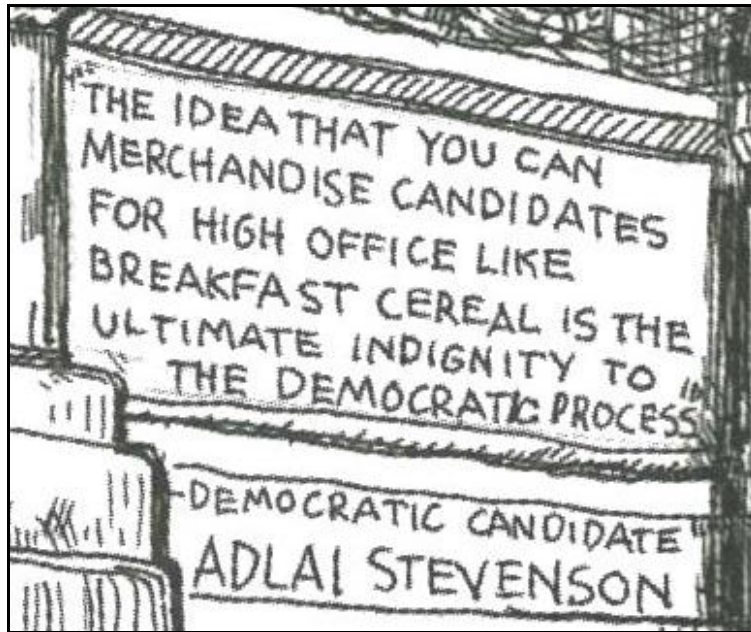


2013
NEW IDEAS TO REMAKE THE OLD ALBANY CULTURE
PRIORITY #1: CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Two Quality Solutions to Reduce the Influence of Money in
New York State Elections



Speech at Democratic National Convention, August 1956

“If our political institutions were perfect, they would absolutely prevent the political dominations of money in any of our affairs.”
Theodore Roosevelt, Osawatomie Kansas, August 31, 1910

NEW
ROOSEVELT

2013 NEW IDEAS TO REMAKE THE OLD ALBANY CULTURE

PRIORITY #1: CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Two Quality Solutions to Solve the Funding of New York State Elections

Both in his campaign pledgesⁱ and in his 2012 State of the State Governor Andrew Cuomo called for comprehensive reform of New York's campaign financeⁱⁱ stating "New York City's **public** financing system provides a good model for statewide reform."ⁱⁱⁱ

Using "**public**" funds is one excellent option if the newly elected legislature will pass and Governor Cuomo will sign it. But given there is not a unified Democratic controlled State Senate, the votes may not be there to pass "public" financing of elections. If not, there is a second innovative source of funds.

Use the billion dollars from gambling corporations like Genting to fund getting money out of politics and for education.

"It is time for Governor Cuomo to lead getting reform done and for it to be effective for the 2014 elections." challenged Bill Samuels. "There can be no repeat of the false promises and universally violated pledges that occurred earlier this year with redistricting reform."

"With the newly elected State Senate, we have an historic opportunity to finally get money out of politics in Albany, without necessarily asking taxpayers to fund the cost," explained State Senator Liz Krueger. "While there is nothing wrong with financing reforms with '**public**' funds, we must be open to taking the word '**public**' out of the debate."

Despite his calls for reform, Governor Cuomo continues to take corporate contributions (more than 500 through July 2012), individual contributions of \$60,800, and LLC donations that mask the identity of the giver.

In addition, Cuomo's self-proclaimed historic ethics reform that created the flawed Joint Commission on Public Ethics (JCOPE) left a loop hole that allowed the Committee to Save New York, that supports his agenda, not to disclose the source of its \$12 million in spending, which included \$2 million from casino operator Genting.

In contrast, New York State Comptroller Thomas P. DiNapoli, proposed specific campaign finance reform legislation for his own office including lowering contribution limits to \$2,000, capping Primary and General Election spending limits at \$5 and \$7.5 million dollars respectively, and following the New York City model of matching the first \$250 of eligible contributions at a rate of 6 to 1.^{iv}

Cuomo's popularity remains extraordinary. But the Governor has not used his high approval ratings and other amassed political capital to get campaign finance reform done in his first two years in office. Citing a lack of political will, particularly in the 2012 Republican controlled State Senate, the Governor neither proposed reform legislation nor pushed hard to get anything passed.^v

New York City's "**public**" funding of elections, the model most discussed for the State, is paid for from the City's General Fund.^{vi} However this past December, Senate Republican Majority Leader Dean Skelos, reaffirmed his skepticism on "public" financing of elections based on the New York City model.^{vii}

If Governor Cuomo and the newly elected Legislature are to successfully pass election finance reform in the 2013 legislative session they must either overcome this objection to using taxpayer dollars from the General Fund or identify an alternative funding source to pay for the cost of elections.

Bill Samuels, founder of New Roosevelt, offers an innovative alternative solution:

"pay for the reform of campaign finance by linking it to the forthcoming effort to gain second passage for a State Constitutional amendment to allow seven additional casinos to be set up in New York."

"The idea is as counterintuitive as it is powerful," said Professor Benjamin, a cofounder of EffectiveNY. "It causes big money interests in the form of multi-billion dollar casino companies like Genting Group, Sands, Caesars, MGM Mirage and Wynn Resorts to be the agents of reform of our politics, not its further corruption."

"After Sheldon Adelson owner of the Las Vegas Sands Corp. has put so much money into independent expenditures in the 2012 Presidential Election, it would be beautifully ironic to have casino dollars used to get money out of politics in New York State," said Samuels.

The projected new casino revenue will come from two sources: (1) the annual adjusted gross revenue (AGR) sharing between the casino and the State of New York; and, (2) an annual operating license fee per casino.

Curiously, the proposed Constitutional Amendment on Casino gambling **does not identify any specific earmark for either of these two revenue streams**. The amendment only adds the following 17 words: "and except casino gambling at no more than seven facilities as authorized and prescribed by the legislature..."

Samuels specifically suggests that the annual licensing fees be used to fund elections and the sharing of Casino revenues be dedicated to education as is currently done for the lottery:

(1) Annual Sales Revenue (After Prizes but Before Cost a.k.a. AGR) Sharing From Casinos - \$250 million to \$1 billion to Fund Education

Revenue sharing in other states is normally based on a percentage of adjusted gross receipts (AGR) of casinos, defined as the wagering receipts after winnings are paid out but prior to the Casino's operating expenses. Casinos in New Jersey, where the rate is 8%,^{viii} generate over \$250 million annually in revenue for the state.^{ix} In Illinois, where the rate is 50%, \$489 million is generated annually.^x

(2) An Annual Operating License Fee Per Casino - \$56 Million a Year Used to "Get Money Out of Politics"

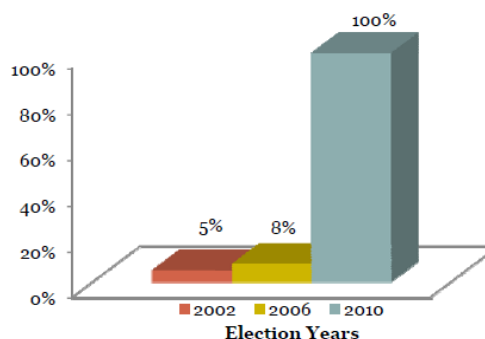
We would use the licensing fees of approximately \$8 million a year from each of the seven casinos authorized under the amendment to raise the \$56 million annually which will raise the \$224 million necessary to fully fund state elections over a four year cycle.

The Change could be dramatic: In 2010 in Connecticut 97% of contributions came from individuals compared to 49% in 2006 before campaign finance reform was passed. (See Chart "Campaign Contributions from Individuals versus Other Sources). Other sources declined from 51% in 2006 to a miniscule 3% on 2010.

In fact, according to Connecticut:

"All successful Statewide candidates were able to **turn the old system on its head** by opting to publicly fund their campaigns and focus only on raising \$5 to \$100 contributions."

Percentage of Small Dollar Contributions Received by Connecticut Statewide Winners



Samuels challenges Governor Andrew Cuomo, Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver and Senate Republican Majority Leader Dean Skelos to do the same for New York State.

The Historic Expansion Since 1894 of the New York Constitutional Gambling Restriction to Pay for a “Public Good”

Lotteries were originally banned by New York State’s Second Constitution in 1821, with the prohibition extended by the Constitution adopted in 1894 to include pool selling, book making, and “any other kind of gambling.”

Since then Constitutional amendments permitting some kinds of gambling have gained support through the linkage of spending of some of the proceeds for a desired public purpose:

Constitutional Earmark	Year	Type of Gambling	Administration	Earmarks Methodology
General Fund	1939	Pari-mutuel betting on horse races	New York Racing Association (NYRA)	Different Contract by Track and Race with NYRA
Religious & Non-profit Institutions	1957, 1975	Bingo, Games of Chance	Religious and Nonprofit Institutions	All Proceeds go to the Institutions
Education	1966	Lottery (Lotto, 45 Instant Games, VLT, etc.)	The Lottery Division	10% - 45% of Revenue after Winnings Goes to Education
Not Constitutional	1988	Indian Casino	New York State Racing & Wagering Board	18% - 25% of Revenue after Winnings Goes to the State General Fund
No Designation in Amendment Will Be Statutory	2013 ⁺	Casinos	New York State Gaming Commission ⁺	Proposed by Samuels: Revenues Split: Education License Fees: Funding Elections

⁺Proposed but not passed.

The Lottery Division, an independent agency within the Department of Taxation and Finance, currently manages multiple lotto games, 45 instant games, daily numbers games, keno like games, and video lottery games. As required by the state constitution, all lottery games dedicate funding beyond that required for prizes and administration to funding education.

	Percent Education
Lotto	45
Mega Millions	30
Quick Draw	25
Instant	20
5 Instant Games	10

Also revenues from electronic slot machines classified as “video lottery terminals” (VLT) at racetracks, often referred to as “racinos,” are also earmarked for education.

Racino Net Machine Income

(Gross Receipts Minus Prize Payments)

		Education	Admin	Commission	Marketing	Capital
Tioga County	\$150 million +	57	10	25	8	0
Saratoga / Fingerlakes	\$100 million +	51	10	31	8	0
Batavia	\$150 million +	57	10	25	8	0
Vernon, Buffalo	\$100 million +	41	10	41	8	0
Monticello	\$100 million +	41	10	41	8	0
Yonkers	\$62.5 million +	51	10	31	8	0
Aqueduct	All	44	10	31	8	7*

*Racing support payment.

Indian Casinos in New York

Under the federal Indian Casino Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA), passed in 1988, states were authorized to negotiate compacts with tribes that allowed casino gambling on tribal land. In spite of the State Constitutional prohibition and as a result of the IGRA, there are now Seneca casinos in Cattaraugus, Erie and Niagara counties, a Mohawk casino in Franklin county and an Oneida casino in Oneida County.

Under the Compact with the Seneca nation, New York State is supposed to receive a portion of casino receipts after payout but before expenses on the schedule of 18% for years 1 - 4, 22% for years 5 – 7, 25% for years 8 – 14. Between 2002 and 2009, the State received \$476 million, with an estimated \$350 million currently being withheld due to ongoing legal disputes. Funds previously received or that will be received by the State of New York under the Compact are not earmarked.

***Historic Opportunity to Get Money Out of Politics:
Dedicating Casino Gambling License Fees and
Adjusted Gross Revenue Sharing to
Fund Campaign Finance Reform and Education***

On March 15, 2012 the legislature passed an Amendment to the New York State Constitution adding the seventeen words “**and except casino gambling at no more than seven facilities as authorized and prescribed by the legislature.**”^{xi} In order to become effective this amendment must be passed by the legislature to be elected in 2012 and then approved by a vote of the people at an election prescribed by the legislature that should be in November 2013.

Notably absent is an earmark in the proposed casino gambling amendment for education or any other public benefit for either of the two sources of revenue: (1) yearly licensing fees, or (2) the adjusted gross revenue sharing. This is unlike the historic association of the amendment to legalize the lottery which was dedicated to education.

New York State has a historic opportunity to direct funding from these new revenue sources to education and to fundamentally fix Albany and get our state back on track to being the best in the nation.

Moreover, the voter support necessary to get this amendment passed by the voters would be increased by tying the amendment to a commitment to both additional funding for education and at the same time to getting money out of politics by funding campaign finance reform.

Most of the potential licensees for the seven proposed casinos will be multi-billion dollar companies, some are likely to be:

- \$15.2 Billion – Genting Group
- \$9.41 Billion – Las Vegas Sands Corp.
- \$8.93 Billion – Caesars Entertainment Corporation
- \$7.849 Billion – MGM Mirage
- \$2.987 Billion – Wynn Resorts

Location	Wagering Type	Billion Dollars a Year in Adjusted Gross Revenue (AGR)
Las Vegas, NV	Casino	\$10.7
Atlantic City, NJ	Casino	\$3.3
New York State	Racinos	\$1.2

Article I - Bill of Rights

Lottery for the Benefit of Education

§9(1) ... no lottery ... or any other kind of gambling, except ... the net proceeds of which shall be applied exclusively to or in aid or support of education ...

Gambling on Horse Race to Support Government

§9(1) ... betting on horse races as may be prescribed by the legislature and from which the state shall derive a reasonable revenue for the support of government ...

Cuomo PROPOSED Casino Gambling Amendment with No Earmark

§9(1) ... and except casino gambling at no more than seven facilities as authorized and prescribed by the legislature ...

According to New York State Assembly Member Gary Pretlow, Chair of the Assembly Racing and Wagering Committee, with the addition of as many as 7 new casinos in New York we can expect gross revenues from gambling to eventually increase to over \$4 billion.^{xii} Each of the seven new casinos can easily pay an \$8 million a year license fee.^{xiii}

Total licensing revenue for campaign finance would be \$56 million a year, \$112 million over two years, and \$224 million over four years. (See Chart “Comparison Spending Over 4 Years, 2007 – 2010”).

This would be enough to cover \$70 million currently spent every two years on off year legislative elections, and for the \$150 million in funds needed for statewide and legislative elections that occur together every four years (See Chart “Comparison Spending Over 4 Years, 2007 – 2010”).

If campaign finance reform is passed in the 2013 legislative year, a problem will be a startup lag in fund availability for 2014 if the casino licensing revenue is the long-term source of funds. Assuming that the voters give second approval to an amendment, there is no way that the seven licenses would be finalized and negotiated in time for elections in 2014.

In this circumstance, one time funding from the General Fund should be advanced for the 2014 election cycle against future license fees. A decision to use this alternative funding source of casino licensing should not be used by Cuomo or the legislature to avoid having campaign finance reform in place for his 2014 reelection campaign.

It is essential that we begin funding of elections at our earliest opportunity which would be 2014. While revenue from seven casinos will not be immediately available for 2014, \$150 million could be allocated, which is less than 1/10 of a percent of the \$132.5 billion dollar state budget.^{xiv} This amount would later be repaid from future licensing revenues from the seven casinos.

This solution would take money from a special interest and use it to limit not only their influence but the influence of all other special interests in Albany, returning the voice of voters and in another blow to Citizens United finally get big corporate money out of politics.

Campaign Finance of Elections in New York State

In 2010, the last statewide election year, New York State campaign spending totaled \$147 million:

- \$48 million for 62 State Senate seats,
- \$23 million for 150 State Assembly seats,
- \$40 million for Governor, and
- \$36 million for all other statewide candidates like Comptroller and Attorney General.

Campaign Spending in Millions Over 4 Years (2007-2010)

	2008	2010	'08 + '10
Governor	0	40	40
Statewide (Comptroller + Attorney General)	0	36	36
State Senate	47	48	95
State Assembly	23	23	46
Total	70	147	217

Statewide Elections Only Occur Every Four Years with
State Legislative Elections Occurring Every Two Years

In 2008, a year with legislative but not statewide elections, New York State Campaign Spending totaled \$70 million:

- \$47 million for 62 State Senate seats, and
- \$23 million for 150 State Assembly seats.

As noted, Republican Majority Senate Leader Dean Skelos has said, “in these challenging economic times, we don’t believe that shifting \$150 million or more in taxpayer dollars [to campaign finance] ... would be a wise use of the state’s limited resources,” meaning that he will probably oppose any campaign finance reform that is funded through the General Fund or a tax increase.^{xv} There is considerable support for this view.

Getting corrupting big interest group money out of politics will require the support of voters, Democrats and Republicans who have historically opposed any “public” campaign finance reform funding from the General Fund.

How Much is Needed?

Using 2010 spending levels as a guide the State of New York might initially require approximately \$220 million per four year cycle, or \$55 million a year, from a dedicated revenue stream to fund campaign finance reform.

This annual maximum amount is about 1/100 of a percent of the state budget.

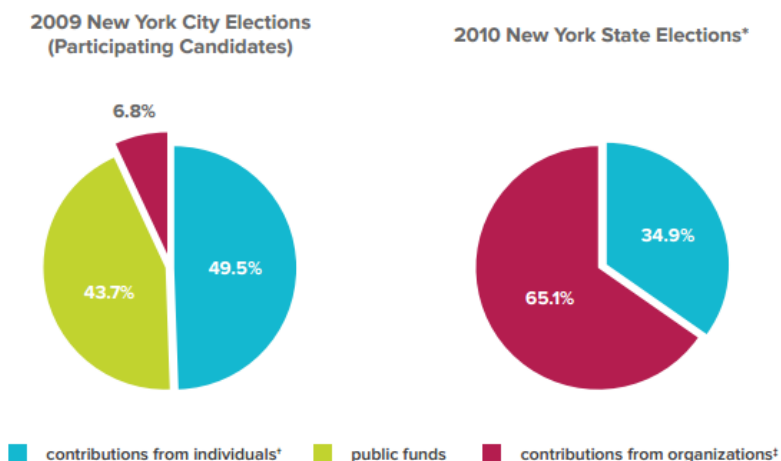
The additional funds for education will be much larger since they will come from a percentage of the adjusted gross revenue sharing. For example if the Casino’s generated the four billion that is projected then even at a rate of 25% that would provide one billion dedicated education.

Critics of reforming the financing of elections question whether it will work given Citizens United and the proliferation of independent expenditures. We agree, but this is a separate issue and will have to be handled at a minimum through transparency such as disclosure requirements previously adopted in Minnesota and recently adopted by the New York City Campaign Finance Board.

“Public” Financing of Elections in New York City

The model for New York State that is receiving the most attention is the New York City model which is funded from the general budget. In New York City there has been consistent political support for Public Campaign Finance legislation passed by City Council with a Democratic supermajority, but because of its source in tax payer funding it may not be able to pass the New York State Legislature.

New York City provides taxpayer supported matching grants for participants who agree to spending limits and meet two thresholds for the amount raised and number of donors from their district.^{xvi}



* Source: National Institute on Money in State Politics, Followthemoney.org. Candidates for Governor, Attorney General, Comptroller, Senate and Assembly.

* Excludes candidate self-financing.

* Includes political committees, business entities, employee organizations.

	Mayor	Public Advocate & Comptroller	Borough President	City Council
Minimum Funds Raised	\$250,000	\$125,000	\$10,000 – 50,094*	\$5,000
No. of Contributors	1,000	500	100+	75++

In 2009, the last New York Citywide election year, voluntary participants received \$11 million in matching grants for City Council races in 51 districts and \$16.5 million for borough and citywide races. The total cost to taxpayers was \$27 million.

Voluntary participants included 88% of City Council candidates. Notably, Mayor Michael Bloomberg did not elect to opt in to “public” funding, and therefore to accept spending limits (as such the cost of public financing the Mayoral race was lower than otherwise would be in a General Election with two publicly funded candidates).

Under the New York City approach, council candidates must raise \$5,000 in contributions of \$175 or less, of which 75 of at least \$10 must be from within their district in order to be eligible to receive 6 to 1 matching, up to a total of \$92,400. As a condition of receiving public funding, these candidates must also accept a spending limit of \$168,000 for each election.

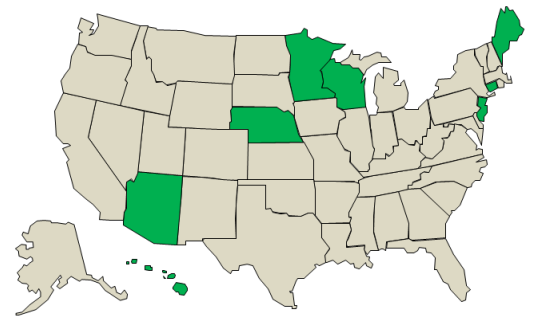
New York City has banned corporate, partnership and limit liability company contributions and placed limits on individual contributions to \$2,750 for legislative candidates, \$3,850 for borough wide candidates and \$4,950 for aspirants for citywide office.

Funding Candidates for Statewide and Legislative Office - Other States' Experience

Eight states, indicated on the map in dark green, currently provide full or partial funding for statewide and legislative races: Arizona, Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey and Wisconsin. *See Appendix for details on each program.*

As an example, two states that provide funding for legislative elections include Connecticut, which provides full funding, and Minnesota which provides partial funding.

States with Full or Partial Campaign Financing of Statewide and Legislative Elections



Connecticut

Connecticut's full "public" financing of elections is paid for by the general fund and proceeds from the sale of abandoned property.

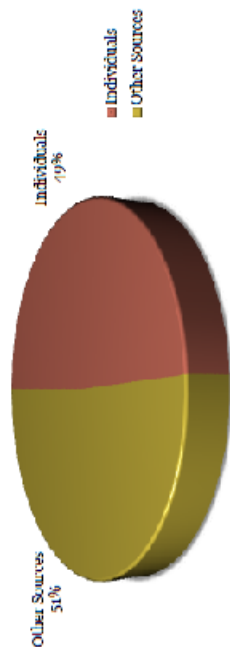
- State House candidates must raise \$5,000 with 150 or 300 contributions of \$5 to \$100 to receive public funding of \$10,740 in primary and \$26,850 in the general election.^{xvii}
- State Senate members must raise \$15,000 with 150 or 300 contributions of \$5 to \$100 to receive primary public funding of \$37,590 in the primary and \$91,290 in the general election.^{xviii}

Grants from public funding for 2010 candidates were \$17.7 million for statewide, \$4 million for State Senate and \$5.5 million for State Representative for a total of \$27 million.^{xix}

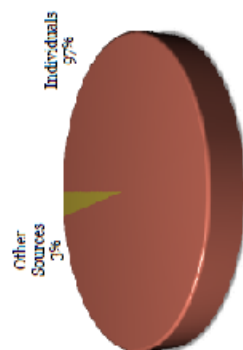
Stunningly with its inaugural run in 2008, Connecticut's funding of elections saw immediate results with 78% participation and a change in contributions from majority non-individual to nearly all contributions coming from individuals.^{xx}

CAMPIGN CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INDIVIDUALS AS COMPARED TO OTHER SOURCES

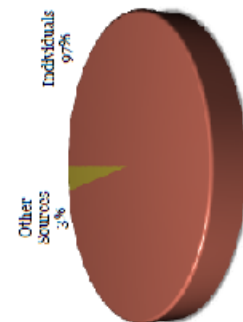
2006 Contribution Breakdown



2008 Contribution Breakdown



2010 Contribution Breakdown

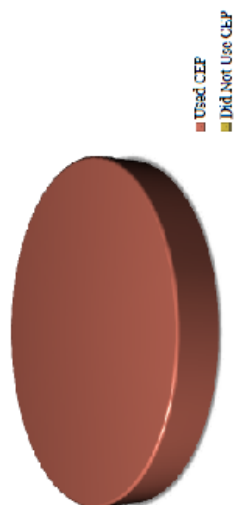


Most of the contributions received by all 2010 and 2008 legislative candidates were from individuals. A majority of these contributions served as small dollar "qualifying contributions" from individuals for candidates participating in the Program.

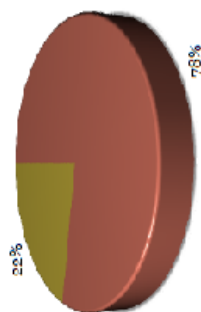
In the 2006 legislative elections, prior to the Program, less than half of the contributions to candidates came from individuals.

CONNECTICUT OFFICIALS ELECTED USING THE CITIZENS' ELECTION PROGRAM

2010 Statewide Officials Elected Using the
Citizens' Election Program - 100%



2008 General Assembly Members
Elected Using the CEP - 78%



2010 General Assembly Members
Elected Using the CEP - 78%



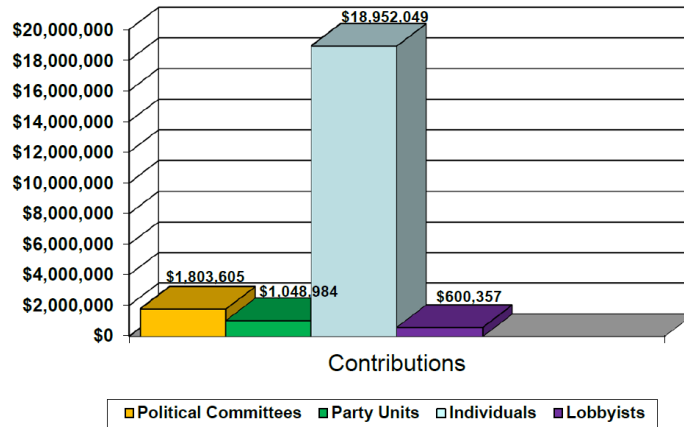
All of Connecticut's Statewide officers were elected using the Program. And, 78% of Connecticut's legislature was elected using the Program in both 2010 and 2008. Out of the 487 legislators who took office in 2008 and 2010, 146 had participated in the Program.

Minnesota

Minnesota's partial funding of elections comes from the general fund, tax check offs and tax credits for individuals who make political contributions. In order to receive partial funding:

- State Senate candidates must raise \$3,000 to qualify to receive grants of half of spending limits (adjust with the type of race from a base of \$68,100 to \$90,000).
- State Representatives must raise \$1,500 to qualify to receive grants of half of the spending limit (that adjust with the type of race from a base of \$34,300 to \$45,360).

2009/2010 Source of Contributions to Candidates Who Filed for Office (excluding Judicial)



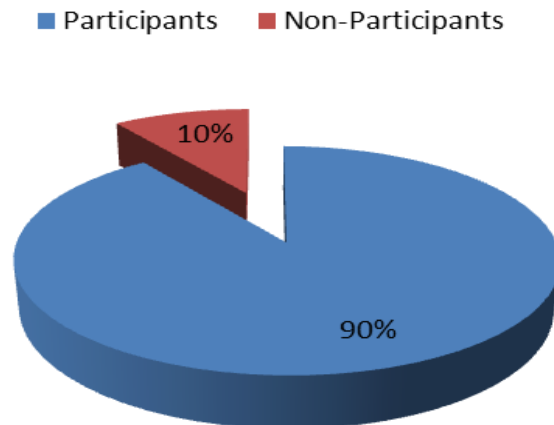
Individuals account for 85% of contributions

In order to receive these grants candidates must agree to a contribution limit of \$500.^{xxi}

Campaign subsidies for the 2009/10 election cycle cost \$1.3 million for statewide candidates, \$1.4 million for State Senate, \$1.3 for State House of Representatives candidates for a total of \$4 million.^{xxii}

Minnesota's program is so successful that 90% of all candidates for office participate in the system.

Minnesota Campaign Finance 09/10



Clean Elections: Public Financing in Six States, including New Jersey's Pilot Project

Clean Elections Programs Compared in Six States

	MAINE	VERMONT	ARIZONA	MASSACHUSETTS	CONNECTICUT	NEW JERSEY
<i>Name of Law</i>	Maine Clean Election Act	Vermont Campaign Finance Option	Citizens' Clean Elections Act	Clean Elections Law	Citizens' Clean Election Program	2007 New Jersey Fair and Clean Elections Pilot Project Act
<i>Citation</i>	ME. REV. STAT. ANN. tit. 21-A, § 1121 <i>et seq.</i>	Vt. STAT. ANN. tit. 17, § 2851 <i>et seq.</i>	ARIZ. REV. STAT. ANN. § 16-940 <i>et seq.</i>	1998 MASS. ACTS 395	CONN. GEN. STAT. § 9-700 <i>et seq.</i>	2007 N.J. LAWS 60
<i>Year of Enactment</i>	1996	1997 (parts invalidated 2006)	1998	1998 (repealed 2003)	2006	2007
<i>Offices Covered</i>	Executive and Legislature	Executive only	Executive and Legislature	Executive and Legislature	Executive and Legislature	Legislature (three districts only)
<i>State Population (2007 est.)</i>	1,317,207	621,254	6,338,755	6,449,755	3,502,309	8,685,920
<i>Maximum Contributions</i>	\$ 100.	<i>n/a</i>	Individuals: \$ 130. Self (Legis.): \$ 610. Self (Gov.): \$ 1,230.	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	\$ 500.
<i>Aggregate Limits</i>	Governor: \$ 50,000. Senate: \$ 1,500. House: \$ 500.	<i>n/a</i>	Governor: \$ 49,180. Legislature: \$ 3,230.	<i>n/a</i>	Governor: \$ 20,000. Lt. Governor: 10,000. Senate: 2,000. House: 1,000.	Senate: \$ 10,000. Assembly: \$ 10,000.
<i>Permissible Sources</i>	Individuals including family and excluding lobbyists and their clients	<i>n/a</i>	Individuals including family and excluding PACs, businesses, political parties, labor unions and corporations	<i>n/a</i>	Self only	Individuals including family and excluding political committees
<i>Permissible Uses</i>	All goods and services received prior to certification	<i>n/a</i>	Not specified	<i>n/a</i>	Candidate committee activities	Not specified
<i>Denomination Required</i>	\$ 5.	no more than \$ 50.	\$ 5.	at least \$ 5. and no more than \$ 100.	at least \$ 5. and no more than \$ 100.	\$ 10.
<i>Number Required</i>	Governor: 3,250. Senate: 150. House: 50.	Governor: 1,500. Lt. Governor: 750.	Governor: 4,410. Legislature: 220.	Governor: 6,000. Lt. Governor: 3,000. Senate: 450. House: 200.	Governor: 2,500. Lt. Governor: 750. Senate: 300. House: 150.	Senate: 400-800. Assembly: 400-800. (initial public funding determined by # received)
<i>Aggregate Required</i>	Governor: \$ 16,250. Senate: \$ 750. House: \$ 250.	Governor: \$ 35,000. Lt. Governor: \$ 17,500.	Governor: \$ 22,050. Legislature: \$ 1,100.	Governor: \$ 30,000. + Lt. Governor: \$ 15,000. + Senate: \$ 2,250. + House: \$ 1,000. +	Governor: \$ 250,000. Lt. Governor: \$ 75,000. Senate: \$ 15,000. House: \$ 5,000.	Senate: \$ 4,000-8,000. Assembly: \$ 4,000-8,000. (initial public funding determined by # received)
<i>Qualifying Period</i>	Not less than 3.5 months	Not less than 5 months	Not less than 7.5 months	Not less than 5 months	Not less than 10 months	Five months, one week

Clean Elections: Public Financing in Six States, including New Jersey's Pilot Project

	MAINE	VERMONT	ARIZONA	MASSACHUSETTS	CONNECTICUT	NEW JERSEY
Qualifying Contributions	Permissible Sources	Registered voters in the area sought to be represented	Registered voters in the area sought to be represented	Registered voters in the area sought to be represented	Mostly registered voters in the area sought to be represented	Registered voters in the area sought to be represented
	Permissible Forms	Check, Money Order	Cash, Check, Money Order	Not specified	Not specified	Cash, Check, Money Order, Electronic Check, Debit Card, Credit Card
	Disposition	Paid to Maine Clean Election Fund	Paid to Arizona Clean Elections Fund	Candidates may retain and spend	Candidates may retain and spend	Candidates may retain and spend
	Private Fund Raising	Only seed money and qualifying contributions	Only seed money and qualifying contributions	Only qualifying contributions	Only seed money and qualifying contributions	Only seed money and qualifying contributions
Other Obligations of Participating Candidates	Candidate Debates	None required	Required for participating candidates; optional for non-participating candidates	None required	None required	At least two required for participating candidates
	Primary Contested Races	Governor: \$ 200,000; Senate: \$ 7,746; House: \$ 1,504.	Governor: \$ 638,222; Legislature: \$ 12,921.	Governor: \$ 1,622,000; Lt. Governor: \$ 414,200; Senate: \$ 46,500; House: \$ 16,200. <i>(in 2002)</i>	Governor: \$ 1,250,000; Lt. Governor: \$ 375,000; Senate: \$ 35,000; House: \$ 10,000.	<i>n/a</i>
Initial Public Funding	Primary Uncontested Races	Governor: \$200,000; Senate: \$1,927; House: \$512.	Governor: ≈ \$ 22,050; Legislature: ≈ \$ 1,100. <i>(same value as qualifying contributions collected)</i>	Governor: \$ 811,000; Lt. Governor: \$ 207,100; Senate: \$ 23,250; House: \$ 8,100. <i>(in 2002)</i>	Governor: \$ 1,250,000; Lt. Governor: \$ 375,000; Senate: \$ 35,000; House: \$ 10,000.	<i>n/a</i>
	General Contested Races	Governor: \$ 400,000; Senate: \$ 20,082; House: \$ 4,362.	Governor: \$ 957,333; Legislature: \$ 19,382.	Governor: \$ 1,135,500; Lt. Governor: \$ 275,800; Senate: \$ 31,400; House: \$ 9,700. <i>(in 2002)</i>	Governor: \$ 3,000,000; Lt. Governor: \$ 750,000; Senate: \$ 85,000; House: \$ 25,000. <i>(reduced to 60% if competition is nominal)</i>	Senate: \$ 50,000. <i>min</i> \$ 100,000. <i>max</i> Assembly: \$ 50,000. <i>min</i> \$ 100,000. <i>max</i> <i>(varies by # of qualifying contributions received)</i>
	General Uncontested Races	Governor: \$ 400,000; Senate: \$ 8,033; House: \$ 1,745.	Governor: ≈ \$ 22,050; Legislature: ≈ \$ 1,100. <i>(same value as qualifying contributions collected)</i>	Governor: \$ 567,750; Lt. Governor: \$ 137,900; Senate: \$ 15,700; House: \$ 4,850. <i>(in 2002)</i>	Governor: \$ 900,000; Lt. Governor: \$ 225,000; Senate: \$ 25,500; House: \$ 7,500.	Senate: \$ 25,000. <i>min</i> \$ 50,000. <i>max</i> Assembly: \$ 25,000. <i>min</i> \$ 50,000. <i>max</i> <i>(varies by # of qualifying contributions received)</i>
	Minor Party Candidates	In primary elections: same as <i>uncontested</i> major party candidates; in general elections: same as major party candidates	For the year: 70% of total primary and general election amounts allocated to major party candidates	<i>n/a</i>	Primary elections: no funding; general elections: funding scaled to party's performance in previous election cycle	For the pilot project: 50% of amount allocated to major party candidates

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	MAINE	VERMONT	ARIZONA	MASSACHUSETTS	CONNECTICUT	NEW JERSEY
Initial Public Funding	Single Party Dominance	<i>n/a</i>	Candidates in "one-party-dominant" districts may reallocate some funding to primary	<i>n/a</i> (Primary contest funding already higher)	Candidates in "party dominant" districts receive additional primary funding	<i>n/a</i>
	Indexing of Funds	None specified	Adjusted biennially for inflation and in proportion to number of income tax returns filed	Adjusted biennially for inflation	Beginning in 2014, adjusted quadrennially for inflation	<i>n/a</i>
	Contingency for Shortfall of Public Funds	Proportional reduction of allocations and participating candidates may cover with private contributions	Reduction of matching funds, then reduction of initial allocations, then participating candidates may cover with private contributions	None specified, however, in 2002, the state liquidated assets to comply with a court order to fund the program	Funds reallocated from corporate business tax revenues	None specified
	Facing a Non-participating Candidate	<i>n/a</i> (Vermont significantly lowered individual contributions ceilings when enacting its public financing law; these limits were invalidated in 2006)	Participating candidates receive a dollar-for-dollar match if the amount spent by a non-participating opponent exceeds the amount allocated to the participating candidate	Participating candidates receive a dollar-for-dollar match if the amount spent by a non-participating opponent exceeds the amount allocated to the participating candidate	Participating candidates receive a dollar-for-dollar match if the amount spent by a non-participating opponent exceeds the amount allocated to the participating candidate	Participating candidates receive a dollar-for-dollar match if the amount spent by a non-participating opponent exceeds the amount allocated to the participating candidate
Additional Public Funding	Independent Expenditures	<i>n/a</i>	In general, independent expenditures are treated as if they were made by the non-participating opponent	Not specified	In general, independent expenditures are treated as if they were made by the non-participating opponent	In general, independent expenditures are treated as if they were made by the non-participating opponent
	Additional Funding Ceiling	Two times the original allocation	Three times the original allocation	Two times the original allocation	Two times the original allocation	Major Party Candidate: \$ 100,000. Minor Party Candidate: \$ 50,000.
Administration and Enforcement	Administrative Agency	Secretary of State	Citizens' Clean Elections Commission	Office of Campaign and Political Finance (prior to repeal)	State Elections Enforcement Commission	Election Law Enforcement Commission
	Web site	www.sec.state.vt.us	www.ccec.state.az.us	www.mass.gov/ocpl/	www.ct.gov/seec/	www.elec.state.nj.us

End Notes:

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- ⁱ Andrew Cuomo, "The New NY Agenda: A Plan of Action," Cuomo 2010, 2010.
- ⁱⁱ Andrew Cuomo, "Building a New New York," New York State Governor, January 1 2012 available at <http://www.governor.ny.gov/assets/documents/Building-a-New-New-York-Book.pdf>, *see also* Andrew Cuomo, "Governor Cuomo Outlines Plan to Continue Building a New New York by Growing the Economy, Reinventing State Government, and Advancing New York as a Progressive Leader," New York State Governor, January 4 2012 available at <http://www.governor.ny.gov/press/sos2012>.
- ⁱⁱⁱ *Id.*
- ^{iv} Associated Press, "Central New York," The Post-Standard, June 9 2011 available at http://www.syracuse.com/news/index.ssf/2011/06/apnewsbreak_ny_comptroller_tho.html
- ^v Andrew Cuomo, "Governor Cuomo Outlines Plan to Continue Building a New New York by Growing the Economy, Reinventing State Government, and Advancing New York as a Progressive Leader," New York State Governor, January 4 2012 available at <http://www.governor.ny.gov/press/sos2012>.
- ^{vi} Charlie Albanetti, "New Bill on NY Campaign Finance Changes Surfaces," Fair Elections for New York, April 4 2012, available at <http://www.fairelectionsny.org/posts/new-bill-on-ny-campaign-finance-changes-surfaces/1020>
- ^{vii} Karen DeWitt, "Senate GOP Leader Dampens Expectations on Progressive Bills," WNYC, December 11, 2012 available at <http://www.wnyc.org/articles/wnyc-news/2012/dec/11/senate-gop-leader-dampens-expectations-progressive-bills/>
- ^{viii} Chris Christie, "NJ Division of Taxation - New Legislation for 2011," NJ Division of Taxation - New Legislation for 2011, New Jersey Department of State, August 9 2012 available at <http://www.state.nj.us/treasury/taxation/newlegislation2011.shtml>
- ^{ix} "New Jersey Casino Revenue Fund Advisory Commission," New Jersey Casino Revenue Fund Advisory Commission, June 2011 available at <http://www.nj.gov/casinorevenue/reports/crfacannrpt2011.pdf>
- ^x Tara Nurin, "Betting on the Future of Gambling in New Jersey: Racinos, Pop-up Casinos, Sports Betting, Internet Action, and Mobile Apps -- Gaming in the Garden State Could Wind up Meaning Much More than Atlantic City," New Jersey Spotlight, August 6, 2012 available at <http://www.njspotlight.com/stories/12/0805/1930/>
- ^{xi} Assembly Member Gary Pretlow, Assembly Bill Number 9556 of 2012 available at http://assembly.state.ny.us/leg/?default_fld=&bn=S06734&term=&Summary=Y&Actions=Y&Votes=Y&Memo=Y&Text=Y
- ^{xii} "March 14, 2012 New York State Assembly Transcript," New York State Assembly, March 14, 2012.
- ^{xiii} Scaled to the consumer price index (CPI)
- ^{xiv} Andrew Cuomo, "Governor Cuomo Announces On-Time Passage of Historic, Transformational 2011-12 New York State Budget," New York State Governor, March 31, 2012 available at <http://www.governor.ny.gov/press/033111budget>
- ^{xv} Charlie Albanetti, "New Bill on NY Campaign Finance Changes Surfaces," Fair Elections for New York, April 4 2012, available at <http://www.fairelectionsny.org/posts/new-bill-on-ny-campaign-finance-changes-surfaces/1020>

^{xvi} Only the first \$175 of a contribution counts toward meeting dollar amount threshold.

*For borough president, the threshold dollar amount is based upon the number of persons living in each borough. The dollar amount (based on the 2010 census) for each borough is: Bronx, \$27,702; Brooklyn, \$50,094; Manhattan, \$31,717; Queens, \$44,614; and Staten Island, \$10,000. Note: These amounts are based on the 2010 census and are rounded to the nearest dollar.

†Must be borough residents.

††Must be district residents.

^{xvii} “State Elections Enforcement Commission Citizens Election Overview,” Office of Governmental Accountability, State Elections Enforcement Commission, January 2012 available at http://www.ct.gov/seec/lib/seec/2012generalelection/2012_cep_overview_final.pdf

^{xviii} *Id.*

^{xix} Albert Lenge, "Status of Citizens Election Fund," Office of Governmental Accountability, State Elections Enforcement Commission available at

http://www.ct.gov/seec/lib/seec/publications/status_as_of_december_31_2010.pdf

^{xx} “Citizens’ Election Program 2010: A Novel System with Extraordinary Results,” State Elections Enforcement Commission, January 2011 available at

http://www.ct.gov/seec/lib/seec/publications/2010_citizens_election_program_report_final.pdf

^{xxi} “Contribution Limits – Calendar Year 2012,” Minnesota Campaign Finance and Disclosure Board, 2012, available at

http://www.cfboard.state.mn.us/campfin/Limits/CONTRIB_LIMITS_2012.pdf

^{xxii} "Campaign Finance Summary," Minnesota Campaign Finance and Disclosure Board, 2010 available at http://www.cfboard.state.mn.us/campfin/Summary/CFS_2010.pdf

^{xxiii} Benjamin T. Brickner with Naomi Mueller, “CLEAN ELECTIONS: Public Financing in Six States,” Rutgers Eagleton Institute of Politics, 2008 available at

<http://www.eagleton.rutgers.edu/research/newjersey/documents/CE-PublicFinancinginSixStates09-08.pdf>