FIRST REGULAR SESSION

SENATE BILL NO. 417

101ST GENERAL ASSEMBLY

INTRODUCED BY SENATOR SCHUPP.

1897S.02I

ADRIANE D. CROUSE, Secretary

AN ACT

To repeal section 130.011, RSMo, and to enact in lieu thereof two new sections relating to campaign finance, with an effective date.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:

Section A. Section 130.011, RSMo, is repealed and two new

- 2 sections enacted in lieu thereof, to be known as sections
- 3 130.011 and 130.062, to read as follows:
 - 130.011. As used in this chapter, unless the context
- 2 clearly indicates otherwise, the following terms mean:
- 3 (1) "Appropriate officer" or "appropriate officers",
- 4 the person or persons designated in section 130.026 to
- 5 receive certain required statements and reports;
- 6 (2) "Ballot measure" or "measure", any proposal
- 7 submitted or intended to be submitted to qualified voters
- 8 for their approval or rejection, including any proposal
- 9 submitted by initiative petition, referendum petition, or by
- 10 the general assembly or any local governmental body having
- 11 authority to refer proposals to the voter;
- 12 (3) "Candidate", an individual who seeks nomination or
- 13 election to public office. The term "candidate" includes an
- 14 elected officeholder who is the subject of a recall
- 15 election, an individual who seeks nomination by the
- 16 individual's political party for election to public office,
- 17 an individual standing for retention in an election to an
- 18 office to which the individual was previously appointed, an

EXPLANATION-Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in this bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted in the law.

- 19 individual who seeks nomination or election whether or not
- 20 the specific elective public office to be sought has been
- 21 finally determined by such individual at the time the
- 22 individual meets the conditions described in paragraph (a)
- 23 or (b) of this subdivision, and an individual who is a write-
- 24 in candidate as defined in subdivision (28) of this
- 25 section. A candidate shall be deemed to seek nomination or
- 26 election when the person first:
- 27 (a) Receives contributions or makes expenditures or
- 28 reserves space or facilities with intent to promote the
- 29 person's candidacy for office; or
- 30 (b) Knows or has reason to know that contributions are
- 31 being received or expenditures are being made or space or
- 32 facilities are being reserved with the intent to promote the
- 33 person's candidacy for office; except that, such individual
- 34 shall not be deemed a candidate if the person files a
- 35 statement with the appropriate officer within five days
- 36 after learning of the receipt of contributions, the making
- 37 of expenditures, or the reservation of space or facilities
- 38 disavowing the candidacy and stating that the person will
- 39 not accept nomination or take office if elected; provided
- 40 that, if the election at which such individual is supported
- 41 as a candidate is to take place within five days after the
- 42 person's learning of the above-specified activities, the
- 43 individual shall file the statement disavowing the candidacy
- 44 within one day; or
- 45 (c) Announces or files a declaration of candidacy for
- 46 office;
- 47 (4) "Cash", currency, coin, United States postage
- 48 stamps, or any negotiable instrument which can be
- 49 transferred from one person to another person without the
- 50 signature or endorsement of the transferor;

SB 417 3

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- 51 (5) "Check", a check drawn on a state or federal bank, or a draft on a negotiable order of withdrawal account in a 52 53 savings and loan association or a share draft account in a credit union;
- "Closing date", the date through which a statement 55 (6) or report is required to be complete; 56
- "Committee", a person or any combination of 57 (7) persons, who accepts contributions or makes expenditures for 58 59 the primary or incidental purpose of influencing or 60 attempting to influence the action of voters for or against the nomination or election to public office of one or more 61 candidates or the qualification, passage or defeat of any 62 63 ballot measure or for the purpose of paying a previously incurred campaign debt or obligation of a candidate or the 64 debts or obligations of a committee or for the purpose of 65 contributing funds to another committee: 66
 - (a) "Committee", does not include:
- a. A person or combination of persons, if neither the 68 69 aggregate of expenditures made nor the aggregate of contributions received during a calendar year exceeds five 70 hundred dollars and if no single contributor has contributed 71 72 more than two hundred fifty dollars of such aggregate 73 contributions;
- 74 b. An individual, other than a candidate, who accepts no contributions and who deals only with the individual's 75 76 own funds or property;
- 77 A corporation, cooperative association, partnership, proprietorship, or joint venture organized or 78 operated for a primary or principal purpose other than that 79 of influencing or attempting to influence the action of 80 voters for or against the nomination or election to public 81 office of one or more candidates or the qualification, 82

passage or defeat of any ballot measure, and it accepts no contributions, and all expenditures it makes are from its own funds or property obtained in the usual course of business or in any commercial or other transaction and which are not contributions as defined by subdivision (12) of this section;

- d. A labor organization organized or operated for a primary or principal purpose other than that of influencing or attempting to influence the action of voters for or against the nomination or election to public office of one or more candidates, or the qualification, passage, or defeat of any ballot measure, and it accepts no contributions, and expenditures made by the organization are from its own funds or property received from membership dues or membership fees which were given or solicited for the purpose of supporting the normal and usual activities and functions of the organization and which are not contributions as defined by subdivision (12) of this section:
- e. A person who acts as an authorized agent for a committee in soliciting or receiving contributions or in making expenditures or incurring indebtedness on behalf of the committee if such person renders to the committee treasurer or deputy treasurer or candidate, if applicable, an accurate account of each receipt or other transaction in the detail required by the treasurer to comply with all record-keeping and reporting requirements of this chapter;
- f. Any department, agency, board, institution or other entity of the state or any of its subdivisions or any officer or employee thereof, acting in the person's official capacity;
- 113 (b) The term "committee" includes, but is not limited 114 to, each of the following committees: campaign committee,

SB 417 5

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115 candidate committee, continuing committee and political 116 party committee;

- (8) "Campaign committee", a committee, other than a candidate committee, which shall be formed by an individual or group of individuals to receive contributions or make expenditures and whose sole purpose is to support or oppose the qualification and passage of one or more particular ballot measures in an election or the retention of judges under the nonpartisan court plan, such committee shall be formed no later than thirty days prior to the election for which the committee receives contributions or makes expenditures, and which shall terminate the later of either thirty days after the general election or upon the satisfaction of all committee debt after the general election, except that no committee retiring debt shall engage in any other activities in support of a measure for which the committee was formed;
- "Candidate committee", a committee which shall be 132 (9) 133 formed by a candidate to receive contributions or make expenditures in behalf of the person's candidacy and which 134 shall continue in existence for use by an elected candidate 135 or which shall terminate the later of either thirty days after the general election for a candidate who was not 137 138 elected or upon the satisfaction of all committee debt after 139 the election, except that no committee retiring debt shall engage in any other activities in support of the candidate 141 for which the committee was formed. Any candidate for elective office shall have only one candidate committee for 142 the elective office sought, which is controlled directly by 143 144 the candidate for the purpose of making expenditures. A candidate committee is presumed to be under the control and 145 direction of the candidate unless the candidate files an 146

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affidavit with the appropriate officer stating that the committee is acting without control or direction on the candidate's part;

- "Continuing committee", a committee of continuing existence which is not formed, controlled or directed by a candidate, and is a committee other than a candidate committee or campaign committee, whose primary or incidental purpose is 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 measures to be supported or opposed has been determined at the time the committee is required to file any statement or report pursuant to the provisions of this chapter. "Continuing committee" includes, but is not limited to, any committee organized or sponsored by a business entity, a labor organization, a professional association, a trade or business association, a club or other organization and whose primary purpose is to solicit, accept and use contributions from the members, employees or stockholders of such entity and any individual or group of individuals who accept and use contributions to influence or attempt to influence the action of voters. Such committee shall be formed no later than sixty days prior to the election for which the committee receives contributions or makes expenditures;
- 172 (11) "Connected organization", any organization such 173 as a corporation, a labor organization, a membership 174 organization, a cooperative, or trade or professional 175 association which expends funds or provides services or 176 facilities to establish, administer or maintain a committee 177 or to solicit contributions to a committee from its members, 178 officers, directors, employees or security holders. An

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organization shall be deemed to be the connected
organization if more than fifty percent of the persons
making contributions to the committee during the current
calendar year are members, officers, directors, employees or
security holders of such organization or their spouses;

- deposit, or donation of money or anything of value for the purpose of supporting or opposing the nomination or election of any candidate for public office or the qualification, passage or defeat of any ballot measure, or for the support of any committee supporting or opposing candidates or ballot measures or for paying debts or obligations of any candidate or committee previously incurred for the above purposes. A contribution of anything of value shall be deemed to have a money value equivalent to the fair market value.
- 195 (a) A candidate's own money or property used in 196 support of the person's candidacy other than expense of the

197 candidate's food, lodging, travel, and payment of any fee 198 necessary to the filing for public office;

"Contribution" includes, but is not limited to:

- necessary to the filing for public office;

 (b) Paymont by any parson other than
- 199 (b) Payment by any person, other than a candidate or 200 committee, to compensate another person for services 201 rendered to that candidate or committee;
- 202 (c) Receipts from the sale of goods and services,
 203 including the sale of advertising space in a brochure,
 204 booklet, program or pamphlet of a candidate or committee and
 205 the sale of tickets or political merchandise;
- 206 (d) Receipts from fund-raising events including 207 testimonial affairs;
- (e) Any loan, guarantee of a loan, cancellation or forgiveness of a loan or debt or other obligation by a third party, or payment of a loan or debt or other obligation by a

third party if the loan or debt or other obligation was

contracted, used, or intended, in whole or in part, for use

- in an election campaign or used or intended for the payment
- of such debts or obligations of a candidate or committee
- 215 previously incurred, or which was made or received by a
- 216 committee;
- 217 (f) Funds received by a committee which are
- 218 transferred to such committee from another committee or
- other source, except funds received by a candidate committee
- 220 as a transfer of funds from another candidate committee
- 221 controlled by the same candidate but such transfer shall be
- 222 included in the disclosure reports;
- 223 (g) Facilities, office space or equipment supplied by
- 224 any person to a candidate or committee without charge or at
- reduced charges, except gratuitous space for meeting
- 226 purposes which is made available regularly to the public,
- 227 including other candidates or committees, on an equal basis
- for similar purposes on the same conditions;
- 229 (h) The direct or indirect payment by any person,
- 230 other than a connected organization, of the costs of
- 231 establishing, administering, or maintaining a committee,
- 232 including legal, accounting and computer services, fund
- 233 raising and solicitation of contributions for a committee;
- 234 (i) "Contribution" does not include:
- a. Ordinary home hospitality or services provided
- 236 without compensation by individuals volunteering their time
- 237 in support of or in opposition to a candidate, committee or
- 238 ballot measure, nor the necessary and ordinary personal
- 239 expenses of such volunteers incidental to the performance of
- 240 voluntary activities, so long as no compensation is directly
- 241 or indirectly asked or given;

- b. An offer or tender of a contribution which is
 expressly and unconditionally rejected and returned to the
 donor within ten business days after receipt or transmitted
- 245 to the state treasurer;
- 246 c. Interest earned on deposit of committee funds;
- 247 d. The costs incurred by any connected organization
- listed pursuant to subdivision [(4)] (5) of subsection 5 of
- section 130.021 for establishing, administering or
- 250 maintaining a committee, or for the solicitation of
- 251 contributions to a committee which solicitation is solely
- 252 directed or related to the members, officers, directors,
- 253 employees or security holders of the connected organization;
- 254 (13) "County", any one of the several counties of this
- 255 state or the city of St. Louis;
- 256 (14) "Covered communication":
- 257 (a) Paid advertisements broadcast over radio,
- 258 television, cable, or satellite in this state;
- 259 (b) Paid placement of content on the internet or other
- 260 electronic communication network targeted to voters in this
- 261 state;
- 262 (c) Paid advertisements published in a periodical or
- on a billboard in this state;
- 264 (d) Paid telephone communications to five hundred or
- 265 more households in this state;
- 266 (e) Mailings sent or distributed through the United
- 267 States Postal Service or similar private mail carriers to
- 268 two thousand or more recipients in this state; and
- 269 (f) Printed materials exceeding two thousand copies
- 270 distributed in this state;
- 271 (15) "Covered organization", any organization that is
- exempt from taxation under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal
- 273 Revenue Code of 1986, as amended;

- (16) "Disclosure report", an itemized report of
 receipts, expenditures and incurred indebtedness which is
 prepared on forms approved by the Missouri ethics commission
 and filed at the times and places prescribed;
- [(15)] (17) "Election", any primary, general or 278 279 special election held to nominate or elect an individual to 280 public office, to retain or recall an elected officeholder 281 or to submit a ballot measure to the voters, and any caucus 282 or other meeting of a political party or a political party 283 committee at which that party's candidate or candidates for public office are officially selected. A primary election 284 and the succeeding general election shall be considered 285 286 separate elections;
- 287 (18) "Electioneering activities":

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- (a) Any covered communication that influences or attempts to influence the action of voters for or against the nomination or election to public office of one or more candidates or the qualification, passage, or defeat of any ballot measure; and
- (b) Any covered communication made within forty-five days of a primary election or ninety days of a general election that:
- 296 a. Identifies or depicts a particular candidate by
 297 name but does not specifically call for his or her election
 298 or defeat; or
- b. Identifies or depicts a particular ballot measure by name or by its proposition or amendment number but does not specifically call for its qualification, passage, or defeat;
- [(16)] (19) "Expenditure", a payment, advance, conveyance, deposit, donation or contribution of money or anything of value for the purpose of supporting or opposing

306 the nomination or election of any candidate for public 307 office or the qualification or passage of any ballot measure 308 or for the support of any committee which in turn supports or opposes any candidate or ballot measure or for the 309 purpose of paying a previously incurred campaign debt or 310 311 obligation of a candidate or the debts or obligations of a 312 committee; a payment, or an agreement or promise to pay, 313 money or anything of value, including a candidate's own 314 money or property, for the purchase of goods, services, 315 property, facilities or anything of value for the purpose of supporting or opposing the nomination or election of any 316 candidate for public office or the qualification or passage 317 318 of any ballot measure or for the support of any committee 319 which in turn supports or opposes any candidate or ballot 320 measure or for the purpose of paying a previously incurred 321 campaign debt or obligation of a candidate or the debts or 322 obligations of a committee. An expenditure of anything of value shall be deemed to have a money value equivalent to 323 324 the fair market value. "Expenditure" includes, but is not limited to: 325

- 326 (a) Payment by anyone other than a committee for 327 services of another person rendered to such committee;
- 328 (b) The purchase of tickets, goods, services or
 329 political merchandise in connection with any testimonial
 330 affair or fund-raising event of or for candidates or
 331 committees, or the purchase of advertising in a brochure,
 332 booklet, program or pamphlet of a candidate or committee;
- 333 (c) The transfer of funds by one committee to another 334 committee;
- (d) The direct or indirect payment by any person,
 other than a connected organization for a committee, of the
 costs of establishing, administering or maintaining a

candidate or ballot measure;

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committee, including legal, accounting and computer
services, fund raising and solicitation of contributions for
a committee; but

- (e) "Expenditure" does not include:
- a. Any news story, commentary or editorial which is broadcast or published by any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine or other periodical without charge to the candidate or to any person supporting or opposing a
- 347 The internal dissemination by any membership organization, proprietorship, labor organization, 348 corporation, association or other entity of information 349 advocating the election or defeat of a candidate or 350 351 candidates or the passage or defeat of a ballot measure or 352 measures to its directors, officers, members, employees or security holders, provided that the cost incurred is 353 354 reported pursuant to subsection 2 of section 130.051;
- 355 c. Repayment of a loan, but such repayment shall be 356 indicated in required reports;
- d. The rendering of voluntary personal services by an individual of the sort commonly performed by volunteer campaign workers and the payment by such individual of the individual's necessary and ordinary personal expenses incidental to such volunteer activity, provided no compensation is, directly or indirectly, asked or given;
- e. The costs incurred by any connected organization
 listed pursuant to subdivision [(4)] (5) of subsection 5 of
 section 130.021 for establishing, administering or
 maintaining a committee, or for the solicitation of
 contributions to a committee which solicitation is solely
 directed or related to the members, officers, directors,
 employees or security holders of the connected organization;

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370 The use of a candidate's own money or property for 371 expense of the candidate's personal food, lodging, travel, 372 and payment of any fee necessary to the filing for public office, if such expense is not reimbursed to the candidate 373 374 from any source; 375 [(17)] **(20)** "Exploratory committees", a committee which shall be formed by an individual to receive 376 377 contributions and make expenditures on behalf of this 378 individual in determining whether or not the individual seeks elective office. Such committee shall terminate no 379 380 later than December thirty-first of the year prior to the general election for the possible office; 381 [(18)] (21) "Fund-raising event", an event such as a 382 dinner, luncheon, reception, coffee, testimonial, rally, 383 384 auction or similar affair through which contributions are 385 solicited or received by such means as the purchase of 386 tickets, payment of attendance fees, donations for prizes or through the purchase of goods, services or political 387 388 merchandise; [(19)] (22) "In-kind contribution" or "in-kind 389 390 expenditure", a contribution or expenditure in a form other than money; 391 392 [(20)] (23) "Labor organization", any organization of 393 any kind, or any agency or employee representation committee 394 or plan, in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers 395 396 concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work; 397 398 [(21)] (24) "Loan", a transfer of money, property or 399 anything of ascertainable monetary value in exchange for an

obligation, conditional or not, to repay in whole or in part

and which was contracted, used, or intended for use in an

402 election campaign, or which was made or received by a 403 committee or which was contracted, used, or intended to pay 404 previously incurred campaign debts or obligations of a candidate or the debts or obligations of a committee; 405 [(22)] **(25)** "Person", an individual, group of 406 407 individuals, corporation, partnership, committee, proprietorship, joint venture, any department, agency, 408 409 board, institution or other entity of the state or any of 410 its political subdivisions, union, labor organization, trade 411 or professional or business association, association, political party or any executive committee thereof, or any 412 other club or organization however constituted or any 413 414 officer or employee of such entity acting in the person's official capacity; 415 [(23)] (26) "Political merchandise", goods such as 416 417 bumper stickers, pins, hats, ties, jewelry, literature, or 418 other items sold or distributed at a fund-raising event or to the general public for publicity or for the purpose of 419 420 raising funds to be used in supporting or opposing a candidate for nomination or election or in supporting or 421 opposing the qualification, passage or defeat of a ballot 422 423 measure; [(24)] (27) "Political party", a political party which 424 425 has the right under law to have the names of its candidates 426 listed on the ballot in a general election; [(25)] (28) "Political party committee", a state, 427 district, county, city, or area committee of a political 428 party, as defined in section 115.603, which may be organized 429 430 as a not-for-profit corporation under Missouri law, and 431 which committee is of continuing existence, and has the primary or incidental purpose of receiving contributions and 432

- 433 making expenditures to influence or attempt to influence the
- 434 action of voters on behalf of the political party;
- 435 [(26)] (29) "Public office" or "office", any state,
- 436 judicial, county, municipal, school or other district, ward,
- 437 township, or other political subdivision office or any
- 438 political party office which is filled by a vote of
- 439 registered voters;
- 440 [(27)] (30) "Regular session", includes that period
- 441 beginning on the first Wednesday after the first Monday in
- 442 January and ending following the first Friday after the
- 443 second Monday in May;
- [(28)] (31) "Write-in candidate", an individual whose
- 445 name is not printed on the ballot but who otherwise meets
- 446 the definition of candidate in subdivision (3) of this
- 447 section.
 - 130.062. 1. This section shall be known, and may be
 - 2 cited as, the "Eliminate Dark Money Act".
 - 3 2. By January thirty-first of each year, any covered
 - 4 organization that made expenditures for the purpose of
 - 5 electioneering activities by means of a covered
 - 6 communication, or that made a contribution, including in-
 - 7 kind contributions, to a committee in the previous calendar
 - 8 year shall disclose in an electronic disclosure report to
 - 9 the ethics commission:
 - 10 (1) All expenditures made for purposes of
- 11 electioneering activities by means of a covered
- 12 communication in the previous calendar year;
- 13 (2) All contributions, including in-kind
- 14 contributions, made to a committee in the previous calendar
- 15 year;

- 16 (3) The percentage of their total expenditures from 17 the previous calendar year for purposes of electioneering 18 activities by means of a covered communication;
- 19 (4) The percentage of their total expenditures made 20 from the previous calendar year for contributions, including 21 in-kind contributions, to a committee during the previous 22 calendar year;
- 23 (5) The name and address of each person or entity
 24 making any single contribution to the covered organization
 25 over one thousand dollars, and each person or entity who has
 26 made, in the aggregate, contributions over one thousand
 27 dollars to such organization during the previous calendar
 28 year; and
- 29 (6) The date and amount of each contribution over one 30 thousand dollars, or of any donation from a person who has 31 made, in the aggregate, contributions over one thousand 32 dollars to such organization during the previous calendar 33 year.
- 34 Such information shall be a matter of public record which 35 the ethics commission shall subsequently make available to 36 the public.
- 3. Any covered organization required to file
 disclosure reports under subsection 2 of this section shall
 make such disclosures electronically.
- 4. Any covered organization that makes expenditures in
 excess of five thousand dollars for the purpose of
 electioneering activities by means of a covered
 communication shall make an electronic disclosure report to
 the ethics commission within forty-eight hours of exceeding
 such limit. The report shall state specifically the
 expenditure amount, the person or entity receiving the

47 expenditures, and with what ballot measure or candidate each

- 48 expenditure concerns. If a covered communication calls
- 49 specifically for the passage, election, or defeat of a
- 50 candidate or measure, the report shall indicate such
- 51 information.
- 5. Any covered organization that makes contributions,
- 53 including in-kind contributions, of over five thousand
- 54 dollars to a committee shall make an electronic disclosure
- 55 report to the ethics commission within forty-eight hours of
- 56 exceeding such limit. The report shall specifically state
- 57 the contribution amount and the committee to which each
- 58 contribution was made.
- 59 6. Every electronic disclosure report required under
- 60 subsection 5 of this section shall include the date and
- 61 amount of each contribution, as well as the name, address,
- 62 and employer, occupation if self-employed, or notation of
- 63 retirement of each person who has contributed over five
- 64 thousand dollars to the covered organization in the previous
- 65 twelve-month period.
- 7. The ethics commission shall assess fees on the
- 67 board of directors of a covered organization for failure to
- 68 file reports required by this section in the same manner as
- 69 provided in section 105.963.

Section B. Section A of this act shall become

2 effective January 1, 2022.

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