

Approved: 3-12-98  
Date

MINUTES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION & ELECTIONS.

The meeting was called to order by Chairperson Kent Glasscock at 9:00 a.m. on March 10, 1998, in Room 521-S of the Capitol.

All members were present except: Representative David Haley, Excused  
Representative Ray Cox, Excused  
Representative Larry Campbell, Excused

Committee staff present: Mary Galligan, Legislative Research Department  
Mike Heim, Legislative Research Department  
Dennis Hodgins, Legislative Research Department  
Theresa Kiernan, Revisor of Statutes  
Fulva Seufert, Committee Secretary

Conferees appearing before the committee: Mr. Bill Beachy, Executive Director of Common Cause Kansas and representing Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform  
Mr. John Exdell, Associate Professor of Philosophy, Kansas State University  
Charles M. Benjamin, Ph.D., J.D., Kansas Natural Resource Council and the Kansas Chapter of Sierra Club  
Ms. Mary Ann Bradford, League of Women Voters of Kansas  
Ms. Jan Kruh, Congressional District Coordinator, AARP/VOTE  
Mr. Franklin W. Neff, Common Cause (written only)  
The Rev. David E. Grimm (written only)  
Mr. Grant Denny, President of the KSU Progressive Coalition (written only)  
Mr. Robert J. Brown (written only)

Others attending: See attached list

The Chairman opened the Public Hearing for **HB 2810**.

**HB 2810 - Kansas Clean Money Campaign Finance Reform Act**

Chairman Glasscock welcomed Mr. Bill Beachy, Executive Director of Common Cause Kansas, who spoke on behalf of the Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform as a proponent for **HB 2810**. Mr. Beachy said that the purpose of the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act is to provide a clear, voluntary alternative to the current system of raising and spending private money to finance Kansas candidates' elections. He said that this idea proposes an entirely new system whereby candidates can choose to continue relying upon private financing, but they could also opt to participate in the new system. (Attachment 1.)

The Chairman asked Mr. Beachy if he would like to introduce the next guest who wanted to speak in favor of **HB 2810**. Mr. Beachy introduced Mr. John Exdell, Associate Professor of Philosophy, Kansas State University, who said that he was speaking on behalf of the Coalition for Campaign Reform in Manhattan. He mainly addressed the following three items: 1) Identification of the problem with the current system of financing elections in Kansas; 2) Information gained from their recent research into the sources of money in the 1996 Kansas legislative races; and 3) Why they feel the Clean Money approach offers the only effective solution to the problems of the present system. (Attachment 2.)

The next proponent was Charles M. Benjamin, Ph.D., J.D. who represented the Kansas Natural Resource Council and the Kansas Chapter of Sierra Club. Dr. Benjamin said that the passage of the Clean Money Reform Act would help restore Kansans' faith that their legislators are not bought or beholden to special economic interests. (Attachment 3.)

The Chair next recognized Ms. Mary Ann Bradford who represented the League of Women Voters of Kansas. Ms. Bradford said that the "League believes that the methods of financing political campaigns should ensure

CONTINUATION SHEET

MINUTES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION & ELECTIONS, Room 521-S Statehouse, at 9:00 a.m. on March 10, 1998.

the public's right to know, combat corruption and undue influence, enable candidates to compete more equitably for public office, and allow maximum citizen participation in the process." (Attachment 4.)

Chairman Glasscock welcomed Ms. Connie Stewart, Kansas AFL-CIO, who spoke as a proponent of **HB 2810**. Ms. Stewart pointed out that the Kansas AFL-CIO believes that voluntary public financing of campaigns is the best option for solving the problem of special interest influence in the legislative process. She stressed that the complete leveling of the playing field for all candidates is true reform. (Attachment 5.)

Chairman Glasscock welcomed Ms. Jan Kruh, Congressional District Coordinator, AARP/VOTE, who spoke as a proponent of **HB 2810** and said that she has been a volunteer advocate for Kansas campaign and lobby reform since 1995. She commended the Committee for its part in the progress that has been made through the passage of several campaign reform bills during the past three sessions. Her testimony stated that 17 states are now looking at this model legislation, and that Maine was the first state to adopt a similar bill. She commented that Missouri is now considering the same. (Attachment 6.)

Due to lack of time for additional conferees, Chairman Glasscock called the Committee's attention to the written testimony of Mr. Franklin W. Neff, member of Common Cause, Public Citizen, the MoKan Alliance for Democracy, the Organizing Committee for the Independence Party of Kansas, AARP, and the Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform. (Attachment 7.)

The Chair called attention to the written testimony of the Reverend David E. Grimm of Burlingame, Kansas, who represented the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Manhattan and the Unitarian Universalist Association. (Attachment 8.)

Written testimony was presented from Mr. Grant Denny, President of the KSU Progressive Coalition, who listed 6 criteria involved in an effective campaign finance system that directly or indirectly affect young adults. (Attachment 9.)

Chairman Glasscock called attention to the written testimony of Mr. Robert J. Brown of Leawood, Kansas and represented a Concerned Citizens Group. (Attachment 10.)

Testimony from the following was handed out at the end of the meeting: Paul Fairchild, Lawrence Coalition for Peace and Justice; Joyce Luschen, Overland Park, Kansas representing members of United We Stand America in Kansas; Dale L. Fooshee, Council Director, Kansas East Conference of the United Methodist Church. (Attachments 11, 12, and 13.)

Chairman Glasscock thanked all the conferees, and since it was time to go to Session, closed the Public Hearing on **HB 2810**.

The meeting adjourned at 10:05 a.m.

The next meeting is scheduled for March 11, 1998.

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION & ELECTIONS  
COMMITTEE GUEST LIST

Tuesday 10,  
DATE: MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1998

NAME	REPRESENTING
Frank Neff	Self
Bill Alinks	AARP
Elaine Bilstrap	AARP
MaryAnn Bradford	League of Women Voters
Eloise Lynch	AARP
Barbara Withers	AARP / League of Women Voters
Madeline Crosley	AARP - state leg. comm.
Rudra Bampault	" " " "
Danell Donahue	AARP Capital City Task Force
Rhoda Landerhast	Common cause, No Kon alliance.
Zsuzsanna Kysella	Indep. and Party of Kansas
Don Kellogg	UWSA - United We Stand America
Connie Stewart	KS AFL-CIO
Laura Cole	Intern for Sen. Jayrock
Wanda Brussell	League of Women Voters
Virginia Hamill	self
John Brown	Concerned Citizen <sup>Deborah Party</sup> of City
J.E. Gaddy	Concerned Citizen
Jayne Luechen	United We Stand America

# GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION & ELECTIONS COMMITTEE GUEST LIST

DATE: TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1998

NAME	REPRESENTING
Linda McLausey	KS Environment Dept.
Paul Fairchild	Lawrence Coalition for Peace & Justice
Ida Perry	United We Stand America
FRANK KUKUK	AARP
Ted Dace	Manhattan Alliance for Peace & Justice
Charles C. Perkins	" " " " " "
Barbara Rees	League of Women Voters
Jan Kruh	AARP
Grant Penny	KSU Progressive Coalition
Lain Kellogg	United We Stand America
Les Frazier	AARP
Charles Benjamin	KNRC / KS Sierra Club
Dwight Hilgman	Common Cause, Kansas
DeAnna Peter	Governor's Office
Bill Beachy	Common Cause

# Common Cause **KANSAS**

House Bill 2810  
Proponent Testimony  
10 March 1998

My name is Bill Beachy and I live in Topeka. I am the Executive Director of Common Cause Kansas and am speaking today on behalf of the Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform. I will introduce you to the bill and review its contents section by section.

The purpose of the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act is to provide a clear, voluntary alternative to the current system of raising and spending private money to finance Kansas candidates' elections campaigns--and, in so doing, to address any obvious loopholes in our current campaign finance system that would otherwise weaken or undermine this proposal. Unlike other campaign finance measures, the primary thrust of the Clean Money Act is not to alter or reform the current system; it is to offer a whole new system. Under a Clean Money system, candidates can choose to continue relying upon private financing, but the Act provides strong, though non-coercive, incentives for them to participate in the new system.

The principle incentive is that the Clean Money Act allows qualified candidates to mount competitive campaigns for public office without resorting to the kind of private fundraising that can consume enormous amounts of time, compromise elected officials' independence, and undermine the public's confidence in its elected officials.

This Clean Money Act offers eligible candidates who can demonstrate a threshold level of public support a set amount of public funding for both primary and general election campaigns. Public support is demonstrated by raising a specific amount of small contributions from registered Kansas voters. Candidates receiving Clean Money funding then must agree not to raise or spend any other private money. Once the campaign begins, their spending is limited to the amount of Clean Money they receive. If participating candidates are outspent by non-participating opponents or targeted by independent expenditures, they may receive additional, matching funds with which to respond. To maintain a financially level playing field, the Clean Money Act tightens the definition of independent expenditures.

Revenue for the Clean Money Fund will come from an income tax check-off system similar to the one in place for presidential elections and direct government appropriations to make up the balance of what is needed. The Clean Money program could be revenue neutral if the cost is offset by new revenues or elimination of unnecessary tax exemptions and other subsidies previously granted to major campaign contributors.

The cost of implementing a Clean Money system for congressional elections is estimated to be less than \$5.00 per year for the average taxpayer. The cost per taxpayer of such a system for Kansas elections, legislative and statewide races combined, is estimated to be at most that much and probably less.

I would now be glad to take you through the bill, section by section.

# KANSAS ALLIANCE FOR CAMPAIGN REFORM

JOIN US!

Clean Money

Clean Elections

Dedicated to restoring democratic principles  
to Kansas' elections.

---

## PRINCIPLES:

1. *Reduce the escalating cost of elections.*
2. *Level the playing field for candidates so that anyone who is qualified can compete regardless of wealth or access to it.*
3. *Level the playing field for contributors so that everyone has an equal voice.*
4. *Sever the connection between the influence of special interest money and elections.*
5. *Restore meaning to the principle of one person, one vote by eliminating wealth as a determinant of a citizen's influence within the political process.*
6. *Free candidates from the constant preoccupation with raising money and allow them more time to serve the public interest.*

*The Kansas Alliance supports proposals consistent with these principles. These may include full disclosure requirements, limits on soft money, electronic reporting, and public financing.*

## WE HOPE YOU CAN JOIN US

AARP Kansas • Church Women United In Kansas • Common Cause Kansas • Concerned Citizens of Johnson County • Focus Central America of Wichita • Independence Party of Kansas • Kansas AFL-CIO • Kansas Farmers Union • Kansas Natural Resource Council • Kansas Reform Party • Kansas Sierra Club • Lawrence Coalition for Peace and Justice • League of Women Voters of Kansas • Manhattan Alliance for Peace and Justice • Manhattan Coalition for Campaign Reform • Manhattan Unitarian Universalist Fellowship • Mo-Kan Alliance • Peace and Social Justice Center of South Central Kansas • Topeka Center for Peace and Justice • United Methodist Church-Kansas East Conference • United We Stand America.

For more information call 785-235-3022.

**Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act**  
House Bill 2810

Clean Money Funds Summary

	Allowable expenditures (Sec. 7)		Total Individual Contributions to qualify* (Sec. 5)	Qualifying Contribution (Sec. 2)	Minimum number of contributions to qualify
	Primary	General			
<b>Governor</b>	\$710,000	1,420,000	5% = \$106,500	\$100	1065
<b>Other Statewide</b>	135,000	265,000	5% = 20,000	100	200
<b>State Senate</b>	25,000	25,000	10% = 5,000	50	100
<b>State House</b>	15,000	15,000	10% = 3,000	50	60

\*Based on a 95% grant of Clean Money funds to gubernatorial and other statewide candidates and a 90% Clean Money grant to legislative candidates (Sec. 6).

**Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act**

House Bill 2810

**Section Descriptions and Explanation**

**Sec. 1 Name of act**

**Sec. 2 Definitions used in the act**

**Sec. 3 How the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Fund is financed**

*A check-off on income tax returns, similar to the Federal procedure, encourages citizen participation. Additional appropriation, as needed, by the legislature ensures adequate funding for all participants.*

**Sec. 4 Candidate's Statement of Intent**

*Required of all participating candidates. An early date for withdrawing the statement of intent to participate in the Clean Money system provides adequate notice to opposing candidates and avoids unfair campaign practices.*

**Sec. 5 How a candidate qualifies for Clean Money Campaign funds**

*The four separate steps protect the integrity of the process and ensure that only candidates who are opposed by viable candidates in the primary or general election can receive Clean Money grants.*

*An essential aspect of determining candidate qualification is the ability to raise funds in small amounts from a number of individuals. This is the only private money that can be raised by a candidate seeking to become eligible for Clean Money funding. It enable contributors, rich and poor, to help the candidates they support by providing the early money that candidates need to "test the waters" and to qualify for Clean Money funding. It reflects real grassroots support for a candidate--high enough to screen out frivolous candidates who are unable to demonstrate a threshold level of support and low enough so as not to present a barrier to serious challengers.*

**Sec. 6 Limitation on use of personal funds**

**Prohibition of contributions from private sources**

*To reduce the reliance on special interests, contributions from all sources except individuals is prohibited, including a limitation on the use of the candidate's own funds.*

**Clean Money funds available**

*Qualified candidates receive almost full funding of their campaigns from the Clean Money Election Campaign fund.*

**Sec. 7 Allowable expenditure amounts for campaigns**

*The expenditure limits, based on recent Kansas campaign expenditures, are set high enough to ensure a full presentation and discussion of the issues.*

**Voluntary compliance for non-Clean Money candidates**

*This is an additional means of maintaining spending limits since it forces candidates to conduct their campaign within the targeted amount.*

**Sec. 8 Additional Clean Money funding for participating candidates opposed by non-participating candidates or by independent expenditures**

*The limited match of expenditures is high enough to ensure the participating candidate's ability to rebut opposing messages, but is limited to ensure budgetary integrity. It is subject to lesser scrutiny*

(over)



*by the courts than would be the case of limitations of expenditures by the non-participating candidate or by independent sources.*

**Sec. 9 Exclusions from allowable expenditure amounts**

**Sec. 10 Certification of Clean Money candidates by the Kansas Commission on Governmental Standards and Conduct**

**Payment of Clean Money grants by the Department of Revenue**

*To ensure a smooth and accountable administrative process from the time of the candidate's qualification to the receipt of Clean Money funding.*

**Sec. 11 Candidate's designated bank account**

*To ensure accountability and control of Clean Money funds.*

**Sec. 12 Clean Money funds remain property of State of Kansas**

**Return of unspent Clean funds**

*To provide the state with additional leverage for recovering misappropriated funds, this provision vests a state interest in the Clean Money grant funds until properly disbursed or encumbered. In addition, candidates cannot return grant funds late in the game so that they might escape contribution or expenditure limits.*

**Sec. 13 Prohibitions on Clean Money expenditures**

**Wording of candidate statements to Commission**

*To ensure appropriate use of Clean Money funds.*

**Sec. 14 Proof of payment to Commission**

*Because public funds are involved, the candidate must demonstrate the appropriateness of the use of funds. The Commission is given the flexibility to determine what constitutes sufficient proof along with the authority to conduct an audit of the campaign records.*

**Sec. 15 Loan procedure to be repaid with Clean Money**

*Allows the statement of intent to be used as security for a loan.*

**Sec. 16 Reporting requirements for independent expenditures**

*Necessary to issue additional Clean Money funding to participating candidates described in Sec. 8. Uses the 1998 language from Senate Bill 432 and House Bill 2664. Disclosure requirements in general are subject to lesser scrutiny by the courts than limitations on the source and size of contributions.*

**Sec. 17 Penalties for violations of the act**

*Intentional violations are serious political crimes and should receive significant fines or imprisonment.*

**Sec. 18 Rules and Regulations established by Commission**

*Ties this act to the administrative procedure of Kansas' Campaign Finance Act.*

**Sec. 19 Additional reporting period added to current law**

*Needed to coincide with other requirements in the act regarding qualifications for Clean Money funding.*

**Sec. 20 Repeal of current law**

*A technical requirement.*

**Sec. 21 Effective date of act, January 1, 2000.**

## TESTIMONY FOR HB 2810: CLEAN MONEY CAMPAIGN REFORM

For the Governmental Organization and Elections Committee  
March 10, 1998

By John Exdell  
Associate Professor of Philosophy, Kansas State University

My name is John Exdell. I am speaking to you on behalf of the Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform, and also for the Coalition for Campaign Reform in Manhattan. The Manhattan groups working together for reform include the Manhattan-Riley County League of Women Voters, the Manhattan Chapter of the AARP, the Manhattan Retired Teachers Association, the Manhattan Unitarian Fellowship, and the Manhattan Alliance for Peace and Justice. These groups are all committed to the goal of comprehensive and effective campaign finance reform at the state and national level. They have a combined membership of about 650, and regularly inform their memberships on this issue through newsletters and public meetings in the Manhattan area.

In my comments I will address three questions:

1. What is the problem with the current system of financing elections in Kansas?
2. What can we learn from our recent research into the sources of money in the 1996 Kansas legislative races?
3. Why does the Clean Money approach offer the only effective solution to the problems created by the present system?

### **I. What is the problem with the current system of financing elections?**

I invite you to imagine yourself as the plaintiff in a personal injury suit. The attorneys have just completed their summary arguments to the judge who is about to retire to consider his decision on the case. Now imagine that your adversary's attorney approaches the bench with a briefcase containing \$1000 in cash, and offers this to the judge as a "gesture of appreciation for the good work the judge has done" in adjudicating the trial. The judge takes the money with a warm smile, shakes hands with its donor, and retires to his chambers.

Naturally, you would be shocked and outraged. You would regard the judge as irreversibly compromised by the offer alone, not to speak of his acceptance of it. Nor would it matter whether the gift was given openly at the end of the trial or more discreetly before the trial began.

But now what if this kind of "donation" were a regular and perfectly legal practice in our judicial system?

What if judges routinely depended upon gifts from those who brought cases to their court as an essential resource for gaining and retaining their positions on the bench? Imagine that our justices were often grateful for these donations because without them it would be impossible to win or hold on to their jobs.

House GO and E  
2.10.98  
Attachment 2

Now I think you would conclude that the entire judicial system was fundamentally corrupted and no longer trustworthy. You would think that it was time for urgent measures to get private money out of judicial sphere.

Today, the American public has lost confidence in their legislative representatives for the same reason. In poll after poll by large majorities they say:

--"my vote doesn't count because special interests buy the loyalties of candidates"

--"elections are becoming too expensive"

--"candidates and lawmakers are too caught up in the money chase"

--"elections are a sham, because good candidates without money or connections to special interest funds don't have a fair chance of competing for office"

--"the USA is a democracy in name only, because in reality wealthy special interests call the shots."

By all accounts, we find growing cynicism and distrust, and a steady withdrawal from participation in the political process.

We think that these conclusions, and this distrust, are reasonable and justified. In our view, it cannot be regained until we deal with *the core problem inherent in our current system, and that is the influence of private money given to candidates competing for public office.*

This system of private funding undercuts a defining premise of a democratic society: *Citizens must be able to participate on equal terms in the political system.*

This principle is fundamental. Because we say we believe in it (1) everyone gets one vote; (2) all ideas and political views are allowed - no one can be excluded because of the content of their political views; (3) we pay public officials a salary, so that not just the very wealthy can afford to occupy public office.

True, in the nation today, in Kansas today, everyone gets one vote. But to most citizens the few who finance the electoral system enjoy a kind of gold-card citizenship. Their candidates are the most likely to win elections. After the elections, these contributors have special access to their legislator's ear. In committees their representatives may exercise veto power over bills they don't like. And in policy-decision circles their ideas get the loudest amplification.

Despite their equal vote and equal rights, those who lack the leverage of money are in reality citizens riding in the second class section, at best. They are right to suspect that they will not be fairly represented when elected officials make decisions on health care issues, on the distribution of the tax burden, on environmental protection measures, or on contested budget priorities.

## **II. What can we learn from our recent research into the sources of money in the 1996 Kansas legislative races?**

Please look at the sheet of graphs entitled "Money and Politics in the Kansas Legislature."

The data we analyzed in this study were obtained from the Kansas Commission on Governmental Standards and Conduct, and pertains to the 1996 primary

and general races for both House and Senate seats. We did this study because we wanted to give this Committee - and the people of Kansas - a clear overall view of who gives money directly to the candidates in state legislative races.

Notice that we left out contributions given through Party PACs and Party Committees. These sources contributed only about 7.5% of the total, and when their contributors are analyzed, it turns out that the overall pattern in our top graph remains unchanged.

Notice also that we did not distinguish PAC money from money given directly by business, labor or other organized interest groups. We also included out-of-state money coming from these categories. In these graphs contributions are all added together: direct contributions and PAC contributions, in-state and out-of-state. (Again, only Party PACs and Party Committees are excluded.)

We think this study helps dispel certain common misunderstandings about the current private financing system:

*#1. "The problem is that certain ideological groups - e.g., conservative Christians or the National Rifle Association - are funneling lots of money into candidates' campaigns."*

In the top graph (right hand bar) we see that all single-issue or ideological groups gave only about 2% of the total. It's true that single issue/ideological groups inject additional funds to benefit candidates indirectly through independent campaigns. This is not represented on our sheet. But my guess is that these are still a fairly small percentage of overall spending for legislative races. We need to address the problem of independent campaigns. Still, the core weakness of the current system is the influence of private money given directly to candidates.

*#2. "Labor unions are a major source of campaign funds in Kansas elections."*

The combined contributions of labor comes to only 7.3% of the total. Labor is outspent by businesses by a ratio of over 7:1 and by individuals by about 4:1.

*#3. "Special interests balance each other out."*

Not really. Again, for example, business contributions dwarf those by labor unions.

If you look at the graph at the bottom, you will see that groups whose interests are often in conflict with environmental protection - e.g., construction, real estate, oil and gas corporations, and agriculture - have invested \$612,000 in Kansas political campaigns. What did environmental organizations supporting clean air and water and nature conservancy give? As far we could tell, nothing.

Look at the medical and health industry. Combine that with insurance company donations. These groups together gave nearly \$380,000 in campaign contributions. Compare this sum to that given by groups who promote comprehensive reform of the private health care delivery system. Again, no match.

**#4. "Contribution to candidates is an important way that individual citizens participate in the democratic process."**

In the top graph, look at the bar representing "Individuals," second from the left: \$1,376,200.

This came from less than 1/2 of 1% of the electorate of Kansas. Over 99.5% did not give at all.

More importantly, *the less than 1/2 of 1% who gave were almost certainly not economically representative of the electorate at large.*

To see this, look at the information in the middle of the page, under the heading "What About Individual Contributions?" Here we have a revealing breakdown of the individual contributions.

Only about 11% of the total individual contributions came in amounts less than \$50.

Less than 20% of the total came in amounts less than \$100.

82% came in amounts over \$100.

The average contribution in this category was **\$178**.

Keep in mind that the figure of \$178 is the average size of a **contribution** for those over \$100. But many of these contributions came from the same individuals, who gave to more than one candidate, or from members of the same household. Thus the average contribution over \$100 given by each **household** would be even higher, probably well over \$200.

This is not an amount likely to be given even by average middle class citizens or by working people. It is an amount almost certainly coming from people who are in the social and economic elites of their communities.

The point is that individual contributions are not coming from average Kansans. They are coming from a very tiny minority of the electorate whose needs and interests may often be very different from the needs and interests of the average working or middle class citizen.

**#5. "Money in politics is only a serious problem at the federal level, not in a state like ours."**

Please look at the bottom graph. There you see the amounts given by the largest interest-groups. With the exception of the KNEA, they are all businesses, and mostly large corporations, entities who exist to maximize profit. That is their legal and social purpose. Their goal is not charitable, or philosophical. It is not about civic ideals and community improvement. I am talking about, for example, Boeing, Koch Industries, Kansas Farm Bureau, Phillip Morris, and Texaco. As we all know, these corporations are first and foremost concerned with the bottom line.

When they give money, therefore, they are in effect making an investment. They expect something for it. They expect a return. And so I think the people of Kansas need answers to the following questions:

What did agribusiness get for its \$89,900 investment in the Kansas legislature?

What did oil and gas corporations get for their \$251,600 investment?

What did big tobacco get for its \$99,200?

What, for example, did Phillip Morris get for its \$62,900?

What did Koch industries get for its \$33,650?

What did Boeing get for its \$84,200?

What did Kansas City Community Bankers get for their \$31,600?

What did AT&T get for its \$22,375?

What did the Trial Lawyers get for their \$32,275?

I don't assume that anyone in this room has the answers to these questions. Here is my point: the reality in Kansas is basically the same as that in the federal arena. In Kansas, as elsewhere, big private interests invest large sums of money to elect the officials they want, or to influence them later. This subverts democracy in our state, just as it does in the nation as a whole.

### **III. Why does the Clean Money approach offer the only effective solution to the problems inherent in the present system?**

Here is what we need from a system of financing campaigns:

1. We need a level playing field for candidates so that access to private wealth doesn't determine who wins elections.

2. We need to level the playing field for individual contributors so that candidates do not depend on wealthy individuals to bankroll their campaigns.

3. We need to eliminate special interest influence flowing to private donors.

4. We need a way to hold down the cost of campaigns.

5. We need to minimize the strain of campaign fundraising.

6. We need to be consistent with constitutional rights of free speech, as these have been interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court.

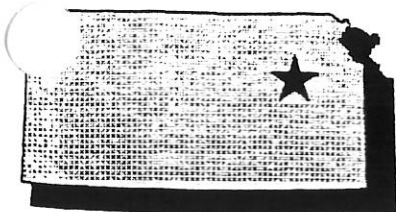
No system that depends heavily on private funding can achieve these goals, no matter how much we tinker with it.

For example, suppose we greatly restrict funding by PACs? What will be the result?

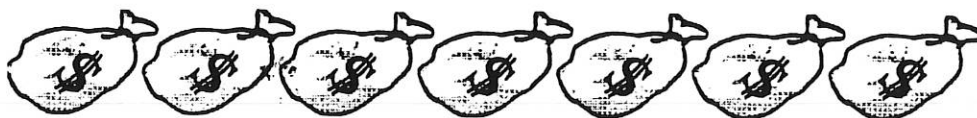
More money will flow into the system through the donations of wealthy private individuals. More money will flow into independent campaigns, bypassing all the restrictions on donations to candidates. In Oregon, where this approach has been tried, it has caused a boom in independent campaigns.

Suppose, instead, we put low limits on individual contributions, as has been done by voters in several states. This can certainly level the playing field for private donors. But relying on small contributions can make it difficult for candidates to raise enough money for an effective campaign. Either many campaigns will not be adequately funded, or parties will look for rich individuals to run for office, so that they can pay their own way with no limits at all.

The Clean Money approach in HB 2810 avoids these problems. It achieves all six reform objectives together. We urge this Committee to approve this bill so that the whole legislature can consider and debate its merits. If you do, you will take an important step forward towards the goal of integrity and fairness in our democracy.



# Money and Politics in the Kansas Legislature Sources for 1996 Election Campaigns



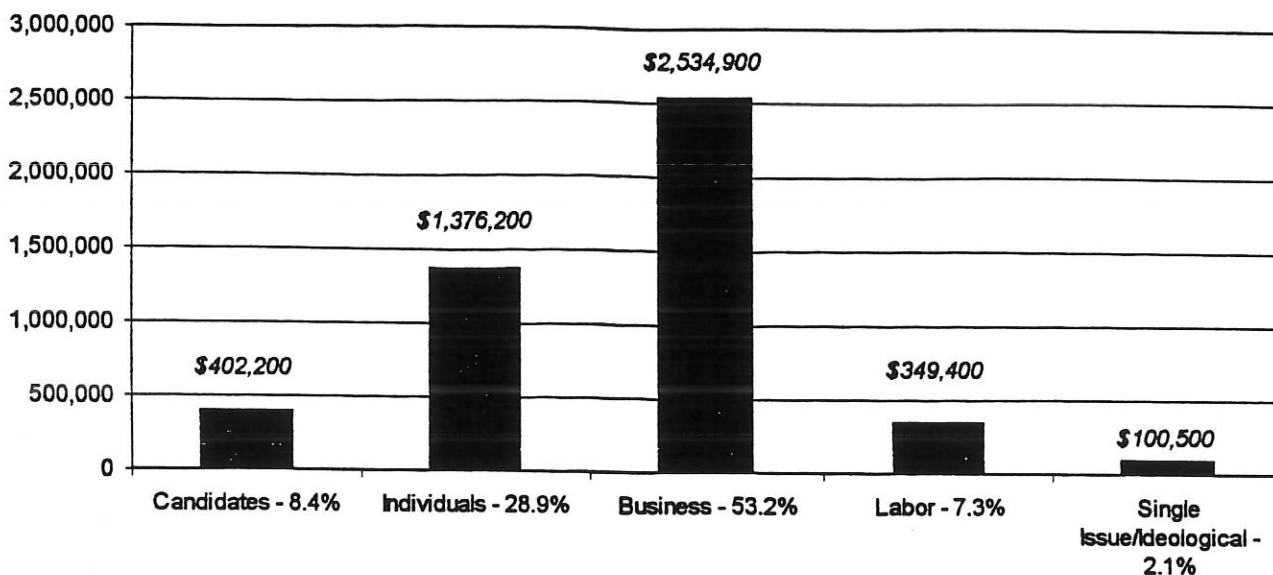
The following reflects the campaign contributions received by all candidates running for Kansas House and Senate seats in the 1996 elections. All data was obtained from the candidates campaign disclosure reports filed with the Kansas Commission on Governmental Standards and Conduct.

Contributions were classified as "individual" if they came from private persons, whatever their affiliation with specific

interests; as "business" if they came from commercial enterprises or professional associations with members engaged in commercial activity, either directly or from business PACs; as "labor" if they came from labor unions or organizations, either directly or from labor PACs; as "single issue/ideological" if they came mainly from non-profit groups focused on a specific policy issue or communicating an ideological viewpoint

(e.g., the National Rifle Association, National Organization for Women, anti-abortion, or pro-choice organizations).

Omitted in the chart below are contribution to candidates given from Party PACs or Party Committees. These sources contributed only about 7.5% of the total, and when their contributors are analyzed, the overall portions given by the five categories remains unchanged.



## What About Individual Contributions?

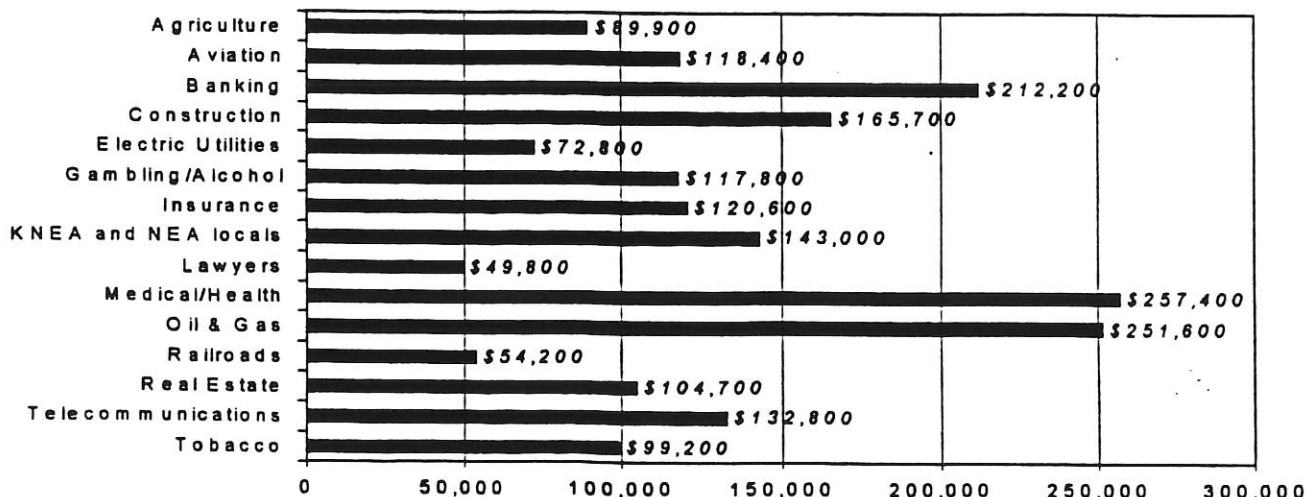
Total = \$1,376,200

Contributions \$100 or more - 82% of total

Contributions less than \$100 - 18% of total

Contributions less than \$50 - 10.7% of total

Contributions of \$100 or more - providing 82% of the total - averaged \$178 each.



Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform • February 1998  
 For more information, contact Common Cause Kansas • 785-235-3022  
 1248 SW Buchanan, Topeka, KS 66604 • CCKansas@aol.com



**Testimony in Support of H.B. 2810  
Enacting the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act**

March 10, 1998

Charles M. Benjamin, Ph.D., J.D.  
Attorney at Law  
Legislative Coordinator  
Kansas Natural Resource Council  
Kansas Chapter of Sierra Club  
935 S. Kansas Ave., Suite 200  
Topeka, KS 66612

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I come before you today in support of H.B. 2810, the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act. On behalf of the Kansas Natural Resource Council and Kansas Chapter of Sierra Club I participated in the Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform that drafted this bill. The members of the organizations that I represent have many goals for Kansas. Examples include the preservation of non-renewable natural resources; the encouragement of renewable energy sources and efficiency of energy usage; the discouragement of urban sprawl; surface water quality and subsurface water quality; sustainable agricultural practices; the minimization of the use of pesticides and herbicides; and the preservation of threatened and endangered species. We feel that we reflect the views of a majority of Kansans who want to preserve our natural resources and environment for future generations of Kansans. We want to believe that our elected officials reflect those values and carry out those values in enacting laws that govern public and private activities. Unfortunately, the laws that we see passed, or fail to see passed, often seem to reflect the wishes of special interests who are more concerned about short term profits than the long term sustainability of their actions. Whether it is strip mining in southeast Kansas - that left acres of land scarred and, in the case of Galena, created a toxic Superfund site; oil drilling practices in south-central Kansas - that threatens to pollute the Equus Beds aquifer; industrial activities in Wichita - that has created plumes of underground pollution threatening drinking water; or the current situation of hog factories in western Kansas - that threaten to pollute groundwater, air and the integrity of Cheyenne Bottoms and Quivira National Wildlife Refuge Kansans have seen a repeated pattern of profit taking at the expense of clean-ups imposed on future generations. We Kansans do not like to think that our legislators are "bought" or that they are otherwise beholden to special economic interests. Especially when it comes to clean water and air and preserving our natural resources we like to think that legislators act out of motives higher than who will finance their next election. In that spirit I encourage to pass the provisions of H.B. 2810 and send a strong message to the economic interests and to the people of Kansas that this legislature is not the best that money can buy but is the kind of legislature that Kansans present and future deserve.

Thank you.

House GO and E  
2.10.98  
Attachment 3



**THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN  
VOTERS OF KANSAS**

919 1/2 S. KANSAS AVENUE TOPEKA, KS 66612 PHONE & FAX: 785-234-5152

---

TESTIMONY ON HB 2810 BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE  
ON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION AND ELECTIONS  
March 10, 1998

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am Mary Ann Bradford representing the League of Women Voters of Kansas. The League is a multi-issue, nonpartisan, political organization whose purposes are to encourage the informed and active participation of citizens in government and to influence public policy through education and advocacy.

The League believes that the methods of financing political campaigns should ensure the public's right to know, combat corruption and undue influence, enable candidates to compete more equitably for public office, and allow maximum citizen participation in the process.

The current campaign finance system is too expensive, it gives special interests too much influence, it shuts people without money or access to money out of the process and it eats up the time of elected officials who should be serving the voters, not the funders.

The current system also undermines citizen confidence in government. Public opinion polls repeatedly show that most Americans believe that government is run for the benefit of special interests rather than the ordinary citizens. More and more citizens find this unacceptable.

Eighteen months ago, the League began a project entitled *Making Democracy Work* that has been measuring five indicators of a healthy democracy: voter participation,

House GO and E  
3.10.98  
Attachment 4

campaign finance, civic education and knowledge, diversity of representation, and civic participation. Each key indicator points to a continuing, significant systematic loss of vitality—a picture of a democracy in trouble. The League believes that the trends demonstrated by these indicators are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. “Low voter turnout, for example, increases the power of special interests in the system and reduces the likelihood of campaign finance reform. The failure to enact campaign finance reform ensures, in turn, that the money barrier remains too high for many women and minorities who might otherwise consider running for office. And the continuing disengagement from citizen participation raises the danger that too few Americans have the experience and knowledge needed to help their communities resolve problems for the common good” (*Charting the Health of American Democracy—A Report from the League of Women Voters*, June 1997).

**Clean Money Campaign Reform** offers a new approach to financing elections by providing a voluntary alternative to soliciting special interests. It is the best way to address what voters want fixed in the current system:

- Campaigns that cost too much money
- Elected officials spend too much time raising money instead of devoting their full energies to the duties of public office
- The special interests that provide most of the money for political campaigns have too much say over the lawmakers
- Only those who can raise thousands of dollars, or are themselves wealthy, can run for office.

**Clean Money Campaign Reform** offers a new approach to financing elections by providing a voluntary alternative to soliciting special interests. Our current system of private money politics establishes an institutional bias of unequal representation. Because of the dependence on large contributions, our elected officials are naturally more responsive to those interests. The voices of those who can't or don't give are muted by the dollar power of those who do give.

It is a mistake to think that everyone's interests can be considered "special interests" and in the end they all will balance each other out. Most of the interests of non-wealthy people-particularly those in our society who are the most vulnerable-have virtually no financial clout at all. PACs that provided 37% of the monetary contributions to House candidates in the 1996 election period did not represent the unemployed or under-employed or people dependent on public housing, public hospitals, and public transportation.

**Clean Money Campaign Reform** works for both candidates and voters. Citizens as taxpayers can contribute to the Clean Money fund through the income tax checkoff at \$4.00 per taxpayer. In order to be eligible for a Clean Money grant, candidates must privately raise 5% of the expenditure limit of campaigns for statewide office and 10% for House and Senate seats. These private contributions can be given only by individuals and in an amount no greater than \$100 for statewide campaigns and no greater than \$50 for House and Senate campaigns. This requirement for eligibility permits voters to contribute to a candidate's campaign for election at an amount of money commensurate with their financial circumstances. More voters can participate in the campaign of the candidate of their choice.

**Clean Money Campaign Reform** equalizes the amount of money candidates for a particular office will receive as grantees. Such voluntary limitations will probably require some ingenious planning to use the Clean Money grant most effectively. The importance of this provision is that all candidates, whether incumbent or non-incumbent, will be working within the same fixed sum of money.

Citizens deserve a government that is responsive to their needs rather than the need of special interests. The Clean Money approach frees candidates from their dependency on special interest contributions, it levels the playing field between challengers and incumbents, and it limits campaign spending. The League hopes that you will support HB 2810. Thank you.



President  
**Ron Eldridge**

Executive Secretary  
Treasurer  
**Jim DeHoff**

Executive Vice  
President  
**Wayne Maichel**

Executive Board

*Richard Aldrich  
Melany Barnes  
Mike Bellinger  
Clyde Bracken  
Bill Brynds  
Gary Buresh  
Jessie Cornejo  
David Han  
Jim Hastings  
Tom Hutton  
Jerry Johnson  
Greg Jones  
Earl Kanatzar  
Wil Leiker  
Frank Mueller  
Dwayne Peaslee  
Emil Ramirez  
Craig Rider  
Gary Russell  
Debbie Snow  
Betty Vines*



**Testimony Presented To  
House Governmental Organization and Elections Committee  
on House Bill 2810**

**by  
Connie Stewart  
March 10, 1998**

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I thank you for the opportunity to appear before you on House Bill 2810. My name is Connie Stewart and I am here today representing the thousands of members of the Kansas AFL-CIO and their families.

We support House Bill 2810 because our members are no different than the general public. Over the last twenty years, they have become increasingly skeptical about the political process and their role in it. They, like most other citizens, believe that government's failure to address their problems is the direct result of too much campaign money from special interests and the priority that is given to the agenda's of those special interests who write the big checks. They believe that special interest money carries too much weight, at a tremendous cost to ordinary taxpayers.

We believe that voluntary public financing of campaigns is the best option to solving the problem of special interest influence in the legislative process. House Bill 2810 would create a level playing field, both for candidates and voters. By limiting even qualifying contributions to individuals and setting the limit at \$100 for statewide and \$50 for House and Senate candidates, no one is able to exert undue influence in campaigns, regardless of their access to wealth. Ordinary citizens would be just as important as the wealthiest contributors. I realize that there are those who define labor organizations as "special interests" and you may perhaps be puzzled by our support of this bill. However, I believe that Dr. Exdell provided you with a handout that shows that labor's level of contributions are proportionate with our membership as a percentage of the voting population, but, regardless, we are willing to give up the right to make contributions to candidates under this type of system because it truly does level the playing field. With campaigns publicly financed and contribution levels for qualifying contributions within reach of ordinary citizens, and with spending limits on campaigns, there is no need for business, labor or organizations to be in the business of political contributions.

House GO and E  
2.10.98  
Attachment 5



Because House Bill 2810 addresses the potential situation of opposition candidates who choose not to participate in public financing and independent expenditure campaigns mounted against publicly financed candidates with additional grants, we believe the participation rate would be very high. There is really not any incentive for candidates to not participate. Indeed, judging from the participation rate in the system of partial public financing for presidential elections, the participation rates are likely to be even higher for full public financing. Since 1976, of the dozens of Republican and Democratic candidates who have run for President, only three have rejected public financing in favor of spending or raising their own money. Interestingly, none of these three candidates have been successful. We feel that there is likely to be strong voter disapproval of candidates who choose not to participate, thereby providing little incentive for non-participation. Therefore, the Clean Money system creates a completely level playing field for candidates.

Every year before the session begins, we hear talk about campaign finance reform and every year there are numerous pieces of legislation introduced. We believe that the problems inherent in the system cannot be dealt with piecemeal. Indeed, it seems that every time it is tried, the more complicated the system becomes and, therefore, the more loopholes are created. We believe that only the approach of public financing can truly address the problems.

I have heard statements about a lack of public interest in campaign finance reform. Indeed, it has not yet become citizen's top priority, but when citizens are asked what they don't like about the political system, their overwhelming response is "the money." There is a lot of polling data which indicates a high level of public support for voluntary full public financing. Brad Bannon's 1994 polls in five states found majorities in each who backed public financing. Polling data collected in a number of different states in mid-1997 show a solid majority of voters - Republicans, Democrats, and Independents alike - said they favored a Clean Money-type proposal. A Gallup poll conducted in late October, 1996, found that 65 percent of the respondents favored full public financing, with only 27 percent dissenting. The Gallup Organization has asked its question repeatedly since 1974 and its current findings reflect the highest level of support for public funding since the aftermath of Watergate. In none of the Gallup surveys since 1974 has support for public financing dipped below 50 percent.

We believe that it *is* a high priority for the public and that you only have to look at the increasingly lower and lower levels of participation in elections to see it. Voters are voting with their feet and staying home on election day in ever-increasing numbers because of their growing distrust of the system. We ask that you help to restore the public trust in the system in Kansas by passing favorably House Bill 2810. To quote John Anderson, former congressman and presidential candidate, "The American people instinctively know that when big money rules, ordinary voters are left out in the cold. Our mission is nothing less than to restore our faith in government and to strengthen our national institutions so that they may endure and be passed on in good health to our children."

Thank you.



*Bringing lifetimes of experience and leadership to serve all generations.*

**HOUSE BILL 2810**  
**Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act**  
**House Committee on Governmental Organization and Elections**

**JAN KRUH**

Congressional District coordinator, AARP/VOTE  
March 10, 1998

Statement to: Representative Kent Glasscock, Chair, and members of the House Committee on Governmental Organization and Elections.

My name is Jan Kruh and I am a volunteer member of Kansas AARP/VOTE. I have been a volunteer advocate for Kansas campaign and lobby reform since 1995. Today I am addressing House Bill 2810, the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act.

I often hear it said that Kansans don't care about the large sums of money spent on election campaigns. This is not true. When the Kansas AARP membership, of which there are 360,000, was canvassed for legislative priorities three years ago, the topic receiving the highest number of votes was campaign finance reform. Further, I have had the opportunity to address a number of groups in Riley County on this topic: i.e., National Association of Retired Federal Employees, National Association of Retired Teachers, League of Women Voters, AARP, and others.

The members of these groups are outraged to learn that the actual 1996 campaign contributions to House and Senate candidates reported by the Kansas Commission on Standards & Conduct was more than \$4,763,000. To further hear that \$2.5 million or 53% of this amount was contributed from commercial enterprises or professional associations with members engaged in commercial activity was even more disturbing. And, 82% of individual contributions were in amounts of \$100 or more. Even with the best of intentions, policy makers are frequently influenced by special interest groups for help in financing elections, or, at best, this is the perception of our citizens. It is reasonable to believe that organizations that contribute large sums do so with the expectation of furthering their interests.

With the House, the Senate, and the Governor working together, some progress has been made through the passage of several campaign reform bills in the past three sessions. We commend you for this.

It is now time to look at a more sweeping campaign reform act -- House Bill 2810 for Kansas. Seventeen states are now looking at this model legislation. Maine was the first state to adopt a similar bill. Missouri is now considering such a measure.

Please be assured that Kansans are not ignoring this issue. Most Kansans have a deep concern about today's trends. We urge you to give early and serious attention to Campaign Finance Reform.

American Association of Retired Persons 601 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20049 (202) 434-2277 3.10.98

Margaret A. Dixon, Ed.D. *President*

Horace B. Deets *Executive Director*

*House GO and E*  
*Attachment 6*

PRESENTATION TO KANSAS HOUSE COMMITTEE ON  
GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION AND ELECTIONS

March 10, 1998

By  
Franklin W. Neff

I am a member of Common Cause, Public Citizen, the MoKan Alliance for Democracy, the Organizing Committee for the Independence Party of Kansas, AARP, and the Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform. I do not claim to represent those organizations, but I know that many members of those organizations agree with my comments here this morning.

During the years that I have been presenting my views to this committee and its counterpart in the Kansas Senate, I have discussed campaign reform with people around the state, I have often heard the comment, "It won't do any good. They'll never give up getting that money!"

I think some of those people believe that Kansas legislators make a lot of money and do the work here just for the money. I think others know that running for office – and serving in the legislature – can be expensive, for those of who are on modest budgets.

So you have to chase money in order to be in the legislature. You have had no option.

Now you have an option. Now you can end the need to give special attention to corporation X or contributor Y because you don't need them. House Bill 2810 gives you the option to obtain campaign financing in a way that doesn't require you to be making all those requests for campaign contributions to the corporations, associations, wealthy individuals, and whomever.

And think how the lobbyists will be happier that they are not getting phone calls to come to a rally or dinner and – in parentheses – bring some greenbacks.

This bill makes it possible for you to conduct a respectable and effective campaign without needing money from special interests. And citizens will know that you are not needing to enter those quid pro quo relationships with corporations and other sources of campaign funding. You will be responsible to the citizens in your district and in the state generally. You will have no special obligations to any group or organization, other than those citizens.

I meet regularly with the members of the MoKan Alliance for Democracy, and campaign reform is a regular topic of concern. Most are attracted to the Clean Money Elections concepts which are in this bill. Some of them work in Missouri to get such a law there. They plan to use the initiative if their legislature fails to act on it this session.

Getting this bill on the floor of the House and into the Senate is an unusual opportunity to do something good for yourselves and good for the citizens of this state. I believe that the citizens will recognize that you are doing so.

I surely hope you will do it. We intend to do our part for democracy by keeping on urging you to do so.

House GO and E  
3.10.98  
Attachment 7



**The Rev. David E. Grimm  
426 East Santa Fe Avenue  
Burlingame, Kansas 66413**

I believe in the United States of America. I believe in our system of representative democracy. To me, it's a noble ideal.

I don't imagine, however, that being a public servant is an easy thing. I, and those of us who have never sat where you sit, can't really know all that you do for the good of the people of Kansas. We can't really know just how hard it is to sit down with your colleagues on both sides of the aisle, deliberate upon the common good together, and come up with the kind of decisions that will benefit us all. I can't really know how difficult and frustrating that process is, nor can I really know the kind of pressures involved in your work, or the unreasonable expectations placed upon you, or the demands made upon your time.

I imagine, however, that being a public servant has its satisfactions and its perks as well. Your work must also involve some pleasurable activities, those things that put spring into your step simply because you love doing them. Now I could be totally wrong about this, but I don't suspect that raising money is one of those tasks. Is that the best part of the work that you do? Is it your favorite part of the job? Or is it just the ticket that gets you into the chamber so you can work with the other ticket holders? The amount of money needed to be elected, or reelected to public office, increases with every election. And the big question is, will the escalating costs of election campaigns ever end?

We're hoping that House Bill No. 2810 will start the process of bringing that escalation under control. We're hoping that one day, raising huge sums of money will not be part of your job description. We're hoping that you and your colleagues will discuss this proposal now, make improvements on it, and vote on it.

There is a cynical spirit abroad in the land which says that politicians who raise so much money are not only spending less time on the jobs they were elected to do, they are also getting tarnished in the process. What if, one day, you could say in Kansas, "I've only used clean money." What if, one day in the USA, every politician could say, "It's all been clean money."

I urge you to consider adding Kansas to the list of states that have already passed clean money bills. Be a groundbreaker. Start the process today! Let's put Kansas on record as a trend-setting state. Let's be part of the groundswell that will one day bring about significant campaign finance reform to our beloved country, for the good of us all.

Thank you for hearing us today. We are grateful for the work that you do for all of us.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of  
the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Manhattan and  
the Unitarian Universalist Association.



The Rev. David E. Grimm

House GO and E  
3.10.98  
Attachment 8

Testimony in Support of the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act  
March 10, 1998

**Presented to the Governmental Affairs Committee**

Chairman Kent Glasscock and members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to speak to you in support of the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Reform Act and specifically its importance to college students. My name is Grant Denny and I am the President of the KSU Progressive Coalition, a networking organization for groups and individuals on campus concerned with progressive issues. I have spent a summer in the Washington D.C. office of Common Cause working to support campaign reform legislation at the national level. I am also writing my senior thesis on the constitutional implications of the Supreme Court's decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*.

There are several reasons why students from across the country and in Kansas support comprehensive campaign finance reform legislation. Jamin Raskin of American University's Washington College of Law and John Bonifaz, formerly an attorney at the Center for Responsive Politics, have developed six criteria that an effective campaign finance system must meet<sup>1</sup>. Each of these criteria directly or indirectly effects young adults.

**1. The extent to which all citizens are meaningfully able to run for office.**

The present system of privately financing public campaigns in Kansas requires candidates to raise enormous sums of money before they are even able to compete for public office. In effect, this system has created a wealth primary. Students and young adults simply do not have the incomes or the friends with wealth that are necessary to run competitive campaigns. In a democratic society, excluding a group from public office due to their age or income is unacceptable. A public financing system would easily remedy this situation by guaranteeing that each candidate who demonstrates public support will receive appropriate funding.

**2. The extent to which all social groups find themselves fairly represented in the ranks of candidates for public office and are able to exercise effective influence on the political process as a whole.**

Privately financing campaigns also means that those who can afford to contribute large sums of money have an disproportionate influence on public officials. Campaign contributions buy influence. Former Congressman Mel Levine stated that, "On the tax side, the appropriations side, the subsidy side, and the expenditures side, decisions are clearly weighted and influenced . . . by who has contributed to candidates."<sup>2</sup> If they didn't have some effect, why would the Oil and Gas

---

<sup>1</sup> Raskin, Jamin and John Bonifaz. Columbia Law Review. "The Constitutional Imperative and Practical Superiority of Democratically Financed Elections". May. 1994. p. 1160.

<sup>2</sup> See the 1995 publication from the Center for Responsive Politics entitled "10 Myths About Money in Politics".

House GO and E  
3.10.98  
Attachment 9

industry have contributed over \$250,000 to candidates for the Kansas legislature in 1996?<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, there is not a lobbying organization for students at Kansas universities which can afford to donate tens of thousands of dollars to candidates. Being optimistic, lets say that students across the state donated a total of \$10,000 and the candidates who received those funds realized they were coming from students. The Oil and Gas industry would still have 250 times as much influence as university students. Again, the present system discriminates against those who are young or who lack large sums of money. Public financing would virtually eliminate the unequal influence that big money has in Kansas politics.

**3. The extent to which meaningful democratic debate is facilitated and citizens are empowered to express their points of view.**

Ironically, one of the most often repeated criticisms from opponents of campaign finance reform is that it would stifle political dialogue which is the most sacred form of First Amendment speech. When compared, it is quite obvious that the public financing system proposed in House Bill 2810 would be far superior to the present system of funding campaigns which excludes such a large percentage of the Kansas population from communicative participation in state government. The war chests that incumbents build up often discourages good citizens from even attempting to run for office. Are we really satisfied with the quality of communication that occurs in campaigns now? All of the students that I speak with are fed up with the shallow nature of political campaigns. A system of publicly financed campaigns guarantees that both sides would have an equal opportunity to utilize their First Amendment rights.

**4. The extent to which the social costs of campaigning are kept down.**

The costs of the present system are enormous. There of course are the rising costs of campaigns in Kansas. There are also the indirect costs which are a result of misguided policies that are adopted because of the influence of special interest money. The proposed public financing system would only cost each Kansas taxpayer four dollars per year. Even for college students, this is a minimal investment to have a truly democratic government.

**5. The extent to which "frivolous" candidacies are discouraged.**

The Clean Money Bill would not open the door to those who would merely want to make a mockery of the electoral system. Candidates for legislative office must raise qualifying contributions that total at least ten percent of the expenditure ceiling to be eligible for public funding.

---

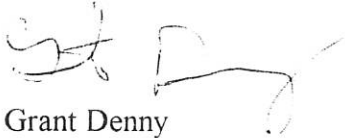
<sup>3</sup> See study done by Kansas Coalition for Campaign Reform on the 1996 Kansas legislative elections.

**6. The amount of time that elected officials, their staffs, and other candidates end up spending on raising money and reporting campaign contributions.**

As those elected to public office are all too aware, raising campaign contributions requires an enormous amount of time. This is time that could and should be spent representing the interests of their constituents. The proposed public financing system is administratively simple and would significantly reduce the pressure on candidates to raise large sums of campaign funds.

Students are concerned about privately financing public campaigns. It has distorted our democracy so that money plays an all too important role in deciding who can competitively run for office and who elected officials listen to when they make decisions about key legislation. I urge you to lend your support to this grassroots effort by voting in favor of committee passage of the Kansas Clean Money Campaign Act. Thank you for your time and patience.

Respectfully submitted,



Grant Denny  
President of the KSU Progressive Coalition

**CONCERNED CITIZENS GROUP**  
**ROBERT J. BROWN**

◆◆◆  
12000 Pawnee Lane ◆ Leawood, KS.66209 ◆ USA  
Phone (913) 345-0341 ◆ Fax 345-0372 ◆ Email greyfox16@juno.com

**Memorandum in Support of HB 2810**

Testimony given before the House on March 10, 1998

Members of the House Committee and Fellow Kansans:

Almost by definition, those who have the power to tax and spend other people's money, are going to be pressured to expend that money for the greater benefit of one person or group over another.

Without question lobbyists and in most cases campaign finance donors are looking for a return on their "investment". Very few donors contribute to the election of a candidate because they like their hair-do or the cut of their jib.

Human nature being what it is, there exists a pressure, psychological or otherwise, on an elected official to "dance with the one that brung ya".

The fact is that less than half the eligible voters actually took the time to vote in the last general election. Many reasons can be proffered to explain this indifference or lack of interest but probably one of them is the feeling -- "What good is it to vote --these candidates have already sold their soul to the big donors." This is especially true at the National level, but to a lesser degree, in the state races as well.

Polls show that 76% of the American people do not trust their government. We feel this statistic ties into the way campaign's are financed.

This is not only sad but very very bad for the future of this country. In light of the recent revelations of foreign money into the campaign coffers in Washington, the situation is getting worse. Yet neither party at the Federal level indicate a willingness to address the issue of legalized bribery under existing finance laws. People like Senators Lott, McConnell, Brownback and Roberts are ignoring reality and their constituents. I know because I and others in this room dumped thousands of petition signatures for campaign reform on Sam's desk. We will remember in November.

Today the Bankers and the multimillionaires are so brazen that they publicly DICTATE to Congress what they are to do. If you doubt me, get a copy of the Feb. 11th issue of the Washington Post or the N.Y. Times. You will see two full pages of marching orders given to Washington and signed by the listed millionaires.

House GO and E  
2.10.98  
Attachment 10

Since Washington refuses to do anything, we (the people with whom I work) feel it is imperative that campaign reform start at the State level. We have spent hours formulating this bill for the purposes of (1)reducing the cost of elections, (2)reducing the need to raise so much private funds with the accompanying pressures and promises, and (3)leveling the playing field so that having or raising money need not be the criteria for running for office.

We realize we are asking many of you to rise above self interest and demonstrate magnanimous character, but we hope you will do it for the good of the country. By taking the lead, you will be showing Washington what can be done.

**OTHERWISE, OUR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC MAY NOT SURVIVE.**

Thank you for your attention and please see attachment related to this issue.

# Group offers ideas on election finance

Wednesday 4/19/98 KC Star

## Citizens committee suggests government pay for campaigns.

By EDWIN CHEN  
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — A national citizens panel ended a series of intense debates over campaign finance reform Tuesday with a call for full government financing of congressional elections, something most politicians believe the public would never tolerate.

Public financing is the centerpiece of a broad demand for change issued by 140 private citizens who were randomly chosen by the League of Women Voters to contemplate the state of U.S. election-financing laws.

But it was not the only principle to run contrary to the convention wisdom of Washington's power elite.

Instead of lifting contribution limits to allow for the effects of inflation, as GOP congressional leaders want, participants in the League study recommended a ban on unregulated donations to political parties.

They called for free television time for candidates and demanded disclosure reforms to render the relationship between money and politics "more transparent," saying current data are "nearly impossi-

ble" to comprehend. Money has taken over our democracy, producing "a crisis of confidence in our political process," the citizens' group said in a statement.

The group's conclusions are remarkable for several reasons. Its consensus stands in sharp contrast to the partisan division in Congress, where Republicans unabashedly defend the status quo.

"It isn't a partisan problem," said Viet Tran, a University of Southern California sophomore.

Although opinion polls almost uniformly suggest that campaign finance reform ranks near the bottom of most voter concerns, the panel participants vehemently rejected that impression.

"Don't let the polls fool you. We see money and politics as a critical issue, and one we care deeply about," they declared.

# DONATE YOU

Maximum IRS Tax Deduction We

REAL ESTATE LOTS TRAILERS CARS

Timing of Now.



CALL TODAY FOR FREE PICK UP  
**800-822-3490**

# CONCERNED CITIZENS GROUP

## ROBERT J. BROWN



12000 Pawnee Lane ♦ Leawood, KS.66209 ♦ USA  
Phone (913) 345-0341 ♦ Fax 345-0372 ♦ Email greyfox16@juno.com

March 08, 1998

### LETTERS

The Kansas City Star  
1749 Grand Blvd.  
Kansas City, Mo. 64108

Fax # 234-4940

### CONSTITUENT REPRESENTATION?

The FCC is considering requiring free air time (TV and radio) for political candidates. The Senate recently voted against campaign reform and the House is now dancing around the issue.

One reason the officeholders give for not eliminating unlimited dollars in soft money bribes is the high cost of campaigning (most of it spent on TV time). They say it is imperative to get out their message -- you know, things like "Read my lips, no new taxes," "Elect me and I will cut your taxes" - followed by one of the largest tax increases in history and "Elect me and I will bring the most ethical administration ever to Washington."

Corporate greedsters like Michael Eisner, who make millions off the free use of the public airwaves are lobbying against the free air time and they have the bucks to buy "influence". Their campaign donations to both parties would overfill anybody's piggy bank.

How this issue is finally resolved could well determine whether our Republic will survive.

I suggest you contact your elected officials who begged you to vote for them and find out whether they are going to represent open and fair debate or whether they intend to represent the big money elite. This will determine my vote in November.

R. J. Brown

# Free air time for candidates doesn't sit well in Congress

## Senators challenge FCC effort to impose regulation on stations.

By PAUL FARHI  
The Washington Post

WASHINGTON — Congressional leaders are moving to shut down efforts by the Federal Communications Commission to require that radio and TV stations provide free air time for political candidates, a campaign reform idea advocated by President Clinton.

Legislation that would prohibit the FCC from considering free-time proposals has been introduced by Republican Sens. John McCain of Arizona and Conrad Burns of Montana, who expect it to become part of an appropriations bill that will be voted on by the Senate this month. If passed, the measure would cut off FCC funds for discussion of the matter, thereby killing it.

FCC Chairman William Kennard, with Clinton's backing, wants to open a formal proceeding that could lead to a regulation requiring the nation's radio and TV broadcasters to make time available to candidates.

Given the high cost of media time, Kennard and other proponents of the idea say it could help wean candidates from their reliance on raising private funds. Political candidates at the local, state and federal level spent more than \$400 million on radio and TV ads in 1996, according to one television industry estimate. The cost of this media time accounts for as much as 60 percent of all expenses in a congressional campaign.

"We are motivated by an undeniable sense of disaffection among the American people about the way campaigns are funded," Kennard said. "What keeps coming back to us is that we have a campaign finance system that is broken."

Last week, following the Senate's rejection of campaign finance legislation, Clinton sent a letter to Kennard, saying the failure to act on reform legislation would ensure "that the fund-raising arms race that has consumed both parties will only worsen." He asked the agency to move ahead with proposals for free air time, bypassing Congress.

But the idea is opposed by many in Congress and by the powerful National Association of Broadcasters, whose members flooded Capitol Hill offices last week to lobby against it.

Opponents of the FCC's involvement frame their objections primarily as a jurisdictional matter — saying campaign reform is Congress' issue to deal with, not the FCC's.

"Do we want to fundamentally change the electoral process in America by giving the authority to an unelected, regulatory agency that has no expertise in the matter?" said McCain Friday. "There are significant questions about who (the air time) would be given to, and under what circumstances. Does Lyndon LaRouche get free TV time from prison?"

"This is solely and completely the purview of Congress," said National Association of Broadcasters President Edward O. Fritts.

In fact, the Congressional Research Service, part of the Library of Congress, last year said the FCC has "discretionary authority" to impose free-time requirements on stations as a condition of their government-granted licenses.

McCain has previously advocated the free-time idea. A free-time proposal was contained in early versions of the McCain-Feingold campaign finance legislation the Senate scuttled last month.

Many in Congress oppose serious reform because they want to preserve the fund-raising tags incumbents enjoy, said Paul T. ... heads a public interest

backs free time. Taylor, a former *Washington Post* political reporter, adds that broadcasters oppose free time primarily because they would have to forgo revenues earned from political campaigns.

"In this one, broadcasters and Congress are codependent in preserving the status quo," Taylor said. "Congress is self-interested, and the broadcast industry has an economic interest to preserve. It deserves a black eye for resisting this."

The industry was also a major contributor of "soft" money to both the Democratic and Republican parties during the two years preceding the 1996 elections.

Rupert Murdoch's News Corp., owner of the Fox network and the largest owner of TV stations in the United States, gave \$744,700 to the Republican Party, according to Common Cause. Time Warner Inc., owner of the WB broadcast network and Warner Bros. studios, gave \$321,000 to the Republicans and \$412,000 to the Democrats. And Walt Disney Co., which owns the ABC network, contributed \$997,050 to Democrats and \$296,450 to Republicans, Common Cause records show.

"The media that have been so critical of the campaign finance system should be ashamed that their own corporations are paying lobbyists to defeat meaningful reform," Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, a New Jersey Democrat, said Friday. "This is one of the great acts of corporate hypocrisy."



Testimony of Paul Fairchild,  
Lawrence Coalition for Peace and Justice  
before the Governmental Organization and Elections Committee  
Kansas House of Representatives  
March 10, 1998

Good morning. My name is Paul Fairchild. I represent the Lawrence Coalition for Peace and Justice, a group of diverse individuals actively committed to the promotion of peace and justice in our community and the world. During the fall of 1997, we began a project to learn more about the problems of campaign financing that we have been hearing so much about and to see what we could do to contribute to their solution.

As one step in that direction, we co-sponsored a public forum on campaign financing on November 11, at which Representative Ralph Tanner of Baldwin City was kind enough to appear as a speaker. From his remarks and those of the other speakers we learned that campaign finance is not a partisan issue, that the cost of conducting a campaign for office has increased greatly in recent years, and that the problem is a serious one for both national and state elections.

The members of our organization believe that today's election results depend too much on the relative size of candidates' campaign budgets. The competition for money precedes and accompanies the competition for votes and distorts the presentation of candidates' qualifications and undermines their loyalty to constituents. For this reason we support passage of the Kansas clean money campaign reform act.

House GO and E  
3-10-98  
Attachment II

In particular, we like the provisions that encourage voluntary participation in limiting spending and the use of supplementary grants to discourage non-participating candidates from excessive spending. These provisions create exactly the situation that candidates say they would welcome: relief from the need constantly to raise money out of fear that the opposition will outspend them. These provisions would also make it possible for interested persons to become candidates with the knowledge that they could campaign on their qualifications and not on their ability to attract money.

Our members see campaign finance reform as important and urgent. Important issues of social and economic justice will not be dealt with, we feel, unless campaign reform occurs and brings with it renewed confidence in the elective process and the greater participation in voting that will signal the return of that confidence.

We urge you to support House Bill 2810.

Thank you.

Third Congressional District  
**United We Stand America of Kansas**

*Fiscal Responsibility - Voter Accountability - Government Reform*

**HOUSE BILL 2810  
PROPONENT TESTIMONY**

My name is Joyce Luschen from Overland Park, KS. I am speaking today for the members of United We Stand America in Kansas. In surveys of our membership since 1992, our members listed campaign finance reform as their top issue.

United We Stand American is just one of the many organizations that form the Kansas Alliance for Campaign Reform. This group worked together to formulate this piece of legislation. We feel that it will sever the connection between the influence of special interest money and elections. In addition, it will free candidates from the constant preoccupation with raising money and allow them more time to serve the public interest.

We ask this committee to vote favorably on House Bill 2810 and send it on to the full House with a favorable recommendation for passage. Thank you for this opportunity to speak.

Joyce Luschen  
Asst. State Chairperson  
United We Stand America

House GO and E  
3.10.98  
Attachment 12



Kansas East Conference  
The United Methodist Church

*"Spiritually Alive and Growing ..."*

Dale Fooshee  
*Council Director*  
Paul Henson  
*Treasurer*  
Charlene Bailey  
*Director of Communications  
and Interpretation*

March 10, 1998

Representative Ken Glasscock, Chair  
Committee on Government Organization and Elections  
Kansas House of Representatives  
Room 183-W  
Topeka, Kansas 66612

Dear Representative Glasscock,

The 1996 Book of Resolutions of The United Methodist Church states, "We call upon all United Methodists who are citizens of the U.S.A. to work within their own states to build support for measures that would end the flood of special-interest monies to political campaigns and restore integrity to decision-making in Congress."

After review the contents of HB 2810 I have concluded that it is consistent with the principals outlined in our Book of Resolutions. Therefore, I would ask the committee to act favorably by voting it out of committee to the floor.

It appears to me that it encompasses several fundamental principles consistent with The United Methodist Resolution.

1. Reduce the escalating cost of elections.
2. Level the playing field for candidates so that anyone who is qualified can compete regardless of wealth or access to it.
3. Level the playing field for contributors so that everyone has an equal voice.
4. Sever the connection between the influence of special interest money and elections.
5. Restore meaning to the principle of one person, one vote by eliminating wealth as a determinant of a citizen's influence within the political process.

House GO and E  
3.10.98  
Attachment 13

6. Free candidates from the constant preoccupation with raising money and allow them more time to serve the public interest.

Thank you for considering my views.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Dale L. Fooshee". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent "D" and "F".

Dale L. Fooshee  
Council Director  
Kansas East Conference  
The United Methodist Church