## 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. 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.

### We Care Oregon

The top recipient of support that from foundations controlled by Loren Parks is We Care Oregon, a 501 (c) 3 foundation that can accept tax-deductible contributions and work on ballot measure campaigns, but are not allowed to be involved in candidate elections. We Care Oregon was formed in 2006 by provide assistance to non-profits with a stated emphasis on religious programs and has received totals \$1,357,000 from Parks foundations as listed on 2006 and 2007 tax forms. See left side of chart 1. Gifts received by We Care Oregon, as reported on their 2006 and 2007 reports, total \$972,881, indicating that support from foundations controlled by Loren Parks are a major factor in their operations.

We Care Oregon’s 2007 tax reports 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**

Grants from Parks foundations to We Care Oregon Foundation		Contract Work by Mannix Law Firm by We Care Oregon Foundation	
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 religious interest of We Care Oregon is reflected in the list of organization served that ranges from Blanchett Catholic School to Blue Sky Ministries. 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 Parks, Russ Walker and Kevin Mannix.

### Oregon War Veterans Association

The Parks Educational Foundation 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. Their 2006 report indicates that \$56,608 went to the Oregon Veterans

PAC out of a total of \$119,165 in grant activity. 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.

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. Citizens for a Sound Economy is a national group formed in 1984 that is now called FreedomWorks. FreedomWorks focuses on lower taxes and less government and its Oregon chapter is lead by Russ Walker.

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. See left side of chart 2 below.

**Chart 2 – Side-by-Side Summary of Parks Foundation Grants to FreedomWorks Foundation and Payments by FreedomWorks Foundation to Mannix Law Firm**

<b>Grants from Parks Foundations to FreedomWorks Foundation</b>		<b>Contract Work by Kevin L. Mannix, PC by FreedomWorks Foundation</b>	
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>

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. See the right side of chart 2 above.

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 FreedomWorks Foundation represented 17, 48, 65, and 20 percent of Mannix’s workload in 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007 respectively. In 2007 an estimated 630 hours of fundraising services

were also provided to the We Care Oregon Foundation by the Mannix law firm. That would have represented 30 percent of 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.

Early in 2008, Kevin Mannix began paying old loans and consolidating debt so it was owed to just his law firm as he prepared to run for the May 2008 Republican nomination in the 5<sup>th</sup> Congressional District. His campaign manager said none of the money came from Loren Parks.

At the time 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." The *Oregonian* article and subsequent editorial did not include all the information summarized above in chart 2. If this information had been reported, it may well have increased the *Oregonian's* editorial concerns about "campaign contributions masquerading as attorney fees."

#### 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 as reported on tax forms from 2000 through 2007. 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.

#### 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 support is recent with grants of \$327,000 reported on 2007 forms and \$200,000 on 2006 forms.

Bill Sizemore's Oregon Taxpayers United Foundation has received a total of \$342,000 from foundations controlled by Loren Parks. These grants were reported on tax forms from 1998 through 2004.

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."

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.

Other groups receiving funding from Parks foundations include:

- Kevin Mannix’s 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. As described in *A Political History of Kevin Mannix*, activities of these Mannix foundations including payments to Mannix’s law firms for a variety of activities.
- The American Constitutional Law Foundation and the Pacific Legal Foundation received \$65,000 and \$48,000 respectively between 1994 and 1997.

### **Heath Care 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 \$120,000 from 1995 through 1997. In 2007 the Henderson Community Foundation in Nevada received \$100,000.

An avid fisherman who reportedly once owned 18 fishing boats, Parks gave \$418,200 to Tillamook Anglers for fish habitat improvement and purchasing land for public boat launches on the Trask River.

### **Defamation Lawsuit**

Ruth Bendl formed the signature gathering company Canvasser Services Inc. in 1994 and operated through 1996 receiving \$60,150 from Loren Parks’ Conservative PAC. Parks fired Bendl in August 1996.

Bendl filed a defamation lawsuit with a request for \$350,000 in damages against Parks, alleging he accused her of fraud and dishonesty during petition circulation on six initiatives in 1996. Parks testified Bendl was fired because signature gathering had ended. A jury found in her favor and awarded her \$135,000.

Parks countersued alleging that Bendl had diverted \$141,000 of his money into three other initiatives sponsored by Gordon Miller, also using Canvasser Services, Inc. He also alleged defamation, claiming Bendl had told officials of a possible money-laundering scheme.

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

In the course of her defamation lawsuit against Loren Parks, Bendl raised questions with state elections officials and Multnomah County’s district attorney’s office. 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. After Parks and the National Taxpayers Union indicated that the contribution had not been earmarked, the review of possible violation of campaign reporting laws ended.

In August 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 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, and used to support ballot measure campaigns. Gregg Clapper's agency was alleged to have received about half of the money that may have been inappropriately transferred.

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.

## **The Money – Political Contributions**

### **\$12,815,254– Loren Parks' Political Contributions 1992 through September 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 through signature gathering in the fall of 2009 on what will be Measures 66 and 67 on the January 26, 2010 special election. A full summary of his political contributions is provided in chart 3 on page xx.

### **Parks and Conservative PAC**

Most of Parks' political activities in 1994 and 1996 related to ballot measures and were carried out through his Conservative PAC to which he gave \$1,410,000 for the committee's activities. 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 that. He paid \$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. Conservative PAC also spent \$77,863 on temporary employment agencies that was reported to be for signature gathering workers.

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. After this initiative effort Loren Parks continued to make campaign contributions and 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. Parks later meet with McIntire, Frank Eisenzimmer and Robert Randall to plan conservative causes and candidates to support during the 1990s.

Eisenzimmer formed Oregon Taxpayers United in the summer of 1993 and hired Bill Sizemore as executive director. “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.

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

Between 1993 and 2002, Loren Parks contributed \$1,007,237 to initiative petition and ballot measure campaigns in which Don McIntire was involved:

- **1993:** Parks reportedly backed McIntire by contributing to a committee that ran ads opposing Measure 1, an exemption for urban-renewal bonds under then-current tax limits on a June special election ballot. Contribution records are no longer available on this election, so no dollar figure is available. Voters defeated the Measure 3 to 1. In November, Parks also contributed \$3,806 for newspaper ads to defeat another Measure 1, a sales tax referral that was emphatically rejected by voters.
- **1996:** Parks contributed \$29,782 to Initiative 55, limiting the ability of the legislature to change citizen initiatives and referendum measures, but it failed to qualify for the ballot.
- **1997:** 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 a legislative fix for Bill Sizemore’s property tax Measure 47 passed in 1996.
- **2000:** Although Parks did not contribute to McIntire’s Yes on Measure 8 PAC, he did give Greg Clapper’s committee \$488,089 to work on McIntire’s cap on state appropriations as well as Sizemore’s Measure 91 to make federal taxes fully deductible on state forms. In this analysis this figure is split between support for McIntire and Sizemore from Loren Parks. Both measures failed.
- **2002:** Gregg Clapper and Don McIntire were chief petitioners on Measure 21, revising procedures for filling judicial vacancies. Parks contributed \$124,605 during the signature-gathering phase, but did not contribute during the general election. Parks did contribute \$600,000 to the Vote Yes on 21 & 22, Stop the Judges From (Bleep) You Pac formed by Gregg Clapper. Both measures were defeated.

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

Loren Parks has contributed \$1,990,936 to Bill Sizemore political committees and ballot measure work. Parks’ support started in 1992 with a \$1,100 contribution to Oregon Taxpayers United. Key contributions are described below:

- **1994:** Parks gave \$182,202 to support Measure 5, limiting property taxes, and Measure 8, requiring public employees to pay for part of pension. While both passed, the latter was overturned as unconstitutional.

- **1996:** Parks contributed \$150,000 to Greg Clapper's PAC supporting Measure 32, a repeal of a bill authorizing bonds for light rail and other transportation projects that Sizemore also supported.
- **2000:** Loren Parks gave \$488,089 to Gregg Clapper's Paying a Tax on a Tax Just Isn't Fair PAC that supported Don McIntire's Measure 8 and Bill Sizemore's Measure 91 to allow full deductibility of federal taxes on state forms. This figure is divided between McIntire and Sizemore calculations of support from Parks. Also in 2000, Parks gave \$488,089 to Clapper's Let's Put the Children First PAC in support of Measure 95, a constitutional amendment requiring student learning to determine teacher pay and retention. Measure 95 failed.
- **2006:** Parks gave \$100,000 to qualify Sizemore's Measure 42 to prohibit insurance companies from using credit scores in calculating rates. Measure 42 failed.
- **2008:** Parks contributed to petition circulation on several initiatives on which Bill Sizemore was joined by Russ Walker as a chief petitioner. Because Walker continued campaigning on these issues, the support from Parks is factored into his totals below. However, Parks gave \$500,000 to Oregonians for Honest Elections PAC that listed Bill Sizemore as a committee director in late November.
- **2010:** Loren Parks has also given \$100,000 in in-kind of support for Bill Sizemore's Initiative 19 pertaining to property tax exemptions for seniors intended for the November 2010 ballot.

After the 2000 election season Loren Parks temporarily backed away from support of Bill Sizemore until 2006 presumably 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 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))

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

The idea of limiting the term of office for elected officials enjoyed popularity during the 1990s. Loren Parks was an early supporter, giving \$40,000 to Eisenzimmer's term-limits proposal, Measure 3, in 1992. Passed by voters, Measure 3 was eventually found unconstitutional. Parks contributed \$50,000 to 2002's Initiative Petition 168 to restore term-limits but he did not qualify. Parks did not contribute to 2004's Measure 45 that was defeated.

### **Loren Parks and Gregg Clapper**

Gregg Clapper is a radio station owner and political consultant. He is best known for his frequently negative radio campaigns and colorful political committee names such as the "Don't Let the Whackos Get Away with the Lies This Time" committee.

His growing involvement in Oregon politics is largely a result of the friendship he formed with Loren Parks in 1993. Over the following 15 years, Parks has personally or through his Conservative PAC contributed \$3,420,133 to Clapper PACs supporting or opposing ballot

measures or conducting independent expenditure campaigns opposing candidates. Ways in which Parks' support has influenced Clapper's political activities include:

- **Involvement in a wide range of conservative issues:** Clapper has received funding for work on a wide range of issues including public employee compensation, voter approval of tax increases, light rail funding opposition, merit pay for teachers, mandatory minimum sentences and repeal of ban on hunting bears and cougars.
- **Working with a broad network of conservative Oregon activists:** Parks' contributions has allowed Clapper to support most of the key conservative activists in the state, including: Measure 5 proponents Don McIntire and Frank Eisenzimmer, Bill Sizemore, Kevin Mannix, Senator Ted Ferrioli, Mark Hemstreet, Wes LeMatta, and Crime Victims United's Steve Doell.
- **Influencing statewide candidate politics.** Clapper's involvement in candidate campaigns has focused on efforts to influence – sometimes in unintended ways – Republican primaries through negative ad campaigns, including the 1994 Denny Smith-Craig Berkman contest for Republican gubernatorial candidate, and Ron Saxton's 2002 and 2006 runs to be the Republican gubernatorial candidate.
- **Use of negative campaign advertising.** Clapper's first radio ads accused the state of observing the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday in order to pay back state employees who contributed to Barbara Robert's gubernatorial campaign. Clapper produced ads run by Kevin Mannix's 2000 attorney general campaign featuring convicted murderer Kip Kinkel suggesting Hardy Myers was soft on crime. Mannix lost that race.
- **Independent expenditures.** Parks has a history of contributing to Gregg Clapper PACs that produce independent expenditures attacking candidates. In 1994, \$12,655 went for ads from the "Let's Shine a Little Light on 'Em and See if They Scamper committee that criticized Craig Berkman during his race against Denny Smith for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. In the 2002 primary, \$25,536 went for ads against Ron Saxton in the Republican gubernatorial primary that also included Kevin Mannix and Jack Roberts. The ads were reported to be intended to assist Roberts, but Mannix won that contest. In 2006, \$175,000 went to the Neil Goldschmidt's Real Good Friend Ron Saxton PAC for ads linking Saxton to Goldschmidt was disgraced after his sexual abuse of a girl.

Parks' support has not always been completely in line with traditional "right wing" causes. In 1997 special election, Parks contributed \$150,000 to Oregon to Die PAC, the only donor to Clapper's Don't Let Them Shove Their Religion Down Your Throat committee. The committee opposed Measure 51, an effort by the Catholic Church and others to repeal Measure 16, Death with Dignity that had been adopted in 1994. The Measure 51 repeal attempt failed.

Clapper's relationship with Parks also played a role in his involvement with Jack Roberts' run for Republican candidate for governor in 2002. His duties in the campaign were unclear, however, there were reports that its ultimate purpose was keeping Parks from supporting Mannix in the primary fight with Roberts and Ron Saxton. Parks did refrain from contributing in the primary but did donate to Mannix his unsuccessful general election campaign.

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

Loren Parks was reportedly introduced to Kevin Mannix in the fall of 1993 through Bob Tiernan, a Republican legislator from Lake Oswego who joined Mannix as a chief petitioner on Parks-supported Measures 10, 11, and 17. 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?’” Over the next 14 years, Loren Parks, personally or through his Conservative PAC, would contribute \$3,384,518 in support of Kevin Mannix’s candidate and ballot measure campaigns.

Loren Parks has contributed \$1,733,145 directly to five Mannix candidate campaigns:

- **1996:** Mannix unsuccessfully ran for Oregon attorney general against Hardy Myers in the Democratic primary. Parks contributed \$500.
- **1998:** Mannix returned to his seat in the state legislature as a Republican with the help of \$8,645 from Parks.
- **2000:** Parks contributed \$210,000 to Mannix in his unsuccessful run as a Republican against Hardy Myers for attorney general. During this campaign Mannix ran a controversial attack ad against Myers featuring Kip Kinkel that were produced by Gregg Clapper. In 2001 Parks gave Mannix another \$115,000.
- **2002:** Declining to support any of the Republican primary candidates for governor in the three-way Jack Roberts-Ron Saxton-Kevin Mannix race, Parks contributes \$25,000 to Mannix after he wins the primary followed by a \$250,000 contribution – reportedly the largest one-time contribution by an individual to an Oregon campaign – and another \$25,000 contribution in the general election. Total contributions from Parks to Kevin Mannix came to \$300,000 but Mannix lost to Democrat Ted Kulongoski.
- **2006:** Parks contributed \$766,000 to Kevin Mannix for Governor. Mannix lost the Republican primary to Ron Saxton.
- **Post 2006 primary:** Parks has contributed another \$333,000 after Mannix’s 2006 primary contest through summer of 2008.

Mannix also received indirect support totaling \$288,961 from Parks for his candidate races:

- **2000:** In the attorney general race, Parks contributed \$41,200 to Mannix’s Justice for All II PAC, which in turn contributed money to Mannix’s candidate campaign. Another top donor to the Mannix campaign giving a \$62,761 in-kind contribution was a committee formed by Gregg Clapper to oppose Measure 94 that received all of its funding from Loren Parks. Measure 94 was an unsuccessful attempt to repeal Mannix’s Measure 11.
- **2002:** Parks contributed \$125,000 to the Oregon Republican Party – a check hand-delivered by Mannix – who wrote a check to Mannix’s candidate campaign the same day.

Loren Parks has contributed \$2,037,412 on 18 ballot measure either supported or opposed by Kevin Mannix between 1994 and 2008. Throughout the course of those 14 years, Parks has focused his support on “tough on crime” measures:

- **1994:** Parks Conservative PAC contributed \$154,405 to Measures 10 and 11 restricting ability of legislature to reduce voter-approved sentences, and Measure 17 creating mandatory sentencing. Nearly half, \$78,655, went to Greg Clapper’s pro-10, 11 and 17 PAC. All of these measures passed.
- **1996:** Parks contributed \$33,641 to Initiative 63, another minimum sentencing proposal that didn’t qualify. He also contributed \$270,162 to Mannix’s Justice for All II PAC for Measure 40, a constitutional amendment expanding admissible evidence and establishing crime victims’ rights. Parks also gave \$200,000 to Clapper’s committee supporting Measure 40. The measure passed but was subsequently overturned by the Oregon Supreme Court in the case of *Armatta v. Kitzhaber* due to Measure 40 including more than one amendment to the state constitution.
- **1998:** Kevin Mannix and Crime Victims United’s Steve Doell received \$85,000 to gather signatures for what would become Measure 61, a follow up to Measure 11 setting minimum sentences for a new set of crimes related to property offenses. A legal challenge to certification of the measure led to the Oregon Supreme Court ruling it had not qualified but the court did not remove it from the November 1998 ballot. Secretary of State Phil Keisling resolution of the issue was to not count votes cast for the measure.
- **1999:** The Parks Foundation contributed \$14,101 to Mannix’s Justice for All II PAC to pass Measures 69 through 78, seven referrals Mannix helped get passed through the legislature that were a breakdown of Measure 40 to avoid *Armatta* violations. Parks also gave \$181,837 to Clapper’s PAC in support of these referrals. Four of the seven “sons of 40” measures passed, suggesting voters wanted to balance crime-victims’ rights with fairness in the criminal justice system.
- **2004:** Parks only contributed \$6,600 to Mannix’s Justice for All II PAC that year, part of a two-year drop in contributions by Parks following his move to Henderson, Nevada.
- **2008:** Mannix’s Measure 61, that would have expended minimum sentencing, and Measure 62, that would have allocated 15 percent of lottery funds to crime prevention, received \$301,666 from Parks to qualify for the ballot. Parks then gave another \$675,000 to Mannix’s Oregon Anti-Crime Alliance PAC. Measures 61 and 62 failed with the voters while a legislatively referred alternative, Measure 57, passed. Parks contributed another \$175,000 to Initiative Petition 132 to modify criminal sanction laws. Though that petition was withdrawn it supported other signature gathering efforts. .

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

Russ Walker formed Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy political committee in September of 2000. Citizens for a Sound Economy, now known as FreedomWorks, is a national group headed by Dick Armey that focuses on lower tax and less government.

Loren Parks' support began for Russ Walker totals \$1,859,334 from 2006 through September 2009:

- Parks contributed \$357,500 directly to a chief petitioner committee and to two ally PACs for signature gathering on Walker's Measure 40, an effort to change judicial elections and Measure 41, a repeat attempt for full exemption of federal deductions on state forms. One of these groups also qualified Measure 39 to the ballot regarding condemnation procedures. Measure 39 passed. Parks contributed an additional \$200,000 to Oregon Family Farm Association PAC that gave financial support to the Our Courts committee run by Walker in support of Measure 40. Measures 40 and 41 failed.
- Parks was top donor to Walker's Initiative 51 limiting attorneys' contingency fees and Initiative 53, requiring sanctions for frivolous lawsuits. Parks gave \$167,667 to each campaign. Neither campaign collected enough valid signatures to qualify for the ballot.
- Parks was a major donor giving \$491,500 to qualify Measures 58, 59, 60, and 64 that Walker worked on with Bill Sizemore to develop and then carried forward into the November 2008 general election. Parks gave another \$400,000 to three Walker PACs that worked on a broad range of measures. Several of these measures were repeat of previous initiatives. All of the Walker positions lost with voters in November 2008.
- Parks gave \$75,000 to Walker's Taxpayer Defense Fund that, in turn, provided support to the referenda chief petitioner committees that put Measures 66 and 67 on the January 2010 special election.

### **Loren Parks Contributions to Candidates**

Mannix's election contests have received far more money from Parks than any other candidate. Other candidates have received contributions at a much lower level, including:

- Bob Tiernan received from Parks \$86,050 for his legislative races and unsuccessful 1998 run for the Oregon Supreme Court.
- Jack Roberts got \$75,000 for his unsuccessful Supreme Court race in 2006.
- Parks gave Greg Byrne \$50,000 for his unsuccessful 2000 Supreme Court contest.

Parks contributing to judicial candidates may have been prompted by the *Armatta* case. Except for Mannix's 1996 run for attorney general as a Democrat, Republicans have been the only recipients of Parks' candidate campaign contributions.

In 2008 Loren Parks began to support the Conservative Majority Project PAC formed by Rob Kremer, a charter school advocate. Parks gave \$370,000, which represented 90 percent of this committee's 2008 election season fundraising. The top two recipients of contributions from Conservative Majority Project PAC were:

- Rick Dancer who got \$185,672 in his unsuccessful Secretary of State race.
- Matt Lindland received \$95,093 in his unsuccessful legislative race.

**Chart 3 – 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	
\$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
\$216	Yes on M 8– from Parks Medical	unconstitutional
\$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	
\$25,000	Yes on M 34 – Don't Let The Whackos Get Away With The Lies This Time	Lost Measure failed
\$270,162	Yes on 40 - Justice for All PAC	Won
\$200,000	Yes on 40 – Only the Lawyers and Politicians Will Vote Against This One PAC	overturned as unconstitutional
\$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	

\$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	Lost
\$175,000	Neil Goldschmidt's Real Good Friend Ron Saxton PAC– paid for an anti-Ron Saxton independent expenditure	
\$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	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 – same as Taxpayer Defense Fund	Lost
\$200,000	Oregon Citizens for a Sound Economy – same as Taxpayer Defense Fund	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>	