

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

---

Senator Mitch McConnell, <i>et al.</i> ,	)	
	)	
Plaintiffs,	)	Case No. 02-0582 (CKK, KLH, RJL)
v.	)	
	)	<b>All consolidated cases.</b>
	)	
Federal Election Commission, <i>et al.</i> ,	)	
	)	
Defendants.	)	

**DECLARATION OF SENATOR WILLIAM E. BROCK**

The affiant, having been duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. My name is William E. Brock.
2. From 1963 until 1971, I served as United States Representative from Tennessee.

From 1971 until 1977, I served as a United States Senator from the State of Tennessee. From 1977 until 1981, I served as Chairman of the Republican National Committee. From 1985 until 1987, I served as Secretary of Labor under President Ronald Reagan. Although I have not been in public office since 1987, I have continued to be a participant in national politics and I am a close first-hand observer of the subject.

3. In 1994, for example, I ran for the Senate in Maryland. One conclusion drawn from this experience was that the enormous growth of so-called "soft money" in the past decade had allowed both parties to substitute those funds for the more arduous task of grass-roots organizing, thereby inflating costs and devaluing personal participation. Political parties, the essential "connection" between citizens and their government, were weakened. In effect the

---

parties increasingly became conduits for single interest influence rather than for the development of broadly based representative government.

4. On April 29, 1998, a publication called "The Hill" published an article I wrote concerning the deleterious effects of soft money on our democracy and on political parties in particular (Attachment A). The article accurately reflected my views at the time, which were based on first-hand experience. The article continues to reflect my views based on my experience, and I incorporate the views expressed in the article in this Declaration.

5. Large contributions -- of \$50,000, of \$100,000, of \$250,000 -- made to political parties by corporations, labor unions, and wealthy individuals have an enormously negative impact in at least the following ways:

a. These contributions compromise our elected officials. When elected officials solicit these contributions from interests who almost always have matters pending before the Congress, these elected officials become at least psychologically beholden to those who contribute. It is inevitable and unavoidable. The contributors, for their part, feel they have a "call" on these officials. Corporations, unions, and wealthy individuals give these large amounts of money to political parties so they can improve their access to and influence over elected party members. Elected officials who raise soft money know this.

b. The appearance of corruption is corrosive and is undermining our democracy.

6. The reliance of the major parties on large soft money donations does not in fact strengthen the parties, it weakens them. The focus on raising and spending soft money to affect federal elections divorces both the national and state parties from their roots. The money by and large is not used for "party building." To the contrary, the parties by and large use the money to help elect federal candidates -- in the Presidential campaigns and in close Senate and House

elections. Far from reinvigorating the parties, soft money has simply strengthened certain candidates and a few large donors, while distracting parties from traditional and important grassroots work.

7. I warmly agree with those who say that political parties perform extremely important functions in our democracy. Based on my experience, however, I disagree with those who say soft money is necessary to build parties. Parties ably performed their unique functions in our political system before they became awash in soft money. And they can again perform those functions -- indeed, they can perform them better and with more integrity -- without reliance on soft money. The parties can and do raise large amounts of hard money, i.e., money that complies with federal requirements.

8. It does no good to close the soft money loophole at the national level, but then allow state and local parties to use money from corporations, unions, and wealthy individuals in ways that affect federal elections. State and local parties use soft money to help elect federal candidates both by organizing voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives that help candidates at all levels of the ticket, and by using soft and hard money to run "issue ads" that affect federal elections. Therefore, for soft money reforms to be truly effective, it is vitally important to require the use of hard money at the state level to pay for activities that affect federal elections.

9. As noted, I have been a candidate in seven federal campaigns and, as Chairman of the RNC, I was deeply involved in many federal election campaigns. I am therefore fully familiar with the basics and the nuances of campaign advertising in such campaigns. Citizens are bombarded by campaign ads funded with soft money, but are told that these are not related to the candidates' campaigns. This conduct breeds an unhealthy cynicism in the electorate, which

---

generally harms our democracy and which specifically undermines the credibility of the major  
political parties.

10. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 19<sup>th</sup> day of September, 2002.

  
Hon. William E. Brock