

HJR

33

<TARGET><BILL>HJR 33</BILL><SUBJECT>HJR
33</SUBJECT><COMM>HJUD27</COMM></TARGET>

ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE



REPRESENTATIVE LES GARA

MEMORANDUM

DATE: February 23, 2012
TO: Representative Carl Gatto
FROM: Representative Les Gara
RE: Hearing Request for CSHJR 33: Limiting Independent Expenditures

On behalf of the eight co-sponsors, we respectfully request that the Committee Substitute for House Joint Resolution 33, relating to the limiting of corporate and union independent expenditures to candidates for office, be scheduled for a hearing in the House Judiciary Committee. Please feel free to contact me, or my aide Toby Smith, with questions at 465-2647.

Attached you will find a background packet for CSHJR 33, including the Committee Substitute version of the bill which was moved out of the State Affairs Committee, a sponsor statement, and backup materials. Please note that included in this packet is a memo to the State Affairs Committee which outlines the changes that were made to the original version of the bill and which are now included in the Committee Substitute version.

We will let you know which witnesses will be testifying once the resolution has been scheduled.

Thank you for your consideration.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Les Gara".

Representative Les Gara

2/24/12
PS
received

ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE



REPRESENTATIVE LES GARA
REPRESENTATIVE BERTA GARDNER
REPRESENTATIVE DAVID GUTTENBERG
REPRESENTATIVE LINDSEY HOLMES
REPRESENTATIVE BETH KERTTULA
REPRESENTATIVE CHRIS TUCK
REPRESENTATIVE SCOTT KAWASAKI
REPRESENTATIVE BOB MILLER

Sponsor Statement

CSHJR 33: Resolution Relating to Limiting Campaign Expenditures

Many Americans recognize that the ability of large contributions from corporations, wealthy individuals and organizations to political candidates harms the ability of average citizens to have a voice in their own government. Prior to the landmark United States Supreme Court ruling of *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, 130 S. Ct. 876 (2010), unlimited independent expenditures from corporations and unions was prohibited. Now, corporations and unions can make unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing a candidate for public office.

Additionally, a prior ruling, *Buckely v. Vallejo*, allowed individuals to make unlimited independent expenditures, the effects of which we are now seeing in the flood of Super PAC ads that are, this political season, distorting the political process.

Unless the United States Supreme Court reverses these rulings, the only way to reverse the harmful effects of these decisions is to amend the Constitution of the United States.

Therefore, this resolution calls upon the Alaska State Legislature to urge the United States Congress and the President of the United States to work across party lines and propose a constitutional amendment to prohibit corporations, wealthy individuals and unions from making unlimited independent expenditures.

Please feel free to contact our office if you have any questions.

ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE



REPRESENTATIVE LES GARA

MEMORANDUM

TO: Chair Lynn and State Affairs Committee Members

FROM: Representative Les Gara

DATE: February 17, 2012

RE: HJR 33

Dear Chair Lynn and Committee Members:

We have crafted a proposed Committee Substitute to HJR 33 to make the following changes requested by Reps. Seaton and Johansen.

We have deleted the reference to limiting contributions by "individuals" as Reps. Johansen and Seaton have requested.

We have added the word "union" to the first whereas, as requested by Rep. Johansen, and deleted the "narrow five to four" reference to the Supreme Court *Citizens United* decision.

We have deleted the final whereas which referenced distortion of the political process.

We have made clear in the "Be It Resolved" section that we are only addressing "independent expenditures supporting or opposing candidates for public office" per the discussion between Reps. Seaton and Gruenberg.

I cannot speak for the committee members, or how they will vote, but these seemed to be the proposals the committee showed substantial support for during the last hearing.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Thank you.

Rep. Les Gara

27-LS1231V
Bullard
2/16/12

CS FOR HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 33()
IN THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA
TWENTY-SEVENTH LEGISLATURE - SECOND SESSION

BY

Offered:
Referred:

Sponsor(s): REPRESENTATIVES GARA, Tuck, Holmes, Miller, Gardner, Kawasaki, Kerttula, Petersen

A RESOLUTION

1 **Urging the United States Congress and the President of the United States to work to**
2 **amend the Constitution of the United States to prohibit corporations, unions, and other**
3 **organizations from making unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing**
4 **candidates for public office.**

5 **BE IT RESOLVED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA:**

6 **WHEREAS** a vast majority of Americans recognize that the influence of large
7 contributions by corporations, unions, and other organizations harms the ability of average
8 citizens to have a voice in their own government; and

9 **WHEREAS** the decision of the United States Supreme Court in Citizens United v.
10 Federal Election Commission, 130 S. Ct. 876 (2010), allows corporations, unions, and other
11 organizations to make unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing a candidate
12 for public office; and

13 **WHEREAS** states and the United States Congress were permitted to ban unlimited
14 independent expenditures from corporations, unions, and other organizations until the ruling
15 of the United States Supreme Court in Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission; and

1 **WHEREAS** much of the hundreds of millions of dollars being spent by corporations,
2 unions, and other organizations since the ruling of the United States Supreme Court in
3 Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission is going to negative ads, which often
4 misinform voters rather than lead to a productive discussion of the states' and nation's most
5 important issues; and

6 **WHEREAS**, unless the United States Supreme Court reverses its ruling, the only way
7 to reverse the harmful effects of the Citizens United ruling is to amend the Constitution of the
8 United States;

9 **BE IT RESOLVED** that the Alaska State Legislature urges the United States
10 Congress and the President of the United States to work across party lines to propose a
11 constitutional amendment to prohibit corporations, unions, and other organizations from
12 making unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing candidates for public
13 office.

14 **COPIES** of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Barack Obama, President of
15 the United States; the Honorable Lisa Murkowski and the Honorable Mark Begich, U.S.
16 Senators, and the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska
17 delegation in Congress; all other members of the 112th United States Congress; and the
18 presiding officers of the legislatures of each of the other 49 states.

FISCAL NOTE

STATE OF ALASKA
2012 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Bill Version HJR 33
Fiscal Note Number _____
() Publish Date _____

Identifier (file name) HJR 33 Dept. Affected _____
Title Amend U.S. Constitution Re Campaign Money Appropriation _____
Allocation _____
Sponsor Representative Gara
Requester _____ OMB Component Number _____

Expenditures/Revenues (Thousands of Dollars)

Note: Amounts do not include inflation unless otherwise noted below.

	FY13 Appropriation Requested	Included in Governor's FY13 Request	Out-Year Cost Estimates					
			FY13	FY14	FY15	FY16	FY17	FY18
OPERATING EXPENDITURES								
Personal Services								
Travel								
Services								
Commodities								
Capital Outlay								
Grants, Benefits								
Miscellaneous								
TOTAL OPERATING	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

FUND SOURCE		(Thousands of Dollars)						
1002	Federal Receipts							
1003	GF Match							
1004	GF							
1005	GF/Prgm (DGF)							
1037	GF/MH (UGF)							
1178	temp code (UGF)							
TOTAL		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

POSITIONS								
Full-time								
Part-time								
Temporary								

CHANGE IN REVENUES								

Estimated SUPPLEMENTAL (FY12) operating costs _____ (separate supplemental appropriation required)
(discuss reasons and fund source(s) in analysis section)

Estimated CAPITAL (FY13) costs _____ (separate capital appropriation required)
(discuss reasons and fund source(s) in analysis section)

Why this fiscal note differs from previous version (if initial version, please note as such)

None

Prepared by House State Affairs Committee
Division Representative Bob Lynn, Chair
Approved by _____

Phone (907) 465-2794
Date/Time 02/08/2012 2:18pm
Date 2/8/2012

LEGAL SERVICES

DIVISION OF LEGAL AND RESEARCH SERVICES
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS AGENCY
STATE OF ALASKA

(907) 465-3867 or 465-2450
FAX (907) 465-2029
Mail Stop 3101

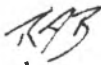
State Capitol
Juneau, Alaska 99801-1182
Deliveries to: 129 6th St., Rm. 329

MEMORANDUM

January 21, 2012

SUBJECT: Resolution relating to *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, 130 S.Ct. 876 (2010)
(Work Order No. 27-LS1231\A)

TO: Representative Les Gara
Attn: Toby Smith

FROM: Alpheus Bullard 
Legislative Counsel

This memorandum accompanies the resolution described above.

Your draft resolution related to "contributions" in addition to "independent expenditures." As I discussed with Toby, *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, 130 S.Ct. 876 (2010), does not address campaign contributions made to candidates.

Citizens United concerned independent election campaign expenditures made by corporations. The Court held that the government cannot suppress political speech, in the form of independent election campaign expenditures, on the basis of the speaker's corporate identity. Because one of the statutes involved in the case and considered by the Court concerned labor unions, it was also, arguably, a case about independent election campaign expenditures made by labor unions, though that is not made explicit in the opinion. Laws regulating corporate and union contributions to candidates, party committees, and political action committees, whether direct or in-kind, were not directly affected by the ruling.

While I modified the resolution to address only independent expenditures and redrafted the language of the resolution to conform with the *Manual of Legislative Drafting* (2011), you may wish to further amend the content and language of the resolution. Please review the draft to ensure that it remains consistent with your intent.

Please also note that the Lieutenant Governor's office will not e-mail resolutions and has asked our office not to draft resolutions requiring this.

If you have questions, would like a summary of the *Citizens United* decision, or if I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me.

TLAB:ljw
12-033.ljw

Enclosure

received

3/16/2012
PS

HJR 33

Amend U.S. Constitution
Re: Campaign Money



ALLIANCE for
REPRODUCTIVE
JUSTICE

2012 Women's Summit

Dear Representative Gatto
Please bring ^{up for debate} House Joint Resolution 33
and Senate Joint Resolution 13 to ^{constitutionally} limit and
prohibit corporate contributions from corporations,
unions and other organizations. A corporation
should not be able to have more sway
over our government than the people our
government should represent. It seems we
have become an oligarchy rather than
a democracy. Please bring this resolution
to the floor. One person should equal one
vote.

Thank you for your service to our state.

Sincerely,
E. Shena Marcil

E. Shena Marcil
706 E. 73rd Ave #1
Anchorage, AK 99518
akshena@gmail.com

2012 Women's Summit Sponsor
Alliance for Reproductive Justice

Co-Sponsors

- Juneau Pro-Choice Coalition
- Alaska Women's Lobby
- Alaska Women for Political Action
- Business and Professional Women-North to the Future
- Alaska Aids Assistance Association
- YWCA Alaska
- Planned Parenthood of the Great Northwest
- Pride Foundation
- Anchorage NOW
- Alaska Federation of Business and Professional Women
- Juneau Democrats

Supporters

- Kachemak Bay Family Planning Clinic
- ACLU of Alaska
- PFLAG

Melanie Lesh

From: Rep. Les Gara
Sent: Thursday, March 01, 2012 5:17 PM
To: Melanie Lesh
Cc: Toby Smith
Subject: HJR 33 Hearing?

Hi Melanie. We've substantially narrowed down our resolution seeking a federal constitutional amendment banning unlimited union and corporate "independent expenditures" – those are expenditures that are not connected to a campaign and spent independently of a candidate's control. I've spoken to committee members and it seems we have the support to pass it. I just spoke to Steve Thompson. I know it's not Carl's favorite bill – but can we get a hearing and get it out of committee?

The original resolution also sought to ban unlimited expenditures by individuals, and that was taken out – which is fine. I don't want to bug Carl – texted him this am just to check up on him.

3/5/12 mtg. 4
Mel E
★ SJR 13
Sharman
Haley
haley.sharman
@gmail.com

Melanie Lesh

From: Rep. Carl Gatto
Sent: Friday, March 02, 2012 8:02 AM
To: Melanie Lesh
Subject: Fwd: Three More Ways to Take Action on HJR 33

Begin forwarded message:

From: Ruth Danner <ruthdannerofjuneau@gmail.com>
Date: March 2, 2012 5:57:04 AM AKST
To: <[Representative Carl Gatto@legis.state.ak.us](mailto:Representative_Carl_Gatto@legis.state.ak.us)>, <[Representative Steve Thompson@legis.state.ak.us](mailto:Representative_Steve_Thompson@legis.state.ak.us)>, <[Representative Wes Keller@legis.state.ak.us](mailto:Representative_Wes_Keller@legis.state.ak.us)>, <[Representative Bob Lynn@legis.state.ak.us](mailto:Representative_Bob_Lynn@legis.state.ak.us)>, <[Representative Lance Pruitt@legis.state.ak.us](mailto:Representative_Lance_Pruitt@legis.state.ak.us)>, <[Representative Max Gruenberg@legis.state.ak.us](mailto:Representative_Max_Gruenberg@legis.state.ak.us)>, <[Representative Lindsey Holmes@legis.state.ak.us](mailto:Representative_Lindsey_Holmes@legis.state.ak.us)>, <[Representative Mike Hawker@legis.state.ak.us](mailto:Representative_Mike_Hawker@legis.state.ak.us)>
Subject: Re: Three More Ways to Take Action on HJR 33

Dear House Judiciary Committee Members:

I serve as an Assembly member here in Juneau, but am writing to you only as an individual. I have never heard a single individual say they support the Citizens United decision or unlimited corporate and union political contributions. The current situation concentrates too much money with a focused decision maker. Corporate and union funds come from their shareholders and union members and the initiatives they these entities choose to support do not represent the majority decision of the stakeholders.

Please hear HJR 33 and keep it moving.

Thank you for your consideration and for your service.

Sincere regards,

Ruth Danner
CBJ Assembly Member
1028 Arctic Circle
Juneau, Alaska 99801
(907) 321-2283
RuthDannerofJuneau@gmail.com

Melanie Lesh

From: B Knight <bknight15@hotmail.com>
Sent: Thursday, March 01, 2012 9:56 PM
To: Rep. Carl Gatto; Rep. Steve Thompson; Rep. Wes Keller; Rep. Bob Lynn; Rep. Lance Pruitt; Rep. Max Gruenberg; Rep. Lindsey Holmes; Rep. Mike Hawker
Subject: Please schedule a hearing for HJR 33

Dear Alaska House Judiciary Members,

I am writing to request that you schedule a hearing on HJR 33 sponsored by Rep. Les Gara. This resolution would send a unified message to Congress and the President to "work to amend the Constitution of the United States to prohibit corporations, unions, and other organizations from making unlimited independent expenditures supporting or opposing candidates for public office." This is not a Republican nor a Democrat issue. The very fabric of representative government was ripped away from all Americans with the US Supreme Court *Citizens United* decision. I hope you not only allow for a hearing of HJR 33 but support it as well.

Thank you,

Rebecca Knight
PO Box 1331
Petersburg, Alaska 99833

Legislators Tell Murkowski Their Concerns

By [Dave Donaldson, APRN - Juneau](#) | February 23, 2012 - 5:35 pm

Content blocked by your organization

Near the end of her presentation, Senator Murkowski asked legislators to communicate with the federal government and with her office about any concerns they might have.

She was quickly asked about two messages to the federal government that are pending action in the legislature this session.

A resolution by Anchorage Republican Charisse Millett asks the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Land Management to clean up 137 abandoned oil wells drilled by the federal government within the National Petroleum Reserve. The wells were part of government-sponsored NPR-A exploration between 1942 and 1982 and have never been plugged or subject to remediation. Leaving them as they are is a violation of state and federal law. Murkowski said that is “Offensive.”

You want an action plan, let’s raise hell. This is just wrong. It’s just wrong and they can’t handle the fact that they have turned their head to the responsibility. And yet, they won’t let you walk anywhere up there without sixteen permits – and yet they have failed in their environmental stewardship in a way that is so egregious.

She told Millett that seven of the wells have been cleaned. The next thirty seven wells on the federal list would cost only \$50-million to close – but the Interior Department refuses to work on more than one per year.

Another resolution pending in the House is by Anchorage Democrat Les Gara that calls for a Constitutional Amendment to prevent corporations or unions from being able to make unlimited, secret contributions to political campaigns. That was the result of the U-S Supreme Court’s now-famous Citizens United decision that allows private money into the process without having the source of that money identified.

Murkowski said the decision has led to a phenomenal impact on this year’s elections and is counter to the idea of transparent government.

For lots of different reasons, people don’t like to disclose. For lots of good reasons, we need to disclose. So here’s where I am on Citizens United. If we can figure out a way that legislatively that we can require greater disclosure and we need to do it soon.

Murkowski pointed out that she was the beneficiary of a SuperPAC’s support in the 2010 election. However, she said the principle supporters or all such groups should be made

public – however, she doesn't expect any federal action until after this year's campaigns are over.

Millett's resolution on what's called the Legacy Wells is in the Rules Committee and could be on the House floor at any time. Gara's resolution on Citizens United is in the House Judiciary Committee.

The Washington Post

Poll: Large majority opposes Supreme Court's decision on campaign financing

Advertisement

By Dan Eggen
Washington Post Staff Writer
Wednesday, February 17, 2010; 4:38 PM

Americans of both parties overwhelmingly oppose a Supreme Court ruling that allows corporations and unions to spend as much as they want on political campaigns, and most favor new limits on such spending, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll.

Eight in 10 poll respondents say they oppose the high court's Jan. 21 decision to allow unfettered corporate political spending, with 65 percent "strongly" opposed. Nearly as many backed congressional action to curb the ruling, with 72 percent in favor of reinstating limits.

The poll reveals relatively little difference of opinion on the issue among Democrats (85 percent opposed to the ruling), Republicans (76 percent) and independents (81 percent).

The results suggest a strong reservoir of bipartisan support on the issue for President Obama and congressional Democrats, who are in the midst of crafting legislation aimed at limiting the impact of the high court's decision.

"If there's one thing that Americans from the left, right and center can all agree on, it's that they don't want more special interests in our politics," Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.), who is spearheading the legislative effort, said in a statement after the poll was released Wednesday.

"We hope we can get strong and quick bipartisan support for our legislation, which passes constitutional muster but will still effectively limit the influence of special interests."

Under legislation being drafted by Schumer and Rep. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.), companies with foreign ownership or federal contracting ties would be limited in their ability to spend corporate money on elections.

The lawmakers also want to require companies to inform shareholders about political spending; to mandate special "political activities" accounts for corporations, unions and advocacy groups; and to require that corporate executives appear in political advertising funded by their companies.

Other likely proposals include banning participation in U.S. elections by bank bailout recipients.

Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (Ky.) and other Republican lawmakers have praised the high court ruling as a victory for free speech, however, and have signaled their intent to oppose any legislation intended to blunt the impact of the court's decision.

In *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, the high court ruled 5-4 that corporations have the same rights as individuals when it comes to political speech and can therefore use their profits to support or oppose individual candidates. The decision appears to open the door to unlimited spending by corporations, trade groups and unions in the weeks leading up to an election, which has been explicitly

banned for decades.

Democrats have seized on the ruling as an example of judicial overreach and vowed to enact new limits on political spending by corporations, which have traditionally favored Republicans in their contribution patterns. Obama said in his State of the Union address that the ruling will "open the floodgates for special interests, including foreign corporations, to spend without limit in our elections."

Republicans and business groups have rallied around the ruling, arguing that the decision merely levels the playing field with free-spending unions and other liberal interest groups.

Jeff Patch, communications director for the Center for Competitive Politics, which supports the court's decision, said the ruling's potential impact has been distorted by Obama and other Democratic critics.

"Campaign finance is an incredibly complex legal framework, and most Americans have an incentive to remain rationally ignorant about the laws and regulations at issue," Patch wrote in a [news release](#).

The poll, however, suggests there may be political risks for the GOP in opposing limits that appear to be favored by the party's base.

Nearly three-quarters of self-identified conservative Republicans say they oppose the Supreme Court ruling, with most of them strongly opposed. Some two-thirds of conservative Republicans favor congressional efforts to limit corporate and union spending, though with less enthusiasm than liberal Democrats.

Indeed, the poll shows remarkably strong agreement about the ruling across all demographic groups, and big majorities of those with household incomes above and below \$50,000 alike oppose the decision. Age, race and education levels also appeared to have little relative bearing on the answers.

The questions on corporate political spending were included as part of a poll conducted Feb. 4 to 8 by conventional and cellular telephone. The margin of sampling error for the for the full poll of 1,004 randomly selected adults is plus or minus three percentage points.

Polling director Jon Cohen contributed to this report.

[View all comments](#) that have been posted about this article.

Post a Comment

[View all comments](#) that have been posted about this article.

Comments that include profanity or personal attacks or other inappropriate comments or material will be removed from the site. Additionally, entries that are unsigned or contain "signatures" by someone other than the actual author will be removed. Finally, we will take steps to block users who violate any of our posting standards, terms of use or privacy policies or any other policies governing this site. Please review the [full rules](#) governing commentaries and discussions. You are fully responsible for the content that you post.

© 2010 The Washington Post Company



(e.g. Donors, Politicians, Corporations and more)



Outside Spending

Campaign contributions and lobbying expenditures are not the only ways that money is used influence public policy decisions.

Thus far, outside groups (parties, super PACs, corporations, unions, other groups, etc.) have spent **\$55,573,113** during the 2012 election cycle to run ads, make phone calls, distribute literature and engage in other activities to sway the electorate about candidates and issues.

Organizations not directly affiliated with political parties accounted for **\$51,794,091** of that amount, of which **\$45,012,210** was spent by **305** super PACs.

A January 2010 Supreme Court decision (*Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*) now permits corporations and unions to make such expenditures from their treasuries directly and through other organizations. The decision allows such activity to take place without complete or immediate disclosure of who funds such communications, preventing voters from understanding who is truly behind many political messages.

[Read more...](#)

Select a cycle: '2012

Top Groups Making Outside Expenditures in 2012 Elections, Excluding Party Committees

Organization	Total	View	Independent Expenditures	Elec Comm	Comm Costs	Super PAC	527s [†]	501c
Restore Our Future	\$17,534,037	C	\$17,534,037	\$0	\$0	x		
Winning Our Future	\$8,838,997	C	\$8,838,997	\$0	\$0	x		
Make Us Great Again	\$3,959,824	C	\$3,959,824	\$0	\$0	x		
Endorse Liberty	\$3,347,176	C	\$3,347,176	\$0	\$0	x		
Our Destiny PAC	\$2,453,204	C	\$2,453,204	\$0	\$0	x		
Red, White & Blue	\$1,954,534	C	\$1,954,534	\$0	\$0	x		
Ending Spending	\$1,742,479	C	\$0	\$1,742,479	\$0	x		x
House Majority PAC	\$1,812,169	L	\$1,812,169	\$0	\$0	x		
Senate Conservatives Fund	\$1,084,555	C	\$1,084,555	\$0	\$0			
American Crossroads	\$1,084,223	C	\$1,084,223	\$0	\$0	x		

[VIEW ALL GROUPS](#)

* C = Conservative, L = Liberal

[†] Indicates that this organization has a 527 committee registered with the IRS. The committee's 527 spending outside of electioneering communications is NOT included in these totals. [Read more about 527s.](#)

Top 2012 Races Attracting Outside Spending, Excluding Party Committees

Race	Total	For Dem	Against Dem	For Repub	Against Repub
President	\$43,528,889	\$32,857	\$1,461,187	\$19,987,918	\$22,018,847
New York District 26	\$1,519,007	\$173,341	\$313,449	\$68,917	\$863,300
Texas Senate	\$1,103,173	\$0	\$0	\$634,413	\$468,760
Nebraska Senate	\$717,409	\$408,345	\$742	\$310,322	\$0
Oregon District 1	\$684,485	\$57,334	\$0	\$13,051	\$594,100
Nevada District 2	\$296,139	\$0	\$188,952	\$104,937	\$2,250
New York District 9	\$270,442	\$0	\$68,555	\$39,231	\$162,656
Iowa District 3	\$208,664	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$208,664
Utah Senate	\$186,539	\$0	\$0	\$51,351	\$135,188
Massachusetts Senate	\$188,017	\$10,017	\$0	\$0	\$158,000

[VIEW ALL RACES](#)

? Why don't the numbers add up?

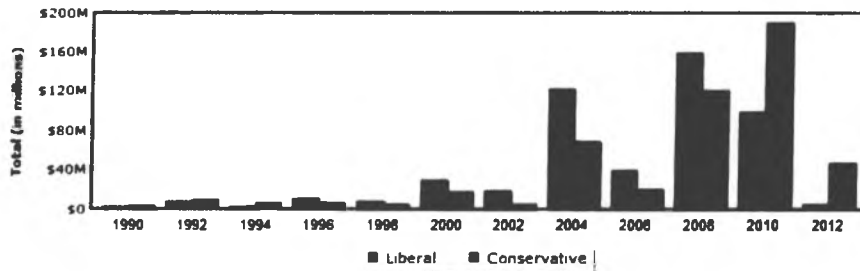
Top 2012 Candidates Attracting Outside Expenditures, Excluding Party Committees

Candidate	Race	Total	For Dem	Against Dem	For Repub	Against Repub	Results
Gingrich, Newt (R)	PRES	\$19,805,570	\$0	\$0	\$3,317,794	\$16,487,776	
Romney, Mitt (R)	PRES	\$8,912,582	\$0	\$0	\$3,913,502	\$4,999,080	
Perry, Rick (R)	PRES	\$3,984,824	\$0	\$0	\$3,984,824	\$0	
Paul, Ron (R)	PRES	\$3,857,090	\$0	\$0	\$3,724,100	\$132,990	
Santorum, Rick (R)	PRES	\$2,511,525	\$0	\$0	\$2,112,524	\$399,001	
Huntsman, Jon (R)	PRES	\$2,453,454	\$0	\$0	\$2,453,454	\$0	
Obama, Barack (D)	PRES	\$1,522,126	\$32,657	\$1,481,187	\$0	\$0	
Corwin, Jane (R)	NY28	\$649,611	\$0	\$0	\$66,817	\$480,694	
Cruz, Ted (R)	TXS2	\$634,413	\$0	\$0	\$634,413	\$0	
Cornilles, Robert (R)	OR01	\$607,151	\$0	\$0	\$13,051	\$594,100	

[VIEW ALL CANDIDATES](#)

GROUP FILTER: [Excluding Party Committees](#) | [All Groups](#)

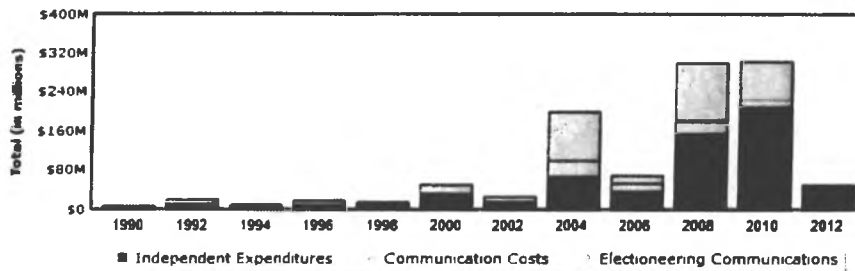
Total Liberal vs. Conservative Outside Spending, Excluding Party Committees



Total Outside Spending by Election Cycle, Excluding Party Committees

See: [entire cycle](#) | [Year-to-date](#)

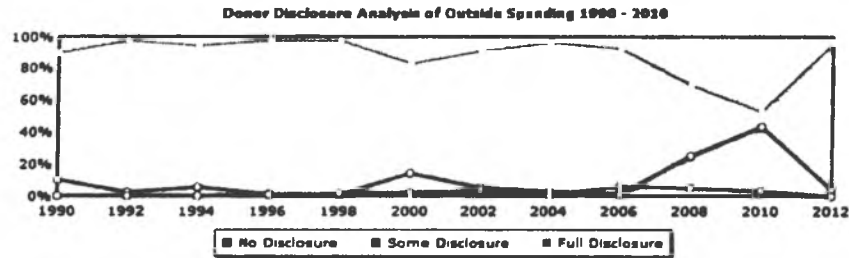
Download:



Cycle	Total	Independent Expenditures	Electioneering Communications	Communication Costs
2012	\$51,794,091	\$49,804,457	\$1,918,698	\$70,936
2010	\$304,679,091	\$210,912,167	\$79,958,557	\$13,808,367
2008	\$301,679,929	\$156,841,694	\$119,256,138	\$25,581,897
2006	\$88,852,502	\$37,394,589	\$15,152,328	\$16,305,587
2004	\$200,102,202	\$68,716,443	\$100,218,129	\$31,167,630
2002	\$27,289,285	\$16,588,844	N/A	\$10,700,441
2000	\$50,796,592	\$33,034,631	N/A	\$17,761,961
1998	\$15,191,107	\$10,266,937	N/A	\$4,924,170
1996	\$17,884,043	\$10,167,742	N/A	\$7,716,301
1994	\$9,538,644	\$5,219,215	N/A	\$4,319,629
1992	\$19,635,123	\$10,947,342	N/A	\$8,687,781
1990	\$7,213,219	\$5,650,524	N/A	\$1,562,695

[Show/hide 1990-2004 cycles](#)

Outside Spending by Disclosure, Excluding Party Committees



Feel free to distribute or cite this material, but please credit the Center for Responsive Politics. For permission to reprint for commercial uses, such as textbooks, contact the Center.

The Center for Responsive Politics
 Except for the [Revolving Door](#) section, content on this site is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-Share Alike 3.0 United States License](#) by OpenSecrets.org. To request permission for commercial use, please [contact us](#).
 Politicians & Elections

- Presidential
- Congress
- Congressional Committees
- Congressional Elections
- Personal Finances
- Outside Spending
- Earmarks
- Political Parties
- 2012 Overview
- Historical Elections
- Get Local
- Donor Lookup

Influence & Lobbying

- Interest Groups
- Lobbying
- Revolving Door
- PACs
- Heavy Hitters
- National Donor Profiles
- 527s

News & Analysis

- OpenSecrets Blog
- OpenSecrets Reports
- OpenSecrets Mailbag
- OpenSecrets in the News
- Center Press Releases
- Issue Profiles
- Disclosure and Research Resources
- Mail List Sign-up

Resources

- Learn
- Create
- Community

About Us

- Mission
- About the Site
- Board
- Staff
- Awards & Accolades
- Funders
- Financial Information
- Employment
- Internships
- Training Opportunities
- Testimonials
- Contact Us
- Donate



OpenSecrets.org is your nonpartisan guide to money's influence on U.S. elections and public policy. Whether you're a voter, journalist, activist, student or interested citizen, use our free site to shine light on your government.

Count Cash & Make Change.

The New York Times
Reprints

This copy is for your personal, noncommercial use only. You can order presentation-ready copies for distribution to your colleagues, clients or customers here or use the "Reprints" tool that appears next to any article. Visit www.nytimes.com for samples and additional information. Order a reprint of this article now.

January 7, 2012

As Primary Looms in N.H., Donor Gives Lift to Gingrich

By **MICHAEL D. SHEAR** and **NICHOLAS CONFESSORE**

MANCHESTER, N.H. — As candidates spent the weekend trying to catch up to Mitt Romney in New Hampshire, with the primary just two days away, a longtime supporter of Newt Gingrich donated \$5 million to a “super PAC” backing his presidential bid, providing a major boost to Mr. Gingrich’s ailing campaign.

The donation by Sheldon Adelson was reported Saturday night by The Washington Post. He has long been a generous patron of Mr. Gingrich’s political career. The super PAC, Winning Our Future, was formed last month by Becky Burkett, who served until earlier last year as chief development officer for American Solutions, a political action committee that Mr. Gingrich founded. The cash infusion from Mr. Adelson instantly catapults Winning Our Future into the top ranks of candidate super PACs, groups that can raise unlimited amounts of money from donors and spend it all on advertisements and other efforts to back a specific candidate, so long as they do not coordinate with the campaign.

Ms. Burkett declined to comment on the donation on Saturday.

Restore Our Future, a super PAC backing Mr. Romney, the former Massachusetts governor, and run by his former aides, spent millions of dollars in Iowa on advertisements attacking Mr. Gingrich. The withering barrage was widely credited with torpedoing Mr. Gingrich’s standing in the state and opening the door for Mr. Romney to narrowly win last Tuesday’s caucuses.

The group is already running ads in Florida and South Carolina attacking Mr. Gingrich, and had spent roughly \$3.7 million by the beginning of last week.

Rick Santorum, who has emerged as the leading rival to Mr. Romney, began the weekend looking past Tuesday’s primary to the 11-day battle in South Carolina that will follow.

Mr. Santorum, a former United States senator from Pennsylvania, picked up support from an important social conservative on Saturday, and his campaign completed the purchase of

time for television commercials that will run in South Carolina from Tuesday through Jan. 17, according to Republicans who have been tracking the television market. He planned to head south to Greenville, S.C., as soon as Sunday morning's debate was over.

"We feel great about South Carolina," Mr. Santorum said.

The new commercials would be the Santorum campaign's largest commitment yet in South Carolina, which will hold its primary on Jan. 21. Mr. Santorum was already getting support from his "super PAC," the Red, White and Blue Fund. It began running a 30-second commercial titled "Pride" on Saturday, which emphasizes what his advisers believe is his best appeal to South Carolina voters who remain wary of supporting Mr. Romney: his deeply conservative record.

"He's the principled conservative," the announcer says. Then, taking an implicit shot at Mr. Romney, who has been attacked for reversing some of the more liberal positions he advocated as the governor of Massachusetts, the announcer adds, "Rick Santorum, the conservative we can trust."

Mr. Santorum was set to receive the support of Gary Bauer, the chairman of the conservative group Campaign for Working Families, who said he planned to endorse Mr. Santorum officially when he arrives in South Carolina. Mr. Bauer, who declared in an interview last week that he would not take part in a concerted effort "to try and stop Mitt Romney," said he had concluded that Mr. Santorum's middle-class background made him a stronger general election candidate against President Obama.

"It's going to be a particularly bitter, nasty general election. That's what the White House is signaling with the class warfare rhetoric," Mr. Bauer said in an interview on Saturday. "In an election like that, you want the base of your party to be on fire for the candidate."

With just three days left before voting in the New Hampshire primary, Mr. Santorum made his closing argument the one that candidates have been leveling against Mr. Romney for months — that Mr. Romney is not conservative enough to be the party's standard-bearer.

Standing on the bench of a picnic table here on a balmy afternoon outside a small delicatessen, Mr. Santorum used his sharpest language yet, saying that Mr. Romney was the candidate of the "establishment" and would only perpetuate "the status quo."

"The leader in this race fashions himself as, 'I'm a C.E.O., I'm a good manager,'" Mr. Santorum said in a near shout as he spoke without a microphone. But, he said, the country

did not need a manager. "It needs someone with a bold vision to transform Washington to limit government, not to manage the problems that are in that city," he said.

Mr. Gingrich and Ron Paul both echoed Mr. Santorum's attack against Mr. Romney.

Mr. Gingrich released a flier called "Not Romney!" that hammers the message that "Romney is not a conservative" and "Romney is not electable." Mr. Paul has said that Mr. Romney "won't stand firm" for conservative principles.

Mr. Romney continued to largely ignore his rivals. Campaigning at a rally in Derry on Saturday morning, Mr. Romney hammered away at President Obama's leadership.

"What frightens me today is we have a president I don't think who understands the nature of America, the power of opportunity and freedom," Mr. Romney said. "He said he was going to bring big things to America. Well, he did, but they came with great big price tags and they didn't work out so well. Big things, bad things, expensive things."

Polls show that Mr. Romney leads the field by a wide margin in New Hampshire. But he and his allies spent the day trying to lower expectations, even as they sought to keep his supporters motivated.

"Let me tell you: don't get too confident with those poll numbers. I've watched polls come and go," Mr. Romney said at a breakfast rally on Saturday. "Things change very quickly. It's very fluid. I need to make sure you guys get your friends to go out and vote, and you vote as well."

Also on Saturday, five former United States ambassadors to the Vatican endorsed Mr. Romney, choosing a Mormon over two Roman Catholic rivals in the race for the Republican presidential nomination.

In a statement showcased by Mr. Romney's campaign, the ambassadors said they "are united in our wholehearted support for the candidacy of Mitt Romney for the presidency of the United States because of his commitment to and support of the values that we feel are critical in a national leader."

Jon M. Huntsman Jr., a former governor of Utah, continued to campaign across New Hampshire. At stops on Saturday morning, he beseeched voters to be serious about their choice.

"The pundits come into New Hampshire, as they are now, and say, 'Here's how it's going to happen folks,'" Mr. Huntsman said at a town-hall-style meeting in North Haverhill, where

about 100 people turned out. “Then the people of New Hampshire step in and it’s a different reality. You always, always upend conventional wisdom, and I think you’re going to do it again.”

Mr. Paul had said he planned to support his party’s eventual nominee, even though most of the other Republican candidates, he believed, would hew close to the status quo.

“I will support the Republican nominee, because I think they will be better” than President Obama, he said. “But I think it will be marginally better.”

Gov. Rick Perry of Texas, who is not competing in New Hampshire but will appear in the debates here, planned to go to South Carolina on Sunday for a last effort to save his candidacy.

Reporting was contributed by Katharine Q. Seelye from Amherst, N.H.; Trip Gabriel and Richard A. Oppel Jr. from Concord, N.H.; Abby Goodnough from North Haverhill, N.H.; and Jeff Zeleny from Manchester.

The Washington Post

[Back to previous page](#)

Casino mogul Sheldon Adelson's family is bankrolling Gingrich Super PAC

By James V. Grimaldi, Updated: Wednesday, February 1, 11:51 AM

Family members of Las Vegas Sands casino magnate [Sheldon Adelson](#) donated \$1 million last year to the independent committee behind presidential hopeful Newt Gingrich, in addition to the \$10 million that Adelson and his wife, Miriam, have given the super PAC this year.

Newly released federal reports show that the Winning Our Future political action committee, which backs Gingrich's campaign, is more closely tied to the Adelson family than previously known. Of the \$2 million in donations reported by the super PAC through the end of 2011, half of the money came from the daughters and son-in-law of Miriam Adelson, according to filings made to the Federal Election Commission late Tuesday.

After Gingrich's overwhelming loss to Mitt Romney in Tuesday's Florida GOP primary, Winning Our Future will likely need another infusion of cash if it plans to stay active in upcoming contests, particularly Super Tuesday, March 6, when 10 states hold primaries and caucuses. The super PAC may again turn to the Adelson family, which has single-handedly kept Gingrich's presidential bid alive with handsome donations to the group. The Adelsons are strong backers of [Gingrich's views on Israel](#), where Miriam Adelson was born.

The large donations from the Adelson family members, who had maxed out in making individual contributions to Gingrich's campaign, helped Winning our Future launch a barrage of negative advertising against Romney. Sheldon Adelson is chairman of the Las Vegas Sands Corp., operator of casino resorts worldwide, and one of the richest men in America. Miriam Adelson is a physician.

The new reported donations come from Miriam Adelson's oldest daughter, Yasmin Lukatz, and Yasmin's husband, Oren Lukatz, who gave \$250,000 each. Miriam Adelson's second daughter, Sivan Oschorn, gave \$500,000. Miriam Adelson has four children; the two daughters who donated to the PAC are from her first marriage, to a Tel Aviv physician.

The Adelsons declined to comment, but friends of the couple said that they expect them to remain loyal to Gingrich. "He will stick with Newt until Newt drops out of the race," said an associate of Adelson who spoke on condition that he not be named so he could comment frankly about his longtime friend. "I think he'll do whatever he needs to do to support Newt and do whatever he needs to do to beat Barack Obama."

Winning Our Future, whose spokesman Rick Tyler declined to comment, has spent about \$12 million to

promote Gingrich's candidacy so far, according to reports. It is unclear exactly how much the PAC has raised because the FEC has required the group to report those funds only through the end of December. The Adelsons gave \$10 million in January.

The only other major donors to the PAC listed in the report were from Texas billionaire Harold Simmons, who is a major backer of Texas Gov. Rick Perry, and Alabama commercial real estate investor W. S. Propst. Each gave \$500,000 each in December.

Super PACs, under recent court rulings, can accept unlimited amounts of donations as long as the committees do not coordinate with a campaign. Winning Our Future is run by former Gingrich associates who had previously worked for Gingrich's campaign and his similarly named 527 nonprofit organization.

Winning Our Future reported to the FEC as the address for Miriam Adelson's daughters and son-in-law — Ochshorn and the Lukatzes — as being the Venetian hotel in Las Vegas owned by Sheldon Adelson's Las Vegas Sands Corp.

Yasmin Lukatz serves on the board of trustees of the Dr. Miriam and Sheldon G. Adelson Educational Campus, a school in Las Vegas. A 2008 [story](#) from the Israeli news site [Haaretz.com](#) referred to Lukatz as a high-ranking Las Vegas Sands Corp. executive, and her biography on the [campus Web site](#) states that she is special assistant to Sheldon Adelson, chairman and CEO of Las Vegas Sands. But a company spokesman said Lukatz is no longer an employee of her stepfather's firm.

Little is known about Lukatz, who began making contributions to Republicans in 2007 and is listed in federal reports by campaigns as a homemaker or an executive at the Venetian. According to [Haaretz.com](#), [Yasmin Lukatz](#) returned to Israel "to do military service as an officer in the Israel Air Force. Afterward she stayed on, concluding cum laude a first degree in law and business administration at Tel Aviv University."

Before Oren Lukatz married Yasmin Oschorn in 2009, he had not made a campaign contribution to a candidate to federal office, records show. Since late 2010, he has made nearly \$400,000 in donations, including the recent PAC gift.

His [Twitter bio](#) says that he was "born and raised in Israel, educated in Europe and in the United States." A graduate of the San Francisco Art Institute, Oren Lukatz's photography has been shown in U.S. galleries, according to his [Web site](#). One recent [show](#), "Road Closed Ahead," features "dead-end alleys, old motels, neglected buildings, empty pools and filthy streets" near the Las Vegas Strip, the Web site said.

Sivan Oschorn studied astrophysics and business administration, according to [Haaretz.com](#), and she is married to attorney Patrick Dumont, a vice president of Las Vegas Sands, according to FEC filings. Dumont also is a major GOP contributor.

Staff researcher Lucy Shackelford contributed to this story.

© The Washington Post Company



INDEPENDENT SPENDING IN ALASKA, 2006-2010

By **Anne Bauer**
NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON MONEY IN STATE POLITICS

Aug. 12, 2011



This publication was made possible by grants from:

Open Society Foundations
Public Welfare Foundation
Rockefeller Family Fund

OVERVIEW

OVERVIEW

The U.S. Supreme Court's January 2010 *Citizens United v. FEC* ruling permitted corporations and unions to spend unlimited amounts of money from their general treasuries to advocate for or against candidates. After the *Citizens United* ruling, the Alaska State Legislature passed a bill allowing corporations and unions to use their treasury funds to pay for independent expenditures that targeted candidates. Prior, those entities were only allowed to fund independent expenditures targeting ballot measures.

From 2006 through 2010, entities and individuals spent \$2.6 million targeting ballot measures and nearly \$1 million targeting candidates. Although no appreciable increase in spending was observed in 2010 when compared to previous elections, the targets shifted radically, from ballot measures to candidates. Nearly \$1 million of the \$1.2 million spent in 2010 targeted candidates, while all but \$158 of the \$2.5 million spent during the three previous elections targeted ballot measures.

TABLE 1: INDEPENDENT SPENDING COMPARED TO DIRECT CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS IN ALASKA, 2006–2010

ELECTION	TOTAL INDEPENDENT SPENDING FOR OR AGAINST CANDIDATES AND MEASURES	TOTAL DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES AND MEASURES	INDEPENDENT SPENDING COMPARED TO DIRECT CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
2006	\$1,930,767	\$14,257,313	14%
2007	\$166	\$172,586	>1%
2008	\$582,432	\$16,994,996	3%
2010	\$1,238,923	\$10,276,910	12%
TOTAL	\$3,752,288	\$41,701,805	

The type of spender changed over the study period as well. Whereas the top spending sector in 2006 was business (\$1.8 million), and tribal governments (nearly \$397,000) in 2008, after the law changed in 2010, policy organizations led the spending with more than \$810,000.

Despite being legally allowed to do so in 2010, corporations reported no independent expenditures, though we cannot know if they gave to policy organizations that do not have to publicly disclose their donors. Conservative policy organizations were among the top spenders in 2010, led by the Republican Governors Association with \$705,807. Unions, spending for the first time in 2010, kicked out the next-largest amount at \$279,068.

Advertising commanded most of the independent spending dollars in the study period 2006–2010, taking 71 percent, or \$2.7 million. Candidate support activities such as phone banks and mailings took up another 24 percent, or \$888,910.

METHODOLOGY

The National Institute on Money in State Politics collects independent spending reports in states that provide robust disclosure. These states define “independent expenditure” and “electioneering communication” in statute at least as thoroughly as the federal definition. In Alaska, electioneering communications are reported as expenditures on the 15-6 form if independent, and on the candidate's form if for self. (For example, a candidate can make what Alaska defines as an electioneering communication in support of his or her own candidacy). Therefore, only the expenditures reported on the 15-6 form were collected by the Institute.

The Institute used the information provided on disclosure reports filed by individuals and committees to assign an occupation code to the filers. When that information was not provided, staff conducted additional research to determine a filer's economic interest, where possible. The occupation codes are based on the Standard Industrial Classification system used by the federal government.

If an expenditure lists multiple targets, and the amount paid does not specify how much was attributable to each target, the target amount is left blank. Therefore, the total spent on each target may be under-reported.

The Institute does not equate money spent in opposition to one candidate with money spent in support of that candidate's opponent, and instead discusses money spent by race. Only expenditures made with the purpose of influencing state elections were reported.

STATE OF DISCLOSURE IN ALASKA

Alaska stands out among the 50 states as a leader in disclosing independent expenditures. The state requires meaningful reporting about who makes the expenditures, who the expenditures supported or opposed, what the expenditures paid for, and when they were made. The expenditures are reported on a form created specifically for that purpose, making them easy to find. Alaska requires timely filing for reports and then takes the important next step of making that information readily available to the public via an easily navigable online system. Alaska allows organizations and people to make independent expenditures on candidates and ballot measures. One unique feature of reporting in Alaska is that funders can take a neutral position on issues and candidates that draw their spending.

Alaska separately defines independent expenditures from other types of political communications:

- Independent expenditures are defined as "an expenditure that is made without the direct or indirect consultation or cooperation with, or at the suggestion or the request of, or with the prior consent of, a candidate, a candidate's campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer, or another person acting as a principal or agent of the candidate;"
- Electioneering communications are defined as those that "(A) directly or indirectly identifies a candidate; (B) addresses an issue of national, state, or local political importance and attributes a position on that issue to the candidate identified; and (C) occurs within the 30 days preceding a general or municipal election;"
- Express communications are defined as "a communication that, when read as a whole and with limited reference to outside events, is susceptible of no other reasonable interpretation but as an exhortation to vote for or against a specific candidate;"
- Issue communications are those that "(A) directly or indirectly identifies a candidate; and (B) addresses an issue of national, state, or local political importance and does not support or oppose a candidate for election to public office."

Political communications "include advertisements in any media, billboards, handbills, websites, and other communications intended to influence the election outcome."¹

Electioneering communications are generally reported as independent expenditures. Whether or not express communications and issue communications are reported depends on specific circumstances (Alaska Statute 15.13.110).

TOP INDEPENDENT SPENDERS & FUNDERS IN ALASKA, 2006-2010

At nearly \$1.5 million, ConocoPhillips was the largest independent spender between 2006 and 2010, all of it opposing Measure 2 in 2006. The measure, had it passed, would have imposed a new, temporary, tax on natural gas leases.

TABLE 2: TOP INDEPENDENT SPENDERS IN ALASKA, 2006–2010

SPENDER	ELECTION	TOTAL
ConocoPhillips	2006	\$1,473,182
Republican Governors Association	2010	\$705,807
NANA Regional Corporation	2008	\$380,993
Robert Gillam	2008	\$178,808
Northwest & Canada Cruise Association	2006	\$151,135
TOTAL		\$2,889,925

The Republican Governors Association was the largest spender targeting a candidate, putting \$705,807 on TV ads and direct mail opposing Democrat Ethan Berkowitz's 2010 gubernatorial run. No money was spent targeting Republican Governor Sean Parnell, and only \$32,106 was spent supporting Berkowitz. Berkowitz raised 81 percent as much money as Parnell did, and lost the race by a significant margin.

Overall, the third-largest spender was NANA Regional Corporation—a corporation owned and operated by the Iñupiat—which spent \$380,993 opposing Primary Measure 4 in 2008. The measure would have created two new water quality standards, specifically regulating the disposal of mining waste. The measure failed by a margin of roughly 24,600 votes of 192,000 cast.

Robert Gillam was the largest individual source of independent expenditures. He spent \$178,808 to support Primary Measure 4 in 2008. Gillam is the founder of McKinley Capital Management, a hedge fund managing funds for institutional investors.

Rounding out the top spenders is the North West & Canada Cruise Association, which spent \$151,135 against Measure 2 in 2006.²

2010 ELECTIONS IN ALASKA

In all, 24 entities made \$1.2 million in independent expenditures in 2010. Most of that money —\$977,585—targeted candidates. In comparison, candidates raised nearly \$8.5 million in direct contributions.

Prior to 2010, when corporations and unions could not use their treasury funds on independent expenditures that targeted candidates, the 2006 gubernatorial race saw exactly \$157 in independent expenditures. Four years and one U.S. Supreme Court ruling later, the 2010 gubernatorial race between Republican incumbent Gov. Sean Parnell and Democratic challenger Ethan Berkowitz attracted \$737,913 in independent spending for and against—more than any other contest that election.

Berkowitz's campaign raised 81 percent of the amount Parnell raised—\$690,282 for Berkowitz compared to \$851,126 for Parnell. However, independent spending against Berkowitz actually exceeded the amount his campaign raised in contributions. The Republican Governors Association (RGA), which did not contribute directly to Parnell, spent \$705,807 on TV ads and direct mail attacking Berkowitz.

Two unions spent money supporting Berkowitz. The Alaska Public Employees Association spent \$8,655 and the National Education Association Alaska spent \$23,451. Their PACs also contributed to Berkowitz's campaign:

\$1,000 from the National Education Association Alaska and \$2,000 from the Alaska Public Employees Association (the maximum allowed by law). Berkowitz lost the race by a significant margin.

TABLE 3: ALASKA'S 2010 GUBERNATORIAL RACE

CANDIDATE	DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO CAMPAIGN	INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES FOR	INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES AGAINST	TOTAL
Berkowitz	\$690,282	\$32,106	\$705,807	\$1,428,195
Parnell	\$851,125	\$0	\$0	\$851,125
TOTAL	\$1,541,407	\$32,106	\$705,807	\$2,279,320

Other notable races included:

- House District 7: Several labor unions and labor coalitions independently spent \$72,781 to oppose incumbent Republican Mike Kelly and support Democratic challenger Bob Miller. Miller unseated Kelly.
- Senate District P: This race drew \$55,820 in independent spending. The majority of that went to two women battling for the open seat. Labor organizations spent \$39,180 in support of Democrat Janet Reiser. Planned Parenthood and the Putting Alaska First Committee spent \$14,538 in opposition of Republican Cathy Giessel. Giessel won the seat. As an interesting aside, a third contender with no party affiliation, Phillip Dziubinski, drew \$2,002 in support from the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee. Reiser got no direct support from that group.
- Justice Fabe Retention Election: Alaska Family Action independently spent \$42,392 to oppose Supreme Court Justice Dana Fabe's retention. Fabe raised no campaign funds in that election, but won retention.

2008 ELECTIONS IN ALASKA

Six entities made a total of \$582,432 in independent expenditures in 2008.

The NANA Regional Corporation, a Regional Alaska Native corporation with 12,500 Iñupiat shareholders, spent \$380,993 to craft an independent campaign against Primary Measure 4. That measure, which failed, sought to place water quality standards on new metal mining operations; the NANA Regional Corporation feared its Red Dog Mine would be adversely affected. The NANA Corp did not contribute to Alaskans Against the Mining Shutdown, the ballot measure committee formed to oppose the measure. Independent spending, however, paled in comparison to the money raised directly by the committees. Committees in favor of the measure raised \$2.9 million; the committee opposed to it raised \$8.9 million.

2007 ELECTIONS IN ALASKA

Two entities made just \$166 in independent expenditures in 2007.

Special Advisory Vote in April, which prompted the legislature to seek a constitutional amendment to prohibit the state from offering benefits to same-sex partners of employees, garnered only \$354 in independent spending. The Juneau National Organization for Women spent \$166 in opposition to the measure, and Focus on the Family spent \$188 in support of it. The measure narrowly passed with 53 percent of the vote, though proponent committees raised significantly less than opponent committees in direct contributions.

2006 ELECTIONS IN ALASKA

Twenty-one entities made a total of \$1.9 million in independent expenditures in 2006.

Two ballot measures garnered 98 percent of the independent expenditures in 2006; all of that money was spent opposing the measures.

**TABLE 4: INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES TARGETING BALLOT MEASURES
IN ALASKA, 2006**

TARGETED MEASURE	SUBJECT	INDEPENDENT SPENDING TOTAL
General Measure 2	Gasoline Tax	\$1,742,670
Primary Measure 2	Cruise Ship Tax	\$151,135
	TOTAL	\$1,893,805

General Measure 2, vetted by former Governor Wally Hickel and other state politicians as a means of forcing gas companies to build a gas pipeline to transport natural gas to market, was the target of the lion's share of the money, \$1.7 million. The measure, soundly rejected by 65 percent of the voters, sought to "levy a new state tax on certain oil and gas leases overlying large deposits of natural gas."³ The tax would have been repealed once the pipeline was built and would have provided for a partial tax credit for any taxes paid while the measure was in effect. Oil companies spent nearly as much money in independent expenditures opposing the measure—\$1.6 million—as they contributed to committees running campaigns against it—\$1.7 million. ConocoPhillips Alaska spent \$1.5 million of the oil industry's total independent expenditures, or 85 percent of the overall total spent opposing Measure 2. ConocoPhillips gave \$252,000 to two committees in addition to the money it spent itself. BP Alaska gave \$457,000 to three ballot measure committees in addition to the \$58,219 it spent itself. There were three ballot measure committees opposing Measure 2, and one supporting it. That committee took in a total of \$500. Measure 2 failed by a two-thirds margin. The North West & Canada Cruise Association spent \$151,135 in opposition to Primary Measure 2, which sought to impose a tax on cruise ships. The association's independent expenditures were in addition to providing all but \$13,700 of the \$1.4 million raised by Alaskans Protecting Our Economy, which formed to oppose the measure. The measure passed.

CONCLUSION

Although the amount of reported independent spending did not appreciably increase in Alaska after the *Citizens United* ruling, both the spenders and the targets changed. In 2010, the majority of independent expenditure money was spent on candidates, rather than on ballot measures as in the past.

The spenders changed from mostly corporations to mostly policy organizations. Corporations reported no independent expenditures themselves, though it is unknown if they gave to policy organizations that do not have to publicly disclose their donors. Labor organizations,⁴ however, began spending directly for the first time in 2010, ponying up \$279,068, which is 23 percent of the total spent.

1. Alaska Public Offices Commission, "Form 15-6, Statement of Independent Expenditures," p. 5.

2. The North West & Canada Cruise Association was formerly known as the Northwest Cruiseship Association.

3. "Ballot Measure Summary, Measure 2: Natural Gas Taxation," *National Institute on Money in State Politics*, available from: <http://www.followthemoney.org/database/StateGlance/ballot.phtml?m=1>, accessed August 11, 2011.

4. Labor coalition groups such as Putting Alaska First are not included in this total.

—END—