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LSI Spicial Session 784 General Assembly November 15, 1973

1.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
2.	First Special Session will come to order. The
3.	prayer this morning will be offcred by Senator Davidson.
4.	Senator.
5.	(Prayer by Senator Davidson).
6.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
7.	Stand in recess at the call by the Chair.
8.	AFTER THE RECESS
9.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
10.	The First Special Session will come to order
11.	Reconvene. Reading of the Journal. Senator Soper.
12.	SENATOR SOPER:
13.	Mr. President I move that we postpone the reading
14.	and the approval of the Journals of November 13th, November
15.	14th pending the arrival of the printed Journal.
16.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
17.	Senator Soper moves we postpone the reading of the
18.	Journal for November 13th and 14th 'til the arrival of
19.	the printed Journal. All those in favor signify by saying
20.	aye. Opposed. Carries. Senate Bills on third reading.
21.	Senator Scholl on the Floor? Senator Rock, do you want
22.	to hold 6, SB 6? Senator Roe, SB 8. You wish that called,
23.	Senator? Secretary will read
24.	SECRETARY:
25.	SB No. 8. (Secretary reads title of the bill).
26.	3rd reading of the bill.
27.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
28.	Senator Roe.
29.	SENATOR ROE:
30.	Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Senate, briefly
31.	explain major sections of the bill. First of all the bill deals

their amounts specifically of over \$100 and this would be

with the disclosure of campaign contributions and expenses and

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disclosed by candidates and political committees. ... Political. l. committee would make its filing with the State Board of Election. 2. 3. The candidate for state office would file with the State Board of Elec-4. tions and with the county clerk. And the candidate for local office 5. would file with the county clerk. The filing would be handled 6. and the disclosure would be handled in the same way that the 7. disclosure of our economic interest that are currently required by state law are handled. Second major section of the bill 8. deals with the formation of an ethics commission to be composed 9. of six private citizens nominated by the Governor, confirmed 10. 11. by the Senate as well as the Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate, State Treasurer, Comptroller and Secretary of 12. STate. This commission would have powers to supervise and look 13. 14. at the economic interest statements that are currently filed as well as the statements to be filed on the campaign contribution 15. disclosure and disclosure of expenditures. Other major section 16. of the bill deals with the disclosure of economic interests by 17. 18. the interest in excess of a \$1,000 not by devalue, in other 19. words the interest in excess of a 1,000 would have to be listed. 20. There is an exception to this listing indicating that household 21. furnishings, clothing, personal effects and the like are not 22. required to be listed. This is one objection that I have heard 23. raised in committee hearings and yesterday concerning the 24. Governor's bills. Also have to list creditors over a \$1,000 25. but not the amount owed. Another important provision of the 26. bill is that it provides that the Secretary of State and the 27. county clerk must establish a procedure by April 1st of next 28. year to give notice to everyone who is required to file economic 29. interest statements. Currently we have no procedure in this State for notice. There were two cases thrown out in Will County 30. where people were prosecuted for failure to file. 31. 32. thrown out on the basis that there was no notice. A point raised by Senator Fawell yesterday concerning liability of noncompliance 33.

with any of the provisions...this has to be a knowing non-



1.	compliance so it's not a strict liability situation. I
2.	think that this is sound legislation. I think it's reasonable
3.	legislation that everyone can live with and should be willing
4.	to live with. I think thistype of legislation and these
5.	types of improvements in the governmental ethics act are
6.	long overdue particularly considering the times and the
7.	atmosphere in which we are living and I would be more than
8.	happy to attempt to answer any questions.
9.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
10.	Senator Regner.
11.	SENATOR REGNER:
12.	The sponsor yield to a couple of questions? Senator
13.	Roe how far down does this go as far as candidates and the
14.	reporting?
15.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
16.	Senator Roe.
17.	SENATOR ROF
18.	This applies across the board Senator Regner and to
19.	everyone. Atat all units of government.
20.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
21.	Senator Regner.
22.	SENATOR REGNER:
23.	What abouta political office such as ward and
24.	township committeemen?
25.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
26.	Senator Roe.
27.	SENATOR ROE:
28.	They're included.
29.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
30.	Senator Regner.
31.	SENATOR REGNER:
32.	What is the political committee which you refer to?

Would it include organizations such as the IBI, the ...



- get political contributions and do endorse political 1. 2. candidates? SENATOR REGNER: Yes. 4. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 5. Senator Roe... Senator Regner. 7. SENATOR REGNER: ...Just one more. Would the news media have to report 8. where they accepted payment for a political ad and then did 9. in ensuing time endorse candidates for the various offices 10. that they receive payment for political ads. 11. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 12. Senator Roe. 13. SENATOR ROE: 14. Could you elaborate a little bit I'm not sure if I under-15. stand the question, Senator. 16. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 17. Senator Regner. 18. SENATOR REGNER: 19. Well, I...I know you...you said there is a reporting on 20. 21. payments and receipts, etc, etc. I know many candidates buy 22. political ads in the news media. The news media then endorses candidates at some later date after that and I'm just wondering 23. if they have to report any receipt from the political candidate 24. or any of the various...organizations supporting candidates. 25.
- 27. Senator Roe.
- SENATOR ROE: 28.

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- The answer to the question and the context that you put it would 29. 30.
- PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 31.
- 32. Any further discussion? Senator Glass.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

SENATOR GLASS:



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1.	Thank you Mr. President, I would like to speak briefly
2.	in support of this bill which is I think the last one we have
3.	before us calling for a public disclosure of campaign contribution
4.	and II would urge the support of the membership. I think
5.	that this is very similar what the Federal law is. The
6.	congressmen are living with this and I don't think they're
7.	finding any serious problems with it. It does apply across
8.	the board. It seems to me to have merit. If an individual at
9.	the local level is not engaged in a campaign which calls for
10.	him to collect campaign funds there is noreporting requirements
11.	But if he does engage in a campaign andand spend money
12.	collect campaign contributions then he's covered just the same as
13.	everyone else I would urge support of this bill. I think
14.	it is a meaningful bill and in my judgment the best bill before
15.	the Body.
16.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
17.	Senato Keegan.
18.	SENATOR KEEGAN:
19.	I'd like to ask Senator Roe a question Senator, is
20.	in this billinherent the assumption that the economic
21.	interest of the spouses are identical?
22.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
23.	Senator Roe.
24.	SENATOR ROE:
25.	The answer is yes, Senator.
26.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
27.	Further discussion? Senator Netsch.
28.	SENATOR NETSCH:
29.	Senator Roe, I wonder if I mightSenator Roe
30.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
31.	Senator Roe.
32.	SENATOR NETSCH:
33.	II wonder if I might just momentarily and partially



challenge your response to Senator Keegan. On the basic 1. personal disclosure provisions of your bill are built on 2, those in the existing ethics law. Al! you have done is З. add a section and a half to clear up some ambiguities and 4. gaps in the existing personal disclosure law. Under the 5. existing ethics law as it is the law right at the present 6. time the presonal assets and all of a spouse do not have 7. to be listed unless they are constructively controlled by 8. the person who is making the report...with respect to almost 9. all of the listings. So I...isn't that correct? 10. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 11. Senator Roe. 12. SENATOR ROE: 13. That's correct and I didn't mean to be confusing with 14. my answer but it doesn't make any change you know as to the 15. law as it is. 16. SENATOR NETSCH: 17. That's right. It makes no change.,. 18. SENATOR ROE: 19. That's right. 20. SENATOR NETSCH: 21. It makes no change in the existing law in that respect. 22.

24. Right.

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SENATOR NETSCH:

SENATOR ROE:

And while I'm on my feet and have a microphone Mr.

Chairman I might just say that I might not totally agree with Senator Roe's statement that is...or Senator Glass' comment that it is the best bill that has been before us but it is a very good bill. It does have good campaign disclosure provisions...the changes made in the personal disclosure I think are...are sound but not frightening to those who do not believe in that aspect of it they do very little except fill in some gaps on the personal disclosure. It's a...it is a



thorough campaign disclosure provision and I also would 1. urge its support. 2. 3, PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 4. Senator Keegan. SENATOR KEEGAN: 5. 6. Since...since my answer to question...the answer to my question was so brief Mr. President, I would like to 7. ask the Senator whose bill I...I think does a good job on ...campaign disclosures...what...in what relationship would 9. then a husband's professional interest have for the spouse? 10. Has there been a case on that? 11. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 12. Senator Roe. 13. SENATOR ROE: 14. ... Senator Keegan, it would not make any...the new 15. provisions as proposed here make no change in our current 16. economic disclosure as it stands you know and I don't know... 17. SENATOR KEEGAN: 18. 19. But how do you interpret that? PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 20. 21. Senator Roe. SENATOR ROE: 22. 23. ...Well in certain areas of the current law as Senator Netsch has pointed you know as spouse's assets or what have 24. you are constructively treated as the same as 25. husband-wife, 26. wife-husband, that type situation. ...I...I think it's black and white. I don't think that the current law you know 27. leaves any...any problem of interpretation as...as it is 28. stated in the law. In certain provisions it provides what 29. 30. you are speaking about and certain provisions it doesn't. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 31. Any further discussion? Senator Mitchler. 32.

SENATOR MITCHLER:

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... Yes, Mr. President, members of the Senate, I sort of see a flag fly up here that directs my attention to the bill in a specific section. I'm looking on page 4, Senator Roe, of SB 8, First Special Session and in section 6, the last sentence in that section says the economic interest of the spouse of the person making the statement and of his unemancipated minor children shall be included as his economic interest. And then it goes on further to say on paragraph 7 the names of all creditors to whom the person making the statement, his spouse and his unemancipated minor children owe monies in excess of \$1,000. Now that is new language that you are putting into the existing act by the amendment that you're proposing through SB 8. Now to me that would mean that either be it my wife or Senator Netsch's husband or Senator Keegan's husband, our spouses, that all of their economic interest must be declared in any statement that I make just as equal as my own and also of my debts in excess and their debts in excess of a thousand. Is that correct? PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Roe.

SENATOR ROE:

Yes. Yes, that is.

SENATOR MITCHLER:

Then I would interpret this to mean that any economic interest of my wife, Senator Keegan's husband, must be declared or I and they would be in violation of this ethics act. Now let me point this out. I don't...what I'm going to point out does not apply to me, at least not to my knowledge, but there very...could very well be economic interest of a spouse unknown to a candidate or a officeholder and that's not unusual. Very well, now that would create a very much of a hardship if this legislation was enacted and that spouse by enactment of this law was required to reveal these hidden assets or liabilities

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or whatever the case may be. Now Senator Roe would you
 care to respond to that?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Roe.

SENATOR ROE:

That what you stated is correct Senator Mitchler but...you know this is not a strict liability law. It requires a knowing...misstatement or a knowing...failure to list you know so...it only held to that standard.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Mitchler.

SENATOR MITCHLER:

Well, Senator Roe, the purpose of this ethics legislation is to bring into print and put in fact things that cannot be hidden. We have got a land trust legislation in here that things cannot be hidden. Now, if I say unknowing to me, my wife has all our holdings and I have nothing and I come clean and I stand naked before everybody say this is...this is me that's all there is and I do not know of all of these listings of the spouse. You don't. Now I... I can see where there would be objection to this and rightfully so by both the ladies of this Senate and the men of this Senate because there could be some unknown holdings of spouses and certainly I would not condone any of that type if this language is going to be If it says the economic interest of the spouse, of the person making the statement in his unemancipated minor children shall be included as his economic interest. That's going to open up the ball park boys and girl's. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Carroll.

SENATOR CARROLL:

Would the sponsor continue to $yi \in Id$ to questions?



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He has indicated he will. ...Jack what is the definition
 of economic interest?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Roe.

SENATOR ROE:

Senator there is no definition contained in the act as presently constituted...the Illinois Governmental Ethics \hat{A} ct of an economic interest .

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Carroll.

SENATOR CARROLL:

...I would hate to have to get into the problem such as in the Senate of getting definitions of terms or phrases or words. They seem to change pretty regularly. ...And since this doesn't define economic interest could we assume for example all pairs of cufflinks have to be reported. All suits, all ties, all shoes, all dresses...as well as a list of all clients you might have by name and amounts. Would a lawyer for example or an architect have to list each and everyone of their...of...of their clients or their accounts and how much fees they've gotten from each and everyone of those as well as a list of all your clothing items...everything else.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Roe.

SENATOR ROE:

If I only answer ten of the questions and miss two I hope you'll forgive me. I'll come back. ...When the act was originally passed Senator Roe as I'm sure you're aware it did not contain a definition per se of an economic interest. It does it now but in section 6 there is a definition on page 4 in part. In other words I...I have stated economic...what economic interest include. Now as

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part of the amendment you're not going to have to put your shoes and things of this sort, I think Senator Sours raised a very valid objection to many of these bills. And in Amendment No. 1 it is indicated that specifically there's no listing required for shoes or household furnishings or personal effects or clothing or this type of personal property unless it be in excess of a 1,000. Now per se there's no definition of economic interest. I think perhaps that would be a good idea. There wasn't one when it was passed but I think that it is sufficiently spelled out on page 4 in paragraph 6 as to the type of things that are asked to be reported when you read it in conjunction with the amendment.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Carroll.

SENATOR CARROLL:

Senator Roe, my best recollection was that when the original bill was passed in the way it has been operative since its passage in 77th General Assembly that you did in fact have to list any fees in excess of \$5,000 as economic interest...or economic interest. In addition to that any you know any capital gains, etc in excess. There were threshhold amounts. Without threshhold amounts again I think you're requiring a listing of all clients and fees charged regardless of size, regardless of occupation. Is that the intent?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Roe.

SENATOR ROE:

I think that this is...it is not my intent, Senator Carroll and that is not the way I interpret paragraph 6. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Carroll.



SENATOR CARROLL: 1. Then I would suggest on page 8 you look at section 9 2. which requires this type of list by identity and I think 3. that's exactly what you're doing by this legislation... 4. I think there might be some candidates problems and things 5. like that that should be thought of. 6. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 7 Senator Knuppel. 8. SENATOR KNUPPEL: 9. Does Senator Roe yield for a question? 10. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 11. He indicates that he will. 12. SENATOR KNUPPEL: 13. Senator Roe, who wants this bill? 1 4 PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 15. Senator Roe. 16. SENATOR ROE: 17. Well, I think I probably should say first of all that 18. I want it...the Gallup Poll in October...the first week of 19. October said 75% of...of the public wanted to know who made 20. campaign contributions and how much they contributed. I think 21. that indicates a public awareness and interest in this particular 22. type of legislation. I...I'm certain we all can differ and 23. we all have different opinions as we've heard for weeks down 24.here on who wants it and who doesn't want it. 25. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 26. Senator Knuppel. 27. SENATOR KNUPPEL: 28. One more question...Senator how many letters have you 29. gotten from your constituents on this without reference to 30.

Gallup Poll?

Senator Roe.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

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SENATOR ROE:

I've got the same amount as Senator Mohr. I've got two, I'm not sure whether he said he got two more yesterday, four. I've got two. But I haven't been here very long, Senator Knuppel, and certainly have a great deal to learn but I have learned a few things...in my brief tenure. And one of those things is most letters are created by lobbyist...they are not created by a person sitting at home in at home in a rocking chair reading a newspaper. I think this is a very difficult subject for the most learned type person to write about. What we're...what we are talking about is...is disclosing things that relate to how we vote or don't vote in a Legislature or in local levels or what we do and don't do. And we can measure...the public will be able to measure what we do by things we put...put forth in front of them.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

...Have you been reading the newspapers here in
Illinois and if you have hasn't virtually every newspaper has
written an editorial or news article on this and wouldn't
you consider that lobbying and after all of that they
haven't produced but two letters for you and one for me.
PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Roe.

SENATOR ROE:

The newspapers have all editorialized their...not all but I've seen many editorials in support of this type of legislation. I don't personally consider that to be... the most important interest to be served. I think the public's is.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Knuppel.



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SENATOR KNUPPEL:

Can you account for the fact that they've not been any more effective than that though. My goodness, you'd think that the people would just rise up in arms after all that exhortation.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Roe.

SENATOR ROE:

Senator Knuppel, I...I can...we can go on with this soliloquy for a...for a long time. I can't account for how people think and what people do and what they don't do.

I've given you my opinion and I've told you what I think about letter writing.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Knuppel.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

...I...I really appreciate it and I know that you're sincere in this and I...I do appreciate that Senator but in view of the fact that I don't want to see Senator Mitchler stand there naked all alone, I want to see his spouse standing there with him in that condition and furthermore where he says here I am, that's all there is might prove to be very disappointing to the voters...State of Illinois I just couldn't let that happen.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Palmer.

SENATOR PALMER:

...Will the sponsor yield for a question?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

He indicates he will.

SENATOR PALMER:

...Senator Roe, I saw your presence when the Committee met as a Whole and Senator Glass and I questioned one of the



l. witnesses I think we...received answers in one of the areas. 2. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): Senator Palmer is entitled to the attention of the З. Senate... 4. SENATOR PALMER: 5. 6. When we...when we covered one of the areas, one of the 7. witnesses definitely testified that the requirement of the disclosures would deter and chase away contributors. Is 8. that correct? 9. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 10. Senator Roe. 11. SENATOR ROE: 12. I recall one of the witnesses saying that. I recall 13. another witness saying that he thought so and I recall 14. another witness saying that he did not think so. 15. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 16. Senator Palmer. 17. SENATOR PALMER: 18. Witness making those statements as Senator Glass got 19. that...got that information from him and also would chase 20. away volunteers and contributions of money and contributions 21. 22. of services are necessary in elections. Well...I'd like to ask you this question. I see SB 8 here has 28 23. pages and it's quite a detailed bill voluminous and well 24. written and required quite a bit of research. And in the 25. financing of campaigns it has been known that you need 26. 27. money. And in researching the preparation of this bill have you found a substitute for money? 28. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 29. Senator Roe. 30. SENATOR ROE: 31. Let me say this, Senator. The campaign features... 32.

as to the disclosure of contributions in this bill and



1. expenditures are very similar to the Federal Law which 2. went into effect last April 7th...tens of millions of 3. dollars were raised after that date and I really think 4. the argument that disclosure will dry up contributions is a specious one. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 7. Senator Palmer. 8. SENATOR PALMER: 9. The next question is have you found any substitutes 10. for volunteers? 11. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 12. Senator Roe. 13. SENATOR PALMER: 14. ...In your...in your research? 15. SENATOR ROE: 16. No. There's no substitute for volunteers, Senator. 17. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 18. Senator Palmer. 19. SENATOR PALMER: 20. ... I did not... I do not think Senator Roe that you 21. answered my question. Did you find a substitute for 22. money in financing a campaign? And one more question, 23. in the Committee of the Whole it was...was it not definitely 24. proved that the cost of financing campaigns are gradually 25. increasing rather than decreasing? 26. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 27. Senator Roe. 28. SENATOR ROE: 29. Would...I would certainly agree with you Senator and 30. I didn't mean to ignore answering your question that that 31. money is necessary for...for any type of a campaign...and 32. I think that the testimony in the Committee of the Whole 33. on all the bills was...was not uniform. It depended on

you know who you listened to and...and all the witnesses did not have the same opinion and those of us that were 2. there for the entire hearing heard all the witnesses. 3. YOu know that... I certainly don't dispute your opinion 4. 5. on what ... what you heard. 6. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 7. Senator Palmer. 8 SENATOR PALMER: 9. Senator Roe, the fact that this bill may have any 10. similarity to any Federal Bill does not answer my question that you have found a substitute for money. 11. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): .12. 13. Senator Roe. 14. SENATOR ROE: 15. Sir...I answered that question. 16. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 17. One more time answer that question, please. 18. SENATOR ROE: 19. No. 20. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 21. There's no substitute for money, Senator. Senator 22. Graham. You asked for recognition before? 23. SENATOR GRAHAM: 24. No, I... I only wanted to say that I don't see either Senator Knuppel or Senator Mitchler either one standing out 25. here exposed and why don't we get a roll call on this bill? 26. 27. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 28. Well, I said I would recognize Senator Bell. 29. SENATOR BELL: Well, I'd like to get to a...Mr. President, I'd like 30. 31. to get to a roll call on this as quickly as possible and I 32. don't know that my...my words here will represent any great 33. words of wisdom but I think there are a couple of observations



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to make in reference ethics and disclosure in general. And I might say in reference to Senator Roe's bills and all that...the situation of having to worry about accountability of your shoes and various things like that are rather superfluous are not a part of that bill. However it is tough legislation. I'd like to...mention the fact that as a representative body of the people we are in fact a part of a republic. In other words...in other words we're elected to come down here to represent our people. Now there's a little difference though. You see we could have a computer represent the people and we could have a peer democracy and as the winds blow the people could just punch that computer and just legislate accordingly but the way our system has been set up it's a part of the great checks and balance of our American society and the people elect us as representative or as senators because they feel that maybe we have more knowledge, more background and a possibility of hopefully making wiser decisions. Now, I have a hunch that the winds that blow today in reference to ethics and disclosure are dangerous winds and represent dangerous times to our American society because the interplay that goes along in the Legislative process of various groups, associations, lobbies, unions, industries and all the things that bring pressure to bear on this Legislative process are in fact an important part of our governmental system and have been for almost the past 200 years. It would seem to me that if we're not very careful and what we do in the way of disclosure and ethics that we can so overly sanitize government that we may in fact do more damage...do greater damage to this great republic of ours than than what we're attempting to try to do that is good. And so I just wanted to toss this observation out, I... I think I'm going to try to vote for an

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ethics bill that will in my mind try to provide some security to our legislative process so that this interplay between groups, associations, unions, industries and the people of our district will still continue without breaking the back of what has been the greatest governmental system that society has ever seen. Thank you Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Buzbee.

SENATOR BUZBEE:

Thank you Mr. President. I find it a little difficult to fathom the statement that was just made that government could be over sanitized. I... I think that we have been considerable dirtied prior to now and perhaps we need a considerable amount of sanitizing. ... There were several impassioned pleas made yesterday for the passage of ethics type legislation and I'm not going to reiterate those remarks that I made last night. But, Senator Donnewald made the statement last night in his presentation of his series of bills that in a recent poll that politicians ranked 19th out of 20 by people as far as their respect for particular professions. I'd like to bring Senator Donnewald up to date on that...a poll has since been taken that ranks politicians 20th out of 20. We are now behind used car salesmen. I think it would be very interesting to see if we took a poll of ranking politicians if there were a hundred professions or a thousand professions or ten thousand professions and see where the people would rank us then. That is the mail, Senator Knuppel, that we have been getting and as I said last night people in my opinion are so disgusted with politics and politicians that if we don't get some kind of strong ethics legislation I think there is a very good possibility that they just...we may all be defeated in the next election. Thank

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1. you Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Schaffer.

SENATOR SCHAFFER:

I rise in support of this piece of legislation. Quite frankly I concur 100% with Senator Roe that the interest groups and I am...I think this is only right do generate mail and there is no organized lobby to send out mimeographed form letters for people to copy and to . mail to us such as we receive on ERA and the gun control and the other issues. There is no lobbyist group that is organized to generate the...the free meals and the type of lobbying activity that we normally are beseiged with down here. I have nothing against lobbying. I think that it's... a valuable part of our legislative process. During the debate yesterday several people commenting on Governor WAlker's bills which I could not bring myself to support either commented that the Governor had not yet laid his soul bare and exposed his contributions and implied this was an argument for opposing the Governor's legislation. Senator Roe and I happen to share two counties in our districts and...two districts and it's only reasonable that I follow a lot of his activities and I recall earlier this year he did disclose all of his contributions. He did without legislation comply with this act that he is proposing for us today and I would submit to you that this did not hurt Senator Roe's political future. This did not hurt his ability to generate campaign contributions in fact if my reports are accurate this made him a stronger and more viable candidate with more support in his district. I submit to you that this bill is good government and it's good politics for both political parties and deserves a majority vote.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

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Senator Nudelman.

SENATOR NUDELMAN:

Mr. President, Gentlemen...Ladies and Gentlemen of the Senate...it's disclosure time and I think along with Jim Soper I should disclose that in the past I have not had any campaign fund - one or two hundred dollars was offered to me which I did not in fact accept - so Jim Soper and I are on the level on that basis. And it's further confession time and I confess that between my wife and I - she makes more money than I do, has a bigger estate than I have - and has ordered me no matter what kind of legislation is passed on down here I am not to disclose her assets. And they are in fact her assets. And so while it may be considered by some small loss if legislation like this is passed I either have to get a divorce or leave the Senate or go to jail. So I can't conceive of voting for this kind of legislation. Thank you. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Knuepfer. Any further discussion? Senator Knuppel.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

I listened with interest to Senator Buzbee and he's my friend, he's on this side of the aisle but I just wonder how in the hell we all got here before these nice, clean young men got here. And I wonder how he got here without disclosing? I'll tell ya. The newspapers have pumped this thing dry. There isn't a major newspaper in the State of Illinois that hasn't written an editorial on it and if that isn't lobbying I'll put in with you. And they haven't produced more than one or two or half a dozen letters for anybody here. Now the people, yes they're put out with...they're put out with corruption in government but it's admitted that not one of these single pieces of legislation would have discovered people like Agnew, or any of the others because the kickbacks and so forth

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had nothing to do .with the campaign contributions and disclosure wouldn't have found 'em, they were dishonest men. You've had the rule for ages that lawver-politicians in this Body would be disbarred if they took money or caught and found guilty. The admonition in the Bible has been thou shalt not steal and the...threat of damnation and hellfire eternally has not deterred men from being dishonest. Now I'll tell you the people with all the lobbying the newspapers have given them have not come up with a clamor for disclosure. Sure, they're mad at politicians but let me tell you that politicians reflect the moral fibre of the American people today. They want to cheat on their income tax. They smudge on parking meters. The guy that makes the sharp deal for a car or beats somebody, he pats . himself on the back. And those people who are politicians who cheat are the same percentage of...of people as there are citizens and this is is an out for those people who want to pry through somebody else's pocketbook and write something for the public. Now, you'll have a bureaucracy checking all of these officials that'll cost the people a hell of a lot more than the money that was in the shoeboxes and the people don't want another bureaucracy.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Further discussion? Senator Roe may close. SENATOR ROE:

I think, Mr. President, Members of the Senate, as I said at the outset this is a reasonable bill. I think it's a strong bill. I do not think it is an evasion of any of our privacy. I think we can save Senator Nudelman if he's still here because it's a...it's a constructive control center. The Separate assets wouldn't have to be listed and neither would the dollar figure. I would ask your support. I think that this is meaningful legislation. I think this may be our



last opportunity in the Senate. Thank you. 1. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 2. The question is shall SB 8 pass and on that question 3. the Secretary will call the roll. 4. SECRETARY: 5. Bartulis, Bell, Berning, Bruce, Buzbee, Carroll, 6. Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course, Daley, Davidson, Donnewald, 7. Dougherty, Fawell, Glass, Graham, Harber Hall, Kenneth 8. Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer, Knuppel, Kosinski, 9. Latherow, McBroom, McCarthy, Merritt, Mitchler, Howard 10. Mohr, Don Moore, Netsch, Newhouse, Nimrod, Nudelman, 11. Ozinga, Palmer, Partee, Regner, Rock, Roe, Romano, 12. Saperstein, Savickas, Schaffer, Scholl, Shapiro, Smith, 13. Sommer, Soper, Sours, Swinarski, Vadalabene, Walker, 14. Weaver, Welsh Wooten, Mr. President. 15. 16. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 17. Request to call the absentees. McBroom, aye. Bell, aye. 18. Request to call the absentees. The Secretary will... 19. SECRETARY: 20. Bartulis, Bell, Bruce, Carroll, Chew, Conolly, Course, 21. Davidson, Dougherty, Harber Hall, Kenneth Hall, Kosinski, 22. Latherow, Mitchler, Howard Mohr, Nimrod, Ozinga, Palmer, 23. Regner, Rock, Roe, Romano, Savickas, Smith, Sours, Walker, 24. Welsh, Mr. President. 25. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 26. Nimrod, aye. Bartulis, aye. Bruce, aye. On that 27. question the yeas are 36. The mays are 4. SB 8 having received the constitutional majority is declared passed. 28. 29. Senator Buzbee. 30. SENATOR BUZBEE: 31. Mr. President, having voted on the prevailing side I move that we reconsider ... I move we verify... I move we 32.

reconsider the vote by which the last bill was passed.

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1.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
2.	There's a request for verification. TheSecretary
3.	will call thethose voting in the affirmative.
4.	SECRETARY:
5.	The following voted in the affirmative: Bartulis,
6.	Bell, Berning, Bruce, Buzbee, Clarke, Daley, Donnewald,
7.	Fawell, Glass, Kenneth Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer,
8.	Latherow, McBroom, McCarthy, Merritt, Mitchler, Howard Mohr,
9.	Don Moore, Netsch, Newhouse, Ozinga, Roe, Saperstein, Schaffer,
10.	Scholl, Shapiro, Sommer, Soper, Swinarski, Vadalabene,
11.	Weaver and Wooten.
12.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
13.	Nimrod did vote aye. Senator Netsch, Senator
14.	Swinarski, not on the Floor. His name will be taken from
15.	the record. Senator Daley is not on the Floor, his name
16.	will be removed. Senator Buzbee.
17.	SENATOR BUZBEE:
18.	Mr. President, having voted on the prevailing side
19.	I move that we reconsider the motion thevoteby which
20.	lastwas passed.
21.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
22.	SenatorBuzbeeGraham.
23.	SENATOR GRAHAM:
24.	I think when all this confusion starts and everybody
25.	starts helping the Secretary we'll get two records. One
26.	of them is the waltz you saved for me and the other one
27.	the saints go marching in. And then we can know what's
28.	going on.
29.	PRESIDING OFFICER(SENATOR MOHR):
30.	Question the yeas are 35. The mays are 4. SB 8
31.	having received the constitutional majority is declared passed.
32.	Senator Buzbee.

SENATOR BUZBEE:

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Mr. President, for the third time, having voted on the prevailing side I move that we reconsider the last vote .

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Buzbee moves to reconsider the vote by which SB 8 passed. Senator Glass moves to have that motion lie on the Table. All those in favor signify by saying aye. Opposed? Motion is Tabled. Senator Knuppel.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

I think we've accomplished the purposes of Special Session No. ${\bf 1}$ at that time therefore I move that we adjourn this Session sine die.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Knuppel I'll have to rule you...that motion out of order again. ...have to rule that motion out of order. Senator Graham.'

SENATOR GRAHAM:

Mr. President, and I want to go home as bad as anyone and this dilatory motion that we keep getting for the purposes of getting recognition is not helping us a bit. For a Session of a General Assembly to adjourn sine die it takes a joint resolution of the House and the Senate or we are prorogued by the Governor, let's cut out this monkey business. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Well that...that is the ruling perhaps we should have copies made of that and given to each member so we don't go through this on a daily basis. ... Senator Rock, SB 6.

Senator Scholl...you have amendments to SB 10? Senator Knuppel.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

Parliamentary inquiry. I'd like to have the parliamentarian furnish me with any at all because in the Constitution it says that one Body can not...be out of Session for...only so many days or so forth. I believe there's no such rule, no such

statutory law or anything else that says that one Body
 can't adjourn without the other. And they've done it
 many, many times.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

All right. I'll...I'll have the parliamentarian bring the rule over to you. He will furnish you with that information. Senator Scholl.

SENATOR SCHOLL:

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Mr. President, members of the Senate, I ask leave of the Senate to return to second reading SB 10 for the purpose of an amendment.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR)

You heard the Senator's motion, is there leave?

Leave is granted. Second reading on 5B 10. Now you have amendment, Senator?

SECRETARY:

Amendment No. 1 by Senator Scholl.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Explain your amendment.

SENATOR SCHOLL:

Mr. President, members of the Senate, SB 10 relates to the land trust and this amendment strictly clarifies the bill. No monies may be paid by the State or any unit of local government for title to or the right the use any real property or any interest therein. It is required by the purchase, lease, contract, exchange, donation, conveyance or by the power of eminent domain until the identity of all persons who have interest, real or personal, in such property have been disclosed in accordance with the provision of the act.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Any discussion on Amendment No. 1? Senator Scholl moves the adoption of Amendment No. 1. All those in favor signify by saying aye. Opposed? Amendment No. 1 is adopted.

Further amendments...

SECRETARY:

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Amendment No. 2 by Senator Scholl.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Will you explain Amendment No. 2 Senator Scholl?

Senator Scholl or...Senator Glass.

SENATOR GLASS:

Thank you Mr. President. ... This is an amendment

to the bill as amended and it provides that before the

final execution of all the terms of any contract or lease...

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

12. Senator, will you hold that for one minute, please?

Senator Glass. The Senate will come to order please.

SENATOR SCHOLL:

15. Thank you Mr. President...the amended added by Senator

Scholl adds a new section so that in order to correct the title of the bill we have to add a section 3.7 in the title

which is all this amendment does and it is in the nature

of a technical amendment and I will move for its adoption.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Any further discussion? Senator Glass moves the adoption

of Amendment No. 2. All those in favor signify by saying aye.

Opposed. Amendment No. 2 is adopted. Further amendments?

24. Senator Fawell. Amendment...Amendment No. 3, Senator Glass.

SENATOR GLASS:

Thank you Mr. President. Amendment No. 3 is to the

27. bill as it was just amended and provides that if there's a

28. change in the ownership of the property in question, any

29. change in the interest, that is disclosed...before...since

30. the time the contract was signed and before any money is

paid out by the governmental entity, affidavits will be filed
within ten days of the change...except in cases of death or

bankruptcy. And if there are...I'd be happy to answer any questions Mr. President otherwise I would move for adoption

- 1. of Amendment No. 3 to SB 10.
- 2. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
- 3. Any further discussion on Amendment No. 3? Senator
- 4. Glass moves the adoption of Amendment No. 3. All those
- 5. in favor signify by saying aye. Anybody in favor of
- 6. adopting Amendment No. 3? All those in favor signify
- 7. by saying aye. Opposed? Amendment No. 3 is adopted.
- 8. Further amendments?
- 9. SECRETARY:
- 10. Amendment No. 4 which amends the bill as amended on
- 11. page 2 the fifth line of section 3.3.
- 12. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
- 13. ...Senator Glass.
- 14. SENATOR GLASS:
- 15. If the record or...
- 16. SECRETARY:

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- 17. Owner or owners.
- 18. SENATOR GLASS:
- 19. Thank you Mr. President. Amendment No. 4 makes the
- 20. bill consistent by taking out the word statement and in-
- 21. serting the word affidavit. ... It also provides that if
- 22. ...the record owner or beneficiary or person having the
- 24. nominee or managing agent has to set forth required in-
- 25. formation in a required affidavit. ... Prior to this amend-

power of direction is the nominee or managing agent the

record owner and by the amendment we're adding the record

- 26. ment the bill merely covered the...that requirement for the
- 28. owner or beneficiary or person having the power of direction.
- 29. And I would move for adoption of Amendment No. 4.
- 30. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):
- 31. Any further discussion on Amendment No. 4? Senator
- 32. Glass moves the adoption of Amendment No. 4 to SB No. 10.
- 33. All those in favor signify by saying aye. Opposed?

Amendment No. 4 is adopted.

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first place.

Amendment No. 5 by Senator Nudelman. Amend SB 10 on page 1, line 13 and 14 by deleting conveyance or by the power of eminent domain and so on.

Thank you Mr. President. Mr. President, this is a

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Nudelman.

SENATOR NUDELMAN:

two pronged amendment...on the one hand it would delete from those land trust requiring disclosure, land trusts which were subject to condemnation. It appears to me a simple matter of right and wrong that somebody who owns property in a land trust and is minding his own business and has his property condemned should not be required to make disclosures. He doesn't want to have any dealings with the government, it's forced upon him and therefore he should not be put in the category of somebody who seeks a contact with government. The second prong of the amendment, Mr. President,...the second prong of the amendment Mr. President, includes the category of land trusts which take from the government...the bill as written relates to land trusts which give to...takes from by way of purchaser lease under the way the bill was prepared and I'm sure it was an oversight, those people who purchase property from a government body or lease property from a government body would not have to disclose and I think the disclosure principle should be equally effective as to people taking from who might have an unfair advantage as...as it relates to people giving to. So I would request the adoption of this amendment. I think it...it aids the bill and it...it does what I think the sponsors intended it to do in the

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GLASS):

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2. Well...Mr. President, I'm going to have to oppose Senator Nudelman's amendment and I...I regret that be-3. cause I think the second part of that is a good amendment. 4. That is the part in which as I understand it persons who 5. lease property from governmental entity would have to dis-6. 7. close just...same manner as those that lease to the government. ...But I do believe and I've discussed this 8. with Senators Palmer and Nudelman for some time and there 9. is a difference of opinion here and I think it's important 10. for the Body to make a decision on this. I do believe that 11. condemnation should be covered. That is, when the govern-12. ment does condemn a piece of property and the owner is a 13. land trustee I think we want the beneficial interest to 14. be disclosed. And I think the concerns we have there are 15. simply the persons in political office are sometimes in a 16. position to know...or in government office are in a position 17. to know that land is going to be condemned and...and if they 18. are able to acquire that land...they have knowledge that the 19. 20 public generally does not. I think we...we should have those interest disclosed to cover that potential problem and...and 21. I would therefore say to Senator ... Nudelman I wish this 22. 23. amendment could be severed...because I do support the second half of it. But as it stands now I would urge its defeat. 24. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 25.

Senator Knuepfer.

SENATOR KNUEPFER:

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Just...just seems to me that Senator Nudelman's amendment makes a lot of sense. The...your putting a party who does not wish to be a party...who is forced by governmental action to sell his property, putting him to the disclosure possibility ...absolute requiring disclosure. ...It doesn't seem to me he's done anything, he's made no offer, he's done nothing to require disclosure. In this kind of a situation the court

or a jury determines the price, the price is not determined 1. by negotiation in a condemnation proceedings. And it would 2. seem to me that you're in the condemnation proceedings which 3. is the court action that you are in effect determining and 4. providing some degree of equity insofar as determination 5. of that price. You haven't conducted a secret negotiation 6. you've conducted one out in the public. And this amendment 7. seems to me to make substantial sense. If...if we are and 8. I'm for one happen to think there ought to be some protection 9. in trusts and if we...if we continue to adopt that concept 10. it seems to me that this does make sense. And I'm going to 11.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

14. Senator Palmer.

support it.

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SENATOR PALMER:

I was going to answer Senator Class and also question..

Senator Scholl are you sponsor of this bill?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Scholl.

SENATOR PALMER:

Well, I just want to determine one thing. In support of this amendment it is my contention the same as Senator Nudelman's. Senator Glass, we have gone over this before. Condemnation is an adverse proceedings therefore the property owner or...which is in the trust, in my opinion and legal opinion, that they should not disclose at the time but any provision of this act which would require...Senator Glass, I wish you'd listen to this...that before the completed action

of transfer of title during the proceedings of the disclosure is fine but prior thereto there should not be a requirement of

30. Is the but pilot thereto there should not be a requirement of 31. disclosure. And if this amendment takes care of that situation

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

it's a very proper amendment.

1. Senator Sours.

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SENATOR SOURS:

Mr. President, Senators, I desire to join in support 3. of the amendment too. I think there is obviously a notorious 4. situation, meaning everybody knows about it, once there's 5. a...a condemnation action filed. When that's filed either 6. side can file interrogatories, either side can take discovery depositions and...there's nothing secret about a lawsuit. 8. ... For that reason and that alone, that provision is very 9. good. Now where the ...where the grantee is from the 10. government that part of that amendment even makes it better 11. because that would leave an unexplored situation. I think 12. the amendment makes it a much better bill and a cleaner 13. bill and a bill that is fair to all parties. I'm going to 14.

bill and a bill that is fair to all parties. I'm going to support it.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Any further discussion? Senator Scholl.

SENATOR SCHOLL:

Being the sponsor I do say that I'm in support of this amendment and ask that it be adopted.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Nudelman moves the adoption of Amendment No. 5.

All those in favor signify by saying aye. Opposed. Amendment No. 5 is adopted. Further amendments?

25. SECRETARY:

Amendment No. 6 by Senator Nudelman.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Nudelman.

SENATOR NUDELMAN:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Senate,
Amendment No. 6 is...amends the last paragraph of the bill
relative to the penalty clause. I have deleted, the amendment...would delete the language, willfully fails and it
would then read, any person required under this act to

file an affidavit who willfully furnishes false, inaccurate 1. 2. or incomplete information in such affidavit or otherwise fails to comply with the provision...of the act is quilty 3. of a business and offense and shall be fined \$1.000. I 4. 5. think there cannot be willfully failure...no one can willfully fail to comply with the act because if the disclosure is 6. not filed then there is no contract. If there...I think 7. 8. that is just superfluous language. My other...the other prong of this amendment would be to reduce the penalty from 9. a felony which would encompass a jail sentence of up to 10. three years and make it a business offense which would have 11.a penalty of a \$1,000 fine. I think the...the...fine 12. suits this type of a crime better than a three...one to 13. three year jail sentence in a...in a penitentiary. It's 14. a simple amendment and I think I've discussed this with the 15. sponsor of the bill and with Senator Glass and I think there 16. shouldn't be too much opposition.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

19. Senator Glass.

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SENATOR GLASS:

Well it's true Senator Nudelman...we have discussed it but I do oppose the amendment making this a business offense. I think you...as you point out when you change the language to willful that certainly doesn't bother me because I believe the way this bill is drafted...it's going to be mandatory on anybody who deals with the government to file these affidavits otherwise they're not going to be able to receive any...any funds from a governmental entity. That...I think the merit of this bill the way it now stands is that we have simplified the procedure and said in essence if you do business with a governmental entity and your property is in a land trust you're going to have to disclose the true parties and interest. But I...I think that being the case to reduce the violation to a

business offense with a maximum fine of a \$1,000 is un necessarily crippling to the bill and I would urge its
 defeat. I don't think the present Class 4 felony which
 is one to three years...in case like this is unreasonable
 and I would urge that the bill be left intact insofar as
 the penalty provision.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Nudelman.

SENATOR NUDELMAN:

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a minimum...that's not a maximum of \$1,000. It's a minimum of a \$1,000, it would be a flat \$1,000 fine and I think there's a type of a crime here that...that could be a borderline situation and if a fella is guilty of something like this...through inadvertence and as lawyers we all know that sometimes inadvertenace connotates intent and I don't think that type of a defendant should be required to spend time in a penitentiary. I think it's a simple matter of governmental philosophy and I just don't believe that somebody who might neglect something where he in...where he in fact should perform an act and may neglect to do or do it because he has insufficient information and might be a little lazy to get the right information, I don't think that fellow should spend any time in a penitentiary.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Sours.

SENATOR SOURS:

Mr. President, Senators, as for this amendment in answer to the query made there are always other statutes on the books too. The principle one being conspiracy which would be in great aid if there were some...if there were two parties engaged in some kind of a shady deal conspiring to violate this law. This too is a good amendment in my opinion.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Any further discussion? Senator Nudelman moves 2. the adoption of Amendment No. 6 to SB 10. All those 3. in favor signify by saying aye. Opposed? Request for a roll call. Clerk will call the roll. All those 5.

in favor of the adoption of Senator Nudelman's amendment

will vote aye. 7.

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SECRETARY:

Bartulis, Bell, Berning, Bruce, Buzbee, Carroll,

Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course, Daley, Davidson, Donnewald, 10. Dougherty, Fawell, Glass, Graham, Harber Hall, Kenneth

11. Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer, Knuppel, Kosinski, 12.

Latherow, McBroom, McCarthy, Merritt, Mitchler, Howard 13.

Mohr, Don Moore, Netsch, Newhouse, Nimrod, Nudelman,

Ozinga, Palmer, Partee, Regner, Rock, Roe, Romano,

Saperstein, Savickas, Schaffer, Scholl, Shapiro, Smith, Sommer, Soper, Sours, Swinarski, Vadalabene, Walker,

Weaver, Welsh Wooten, Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 19.

Nimrod, no. Saperstein, aye. Mitchler, no. McBroom,

no. Course, aye. Chew, aye. Clarke, no. Bell, no. Knuppel,

aye. Senator Buzbee, aye. Regner, no. ... Question the

yeas are 29, the nays are 17. The amendment is adopted.

23. 24: Further amendments?

25. SECRETARY:

26. Amendment No. 7 by Senator Fawell.

27. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Fawell.

29. SENATOR FAWELL:

30. ...Mr. President, Members of the Senate, Amendment No. 7

31. is one which we discussed earlier this summer in regard to

32. several of these land trust bills. The thrust of it, I know Senator Rock is familiar with the concept which is being 33.

presented here, is to make it clear that no person is 1. deemed to have a prohibited interest under the Corrupt 2. Practices Act solely by reason of a interest in a given 3. business or shares a stock in a corporation unless he 4. owns at least 5% of the fair market value or 5% of the 5. outstanding stock of such business. Now the reason for this is that as many of you know there are now pending 7. in our courts a number of cases which have held that 8. simply because a person who may sit on a board of education 9. or a park board may own stock in the local bank and the 10. school district, for instance, has a contract technically 11. speaking in the contract of deposit of funds at that bank. 12. Technically that school board member is guilty of Corrupt 13. Practices Act violation and is therefore subject to a 14. penitentiary offense if he or she stays in office. 15. fact, the very fact that he or she has been in that position 16. they're subject to being charged with a penitentiary offense. 17. This makes it clear that you don't have a violation of the 18. Corrupt Practices Act when you happen to sit on a local 19. governmental entity board as long as you do not have more 20. than a 5% in a particular business entity with which you 21. may be dealing although in no instance are you allowed to 22. vote in regard to any such contract even under those cir-23. cumstances. I think it's fair and in no way corrupt, the 24. Corrupt Practice Act, and I think does very practical justice 25. in these local communities where we are losing a great deal 26. a very prominent, capable people who cannot continue to 27. serve in these capacities simply because they happen to 28. sit on the local bank board for instance and this is where 29. the prime problem is. In your small communities...your 30. boards of education have contracts with each of the local 31. banks, if there's more than one, and you'll find that many, 32. many times your prominent people are sitting on that bank 33.

- board. I...I don't think there's any opposition to this ı.
- and I would ask that the amendment be adopted. 2.
- PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 3.
- Any further discussion? Question is, shall Amendment 4.
- No. 7 be adopted? All those in favor signify by saying 5.
- aye. Opposed. Amendment No. 7 is adopted. Further 6.
- amendments? Third reading. Senator Latherow. 7.
- SENATOR LATHEROW: 8.

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- Well, Mr. President, Members of the General Assembly, 9.
- I rise on a point of personal privilege today for two 10.
- reasons. One, sitting in the President's gallery to our 11.
- right is Ex-Representative Jim Nolan and a group from
- Western Illinois University. I wonder if they'd rise and 13.
- be recognized? Western Illinois University also we recognize 14.
- over there is...comes from the area called Forgottonia. 15.
- Many of you had not had the occassion to get in that part 16.
- of the State of Illinois but we for long have recognized 17.
- the forgetfulness of State government especially and generally
- Federal government when it comes to looking after their 19.
- problems and our problems in western Illinois. And there 20.
- happens to be created a group that calls themselves in 21.
- several counties Forgottonia and today it is our...distinct 22.
- honor to have with us on the President's area the governor 23.
- of Forgottonia, Governor Gaun.... I wonder if he would 24.
- stand and be recognized by members of the Senate? 25.
- PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 26.
- It's always nice to see a friendly governor. 27. ...Senator
- Roe on the Floor? ... Senator Rock, SB 6. 28.
- SECRETARY: 29.
- (Secretary reads title of the bill). 30.
- 3rd reading of the bill. 31.
- PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR): 32.
- Senator Rock. 33.

SENATOR ROCK:

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Thank you Mr. President, Members of the Senate. SB 6 2. in this First Special Session is, I think, a step forward 3. in a concept with which we are going to have to come to 4. grips namely public financing of public campaigns. This 5. 6. idea frankly was proffered in the last Session by Senators 7. McCarthy, Partee and Cherry. And it adds an article to the election code. It provides that a candidate's pamphlet 8. 9. be mailed by the Secretary of State to all the voters in Illinois which will contain photographs, biographical 10. material concerning the candidates which the candidates 11. submit themselves. I have a companion bill which provides 12. for an appropriation to the Secretary of State and a third 13. 14. bill which would provide for an income tax checkoff system. 15. Admittedly it is a small step but a significant step forward in the area of campaign finance by the public or by the 16. State. I would solicit a favorable vote. 17.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

19. Senator Soper.

SENATOR SOPER:

Senator Rock, would you submit to few questions?

First, I...I don't have the bill on my desk here. Does this concern all candidates for all offices in the State of Illinois or just...or just for State offices?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Rock.

SENATOR ROCK:

Applicable State general election each nominee for the office of United States Senator, representative in Congress, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, Comptroller, Attorney General, State Senator, Representative in the General Assembly and Supreme and Appellate Circuit Judges.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Soper.

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SENATOR SOPER:

Do you think a million dollars is going to be enough money or is this going to be one of those things like Topsy just grows and grows and grows and grows and grows and grows. γ' know?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR MOHR):

Senator Rock.

SENATOR ROCK:

Well, two things...I don't frankly know whether a million dollars is enough, too much or not enough. That figure was kind of a figure, a projection. When the Secretary of State subsequent to the Constitutional Convention sent out copies of the Constitution they figured 17¢ a pamphlet.

...We took the same figure just as a starting point. But I also want to point out that the bill calls for money paid to the Secretary to be in the book by the candidate. So I..:I don't think that there's - at this point at least - real commitment of General Revenue Funds for this purpose. There will be at least significant reimbursement by the candidate.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Knuppel.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

Mr. President and Members of this Body, I think Senator Soper's questions illustrate what my comments were a few moments ago and that is what it's going to cost for disclosure in the type of legislation we're playing games here with today. The money that was in the shoeboxes are... is going to be a pittance. Now if you're going to be consistent, you're going to pass campaign disclosure legislation, you're going to dry up the funds for candidates. This is necessarily going to be followed by some sort of financing by taxpayers of campaigns and this is exactly what they

don't want. Now the majority of the Body here saw fit to pass campaign disclosure legislation, that having occurred I'm going to give the majority their will when it comes time to vote I voted no because I think a man should finance his own campaign but they want disclosure that's going to hurt the candidate. It's going to dry up the source of contribution because there are many people who don't want to be identified. I... I think the dirtiest, lowest blow that has occurred in Illinois politics between one politician and another one occurred last week when...when Attorney General Scott disclosed the contributions by Governor Shapiro. I think that it dries up those kind of funds. Republicans who would support Democrats or Democrats who would support Republicans. And to be consistent those of you who voted for campaign disclosure now should vote for this legislation. I didn't vote for the disclosure but that's what the will of the . Body is, I'm going to support this legislation. And I think we're going down the road where it's going to cost the people not a million but millions and millions of dollars; this concept, and it will not bring one more honest man into government. There's a story that Diogenes took a lantern and went to look for an honest man and when he thought he found him he sat down with him and lo and behold when he woke up in the morning the man had stolen his lantern.

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Is there any further discussion? Senator Berning. SENATOR BERNING:

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Well Mr. President and Members of the Body, I think that it's inappropriate for this Body to start what will become a snowballing operation. For one thing, I can immediately read the reaction to many of our unimpressed constituents who by the very fact that we considered

ethics legislation apparently hold you and I and all elected officials in somewhat less than the highest esteem. And here now we are saying to them, we are going to embark on a program of promotion of ourselves and any other candidates. I think it's very ill advised, it's a waste of money and I for one am not ready to embark on a program of Federal or State financing or promotion of elected officials or candidates. I think this is very ill advised and ought not to pass at this time if ever. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Any further discussion? Senator Soper.

SENATOR SOPER:

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Well, Mr. President, I'd like to get my five minutes.

I just asked a couple of questions and a couple of things come into my mind with this. Now if this means that everybody that runs in a primary and runs for any office in this State including Representatives and Senators I can imagine any fella that had a business, Lucky Louie, the used honest car salesman, all he'd have to do is come and hand in his pamphlet to the Secretary of State and...and a list of, I don't know whether you'd have to have a list of the voters in his...in his district and pamphlets would go out. And he'd get his name advertised, free of charge, and we'd take up...

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

For what purpose does Senator Rock arise? SENATOR ROCK:

On a point of order I think that the Senator's remark are not germane to the bill. Now...he said he did not have a copy on his desk, it's pretty obvious he didn't read it.

But the last four or five paragraphs that he's uttered here have absolutely no relationship to the substance of this bill.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Soper.

- 1. SENATOR SOPER:
- 2. Now, then...then answer a few questions for me
- 3. Senator Rock...anyone that's a candidate for any office
- 4. that you stated would have the privilege of coming to
- the Secretary of State's Office with his picture and his 5.
- pamphlet and that would be mailed out at the expense of the 6.
- 7. State. Right?
- 8. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
- 9. Senator Rock. SENATOR SOPER:
- What do you need the million dollars for if you say 11.
- 12. no.
- 13. SENATOR ROCK:

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- No. 14.
- 16. Senator Rock. Did you answer?
- 17. SENATOR ROCK:

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

- I did. I said no. He asked me a direct question, 18.
- I gave him a direct answer. No. 19.
- 20. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
- 21. Senator Soper.

SENATOR SOPER:

- 23.
- Then why have the Secretary of State mail it out, if...if
- 24. you...say there's no money involved from the people's money?
- 25. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): Senator Rock.
- 27. SENATOR ROCK:
- 28. Well, I...I did not say there was no money involved.
- 29. As a matter of fact the whole sum and substance of SB 7 is
- 30. an appropriation for money.
- 31. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
- 32. Senator Soper.
- SENATOR SOPER: 33.

not if you tell me you want appropriation, you tell me 2. that it's not the people's money, then who on God's green 3. earth is going to handle this money. Is every candidate 4. that comes in going to deposit money with the Secretary 5. of State to have these pamphlets mailed out? Yes or no. 6. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 7. Senator Rock. 8. SENATOR ROCK: 9. Yes. 10. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 11. Do you have other questions, Senator ... 12. SENATOR SOPEK: 13. Well, yes. What do you need the appropriation for? 14. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 15. Senator Rock. 16. SENATOR ROCK: 17. As I explained initially, we took an amount that we 18. thought would be consonant with the mailing that was proffered 19. by the Secretary of State with regard to the Constitution 20. after the Constitutional Convention. I do not have the figures 21.

Well, I'm bewildered. Whether I read the bill or

nor does the Secretary have the figures of what the exact
amount would be. It calls for each candidate in the General

Election, not the primary, the General Election to pay for theprivilege of being in this book. Don't have to be in the book.

If you want to be in the book you pay for it.

27. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

28. Senator Sours.

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SENATOR SOURS:I'd like to know if I may Mr. President, Senators, from

31. the good Senator, what purpose this...what good purpose Senator
32. Rock will this accomplish that needs accomplishment now?

33. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Rock. 1.

SENATOR ROCK: 2.

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Two purposes, I think Senator. One is voter education. 3.

You will recall that in the last election the Illinois 4.

State Chamber of Commerce came out with a pamphlet called 5.

We the People and had the photographs and...biographical

statement of those candidates who did in fact submit them

to the Illinois State Chamber. I think it served a very 8.

useful purpose. In addition to that I think that this 9.

will, hopefully, hopefull, encourage people to spend less 10.

11. They will be listed in this central book which will be mailed

in the way of throw away cards and pamphlets and brochures.

12. to each and every voter.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 14.

Senator Sours. Senator Sours.

15. SENATOR SOURS:

It...it's your position then that the general public, the voting 17.

public needs education. Is that right?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 19.

Senator Rock. 20.

SENATOR ROCK: 21.

Senator Sours, I don't think there's any question about 22.

that and I am a voter also. 23.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 24.

Senator Sours.

SENATOR SOURS: 26.

I'd like to make this brief comment then. I don't think 27.

it's...it's the province of government to do this kind of 28.

education. I have a feeling that a good primary and a good 29.

election is infinitely better than all the platitudes that 30.

might appear in some booklet and I do not want to be considered 31.

that I agree with what the State Chamber of Commerce has done 32.

in the past either. That's private money, it can do with 33.

their private dues funds as they may desire. But to put
the State in the business of telling people who's running
for public office to me is not only a waste of money but
it isn't the province of the State. The big enemy of the
...of the voters today is the six pack and the football
game, if not that the basketball game, if not that wrestling,
if not that baseball, if not that hockey and I could go on
ad nauseam. Some people don't want to vote. Some people
you couldn't cajole them with...with first prize money
in the lottery even. I don't know why we should waste money
trying to tell people they ought to vote. If they don't
have enough faith in...in staying home then they will vote.
PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

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Mr. President,...in reading this bill, Senator Rock, I find some very serious problems that make it impossible for me to support such a measure. ... Number one, I note here that this is to be mailed to every voter. That would mean then that the Secretary of State who does not have access nor the list of all the voters would have to go through the job from all the counties and get together a complete mailing list. Now you and I know having been in involved politics what this means when the State starts to have control of that mailing list. And that list starts to get into the wrong hands and then starts being used for other purposes. Number two, if it goes to every voter that means conceivably that if there are four voters in one house there would be four pamphlets in one house. If these ...let's take this across the State, if there are an average of two or three voters to every household that would mean that you have one-third of the pamphlets are only effective. The other two-thirds are in fact wasted. If they cost a

1. dollar a piece and they have to be changed for every district 2. we're going to find ourselves alone in this particular area of some eleven million dollars or ten million dollars involved 3. in that pamphlet. It costs 10¢ a piece to mail a letter. there are eleven million voters that's over one million dollars 5. just for the mailing. Now I can't conceive how anything of 6. this type can be less than fifteen million dollars or twenty 7. million dollars. This does not really educate the voter. 8. I find that political parties and the office for the president 9. and the vice president get free advertising here. That they 10. can buy extra pages into it. We're trying to put the govern= 11. ment here, our state government, in the business of running 12. campaigns and that's not really what we are for. We're here 13. to reduce taxes. We're here to bring efficiency and this is 14. a full new subject. I would think that there might be some 15. merit to the basic idea but to bring it into a bill and ask 16. us to vote in it at this particular time I think is y'know 17.. wrong. Because we're being forced to make a decision on . 18. something without having done the proper homework, investigation 19. and take care of the kind defect that I happen to be aware 20. of that come to my attention in reading the bill. ... I think 21. at this time it would be not possible for me and I ask those 22. on our side to not support such a measure. 23.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Wooten.

SENATOR WOOTEN:

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Mr. President and colleagues, I had most of what I had to say on the subject of ethics legislation last night. I merely rise in support of this particular bill. I appreciate the forthright, the lucid explanation given by Senator Rock. I think it is a good first step in the direction of which we all want to go. I am the first to concede the difficulty of trying to acquaint the public with those involved in politics

what they're doing, what they're attempting to do. And indeed I know it's sometimes difficult to interest them. This is the core of the problem, really, that all ethics legislation addresses...the problem is not one that has to do with mail but simply reawakening confidence and even interest in the whole political process. This is a cheap means of getting printed material into every voters hands. Is the most efficient means I can think of. In this day of mass media when radio and television are so enormously effective in campaigning and indeed in all basic forms of communication. This still is a very practical first step. Regardless of where we go in the future I think we can look back on this as a logical, sensible, positive first step toward the goal of all ethics legislation. I heartily endorse the idea and the

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Partee.

SENATOR PARTEE:

bill.

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Mr. President and members of the Senate, just...just briefly I want to answer some of the questions I've heard asked here. First of all, there's a question raised as to where would you get a mailing list? Now if the Illinois elections are honest, the people who vote are on a voters list. The State Board of Elections would have a list of all voters in this State and it's nothing new about mailing out to voters matters of election concern. As a matter of fact the Constitution mandates when we have Constitutional amendments that are coming up on an election Calendar that they be mailed to the voters. So that...this is nothing new, this is something that has been done before. The figures as arrived at by the State of Washington which already does this say that it would run about 30¢ a household and

we figure here we...we could do it for considerably less, the projected figure is about 17¢ a household. In addition to that in Washington they have a tollfree line where people who did not receive them could call and ask for them. Now what is the reason for this? We talk about ethics, we talk about disclosure. One of the reasons that the political process and particularly the...politicians are in ill repute today with the voters is because of the inordinately large amounts of money that was spent in the last campaign for President of the United States, some 80 or 90 million . dollars. And the idea is to edify and teach people who the candidates are. They should be given the opportunity to read a book which of course would apply to different sections having different names in for different sections and have the opportunity to be told not in an editorial, not in a way that expresses someone's personal viewpoint or position but just a mind run statement as to each of the candidates, who the candidate is, where he came from, what his program is, whatever the limitation of words would permit, 350 in some states, to say what it was about the person so the voter could be told and know who the people are on the ballot that they're to vote for. And could intelligently then cast a vote without the expenditure of large sums of money which entails the obtaining of campaign funds from people who sometimes give them for a person...for a purpose other than a pure governmental interest. Now if you want to start bringing campaign costs within some reasonable limitations this is one of the initial very small steps to do it. Standing right there where Secretary Fernandes is standing right now was a man last week named Joe Meek. A man who ran for the United States Senate in this State, a man who incidentally is of the Republican persuasion but for whom I have as much respect as I have any man who lives in Illinois.

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Joe Meek told the story of how when he ran for the United States Senate, personal problems and decisions engulfed him on a day to day basis about trying to raise the necessary funds to run for political office. Just yesterday a man who has made a significant contribution in the Illinois Congress said that one of the reasons he would not run for the United States Senate is because the availability of a million and a half dollars was not there for him to run. And if that is the basic reason why he decided he did not want to run for the United States Senate. Well I think the time has come when we must do something to make running for public office more reasonable in terms of cost and less possible in terms of purchase. I think an office ought to be earned. I don't think it ought to be purchased. think the office of running for state office or for federal office in this country ought to go to the highest bidder. I think it ought to go to the person that people know about and have a right to vote for and select on the basis of competence and not on the basis of the acquisition of the American dollar. And this is a very small step toward making the state finally responsible, as it will, to produce the best people to hold public office at a cost which is not exorbitant. At a cost which is not prohibitive. This is a good bill and I certainly solicit your support.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator McCarthy.

SENATOR MCCARTHY:

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Yes, Mr. President, Members of the Senate, I would like to make a couple of remarks in favor of this bill. I endorse the remarks that have just been made by Senator Partee and will not repeat them. I endorse remarks made by Senator Rock and Senator Wooten and others and will try not to repeat them.

But it strikes me that if we Democrats and Republicans ought

to be together on this issue because this issue gets l. into the question of whether or not the political parties 2. ...the political parties will retain power. Now what's 3. been the traditional source of power for the political 4. party? Number one in years gone by political parties used to have partronage where they could get the word out 6. on candidates through means of people who were hired by 7. the governmental unit. And it was effective and the 8. party was able to hang together because we had patronage. 9. But that's been taken away in a process of over a hundred 10. years. The other technique of keeping parties together 11. has been money. And I think all of us agree there's been 12. a revulsion against the private contribution and the excesses 13. of it insofar as financing campaigns. So when you take away 14. patronage from the party and when you take away monies from 15. the parties really you don't have much left to keep the parties 16. glued together and you won't have the parties running the 17. government. You'll have other people than the parties running 18. the government and I don't think Democrats or Republicans be-19. lieve that to be in the best interest because after all we are 20. elected. Other people that might run the government are not 21. elected. On the basis of cost I think some figures can be 22. used logically here. The appropriation on this bill is one 23. million dollars...one million dollars of taxpayers money. The 24. question arises, is that a prudent decision? I think yes. 25. When the transportation bond issue was up in this Chamber about 26. three years ago to go through without referendum for nine hundred 27. million dollars we had a fight on whether or not the interest 28. rate on the nine hundred million dollars should be 7% top or 29. 5% top. And the figures that I had at that time were that 30. for each drop of 1% in the interest rate on this transportation 31. bond issue, every time the interest rate would drop 1% the taxpayers 32. would be saved \$98,500,000 in interest costs alone. The

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interest rate remained at 7%. The public are exposed to l. an extra cost of \$98,500,000 in interest costs because 2. that proposition prevailed and there were special interests 3. interested in the passage of that bond issue. The contractors, 4. the bonding houses were all'interested in that issue and 5. those people and those groups are fertile sources - or have 6. been - fertile sources of campaign contributions. 7. that one instance alone. I could go on to other legislation 8. that would take a long time, legislation we passed in the 9. last Regular Session where the taxpayers are...are facing 10. temendous costs because special interests have prevailed 11. in this and the...our sister Chamber. So the figure of 12. one million dollars of taxpayers money to attempt to put the 13. concept of public financing of campaigns is not a high cost. . 14 We have seen fit to pay for elections through taxpayers costs. 15. We pay for the polling places, we pay for the judges, we pay. 16. for the Constitutional Convention brochures, it strikes me 17. that this is one opportunity where we should move forward and 18. I'm willing to move forward and say yes taxpayers I'm willing 19. to spend one million dollars of your money toward trying to 20. seek an improvement in the election process. And I urge an 21. affirmative vote. 22.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Mitchler.

SENATOR MITCHLER:

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...Mr. President, Members of the Senate, a while ago someone alluded the fact that this would eliminate the cost to the candidate because for a small fee of \$200, I believe it is, is what is stipulated in...no \$75 for a state senator, \$200 for a United States Senator, United States Representative...to have your picture, a brief description of your candidacy published. Is this mean that it would prohibit a candidate from printing an additional

brochure on his...on his own or her own in order to
 distribute. Could I ask the sponsor that question?
 PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Rock.

SENATOR ROCK:

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No. It contains no prohibition of any kind.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Mitchler.

SENATOR MITCHLER:

Well, then, this is in addition to what a candidate would normally engage in promoting himself or herself in the district and I see in no way would that argument have any validity unless a candidate absolutely spend nothing in their district to be a...for the office. But I heard of these enormous...sums of money that are...being required to be spent in order to be a candidate. I was shocked to learn yesterday that someone would spend \$75,000 to run for an Illinois State Senate seat paying \$17,500. I... I don't know ...truthfully I don't know where I could spend that money in my district if I was going out throwing it in the: street everyday during the campaign. But this same person could again spend \$75,000 to get herself re-elected and I don't know what good this would do because certainly with \$75,000 in a campaign expenditure in a senatorial district and we're all the same size now...this would just be a minor addition to a campaign cost like that. Then there's another question and I... I'm going to compliment Senator Nimrod for bringing the attention that sometime 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and possibly 10 of these pamphlets would go into the same household. But on page 2 it says whenever practical the Secretary of State shall cause the pamphlets to be printed so that no candidate's picture or statement shall be included in the copy of the pamphlet going to any county where such candidate is not to be voted for. In other words we've got all different pamphlets,

going to different places and this would be an additional

2. cost. And how you would accomplish that and a million

dollars is beyond me. This is a bad, bad bill.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator...Senator Rock.

SENATOR ROCK:

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I thought that was in the form of a question. I'm not sure frankly but I will attempt...

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

We'll take it that way.

SENATOR ROCK:

practical. Now I'm sure that in my judgment the Secretary of State is a very practical man and I'm sure that he can make that decision. In addition in the state that does have this, as can be done in our own state, and as is done currently you send to the head of the household. If you get five identical names in the same house you obviously don't send five books or needn't send five books. Now that's...that Senator Partee alluded to that in direct response to Senator

Nimrod. I would ask for a roll call.

22. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

23. Senator Netsch has asked for recognition Senator Rock.

Senator Netsch.

SENATOR NETSCH:

Mr. President, as the old saying goes I had not intended to speak on this issue until my name was heard on the Floor and now I feel compelled to make some comment. Senator Mitchler in the first place just for the sake of accuracy the \$75,000 was for two of us not for one. That does make some difference although I freely concede that it was a huge amount of money to spend and I am not pleased about it and I am not proud of it.
...I hope that it will never have to happen again I...can't

happen again I haven't got that much money left...but one 1. of the things that is going to be important to avoid that 2. kind of problem in the future, I believe.... I genuinely 3. believe is some form of public financing of campaigns. 4. It is an extremely difficult thing to work out, to draw the 5. lines on but it is important, it is coming, it will be here at 6. sometime in the future. I would suggest to you that the 7. very modest step toward public financing that this bill 8. represents - and it is a very modest step - could well be 9. offset if Senator Mitchler would just reduce the number of 10. resolutions and other things that he distributes and puts 11. on our desk. ... I think we could pay for this whole thing 12. and...and have everyone who is running for office advertised 13. to the same extent. So that is where the savings will come 14. from Senator Mitchler. But apart from that I think that 15. while this is not the most effective way of bringing about 16. public knowledge and information it does do a little bit of 17. that and if there is anything that is justified as a govern-18. mental expenditure it is that which will bring about a greater 19. public understanding of and knowledge of those people who 20. being selected to serve them. I think on that basis it is a 21. very legitimate step in the right direction. 22.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Rock may close debate.

SENATOR ROCK:

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I would just ask for a roll call, Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

The question is shall SB 6 pass. And upon that question the Secretary will call the roll.

SECRETARY:

Bartulis, Bell, Berning, Bruce, Buzbee, Carroll, Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course, Daley, Davidson, Donnewald, Dougherty, Fawell, Glass, Graham, Harber Hall, Kenneth

Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer, Knuppel, Kosinski, l. Latherow, McBroom, McCarthy, Merritt, Mitchler, Howard 2. Mohr, Don Moore, Netsch, Newhouse, Nimrod, Nudelman, 3. Ozinga, Palmer, Partee, Regner, Rock, Roe, Romano, Saperstein, Savickas, Schaffer, Scholl, Shapiro, Smith, 5. Sommer, Soper, Sours, Swinarski, Vadalabene, Walker, 6. Weaver, Welsh Wooten, Mr. President. 7. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 8. 9. Bruce, no. Carroll, aye. Merritt, no. Course, aye. Savickas, no. Daley, aye. Newhouse, aye. Kosinski, aye. 10. Palmer, aye. On that question the ayes are 25. The nays 11. are 13. SB 6 having failed to receive the constitutional 12. majority is declared lost. SB 10. 13. SECRETARY: 14. Go to 12. 15. 16. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): SB 12. Senator Harris. 17. 18. SECRETARY: 19. SB 12. (Secretary reads title of the bill). 20. 3rd reading of the bill. 21. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 22. Senator Harris. 23. SENATOR HARRIS: 24. Mr. President, Members of the Senate, SB 12 is designed 25. to strike what I would like to describe as a meaningful and ...and effective balance between the right and the need of 26. the public to know more about present political campaign 27. 28. practices and procedures and the many difficulties that are brought on by the increasing costs of campaigning. On the 29. one hand the bill expressly prohibits any quid pro quo 30. arrangement relative to the making of or receipt of campaign 31. contributions and expenditures. It seeks to eliminate the 32.

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abuse of public responsibility because of improper relation-

ships between public officials and those who have financially

supported their campaigns on a do something for me basis. l. On the other hand, and I think this is really the significant 2. thing, the bill recognizes that all persons who so choose 3. have a right to participate in the governmental process by 4. voluntarily making contributions to political candidates of 5. their choice and that such persons have a right to have the 6. fact and the amount remain as confidential as the way they 7. mark their ballot. Unless they have personally violated 8. the campaign regulation laws of the State that would be 9. provided in this bill. SB 12 would be administered by the 10. State Board of Elections. It would regulate the receipt of 11. contributions and the making of expenditures by candidates. . 12. Candidates are defined in the bill as all persons who seek 13. nomination or election to or who serve in the office of 14. Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary 15. of State, Comptroller, Treasurer, Member of the General 16. Assembly or who seek the office of judge of the Supreme 17. Court, the Appellate Court and the Circuit Court of Illinois. 18. Now pursuant to the provisions of the bill every candidate 19. must designate an official candidate's committee and on or 20. before the deadlines provided in the bill the first which set 21. forth these reporting requirements he must advise the board 22. of the name of his official candidate's committee and the name 23. and address of the committee's chairman and treasurer. 24. types of reports are required in the bill. First is a report 25. which must be filed by all candidates who are standing for 26. election not more than twenty nor less, than fifteen before and 27. after all primary and general elections that would be involved. 28. ... Disclosure covers the name, address, date and amount of all 29. contributions over \$150 received by the candidate. The second 30. report re...covers all contributions and expenditures with no 31. threshhold. However the name and amount would be confidential 32. as relates to the board and is in my judgment a very reasonable

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threshhold that will encourage broadly based involvment in support of persons seeking to fill office in this political process of ours. The bill does provide for an effective date of July 1, 1974 - first reports that would have to be filed would be reports by all candidates standing for election in the November 74 General Election. These reports would have to be filed not more than twenty nor less than fifteen days prior to that General Election. I'd be happy to respond to any questions, would urge a favorable support for this bill, and as I have stated, I think strikes the compromise between a level of need for confidentiality for the base base of the pyramid kind of contributor and for those on a... that...that would contribute amounts greater than the thresh-hold provided.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Knuppel.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

l. SENATOR KNUPPEL:

2. Senator Harris, if you'll yield for a question?

3. SENATOR HARRIS:

Certainly.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

If I understood you right, you said that these reports had

to be filed before the election, at least 15 days?

SENATOR HARRIS: 8.

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SENATOR KNUPPEL:

...What about ... contributions?

SENATOR HARRIS: 12.

They would be covered...they would be covered in the 13. report...the report must be filed not more than 20 nor less 14. than 15 prior to and not less than 15 nor more than 20 after-15. wards. Then, additionally there is also required a January 16. reporting of any activity on an annual basis.

SENATOR KNUPPEL:

Now, what good will this disclosure do for a man that's already been elected as far as the public is concerned? other words, if I were running and I knew I had 4 or 5 people that were going to finance about 2/3's of the campaign or unions or something like that and I'd say just don't bother, don't send your check until 14 days before the election. My credit's good. What...what does this bill then accomplish? PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Harris.

SENATOR HARRIS:

Well, at the example you've demonstrated it would have to be reported following the election, that reporting requirement

and further, it would have to be reported on the January report-31.

ing requirement. 32.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Knuppel.

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SENATOR KNUPPEL:

I .. I personally feel that this bill does just as much as any of the others and probably the most sensible of the disclosure bills. However, I...I can't support any of these because I am of the opinion, like they said about the Judiciary when they got the new Judicial Article you know and it was a great thing, but they didn't tell the people that it was going to cost the people of the State of Illinois 5 times what the Judicial System they had would cost. This is true of so many things in Government. The EPA, the budget now is about 6 times or...or maybe 12 times what the budget for the Department of Agriculture is. Time after time after time we pass legislation here and everybody thinks they're getting a goody, but I say that the bureaucracy and what goes with it will cost the people in the State of Illinois. This will be followed by financing of campaigns out of public funds and that this is the only end that can follow. I feel that this is a step in the wrong direction. Iffeel that what I collect or don't collect, I have to answer to God for anyway. If...if...if I...if I'm guilty of stealing, if I'm guilty of kickback, if I violate the law, it's my conscience. And, I'm sure, that there will be people that will get away with things and never be caught and then there'll be some who are. But, what...whether I do or don't is going to be a matter between me and my God. And, that you can't legislate morality no matter how you do it. That I can collect these contribution's late, it's a known fact through political science that the memory in politics is about 2 years. I get my contributions in late, report them after the election and what difference does is make? I just don't believe that any of this legislation is more then eyewash for the newspapers, the people and I think as Senator Graham said, the Saints come marching in that those ... a lot of those people

1. that are voting here tonight are hoping that we do adjourn 2. tonight so that this legislation doesn't in fact ever get to 3, the Governor's desk. And, they get their brownie points because they voted for it and they can go back and say they supported it. 5. But, I'd be less than a hypocrite to stand here and feel the 6. way I do and not vote no on this legislation. I could vote 7. yes, after all once it gets 30 votes what's the difference, 8. you're not going to beat it by voting no, but I think I'd have to vote no anyway. I'd have to go back to my people 9. and say honestly that's the way I felt. It got 30 votes, but 10. 11. I think if you sort that you'll find some of those people in there that...that waltz down there and when they saw it 12. had 30 votes, added their name on at the end. Thank you. 13.

Senator Chew.

16. SENATOR CHEW:

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17. Yeah, Mr. President, I wanted to ask the sponsor 1 or 2
18. questions for clarification, if I may.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

He indicates he'll vield.

21. SENATOR CHEW:

Senator Harris, if one were to contribute \$300 to the candidacy of a candidate, am I to understand that the route of that report would be name, address, amount, submitted to the Election Board for public knowledge, or is that going... SENATOR HARRIS:

That...that's correct

SENATOR CHEW:

For public knowledge?

30. SENATOR HARRIS:

31. That's correct.

SENATOR CHEW: `

But one who contributes \$95...

SENATOR HARRIS:

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It would be filed with the Board and the Board would retain that information in a confidential nature. Subject to ultimately, if a determination were made that that contributor violated this Act. That that person's contribution would then become a matter of public knowledge.

SENATOR CHEW:

...Who would determine if that person violated the Act. SENATOR HARRIS:

A complaint would be filed with the Board. The Board would hold a preliminary hearing as to whether a...a formal hearing would be held. The Board would have the power to make a determination whether a violation had occurred or not. All of the rulings of the Board, of course, would be subject to administrative review under the Administrative Review Process.

SENATOR CHEW:

Now, one other question here. If the \$95 is to be confidential, then how would one file a complaint against a contributor?

SENATOR HARRIS:

As I've just said, Senator, if...if you thought that there were a relationship that violated the provisions of this Act, you could file a complaint with the Board. The Board would hold a hearing on the question of whether a violation of the Act had occurred or not.

SENATOR CHEW:

In other words, you're saying the candidate could file a complaint and no one else.

SENATOR HARRIS:

No, any...any person within the jurisdiction of the Board.

33. SENATOR CHEW:

1. But just John Q. Public, Senator, would he have the right
2. to file a complaint on a confidential contribution that he is
3. supposed to know nothing about?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Harris.

SENATOR HARRIS:

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Well, a person filing the complaint would originate the complaint because of some suspicion on his part...This bill would not provide them with willy-nilly opportunity to go into the confidentiality relationship that would exist under the provisions of this. But, any person who had a legitimate concern about any candidate that would be so determined by the Board, would have it...the hearing process available to them for relief of their concern.

SENATOR CHEW:

In other words, any citizen could file a complaint on any contributor and ...

SENATOR HARRIS:

19. Yes...

SENATOR CHEW:

...to require the Board of Election to open its records...

22. SENATOR HARRIS:

No. No, to hold a preliminary hearing as to whether there should be a formal hearing and in the formal hearing appropriate protections and safeguards on the part of the Board would have to be pursued before a decision of whether there had been a violation of the Act or not, on the determination of the Board. Now, this is not...a cursory kind of process at all but a very carefully structured process.

30. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

31. Senator Chew.

SENATOR CHEW:

One...one final, Senator. A candidate for the General

1. Assembly will probably get \$150. A candidate for Governor or Secretary of State will probably get a thousand. Those two 2. 3. contributions are handled exactly the same way and they're made public to the citizens of the State of Illinois and the 4 . newspapers, the media and etc. And, of course, if the con-5. tributor sought a favor, shall we say that's worth \$999 from 6. 7. the Governor or the Lieutenant Governor, etc., ... then it would be published that this person had made a contribution, 8. 9. say of a \$1,000 and the favor is granted in the form of maybe employment or etc. and etc., then all of this is a matter of 10. public knowledge. Am I correct? 11.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

13. Senator Harris.

SENATOR HARRIS:

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Yeah...yeah. Senator, I don't really think you brought your question to a close. You are describing, I think, what would be determined a quid pro quo contribution. They are clearly prohibited in this bill.

19. SENATOR CHEW:

20. That...that was not the...

SENATOR HARRIS:

And the two amounts that you have referred to, the \$150 and the \$1,000 would be...a part of the public disclosure section of the bill. Those...those two identifications would be publicly disclosed.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Chew.

SENATOR CHEW:

Now, does that answer the question in your opinion about the \$150 that a candidate for the General Assembly would get.

That would be in effect handled the same way, is that correct.

SENATOR HARRIS:

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Yes.

١. SENATOR CHEW: 2. Thank you. 3. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 4. Senator Netsch. SENATOR NETSCH: Mr. President, will the sponsor yield for a question? c 7 PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): He indicates he will 8. SENATOR NETSCH: 9. Senator Harris. I... I have a couple of questions. ... I 10. would have to say, I have read the bill three times and I really 11. have some trouble figuring it out. And, my questions are 12. questions that...that where I really need some information. 13. I don't like some of the bill anyway, but I'm just trying to 14. figure out what it does do. Does this bill have any appli-15. cability at all to the money spent by or transferred by or 16 contributed to political parties on behalf of candidates. 17. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 18. Senator Harris. 19. SENATOR HARRIS. 20. The...such a situation, in other words, a...a contribution 21. from a political party or a committee would be reported in its 22. aggregate to...to the Board of Elections. It would be reported. 23. SENATOR NETSCH: 24. In the aggregate ... 25. SENATOR HARRIS: 26. Yes, that's my understanding. Yes, that's correct. 27. SENATOR NETSCH: 28. ...but not...but not the source of the funding to the 29. political party. Is that correct? 30. SENATOR HARRIS: 31.

That's correct.

SENATOR NETSCH:

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1. ... So, that it would be possible for someone to avoid the 2. Act really, by funnelling all of his money into, all of his 3. contributions into the political party structure, either 4. Republican or Democratic, and...then having money spent from 5. the political party on behalf of the candidate. ... If the 6. money were in the form of a direct contribution from the 7. political party to the candidate, in other words, a ... R Republican Party gives Senator Harris \$200 for his campaign... 9. that would be covered by some of the record keeping, recording ... 10. sections, however, if Republican Party spent \$200 itself for 11. billboards, handbills, whatever, on behalf of Senator Harris' 12. candidacy, as I read the bill, that would not be covered. And. 13. in either...neither case would the source of the original con-14. tribution to the political party be covered. Is that correct?

Senator Harris,

PRESIDING OFFICER: (SENATOR WEAVER):

17. SENATOR HARRIS:

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The...the example that I have, that I will respond to now is that the Republican Party expends directly in behalf of a candidate, or, the Democrat Party expends directly in behalf of a candidate, on its contract with whatever the purpose might be, whether it be billboards or advertising, is not covered by this bill. That's correct. If the Republican Party or the Democrat Party contributed to the candidate, that would be covered.

SENATOR NETSCH:

And, the covering would be a listing, reporting or record keeping by the candidate of \$200 from the Republican Party.

SENATOR HARRIS:

Yeah, on that example. That's correct.

SENATOR NETSCH:

32. But, there would never be any way of...

33. SENATOR HARRIS:

l. The detail...the detail of that source is not required 2. under this Act. З. SENATOR NETSCH: We would never know whence came the money that was then 4. 5. transferred. б. SENATOR HARRIS: From all of those fine contributors to the Democrat Party 8. or those questionable contributors to the Republican Party. 9. That's correct. The detail is not required by this Act. 10. SENATOR NETSCH: No they're legitimate contributors in... 11. SENATOR HARRIS: 12. 13. Yes... SENATOR NETSCH: 14. 15. either event. I just want to know who they are. That's all. 16. SENATOR HARRIS: You're...you're...' 17. SENATOR NETSCH: 18. 19. And it would not. All right. The second things is ...there ...I have some difficulty in reading together the provisions of 20. Section 7, Section 8 and the subsequent provisions having to do 21. with what is available at some point for public inspection...Do 22. I understand that in...starting in 1976, that some of the infor-23. mation that has been reported or some of the information that has 24. been kept by candidates and their candidate's committees, would 25. be subject to public inspection. Nothing until 1976. 26. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): . 27. Senator Harris. 28. SENATOR HARRIS: 29. The first report, Senator Netsch, would be prior to the 30. November '74 election. That...that...and those divisions that 31.

32. 33. relate that to being public or confidential, would become effective

then. Then you would have the...July, and incidentally, I spoke in response to Senator Knuppel's question, that the annual reporting date is in January, it's in July. I misstated that. It...but in July of '75, the annual report would be required and the ... first reports required under this bill would be not more than 20 nor less than 15 prior to the General Election in '74 and the second report not less than 15 nor more than 20 after the election and then the annual report in July of '75. SENATOR NETSCH:

But, the vast bulk of that which is reported in this next election year, for example, is still maintained as confidential information by the Board.

SENATOR HARRIS:

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If it were below the threshold, yes, it would be maintained in a confidential relationship with the Board. Above the threshold, it would be public information.

SENATOR NETSCH:

Right. I think those are... I have some other minor questions which are not significant. I... I might just, if I may end up my comment. I know, but I've been trying to get information up to this point, Mr. President. ... I think that your answers have helped solve some of the...the questions of interpretation I have with the bill. And, on that basis, I would like to say simply, that I cannot vote for the bill. think it is a shell. I think it does not get anywhere close to what we are talking about in campaign disclosure. had not gotten a good campaign disclosure bill out of this Body, an hour or so ago, it might be a more difficult question. But, having passed Senator Roe's bill, which is good, it seems to me that this does nothing but really make people think there's going to be some information and at the same time, not give them that information. There is not right of privacy regarding campaign money. It is public money. It is for a public purpose.

It all ought to be a matter of total public record from this
 day forward.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Wooten.

SENATOR WOOTEN.

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Mr. President, you'll all be pleased to hear that Senator Netsch made much of what I was going to say unnecessary. I merely want to reiterate that this is...strikes me as being as cosmetic legislation rather than substantial, because the disclosure is confidential, it is not public. And, there is a loophole big enough to drive a truck or several trucks containing money, through. And, I believe we do the public a disservice in proposing a bill like this which purports to do something and simply does not do it. We will keep the disclosures confidential. You will have to pry them out really, of the Elections Board, with a pretty good case. And, that seems to me to frustrate the whole idea behind campaign disclosure. It appears to address the problem but actually complicates it.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Partee.

SENATOR PARTEE:

Well, Mr. President, this whole question of disclosure legislation, I think, has gotten involved in several concepts being thought of simultaneously. I think it has a divisional aspect. The one part of campaign...of disclosure legislation relates to the personal holdings and the personal income of candidates. That concept was embraced in the bill which Senator Donnewald had, the one which Senator Roe had, which relates not only to what a person personally possesses or what a person personally earns, including his husband or wife or members of his law firm or members of his business and his associates. There has not been any large hue and

cry about the personal campaign disclosure bill...not cam-١. 2. paign but personal holdings disclosures. And, I still say that the law in the State of Illinois on personal involvement 3 is still the best law in the United States on that subject. Now, when last Spring the attempt was made to pass some 5 legislation of this nature, we said that there would be some 6. 7. bills that would come to address themselves to campaign dis-8. closure. Now, campaign disclosure problems are the problems which have caused a great deal of hue and cry and frustration 9. in America today, the campaign disclosure or lack of it. 10. bill is not a panacea for all of the problems attended in that 11. area of political development. It does have one rather 12. salutary feature as far as I am concerned and that is it 13. will be handled, not by some recently created or proliferated 14. organization called the Board of Ethics or something, but 15. will be handled by that branch of Government already established, 16. already staffed, already with salaries set for its members 17. called the State Board of Elections. I think the State Board 18. or Elections ought to handle it. Certainly their duties 19. are not so widespread in the...in handling elections which are 20. few and far between that they would not have the time and the 21. staff to handle this problem. So, number 1, I think, having 22. chosen the State Board of Elections to administer this law 23. is a wise and salutary thing. Now, I think certainly, Senator, 24. that we do need something in terms of a law and that we cannot 25. depend on men's consciences to make certain that they don't 26. break the law. There's an old expression that my conscience .27. is my guide. In later times, we have come to find out that 28. in many instances a man's conscience was not his guide, but 29. rather was his accomplice. Certainly, you cannot legislate 30. morality. We had the ten commandments that set forth what the 31. moral tone and climate of this world ought to be and we did 32. not stand on them. We felt that someother laws were required. 33.

Hence, we have statutory laws to enforce those commandments. 1. The commandments say, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt nor 2. steal, but that isn't all we regard as being the admonition 3. necessary to keep peace in the world. We have statutory laws 4. against stealing, we have statutory laws against killing and 5. we must have statutory laws in this area. Now, I recognize 6. that the feature mentioned here with reference to political 7. parties espousing candidates...there's no way that I know that 8. you can prevent the; let's say the Republican Central Committee 9. of Sangamon County, when Senator Davidson's on the ticket to 10. run for Senator and he has his own campaign group that raise 11. his money and spend it in conformity with this or other legis-12. lation, there's nothing on the wor...in the world that's going 13. to keep the Sangamon Republican Central Committee from running 14. maybe a television ad or running a billboard and saying, these 15. are our candidates, Davidson for Senator, Joe Blow for Coroner, 16. Mike Smith for Sheriff or whatever the offices are at that 17. particular time. And that is an espousal, or course, of the 18. candidacy of that particular person and the money as spent for 19. that espousal will, of course, come, not from Senator Davidson's 20. till, but from the Central Committee's till. Now, these laws 21. are not always as antiseptic as you would desire them to be, 22. but the Lord knows you have to start somewhere, with a law 23. that would make and bring into focus some campaign disclosure 24. legislation. And, campaign disclosure legislation with reference 25. to source of money and the manner in which it is spent, in my 26. opinion is very important. As I say that this not a panacea, 27. it is not perhaps the finest legislation capable of the product 28. of a man's mind. I say it...it goes a long way toward bringing 29. into focus the problems that beset us. Thank you. 30.

Senator Bell.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER) :

SENATOR BELL:

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...Mr. President,...I think we've had enough discussion
 on this. I think Senator Partee's eloquence is...certainly
 merited in reference to this legislation and I'd like to
 call for a roll call.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

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I have two more on the list, Senator Bell. Senator Hall. SENATOR KENNETH HALL:

Thank you, Mr. President. If the sponsor will yield to a question. I notice here that it says that a candidate ... any person who seeks nomination for office of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, Comptroller, Treasurer, Senator, Representative of the General Assembly, or the Office of Judge of the Supreme, Appellate, or Circuit Court of the State. Now, if we're going to have an...a disclosure law, why have you just stopped here?

Senator Harris.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

SENATOR HARRIS:

Well, Senator, it's my judgment that...two...two reasons, in my opinion. I am concerned with regulations of candidates who hold State responsibility and further I'm fearful of visiting on the literally thousands upon thousands of office-holders of lesser offices, the requirements of campaign disclosures, subjecting them to penalty provisions for those innocent violations of regulations that decend on them. I

honestly think it is unfair in my own personal opinion, and we've all had the experience with the disclosure requirements of the present Ethics Act when it was dropped down and included so many people, that there are literally thousands of violators

of that law today if they want to be pursued and processed and

I just think that that broad application is something that I'm

32. not going to be a party to, yet at least.

33. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Hall.

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28. 29. SENATOR KENNETH HALL:

Well, Senator, when you referring to lesser office...
offices, there are many offices that pay far larger salaries
than the salary we're drawing. There are many people who
run for other offices who seek...who will probably be getting
larger donations and much larger than I received running for a
State office if we're just going by title. I mean, when you
say lesser offices...

SENATOR HARRIS:

I'm not pursuing this on the rate of compensation at all, I'm talking about the the level of responsibility and the structure of our Government. I'm concerned with State regulation of State responsibility officeholders. And, I don't quarrel with your conclusion at all, Senator, but this is the course that I've attempted to direct this bill toward. I believe that...certainly we should begin with the regulation of State Officers and Members of the General Assembly. I think that there is reason and rational conclusions that would support broadening that group to include the Judiciary beyond the recital that you read and which I identified in my opening remarks.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Hall.

SENATOR KENNETH HALL:

So, in other words, you think that you have a disclosure law if you just limit it to just State officeholders? Then you think that....

SENATOR HARRIS:

30. That...that's what I'm attempting to do by means of this31. bill. That's correct.

32. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

33, Senator Palmer.

SENATOR PALMER:

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...I would like to answer the sponsor some questions.
...Some of the things that Senator Partee alluded to that I
would like answered and I intended to ask him and...Senator
Glass and myself covered these particular questions that...
when the Committee As A Whole met. It relates itselves to
volunteers ... now, I'm not going to elaborate too much on
this bill. It's a very luminous bill, but would you turn to
page two of your bill, Mr. President, I'll try to be brief.
First of all on expenditures. I'm going to ask you a very
simple question. When you describe expenditures, what would
your answer be if some volunteer ran a cocktail party or a
coffee that exceeded the amount of \$200. Would that be required to be reported?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Harris.

SENATOR HARRIS:

Well, I think that that would be covered under the word donation. I think it would be and that's clearly set out in ... line 23. I think that that's clearly a donation. That would be a determination by the Board. ... if complaint were filed in connection with it. I personally believe a candidate would be compelled to report that under the qualification and the coverage ... yeah... of the word donation as opposed, of course, to that exclusory language that begins in line 18, personal services provided by individuals to or on behalf of a candidate or a candidates committee shall not be deemed to be a contribution for purposes of this Act. Personal services is one thing that I think appropriately should be excluded, but a person picking up the tab for a \$200 cocktail party, I think clearly comes within the definition of donation.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Palmer.

- 1. SENATOR PALMER:
- ...describe this as a donation then would it become in-
- 3. cumbent upon the candidate in your opinion...
- 4. SENATOR HARRIS:
- 5. To report it as an expenditure. That's...that's
- SENATOR PALMER:
- 7. Well, in order to report it, he would have to go to these
- 8. nice people and say Mr. and Mrs. So-And-So, Mr. and Mrs.
- 9. Harris, you ran a nice party for me. Please tell me how much
- 10. did you spend and what did you do and all that.
- 11. SENATOR HARRIS:
- 12. Yes.

17.

- 13. SENATOR PALMER:
- 14. That right?
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SENATOR HARRIS:

SENATOR PALMER:

- 16. That's correct.
- 18. Now, as your own opinion, would you think that this might
- 19. chase away that kind of donor?
- 20. SENATOR HARRIS:
- 21. I don't think there's any question but what campaign dis-
- 22. closure legislation will minimize contributions. There's no
- 23. question in my mind about it.
- 24. SENATOR PALMER:
- 25. Now, Section 4, although there are other references to
- 26. your candidates committee, may I ask you a direct question.
- 27. This bill...does this bill require that every candidate have
- 28. a committee?
- 29. SENATOR HARRIS:
- 30. Yes.
- 31. SENATOR PALMER:
- 32. Are you telling us by this bill that a candidate does
- 33. not have a ...

1. SENATOR HARRIS:

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Candidates covered by the bill must have a campaign

committee. That's correct.

SENATOR PALMER:

5. You mean the candidate does not have a right to run with-

6. out a committee?

7. SENATOR HARRIS:

That's correct. The...the candidates covered by the pro visions of this bill will be required to have a committee. That's

correct.

11. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

12. Senator Palmer.

13. SENATOR PALMER:

14. Mr...Senator, do you think that a candidate does not have

a constitutional right to run for office without a committee.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

17. Senator Harris.

SENATOR HARRIS:

Obviously I do. I think this is a thoroughly constitutional

bill and I think that a legitimate public service in involved

here to require a person to have a committee in connection with

the candidates covered by this bill.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Palmer.

SENATOR PALMER:

26. I...I ask you, Senator...I ask you Senator, not whether

27. the bill is con...whether a Senator or a public official or

candidate has a right to run without a committee. Isn't that

29. a constitutional right?

30. SENATOR HARRIS:

31. I'm answering you in the negative on that question. I'm

32. saying that I believe that...

33. SENATOR PALMER:

1.	that he does not have that constitutional right.
2.	SENATOR HARRIS:
3.	Well, that would have to be litigated, Senator. I
4.	personally think that there is basis to sustain this as
5.	a reasonable requirement that the public good is served by
6.	requiring these candidates to have a campaign committee to
7.	report contributions and expenditures.
8.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
9.	Senator Palmer.
10.	SENATOR PALMER:
11.	Now, on further on Section 4, which has been mentioned by
12.	Senator Partee This bill would say that no volunteer or
13.	organized political organization has no right to expend sums
14.	of money on behalf of a candidate. Is that your direct answer
15.	to that?
16.	SENATOR HARRIS:
17.	The committee is required to report expenditures. That's
18.	correct. The committee is required and the committee is re-
19.	quired to report expenditures.
20.	SENATOR PALMER:
21.	orfor assuming for example, Mr. X. has a committee,
22.	a volunteer committee, however, the county chairman of his
23.	county very graciously decides to expend some expenditure for
24.	him towards his campaign. He does not have the right to do
25.	that? without getting consent on his own? You're prohibiting
26.	that by this bill?
27.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
28.	Senator Walk,
29.	SENATOR HARRIS:
30.	If Iif I understand your question, I do notII
31.	believe it is not involved in the regulation of this bill. Are
32.	you saying that a committee other than the candidates committee

expends money directly in behalf of the candidate.

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1.	SENATOR PALMER:
2.	Right.
3.	SENATOR HARRIS:
4.	Not to the candias a contribution to the candidate?
5.	SENATOR PALMER:
6.	Right.
7.	SENATOR HARRIS:
8.	That is not covered under the bill and I responded to that
9.	query bythat also has been raised by Senator Netsch.
10.	SENATOR PALMER:
11.	That's what? That they have the right to do that?
12.	SENATOR HARRIS:
13.	That's correct. The thing that is covered here is an
14.	expenditure by a candidate or by the candidate's committee and
15.	that expenditure is required to be reported to the Board under
16.	this bill.
17.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
18.	Senator Palmer.
19.	SENATOR PALMER:
20.	Well, itas a closing statement, I see nothing but blocks
21.	here and dry-ups' orfor candidates - you know gentlemen - please
22.	One thing that has been established with the Committee As A
23.	Whole and some of the conversations here that the cost of
24.	financing an election campaign has certainly increased. And,
25.	instead of coming up with some solution here to help the
26.	candidate, we are doing everything here to break down his
27.	his ability to run. Which reminds me of an incident that
28.	was reported in Peoria. Thethey tell the story of a gentlemen
29.	that was pulling a long, heavy chain across the street. And
30.	but when he got to the middle of the street, the nice officer
31.	from Peoria stopped him and he says, why are you pulling the chain
32.	across the street and he turned around and says, officer did you

ever try pushing a chain across the street. Well, that's what

we're doing here. We're telling candidates to push that chain across. The candidates has got a hard enough pull to go through a primary, a hard enough pull to go through an election. And, instead of finding some solution to help the candidate, we are presenting legislation to cut down his ability to raise the most important thing to finance the cost of a campaign and that's money. As Senator Roe has admitted here and so have the witnesses that they have not, Senator Harris, I think you have admitted too, that they have not found a substitute for money. And, also you are drying up the volunteers. There many Sections in this bill, Senator Harris, that are just chasing away people that would like to help a candidate voluntarily and that is their right under the Constitution. That is their privilege to say under the Constitution of this great country that I would like to advance the candidacy of Senator Harris. And, why should we pass bills to stop that? And, I maintain that we are not helping the gentlemen to pull that chain across the street, we're sending him back to push it across. And, I think we should help our candidates rather than to put these deterrents and dry up all ... of the resources that he might get.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Harris may close debate.

23. SENATOR HARRIS:

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Mr. President, we've, of course, had a great deal of dialogue on this subject matter the past two or three weeks, two very thorough committee of the Whole discussion here all day. believe, sincerely and strongly that this is a sound bill and an appropriate, significant step to provide for adequate campaign expenditure disclosure, structured to be administered by the State Board of Elections, the body that should be involved on the question of election activity in Illinois. This is a sound piece of legislation and I do urge your support for the passage of Senate Bill 12.

Ι

1. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

> Question is shall SB 12 pass, and upon that question, the Secretary will call the roll.

SECRETARY:

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Bartulis, Bell, Berning, Bruce, Buzbee, Carroll, 5.

Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course, Daley, Davidson, Donnewald,

Dougherty, Fawell, Glass, Graham, Harber Hall, Kenneth 7.

Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer, Knuppel, Kosinski, 8.

Latherow, McBroom, McCarthy, Merritt, Mitchler, Howard

Mohr, Don Moore, Netsch, Newhouse, Nimrod, Nudelman,

Ozinga, Palmer, Partee, Regner, Rock, Roe, Romano,

Saperstein, Savickas, Schaffer, Scholl, Shapiro, Smith,

Sommer, Soper, Sours, Swinarski, Vadalabene, Walker,

Weaver, Welsh Wooten, Mr. President.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Kenneth Hall, aye. Carroll...Carroll, aye. Kenneth Hall,

aye. Fawell. Bruce, no. ...purpose does Senator Harris arise?

...question, the ayes are 35, the mays are 11 and one present.

SB 12 having received a constitutional majority is declared

passed. ... Senator Harris.

SENATOR HARRIS:

Now, Mr. President, I'd like to seek leave of the Body to

have entered in the Journal for this Special Session that

Senator Conolly is absent from the Senate today because of a

death in his family. The funeral was this morning. Senator

Hall is absent today because he has appeared before a National

Association meeting in Miami, Florida, in which he was a parti-

cipant in that annual meeting in regard to legislation regulating 28.

Blood Banks which Senator Hall sponsored. I would like the

record to show that reason for their respective absences.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

SB 10/

SECRETARY: 33.

- ı. SB 10. (Secretary reads title of bill).
- 2. 3rd reading of the bill.
- PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 3.
- Senator Scholl. Senator Scholl.
- SENATOR SCHOLL:
- Mr. President, Members of the Senate, the issue of dis-6.
- 7. closing land trusts has been kicked around now for the last
- 8 months. ... Today we've put on some very constructive amend-8.
- ments that were submitted by Senator Glass, Senator Fawell and 9.
- 10. Senator Nudelman. Rather than take up a whole lot of time dis-
- 11. cussing this issue that has been dis...talked about for a long
- 12. time, I'm going to ask for a favorable roll call.
- 13. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
- Senator Rock. 14.
- SENATOR ROCK: 15.
- Mr. President, Members of the Senate, I hope particularly 16.
- Senator Nimrod will listen because I'm going to quote, about an 17.
- hour ago, Senator Nimrod said he thought it was unfair, I think 18.
- was the word he used, to consider a piece of legislation of 19.
- the magnitude of SB 6, when we really hadn't had an opportunity 20.
- to study it. I want to point out, SB 10 was introduced on 21.
- 22. October the 29th. A couple of hours ago, amendment No. 1 was
- 23. offered. I don't know whether anybody's had an opportunity
- to read Amendment No. 1 with the exception possibly of Senators 24.

Glass and Nudelman, but Amendment No. 1 struck everything after

- the enacting clause and put in a whole new bill. I just think 26.
- that we've had since October 29th, I think to strike everything
- after the enacting clause and then to put on seven amendments, 28.
- this is not, in my judgment, responsible deliberation. 29.
- PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 30.
- Any further discussion? Senator Glass. 31.
- SENATOR GLASS: 32.

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Well, Mr. President, in response to Senator Rock's comments 33. that this is not responsible deliberation, I suppose I would have

- a hard time disputing that statement, because we are in the 1. closing hours of this Session and a tremendous volume of 2, 3. legislation is being considered. So, I don't know how else 4. you get legislation than when you're under pressure to get the job done. But, I would point out that instead of adding 5. pages and paragraphs to a bill, what has happened with SB 10 7. is that is has been simplified,...made very direct and, I think very understandable. In essence, it provides that 8. before monies are paid by the State for title to the right or 9. to use any real estate...or for any interest therein, the 10. 11. identities of the beneficial owners must be disclosed. 12. don't think there's anything mysterious about it. The amendments that Senator Nudelman introduced which I opposed, I 13. 14. don't think seriously hurt the bill, particularly in the area 15. of eminent domain...as was pointed out in the debate, the ownership of property can be determined ... in...in those cases 16. which are in court anyway. So, that ... I think this bill has 17. 18. has a lot of attention by a number of counsel, including, Senator Sours, Senators Nudelman and Palmer and I think Senator Scholl 19. should be congratulated on ... on his determination to have 20. 21. a good bill before us. ... And despite the relatively brief time we've had to debate it and understand it, I think it's a 22. good piece of legislation and I hope it will pass. 23.
- 24. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
- 25. ...further discussion? The question before the Senate is 26. shall SB No. 10 pass. Upon that question, the Secretary will 27. call the roll.
 - ACTING SECRETARY (MR. WRIGHT):

29. Bartulis, Bell, Berning, Bruce, Buzbee, Carroll,
30. Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course, Daley, Davidson, Donnewald,
31. Dougherty, Fawell, Glass, Graham, Harber Hall, Kenneth
32. Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer, Knuppel, Kosinski,
33. Latherow, McBroom, McCarthy, Merritt, Mitchler, Howard

- Mohr, Don Moore, Netsch, Newhouse, Nimrod, Nudelman,
- Ozinga, Palmer, Partee, Regner, Rock, Roe, Romano,
- 3. Saperstein, Savickas, Schaffer, Scholl, Shapiro, Smith,
- 4. Sommer, Soper, Sours, Swinarski, Vadalabene, Walker,
- Weaver, Welsh Wooten, Mr. President.
- 5. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
- Weaver, aye. McBroom, aye. Nimrod, aye. Soper, aye.
- 8. Been a request for a poll of the absentees. Absentees will
- be called.
- 10. ACTING SECRETARY (MR. WRIGHT):
- ll. Bruce, Buzbee, Carroll, Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course,
- Daley, Donnewald, Dougherty, Harber Hall, Kenneth Hall, Hynes,
- Johns, Keegan, Knuppel, Kosinski, McCarthy, Newhouse, Ozinga,
- 14. Palmer, Partee, Rock, Romano, Saperstein, Savickas, Smith,
- 15. Swinarski, Vadalabene, Welsh and Wooten.
- 16. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
- 17. There's been a request to place the bill on the order
- 18. of consideration postponed. So ordered. Next bill will be
- 19. SB 13.

- ACTING SECRETARY (Mr. Wright);
- 21. SB 13 (Secretary reads title of bill).
- 22. 3rd reading of the bill.
- 23. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
- 24. , Senator Nimrod;
- 25. SENATOR NIMROD:
- Mr. President, and fellow Senators, we have today discussed
- 27. a great deal about campaign disclosures and ethics, and I
- 28. would ask that each of you who have received a copy of the bill
- 29. and the amendment that was made yesterday,...allow me to take
- 30. a minute here to just review what has happened and the status
- 31. of the bill as it is now. This bill is a campaign disclosure
- 32. bill and creates the Illinois Campaign Disclosure Act and what
- 33. it does basically, in it's form as it is now, is to provide for

all who seek public office, to be under a campaign disclosure. And it is sensible, because it takes the approach that those who are funning for constitutional office and those whose campaigns are of a magnitude which are over \$100,000, certainly require and demand the attention of having...it...their ... campaign disclosures and expenditures made into the form of a report. It calls for those who are of lesser offices, those who seek the state-wide offices of State Representative and State Senator, the Judiciary, and all local offices, requires them to make a report of anyone who is contributing over \$200. It sets a threshold at this particular point and it does not require you to report if your campaign...contributions are less than \$1,000. I think that this is a very sensible approach. It provides for basically the same kind of hearings and the procedure that was involved in SB 12. And, this particular bill is administered by the State Board of Elections. I think what we have to do here is to say that we have some basic differences as of why this is a better bill, is that certainly we come to the point that it's certainly unnecessary to take and make anyone report if it is a...of a minor nature. I think that people who contribute...or people who are concerned, are not the general public and I don't believe the ones that are concerned at this particular point or anyone else that...except ourselves, who have to set a standard by which the public can judge us. And, I think the time is here an now that the public looks to us to see how we handle it and I'm very please to see that the Senate has passed two campaign disclosure bills today and I would ask that you pass this one so that it may also be weighed in with the others with it's aspects, and there are those that are different, so that there can be an agreement as to the kind of bill that will come out of this particular Legislature, both between the House and the Senate. I would be happy to answer any questions that might be presented.

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1. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

The lady from Chicago indicates she would like to ask Senator a question. Senator Netsch.

SENATOR NETSCH:

5. Thank you, Mr. President. It's a question, not a speech.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

7. Thank you.

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8. SENATOR NETSCH:

9. ...Senator Nimrod, as I read the amended...SB 13...it has
10. the same effect with respect to contributions to political
11. parties and contributions by political parties to candidates
12. as Senator Harris' bill, is that correct?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

14. Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

Yes. In my bill there is no call for a roport on the part of the candidate...he does all the reporting himself, and that's different than Senator Harris' bill. And, all committees that are on behalf of the candidate are reported by the candidate himself: The only report that is made,...you...talking about political organizations that make it, the political organizations that if they make a contribution to the candidate, that amount would show up. But, the reports of the committees themselves as having to make a report, no. This is a candidate reporting bill.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Netsch.

SENATOR NETSCH:

Right, and so the...the ultimate source of the financing of ...of campaigns really is not reached because there is this great gap involved in the original source and that which ultimately gets reported. That probably is editorial comment, but I think you have answered the question. It is the same as Senator Harris'

with respect to the effect on...on political party contributions and contributions to political parties....
 PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
 Senator Nimrod.
 SENATOR NIMROD:

 ...Senator Netsch, there is no gap. All monies, all
 contributions received by the candidate are reported. The...
 if you're asking me whether the...whether this bill calls for

10. do so. This bill only requires the candidate to report.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

12. Senator Regner.

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13. SENATOR REGNER:

...yield to a question.

Oh, I'm sorry. Senator Netsch was not completed. I did

a political organization to make a report, this bill does not

not intend to preclude your editorial comment.

18. SENATOR NETSCH:

19. You're sure you didn't realize it.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Oh, you know I wouldn't.

22. SENATOR NETSCH:

Very well. So that...if...it then leaves open the possibility of someone contributing to the political party as sort of a subterfuge for the ultimate contribution. ... May I ask you one other thing. As I read the bill, your filing dates, that is reporting dates have no particular relationship to the dates of elections, that is they are, I think it was July 15th and January 15th. Is that correct.

30. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

I think the reporting dates are very irrelevant to the

1. periods involved. They are so set that there is a report 2. following primaries and that there's also a report following 3 the elections, and it also calls for continuous reports. ... The ... if you will note, there are some qualifications that 4. take place that require over a two-year period...that contri-5. butions that put you into one bracket or the other. But, there 6. is a...these dates are set for the purpose of having a report 7 being made following the primary elections and following the 8.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

general ele...there's two reports a year.

Senator Netsch: 11.

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SENATOR NETSCH:

They're required after the fact of the election, not before, except as you accumulate information over a period of years, if the same person continues to run for office. May I ask you one other thing, Senator Nimrod? As I read the bill, the only way in which violations of the Act can be initiated before the Board are on a verified complaint by someone who does file the verified complaint alleging that there has been a violation. Is that correct?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

That...that is correct, Senator Netsch.

SENATOR NETSCH: 25.

> So, the Board does not have the power on its own to initiate investigations, it must wait for someone under oath to make the allegation. Right?

SENATOR NIMROD:

No. Senator, that is not right. The Board has the powers to conduct investigations and to make reports and this information is public and these hearings are public, because unlike the other bill it's ... And, if they ... if they want to make ...

investigations on their own they probably can't bring any
 charges, but they certainly can go out and make the investigations.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Netsch.

SENATOR NETSCH:

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...mean then they could make a general investigation of...
of...activities involving the bill, but they could not investigate an allegation of a failure to comply with it. That would require the verified complaint.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

No, Senator, they do not. They have the right to make their investigations at any time they choose. They cannot make the allegation themselves. I think that's the difference, but they can make investigations on a particular candidate ...pertaining for the area of which is in their responsibility. PRESIDING OFFICER:

Senator Netschl

SENATOR NETSCH:

Just one final comment this time, I think most of those questions have been answered, I still find, with all due respect to Senator Nimrod, great gaping holes in this in terms of its coverage. And, in addition to ones that I have been questioning you about, I think the...the definition of...of political contribution is very, very limited in terms of its scope. It involves only that which is directly received by the candidate, not anything which is expended on his behalf. And, of course, does exclude personal services, which can be a very significant source of contribution and often is. So, that I...I still find that while there is, I think, a little more here than in Senator Harris' bill, a large area that is

1.	simply, not really met and covered at all. Thank you.
2.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
3.	Senatordid you wish toSenator Regner.
4.	SENATOR REGNER:
5.	Senator Nimrod, if I understand this bill correctly, it
6.	does not apply to any organization or anything like that, such
7.	as Senator Roe's bill did. It applies only to candidates?
8.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
9.	Senat
10.	SENATOR NIMROD:
11.	Senator, thatthat is correct. It only applies to
12.	candidates and not to organizations. However, it does re-
13.	quire the candidate, if there are any committees which are
14.	set on his behalf, then those committees are the candidate and
15.	he reports those.
16.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
17.	Ok. Now, as far as candidate go, how far down does this
18.	go. Does it include Ward and Township Committeemen in Cook
19.	County and Precinct Committeemen downstate.
20.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
21.	Senator Nimrod.
22.	SENATOR REGNER:
23.	and all other local candidates such as Park Boards and
24.	so on and so forth.
25.	SENATOR NIMROD:
26.	Thethe bill includes all who seek nomination for election
27.	to public office. So, it would include anyone running in the
28.	State of Illinois for public office, which would include those
29.	which you've questioned about.
30.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
31.	Senator Regner.
32.	SENATOR REGNER:

Ok. Now, let...let's assume that there's a committeeman

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1.	wherever, downstate, Cook County, what have you, that sells
2.	ads in an ad book and it goes into what's called a committeeman'
3.	fund. Now, may be used for distribution to the organization he'
4.	associated with or other candidates or what have you, it does
5.	not necessarily have to be used by him in his own campaign.
6.	Would he have to report for that fund.
7.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
8.	Senator Nimrod.
9.	SENATOR NIMROD:
10.	If it's a fund that he is responsible for,seeking the
11.	election to office that he would have to report it.
12.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
13.	Senator Regner.
14.	SENATOR REGNER:
15.	Now, it only applies, it's a thousand dollars contri-
16.	butions a year or a thousand dollars expenditures. Is that
17.	correct?
18.	SENATOR NIMROD:
19.	Yeah. That isthat is correct.
20.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
21.	Senator Regner.
22.	SENATOR REGNER:
23.	Nownow in a case, myself, this year, I have not re-
24.	ceived any contributions of any kind. I've not had a fund-
25.	raiser. I'm not going to expend any monies at all. Would I
26.	have to file anything at all or would I just be out of it for
27.	this year completely?
28.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
29.	Senator Nimrod.
30.	SENATOR NIMROD:

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At the time when you were...at the last reporting period,

if you had not, you would have filed it. You do not and you

do not intend to and you would not have to file any further $\tilde{}$

until you again became a candidate or started to receive
 contributions in excess of a thousand dollars.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

4. ...Knuppel, from Petersburg and or Havana.

SENATOR KNUPPE L:

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Mr. Chairman, this is Monday, the day we do wash. In that little song, we do our wash, do our wash, do our wash. Now, the House was nice enough to send us over four bills, let's send them back three. Let's see if they're really serious about ethics legislation. ... Let's let them put their money where their mouth is. It's another good bill and let's be sure they get it. And, let's do our wash, do our wash, do our wash.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Merritt, the Gentlemen from Hoopeston.

INDIDING OFFICE COMMISSION COMMISSION

SENATOR MERRITT:

Mr. President, Members of the Senate, I certainly rise in support of this legislation, just as I support SB 12. The thing that makes this bill different, in my opinion, is the fact that we include all elected public officials. I think to have done otherwise would be complete folly. We included all elected public officials under the previous...law in which they must declare their economic interests. I can't see why they wouldn't be included in campaign disclosure legislation. I think to do otherwise certainly makes your Governor on down to your State Representatives and State Senators, makes all of us second-class citizens compared to other elected public officials. Now, if we're going to make these disclosures, and I think we should, then let's put all elected public officials in the same boat. I urge a favorable roll call vote on this bill.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Glass and then Senator Sours.

33. SENATOR GLASS:

1. Like to ask... Senator Nimrod. I think there may have 2. been some confusion, at least there was in my mind, on who 3. is covered. A candidate's own committee would be covered. Isn't that correct? A committee organized for the purpose 4. 5. of raising funds and expending them for a candidate. That 6. committee would report, wouldn't it? 7. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): Senator Nimrod. 8. 9. SENATOR NIMROD: Yes, Senator Glass, that committee and any committee which 10. is called a candidate's campaign committee and this means any 11. organization which receives a political organization for the 12. exclusive purpose of bringing about the nomination for election 13. of a particular candidate. So, any committees that are organized 14. by him or for him are included. 15. SENATOR GLASS: 16. 17. And the other question is... PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): 18. Senator Glass. 19. 20. SENATOR GLASS: Thank you. Is there any limit on what can be spent, under 21. 22. the bill, as it now stands? SENATOR NIMROD: 23. No, Sen...no Senator, there are no limits. We'd intended 24. to put it on, but there just was not time to get the bill 25. amended. 26. 27. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): Senator Sours. 28. SENATOR SOURS: 29. I have two questions, if the Senator will yield. 30. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): 31.

Indicated he will yield.

SENATOR SOURS:

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1. ...There are committees, if one wants to call them that,
2. or we'll call them organizations, such as COPE, C.O.P.E, then
3. there's I.P.A.C.E. and others. Now, they are not under the
4. control or even exist at the suggestion of any particular
5. candidate. It seems to me that they would be excluded, Senator,
6. from your bill. Would they not?

PRESIDING OFFICER:

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32. 33. Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

Senator Sours, the organization itself would be excluded as are other political organizations, however, any contributions which they would make as an organization or individually from that organization, would be included

PRESIDING OFFICER):

Senator Sours.

SENATOR SOURS:

Of...of course, Senator, they wouldn't make a contribution. They would have their own ad in the local saffron hued gazette, telling people to vote for, or not vote for somebody. You see, there's the rub. I don't think you've included any of the... of the organizational committees, such as...COPE and others. I think they're, by definition, they're excluded because I don't ask them to support me and they don't come to me and ask permission to support me, for example. They go and they have their own advertising schedule. They spend money on workers. They ... in their...in their union magazine, for example, they'll say, support Joe Blow. And, of course, all of those things are very valuable and they are unreportable as I see it in your bill. Now, ...I'd...I'd like a definite answer on that, if...if you know the answer.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

1. I think we've pretty well answered that, Senator Sours. 2. I only can tell you this, that the political organizations 3. which would include such organizations as COPE, are not covered 4. in the scope of this bill, and if it is your desire to include 5. such organizations within the purview of campaign disclosures, 6. I would suggest that there be a bill introduced to do this. 7. And, there's nothing wrong with doing that. But, I think that 8. what we have to face is that we're now trying to come up with 9. what we think should be the first step. And, the first step that I see in the concept of this bill, and that's why I pre-10. sented, it, is to make the candidate himself first responsible, 11. then, if we, as a Body, want to go further than that, let's 12. go beyond that purview and add those things that you're talking 13.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Sours.

SENATOR SOURS:

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32. 33. This is my second and last question. It's very brief.

As I understand it, the precinct committeemen, plural, the precinct committeemen would have to each, individually file.

Now, I happen to be a precinct committeemen, I'm also a member of this Chamber, I'm on the Peoria Public Library Board. Now, will I have to file three of these.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

You would only have to file if you had campaign contributions exceeding \$200 from any one individual, or ... if...if you even...even if you received over a thousand dollars or spent over a thousand dollars, and you didn't have any one that gave you over 200, you would not have to make any report at all.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Further questions. If not there is a Senator...been ask for recognition a second time. Senator Regner.

SENATOR REGNER:

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...Just one more question. Senator Nimrod, you said it reads that all candidates for public office would be included. Would not a candidate for committeeman be it township, ward or precinct committeeman downstate, would not that be considered a political office and not a public office and therefore, they would not be included in this bill?

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Senator Nimrod.

12. SENATOR NIMROD:

Well, I...you know, I think that this means that anyone,
I think this is where it goes back to candidate definition,
and it says that it means any person who seeks nomination
for or election to a public office. Now, you brought up the
term political office and I'm not sure that there is a difference
between the two, and if there is a difference there, I think
that something has to be done. It was my intent that they
were included...and I'm...really have not investigated that
part that might exclude them, but there's certainly time to
look into this. I appreciate you're calling attention to it
and I will certainly be able to do something about it when it
gets over to the House.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

Any further discussion? If not, Senator Nimrod says, very briefly, he will close the debate.

SENATOR NIMROD:

I would just call your attention to some unique differences here that you might or might not have been aware or, and that is that in this particular case, there is a distinction in the case of reporting between the constitutional officers, that is the Governor and those that are provided for in the Constitution,

and anyone's campaign who exceeds \$100,000. They make a full 1. report of campaign expenditures and contributions, but those 2. who are otherwise in that, whose campaign's would be other than that and are...less than \$1,000...or over \$1,000, they would Δ. 5. only report the name of the persons who might...would have contributed over \$200 and the total amount of expenditures, 6. and no other reports. I would ask for a favorable roll call, 7. 8. Mr. President. 9. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): The question before the Senate, is, shall SB 13 pass. 10. And, upon that question, the Secretary will call the roll. 11. SECRETARY: 12. Bartulis, Bell, Berning, Bruce, Buzbee, Carroll, 13. Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course, Daley, Davidson, Donnewald, 14. Dougherty, Fawell, Glass, Graham, Harber Hall, Kenneth 15. Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer, Knuppel, Kosinski, 16. Latherow, McBroom, McCarthy, Merritt, Mitchler, Howard 17. Mohr, Don Moore, Netsch, Newhouse, Nimrod, Nudelman, 18. Ozinga, Palmer, Partee, Regner, Rock, Roe, Romano, 1.9. Saperstein, Savickas, Schaffer, Scholl, Shapiro, Smith, 20. Sommer, Soper, Sours, Swinarski, Vadalabene, Walker, 21. Weaver, Welsh Wooten, Mr. President. 22. 23. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR CRAHAM): Been a request for a call of those who are absent. 24. Absentees will be called. 25. SECRETARY: 26. 27. Bartulis, Bruce, Carroll, Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course, Daley, Donnewald, Dougherty, Fawell, Glass, Graham, Gr... 28. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): 29. 30. Aye.

Harber Hall, Kenneth Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer,

Kosinski, McCarthy, Newhouse, Nudelman, Palmer, Partee, Rock,

SECRETARY:

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32. 33. 1. Romano, Savickas, Schaffer, Scholl, Smith, Swinarski, Welsh,

Wooten, Mr. President.

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PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

4. Bartulis, aye. Carroll, aye. Rock,...Romano, aye, Daley,

5. aye. Kosinski, aye. Swinarski, aye. Hynes, aye. Senator

Ozinga asks how he is recorded. Voting aye. Senator Ozinga

requests to be recorded no. We still have a problem. Dougherty,

8. aye. Donnewald, aye. I'll have that record tomorrow. On this

question, the yeas are 31, the mays are 3. 4 voting present.

The bill having received the constitutional majority is there-

fore declared passed. Senator...Senator Bell moves the vote

by which this bill was just passed, be reconsidered. Senator

13. Regner moves to Table Senator Bell's motion. All in favor of

the motion to Table will signify by saying aye. Opposed. The

ayes have it and the motion is Tabled. Next bill will be SB 15.

Fifteen. Senator Nimrod. The action is up here I think. Are

.

you...do you want to proceed on 15 or are we going to...

18. SENATOR NIMROD:

I...Mr...Mr. President, I would...ask leave to Table...

SB 15.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):

You won't have any trouble getting leave for that? The

sponsor has asked leave of this Body to Table SB No. 15. All in favor, signify by saying aye. Opposed. The ayes have it.

The bill is Tabled. Senator Nimrod.

SENATOR NIMROD:

Mr. President, I'd just like to take a moment for a point

of personal privilege. I noticed on my desk a release that

was here and I certainly am disappointed that one of our colleagues

is not going to become a candidate and go to Washington which

I think he would so ably represent us and I'm speaking of

32. Senator Howard Mohr, who has decided to stay with us. I want

to tell you for that part of it I am rejoiced that he will be

- with us and be our majority leader. ... And thought I'd just
- like to make that comment.

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- 3. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
- 4. We might change that. He'd be glad to hear your sentiments.

Any further business to be brought before this Session at this

6. time? We're not going to close it right away, I'm just trying

Do we have any Senate sponsors... I need your attention.

- 7. to call your attention to the fact that we need some action.
- getting very little of it. Gentlemen, Senators Nudelman and
- Donnewald, when you're tthrough making speeches to each other
- 11. I'd like to find out if there's any Gentlemen here that have
- 12. any business they would like to transact on the order of House
- Bills on first reading. Senator McBroom. No, wait a minute,
- 14. Senator Wooten was up first, Senator McBroom.
- 15. SENATOR WOOTEN:
- 16. Yes, I'd like to be listed as the sponsor...Senator sponsor
- 17. of HB 3 and request unanimous consent that the Committee on
 - 9. of that bill. That it be advanced to the order of 2nd reading

Assignment of Bills be discharged from further consideration

- 19. of that bill. That it be advanced to the order of 2nd reading
- 20. without reference.
- 21. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
- 22. Well, you will not have unanimous consent, but I'm sure
- 23. they will give you leave.
- 24. SENATOR WOOTEN:
- 25. All right.
- 26. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
- 27. ...to have...Senator McBroom.
- 28. SENATOR MCBROOM:
- 29. Mr. President, I rise on a point of personal...
- 30. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
- 31. We haven't asked for a reading of them yet.
- 32. SENATOR MCBROOM:
- 33. I rise on a point of personal privilege, Mr. President.

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ı. we have a very distinguished visitor in the gallery, Senator 2. John Knuppel from Petersburg. Would the Senate rise and 3. 4. acknowledge.... PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): 5. There is going to be...there's going to be some further 6. business, shortly and would the Senate please be in an official 7. temporary recess 8. - Momentarily -9. ...Walker. 10. SENATOR WALKER: 11. ... Thank you, Mr. President. I was temporarily distracted 12. back here, but, I thought I heard you mehtion House Bills 1st 13. reading. I would like to advance HB 1668 to the order of 2nd 14. reading without reference to a committee. 15. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): 16. I don't know what Session you're in Senator. 17. SENATOR WALKER: 18. I'm in the Regular Session, but this is... 19. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM); 20. We're...you're... 21. SENATOR WALKER: 22. ... This is a terrific bill and I'd like to adivse the 23. House sponsor that I gave it the old college try. 24. 25. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM): Senator, you're the only one that's in the Regular Session, 26. the rest of us are not. Daniel Dougherty...Dougherty. 27. SENATOR DOUGHERTY: 28. I wonder if Senator Walker would yield to a question? 29.

When are you going to take that walk on that bridge?

I'm...I'm sure, Mr. President...

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32. 33. SENATOR WALKER:

τ.	FRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRANAM).
2.	You can take the 5th if you want to.
3.	SENATOR WALKER:
4.	that Senator Dougherty joins me in this request because
5.	it's in our district or very close to it. Isn't it Senator?
6.	SENATOR DOUGHERTY:
7.	It's on the periphery, yeah. Which one, I don't know.
8.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR GRAHAM):
9.	be temporarily in an official recess unless someone
10.	disturbs the Chair. The First Special Session of the 78th
11.	General Assembly will stand in recess until the call of the
12.	Chair and we will move to another Session when the tape is
13.	changed and will try to expedite some of the business on this
14.	Calendar.
15.	(RECESS)
16.	(AFTER THE RECESS)
17.	PRESIDENT:
18.	First Special Session will come to order. Messages from
19.	the House.
20.	SECRETARY:
21.	(Secretary reads Message from the House)
22.	PRESIDENT:
23.	Bills on 1st reading. HB 1.
24.	SECRETARY:
25.	HB 1 (Secretary reads title of bill)
26.	1st reading of the bill.
27.	PRESIDENT:
28.	SenateSenator Wooten. HB 3.
29.	1st reading of the bill.
30.	PRESIDENT:
31.	Senator Wooten.
32.	SENATOR WOOTEN:

Mr. President, I would like leave of the Body to advance

HB 3 to the order of 2nd reading without reference to committee. 2. PRESIDENT: 3. Senator Wooten moves to have HB 3, which has been read a 4. 1st time, advanced to the order of 2nd reading without reference. 5. All in favor, signify by saying aye. Contrary no. On that 6. question, all in favor, signify by rising. Those opposed, rise. 7. The motion fails. The Rules are not suspended. HB 6. 8. SECRETARY: 9. (Secretary reads title of bill) 10. 1st reading of the bill. PRESIDENT: 11. Senator Nimrod will be shown as the sponsor of that. HB 8. 12. SECRETARY: 13. нв... 14. 15. PRESIDENT: There is no sponsor for that, I quess, so that...oh I'm 16. 17. sorry. Senator Howard Mohr. SECRETARY: 18. 1.9. (Secretary reads title of bill) 20. 1st reading of the bill. 21. PRESTDENT: 22. Is there any further business to come before the 1st 23. Special Session? The First Special Session then will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair. 24. 25. (RECESS) 26. (AFTER THE RECESS) 27. PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER): 28. First Special Session will come to order. ... Consideration 29. postponed. SB 10. Senator Scholl. 30. SENATOR SCHOLL:

...and I ask for a favorable roll call.

PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):

Mr. President, I request to call that...SB 10 back and I

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1.	Is there any discussion?;
2.	SENATOR SCHOLL:
3.	This matter was well discussed this morning and
4.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
5.	Question is, shall SB 10 pass and upon that question, the
6.	Secretary will call the roll.
7.	SECRETARY:
8.	Bartulis, Bell, Berning, Bruce, Buzbee, Carroll,
9.	Chew, Clarke, Conolly, Course, Daley, Davidson, Donnewald,
10.	Dougherty, Fawell, Glass, Graham, Harber Hall, Kenneth
11.	Hall, Hynes, Johns, Keegan, Knuepfer, Knuppel, Kosinski,
12.	Latherow, McBroom, McCarthy, Merritt, Mitchler, Howard
13.	Mohr, Don Mocre, Netsch, Newhouse, Nimrod, Nudelman,
14.	Ozinga, Palmer, Partee, Regner, Rock, Roe, Romano,
15.	Saperstein, Savickas, Schaffer, Scholl, Shapiro, Smith,
16.	Sommer, Soper, Sours, Swinarski, Vadalabene, Walker,
17.	Weaver, Welsh Wooten, Mr. President.
18.	PRESIDING OFFICER (SENATOR WEAVER):
19.	Fawell, aye. Saperstein, aye. On that question, the ayes
20.	are 34, and the nays are none. SB 10 having received a con
21.	constitutional majority, 34 ayes and 1 nay, SB 10 having re-
22.	ceived a constitutional majority is declared passed Harris.
23.	SENATOR HARRIS:
24.	I now move that the First Special Session adjourn until
25.	Friday, November 16 at 10:45. All in favor, signify by saying
26.	aye. Opposed may. Motion carries.
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