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## 1995 ASSEMBLY BILL 392

May 23, 1995 – Introduced by Representatives Bock, Baldwin, Travis, Black, R. Young, Baldus, Robson, Grobschmidt, Reynolds, Bell, Ziegelbauer, Cullen, Notestein, Baumgart, Meyer, Krug, Hanson, La Fave, Kreuser, Plombon, Boyle, Riley and Murat, cosponsored by Senators Clausing, Chvala, Moen and Burke. Referred to Committee on Elections and Constitutional Law.

AN ACT to repeal 11.06 (1) (j), 11.06 (7) and (7m), 11.21 (9), 11.22 (10), 11.30 (2) (d), 11.31 (2) and (2m), 11.31 (3m) and (4), 11.50 (2) (g) and 11.50 (2) (i); to renumber and amend 11.001 (2); to amend 5.02 (13), 11.001 (1), 11.01 (12s), 11.05 (2r) and (3) (p), 11.10 (3), 11.12 (1) (a), (2) and (3), 11.16 (1) (a) and (b), 11.18 (6), 11.21 (15), 11.26 (1) (intro.), 11.26 (2) (intro.), 11.26 (2) (a), 11.26 (9) (a) and (b), 11.26 (10), 11.31 (title), 11.31 (1) (a) to (d), (e) and (f), 11.31 (3), 11.40 (2) and (3), 11.50 (2) (a), 11.50 (2) (b) 5., 11.50 (2) (h), 11.50 (9), 11.50 (11) (e) and 11.60 (3); to repeal and recreate 11.31 (1) (intro.); and to create 11.001 (2) (d) to (g), 11.25 (1m), 11.31 (1m) and 11.31 (9) of the statutes; relating to: limitation of campaign disbursements by candidates for state and local offices, prohibition of independent disbursements by committees or individuals in support of or opposition to candidates for state and local offices, providing an exemption from emergency rule procedures, granting rule-making authority and providing a penalty.

## Analysis by the Legislative Reference Bureau

Under current law, expenditure levels are specified for candidates for various state and local offices. These levels become a binding limitation upon any candidate for state office who accepts a state grant from the Wisconsin election campaign fund or who agrees to be bound by the limitation, unless the candidate is opposed by a major opponent who could have qualified for a grant but declines to accept one. Additionally, the expenditure levels specified for candidates for the offices of state senator and representative to the assembly are subdivided between the primary and election campaign periods in such a way that only about 60% of the total applicable expenditure level for either office may be allocated by a candidate to either the primary or the election campaign period. A candidate for state office who accepts a grant from the Wisconsin election campaign fund and who agrees to be bound by the expenditure limit applicable to the office which the candidate seeks may receive a grant equal to 45% of that expenditure limit, less certain committee contributions accepted by the candidate, if there are sufficient moneys in the fund to finance the full amounts of grants for which candidates qualify.

This bill changes the current expenditure levels to limits and prohibits any candidate for state or local office from exceeding the limit applicable to the office which the candidate seeks regardless of whether the candidate accepts a grant from the Wisconsin election campaign fund. The bill also revises the dollar amounts of the current prescribed expenditure levels, as follows:

	Current	Proposed
<u>Office</u>	<u>Level</u>	$\underline{Limit}$
Governor	\$1,078,200	\$2,000,000
Lieutenant governor	$323,\!475$	250,000
Attorney general	539,300	700,000
Secretary of state	215,625	250,000
State treasurer	215,625	250,000
Supreme court justice	215,625	250,000
State superintendent	215,625	250,000
State senator	34,500	80,000
Representative to the assembly	$17,\!250$	40,000

The dollar amounts of the expenditure levels for local offices (which are limits under the bill) are not affected by the bill.

Under the bill, the subdivided expenditure levels which limit the portion of the total level that a candidate for the office of state senator or representative to the assembly may allocate to either the primary or election campaign period are eliminated.

The bill also permits a candidate who is challenging an incumbent officeholder to spend up to 125% of the statutory expenditure limit. This additional authorization does not increase the maximum grant which a candidate may receive from the Wisconsin election campaign fund.

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Under the bill, the statutory expenditure limits are adjusted biennially, beginning in 1997, in accordance with a formula tied to the "consumer price index" determined by the U.S. department of labor.

Current law also imposes registration and financial reporting requirements on committees and individuals making expenditures independently of a candidate in support of or opposition to a candidate for a state or local office (independent expenditures).

The bill prohibits such independent expenditures. Under the bill, a committee which or individual who desires to make any expenditure in support of or in opposition to a candidate for state or local office must first obtain the permission of the candidate who is supported and that candidate must report the expenditure as a contribution and expenditure. The contribution and expenditure is subject to applicable limitations.

Under current law, any person who makes an expenditure in violation of the campaign finance law is subject to a forfeiture (civil penalty) of not more than \$500 for each violation. The bill makes such an offender liable for a forfeiture of treble the amount of the unlawful expenditure.

## The people of the state of Wisconsin, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

**Section 1.** 5.02 (13) of the statutes is amended to read:

5.02 (13) "Political party" or "party" means a state committee registered under s. 11.05 organized exclusively for political purposes under whose name candidates appear on a ballot at any election, and all county, congressional, legislative, local and other affiliated committees authorized to operate under the same name. For purposes of ch. 11, the term does not include a legislative campaign committee or a committee filing an oath under s. 11.06 (7).

**Section 2.** 11.001 (1) of the statutes is amended to read:

11.001 (1) The legislature finds and declares that our democratic system of government can be maintained only if the electorate is citizens of the state are informed and encouraged to participate in the election process as contributors, candidates and electors. It further finds that excessive spending on campaigns for public office jeopardizes, large contributions and independent campaign expenditures by special

interests jeopardize the integrity of elections and discourage the participation of citi-
zens in election campaigns. It is desirable to encourage the broadest possible partici-
pation in financing campaigns by all citizens of the state, to reduce the influence of
special interests, to encourage the election of candidates who have a broad and
diverse base of support and to enable candidates to have an equal opportunity to
present their programs to the voters. One of the most important sources of in-
formation to the voters is available through the campaign finance reporting system.
Campaign reports provide information which aids the public in fully understanding
the public positions taken by a candidate or political organization. When the true
source of support or extent of support $\underline{\text{for a candidate}}$ is not fully disclosed, $\underline{\text{or}}$ when
a candidate becomes overly dependent upon large private contributors, or when spe-
cial interests unduly influence a campaign either through contributions or indepen-
dent expenditures in support of or opposition to a candidate, the democratic process
is subjected to $\frac{1}{2}$ potential corrupting $\frac{1}{2}$ influences. The legislature therefore
finds that the state has a compelling interest in designing a system for fully disclos-
ing contributions and disbursements made on behalf of every candidate for public of-
fice, and in placing reasonable limitations on such activities. Such a system must
make readily available to the voters complete information as to who is supporting or
opposing which candidate or cause and to what extent, whether directly or indirectly.

- (2) This chapter is intended to serve the public purpose of stimulating the following purposes:
  - (a) To stimulate vigorous campaigns on a fair and equal basis and to.
  - $\underline{\text{(b)}}\ \underline{\text{To}}\ \text{provide}$  for a better informed electorate.

**Section 3.** 11.001 (2) of the statutes is renumbered 11.001 (2) (c) and amended to read:

11.001 (2) (c) This chapter is also intended to To ensure fair and impartial elec-
tions by precluding officeholders from utilizing the perquisites of office at public ex-
pense in order to gain an advantage over nonincumbent candidates who have no per-
quisites available to them.
<b>Section 4.</b> 11.001 (2) (d) to (g) of the statutes are created to read:
11.001 (2) (d) To maintain the integrity of the democratic system in this state,
and public confidence in it.
(e) To promote full and free campaign discussion and debate.
(f) To relieve candidates for elective office and elective officeholders from exces-
sive fund-raising impediments to purposive political conduct and discourse.
(g) To control corruption and undue influence, or the appearance thereof, in the
financing of state election campaigns.
<b>Section 5.</b> 11.01 (12s) of the statutes is amended to read:
11.01 (12s) "Legislative campaign committee" means a committee which does
not file an oath under s. 11.06 (7) organized in either house of the legislature to sup-
port candidates of a political party for legislative office.
<b>Section 6.</b> 11.05 (2r) and (3) (p) of the statutes are amended to read:
11.05 (2r) General reporting exemptions. Any person, committee or group,
other than a committee or individual required to file an oath under s. 11.06 (7), who
or which does not anticipate accepting contributions, making disbursements or in-
curring obligations in an aggregate amount in excess of $$1,000$ in a calendar year and
does not anticipate accepting any contribution or contributions from a single source,
other than contributions made by a candidate to his or her own campaign, exceeding

\$100 in that year may indicate on its registration statement that the person, commit-

tee or group will not accept contributions, incur obligations or make disbursements

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in the aggregate in excess of \$1,000 in any calendar year and will not accept any contribution or contributions from a single source, other than contributions made by a candidate to his or her own campaign, exceeding \$100 in such year. Any registrant making such an indication is not subject to any filing requirement if the statement is true. The registrant need not file a termination report. A registrant not making such an indication on a registration statement is subject to a filing requirement. The indication may be revoked and the registrant is then subject to a filing requirement as of the date of revocation, or the date that aggregate contributions, disbursements or obligations for the calendar year exceed \$1,000, or the date on which the registrant accepts any contribution or contributions exceeding \$100 from a single source, other than contributions made by a candidate to his or her own campaign, during that year, whichever is earlier. If the revocation is not timely, the registrant violates s. 11.27 (1).

- (3) (p) In the case of a support committee, a statement signed by the individual on whose behalf the committee intends to operate affirming that the committee is the only committee authorized to operate on his or her behalf, unless the committee files a statement under s. 11.06 (7).
  - **SECTION 7.** 11.06 (1) (j) of the statutes is repealed.
- **Section 8.** 11.06 (7) and (7m) of the statutes are repealed.
- **Section 9.** 11.10 (3) of the statutes is amended to read:
  - 11.10 (3) Every committee shall appoint a treasurer. Every individual under s. 11.06 (7) shall be deemed his or her own treasurer. No disbursement may be made or obligation incurred by or on behalf of a committee without the authorization of the treasurer or designated agents. No contribution may be accepted and no disburse-

ment may be made or obligation incurred by any committee at a time when there is a vacancy in the office of treasurer.

**Section 10.** 11.12 (1) (a), (2) and (3) of the statutes are amended to read:

- 11.12 (1) (a) No contribution may be made or received and no disbursement may be made or obligation incurred by a person or committee, except within the amount authorized under s. 11.05 (1) and (2), in support of or in opposition to any specific candidate or candidates in an election, other than through the campaign treasurer of the candidate or the candidate's opponent, or by or through an individual or committee registered under s. 11.05 and filing a statement under s. 11.06 (7).
- (2) Any anonymous contribution exceeding \$10 received by a campaign or committee treasurer or by an individual under s. 11.06 (7) may not be used or expended. The contribution shall be donated to the common school fund or to any charitable organization at the option of the treasurer.
- (3) All contributions, disbursements and incurred obligations exceeding \$10 shall be recorded by the campaign or committee treasurer or the individual under s. 11.06 (7). He or she shall maintain such records in an organized and legible manner, for not less than 3 years after the date of an election in which the registrant participates. If a report is submitted under s. 11.19 (1), the records may be transferred to a continuing committee or to the appropriate filing officer for retention. Records shall include the information required under s. 11.06 (1).

**SECTION 11.** 11.16 (1) (a) and (b) of the statutes are amended to read:

11.16 (1) (a) No disbursement may be made or obligation incurred by a candidate, or by any other person or committee to advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, other than an individual who, or a committee which, has registered under s. 11.05 and filed an oath under s. 11.06 (7), except by the campaign

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treasurer of the candidate or other agent designated by the candidate and acting under his or her authority.

- (b) The treasurer of each committee and each individual who proposes to make a disbursement to advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate shall notify the treasurer or other agent designated under par. (a) of the candidate who is supported or whose opponent is opposed and obtain the authorization of the treasurer prior to making the disbursement. This paragraph does not apply to an individual or committee filing an oath under s. 11.06 (7) with respect to the candidate who is supported or opposed.
  - **SECTION 12.** 11.18 (6) of the statutes is amended to read:
- 11.18 **(6)** If an individual on whose behalf a support committee is authorized to operate under s. 11.05 (3) (p) becomes a candidate, the committee shall be adopted by the candidate as his or her personal campaign committee. A support committee which files a statement under s. 11.06 (7) may not be adopted by a candidate as a personal campaign committee.
  - **Section 13.** 11.21 (9) of the statutes is repealed.
- **SECTION 14.** 11.21 (15) of the statutes is amended to read:
- 11.21 (15) Inform each candidate who files an application to become eligible to receive a grant from the Wisconsin election campaign fund of the dollar amount of the applicable disbursement limitation under s. 11.31 (1), adjusted as provided under s. 11.31 (9), or under s. 11.31 (1m) which applies to the office for which such person is a that candidate. Failure to receive the notice required by this subsection does not constitute a defense to a violation of s. 11.27 (1) or 11.31.
- **Section 15.** 11.22 (10) of the statutes is repealed.
- **Section 16.** 11.25 (1m) of the statutes is created to read:

11.25 (1m) No individual, other than a candidate, and no committee, other
than a personal campaign committee, may make disbursements which are to be used
to advocate the election or defeat of any clearly identified candidate in an election.
<b>Section 17.</b> 11.26 (1) (intro.) of the statutes is amended to read:
11.26 (1) (intro.) No individual may make any contribution or contributions to
a candidate for election or nomination to any of the following offices and to any indi-
vidual or committee under s. 11.06 (7) acting solely in support of such a candidate or
solely in opposition to the candidate's opponent to the extent of more than a total of
the amounts specified per candidate:
<b>Section 18.</b> 11.26 (2) (intro.) of the statutes is amended to read:
11.26 (2) (intro.) No committee other than a political party committee or legis-
lative campaign committee may make any contribution or contributions to a candi-
date for election or nomination to any of the following offices and to any individual
or committee under s. 11.06 (7) acting solely in support of such a candidate or solely
in opposition to the candidate's opponent to the extent of more than a total of the
amounts specified per candidate:
<b>Section 19.</b> 11.26 (2) (a) of the statutes is amended to read:
11.26 (2) (a) Candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state,
state treasurer, attorney general, state superintendent or justice, $4\%$ of the value of
the disbursement $\underline{\text{level}}$ $\underline{\text{limitation}}$ specified in the schedule under s. 11.31 (1).
<b>Section 20.</b> 11.26 (9) (a) and (b) of the statutes are amended to read:
11.26 (9) (a) No individual who is a candidate for state or local office may receive
and accept more than $65\%$ of the value of the total disbursement level limitation for
candidates other than candidates challenging incumbent officeholders, as deter-
mined under s. 11.31 (1) and adjusted as provided under s. 11.31 (9), for the office for

which he or she is a candidate during any primary and election campaign combined from all committees subject to a filing requirement, including political party and legislative campaign committees.

(b) No individual who is a candidate for state or local office may receive and accept more than 45% of the value of the total disbursement level limitation for candidates other than candidates challenging incumbent officeholders, as determined under s. 11.31 (1) and adjusted as provided under s. 11.31 (9), for the office for which he or she is a candidate during any primary and election campaign combined from all committees other than political party and legislative campaign committees subject to a filing requirement.

## **Section 21.** 11.26 (10) of the statutes is amended to read:

11.26 (10) No candidate for state office who files a sworn statement and application to receive a grant from the Wisconsin election campaign fund may make contributions of more than 200% of the amounts amount specified in sub. (1) to the candidate's own campaign from the candidate's personal funds or property or the personal funds or property which are owned jointly or as marital property with the candidate's spouse, unless the board determines that the candidate is not eligible to receive a grant, or the candidate withdraws his or her application under s. 11.50 (2) (h), or s. 11.50 (2) (i) applies. For purposes of this subsection, any contribution received by a candidate or his or her personal campaign committee from a committee which is registered with the federal elections commission as the authorized committee of the candidate under 2 USC 432 (e) shall be treated as a contribution made by the candidate to his or her own campaign. The contribution limit of sub. (4) applies to amounts contributed by such a candidate personally to the candidate's own campaign and to other campaigns, except that a candidate may exceed the limitation if

1 authorized under this subsection to contribute more than the amount specified to the 2 candidate's own campaign, up to the amount of the limitation. 3 **Section 22.** 11.30 (2) (d) of the statutes is repealed. 4 **Section 23.** 11.31 (title) of the statutes is amended to read: 5 11.31 (title) Disbursement levels and limitations; calculation. 6 **Section 24.** 11.31 (1) (intro.) of the statutes is repealed and recreated to read: 7 11.31 (1) SCHEDULE. (intro.) No candidate may make or authorize total dis-8 bursements from his or her campaign treasury in any campaign to the extent of more 9 than the following amount for each of the offices indicated: 10 **Section 25.** 11.31 (1) (a) to (d), (e) and (f) of the statutes are amended to read: 11 11.31 (1) (a) Candidates for governor, \$1,078,200 \$2,000,000. (b) Candidates for lieutenant governor, \$323,475 \$250,000. 12 13 (c) Candidates for attorney general, \$539,000 \$700,000. 14 (d) Candidates for secretary of state, state treasurer, justice or state superin-15 tendent, \$215,625 \$250,000. 16 (e) Candidates for state senator, \$34,500 total in the primary and election, with 17 disbursements not exceeding \$21,575 for either the primary or the election \$80,000. (f) Candidates for representative to the assembly, \$17,250 total in the primary 18 19 and election, with disbursements not exceeding \$10,775 for either the primary or the 20 election \$40,000. 21 **Section 26.** 11.31 (1m) of the statutes is created to read: 22 11.31 (1m) DISBURSEMENT LIMITATIONS FOR CHALLENGERS. Notwithstanding sub. 23 (1), if an incumbent officeholder seeks reelection, any other candidate for the same 24 office may make or authorize total disbursements not exceeding 125% of the amount 25specified in sub. (1), adjusted as provided under sub. (9).

**Section 27.** 11.31 (2) and (2m) of the statutes are repealed.

**SECTION 28.** 11.31 (3) of the statutes is amended to read:

11.31 (3) Gubernatorial campaigns. For purposes of compliance with the limitations imposed under sub. (2) (1), adjusted as provided under sub. (9), and sub. (1m), candidates for governor and lieutenant governor of the same political party who both accept grants from the Wisconsin election campaign fund may agree to combine disbursement levels <u>limitations</u> under sub. (1) (a) and (b), adjusted as provided under sub. (9), and sub. (1m) and reallocate the total <u>level limitation</u> between them. The candidates shall each inform the board of any such agreement.

**Section 29.** 11.31 (3m) and (4) of the statutes are repealed.

**Section 30.** 11.31 (9) of the statutes is created to read:

11.31 **(9)** Cost-of-living adjustment. (a) In this subsection, "consumer price index" means the average of the consumer price index over each 12-month period, all items, U.S. city average, as determined by the bureau of labor statistics of the U.S. department of labor.

(b) The dollar amounts of all disbursement limitations specified in sub. (1) shall be subject to a biennial cost-of-living adjustment to be determined by rule of the board in accordance with this subsection. To determine the adjustment, the board shall calculate the percentage difference between the consumer price index for the 12-month period ending on December 31 of each odd-numbered year and the consumer price index for the base period, calendar year 1993. The board shall increase the disbursement limitations specified under sub. (1) by such amount each biennium, rounded to the nearest multiple of \$25 in the case of amounts of \$1 or more, which amount shall be in effect until a subsequent rule is promulgated under this subsection. Notwithstanding s. 227.24 (3), determinations under this subsection

may be promulgated as an emergency rule under s. 227.24 without a finding of emer-

gency.

**SECTION 31.** 11.40 (2) and (3) of the statutes are amended to read:

- 11.40 (2) No public utility or anyone connected therewith may offer or give any special privilege to any candidate for public office or any committee or its members or employes, or any individual under s. 11.06 (7), or to any 3rd party at the request of or for the advantage of any of them.
- (3) No candidate for public office or any committee or member or employe thereof or any individual under s. 11.06 (7) may ask for or accept any special privilege from any public utility.

**Section 32.** 11.50 (2) (a) of the statutes is amended to read:

11.50 (2) (a) Any individual who desires to qualify as an eligible candidate may file an application with the board requesting approval to participate in the fund. The application shall be filed no later than the applicable deadline for filing nomination papers under s. 8.10 (2) (a), 8.15 (1), 8.20 (8) (a) or 8.50 (3) (a), no later than 4:30 p.m. on the 7th day after the primary or date on which the primary would be held if required in the case of write—in candidates, or no later than 4:30 p.m. on the 7th day after appointment in the case of candidates appointed to fill vacancies. The application shall contain a sworn statement that the candidate and his or her authorized agents have complied with the contribution limitations prescribed in s. 11.26 and the disbursement limitations prescribed under s. 11.31 at all times to which such limitations have applied to his or her candidacy and will continue to comply with the limitations at all times to which the limitations apply to his or her candidacy for the office in contest, unless the board determines that the candidate is not eligible to receive

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a grant, the candidate withdraws his or her application under par. (h), or par. (i) applies.

**SECTION 33.** 11.50 (2) (b) 5. of the statutes is amended to read:

11.50 (2) (b) 5. The financial reports filed by or on behalf of the candidate as of the date of the spring or September primary, or the date that the special primary is or would be held, if required, indicate that the candidate has received at least the amount provided in this subdivision, from contributions of money, other than loans, made by individuals, which have been received during the period ending on the date of the spring primary and July 1 preceding such date in the case of candidates at the spring election, or the date of the September primary and January 1 preceding such date in the case of candidates at the general election, or the date that a special primary will or would be held, if required, and 90 days preceding such date or the date a special election is ordered, whichever is earlier, in the case of special election candidates, which contributions are in the aggregate amount of \$100 or less, and which are fully identified and itemized as to the exact source thereof. A contribution received from a conduit which is identified by the conduit as originating from an individual shall be considered a contribution made by the individual. Only the first \$100 of an aggregate contribution of more than \$100 may be counted toward the required percentage. For a candidate at the spring or general election for an office identified in s. 11.26 (1) (a) or a candidate at a special election, the required amount to qualify for a grant is 5% of the candidate's authorized disbursement limitation for candidates other than candidates challenging incumbent officeholders, as determined under s. 11.31 (1) and adjusted as provided under s. 11.31 (9). For any other candidate at the general election, the required amount to qualify for a grant is 10% of the candidate's authorized disbursement limitation for candidates other than candidates

challenging incumbent officeholders, as determined under s. 11.31 (1) and adjusted as provided under s. 11.31 (9).

**Section 34.** 11.50 (2) (g) of the statutes is repealed.

**SECTION 35.** 11.50 (2) (h) of the statutes is amended to read:

11.50 (2) (h) An eligible candidate who files an application under par. (a) may file a written withdrawal of the application. A withdrawal of an application may be filed with the board no later than the 7th day after the day of the primary in which the person withdrawing the application is a candidate or the 7th day after the date that the primary would be held, if required. If an application is withdrawn in accordance with this paragraph, the person withdrawing the application is no longer bound by the statement filed under par. (a) after the date of the withdrawal.

**SECTION 36.** 11.50 (2) (i) of the statutes is repealed.

**Section 37.** 11.50 (9) of the statutes is amended to read:

11.50 (9) LIMITATION ON GRANTS. The total grant available to an eligible candidate may not exceed that amount which, when added to all other contributions accepted from sources other than individuals, political party committees and legislative campaign committees, is equal to 45% of the disbursement level limitation specified for the applicable office for candidates other than candidates challenging incumbent officeholders, as determined under s. 11.31 (1) and adjusted as provided under s. 11.31 (9). The board shall scrutinize accounts and reports and records kept under this chapter to assure that applicable limitations under ss. 11.26 (9) and 11.31 are not exceeded and any violation is reported. No candidate or campaign treasurer may accept grants exceeding the amount authorized by this subsection.

**Section 38.** 11.50 (11) (e) of the statutes is amended to read:

11.50 (11) (e) No candidate may expend, authorize the expenditure of or incur
any obligation to expend any grant if he or she violates the pledge required under
sub. (2) (a) as a precondition to receipt of a grant, except as authorized in sub. (2) (h)
o <del>r (i)</del> .

**SECTION 39.** 11.60 (3) of the statutes is amended to read:

11.60 (3) Notwithstanding sub. (1), any person, including any committee or group, who makes any contribution <u>or disbursement</u> in violation of this chapter may be required to forfeit treble the amount of the contribution or portion thereof which is <u>illegally unlawfully</u> contributed <u>or treble the amount of the disbursement or portion thereof which is unlawfully disbursed</u>.

**SECTION 40. Nonstatutory provisions legislative findings.** The legislature, drawing on its collective experience with campaigns for public office and on the independent evidence presented to it by qualified analysts, finds and declares that:

- (1) Wisconsin has historically experienced a high level of civic participation in responsible government, which however is now in decline as the direct result of campaign financing arrangements that have the clear tendency to distance voters from the electoral process, and that cannot be successfully corrected under applicable rulings of the U.S. supreme court.
- (2) Current campaign financing arrangements, with their perceived preferential access to lawmakers for special interests that are capable of contributing sizeable sums to lawmakers' campaigns, have provoked public disaffection with elective government, as manifested by declines in voting percentages and in Wisconsin election campaign fund participation.

- (3) The Wisconsin election campaign fund system has lost popular support because it does not diminish the perceived preferential access of the special interests and is therefore judged to be ineffective.
- (4) Before 1976, Wisconsin in company with 33 other states had these matters under regulatory control through a system of mandatory spending limits applicable to all candidates for state elective office.
- (5) In 1976, the U.S. supreme court, in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, invalidated all such spending limits while approving campaign contribution limits.
- (6) Since that time campaign expenditures have risen steeply, doubling in Wisconsin legislative races since 1980. The addition has been made up principally by contributions from special interests.
- (7) Contribution limits are inadequate by themselves to check this trend. So long as spending is effectively unrestrained, contributions will find ways to protect favored candidates from being outspent.
- (8) Among such ways have been personal spending by wealthy candidates, independent expenditures that favor or oppose an identified candidate, and the use of political parties as conduits for the support of selected candidates.
- (9) Experience shows in particular that so-called "independent" support whether by individuals, committees, or other entities can be coordinated with a candidate's campaign, by means of informal "understandings", without losing its professedly independent character. Likewise, contributions to a political party for ostensible "party-building" purposes can be and are routed, by design, to the support of identified candidates.
- (10) Public financing cannot cure the problem so long as spending limits are so readily evadable. After 15 years of experience with the present law, and a 42%

- decline in Wisconsin election campaign fund designations, it has become evident that Wisconsin voters await some successful repair of the campaign finance system before they will give it their financial support.
- (11) The legislature agrees with the 1992 finding of the California commission on campaign financing, made after 8 years of study, that an effective remedy to this problem requires the reconsideration of Buckley v. Valeo. The legislature believes with that commission that it is "strongly desirable to present the [Supreme] Court with carefully researched data and arguments so that it can consider upholding reasonable spending limitations." This act is a step in that direction.
- (12) The supreme court based its Buckley decision on a concern that spending limits could restrict political speech, "by reducing the number of issues discussed, the depth of their exploration, and the size of the audience reached." The experience of those engaged in the electoral process is otherwise. It is unlimited expenditure that can drown or distort political discourse, in a flood of distractive repetition.
- (13) The least distorted and most instructive channels of campaign communication are often free or inexpensive: debates, call-in programs, local interviews, and other voter connections that are not dependent on the power of money.
- (14) The expanded use of such low-cost channels, stimulated by the adoption of sensible spending limits, would benefit political discourse by drawing candidates out of the packaged world of media advertisements and into the real world of voter engagement and accountability.
- (15) Turning down the noise level of campaign communication, through reasonable spending limits, increases the opportunity for newer and quieter voices to be heard. It tends to increase the number, depth and diversity of ideas presented to the public.

(16) Finally, a reasonable limit on camp	oaign spending relieves candidates and	
officeholders alike from the constant necessity	of engaging in defensive fund raising,	
arising as this does from the continual risk of	of massively financed opposition chal-	
lenges to everything they may say or do. The	conduct both of campaigns and of office	
will be thereby improved.		
Section 41. Nonstatutory provision	ıs; nonseverability.	
(1) This act shall be considered a unit as	nd its provisions inseparable. Notwith-	
standing section 990.001 (11) of the statutes,	if any provision of the statutes, as af-	
fected by this act, is declared unconstitutional, the entire act is void.		
SECTION 42. Initial applicability.		
(1) The treatment of section 11.31 (9) of	the statutes first applies to adjustment	
of disbursement limitations for the biennium	beginning on January 1, 1997.	
SECTION 43. Effective date.		
(1) This act takes effect on January 1,	1997.	

(END)