SECOND REGULAR SESSION

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 16

98TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

INTRODUCED BY SENATOR SCHAAF.

Pre-filed December 1, 2015, and ordered printed.

ADRIANE D. CROUSE, Secretary.

4620S.01I

JOINT RESOLUTION

Submitting to the qualified voters of Missouri, an amendment to article VII of the Constitution of Missouri relating to the Missouri anti-corruption amendment.

Be it resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring therein:

That at the next general election to be held in the state of Missouri, on

- Tuesday next following the first Monday in November, 2016, or at a special
- 3 election to be called by the governor for that purpose, there is hereby submitted
- 4 to the qualified voters of this state, for adoption or rejection, the following
- amendment to article VII of the Constitution of the state of Missouri:

Section A. Article VII, Constitution of Missouri, is amended by adding

- thereto thirty-six new sections, to be known as sections 15, 15(a), 16, 17, 18,
- 19(a), 19(b), 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 24(a), 24(b), 24(c), 24(d), 24(e), 24(f), 25, 26(a),
- 26(b), 26(c), 27, 28, 28(a), 28(b), 28(c), 28(d), 28(e), 28(f), 28(g), 28(h), 28(i), 29, 30,
- and 31, to read as follows:

Section 15. Sections 15(a) to 30 of this article shall be known and

may be cited as the "Missouri Anti-Corruption Amendment".

Section 15(a). No statewide elected officer or member of the

general assembly shall act or serve as a paid political consultant, act

- or serve as a lobbyist, register as a lobbyist, or solicit clients to
- 4 represent as a lobbyist until three years after the expiration of any
- term of office for which such official is elected. Any paid, full-time
- employee of such an official shall also be barred from acting or serving
- 7 as a paid political consultant, acting or serving as a lobbyist,
- 8 registering as a lobbyist, or soliciting clients to represent as a lobbyist
- after termination of such employee's 9 until year
- 10 employment. Notwithstanding this restriction, a statewide elected
- 11 officer or member of the general assembly may, without compensation,
- 12 act or serve as a lobbyist or solicit clients to represent as a lobbyist for
- 13 religious and charitable associations organized under chapter 352,

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14 RSMo, immediately upon vacating such office. For purposes of this article, "paid political consultant" shall mean a person who is paid to 16 promote the election of a certain candidate or the interest of an 17 organization or committee, as defined in section 130.011, RSMo, which shall include, but not be limited to, planning campaign strategies, 18 19 coordinating campaign staff, organizing meetings and public events to publicize the candidate or cause, public opinion polling, providing 20 21 research on issues or opposition background, coordinating, producing, 22or purchasing print or broadcast media, direct mail production, phone 23solicitation, fund raising, and any other political activities.

Section 16. No statewide elected official or member of the general assembly shall:

- (1) Perform any service for the state or any political subdivision of the state or any agency of the state or any political subdivision thereof or act in his or her official capacity or perform duties associated with his or her position for any person for any consideration other than the compensation provided for the performance of his or her official duties; or
- (2) Attempt, for compensation other than the compensation provided for the performance of his or her official duties, to influence the decision of any agency of the state on any matter, except that this provision shall not be construed to prohibit such person from participating for compensation in any adversary proceeding or in the preparation or filing of any public document or conference thereon; or
- (3) Solicit any registered lobbyist for any position with a hiring date beginning after such person is no longer an elected official, whether compensated or not, while such person holds office.

Section 17. No individual or business entity shall solicit a member of the general assembly to become employed by that individual or business entity as a legislative lobbyist, or as a paid political consultant, while such member is holding office as a member of the general assembly. No member of the general assembly shall solicit clients to represent as a legislative lobbyist.

Section 18. Neither the governor nor any person acting on behalf of the governor shall make, nor shall any member of the general assembly accept or agree to accept, any offer or promise to confer an appointment to any board, commission, committee, council, county office, department directorship, fee office, judgeship, or any other position, to any member of the general assembly in exchange for the

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7 member's official vote on any public matter. A violation of this section 8 shall be a class E felony.

Section 19(a). No statewide elected officer, or any member of the general assembly, or any of such elected official's staff, employees, spouse, or dependent children shall accept any tangible or intangible item, service, or thing of value from any lobbyist. This section shall not be construed to prevent any public official from accepting contributions to political committees under his or her control or accepting informational materials such as books, reports, pamphlets, calendars, or periodicals informing the public official regarding his or her official duties.

Section 19(b). No lobbyist shall deliver any tangible or intangible item, service, or thing of value to any statewide elected official, or to any member of the general assembly or to any of such elected official's staff, employees, spouse, or dependent children. This section shall not be construed to prevent a lobbyist from delivering to a public official any contribution to a political committee under the control of that public official or any informational materials such as books, reports, pamphlets, calendars, or periodicals informing the public official regarding his or her official duties.

Section 20. Any person who engages in lobbyist activities, as lobbyist is defined in section 105.470, RSMo, as it existed on January 1, 2015, and who knowingly fails to register as a lobbyist is guilty of violating this section. Any violation of this section shall be punishable as follows:

- 6 (1) For the first violation, the person shall be guilty of a class B 7 misdemeanor;
- 8 (2) For the second and subsequent violations, the person shall be 9 guilty of a class E felony.

Section 21. Within ten days of submission of an appointment letter to the secretary of state for the appointment of any person to a board or commission, the governor shall deliver to the president protempore of the senate a list of any political contributions and expenditures made by the appointee within the previous four years.

Section 22. No person shall intentionally offer to any elected or appointed official or employee of the state or any political subdivision thereof, nor shall any such official or employee accept, any item, service, or thing of value, including a contribution, in direct exchange for voting in favor of, voting against, or engaging in any legislative,

6 executive, or judicial course of action designed to benefit, delay, or 7 hinder the passage or failure of any specific state legislation, rule, or 8 regulation, or any specific local legislation, order, ordinance, rule, or 9 regulation. A violation of this section shall be a class E felony.

Section 23. Within one hundred twenty days of taking office, all statewide elected officials and all members of the general assembly shall complete four hours of ethics training that addresses, at minimum, ethics laws regulating conflicts of interest and lobbying, campaign finance, and offenses affecting government. Such officials shall also complete such requirements once every two years.

Section 24. Except as provided to the contrary in this article, the provisions of chapter 130, RSMo, as existed on January 1, 2015, relating to campaign finance are hereby incorporated into this article.

Section 24(a). A person acting as a treasurer or deputy treasurer for any for a committee shall not act as a treasurer or deputy treasurer for any other committee at the same time. No person shall form a new committee or serve as a treasurer or deputy treasurer of any committee until the person, or the treasurer of any committee previously formed by the person, or where the person served as treasurer or deputy treasurer, has filed all required campaign disclosure reports or statements of limited activity for all prior elections and paid outstanding previously imposed fees assessed against that person by the ethics commission. No candidate shall form, control, or direct a continuing committee.

Section 24(b). For purposes of this article, a continuing committee shall be defined as a committee of continuing existence which is not formed, controlled, or directed by a candidate, and is a committee other than a candidate committee, political party committee, campaign committee, exploratory committee, or debt service committee, whose primary or incidental purpose is to contribute funds to another committee or to receive contributions or make expenditures to influence or attempt to influence the action of voters whether or not a particular candidate or candidates or a particular ballot measure or 9 measures to be supported or opposed has been determined at the time 10 11 the committee is required to file any statement or report pursuant to the provisions of this article. Such a committee includes, but is not 12limited to, any committee organized or sponsored by a business entity, a labor organization, a professional association, a trade or business 14 association, a club or other organization and whose primary purpose

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is to solicit, accept, and use contributions from the members, employees, or stockholders of such entity and any individual or group 18 of individuals who accept and use contributions to influence or attempt 19 to influence the action of voters. Notwithstanding any other provision 20 of law to the contrary, such a committee also includes any organization 21 exempt from taxation under 26 U.S.C. Section 501(c)(4) or under any other provision of federal law if such committee accepts contributions 23 or makes expenditures for the primary or incidental purpose of 24influencing or attempting to influence the action of voters for or against the nomination or election to public office of one or more 25 26candidates or the qualification, passage, or defeat of any ballot measure 27or for the purpose of contributing funds to another committee. No continuing committee shall be formed later than sixty days prior to an 28 29 election for which such committee receives contributions or makes 30 expenditures.

Section 24(c). A campaign committee shall terminate either thirty days after the general election or upon the satisfaction of all 2 3 committee debt after the general election, whichever is later, except 4 that no committee retiring debt shall engage in any other activities in support of a measure for which the committee was formed. A candidate committee shall continue in existence for use by an elected candidate 7 who has publicly declared the specific office for which he or she intends to run in a subsequent election cycle or shall terminate on the later of either thirty days after the general election for a candidate who was not elected or upon the satisfaction of all committee debt after the 11 election, except that no committee retiring debt shall engage in any 12 activities in support of the candidate for which the committee was 13 formed.

Section 24(d). No contribution shall be made or accepted, and no expenditure shall be made or incurred, with the intent to circumvent the limitations on contributions or expenditures imposed in this article.

- (1) There shall be a rebuttable presumption that a contribution is made or accepted with the intent to circumvent the limitations on contributions imposed in this article when a committee receives a contribution from two or more committees that are primarily funded by a single person, individual, or other committee.
- (2) There shall be a rebuttable presumption that a contribution 10 is made or accepted with the intent to circumvent the limitations on contributions imposed in this article when a contribution is received

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12 from a committee that is primarily funded by a single person, 13 individual, or other committee that has already reached its contribution limit under any law relating to contribution limitations on 14 15 the receiving committee.

- (3) For purposes of this subdivision, a committee shall be deemed to be primarily funded by a single person, individual, or other committee when the committee receives more than fifty percent of its annual funding from that single person, individual, or other committee.
- (4) When a committee receives a contribution from two or more committees that are primarily funded by a single person, individual, or 2122other committee, or when a contribution is received from a committee that is primarily funded by a single person, individual, or other 23committee that has already reached its contribution limit under any 2425law relating to contribution limitations on the receiving committee, the 26ethics commission shall investigate. Such investigation shall, when 27directed by the ethics commission, be assisted by the office of the attorney general, the elections division of the office of the secretary of 2829state, or the prosecuting attorney of the county in which the violation 30 occurred. The ethics commission, office of the attorney general, 31 elections division of the office of the secretary of state, and any 32prosecuting attorney of any county or city not within a county assisting an investigation under this paragraph may use electronic 33 34 communication devices for matters related to such investigation, 35 including telephones and videoconferencing, when subject to shortened 36 time limits required for an investigation under this paragraph.

Section 24(e). Beginning on January 1, 2017, all committees required to file campaign financial disclosure reports with the Missouri ethics commission shall file any required disclosure report in an electronic format as prescribed by the ethics commission.

Section 24(f). No committee shall transfer any funds to another committee if the treasurer of the committee receiving the funds, or any other person acting as an agent for such committee in receiving contributions, making expenditures, or incurring indebtedness for such committee, is the treasurer or acts as an agent in receiving contributions, making expenditures, or incurring indebtedness for the committee transferring the funds.

Section 25. 1. No contribution of cash in an amount of more than 2 one hundred dollars shall be made by or accepted from any single contributor for any election by any single committee.

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4 2. No contribution shall be made or accepted and no expenditure shall be made or incurred, directly or indirectly, in a fictitious name, in the name of another person, or by or through another person in such a manner as to, or with the intent to, conceal the identity of the actual source of the contribution or the actual recipient and purpose of the expenditure. 9

- 3. No contribution shall be made or accepted, and no expenditure shall be made or incurred, with the intent to conceal the identity of the actual source of the contribution or the actual recipient and purpose 13 of the expenditure. There shall be a rebuttable presumption that a 14 contribution is made or accepted or an expenditure is made or incurred with the intent to conceal the identity of the actual source of the 16 contribution or the actual recipient and purpose of the expenditure when the source of a contribution or the recipient and purpose of an expenditure is misreported to the ethics commission through a repeated misspelling of such source or recipient or purpose.
 - 4. Any person who receives contributions for a committee shall disclose to that committee's treasurer, deputy treasurer, or candidate the recipient's own name and address and the name and address of the actual source of each contribution such person has received for the committee. The ethics commission may require further information be disclosed as it deems necessary. Any person who makes expenditures for a committee shall disclose to that committee's treasurer, deputy treasurer, or candidate such person's own name and address, the name and address of each person to whom an expenditure has been made, and the amount and purpose of the expenditures such person has made for that committee.
 - 5. No anonymous contribution shall be made by any person, nor shall such contribution be accepted by any candidate or committee. If any anonymous contribution is received, it shall be returned immediately to the contributor, if the contributor's identity can be ascertained, and if the contributor's identity cannot be ascertained, the candidate, committee treasurer or deputy treasurer shall immediately transmit that portion of the contribution to the state treasurer and it shall escheat to the state.
 - 6. No candidate or committee in this state shall accept contributions from any out-of-state committee unless the out-of-state committee from whom the contributions are received has filed a statement of organization or has filed the reports required by sections

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- 43 130.049 and 130.050, RSMo, whichever is applicable to that committee.
 - 7. (1) Any independent expenditure that is paid for by an individual or entity making independent expenditures aggregating one thousand dollars or more shall disclose information as follows:
 - (a) On any written, typed, or printed communication, or on any internet text or graphical advertising, in a conspicuous size and style, the words "paid for by" followed by the name of the individual, or the name of the entity, the name of its owner, chief executive officer or equivalent, and its principal business address, and, following the words "Top Three Donors", the three largest aggregate donors to such entity in the twelve months preceding the initial publication or release of the communication. Such written disclosures shall further include, in a conspicuous size and style, the following words: "This advertisement is funded by an independent expenditure, and is not authorized by any candidate. More information at (website)." All such disclosures shall be enclosed in a box within the borders of the communication.
- (b) On any paid television advertising or paid internet video advertising, clearly spoken in a pitch and tone substantially similar to the rest of the advertisement, the words "paid for by" followed by the name of the individual, or the name of the organization, at the beginning or end of the advertisement, and, in a conspicuous size and 64 style, simultaneous with such spoken disclosure, on the screen displaying the communication, the words "paid for by" followed by the name of the individual, or the name of the entity, followed by the written words "The top three donors to the organization responsible for this advertisement are" followed by a list of the three largest aggregate donors to such entity in the twelve months preceding the initial publication or release of the communication. Such written disclosures shall further include, in a conspicuous size and style, the following words: "This advertisement is funded by an independent expenditure, and is not authorized by any candidate. More information at (website)." All such disclosures shall be enclosed in a box within the borders of the communication.
 - (c) In any paid radio advertising, paid internet audio advertising, or automated telephone call, in a pitch and tone substantially similar to the rest of the advertisement or message, clearly spoken at the end of the advertisement or message, the words "paid for by" followed by the name of the individual, or the name of the organization, followed by the words "with funding provided by"

followed by a list of the three largest aggregate donors to such entity in the twelve months preceding the initial publication or release of the communication. In the case of radio or internet advertising covered by this clause that is thirty seconds in duration or shorter, the clearly spoken words "more information at (website)" may be included in a pitch and tone substantially similar to the rest of the advertisement instead of the words "with funding provided by" followed by a list of the three largest aggregate donors.

- (d) In any non-automated telephone call, clearly spoken during any such call lasting longer than ten seconds, the words "this call is paid for by" followed by the name of the individual, or the name of the organization, followed by the words "more information is available at (website)."
- (2) For all communications covered by this section, the following applies:
- (a) No donor who contributed less than five thousand dollars to the disclosing entity shall be listed as a "Top Three Donor;"
- (b) If an entity only has one or two donors, the words "Top Three Donors" shall be replaced by the words "Top Donor" or "Top Donors" as applicable;
- (c) Expenditures funded by an individual need not contain the words "Top Three Donors" or a list of donors;
- (d) If the third largest donor to such an entity has donated the same amount as the fourth largest donor, the disclosing entity may choose which three donors to include so long as no donor is included that has donated less than any other donor that is not included.
- (3) The ethics commission shall effectuate this section by providing for the disclosure of the original sources of contributions and with respect to the statements required to be filed by this article and shall provide forms suitable for such statements.
- (4) The enforcement counsel shall, upon application by a donor or independent spender to be made in a form and manner prescribed by the commission, grant an exemption and refrain from disclosing any information to the public related to any payment or contribution to an independent spender or expenditure by an independent spender if the applicant shows a reasonable probability that disclosure will cause undue harm, threats, harassment or reprisals to any person or organization.
 - (5) For purposes of this section, the term "person" shall mean

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person, group of persons, corporation, unincorporated business entity, labor organization or business, trade or professional association or organization, or political committee. The term "individual" shall mean a single human being, and the term "entity" shall mean group of persons, corporation, unincorporated business entity, labor organization or business, trade or professional association or organization, or political committee.

- 8. Any campaign advertisement, whether distributed in print, on television, by radio, on the internet, by telephone call, or any other medium, that is paid for by a candidate or candidate committee, or is created, produced, or distributed at the direction or suggestion of the candidate or his or her committee, or in cooperation or coordination with the candidate or his or her committee, shall generally comply with the provisions of this section, with the candidate's name following the words "paid for by". Candidate advertisements need not contain the words "top three donors", or list the top three donors to the campaign, and shall not identify any communication as an independent expenditure.
- 9. The public information requirements of chapter 610 of 139 140 Missouri Revised Statutes or any other provision of law notwithstanding, neither the commission nor any other individual or 141 142 entity shall disclose to the public identifying information of any person who has contributed less than five hundred one dollars, in the 143 aggregate, to a candidate, committee, or party. This limitation shall not 144 apply to contributors who have made combined contributions of one 145146 thousand dollars or more within the relevant election cycle. This 147provision shall not be construed to prevent the commission from collecting information about such contributors from the entity or 148 149 individual receiving the contribution for other purposes allowed under 150 law.
 - 10. As part of the disclosure reports candidates must identify each person who has collected and transmitted contributions totaling five thousand dollars or more to the candidate's committee within the previous two years.

Section 26(a). As used in this article, unless otherwise indicated the following terms shall mean:

3 (1) "Commission", the Missouri Ethics Commission, which shall 4 be responsible for implementing and enforcing the provisions of the 5 Missouri Anti-Corruption Amendment;

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- (2) "Election cycle" or "rebate period", the approximately twoyear period starting the day after a general election and ending the day of the following general election;
- (3) "Maximum rebate amount", for any rebate period, such number shall be equal to the maximum aggregate value in rebates that a person may receive during that rebate period. For the rebate period beginning in November 2016, and for the rebate period beginning in 13 November 2018, the maximum rebate amount shall be equal to fifty 14 dollars per rebate period, adjusted for inflation to account for changes 15 in the purchasing power of the United States dollar between January 16 1, 2015, and October first of the year in which the rebate period for 17 which the maximum rebate amount is being calculated begins and then rounded to the nearest five dollars. Beginning with the rebate period starting in November 2020, the maximum rebate amount shall be calculated as follows:
 - (a) For the purposes of this calculation, the term "rebate period in question" shall be understood to refer to the rebate period for which the maximum rebate amount is being calculated. Furthermore, for the purposes of this calculation, the term "most recent relevant rebate period" shall be understood to refer to the most recent rebate period that ended on the day of a gubernatorial election if the rebate period in question ends on the day of a gubernatorial election or to the most recent rebate period that did not end on the day of a gubernatorial election if the rebate period in question does not end on the day of a gubernatorial election;
 - (b) The "maximum rebate amount from last time" shall be set equal to the maximum rebate amount for most recent relevant rebate period;
 - (c) The "total value of all rebates owed last time" shall be set equal to the sum of the total value of all rebates issued by the commission for contributions made during the most recent relevant rebate period plus the total value of all rebates that would have been issued by the commission for contributions made during the most recent relevant rebate period but for the provision in section 26(b)1(1);
 - (d) The "excess money in the fund" shall be set equal to the greater of zero dollars and the value arrived at after subtracting the total value of all money deposited into the Political Contribution Rebates Fund during the forty-eight months preceding October first of the year during which the rebate period in question begins from the

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45 remaining balance in the Political Contribution Rebates Fund as of October first of the year during which the rebate period in question begins; 47

- (e) The "funds available for rebates this time" shall be calculated as follows: If the rebate period in question ends on the day of a gubernatorial election, the funds available for rebates this time shall be set equal to the sum of the excess money in the fund plus ninety 52percent of the total value of all money deposited into the Political Contribution Rebates Fund during the thirty-two months preceding 54 October first of the year during which the rebate period in question 55 begins. Else, if the rebate period in question does not end on the day 56 of a gubernatorial election, the funds available for rebates this time 57 shall be set equal to the sum of the excess money in the fund plus 58 ninety percent of the total value of all money deposited into the Political Contribution Rebates Fund during the sixteen months preceding February first of the year during which the rebate period in question begins;
- (f) The "computed change in the maximum rebate amount" shall 63 be calculated by dividing the total value of all rebates owed last time 64 by the funds available for rebates this time, then multiplying by the maximum rebate amount from last time, then subtracting the maximum 66 rebate amount from last time, then dividing by two, then rounding to the nearest five dollars;
- (g) The "maximum allowed increase in the maximum rebate amount" shall be calculated by adjusting the maximum rebate amount from last time to account for any changes in the purchasing power of 70 the United States dollar that occurred during the four years preceding October first of the year during which the rebate period in question begins, then multiplying by three halves, then rounding to the nearest five dollars;
 - (h) The maximum rebate amount for the rebate period in question shall finally be set equal to the maximum rebate amount from last time plus the lesser of the computed change in the maximum rebate amount and the maximum allowed increase in the maximum rebate amount;
- (4) "Participating candidate", any candidate who meets the requirement described in paragraph (g) of this subsection and who is 82 running in a race for state representative, state senator, state treasurer, state auditor, secretary of state, attorney general, lieutenant

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governor, or governor in the general election of which is scheduled to be held prior to November 4, 2020; also, any candidate running for the 86 office of state representative, state senator, state treasurer, state 87 auditor, secretary of state, attorney general, lieutenant governor, or 88 governor who meets the requirements listed in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), and (h). All dollar amounts mentioned in paragraphs (e), 89 90 (f), and (g) of this subsection shall be adjusted by the commission at the 91 beginning of each rebate period to account for changes in the purchasing power of the United States dollar since January 1, 2015, then rounded to the nearest twenty-five dollars. For the purposes of 93 94sections 26(a) and 26(b), any contribution to or expenditure by any political committee controlled by a candidate shall be understood as a 95 contribution to or expenditure by that candidate; 96

- (a) The candidate elects to participate in the rebate program not later than seven days after the last day to file to run for the office for which such candidate is running;
- (b) The candidate agrees to ensure that no political committee under his or her control has liabilities that exceed its assets at any point while he or she is a participating candidate;
- (c) The candidate has not expended in connection with his or her candidacy and agrees that he or she will not expend in connection with his or her candidacy any portion of any pre-existing funds raised during a previous candidacy for any public office, unless the candidate during that previous candidacy was a participating candidate in the rebate program;
- (d) The candidate agrees to use contributions received while he or she is a participating candidate for no purpose other than to pay for campaign expenses in connection with his or her candidacy, to pay for campaign expenses in connection with a later candidacy in which he or she runs for public office as a participating candidate in the rebate program, to allow contributors to withdraw their contributions when they do so within seventy-two hours of making those contributions, or to transfer funds to the Political Contribution Rebates Fund as per paragraph (h) of this subsection;
- 118 (e) The candidate agrees to ensure that he or she has not 119 accepted by the end of his or her candidacy in connection with his or 120 her candidacy:
- a. Any contribution that is not from a natural person, a 122 continuing committee registered with the commission, or a political

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123 party committee registered with the commission;

- 124 b. More than one thousand five hundred dollars in any primary 125or general election for statewide office from any natural person, more 126 than one thousand dollars in any primary or general election for state 127 senator from any natural person, or more than five hundred dollars in 128 any primary or general election for state representative from any 129 natural person;
- 130 c. Any contribution from a political party committee, unless the contributing political party committee is of a participating political party;
 - d. Any contribution from a continuing committee, unless the contributing continuing committee has since November 4, 2020, accepted contributions only from natural persons and in amounts of no more than five hundred dollars per person per rebate period;
 - (f) The candidate agrees to ensure that he or she has not by the end of his or her candidacy spent more than five thousand dollars of his or her own personal funds in support of his or her candidacy;
 - (g) The candidate satisfies the requirement that, before participating in the rebate program, a candidate:
 - a. For governor must raise at least twenty-five thousand dollars in small contributions from natural persons, no more than one hundred dollars per person counting toward this dollar threshold requirement;
 - b. For any statewide office other than governor must raise at least ten thousand dollars in small contributions from natural persons, no more than one hundred dollars per person counting toward this dollar threshold requirement;
 - c. For state senator must raise at least four thousand dollars in small contributions from natural persons, no more than one hundred dollars per person counting toward this dollar threshold requirement;
 - d. For state house of representatives must raise at least two thousand five hundred dollars in small contributions from natural persons, no more than one hundred dollars per person counting toward this dollar threshold requirement;
 - (h) The candidate agrees to turn over to the Political Contribution Rebates Fund any funds that he or she raises or has raised during his or her candidacy and that are not spent within five years after the end of his or her candidacy;
- 160 (5) "Participating political party", for any rebate period ending 161 in November 2018 or November 2020, any political party that meets the

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162 requirement described below in paragraph (f), or for any other rebate 163 period, any political party that meets all requirements listed below in 164 paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f). All dollar amounts mentioned 165 in paragraphs (d), (e), and (f) of this subdivision shall be adjusted by the commission at the beginning of each rebate period to account for 166 167 changes in the purchasing power of the United States dollar since January 1, 2015, then rounded to the nearest one hundred dollars. For 168 169 the purposes of sections 26(a) and 26(b) of this article, any reference to 170 the political committees of a political party shall be understood to include every state committee, congressional district committee, 171 172 judicial district committee, senatorial district committee, legislative 173 district committee, and county committee of such political party, as well as any other political committee or political committees registered 174 175 with the commission and controlled by the party or any of its subdivisions; 176

- (a) The party elects to participate in the rebate program not later than six months after the beginning of the rebate period;
- (b) No political committee of the party has had liabilities that exceeded its assets at any point during the rebate period, and the party agrees to ensure that no one of its political committees has liabilities that exceed its assets at any point during the rebate period;
- (c) The party agrees to ensure that, during the rebate period, no political committee of the party makes any contribution or expenditure in support of any candidate for state representative, state senator, state treasurer, state auditor, secretary of state, attorney general, lieutenant governor, or governor who is not a participating candidate at the time when the contribution or expenditure is made;
- (d) The party agrees to ensure that, at the end of the rebate period, its political committees will have collectively accepted during the rebate period no more than three thousand dollars in contributions from any natural person;
- (e) No political committee of the party has accepted during the rebate period, and the party agrees to ensure that no one of its political committees accepts during the rebate period:
- a. Any contribution that is not from a natural person, a continuing committee registered with the commission, or a political party committee registered with the commission;
- b. Any contribution from a political party committee, unless the contributing political party committee is of a participating political

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202 c. Any contribution from a continuing committee, unless the 203 contributing continuing committee has since November 4, 2020, 204 accepted contributions only from natural persons and in amounts of no 205more than five hundred dollars per person per rebate period;

- (f) In the most recent general election for either governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, state auditor, or state treasurer, a candidate nominated by the party received at least one percent of the vote in at least half of the counties in Missouri;
- (6) "Rebate program", the program established in this article 211according to which the commission is instructed to issue rebates to 212cover small contributions made by natural persons to participating candidates and participating political parties. 213

Section 26(b). 1. For every contribution of ten dollars or more 2 that a natural person makes to a candidate who is a participating candidate at the time when the contribution is made or to any political 4 party committee among the political committees of a political party that is a participating political party at the time when the contribution 6 is made, that person shall have the opportunity to receive from the ethics commission a rebate equal to the lesser of the amount of the contribution and the value arrived at after subtracting from the maximum rebate amount the total value of all rebates already issued to 10 that person for contributions made during the same rebate period, 11 provided that the following requirements are met:

- (1) For any rebate period that ends on the day of a gubernatorial election, the commission will use no funds deposited into the Political Contribution Rebates Fund after October first of the year in which that rebate period ends to issue rebates for contributions made during that 16 rebate period. For any rebate period that does not end on the day of a gubernatorial election, the commission will use no funds deposited into the Political Contribution Rebates Fund after February first of the year in which that rebate period ends to issue rebates for contributions made during that rebate period;
 - (2) No person may receive a rebate for:
 - (a) In-kind contributions of property, goods, or services;
- 23 (b) Contributions in the form of the purchase price paid for an item with significant intrinsic and enduring value; 24
- 25 (c) Contributions in the form of the purchase price paid for or 26 otherwise induced by a chance to participate in a raffle, lottery, or

27 similar drawing for valuable prizes;

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- 28 (d) Contributions made by individuals under the age of eighteen 29 years;
- 30 (e) Contributions made by individuals who are not eligible to vote in Missouri. 31
- 32 2. The commission shall promulgate rules to ensure that rebates are distributed in accordance with the provisions of this section. The 33 34 commission shall make it as easy as possible for individuals who 35 contribute to participating candidates and participating political 36 parties to receive the rebates to which they are entitled, 37 inconveniencing them only insofar as the commission absolutely must 38 do so in order to make sure that rebates are distributed in accordance with the provisions of this section. If it is not possible for the 40 commission to ensure that rebates are distributed in accordance with the provisions of this section using only the information that is 41 required by law to be reported by those reporting contributions to the commission, then the commission may require that additional 43 information be reported, provided that the commission uses such 44 information to ensure that rebates are distributed in accordance with the provisions of this section, requiring only as much information as is 46 necessary to achieve this goal. The commission shall issue each rebate 47within one week of receiving all required information about the 48 contribution for which and contributor to whom the rebate is to be 49 50 issued, or else as soon as adequate funds become available in the Political Contribution Rebates Fund. The commission shall issue 51 rebates in the order that it receives all required information about the contributions for which and contributors to whom those rebates are to 53 be issued. 54
- 3. In every rebate period, no less than one month and no more than two months before the first primary election held by a major political party, the commission shall purchase advertisements in the 58 newspaper of highest circulation in each county of the state, advertising the rebate program and including basic instructions and rules for the rebate program, including among other things the 61 maximum rebate amount for the rebate period and the URL of a 62 website at which the commission will report at least as frequently as 63 every business day the total value of all rebates issued to date for the 64 rebate period.
 - 4. To help ensure that rebates are delivered promptly, the

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commission shall ensure that those reporting contributions made to participating candidates and participating political committees may file reports of contributions at least as frequently as one per forty-eight hours when they wish to do so.

5. The commission shall promulgate rules to ensure that any contributor who makes a contribution of five hundred dollars or less to any participating candidate or participating political party may withdraw that contribution up until seventy-two hours after the contribution is made, this five hundred dollar value being adjusted at the beginning of each rebate period to account for changes in the purchasing power of the United States dollar since January 1, 2015, then rounded to the nearest one hundred dollars.

Section 26(c). The "Political Contribution Rebates Fund" is hereby created. This fund shall be a dedicated fund and, upon appropriation, money in this fund shall be used solely to pay for political contribution rebates issued as required by this article, except that up to three percent of money deposited into this fund may be used by the commission to pay for mailing costs and information technology costs that the commission incurs in the course of distributing political contribution rebates and ensuring that information about contributions and contributors is reported accurately, in full, and with ease. Beginning on January 1, 2017, and on the first day of every month thereafter, the director of revenue shall provide the Political 11 12 Contribution Rebates Fund with one million five hundred thousand dollars, this value being adjusted on the first day of each month to account for changes in the purchasing power of the United States 15 dollar since January 1, 2015, then rounded to the nearest ten thousand dollars. The state treasurer shall invest moneys in the fund in the same manner as other funds are invested. Any interest and moneys earned 18 on such investments shall be credited to the fund. The funding mandated by this article shall be allocated by the director 19 notwithstanding the legislative appropriation requirement of Article 20 21IV, Section 28 of the Constitution of Missouri or any other provision of the Constitution or law limiting the ability of the director to provide 22funding to the Political Contribution Rebates Fund or the commission. 23

Section 27. 1. A bipartisan "Missouri Ethics Commission", composed of six members, is hereby established. The commission shall be assigned to the office of administration with supervision by the office of administration only for budgeting and reporting as provided

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by subdivisions (4) and (5) of subsection 6 of section 1 of the Reorganization Act of 1974. Supervision by the office of 7 administration shall not extend to matters relating to policies, 8 regulative functions or appeals from decisions of the commission, and 9 the commissioner of administration, any employee of the office of 10 administration, or the governor, either directly or indirectly, shall not 11 participate or interfere with the activities of the commission in any 12 manner not specifically provided by law and shall not in any manner 13 interfere with the budget request of or withhold any moneys 14 appropriated to the commission by the general assembly. All members 15 of the commission shall be appointed by the governor with the advice 16 and consent of the senate from lists submitted pursuant to this section. Each congressional district committee of the political parties 1718 having the two highest number of votes cast for their candidate for governor at the last gubernatorial election shall submit two names of 19 20 eligible nominees for membership on the commission to the governor, and the governor shall select six members from such nominees to serve 21 22 on the commission.

- 2. Within thirty days of submission of the person's name to the governor as provided in this article, and in order to be an eligible nominee for appointment to the commission, a person shall file a financial interest statement and shall provide the governor, the president pro tempore of the senate, and the commission with a list of all political contributions and the name of the candidate or committee, political party, or continuing committee, to which those contributions were made within the four-year period prior to such appointment, made by the nominee, the nominee's spouse, or any business entity in which the nominee has a substantial interest. The information shall be 33 maintained by the commission and available for public inspection during the period of time during which the appointee is a member of the commission. In order to be an eligible nominee for membership on the commission, a person shall be a citizen and a resident of the state and shall have been a registered voter in the state for a period of at least five years preceding the person's appointment.
- 39 3. The term of each member shall be for four years. At no time shall more than three of the six commission members come from the 40 lists of candidates submitted by the same political party, unless such 41 member was submitted on a list by each of the two political parties that 4243 submitted lists under this section, nor shall more than three members

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44 of the commission be members of the same political party, nor shall more than one member be from any one United States congressional district. Not more than two members appointed from the 46 47even-numbered congressional districts shall be members of the same political party, and no more than two members from the odd-numbered 48 congressional districts shall be members of the same political 49 party. Terms of successor members of the commission shall expire on 50 51 March fifteenth of the fourth year of their term. No member of the 52commission shall serve on the commission after the expiration of the member's term, except that a member's term may be extended one time 53 54for up to one hundred twenty days if there are vacancies on the commission. No person shall be appointed to more than one full four-year term on the commission plus one term extension of the hundred twenty days as provided in this article.

4. Vacancies or expired terms on the commission shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment was made, except as provided in this subsection. Within thirty days of the vacancy or ninety days before the expiration of the term, the names of two eligible nominees for membership on the commission shall be submitted to the governor by the congressional district committees of the political party or parties of the vacating member or members, from the even- or odd-numbered congressional districts, based on the residence of the vacating member or members, other than from the congressional district committees from districts then represented on the commission and from the same congressional district party committee or committees which originally appointed the member or members whose positions are vacated. Appointments to fill vacancies or expired terms shall be made within forty-five days after the deadline for submission of names by the congressional district committees, and shall be subject to the same qualifications for appointment and eligibility as is provided in this article. Appointments to fill vacancies for unexpired terms shall be for the remainder of the unexpired term of the member whom the appointee succeeds, and such appointees shall be eligible for appointment to one full four-year term. If the congressional district committee does not submit the required two nominees within the thirty days or if the congressional district committee does not submit the two nominees within an additional thirty days after receiving notice from the governor to submit the nominees, then the governor may appoint a person or persons who shall be subject to the same qualifications for

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83 appointment and eligibility as provided in this article.

- 5. The governor, with the advice and consent of the senate, may remove any member only for substantial neglect of duty, inability to discharge the powers and duties of office, gross misconduct or 87 conviction of a felony or a crime involving moral turpitude. Members 88 of the commission also may be removed from office by concurrent resolution of the general assembly signed by the governor. If such 90 resolution receives the vote of two-thirds or more of the membership of both houses of the general assembly, the signature of the governor shall not be necessary to effect removal. The office of any member of the commission who moves from the congressional district from which the member was appointed shall be deemed vacated upon such change of residence.
- 96 6. The commission shall elect biennially one of its members as the chair. The chair shall not succeed himself or herself after two 97 years. No member of the commission shall succeed as chair any 98 member of the same political party as himself or herself. At least four 99 members are necessary to constitute a quorum. The votes of four 100 101 members shall be sufficient for the commission to take any action 102 unless otherwise specified herein. In the event that only three members vote in favor of taking any action, the enforcement counsel 103 104 shall have the power to vote for or against the action or recommendation. The action shall be taken or the recommendation 105 shall be made if the enforcement counsel votes in favor of the action or 106 107 recommendation.
- 108 7. No member or employee of the commission, during the person's term of service, shall hold or be a candidate for any other 109 110 public office.
- 111 8. In the event that a retired judge is appointed as a member of 112 the commission, the judge shall not serve as a special investigator while serving as a member of the commission. 113
- 9. No member of the commission shall, during the member's term 114 of service or within one year thereafter: 115
- (1) Be employed by the state or any political subdivision of the 116 117 state;
- 118 (2) Be employed as a lobbyist;
- 119 (3) Serve on any other governmental board or commission;
- (4) Be an officer of any political party or political organization; 120
- 121 (5) Permit the person's name to be used, or make contributions,

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122 in support of or in opposition to any candidate or proposition;

- (6) Participate in any way in any election campaign; except that a member or employee of the commission shall retain the right to register and vote in any election, to express the person's opinion privately on political subjects or candidates, to participate in the activities of a civic, community, social, labor, or professional organization and to be a member of a political party.
- 10. Each member of the commission shall receive, as full compensation for the member's services, the sum of one hundred dollars per day for each full day actually spent on work of the commission, and the member's actual and necessary expenses incurred in the performance of the member's official duties.
- 11. The commission shall appoint an executive director who shall serve subject to the supervision of and at the pleasure of the commission. The executive director shall be responsible for the administrative operations of the commission and perform such other duties as may be delegated or assigned to the director by law or by rule of the commission. The executive director shall employ staff and retain such contract services as the director deems necessary, within the limits authorized by appropriations of funds.
- 12. All lobbyist registration and expenditure reports, financial interest statements, and campaign finance disclosure reports shall be filed with the commission.
- 13. Within sixty days of the initial meeting of the first commission appointed, the commission shall obtain from the clerk of the supreme court or the state courts administrator a list of retired appellate and circuit court judges who did not leave the judiciary as a result of being defeated in an election. The executive director shall determine those judges who indicate their desire to serve as special investigators and to investigate any and all complaints referred to them by the commission. The executive director shall maintain an updated list of those judges qualified and available for appointment to serve as special investigators. Such list shall be updated at least annually. The commission shall refer complaints to such special investigators on that list on a rotating schedule which ensures a random assignment of each special investigator. Each special investigator shall receive only one unrelated investigation at a time and shall not be assigned to a second or subsequent investigation until all other eligible investigators on the list have been assigned to an investigation. In the event that no special

161 investigator is qualified or available to conduct a particular 162 investigation, the commission may appoint a special investigator to 163 conduct such particular investigation.

- **14.** The commission shall have the following duties and 165 responsibilities:
 - (1) Receive and review complaints regarding alleged violation of laws governing lobbying, conflicts of interest, and campaign finance conduct initial reviews and investigations regarding such complaints as provided herein; refer complaints to appropriate prosecuting authorities and appropriate disciplinary authorities along with recommendations for sanctions; and initiate judicial proceedings as allowed by law;
 - (2) Review and investigate any reports and statements required by the campaign finance disclosure laws and financial interest disclosure laws or lobbyist registration and reporting laws for timeliness, accuracy and completeness of content;
 - (3) Conduct investigations as provided in section 105.959, RSMo;
 - (4) Develop appropriate systems to file and maintain an index of all such reports and statements to facilitate public access to such information, except as may be limited by confidentiality requirements otherwise provided by law, including cross-checking of information contained in such statements and reports. The commission may enter into contracts with the appropriate filing officers to effectuate such system. Such filing officers shall cooperate with the commission as reasonable and necessary to effectuate such purposes;
 - (5) Provide information and assistance to lobbyists, elected and appointed officials, and employees of the state and political subdivisions in carrying out laws regulating conflict of interest, lobbying, and campaign finance;
 - (6) Make recommendations to the governor and general assembly or any state agency on the need for further legislation with respect to the ethical conduct of public officials and employees and to advise state and local government in the development of local government codes of ethics and methods of disclosing conflicts of interest as the commission may deem appropriate to promote high ethical standards among all elected and appointed officials or employees of the state or any political subdivision thereof and lobbyists;
 - (7) Render advisory opinions as provided by this section;
 - (8) Promulgate rules relating to the provisions of sections

200 105.955 to 105.963, RSMo, chapter 130, RSMo, and sections 15 to 30 of 201 this article. All rules and regulations issued by the commission shall 202 be prospective only in operation;

- 203 (9) Request and receive designations of decision-making public 204 servants.
 - 15. In connection with such powers provided by statutes regulating the commission and campaign finance the commission may:
 - (1) Subpoena witnesses and compel their attendance and testimony. Subpoenas shall be served and enforced in the same manner provided by section 536.077, RSMo, except that during an investigation, the commission may delegate the power to issue subpoenas to the executive director:
 - (2) Administer oaths and affirmations;
 - (3) Take evidence and require by subpoena duces tecum the production of books, papers, and other records relating to any matter being investigated or to the performance of the commission's duties or exercise of its powers. Subpoenas duces tecum shall be served and enforced in the same manner provided by section 536.077, RSMo, except that during an investigation, the commission may delegate the power to issue subpoenas duces tecum to the executive director;
 - (4) Employ such personnel, including legal counsel, and contract for services including legal counsel, within the limits of its appropriation, as it deems necessary provided such legal counsel, either employed or contracted, represents the Missouri ethics commission before any state agency or before the courts at the request of the Missouri ethics commission. Nothing in this section shall limit the authority of the Missouri ethics commission as provided for in subsection 2 of section 105.961, RSMo; and
 - (5) Obtain information from any department, division or agency of the state or any political subdivision reasonably calculated to lead to the discovery of evidence which will reasonably assist the commission in carrying out its duties.
 - 16. (1) Upon written request for an advisory opinion received by the commission, and if the commission determines that the person requesting the opinion would be directly affected by the application of law to the facts presented by the requesting person, the commission shall issue a written opinion advising the person who made the request, in response to the person's particular request, regarding any issue on which the commission can receive a complaint. The commission may

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239 decline to issue a written opinion by a vote of four members and shall 240 provide to the requesting person the reason for the refusal in writing. The commission shall give an approximate time frame as to 242when the written opinion shall be issued. Such advisory opinions shall 243 be issued no later than ninety days from the date of receipt by the commission. Such requests and advisory opinions, deleting the name and identity of the requesting person, shall be compiled and published 245 246 by the commission on at least an annual basis. Advisory opinions 247issued by the commission shall be maintained and made available for public inspection and copying at the office of the commission during 248 249 normal business hours. Any advisory opinion or portion of an advisory 250 opinion rendered pursuant to this subsection shall be withdrawn by the commission if, after hearing thereon, the joint committee on 252 administrative rules finds that such advisory opinion is beyond or contrary to the statutory authority of the commission or is inconsistent 253 254with the legislative intent of any law enacted by the general assembly, 255 and after the general assembly, by concurrent resolution, votes to adopt the findings and conclusions of the joint committee on administrative 256 rules. Any such concurrent resolution adopted by the general assembly 258 shall be published at length by the commission in its publication of 259 advisory opinions of the commission next following the adoption of such resolution, and a copy of such concurrent resolution shall be maintained by the commission, along with the withdrawn advisory 262opinion, in its public file of advisory opinions. The commission shall 263 also send a copy of such resolution to the person who originally requested the withdrawn advisory opinion. Any advisory opinion 264 issued by the ethics commission shall act as legal direction to any 266 person requesting such opinion and no person shall be liable for relying on the opinion and it shall act as a defense of justification against prosecution. An advisory opinion of the commission shall not be withdrawn unless:

- (a) The authorizing statute is declared unconstitutional;
- (b) The opinion goes beyond the power authorized by statute; or
- (c) The authorizing statute is changed to invalidate the opinion.
- (2) Upon request, the attorney general shall give the attorney general's opinion, without fee, to the commission, any elected official of the state or any political subdivision, any member of the general assembly, or any director of any department, division or agency of the state, upon any question of law regarding the effect or application of

laws regulating lobbying, conflicts of interest, and campaign finance. Such opinion need be in writing only upon request of such official, member or director, and in any event shall be rendered within sixty days that such request is delivered to the attorney general.

- 17. The state auditor and the state auditor's duly authorized employees who have taken the oath of confidentiality may audit the commission and in connection therewith may inspect materials relating to the functions of the commission. Such audit shall include a determination of whether appropriations were spent within the intent of the general assembly, but shall not extend to review of any file or document pertaining to any particular investigation, audit or review by the commission, an investigator or any staff or person employed by the commission or under the supervision of the commission or an investigator. The state auditor and any employee of the state auditor shall not disclose the identity of any person who is or was the subject of an investigation by the commission and whose identity is not public information as provided by law.
- 18. From time to time but no more frequently than annually the commission may request the officials and entities described in subdivision (6) of section 105.450, RSMo, to identify for the commission in writing those persons associated with such office or entity which such office or entity has designated as a decision-making public servant. Each office or entity delineated in subdivision (6) of section 105.450, RSMo, receiving such a request shall identify those so designated within thirty days of the commission's request.
- 19. (1) There shall be a unit known as the enforcement unit established within the commission. The head of such unit shall be the enforcement counsel. The enforcement counsel shall have sole authority within the commission to investigate on his or her own initiative or upon complaint alleged violations of this article. All complaints filed under this section or pursuant to section 105.957, RSMo, shall be forwarded to the enforcement unit.
- (2) (a) a. Before January 31, 2017, and before January thirty-first every four years thereafter, the commission shall appoint the enforcement counsel and a deputy enforcement counsel with advice and consent of the senate. The deputy enforcement counsel shall be a member of a different major political party than the enforcement counsel, provided, however, that if the enforcement counsel is a member of no political party or a minor party, the deputy enforcement

317 counsel may be a member of any party or no party.

- b. The state auditor shall retain an independent auditor to perform audits of the commission's activities. The independent auditor may perform an audit of the commission's activities at any time, and shall perform no less than one audit in each two-year rebate period.
- (b) If the commission fails to appoint an enforcement counsel before January thirty-first in any year in which such appointment is required, the executive director of the commission shall be given a tiebreaking vote and the commission shall vote upon appointment of an enforcement counsel on or before February seventh. If the commission fails to appoint any other position created by this section, the enforcement counsel shall be given a tiebreaking vote.
- (3) The enforcement counsel and deputy enforcement counsel shall each serve a term of four years and may only be removed for cause. Any time after the effective date of this section, the members shall by a majority vote appoint such persons with advice and consent of the senate, and shall do so any time a vacancy in any such position occurs to fill the remaining term of the vacating incumbent. In the case of a vacancy on the commission at the time of an appointment, such persons shall be appointed by the members of the commission that are members of the same major political party as the previous person to hold the position.
- 20. (1) If the enforcement counsel determines that substantial reason exists to believe that a person, acting as or on behalf of a candidate or political committee under circumstances evincing an intent to violate such law that does not otherwise warrant criminal prosecution, or has unlawfully violated any provision of this article, the commission shall assign a hearing officer, randomly from a list of prospective hearing officers each of whom shall have been approved by a majority vote of the commission. The hearing officer shall make findings of fact and conclusions of law based on a preponderance of the evidence as to whether a violation has been established and, if so, who is guilty of such violation on notice to and with an opportunity for the individual or entity accused of any violations to be heard. In determining whether the equities favor a dismissal, the hearing officer shall consider the following factors:
 - (a) Whether the complaint alleges a de minimis violation;
- 354 (b) Whether the subject of the complaint has made a good faith 355 effort to correct the violation; and

356 (c) Whether the subject of the complaint has a history of similar 357 violations.

The enforcement counsel shall adopt the report of the hearing officer and may, in his or her discretion, commence a proceeding in any Missouri circuit court should the findings of fact and conclusions of law support the commencement of such proceeding or enter into an agreement to settle such matter with the subject of the complaint. If the commission fails to produce a list of eligible hearing officers or fails to assign a hearing officer within ten days of the enforcement counsel's request, the enforcement counsel may commence a proceeding as provided herein in accordance with recommendations made in his or her report.

- (2) If the enforcement counsel determines that reasonable cause exists to believe a violation warranting criminal prosecution has taken place, the enforcement counsel shall present such findings to the commission. Within thirty days of such submission, the commission shall vote on whether to accept or reject such findings. For purposes of voting on acceptance or rejection of findings by the enforcement counsel, the enforcement counsel shall be entitled to participate in all matters related to the review of his or her report and shall vote on its acceptance or rejection only when there is a tie. Should the commission fail to vote to either accept or reject the findings within thirty days of submission of such findings, or should the commission accept the findings by the enforcement counsel that there is reasonable cause to believe that a violation warranting criminal prosecution has taken place, the enforcement counsel shall refer such matter to the attorney general or district attorney with jurisdiction over such matter to commence a criminal action as such term is defined in the criminal procedure law.
- 21. The commission may conduct a thorough examination and pre-election audit of the contributions and qualified campaign expenses of the political committees of participating candidates and participating parties. Such audits shall be conducted as frequently as the commission deems necessary to ensure compliance. Every participating candidate and participating party under this article shall also be audited by the commission post-election. The commission shall issue to each campaign audited the final post-election audit report that details its findings and shall provide such audit to the governor and legislative leaders and make such audit report available on the

395 commission's website.

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- 22. (1) Any person who knowingly and willfully fails to make a filing required by this article within ten days after the date provided for such, or anyone that knowingly and willfully violates any other provision of this article shall be guilty of a class A misdemeanor and, in addition to such other penalties provided by law, shall be subject to a fine not to exceed the amount of ten thousand dollars.
- (2) Any person who knowingly and willfully contributes, accepts, or aids or participates in the contribution or acceptance of a contribution in an amount exceeding an applicable maximum specified in this article shall be guilty of a class A misdemeanor and shall be subject to a fine not to exceed the amount of ten thousand dollars or double the amount of the illegal contribution, whichever is greater.
- (3) Any participating candidate who knowingly and willfully violates any of the provisions to which he or she is required by section 26(a) of this article to agree in order to participate in the rebate program shall be guilty of a class A misdemeanor and, in addition to such other penalties provided by law, shall be subject to a fine not to exceed the amount of ten thousand dollars or double the amount of any contribution or loan accepted by the candidate in violation of the provisions to which he or she has agreed, whichever is greater.
- (4) Any participating political party an agent of which knowingly and willfully violates any of the provisions to which the party is required by section 26(a) of this article to agree in order to participate in the rebate program shall be subject, in addition to such other penalties provided by law, to a fine not to exceed the amount of ten thousand dollars or double the amount of any contribution or loan accepted in violation of the provisions to which the party has agreed, whichever is greater. Moreover, any agent of such participating political party who knowingly and willfully violates any of the provisions to which the party is required by section 26(a) of this article to agree in order to participate in the rebate program shall be guilty of a class A misdemeanor.
- (5) Any person who obstructs an ethics investigation shall be guilty of a class E felony.
- (a) A person commits the crime of obstruction of an ethics investigation if such person, for the purpose of obstructing or preventing an ethics investigation, knowingly commits any of the following acts:

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(i) Confers or agrees to confer anything of pecuniary benefit to 435 any person in direct exchange for that person's concealing or 436 withholding of any information concerning any violation of sections 437 105.450 to 105.496, RSMo, chapter 130, RSMo, or sections 15 to 30 of this 438 article;

- (ii) Accepts or agrees to accept anything of pecuniary benefit in 440 direct exchange for concealing or withholding any information 441 concerning any violation of sections 105.450 to 105.496, RSMo, chapter 442 130, RSMo, or sections 15 to 30 of this article;
- 443 (iii) Utters or submits a false statement that the person does not 444 believe to be true to any member or employee of the commission or to 445 any official investigating any violation of sections 105.450 to 105.496, 446 RSMo, chapter 130, RSMo, or sections 15 to 30 of this article;
- (iv) Submits any inaccurate writing or other documentation that the person does not believe to be true to any member or employee of the commission or to any official investigating any violation of sections 105.450 to 105.496, RSMo, chapter 130, RSMo, or sections 15 to 30 of this article.
 - (b) It is a defense to a prosecution under subdivisions (iii) and (iv) of subsection (5)(a) of this section that the person retracted the false statement, writing, or other documentation, but this defense shall not apply if the retraction was made after:
- 456 (i) The falsity of the statement, writing, or other documentation 457 was exposed; or
 - (ii) Any member or employee of the commission or to any official investigating any violation of sections 105.450 to 105.496, RSMo, chapter 130, RSMo, or sections 15 to 30 of this article took substantial action in reliance on the statement, writing, or other documentation.
- 462 (c) The defendant shall have the burden of injecting the issue of 463 retraction under this section.
- 464 (6) All such prosecutions for criminal acts under this section 465 shall be prosecuted by the appropriate prosecuting attorney. If the 466 prosecuting attorney declines to initiate criminal action, the attorney 467 general of the state of Missouri may initiate criminal proceedings.
- 468 (7) All fines collected pursuant to subdivisions 22.(2), 22.(3), and 469 22.(4) above shall be deposited into the Ethics Commission Operations 470 Fund.
- 471 (8) Each ten thousand dollar amount mentioned in this 472 subsection shall be recalculated on the first day of January in each

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473even-numbered year to account for changes in the purchasing power of the United States dollar since January 1, 2015, and then rounded to the 475 nearest one hundred dollars.

- 476 23. (1) The commission shall submit a report to the governor, the 477 speaker of the house, and the president pro tempore of the senate on or before February 1, 2019, and every two years thereafter, which shall 478 479 include:
 - (a) A list of the participating and nonparticipating candidates and parties in covered elections and the votes received by each candidate in those elections;
 - (b) The amount of contributions and loans received, and expenditures made, on behalf of participating and nonparticipating candidates and parties;
 - (c) The amount of rebate funds distributed pursuant to this section;
 - (d) Analysis of the effect of the rebate program on the election campaigns for all offices covered, including its effect on the sources and amount of contributions, the level of campaign expenditures, including independent expenditures, voter participation, the number of candidates, the candidates' abilities to campaign effectively for public office, and the diversity of candidates seeking and elected to office;
 - (e) A report from the enforcement counsel summarizing complaints, investigations, dispositions, and all relevant enforcement activities; and
 - (f) Any other information that the commission deems relevant.
 - (2) Beginning in 2027, accompanying each report, the commission shall provide a list of recommendations for changes or amendments to this article to the general assembly.
 - 24. (1) The determination of eligibility to participate in the rebate program may be contested in a proceeding instituted in any Missouri circuit court by any aggrieved candidate or party within seven days of the commission's determination as to eligibility.
 - (2) The commission is authorized to institute a civil action in any Missouri circuit court to obtain a judgment for civil penalties determined to be payable to the commission.
- 25. The commission shall promulgate regulations to determine whether the contributions or expenditures of any entity subject to 510 regulation by this article should be aggregated with the contributions

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or expenditures of another entity for purposes of any of the limits or thresholds contained in this article. The rules shall require aggregation of such contributions or expenditures if the entities in question are directed or controlled by a majority of the same persons or entities. The rules shall ensure that no entity may avoid the limits or thresholds created by this article through creation or use of multiple vehicles for political spending.

26. Any natural person may file a complaint, petition for rulemaking, or petition for advisory opinion with the commission. If the commission fails to respond to the complaint or petition within thirty days, fails to resolve the complaint or petition within one year of its filing, or if the filer contests the commission's resolution of the complaint or petition, any qualified candidate or any five qualified Missouri voters may commence a proceeding against the commission in any Missouri circuit court, regardless of whether such candidate or voters filed the original complaint with the commission.

27. The "Ethics Commission Operations Fund" is hereby created. This fund shall be a dedicated fund and, upon appropriation, money in this fund shall be used solely to provide for operation, administration, and enforcement costs of the commission, including costs associated with the administration of the rebate program established in this article. Beginning on January 1, 2017, and on the first day of every month thereafter, the director of revenue shall provide the Ethics Commission Operations Fund with two hundred thousand dollars, this value being adjusted on the first day of each month to account for changes in the purchasing power of the United States dollar since January 1, 2015, then rounded to the nearest one thousand dollars. The state treasurer shall invest money in the fund in the same manner as other funds are invested. Any interest and moneys earned on such investments shall be credited to the fund. The funding mandated by this article shall be allocated by the director notwithstanding the legislative appropriation requirement of Article IV, Section 28 of the Constitution of Missouri or any other provision of the Constitution or law limiting the ability of the director to provide funding to the Political Contribution Rebates Fund or the commission.

Section 28. In addition to the limitations imposed under section 2 25 of this article, the following limitations shall apply, beginning 3 immediately after the November 2016 general election. For the 4 purposes of sections 28(b), 28(c), 28(d), and 28(e) of this article, a single

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"political party" shall be understood to include every state committee, congressional district committee, judicial district committee, senatorial 7 district committee, legislative district committee, and county committee 8 of such political party, as well as any other political committee or political committees registered with the commission and controlled by the party or any of its subdivisions. 10

Section 28(a). No candidate or committee controlled by a candidate shall accept:

- (1) Any contribution that is not from a natural person, a continuing committee registered with the commission, or a political party committee registered with the commission;
- (2) More than one thousand five hundred dollars in any primary or general election for statewide office from any natural person, more than one thousand dollars in any primary or general election for state senator from any natural person, or more than five hundred dollars in any primary or general election for state representative from any natural person. 11

Section 28(b). No natural person shall contribute:

- (1) More than one thousand five hundred dollars to any candidate for statewide office in any primary or general election, more than one thousand dollars to any candidate for state senator in any primary or general election, or more than five hundred dollars to any candidate for state representative in any primary or general election;
- (2) More than three thousand dollars to any political party during any two-year election cycle;
- 9 (3) More than one thousand dollars to any continuing committee 10 during any two-year election cycle, though this limitation shall not apply to contributions to continuing committees that make only 11 independent expenditures, unless a United States court with 13 jurisdiction over the state of Missouri holds that such a limitation is 14 permissible.

Section 28(c). No corporation or limited liability company organized under the laws of this state, any other state, or by an act of 3 the Congress of the United States, labor organization, cooperative 4 association, or mutual association shall make any contribution to any 5 candidate for office in the state of Missouri or to any political party or 6 other entity that makes contributions to any candidate for office in the state of Missouri. This section shall not be construed to limit contributions made by political committees registered with the

9 commission.

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Section 28(d). No political party shall accept contributions from any person or entity which exceed, in the aggregate, three thousand dollars during any two-year election cycle. This limitation shall not apply to contributions from continuing committees that, after January 1, 2017, accept contributions only from natural persons residing in the state of Missouri and in amounts of no more than five hundred dollars, in the aggregate, per person during any two-year election cycle.

Section 28(e). 1. No continuing committee shall accept contributions from any person or entity which exceed, in the aggregate, one thousand dollars during any two-year election cycle. This limitation shall not apply to contributions to continuing committees that make only independent expenditures, unless a United States court with jurisdiction over the state of Missouri holds that such a limitation is permissible.

2. No continuing committee shall contribute more than three thousand dollars to any candidate for office in the state of Missouri or to any political party or other entity that makes contributions to any candidate for office in the state of Missouri. This limitation shall not apply to continuing committees that, after January 1, 2017, accept contributions only from natural persons and in amounts of no more than five hundred dollars, in the aggregate, per person during any two-year election cycle.

Section 28(f). No campaign committee shall contribute to any 2 candidate, other than to support or oppose the retention of judges 3 under the nonpartisan court plan, nor shall it contribute to any 4 committee registered with the commission that is not a campaign 5 committee.

Section 28(g). 1. (1) No lobbyist, lobbyist principal, individual who supervises one or more lobbyists, or person or entity who has a business relationship with the state shall make a contribution which exceeds, in the aggregate, two hundred dollars to any candidate or committee during any two-year election cycle.

- (2) No lobbyist, lobbyist principal, or individual who directly supervises one or more lobbyists may solicit or coordinate funds in connection with an election for state office.
- 9 (3) Prohibitions contained in subdivisions (1) and (2) shall 0 continue until one year after such person or entity ceases to be a 1 lobbyist, lobbyist principal, or person or entity who has a business

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- 2. (1) Members of the general assembly may not directly or indirectly solicit contributions in connection with an election for public office from a lobbyist, lobbyist principal, or parent or subsidiary of a 16 lobbyist principal, that the member knows has made a lobbying contact 17 with the member or his or her office; with another member or their office with whom the member serves on a committee or subcommittee 19 if such lobbying contact concerns matters pending before such committee or subcommittee; or with any official or employee of any 21 such committee or subcommittee. A member may solicit contributions 22 from such persons or entities if the member recuses himself or herself from taking any action, including but not limited to markups of legislation, engaging in case work or constituent service of any kind, of particular benefit to the lobbyist, lobbyist principal, or covered associate for a period of two years from the date of the solicitation. For purposes of this section, "lobbying contact" means any communication to a covered official that attempts to influence any government action, subject to the qualifications of section 105.470, RSMo, as it existed on January 1, 2015.
- (2) Members of the general assembly may not take any action in the general assembly or subdivision thereof, including but not limited to markups of legislation or casework or constituent service of any kind, of particular benefit to a lobbyist principal, or the parent or subsidiary of a lobbyist principal if such lobbyist, lobbyist principal, parent or subsidiary of a lobbyist principal, or any individual who engages in or directly supervises one or more individuals who engage in lobbying activities on behalf of such lobbyist, lobbyist principal, or parent or subsidiary of a lobbyist principal has, in the aggregate, 40 directly or indirectly contributed or pledged or promised to contribute five thousand dollars or more in the aggregate to the member's campaign committee in the previous two years, or who has, in the aggregate, indirectly or directly spent in the previous year or has pledged or promised to spend, ten thousand dollars or more on independent expenditures in support of the member's campaign or in opposition to the member's opponent or in contributions to organizations, including political committees, that engage in or pledge or promise to engage in independent expenditures in support of the member's campaign or in opposition to the member's opponent.
 - (3) The provisions of this subsection shall not apply to lobbying

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51 contacts, contributions, or expenditures made prior to January 1, 2017.

Section 28(h). No candidate shall use any funds from any committee to make payments to any other candidate, committee, or any entity that is controlled, managed, owned, or directed by any other candidate or committee, regardless of whether the payment is made for campaign-related purposes.

Section 28(i). For purposes of sections 28 to 28(g) of this article, "base year amount" shall be the contribution limits prescribed in this article on January 1, 2015. Contribution limits set forth herein shall be increased on the first day of January in each even-numbered year by multiplying the base year amount by the cumulative consumer price index and rounded to the nearest twenty-five-dollar amount, for all years after January 1, 2015.

Section 29. No solicitation of expenditures, fund-raising 2 activities, or fund-raising event, supporting or opposing any candidate, ballot measure, political party, or political party committee shall occur 4 on any property or in any building owned or leased by the state or any political subdivision, unless the property or building is routinely used 6 by and made available for rent or for a fee to all members of the public by the state or the political subdivision.

Section 30. 1. The term "contribution" shall include any payment or expenditure by any person other than a candidate or a political committee authorized by the candidate, made in connection with the nomination for election or election of any candidate, that is authorized, requested, suggested, or fostered by a candidate, authorized committee 6 of a candidate, or agents of the candidate or committee, or made in cooperation with the candidate, committee, or agents of the candidate or committee, and any payment or expenditure for any communication which republishes, disseminates, or distributes, in whole or in part, any 10 broadcast or any written, graphic, or other form of campaign material 11 prepared by the candidate or committee or by agents of the candidate 12 or committee.

- 2. There is a rebuttable presumption that a payment or expenditure by a person for a communication about a candidate or a candidate's opponent is a contribution in any of the following circumstances:
- (1) The communication includes information about a candidate's campaign plans, projects, or needs that is not generally available to the 18 public or is provided directly or indirectly by the candidate;

- 20 (2) The person discusses or negotiates the communication with 21 the candidate;
 - (3) The person and the candidate or the candidate's authorized committee retain the same individual or entity to provide professional campaign services during the same election cycle. For purposes of this subparagraph, the term "professional campaign services" does not include accounting, legal services, or other non-campaign services. None of the following circumstances is sufficient in and of itself to support a finding that a payment or expenditure by a person for a communication is authorized, requested, suggested, or fostered by a candidate or committee, or made in cooperation with a candidate or committee:
 - (a) The person interviews the candidate regarding legislative or policy issues that affect the spender or discusses campaign-related issues with the candidate but does not communicate with the candidate regarding the communication;
 - (b) The person solicits or obtains a photograph, biography, position paper, press release, or similar material from the candidate and, without the candidate's prior knowledge, uses that material in the communication;
 - (c) The person made contributions to the candidate;
 - (d) The person communicates to the candidate the intent to make a communication but does not discuss or negotiate the communication with the candidate;
 - (e) The person employs or is under contract with a political consultant or pollster who rendered services to the candidate prior to the current election cycle.
 - 3. The term "coordinated spender" means, with respect to a candidate or candidate committee of a candidate, a person for which any of the following applies:
 - (1) The person is directly or indirectly formed or established by or at the request or suggestion of, or with the encouragement of, the candidate or candidate committee, or agents of the candidate or candidate committee, including with the express or tacit approval of the candidate or committee or agents of the candidate or committee;
 - (2) The candidate or the candidate committee or agents of the candidate or committee solicit funds or engage in other fundraising activity on the person's behalf during the election cycle involved, including by providing the person with names of potential donors or

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59 other lists to be used by the person in engaging in fundraising activity, 60 regardless of whether the person pays fair market value for the names 61 or lists provided;

- (3) The person is established, directed, or managed by any person who, during the two-year period before the general election or primary election in which the candidate stands for nomination, has been employed or retained as a political, media, or fundraising adviser or consultant for the candidate or committee or for any other entity directly or indirectly controlled by the candidate or committee, or has held a formal position with a title for the candidate or committee.
- (4) The person is a current or former business partner of a candidate or is established, directed, or managed by a current or former business partner of the candidate, in the case of a person that is a political committee. For purposes of this subparagraph, the term "business partner of a candidate" means a person who is a director, 74 officer, partner, trustee, owner, employee, or who holds any position of management in a business entity, or an affiliate of a business entity, in which the candidate is a director, officer, partner, trustee, owner, employee, or holds any position of management; "An affiliate of a business entity" means any business entity that directly, or indirectly through one or more intermediaries, controls, or is controlled by, or is under common control with the business entity;
 - (5) The person is serving or has served in a formal advisory or policy-making position with the candidate or has participated in strategic or policy-making discussions with the candidate regarding the pursuit of nomination or election to office during the two-year period before the general election or before any primary election in which the candidate stands for nomination;
 - (6) The person has, within the same election cycle, co-hosted or co-sponsored with the candidate or the candidate committee fundraising events or campaign activities benefitting the person, the candidate, or the candidate committee;
 - (7) The person is controlled, established, directed, managed, or retains significant services from the family member of a candidate.
 - 4. If a payment or expenditure for a covered communication is made by a person who is a coordinated spender with respect to the candidate, the payment or expenditure shall be deemed to have been authorized, requested, suggested, or fostered by the candidate, or made in cooperation with the candidate. For purposes of this section, the

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98 term "covered communication" is a communication conveyed to five 99 hundred or more members of a general public audience in the form of:

- 100 (1) An audio or video communication via internet, broadcast, 101 cable, or satellite;
- 102 **(2)** A written communication via internet or printed 103 advertisements, pamphlets, circulars, flyers, brochures, or letterheads; 104 or
 - (3) Other published statements which:
- 106 (a) Irrespective of when such communication is made, contains 107 words such as "vote", "oppose", "support", "elect", "defeat", or "reject", 108 which call for the election or defeat of the clearly identified candidate; 109 or
 - (b) Refers to and advocates for or against a clearly identified candidate or ballot proposal on or after January first of the year of the election in which such candidate is seeking office or such proposal shall appear on the ballot.
- 5. Any payment treated as a contribution under this section shall qualify as a contribution regardless of whether the resulting communication expressly advocates for or against any candidate or ballot measure.
 - 6. The commission shall promulgate regulations providing for entities providing professional services to candidates and committees to create bona fide firewalls, which, if implemented rigorously and in good faith, may allow an entity to provide services to both a candidate and an independent entity without causing the entity's spending to be deemed a contribution under this section.
- 7. For purposes of this section, the term "person" means any individual or entity.
- 8. In no circumstance shall a candidate be found to have violated limits on acceptance of contributions if the commission or a court determines that a candidate has taken no action to indicate acceptance of or acquiescence to the making of an expenditure that is deemed a contribution pursuant to this section.

Section 31. If any provision of sections 15 to 30 of this article or 2 the application thereof to anyone or to any circumstance is held 3 invalid, the remainder of those sections and the application of such 4 provisions to others or other circumstances shall not be affected 5 thereby.

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