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2	THE CITY OF NEW YORK
3	CAMPAIGN FINANCE BOARD
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5	CAMPAIGN FINANCE BOARD
6	2005 POST ELECTION HEARING
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8	X
9	40 Rector Street
10	New York, New York
11	
12	December 13, 2005
13	12:45 p.m.
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19	B E F O R E:
20	CHAIRMAN FREDERICK A.O. SCHWARZ, JR.
21	
22	
23	PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.
24	222 Wellington Road
25	Mineola, New York 11501

PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

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2	APPEARANCES:
3	Members of the Board In Attendance:
4	
5	Frederick A.O. Schwarz, Jr., The Chair
6	Joseph Potasnik
7	Katheryn C. Patterson
8	Dale C. Christensen, Jr.
9	Alan N. Rechtschaffen
10	
11	Campaign Finance Board Staff:
12	
13	Nicole A. Gordon, Executive Director
14	Other CFB Staff
15	
16	
17	Also present:
18	
19	The Public
20	The Press
21	Public Hearing Testifiers
22	
23	
24	Marc Russo, Court Reporter
2.5	

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1	5
2	PROCEEDINGS
3	
4	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay,
5	Oliver, you're here in the midst of a
6	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: I am here.
7	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: please
8	sit down.
9	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: What is
10	happening here?
11	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: We're having
12	a fascinating discussion.
13	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: I see.
14	Well, sorry to interrupt.
15	Is this a public meeting?
16	MS. GORDON: Yes.
17	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Yes.
18	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Oh, it
19	is.
20	This is Jamin Suel who works
21	with me as my counsel and I invited him to
22	join us.
23	Good to see you all.
24	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Great to
25	see you.

1 6 2 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: You want 3 me to start or how do you want to proceed? 4 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: We're 5 interested in your views about this. 6 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Well, I 7 -- did you get a copy of the statement? We've kind of prepared a -- not really a polished 8 9 statement but really a response to your questions so I can go through that quickly 10 11 with you. 12 Mr. Chairman and members of 13 the Campaign Finance Board, I'm pleased to 14 appear with you today. I think you all know who I am so I won't introduce myself further 15 16 than saying I'm Councilmember Oliver Koppell. 17 Let me start out by saying I'm 18 a strong supporter of the Campaign Finance program. I believe that it does influence 19 candidates' decisions to run for office. 20 21 It did not in the most recent election influence my decision to run. I 22 would have run even if there had not been a 23 24 Campaign Finance Program. However, I do

believe that the program did encourage my

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- 2 opponent to run.
- And while it's true and I
- 4 say here that I got a very healthy percentage
- of the vote the fact is that I think that
- 6 the result was not clear either to me or to my
- 7 opponent until after the ballot box was open;
- 8 that there was a sense of a competitive
- 9 campaign. The fact that my opponent did
- 10 raise considerable money, I think he came
- 11 close to raising -- I think he got the maximum
- 12 that he could get under the City laws.
- 13 I recall looking at the
- 14 numbers and he spent -- and he also raised
- 15 close to the amount necessary. I didn't see
- 16 his final figures, but he must have spent
- 17 close to the \$150,000 maximum.
- 18 And as I said, I think that he
- 19 ran a very aggressive race and I did need to
- 20 spend the money that I spent to get the result
- 21 that I got. Would I have won having less
- 22 money? I don't know. I might have well, but
- 23 I certainly wasn't confident of that.
- The disclosure and the
- 25 contribution limits had no impact on my

- joining. I believe that they're appropriate.
- 3 I think that the result of having public funds
- 4 did make fundraising, even in my case, much
- 5 less significant. I will not say that I would
- 6 not have raised the \$150,000, I think I
- 7 probably would have, but it would have taken a
- 8 good deal more effort and more time and to
- 9 some extent, would have made me more, if you
- 10 will, I don't want to say that I'm beholden
- 11 to my contributors, but it would have made me
- 12 more reliant on contributors than is the case
- 13 now where really all of my contributions, with
- 14 very little exceptions, were raised in
- 15 relatively modest amounts.
- 16 And I think the program has
- 17 the -- the program combined with the limits
- on contributions, has the desired effect of
- 19 making you not feel in any way beholden, as I
- 20 say, to any interest or controlled by any
- 21 interest or controlled by any interests or
- 22 obligated to such an extent that I can't
- 23 exercise my independent decision making
- 24 powers.
- 25 So I think even in my case, a PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 long time elected official who has fundraising
- 3 ability, it was indeed helpful. And as I say
- 4 in the next paragraph, that it furthered the
- 5 governmental reforms that were suggested
- 6 limiting the influence of private money,
- 7 enabling serious candidates to run competitive
- 8 campaigns.
- 9 I think my opponent was a
- 10 serious candidate in this instance or
- obviously a better candidate and it also
- 12 provided for full disclosure which is very
- 13 much appropriate.
- I also think that the spending
- 15 limits are roughly appropriate, although I
- 16 must say that given the fact that I had an
- 17 aggressive opponent and ran an extensive
- 18 campaign, I think the limits are a little bit
- 19 low for the City Council.
- I really haven't studied it
- 21 for the other offices but for the office of
- 22 City Council I think \$200,000 this year would
- 23 have been a more appropriate amount. And if
- 24 we're looking at the next City Council race in
- four years, there'd have to be some adjustment

- 2 in terms of inflation between now and then.
- 3 So I think if the Board is
- 4 looking at limits in the future I think that
- 5 the limits are a little bit low.
- I also think the idea that was
- 7 suggested in your paper which is to eliminate
- 8 this idea of exempt expenditures is very a
- 9 good idea. I know it --
- 10 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: And we
- 11 would not be having the extensive hearing if
- 12 it came in.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Right.
- 14 Well, I think that would be a very good idea.
- 15 I know that several candidates got snared into
- 16 that trap and I think the trap should be
- 17 eliminated. So I fully agree with making a
- 18 single limit and not having these exempt
- 19 expenditures.
- 20 If you kept exempt
- 21 expenditures then I would put caps on them and
- 22 say you can spend just so much on, you know,
- 23 an expert who will help you with your campaign
- finance filings, and you can spend perhaps
- even say so much for petitioning so that you

- 2 don't have this ambiguity, because clearly by
- 3 having it vague you have people who say, well,
- 4 this was spent for petitioning but it really
- 5 was spent for other things and so on and so
- 6 forth.
- 7 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: The only
- 8 exception I can think of and that is if the
- 9 candidate's opponent causes the expenses to be
- 10 made because they challenged petitions, they
- 11 can involve the Board of Elections.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Yes. I
- 13 think that that makes sense.
- 14 I mean legal counsel is really
- 15 providing legal services and --
- 16 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: When your
- 17 opponent is causing the problem.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Right.
- 19 MS. GORDON: It's a legal
- 20 challenge.
- 21 MR. CHRISTENSEN: The other
- thing is that legal expenses are always very
- 23 demonstrable that we rarely seldom have
- 24 problems.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Well, I

- 2 mean, I don't mean to -- I think you're
- 3 generally right but it's also true that
- 4 lawyers sometimes are campaign advisors so
- 5 you've got to be a little bit careful with
- 6 that. I think -- you know, who would have
- 7 thought, I would never have thought of the
- 8 fact, maybe I'm not devious enough that, you
- 9 know, what happened in the last election I
- 10 think it was prohibited this time because I
- 11 think you passed legislation on it.
- 12 You know, if you pay someone
- 13 and then that person makes a contribution and
- 14 then that contribution gets matched, I mean I
- 15 wouldn't of thought of that scheme. So when
- 16 you say well, exempt lawyers and then I think
- 17 some lawyers are campaign --
- 18 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: You
- 19 wouldn't have done that scheme whether or
- 20 not --
- 21 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: No, no, I
- 22 wouldn't have done the scheme but I learned
- 23 that people did it. And, again, lawyers -- to
- 24 the extent that the discussion about the past
- 25 campaign is that people who allegedly were

- 2 there for advice on petition gathering
- 3 actually advised on other things and their
- 4 salary or their income or their compensation
- 5 was related to other kinds of works other than
- 6 the work that they allegedly were paid for.
- 7 That could be a problem with lawyers too. So
- 8 I think it has to be looked at carefully.
- 9 Of course, if a lawyer is
- 10 putting their time and the time record and so
- on it can be monitored but I just raise it as
- 12 a caution.
- 13 Then I think, you know, the
- 14 whole issue -- the difficult issue is created
- when there's no significant opponent and how
- 16 you measure that and how much money you give.
- Now, you know, again, even if
- there's no substantial opponent I think the
- 19 candidate does have almost an obligation, if
- 20 not a right, to communicate with constituents
- 21 before an election. So I think some
- 22 contribution of matching funds is appropriate
- even where there's a token opponent. But it
- should be limited and monitored.
- 25 And I think some of the press
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- 2 stories suggested that some people took
- 3 advantage of the system and we shouldn't have
- 4 to and you should look at how you deal with
- 5 that.
- 6 I support the -- the website
- 7 is very good. The reporting is very good and
- 8 should continue.
- 9 I support the ban on corporate
- 10 contributions. I'd also agree with
- 11 registration requirements for all political
- 12 committees.
- I do think that there is a
- 14 problem with the administration of the system.
- 15 There seems to be perhaps more complexity than
- there ought to be, at least perceived
- 17 complexity.
- 18 And one of the problems that I
- 19 will mention to you is that many of my
- 20 colleagues in discussing this in a candid way,
- 21 not publicly, complain bitterly about
- 22 compliance with the Campaign Finance Board
- 23 rules and feel that the Board or its employees
- 24 or its agents have been very unfair. Now, I
- 25 can't make a judgment, I haven't looked at

- 2 those and said are these complaints justified
- 3 or not, but I'm concerned about them because I
- 4 know there are colleagues of mine in the City
- 5 Council who are so upset that they would, you
- 6 know, seek to either end their own
- 7 participation in the program or even worse,
- 8 end the program altogether.
- 9 So something has to be done to
- 10 make people feel that this program is not a
- 11 program aimed at preventing people from
- 12 running or aimed at incumbents. And I know
- 13 that sounds almost a little absurd because
- incumbents benefit from this program, but some
- of them do feel that it's an anti-incumbent
- 16 program.
- I don't know exactly, I know I
- think one of the things that might be good is
- if there was -- I know there's availability of
- 20 staff to meeting with candidates and their
- 21 advisors during the campaign time. It might
- 22 be worth making it even more clear that that
- 23 kind of assistance is available. It might be
- 24 worth having a non-confrontational mid
- 25 campaign audit with the idea of asking people

- 2 to come in, let's go over, let's see what
- 3 you're doing, let me evaluate whether you're
- 4 doing this right so that people feel
- 5 comfortable that they're not -- they don't see
- 6 necessarily an adversary unless they are
- 7 violating the rules, knowing they violated the
- 8 rules and maybe that's happening and I'm aware
- 9 it.
- 10 But what I hear from
- 11 colleagues is that, you know, we're trying to
- 12 comply and we're being harassed and there are
- 13 all these compliance requirements, detailed
- 14 requirements that are being imposed unfairly
- or not imposed uniformly or not being clearly
- 16 explained or whatever.
- 17 And I think something has to
- 18 be done to deal with that otherwise there's
- 19 going to be unfortunately a ground swell of
- 20 opposition to a program that I think is a very
- 21 important and good one.
- MS. GORDON: I would ask you
- whether you'd be available and maybe if you
- 24 had time to speak to me personally about this
- 25 as an ambassador --

1 17 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Sure. 2 3 MS. GORDON: -- so-to-speak 4 because I think there is a disconnect here 5 that's very difficult to overcome. 6 We did a presentation just 7 recently, our staff did a presentation to 8 other agencies about the kind of candidate 9 training that we do. And it's very extensive. 10 In fact, I was interested because I don't hear it so often, but the head of our unit said 11 12 that when he does the training, when the 13 others do the training, they tell the 14 campaigns that if they are not embarrassed at how many times they are calling us to get help 15 16 and advice then they are not doing their job 17 in complying. 18 So I think we are very available, we do very -- a lot of work to 19 provide material and so on and somehow there 20 21 may be a disconnect between the candidates who aren't personally aware of the efforts that 22 23 are being made and how it may seem to come to 24 them because they probably only get bothered

with it when there's a problem.

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2	And I'd love to have a chance
3	informally to talk to you perhaps as someone
4	who can be an honest broker, if that is the
5	right word, to learn how we can learn to get
6	it clear to candidates what efforts we do make
7	and if they have suggestions, of course, we
8	want to hear about them. But anyway, I just
9	put that to you for feedback.
10	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: No, I
11	think that's a very good idea and I think what
12	you just said is absolutely true, that in many
13	cases I think the candidates are themselves
14	involved and they're told by advisors who may
15	be fouling things up themselves and then sort
16	of blaming the Campaign Finance Board for
17	their own deficiencies or their problems.
18	And what I would suggest is
19	that perhaps you, or if not you, other people
20	make it a point to make an appointment with
21	I mean, you know, we have a considerable gap
22	now, we don't have another Council election
23	for four years. So I think making an
24	appointment with individual members and
25	actually going to see and say look, this is a

- 2 program that supposed to work, we'd like to
- 3 hear your complaints, we'd like to hear your
- 4 concerns.
- Now, of course that becomes
- 6 difficult with people with whom you're engaged
- 7 in in an adversary proceeding, you know, where
- 8 you're -- but maybe start with people who
- 9 don't have a problem.
- 10 MS. GORDON: And I'm suggesting
- 11 this to you partly because I think we need --
- we have had some sessions like that to invite
- people to come and then they tend not to. And
- 14 what I would hope is that maybe you, for
- example, can be a help to us in communicating
- 16 a message and helping us to actually get
- people in the room to have this conversation.
- 18 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: I'd be
- 19 happy to do that. You may have to go to them,
- 20 you know, come over their office, not too far
- 21 from here rather than having them come here
- 22 because Council people I guess they're busy,
- of course, they're busy and also they may have
- 24 some, you know, stand on ceremony, well, I
- don't need to come to you, you come to me.

1	20
2	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: However,
3	both your yes.
4	MR. RECHTSCHAFFEN: I just
5	wanted to ask, do you have any suggestion of
6	what has been sort of a pet issue of mine, I
7	was talking to Nicole and to the Chairman
8	about it as well, about campaign leftovers.
9	In other words, somebody buys a
10	\$4,000 computer and after the campaign, I
11	don't know what happens to this stuff.
12	Do you have any suggestions of
13	how to deal with that?
14	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: You know,
15	some problems are not necessarily I mean I
16	can understand the, you know, if you're really
17	a stickler that that could be a concern or and
18	I mean it could be I suppose there are
19	instances where they could be excessive. I
20	mean I don't know whether it's enough of a
21	problem to have to deal with it but to the
22	extent if you look at the record and you
23	see that they've spent, well they've spent
24	\$30,000 on computer equipment which probably
25	would be unreasonable, then that might be

- 2 something that should be talked about. But if
- 3 they bought a computer for a thousand
- 4 dollars, I'm not sure I would worry too much
- 5 about where the computer ended up.
- I don't have a suggestion on
- 7 it. I would say that that, again, it's a
- 8 question of degree. If they spent a whole
- 9 bunch of money on expensive equipment, then I
- 10 think it is a significant concern.
- I do have -- I'm glad you
- 12 asked that question because it reminds me of
- 13 something that I didn't put in my statement.
- 14 As I understand the rule, I
- think I'm stating it correctly, because we
- 16 looked at it, if you want to have an
- inauguration after the election, you can't use
- 18 even your privately-raised campaign finance
- 19 funds for that, you have to open up a separate
- 20 new account and have to raise new money,
- 21 unless you put your own money in, your own
- 22 personal money.
- 23 And I think that's -- I don't
- 24 fully understand the rationale for it and I
- 25 certainly think it's excessive. I mean though

- 2 I didn't do a really hard-nosed fundraising
- 3 campaign, I would be embarrassed to call
- 4 someone now and say could you give me a
- 5 hundred or \$250 so I can have a nice inaugural
- 6 party in January, which I would like to have.
- 7 So now I have to say to
- 8 myself, well, it's going to cost a couple of
- 9 thousand dollars, either I put the couple of
- 10 thousand dollars into it myself or I don't do
- 11 it.
- MR. RECHTSCHAFFEN: Sell the
- 13 computers. You can sell the computers.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: What?
- 15 Yes, I didn't buy a computer so we used the
- 16 computer from the last time so the -- I just
- don't think that makes any sense. If your
- 18 money -- if you say don't use public money for
- 19 it, fine, I don't have a problem with that,
- when you don't use the public money, but to
- 21 say money that I raised myself from
- 22 contributors from my campaign that's left over
- 23 and I can't use for inauguration, that just
- doesn't make sense.
- MR. POTASNIK: Yes,

- 2 Councilman, you might not have had the
- 3 leftover if you didn't use the public funds.
- 4 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: That's
- 5 true, that's true, you're right. So I still
- 6 don't think it's sensible to say to me that I
- 7 have to call private contributors to spend my
- 8 own money to have an inaugural party.
- 9 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Oliver,
- 10 your oral testimony and your written testimony
- 11 are very useful.
- 12 Do you know someone called
- 13 Charles Juntikka?
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Yes.
- 15 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: He made
- some comments, he testified yesterday about
- 17 the sole source thing which actually if you
- 18 say that on here, you may disagree with it,
- 19 but there are ways in which the law can be
- 20 abused and if you're not --
- 21 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: On which
- 22 thing?
- 23 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: On the sole
- 24 source, the union thing.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Oh.

- 2 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: If you know
- 3 Mr. Juntikka --
- 4 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Yeah, I
- 5 know him from private association.
- 6 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: -- he gave
- 7 interesting testimony.
- 8 MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: I didn't
- 9 know he had any interest in this subject
- 10 frankly, I never discussed this with him.
- 11 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Well, I
- 12 didn't know he did either but he appeared and
- 13 he --
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: How did
- 15 you know that I knew him?
- 16 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Because he
- 17 said he did.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Oh, I
- 19 see.
- 20 (Laughter.)
- 21 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I don't
- 22 have any, you know, undercover --
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: No,
- that's interesting because I have no political
- 25 relationship with him whatsoever.

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- 3 the sole source thing. I do think that there
- 4 was a problem with treating these umbrella
- 5 unions as one source. Whether the legislation
- 6 as it was drafted was as well drafted as it
- 7 might have been, I don't comment on -- I won't
- 8 comment on it because I didn't study it that
- 9 carefully.
- 10 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I think
- 11 that's what he was -- he made the most
- 12 effective statement I've heard on why there's
- a problem with the legislation, if you know
- 14 him and respect him.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Oh, okay.
- 16 I do know him, I do respect him.
- 17 And I think the rest of my
- 18 comments are in writing and don't say anything
- 19 particularly surprising.
- 20 By the way, on the debate
- 21 requirement, I think the debate requirement is
- 22 a very good one and I think it should extend
- 23 to local candidates as well. And I think that
- there should more debates, I think that's
- 25 something --

- 2 MR. CHRISTENSEN: I have a
- 3 question, and I'm sorry but I had to exit for
- 4 a moment.
- 5 But I was very interested in
- 6 your comment that the CFB should consider
- 7 reviewing public funding issues to -- in
- 8 instances where there's a, you know,
- 9 uncompetitive campaign and how much public
- 10 funds are appropriate --
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: Yes.
- MR. CHRISTENSEN: -- in that
- 13 context.
- 14 And we have certainly wrestled
- with that issue and it's an issue that gets
- 16 repeatedly brought up in these hearings.
- 17 But I you have to say I think
- this is an area of responsibility for the City
- 19 Council to take up because my understanding of
- 20 this, and the Chairman can correct me, that
- 21 we've, you know, presented this to the City
- 22 Council and it is a legislative matter
- 23 fundamentally and I recognize it's a very
- 24 difficult problematic issue, but it's one that
- 25 I think we can't really deal with. It really

2 needs -- and I understand why it's not an easy

- 3 issue to deal with because it deals with the
- 4 very purposes of the program. It deals with
- 5 free speech issues, at what levels do you sort
- 6 of cut candidates off who have no constituency
- 7 but like to take from the program.
- 8 Those are all areas I think
- 9 properly for the Legislature to deal with. And
- 10 we would, you know, want to encourage you to
- 11 the extent that you can raise this with your
- 12 colleagues, I think it's a very appropriate
- 13 area.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: But I
- 15 think after you look at the record and I
- 16 noticed, I saw some of the statistics outside
- that you put out, which are very interesting,
- 18 I think once you look at the record and we
- 19 look at the record, perhaps the Board could
- 20 even make some recommendations.
- 21 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: What I was
- 22 going to suggest, Nicole, maybe you could send
- 23 to Councilman Koppell the recommendation we
- 24 were making before and now I think have
- 25 increased cogency.

2	MR.	OLIVER	KOPPELL:	Well.	Ι

- 3 certainly will take a look but I want to thank
- 4 you for your efforts. And I think this is by
- 5 far of any campaign finance program that I've
- 6 seen, the best. I think it really goes a long
- 7 way towards achieving important public
- 8 objectives and should continue.
- 9 And to the extent that it
- 10 unfortunately in the high-profile race for
- 11 Mayor, you know, it was criticized but there's
- 12 nothing you can do about that unless the
- 13 Supreme Court changes the law.
- 14 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: U.S. Supreme
- 15 Court.
- MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: There's
- 17 nothing you can do about it. You know, you
- 18 asked is there a solution, I don't have a
- 19 solution absent -- and I think it was
- 20 appropriate to increase the funding for the
- 21 candidate who didn't have substantial means
- 22 but you can't go too far with that because how
- 23 much public money can you justify.
- MR. POTASNIK: Can you
- 25 introduce that resolution to the City Council,

1	29
2	that this CFB is the best?
3	(Laughter.)
4	MR. POTASNIK: I want to see
5	what the vote is on that, that's all.
6	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: As I
7	said, you can be assured that if there are any
8	attempts to do any major revisions I will
9	resist them.
10	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: So I should
11	disclose for the record that Mr. Koppell and I
12	used to work together.
13	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: More
14	years ago than either one of us want to admit.
15	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: That's true.
16	But you were a very good lawyer before you
17	became a politician.
18	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: I hope I
19	still am.
20	Thank you.
21	MS. GORDON: If you're going to
22	disclose that, then I want to disclose that I
23	interviewed Councilmember Koppell in 1968 with
24	Ricky Wexler for the Fuse to Use (phonetic.)

(Laughter.)

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1	30
2	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: In 1968 for
3	what?
4	MR. OLIVER KOPPELL: For the
5	Fuse newspaper.
6	We're done, right?
7	MS. GORDON: Yes. Thank you
8	very much.
9	(Short recess.)
10	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: And so now
11	Councilwoman Moskowitz.
12	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay.
13	MS. EVA MOSKOWITZ: Good
14	afternoon.
15	Thank you for having me.
16	I apologize for my
17	off-the-cuff nature of my remarks. I am
18	packing my office and don't expect to be a
19	participant in the near future for
20	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ:
21	Congratulations on your new challenge.
22	MS. EVA MOSKOWITZ: Thank you
23	very much.
24	But I have been a participant
25	in the Campaign Finance Program for nine years
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- 2 and first in 1997. And I want to say at the
- 3 outset that I have the highest regard for the
- 4 work that the Board does. It's sometimes
- 5 difficult to be a candidate and on the back
- 6 end of regulation but I think when we look
- 7 around nationally at the program, this is
- 8 really a national model.
- 9 I have also witnessed I think
- 10 some very significant improvements over the
- 11 years. Each year it gets more user-friendly.
- 12 The predictability of the regulatory
- 13 environment gets better. I think that the
- 14 Board has added new features. I think that
- the Campaign Finance Board guide was very
- 16 good. I participated in the television
- 17 version. It was a very seamless operation.
- 18 As you can imagine as a
- 19 candidate running borough-wide I was on a very
- 20 tight schedule and they did an excellent job I
- 21 thought of scheduling the candidates, giving
- 22 us our direction and allowing us to kind of
- get in and out of there.
- 24 They were very concerned about
- 25 fairness and the clock started and stopped and

- 2 they kept to that. So in general I have very
- 3 good things to say about the work that the
- 4 staff does.
- 5 Candidate's unit has always
- 6 been extremely helpful. As you know, my style
- 7 of campaign is to ask first and to ask very
- 8 continuously and constantly. And I changed my
- 9 way I'm going to operate. I ask permission to
- 10 change and to try and do everything in
- 11 writing.
- 12 There are some ways, though in
- 13 which I think it can still be improved and
- 14 there are some ongoing frustrations.
- And you have to understand,
- 16 elected officials probably know the impact of
- this regulatory body better than any other
- 18 regulatory body. We always have frustrations
- 19 with government agencies the Department of
- 20 Education to name an obvious one. But this
- is the only government agency I suppose other
- 22 than the Conflict of Interest Board that has a
- 23 direct impact. And so it can be -- I mean and
- 24 it has a direct impact at a time which is
- 25 incredibly stressful, whether you're raising a

- 2 lot of money or you're filling umpteenth
- 3 questionnaires from every group, every year I
- 4 run the number of things I have to write and
- 5 take positions on. I'm most fearful of the
- 6 dog groups. I never know when I'm supposed to
- 7 be for the leash, not the leash, part of what
- 8 those hours are, it seems like a minefield any
- 9 way you go.
- 10 It is very, very stressful and
- 11 then being regulated by this body when the
- 12 press is watching, it has very, very serious
- 13 consequences so it's stressful for candidate.
- I would say that in my most
- 15 recent experience to give you one example of a
- 16 frustration, I am very organized and so I
- 17 prepared my campaign statement way in advance,
- 18 the one that goes in the booklet. And I'm
- 19 very scrupulous about the word count and
- 20 following all the directions and so forth.
- 21 We had everything perfect, we
- 22 were to ready to submit it at 9:15 but we ran
- 23 into a problem with periods where your
- 24 document said that I couldn't put periods at
- 25 the end of my sentences.

- 2 And I'm used to putting
- 3 periods at the end of my sentence and I'm
- 4 running as the Chair of the Education
- 5 Committee.
- 6 And maybe I'm a little
- 7 paranoid but I don't want any constituent to
- 8 say that I don't know how to use punctuation
- 9 marks.
- 10 MR. CHRISTENSEN: You did not
- 11 want to have a Dan Quayle moment.
- MS. EVA MOSKOWITZ: I did not,
- 13 I did not.
- 14 So literally from 9:15 in the
- morning until 5 p.m. we were in contact with
- 16 the staff trying to figure out what we could
- 17 do.
- 18 And being sort of a common
- 19 sense person, at a certain point around 3:00 I
- 20 said, how about I just write a line and
- 21 hand-put in my periods where I know they
- 22 belong? And it was infuriating, infuriating.
- Now, granted I'm a little stressed, it's now
- 3:00, the thing is due at 5:00 and I am told
- 25 by someone or I should say my staff is told by

- 2 someone that that would be altering the
- 3 document.
- 4 I mean come on guys. Periods
- 5 go at the end of sentences, it's commonly
- 6 agreed upon, can't I just put a period and
- 7 then have my submission?
- 8 I forget how it was all
- 9 resolved but my understanding is my staff told
- 10 me don't make a fuss, don't get into a fight
- 11 with the Campaign Finance Board over periods.
- 12 And so we went without periods.
- But it just seems a little
- 14 silly at a certain point and it took endless
- 15 conversation and you got the sense that we
- 16 were doing something wrong. We were trying to
- 17 put periods in a text document. And it's sort
- 18 of frustrating to feel that you're breaking
- 19 the rules when you're trying to put periods
- 20 in.
- 21 Obviously a much larger
- 22 concern that I experienced in this election
- 23 was what I considered an attempt by one of my
- 24 opponents to get around the spending cap by a
- 25 significant amount by having a third party

- 2 expenditure.
- 3 As I think probably most
- 4 people in this room know, the Working Families
- 5 Party spent several hundred thousand dollars
- 6 on behalf of Scott Stringer. And it was sort
- 7 of a somewhat complicated -- you know, I
- 8 couldn't -- as soon as I became aware that
- 9 there was a significant expenditure going on,
- 10 I notified the Board.
- I was told and this was when
- 12 I became -- started to become aware, obviously
- these things are done last minute so it's hard
- 14 generally when people try to get around the
- 15 rules it happens at the end of the campaign,
- 16 when I contacted the Board first it was
- 17 Thursday before the election.
- I knew about some of the
- 19 spending on Tuesday and Wednesday but it
- 20 didn't seem like it was a pattern. By
- 21 Thursday there had been mass phone calls.
- 22 There were a couple of mailings. It went up
- 23 from there.
- 24 By my estimation the Working
- 25 Families Parties spent a minimum of three

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- When I contacted the Board and
- 4 it's very upsetting, let me just say that from
- 5 the beginning, when you think that you might
- 6 lose the election because someone is getting
- 7 around the cap, you know, that's a sort of
- 8 serious problem. And I was told initially,
- 9 well, unfortunately the last Board meeting to
- 10 rule on something like this was that morning
- 11 and I was too late. I was just like, wait a
- 12 second, I'm too late? My election is at
- 13 stake, how can it be too late? Doesn't dirty
- 14 politics occur right at the end?
- Now, you know, it's
- 16 complicated where the rules are complicated,
- 17 the history of this is complicated.
- David Dinkins, as you know,
- 19 who the had State Party, Democratic Party,
- 20 made independent expenditures. They were
- 21 analogous situations and I say this not so
- 22 much to, you now, I may sound like I'm
- 23 complaining but my purpose is really not to
- 24 complain but simply to alert you to what I
- view as first a very serious policy matter.

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- 3 let's this go forward the spending cap has any
- 4 meaning. Now, maybe there's some way that I'm
- 5 not thinking about it, but why wouldn't every
- 6 candidate use third party expenditures to get
- 7 around the cap? It just seems like a very
- 8 simple thing.
- 9 I also just wonder if the
- 10 Campaign Finance Board can't operate in real
- 11 time, and let me just say that I'm not
- 12 unsympathetic to you got to get it right and
- 13 you're operating in real time and there are a
- 14 lot of pieces of information, but then you are
- 15 after the fact, you know, by not ruling you're
- in essence determining who the victor is.
- 17 And so I recognize it's
- 18 complicated but I would hope that the Board
- 19 has considered that.
- 20 And I would also just say that
- 21 it's frustrating as a candidate to ask for an
- 22 investigation and to not really hear back one
- 23 way or the other, what's the status of the
- 24 investigation? Did anything happen? Is it
- 25 being considered?

2	But I want to make clear that
3	whatever my concerns are I say them from a
4	point of view of someone who is deeply
5	appreciative of the work that the staff does
6	and the work that the Board does. And I think
7	that in New York we are extremely lucky to
8	have the kind of fair and honest elections.
9	I have seen up close not only
10	in my own elections but I've been involved in
11	many elections citywide about your policing or
12	not sure what term to use, oversight has kept
13	elections much more honest than they would be
14	otherwise.
15	Thank you very much.
16	MR. CHRISTENSEN:
17	Councilmember, can I ask you, have been had
18	an opportunity to either be debriefed or given
19	a statement to our staff on the issues
20	relating to the Working Families Party?
21	MS. EVA MOSKOWITZ: Well, I
22	prepared at the time of the election a fairly
23	extensive memo citing legal cases, you know,
24	referencing the Board's own action on similar

cases in order to assist in the Board's

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- determination, but I have not heard back.
- I also requested a copy of, I
- 4 believe that my opponent, or I was told that
- 5 my opponent had been requested to come up with
- 6 some sort of response or was asked a series of
- 7 questions, and I asked to see a copy of that
- 8 and I have not received it.
- 9 So I haven't been debriefed by
- 10 the staff, but I did speak right before the
- 11 election to a campaign staff member.
- MS. GORDON: I would just like
- 13 to reassure Councilwoman Moskowitz that both
- 14 at the staff and I think I can speak for the
- Board members, too on this, that this was a
- 16 very -- this is very a serious issue that
- 17 everyone takes extremely seriously.
- The bind that everybody is in
- 19 is that in the short time that is available,
- 20 coming to closure as facts as well as law in
- 21 this particular case, which was a little more
- 22 complex than it might be if it were a
- 23 Democratic party on behalf of its nominee,
- 24 it's very challenging. And I am sure that the
- 25 Board members, if we had had available to us

- 2 conclusive evidence that would have permitted
- 3 a decision to be made one way or the other, we
- 4 would have turned whatever cartwheels needed
- 5 to be turned in order to give an answer during
- 6 the campaign as the Board has on past
- 7 occasions been able to do.
- 8 The other half of the equation
- 9 that is also very difficult is that since the
- 10 matter is still under consideration by the
- 11 Board to describe it or forecast people's
- 12 thinking or reaction is also a difficult place
- 13 to be. So it's definitely a problem.
- 14 I don't know right now what
- the solution as to how to keep a complainant
- 16 who has a very serious issue before the Board,
- they're not only in relation as you're saying
- 18 to your campaign or to an individual campaign,
- 19 but that affect the whole operation and yet
- 20 not sure exactly how we can come up with a
- 21 good plan.
- But we should try to come up
- with a good plan on how to keep the campaign
- 24 apprised of progress without compromising the
- 25 fairness on all sides to the different

- 2 parties.
- MS. EVA MOSKOWITZ: I mean I
- 4 would just say that it would be helpful to
- 5 have some time estimation. Is it going to be
- one week? Is this going to be six months? Is
- 7 this going to be a year? Because I do
- 8 understand that it is complicated but it's
- 9 also frustrating and I guess I have had the
- 10 experience in the past where I've asked a
- 11 matter to be investigated and it had gone into
- 12 a black hole.
- Just to be specific, after
- 9/11 I believe I was the only campaign that I
- know of to abide by your post 9/11 ruling
- 16 while my opponents were out their producing
- 17 literature and da, da, da, da I had a copy of
- 18 the literature. It wasn't like a
- 19 he-said/she-said. I produced copies. I
- 20 repeatedly asked for what the status of the
- 21 investigation was and I sort of gave up after
- awhile.
- 23 But it makes you feel, you
- 24 know -- obviously in that case I won, it's
- 25 over. I just think that you want candidates
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- 2 to feel that when problems emerge, A, if they
- 3 abide by the rules and others don't that
- 4 there's some resolution to it, but I also
- 5 think just generally speaking, I don't really
- 6 see why there can't be some sort of time frame
- 7 and other candidates knew or have some sense
- 8 of how long, you know, and unless then I can
- 9 respond.
- 10 If you say it's going to take
- 11 you five years, you know, I can say wait a
- 12 second, that's too long but I would certainly
- 13 understand that this isn't an easy thing to
- 14 resolve.
- 15 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: It
- 16 certainly shouldn't go into a black hole.
- 17 If, and if it could be
- 18 resolved before the election, that would
- 19 always be good but once a judgement is made
- and it can't be resolved before the election,
- 21 then it seems to me that our job is to do it
- 22 carefully and not to have a deadline on what
- 23 carefully means.
- I mean it may be someone who's
- 25 affect of the complaining party ought to be

- 2 given some information on how things are going
- 3 along, that might be okay.
- 4 MS. GORDON: Maybe we can come
- 5 up with something.
- 6 MR. CHRISTENSEN: I would also
- 7 say that we're both sort of constrained as our
- 8 Executive Director has indicated, from
- 9 commenting on the merits of the matter while
- 10 it's still under investigation.
- 11 But I think it is reasonable
- 12 and appropriate to say that we understand that
- this is, you know, a very grave issue and
- 14 there are certainly Board members who have had
- to make sure this is concluded in a totally
- 16 fair and proper way. I mean it clearly is of
- 17 that kind of gravity.
- 18 And also I think expedition
- 19 without sacrificing the accuracy of the
- 20 development of facts is also an interest. We
- 21 can't overturn elections but a victor may find
- 22 his victory Pyrrhic if we, you know, end up
- 23 having to require the return of all
- 24 public funds rendered in the matter.
- 25 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay, so

- Joe, do have other comments or questions?
- MR. POTASNIK: No. Thank you.
- 4 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Thank you
- 5 for coming.
- 6 MS. EVA MOSKOWITZ: Thank you
- 7 very much. I appreciate it.
- 8 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Good luck in
- 9 the difficult home job.
- 10 MS. EVA MOSKOWITZ: Thank you
- 11 very much.
- MS. GORDON: And I also just
- 13 want to say, you know, you have a unique
- 14 perspective on the whole program because not
- only have you been a candidate, but you have a
- 16 close relationship to someone who deals with
- 17 us on a regular basis on compliance and other
- 18 issues. And especially now in your new
- 19 capacity if you feel free to do so, I would
- 20 welcome an opportunity to talk to you
- 21 informally about some of the issues that we
- 22 face.
- MS. EVA MOSKOWITZ: Sure. I
- 24 mean I think it's very important to the
- 25 long-term help and support of the program that PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 it, you know be, continuously improved which I
- 3 know you have undertaken. And I think also
- 4 there needs to be a lot of education about why
- 5 it's so, so critical to have you guys around
- 6 and to have the work done that you do. So I'm
- 7 happy to talk with any or all of you in any
- 8 capacity.
- 9 Thank you.
- 10 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Thank you.
- MS. GORDON: Mr. Park. Is Mr.
- 12 Park here?
- MR. TAEYHO PARK: I'm here
- 14 together.
- I see everybody having a long
- 16 day.
- 17 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay, Mr.
- 18 Park and Mr. Chan. And one of you have been
- 19 here for a long time this afternoon. And I
- 20 hope you enjoyed what you listened to.
- MR. TAEHYO PARK: Well,
- 22 everybody is tired and I'm sure this is going
- 23 to be more of a feel-better talk than the
- other ones, hopefully.
- Well, I'm here in the capacity

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- 2 of Executive Director of the Korean American
- 3 League for Civic Action and also on behalf of
- 4 the Korean Voter -- Korean American Voters
- 5 Council and also we're in cooperation with the
- 6 Young Korean American Service and Education
- 7 Center, which we will talk separately later
- 8 on, as well and also with the Asian American
- 9 Legal Defense and Education Fund.
- 10 You can see there are a lot of
- 11 coalitions going on which means this is a very
- 12 important occasion.
- 13 And the reason that I said
- 14 that it will be a feel-better thing is
- 15 because we simply would like to commend your
- 16 efforts in the past.
- 17 I think the translation
- 18 materials that CFB had made in Chinese and
- 19 Korean are very, very helpful. It was useful
- 20 in aiding voters. Also it was useful I think
- 21 in creating the incentives to vote. For
- 22 example, if we take the 7 train, which is a
- 23 multi-ethnic array of people, a very special
- line, right, you see the advertisements there
- and it's in Chinese. You can see it in Korean

- 2 and people see that and then now they know
- 3 that they are included in the fabric of
- 4 society, which they are.
- 5 We have heard some arguments
- 6 against these translation materials for the --
- 7 against the necessity of this. We need to
- 8 speak about that.
- 9 I think these arguments are
- 10 primarily misguided and misleading and the
- 11 reason is, we understand the logic of saying
- 12 that society should be consisting primarily of
- 13 the language of English obviously using
- 14 English as the public official language and
- that is obviously correct, however, that's
- 16 confusing the long-term goal of educating the
- immigrants and including them into the fabric
- in the mainstream society with the immediate
- 19 needs.
- 20 And New York City, this is a
- 21 special city, this is the immigration center
- of the world, whether 1.5 -- we're the second
- 23 generation or the first generation, there are
- 24 people who speak English and people who don't.
- They're people who write and read in English

- 2 and people who don't. And there will be
- 3 voters who are in immediate need of assistance
- 4 and I think CFB's efforts fits that well.
- 5 There's really a growing
- 6 number of Asian Americans and it's a really
- 7 large mix. There are immigrant communities
- 8 that are already established in New York City
- 9 which have a large number of first generation
- 10 and a second generation already speaking
- 11 fluent English and they are already included.
- 12 However, Asians are different.
- The first generation depending
- on the age is huge, there's a huge gap in the
- 15 language ability and many of them still need a
- 16 lot of language assistance.
- So we urge you and we do
- 18 continue to recommend that you will do not
- 19 cater to these counter-arguments against the
- 20 necessity of these language translations.
- 21 Regarding that, and on that
- 22 line, I think the on-line Voters Guide, I
- 23 think it's useful. However, I think that it
- 24 could have more translated materials. The
- 25 second generation or 1.5 helping their

- 2 parents, they use a lot of online materials,
- 3 very computer savvy and that's a surer way to
- 4 reach the younger generation and get them to
- 5 educate their elderly to vote.
- 6 Also the Voters Guide, I have
- 7 it here (indicating) which is excellent,
- 8 Chinese, Korean, I think this could be
- 9 translated into several different languages as
- 10 well.
- 11 With that one I'm going to
- 12 hand it over to Mr. Chan and he had
- 13 recommendations regarding that.
- MR. BENJAMIN CHAN: My name is
- 15 Ben Chan and I'm here on behalf of the Asian
- 16 Pacific American Voters Alliance.
- We're a coalition of about 40
- 18 different Asian American community
- 19 organizations which represent Chinese, Koreans
- 20 and South Asians from all over the city.
- 21 And we would recommend that
- the Voter Guide be translated into some of the
- 23 South Asian languages especially in Jackson
- 24 Heights where we have voters speaking Hindu
- and Urdu and we think that translating the

- 2 guide into those South Asian languages would
- 3 help increase the voters' turn out and would
- 4 help encourage those citizens to come and
- 5 vote.
- 6 We were very happy to see that
- 7 the guide was translated into in Chinese and
- 8 Korean. My question would be, was there a
- 9 primary version of the Voters Guide that was
- 10 made available?
- MS. GORDON: In the districts
- 12 that had primaries, yes.
- MR. BENJAMIN CHEN: Okay,
- 14 great, great.
- 15 And was there a section for
- 16 the District Attorney candidate also?
- MS. GORDON: No.
- MR. BENJAMIN CHEN: And I
- 19 would suggest that District Attorney, that
- those candidates be included in the guide.
- 21 It's a very important election
- 22 and especially for the immigrant population
- and for those who don't speak English, that we
- 24 want people to also vote in those local
- 25 elections, District Attorney.

1 52 Thank you very much. 2 3 MR. TAEHYO PARK: And 4 obviously in the distribution of these, 5 there's the Board of Election, they've 6 expressed their trouble of allocating who 7 lives where. I mean to us it's a simple thing 8 to see. You go there and you see the people, 9 you meet the people. And that's another effort that I don't know the exact dynamics of 10 the Campaign Finance Board and how neatly the 11 12 work is separated between the Board of 13 Elections and VAC, but these -- the task is a difficult task, however the request is less 14 difficult than people think. 15 16 So I think it's important to allocate the ethnic groups, who lives where, 17 18 where the concentrated areas and properly distributing that would reduce the work 19 tremendously instead of pressing every single 20 21 material and then handing out to every single district to spend more money. 22 23 MR. BENJAMIN CHAN: I would

also urge that the Campaign Finance Board work

with the many organizations which already are

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- 2 working with these populations. We would be
- 3 more than willing to help distribute these
- 4 translated versions of those guides and we can
- 5 tell you where people come to get their
- 6 information and it would be very helpful. And
- 7 I think it would be a much more efficient way
- 8 of distributing the guides.
- 9 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay. It
- 10 would be helpful if we have data, like Jackson
- 11 Heights has a lot of people who speak
- 12 Bangladeshi or whatever it is, if we were
- 13 provided such data to us that would be useful.
- MR. BENJAMIN CHAN: Right.
- 15 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I'm just
- 16 using that as one example.
- 17 MR. CHRISTENSEN: I think it
- would also be helpful, in addition to the
- 19 data, to give some suggestions as to where the
- 20 lines should be drawn on this. I mean at what
- 21 level should we start --
- 22 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: At what
- 23 numbers.
- MR. CHRISTENSEN: Right,
- 25 because I mean there are a lot of -- there are PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 a lot of linguistic groups and do we prepare a
- 3 Voter Guide for the Bulgarian population? Or
- 4 do we prepare it for the Kerakeys (phonetic)
- 5 population? I mean obviously some lines have
- 6 to be drawn and having some thoughts from you.
- 7 I mean even within the Asian community there's
- 8 so many numerous languages, even within China
- 9 with different languages.
- 10 Which ones are really the
- 11 largest constituents and more importantly
- 12 perhaps than even population in terms of the
- 13 first generation issue. So where are there
- 14 the largest reserves of benefit who would
- 15 benefit from the guide?
- 16 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Any data
- 17 that would helpful for us.
- MS. POTASNIK: Yes. I would
- 19 just add one thing.
- I remember there was a
- 21 discussion at some meeting about some comments
- that had been raised in this area and, you
- 23 know, there's room for healthy disagreement
- 24 but there's no room for some of the offensive,
- obnoxious comments that were made by a few

- 2 people. And I can tell you this, this Board
- 3 is very clear in condemning those kinds of
- 4 statements, anything that attacks people
- 5 because of who they are is unacceptable and
- 6 nonnegotiable. So I just want you to know
- 7 that there's a clear line of demarcation.
- 8 MR. BENJAMIN CHAN: That's
- 9 very good.
- 10 MS. GORDON: Just to elaborate
- on that, because we had a specific experience
- that you're probably not aware of which was
- 13 that because in Queens in particular, some of
- 14 the Chinese and Korean guides were delivered
- 15 before the English guides got to English
- 16 speakers. And we got a complaint from some
- members of the public, some of whom, sad to
- 18 say, were extremely abusive and racist in
- 19 their comments.
- 20 And to add to the difficulty
- of the situation, it happens that a number of
- the people on our staff who deal with the
- 23 Voter Guide are Asian Americans and it was a
- 24 very unfortunate set of circumstances. It was
- 25 very painful for the people involved.

2 Sc	it'	s very	gratifying	to
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- 3 hear from you today on how much it's
- 4 appreciated because that message now can go
- 5 back to the staff people who worked extremely
- 6 hard, and this is a huge job which I'm sure
- 7 you can appreciate, and to know that their
- 8 work is useful is very important.
- 9 MR. TAEHYO PARK: Right. On
- 10 that line, you have our support. If we're
- 11 reaching out on behalf of people, these are
- 12 hard-working Americans, they're trying to
- 13 realize the American dream. They're trying to
- 14 realize the American ideal of democracy. And
- we, on behalf of them, are reaching out to you
- 16 so utilize us.
- 17 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Give you
- 18 some ideas of things you can do to help.
- MR. TAEHYO PARK: Right.
- 20 MR. POTASNIK: There's a
- 21 Korean TV channel, is there? I know when I go
- 22 through -- right?
- MR. BENJAMIN CHAN: Yes.
- 24 MR. TAEHYO PARK: I don't watch
- 25 it very much.

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2	(Laughter.)
3	MR. POTASNIK: Neither do I
4	but I'm but I notice it's there. Is that
5	helpful in any way?
6	MR. TAEHYO PARK: I think so,
7	yes, it's very helpful.
8	MS. GORDON: I think this is
9	the first time that the debates have ever been
10	broadcast in Chinese and Korean and that was

- 12 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: So thank
- 13 you both very much.

- MR. TAEHYO PARK: Thank you.
- 15 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: We
- 16 appreciate your waiting around although it's
- 17 better that you were on together.

another new experience.

- Okay. Dick Dadey.
- MR. DICK DADEY: Good
- 20 afternoon, Commissioners.
- 21 Thank you very much for this
- 22 opportunity to testify.
- I'm joined here by Doug Israel
- 24 who's the Director of Public Policy and
- 25 Advocacy for Citizens Union.

2	And	my	name	is	Dick	Dadey	and

- 3 I'm here as the Executive Director.
- 4 And there are many things on
- 5 which we'd love to make a comment, but we have
- 6 kept our comments focused here though are
- 7 rather extensive on some key issues.
- 8 And let me just start by
- 9 saying that, you know, we commend the Campaign
- 10 Finance Board for their work tackling critical
- 11 campaign finance issues and we encourage the
- Board, the City Council, the Administration
- 13 and the larger civic community to put their
- 14 heads together to come up with creative and
- sensible solutions to restore what we feel is
- 16 a, you know, an emerging critical problem, and
- 17 this is restoring competitiveness to our
- 18 elections and remove the all too apparent
- 19 conflicts of interest that exist in a system
- 20 where candidates are focused -- are forced to
- 21 work harder and harder to raise campaign
- donations.
- To restore the competitiveness
- of our elections and ensure the integrity of
- our political system, Citizens Union first and

- 2 foremost supports legislation or rules that
- 3 would address the following five major areas:
- 4 1), Enacting pay-to-play
- 5 requirements.
- 6 As we testified earlier in the
- 7 year, we believe the influence that
- 8 contractors, developers and lobbyists have
- 9 with elected officials, not only here but
- 10 throughout the country, is enhanced by the
- ability of these persons and entities to
- 12 contribute directly to a candidate's campaign
- 13 for office.
- 14 The ability to do so leads to
- 15 a less independent body of elected officials
- and erodes the integrity of government in the
- 17 course of its policy deliberations and
- 18 awarding its contracts.
- The notion, in fact, the
- 20 reality, of influence peddling by those
- 21 seeking to effect the decisions of elected and
- 22 public officials is one of the reasons that
- the general public's confidence had been
- 24 eroded in the belief that government operates
- 25 with an even hand and a blind eye.

2	Citizens Union supported the
3	effort of the Mayor and the Campaign Finance
4	Board to create a database identifying
5	contractors doing business with the City. And
6	we believe that continuing efforts to improve
7	the vendor database and disclosure and
8	transparency in this reporting should be
9	coupled now with sound legislation that aims
10	to regulate these pay-to play-contributions.
11	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Dick, did
12	you use the word legislation intentionally
13	there because, you know, I believe that's your
14	position which is ours also that this ought to
15	be done with legislation?
16	MR. DICK DADEY: That's
17	deliberate but thank you for drawing attention
18	to that.
19	While Citizens Union still
20	needs to do further deliberation to consider
21	how a restriction would be applied and to
22	whom, we believe that there should there
23	should not be an outright ban on these
24	contributions but rather a limit on how much
25	they should be allowed to contribute. And we

- 2 believe that the onus should be on the
- 3 contributor and not the candidate to comply
- 4 and report.
- 5 A possible limit on
- 6 contributions might be \$250 with a gift not
- 7 being eligible for matching funds. In the
- 8 necessary effort to limit the influence of
- 9 pay-to-play, we all need to be concerned with
- 10 not discouraging legitimate and necessary
- 11 political activity.
- 12 Number two, curbing the outlay
- of public funds to candidates facing minimal
- 14 opposition.
- 15 Establishing fair and
- 16 effective requirements aimed at curbing the
- 17 outlay of public funds to candidates facing
- 18 minimal opposition is a prudent and necessary
- 19 cost-saving provision that is borne of
- 20 previous misuse of public funds and candidates
- 21 who have taken advantage of the present
- 22 system.
- 23 While Citizens Union
- 24 recognizes that guidelines do exist and that
- 25 these triggers appear to be appropriate,

2 candidates are allowed to submit a letter to

- 3 the Campaign Finance Board to receive their
- 4 full amount, and are rarely, if ever, denied
- 5 this request. This leniency has been abused
- and needs to be addressed through corrective
- 7 legislation.
- 8 The current way of awarding
- 9 full public funds to incumbent office holders
- 10 has resulted in the unnecessary expenditure of
- 11 precious public funds and a possible eroding
- of public support for the public campaign
- 13 finance program.
- 14 It could be argued that the
- 15 practice of providing little challenged
- 16 Council Members with full public campaign
- financing amounts to nothing more than an
- incumbent protection plan. It also may have
- 19 the unintended effect of being a disincentive
- 20 to emerging challengers.
- 21 In 2001 the Campaign Finance
- 22 Program, particularly with its appropriate and
- 23 generous match of four to one allowed many
- 24 qualified candidates to compete equally when
- 25 so many open seats were available. With

- 2 strong fundraising networks in place,
- 3 incumbents running for re-election in 2003 and
- 4 2005 had a leg up over any likely challengers.
- 5 It could be argued that public
- 6 matching funds strengthened their power of
- 7 incumbency more than it helped provide
- 8 challengers access to needed financial
- 9 resources.
- 10 Instead of making elections
- 11 competitive, it also could be argued that
- 12 unfettered public matching funds for
- incumbents has the unintended effect of
- 14 creating less competitive elections.
- For sure, evaluating how
- 16 competitive a challenger can be when he or she
- is not spending or raising funds can be
- 18 difficult. But since the goal of the program
- is to level the playing field and reduce the
- 20 role that big money and special interests play
- 21 in the campaigns, it is a very difficult
- 22 stretch to justify overloading a candidate, in
- 23 most cases an incumbent, with an inordinate
- 24 amount of funds in relation to an opponent who
- 25 has spent or raised a minimal amount.

2			Whil	le maxi	imum al	loca	ation	of
3	public	funds	exists,	there	should	be	no	

- 4 inherent right to receive the full funding
- 5 regardless of opponent.
- 6 Allowing incumbents with all
- 7 the other advantages of incumbency available
- 8 to them to receive full funds when their
- 9 challengers have only raised \$10,000, in
- 10 effect serves as an insurance policy for the
- 11 better funded candidate, usually the
- 12 incumbent.
- While we understand there
- 14 could be a candidate who comes along who could
- 15 potentially win an election without spending
- or raising money, the so-called "Babe Ruth"
- 17 example, it is very unlikely, and for sure the
- 18 seldom-seen exception and not the rule.
- The threshold of how much
- 20 money an opponent raises should be increased
- 21 before allowing an incumbent to automatically
- 22 lay claim to full public matching funds.
- 23 In the cases where a simple
- letter was all that was necessary to request
- an exception, incumbent office holders may be

- 2 and should be required instead to come in
- 3 front of the Board and show exactly why they
- 4 believe they are entitled to full public
- 5 funding against an under-funded opponent.
- 6 The Board should devise
- 7 criteria by which to evaluate their claims.
- 8 Candidates showing in previous elections voter
- 9 propensity -- and such things as candidates
- 10 showing in the previous election, voter
- 11 propensity in districts, evidence of
- 12 substantial name recognition, use of polling
- data and other relevant markers may be useful.
- 14 This must be done in an
- 15 extremely careful and judicious manner because
- the Board could unnecessarily fall victim to
- 17 charges of tampering with elections if not
- 18 done carefully.
- 19 While this is a bold and risky
- 20 proposal it is one that the Board should
- 21 nonetheless consider.
- The Board should also consider
- 23 allowing smaller doses of money to be awarded
- in these circumstances, potentially reducing
- 25 the outlay to a two-to-one match when there is

- 2 a minimally-funded candidate.
- 3 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Have you
- 4 seen the proposals we made to the City Council
- 5 in 2003 which was just before you started on
- 6 this subject?
- 7 MR. DICK DADEY: Have not.
- 8 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Could
- 9 someone be sure to get Dick Dadey those '03
- 10 legislative proposals we made on this subject?
- MS. GORDON: Sure.
- MR. DICK DADEY: Are they
- 13 consistent --
- 14 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: They're
- quite consistent with what you've got there.
- MR. DICK DADEY: I'm glad to
- 17 hear that because I mean probably number two
- 18 out of all of these is the thing that we think
- is, you know, an issue that we are going to
- 20 very strongly push.
- 21 Go ahead.
- MR. DOUG ISRAEL: I'm going to
- 23 run down the three, four and five, our top,
- 24 you know, the rest of our priorities for this
- year and then we'll go through some of the

1 guestions that the Board put forward that are

- 3 not specifically on the top agenda.
- 4 The third is addressing the
- 5 disparity that exists for candidates
- 6 participating in the program who face a
- 7 well-funded or self-funded opponent.
- 8 Obviously this is one of the
- 9 bigger challenges we face here in the city
- 10 specifically for mayoral races and as well as
- 11 nationwide.
- 12 And to help ensure a more
- 13 level playing field and adhere to the
- 14 principles of fair and clean elections and
- 15 still compete with those candidates who do not
- 16 follow the guidelines set forth by the
- 17 Campaign Finance Board, the Board and the City
- 18 Council should undertake a very comprehensive
- 19 analysis of how this can be accomplished.
- 20 And we put forward a couple of
- 21 ideas here, none of them that are fully vetted
- or that we 100 percent stand by and say this
- is what needs to be done, but these are
- 24 opportunities the Board should explore.
- 25 One is creating greater

- 2 opportunities for the candidates to access
- 3 low-cost or free airtime on broadcast medium
- 4 like radio or television. And this could be
- 5 in the form of short television profiles and
- 6 equal time devoted to all candidates during
- 7 news programming, as well as newspapers,
- 8 advertisements or some type of candidate
- 9 profile on buses or trains, et cetera.
- 10 And we encourage the Board to
- 11 help access this through agreements with
- 12 affiliates, network affiliates and outlets,
- but also potentially providing media subsidies
- 14 to candidates and other program incentives
- 15 outside of an additional match.
- 16 Outside of raising it to an
- 17 eight-to-one, essentially there's some type of
- 18 media subsidy we can provide or other access.
- 19 And then along with this,
- 20 creating greater incentives for those that opt
- 21 in to the program and bonuses for those facing
- 22 high-spending non-participants.
- 23 So instead of just a financial
- 24 match of five-to-one or six-to-one,
- 25 potentially there are other matches, other

2	bonuses	that	could	qo	along	with	it	and	this

- 3 would be more air time, more access to these
- 4 media opportunities that potentially the Board
- 5 could create.
- 6 The other one is ensuring
- 7 earlier and more debates and attendance by all
- 8 participants.
- 9 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Do you have
- 10 any or your the many lawyers who work with you
- 11 have any way in which one could compel them or
- 12 make it highly embarrassing for it not to
- 13 happen?
- MR. DICK DADEY: It's actually
- 15 been the subject of discussion by some of the
- lawyers you speak about. And we've not yet
- 17 reached a conclusion that we can recommend.
- 18 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: It would be
- 19 great if there was some way.
- 20 MR. DOUG ISRAEL: I think
- 21 especially in the wake of this past mayoral
- 22 election, if there ever is pressure to
- 23 announce some kind of campaign that would be
- 24 successful I think now would be the time.
- 25 And obviously this is probably

- 2 not something the Board could do on its own,
- 3 but if you get the right forces together it's
- 4 something that we could potentially could be
- 5 successful on.
- 6 And finally under this bullet,
- 7 we, you know, at yesterday's hearing NYPIRG
- 8 brought up the idea of a flat grant. They
- 9 proposed a flat grant for candidates who are
- 10 competing against self-funded or well-funded
- 11 candidates. Again, this has not been vetted
- in front of our Board but it's an idea that we
- 13 think is worth exploring further.
- 14 They came out with a number I
- think of 20 percent, one-fifth grant which
- 16 would have amounted to about \$20 million for
- 17 Fernando Ferrer in this past election. And
- 18 had there been a candidate on another party,
- 19 that would have been a \$40 million outlay.
- 20 So we think that that number
- 21 may be a little large, but it's something that
- the Board should look further into.
- MR. DICK DADEY: You know we
- 24 are open to the idea that is providing
- 25 challengers with more public funds if

- 2 necessary given the strength of their
- 3 self-financed challengers. And that also may
- 4 take the form of allowing them to raise larger
- 5 gifts if certain benchmarks are reached by
- 6 them.
- 7 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Are you
- 8 sure that Citizens Union isn't allowing them
- 9 to reach -- I mean would you, for example,
- 10 allow someone a twenty thousand dollar
- 11 contribution from a single individual?
- MR. DICK DADEY: We haven't
- looked at specific amounts, but, you know, as
- 14 we look at how do you get a candidate without
- 15 necessarily giving them more public money,
- 16 access to greater funds against a very
- 17 well-financed person in this past election,
- 18 self-financed incumbent, I think we need to
- 19 take -- we are looking at, we haven't reached
- 20 any conclusions, but we're looking at these
- 21 options, you know.
- 22 It's not that the candidate
- 23 can start out raising, you know, 7,500 or
- 24 10,000 gifts but if, you know, with a month to
- 25 go and there's a disparity between the

2	challenger	and	the	incumbent,	between	the	two
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- 3 is so large that we feel over the --
- 4 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Are you
- 5 aware of any, you may be not, but is there any
- 6 way to compel a candidate to participate in
- 7 debates whether or not they are participating
- 8 in a campaign finance program? In other
- 9 words, can the Board of Elections require any
- 10 candidate who wants his name to be on the
- 11 ballot that it's part of that because that
- does not seem to restrict its right to free
- speech in any way and would be sort of hard?
- But it would seem to me that
- it would be one way of leveraging the campaign
- 16 finance program by having a non-participant
- 17 required to participate in the debate program.
- 18 I don't know if there's any legal strictures
- 19 on that or what.
- 20 MR. DICK DADEY: You know, but
- 21 yeah, it's a matter that we're beginning to
- look at. Is there a way in which you can
- 23 require them to participate and deny them
- 24 something in the campaign? Access to the
- 25 ballot, access to some level of visibility

- 2 during the campaign, to compel them to
- 3 participate without infringing on their free
- 4 speech right.
- 5 MR. CHRISTENSEN: It would
- 6 seem to me to be an election law kind of thing
- 7 where in order to require one to register to
- 8 be on the ballot that they would have to
- 9 acknowledge that they would available for
- 10 reasonably scheduled debates.
- 11 MR. DICK DADEY: I mean we
- 12 have not found any evidence of that anywhere
- 13 else in the country but I mean New York's
- 14 broken new ground in other ways and it's
- 15 probably worth exploring.
- MR. DOUG ISRAEL: So just
- finishing up our top five priorities here.
- The fourth one is establishing
- 19 a more stringent "war chest" restriction to
- 20 limit the transfer of funds raised in one race
- 21 for use in another.
- Now, there was a restriction
- 23 that was applied prior to this election that
- 24 required approval of the funds from the
- 25 contributor to transfer those funds.

We -- at that time we took the

3	position that candidates should only be
4	allowed to transfer the funds that were raised
5	within that election cycle. And we stand by
6	that position and believe that in order to
7	ensure competitive elections and that would
8	have credible, quality challengers stepping
9	forward, we need to limit the war chest that
10	are transferred. And you can do that by
11	eliminating it within that election cycle.
12	MR. CHRISTENSEN: Do you have a
13	position or argument that at least one
14	campaign made, that if there are going to be

16 the ones that are currently limited, you

allowances for transfer of war chests, even

- 17 cannot in a sense create barriers to entry
- 18 from non-city candidates who may choose to
- 19 take, for example, a federal election war
- 20 chest in to a city campaign?
- MR. DOUG ISRAEL: So you're
- 22 saying for people who are not participating in
- 23 the program?

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- MR. CHRISTENSEN: The Weiner
- 25 Campaign, for example. That was a big issue PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 from their perspective and they were arguing
- 3 almost like it was an anti-trust type
- 4 violation that they were -- that the City
- 5 legislation in a sense discriminated against
- 6 them because it allowed other war chests to be
- 7 -- I don't know if you've given any thought to
- 8 that.
- 9 MR. DOUG ISRAEL: I mean we
- 10 haven't looked into the legality of it and
- 11 what the legal ramifications are but for sure,
- 12 to the extent we believe possible, we will
- 13 support that.
- No matter what office you're
- 15 running for, you step into a race with four to
- 16 five million dollars against a challenger who
- 17 hasn't raised a dime yet, that's a very strong
- 18 deterrent against getting quality challengers
- 19 to step and up for office.
- 20 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Yes, I was
- 21 thinking about it also as a way of buttressing
- 22 your point that once you start making
- 23 allowances for transfers of war chests, you
- 24 create new discrimination that may have a
- 25 legal effect sort of working back against

2 them, and there's a further argument not to

- 3 allow any.
- 4 MR. DOUG ISRAEL: The fifth
- 5 point here on our priorities is the
- 6 re-examination of campaign finance rules and
- 7 enforcement to reduce the burden on
- 8 candidates.
- 9 I'm sure you're all familiar
- 10 with the complaints of candidates who run for
- office that they have with the program, et
- 12 cetera.
- 13 Let me just state there needs
- 14 to be a very comprehensive almost working
- 15 group set up amongst candidates, City Council,
- incumbents, et cetera, to really figure out
- 17 where some of these obstacles and roadblocks
- 18 could be made less burdensome for the
- 19 candidates so that we don't have it that
- 20 people are opting out or coming back and
- 21 complaining every year about the Campaign
- 22 Finance Program because we want it to be
- 23 strong and healthy and we want the candidate
- 24 to opt in and reducing those burdens and we
- 25 feel is a very important step.

2 MR. DICK DADEY: In movin	g on
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- 3 here as we just close are these last five
- 4 major points.
- 5 I just want to emphasize that
- 6 Citizens Unions, while having reached a
- 7 conclusion on some of these, has not yet
- 8 reached a conclusion on all of these on all of
- 9 them. And we really are still reviewing and
- 10 evaluating some of these issues in the hope
- 11 that we can find a more satisfying proposal to
- 12 provide you. And particularly when campaigns
- take place with self-funded candidates and you
- 14 have few opportunities to compel them to
- 15 participate and few resources or other avenues
- 16 to support candidates who, you know, are fully
- funded by the campaign finance program but are
- 18 still at a distinct disadvantage in going up
- 19 against the self-financed candidate.
- I don't think we have the
- 21 answers here yet but we're, you know, we're
- 22 looking at putting things on the table and we
- 23 should have a healthy discussion.
- 24 In terms of some of the
- 25 questions you raised specifically.

1	78
2	Question 4: Do you believe the
3	program furthered the goal of providing full
4	disclosure of candidates' campaign finances,
5	including non-participants' finances?
6	You know, we support the
7	disclosure and contribution limit requirements
8	that were implemented this past year. This
9	helps reduce the influence that big
10	contributors play in the process and provides
11	the sunshine that is necessary to ensure
12	greater integrity in our political system.
13	In fact, as is evidenced at
14	the national level, candidates and
15	contributors continue to find loopholes in the
16	system and do not hesitate to use them.
17	Question 5: Do you think the
18	Program's contribution and spending limits are
19	appropriate?
20	While we have not done a
21	thorough analysis of the effectiveness of the
22	current contribution limits, we are inclined
23	to keep the current contribution limits in
24	place and do not advocate this at the moment.
25	What is the impact of the

1	79
2	Board's website and its publication of
3	computerized campaign finance data?
4	The Campaign Finance Board's
5	website has been an extraordinarily invaluable
6	tool that has allowed our organization to
7	track campaign contributions, access key
8	election information and program requirements
9	and keep track of advisory opinions and
10	rulings.
11	Likewise, the online Voter
12	Guide is an invaluable resource and is
13	deserving of a greater public awareness
14	campaign to drive voters to the site.
15	We also recommend that the
16	online version include live links to the
17	candidates web sites themselves;
18	That the online version
19	include live links to the disclosure
20	information for each of the candidates;
21	And that the Board promote the
22	online guide more actively.
23	We suggest working with
24	organizations and other website hosts to post

such as Gotham Gazzette, to post banner ads

PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

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- 2 and links directly to the guide to make it a
- 3 more popular resource.
- 4 We also advocate a greater
- 5 public awareness campaign in relation to the
- 6 Video Voter Guide produced by VAC.
- 7 We testified yesterday and
- 8 complimented back in partnership with the
- 9 Campaign Finance Board for this very useful
- 10 and innovative tool and laid out some
- 11 additional ideas to encourage to work more
- 12 closely with other agencies and organizations
- 13 to promote the Video Voter Guide.
- 14 We think that the partnership
- 15 at hand here with the Campaign Finance Board
- 16 can be even more successful increasing
- 17 exposing for candidates running for local
- 18 office.
- 19 In terms of comments about
- 20 multiple contributions and how they should be
- 21 treated by related entities, you know, we
- share the concern of the Board and several
- others who have testified during this hearing,
- 24 that City Council Intro 564-A produces a
- 25 sizeable loophole for unions to navigate

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- 3 Campaign Finance Board. Though we had
- 4 concerns about the presumption clause of the
- 5 rules as put forward by the Board because we
- 6 felt that the presumption could have a
- 7 chilling affect on legitimate political
- 8 activity.
- 9 We nonetheless thought that
- 10 the Council Bill and strongly encouraged the
- 11 bill and urged the Mayor to veto it and for
- 12 the Council to reconsider pushing for its
- passage.
- 14 In addition to the content of
- the bill, the circumstances that lead to the
- 16 passage of this bill are troubling in many
- 17 ways. We believe rules promulgated in this
- 18 area should come from the Board after hearings
- 19 and well in advance of the 2007 elections.
- In terms of the impact of the
- 21 elected officials' use of government resources
- 22 on the campaign.
- 23 Should there be further
- 24 regulation on this activity?
- We state loud and clear that

2 t	this	past	election	cycle	that	we	believe	that
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- 3 the misuse of public funds for campaign
- 4 related activities are not to be tolerated.
- 5 We supported the extension of the blackout
- 6 period on mailings from elected officials to
- 7 90 days and believe that there should be
- 8 stricter requirements on citywide mailings
- 9 within these 90 days as well.
- 10 Do you think the program
- 11 should be extended to other offices such as
- 12 District Attorneys and judges?
- While not taking an official
- 14 position yet on whether or not the program
- should be expanded to candidates running for
- 16 District Attorney, it appears to be a logical
- 17 next step in the evolution of the program
- 18 absent any strong arguments against their
- 19 inclusion in the first place.
- 20 We do have reservations
- 21 however about expanding the program to include
- 22 judicial candidates. For sure we feel that
- judicial candidate information should be
- 24 included in the official voters guide, but
- 25 until there is a more democratic party primary

- 2 process for the selection of judicial
- 3 candidates to appear on the ballot, we cannot
- 4 support giving public dollars to the nominees
- 5 that are hand-picked by the political parties.
- 6 We advocate for a merit-based system of
- 7 judicial election.
- 8 And that concludes our formal
- 9 remarks
- 10 MR. RECHTSCHAFFEN: Can I ask
- 11 a question?
- 12 Am I the only person that
- 13 thinks there is a problem with candidates who
- 14 have computers and stuff left over in
- 15 elections because nobody else seems to think
- 16 this is a problem?
- 17 Have you looked at this at
- 18 all?
- 19 MR. DICK DADEY: Well, I think
- 20 --
- 21 MR. RECHTSCHAFFEN: You know,
- 22 somebody goes out and buys a wide screen
- 23 television.
- MR. DICK DADEY: Yes, we do
- 25 have a problem with that.

- 2 MR. RECHTSCHAFFEN: You do.
- 3 Because you didn't mention it and every time I
- 4 bring it up somebody says it's not a problem
- 5 so I think somebody else has a problem with
- 6 it.
- 7 MR. DICK DADEY: As long as
- 8 they make it available to the candidates
- 9 running next year I don't see a problem with
- 10 purchasing these things.
- MR. RECHTSCHAFFEN: That's
- 12 what I think we should do, we should have a
- 13 storehouse for all these, give it to
- 14 candidates next year.
- MR. DICK DADEY: But I think
- that in, you know, the fact that incumbents
- can qualify for full public matching funds by
- 18 virtue of simply sending in a letter
- 19 encourages the wild buying sprees or such
- 20 things. And if the Council passed legislation
- and the Board promulgated rules that tightened
- the amount of public matching funds available
- 23 to candidates, I think you would see that less
- of a problem because then they would have the
- opportunity to, you know, need to spend it on

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- 3 MR. DOUG ISRAEL: And I think
- 4 to the degree it's possible where it's really
- 5 egregious is when it happens, you know, three
- 6 weeks before an election and the candidate has
- 7 a clear path to victory and they're just
- 8 spending the remainder of their money.
- 9 I think to the degree that the
- 10 Board or the City Council can promote rules
- 11 that have deadlines in there for the
- 12 expenditures for those kinds of hardware and
- infrastructure, that might be something that
- 14 could be looked at.
- We know even in our office,
- 16 getting rid of our computer equipment is the
- 17 hardest thing to do these days. No one seems
- 18 to want to take them.
- MR. CHRISTENSEN: Obsolescence
- is very fair.
- 21 MS. PATTERSON: Every nine
- 22 months.
- 23 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Other
- 24 questions?
- MR. POTASNIK: No.

86 1 2 MR. DICK DADEY: Thank you very 3 much. 4 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Thank you. 5 Okay. Mr. de Blasio. 6 MR. De BLASIO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 8 Good afternoon to everyone on 9 the Board and good afternoon, Nicole. 10 I was just commenting that Dick Dadey, that as I listened I found myself 11 12 agreeing with a substantial amount of his 13 testimony so I must immediately amend my testimony and reverse myself. 14 15 Let me thank you for this 16 opportunity to be here. 17 I just want to state at the outset a couple of points I think we probably 18 19 all agree. 20 Obviously this is, you know,

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the model campaign finance system for the

think it's been built over the last two

decades in a very positive and systemic

country certainly at the municipal level. I

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24

25

fashion.

2	Ι	would	always	be	the	first	to

- 3 remind everyone that, you know, we, at the
- 4 City Council take particular pride in having
- 5 been the driving force on that effort and
- 6 we'll continue to be, including in taking many
- 7 actions along the way that not only protect
- 8 but to strengthen I think the actions taken
- 9 last year to add to the matching funds and in
- 10 certain instances was a very important step in
- 11 that direction.
- 12 I speak to you today as an
- 13 elected official, someone who's been a
- 14 candidate, as someone who was a campaign
- 15 manager and campaign worker in different
- levels. I've seen how different systems work
- and even bringing all those perspectives to
- 18 the table, I come out of all the composite
- 19 opinion of absolute and total support for this
- 20 system.
- 21 I believe it has to be
- 22 protected. I think these hearings are an
- 23 important part of continually examining,
- 24 renewing and improving and protecting the
- 25 system.

- I think what we saw in this
- 3 last cycle and we're not just seeing it in New
- 4 York City but everywhere, is the rise of
- 5 self-funded candidacies on a level I don't
- 6 think we ever could have predicted, not only
- 7 in terms of the number but the extent.
- 8 I remember having that
- 9 experience working with Peter Vallone on his
- 10 staff at the City Council in 1997. And as
- 11 people will remember, he was preparing to run
- 12 for Governor at that point.
- 13 I remember one day in the fall
- of 1997 someone who happened to be working for
- 15 him on the political side of his operation
- 16 mentioned that he had raised some amount of
- money, I think it was two or three million
- 18 dollars. And they mentioned at the same point in
- 19 1993 Mario Cuomo had raised a similar amount
- and wasn't that a good sign.
- 21 And I look back with a certain
- 22 nostalgia at the idea that once upon a time
- 23 two or three million dollars meant something
- 24 in American politics and then I realized it was
- 25 just a decade ago.

- 2 The instance we just had in
- 3 our city, what we saw in New Jersey which is
- 4 something unfortunately I believe we're going
- 5 to see more often, two self-funded candidates,
- 6 each party putting forward a self-funded
- 7 candidate.
- 8 That will fundamentally change
- 9 the nature of American democracy and I can't
- 10 say for the better. So I think what we're all
- 11 facing here and everywhere in this county, a
- 12 new challenge I think. I am not a lawyer, I
- don't -- as a non-lawyer I can't pretend to
- 14 understand how difficult it would be to
- 15 reinterpret Buckley versus Valeo but I think
- 16 we should keep trying.
- 17 And I'll just say at the
- 18 outset, I think we need to look at every
- 19 conceivable option whether it is exploring
- 20 nationally on the state level or locally, the
- 21 public financing on a broader level. I'm not
- 22 talking about matching funds, I'm talking
- 23 about, you know, fuller examples of public
- 24 financing. Again, any kind of legal action
- 25 that might change the understanding that will

- 2 come out of Buckley versus Valeo.
- 3 Public air time options, I
- 4 think what Dick mentioned in his testimony was
- 5 a start. I think we have to look more deeper
- 6 than that. I know every bit of this is
- 7 difficult, but I think from the FCC level on
- 8 down, we have to ask ourselves this question,
- 9 if European countries offer their established
- 10 political parties substantial amounts of air
- 11 time during prime hours in the weeks before an
- 12 election, is that not something we can look
- 13 at?
- 14 It may not fit with the
- 15 typical history of American politics, but what
- 16 I think is happening in the last few years has
- taken us to a place we've never seen before
- 18 and we have to look at all our options.
- 19 And I also want to commend the
- 20 ideas that NYPIRG and Citizens Union put
- 21 forward that if we're facing self-funded
- 22 candidacies that reach past the maximum level
- of expenditures allowable under your rules, we
- 24 have to look at every option whether it's
- 25 lifting the traditional city limits and going

- 2 to state limits or other types of limits, or
- 3 whether it is providing a much more
- 4 substantial match.
- 5 Obviously I respect anyone who
- 6 happens to have their own resources, and they
- 7 should be allowed to spend them up until the
- 8 total allowable expenditure level for each
- 9 appropriate office and not beyond. And if
- 10 they did go beyond there has to be a
- 11 consequence and it has to be much more
- 12 substantial than the ones we have up to now.
- I do believe, I agree, I think
- 14 with a lot of what the other testimony has
- mentioned about the key issues that we face
- 16 going forward. And I think we have to bring
- 17 everyone to the table to solve this as
- 18 positive -- obviously your hearings represent
- 19 the beginning of that process.
- 20 In addition to the problems
- 21 caused by self-funded candidates, I think we
- 22 have a real concern that we must overcome on
- 23 the question of the use of public matching
- 24 funds for candidates who really do not have
- 25 competitive races.

2	And I think we have to work
3	together on the question of the day-to-day
4	ability of any candidate or any campaign to
5	respond to the paperwork requirements and the
6	other requirements of the compliance process,
7	something that I think is absolutely necessary
8	but always has to be reexamined, considered in
9	a customer-friendly matter, if you will.
10	I think it's difficult for
11	anybody, even with the best personnel to keep
12	up with some of the requirements. I think
13	it's particularly difficult for the people
14	that I believe we all think most need to
15	benefit here who are the insurgent and less
16	less-resourced candidate.
17	So I just want to watch out, I
18	think everyone in this room is working in good
19	faith here, I want to watch out for the catch
20	22 where the people we might ideally want to
21	help the most who have the hardest time
22	navigating the system.
23	I think we understand, all the
24	stakeholders understand we have to come
25	together and work on all these issues and find

- 2 a broad set of solutions in a positive way.
- I've urged publicly and I'll
- 4 urge it again, that we convene in a
- 5 cooperative fashion, some kind of working
- 6 group or task force which would have public
- 7 meetings over the coming months for whatever
- 8 time frame we thought appropriate, six months,
- 9 a year, whatever we thought appropriate to
- 10 have a thorough review of a wide range of
- 11 issues. I think by definition it should
- include CFB Board members, it should include
- 13 elected officials, folks from the Mayoralty,
- 14 folks from the business community, labor
- 15 community, the good government groups. I think
- 16 the whole range of individuals who are
- 17 stakeholders and are involved, and ideally
- 18 choosing members who bring broad experience
- 19 and some objectivity and openness.
- I believe personally we can
- 21 come up with a solution on the question of not
- 22 funding people in non-competitive races. I
- 23 have my own personal bias. I think we can find
- 24 a numerical system based on obvious factors
- 25 such as level of contributions, level of

2 petitioning signatures, types of endorsem	4	citioning	signatures,	Lypes	OI	endorsellen
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- 3 or number or type of endorsement and
- 4 historical factual factors that would
- 5 determine whether a candidate were viable
- 6 enough to cause there to be a close election
- 7 that would require, you know, the full match
- 8 or maybe some, you know, more clear sliding
- 9 scale understanding of what level of viability
- 10 gets you a full match which is a lesser match.
- 11 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Did you
- 12 have a chance to focus on the proposals that
- we made in '03, on '03 or '04 on that subject?
- MR. de BLASIO: No, I do not
- 15 know them.
- 16 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Your
- 17 colleague Oliver Koppell also didn't and let's
- 18 just -- as we are going to send to Oliver,
- 19 let's send to Bill de Blasio, the ideas that
- we had on this.
- 21 MR. de BLASIO: That will be
- 22 very helpful.
- 23 And I will say that I think
- 24 the more numerical and objective and
- 25 transparent, the more everyone and I'm

- 2 speaking now in the position of a City Council
- 3 member with fifty colleagues, I think any one
- 4 of us that could embrace and defend this to
- 5 every other one of us as long as there was a
- 6 common standard that everyone could understand
- 7 that it come out of a broader process.
- 8 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I mean as
- 9 Commissioner Christensen had said and as a
- 10 witness earlier today said, it may have been
- 11 Dick Dadey, that's the one thing that could
- 12 really erode public confidence in this system
- if we don't collegially plan to solve that.
- 14 MR. de BLASIO: I agree. I
- 15 agree. I think -- I agree with you, the
- 16 public needs to know every dollar that was
- 17 spent wisely and, in fact, I think you can
- 18 build an argument for larger expenditure where
- 19 necessary, for example, in response to a
- 20 self-funded candidacy if there was a sense
- 21 that the other dollars were being used
- 22 carefully and wisely.
- 23 So that's another area where I
- 24 think we can come up with a straightforward
- 25 solution. I think a little thorny but vital

- 2 area, something I used by -- I used the phrase
- 3 inexactly, I used the phrase "bundling
- 4 limits," I think an area that needs to
- 5 explored in this type of transparent collegial
- 6 dynamic would be can we create a common
- 7 standard of limit, a common maximum by which
- 8 any individual could participate and amassing
- 9 support for a particular candidate. I think
- 10 we've talked about this and I don't want to
- 11 rehash any of our recent history. I think a
- 12 simple forward-looking point would be that
- we've all agreed there are some troubling
- 14 trends we see at law firms or real estate
- 15 firms that make it very easy for a large
- 16 amount of contributions to be put together at
- 17 the behest of an individual.
- 18 I think we should be
- 19 addressing that and every other sector
- 20 simultaneously and so we can see again if
- 21 there is a common and transparent standard. I
- don't understand for the life of me the legal
- 23 ramifications so I don't mean to be facile
- 24 here. But I think we've been able to limit
- 25 contribution expenditures, there should be a

- 2 way to limit bundling too. And I think if it
- 3 were universal it would find acceptance.
- I just think that's most of
- 5 what I want to say. I would also urge and I
- 6 know -- I know every bit of the work here is
- 7 painstaking and complex and no one would ever
- 8 deny that. I think the more we're able to
- 9 create a dynamic on decisions on matching
- 10 funds that are valid, validly needed and on
- 11 audits, the more we can create a dynamic where
- 12 those are done on a speedier fashion, with
- 13 certainly clear deadlines, the better off we
- 14 will be.
- I think it's very, very
- important to recognize that if a candidate,
- whether incumbent or insurgent is trying
- 18 legitimately, conscientiously to answer the
- 19 concerns and live by the rules and then is
- 20 told that matching funds cannot be available
- 21 until certain questions are answered, at least
- 22 I think there needs to be a clear
- 23 understanding that that will happen in real
- 24 time, in a quick time frame.
- 25 I've heard candidates say to PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 me who I thought were conscientious that they
- 3 were trying and they were running out of time,
- 4 they were trying to answer the questions and
- 5 it was drawn out to the point that it was
- 6 starting to have strategic ramifications, that
- 7 even if they were proven to be entirely in the
- 8 right, any disbursement would occur too late
- 9 to effect their election in the manner that
- 10 they were trying to do so.
- I think that's something no
- one intends to do. We have to figure out what
- 13 will allow us to not fall in to that kind of
- 14 dynamic.
- In conclusion, you know, I
- 16 can't say strongly enough how much we have to
- do everything to make this program permanent
- and strong to continue to help it grow and be
- 19 stronger with the times. I don't think anyone
- 20 here wants to see a static dynamic time, we
- 21 understand that the times are changing around
- us, in some ways there are dangers that we
- 23 have to address more than ever.
- We have an opening now because
- 25 most of the activity we're discussing of

- 2 course, will not occur until 2009, but there
- 3 may always be special elections. We, at the
- 4 Council know that one of our colleagues has
- 5 talked about rather openly about the
- 6 possibility they might create a special
- 7 election quite soon but in the main, the work
- 8 we do now looking ahead and I certainly think
- 9 by some consensus whether we decide on some
- 10 kind of process in six months, a year,
- 11 whatever it may take, I think we have a good
- opening, a good opportunity and moment to do
- 13 that.
- 14 And I am very personally
- 15 committed to that. I think a lot of my
- 16 colleagues would share that commitment.
- 17 And, you know, all I can say
- is from my perspective as an individual on the
- 19 Council, I think we think some kind of -- some
- 20 kind of body that would be public and
- 21 transparent to have that discussion will be
- 22 particularly helpful. I know, again, this is
- 23 part of how the Board has historically done
- 24 it. I think this is transparent and helpful
- 25 too. But I would urge that for this

- 2 particular moment going forward.
- 3 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I know I
- 4 had one question but Joe, do you have a
- 5 question?
- 6 MR. POTASNIK: I want to talk
- 7 about the single source, is that where you're
- 8 going?
- 9 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: It's not --
- MS. POTASNIK: No, I know, I
- 11 heard much discussion about removing unfair
- 12 advantages. I'm just wondering if you can
- 13 explain how the new legislation with single
- 14 source addresses the removing of unfair
- 15 advantages?
- MR. de BLASIO: Well, you
- 17 know, I don't think there's anyone wants to,
- in great detail rehash the debate we've had
- 19 now for most of the year.
- 20 I'll just tell you a simple
- 21 answer in my view.
- I've always felt that someone
- 23 who, again, lived in this system in different
- 24 ways, that we put forward some very clear
- 25 restrictions in that legislation. I think any PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

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2	entity	covered	bv	that	legislation	has	to	abide	

- 3 by those restrictions. If they violate even
- 4 one, it's evident and immediate and obvious
- 5 what the consequences are.
- 6 I think beyond that it creates
- 7 a further atmosphere of examination or
- 8 scrutiny that is helpful. I think this whole
- 9 debate last year has been helpful and I don't
- think for people who have been a part of it 10
- have failed to take notice of it. 11
- 12 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Other
- 13 questions?
- I just have one. 14
- Go ahead. 15
- 16 MS. GORDON: I just wanted to
- 17 ask you to think about a topic that's come up
- before today and that's the question of, you 18
- know, what candidates do or don't know about 19
- the program and its complexity. 20
- 21 One thing that we have found
- is that candidates never come to the candidate 22
- training sessions, they send their staff. 23
- 24 MR. de BLASIO: Yes.
- 25 MS. GORDON: And actually I

- 2 think a fair-minded person who looked at the
- 3 materials that we provide, the one-on-one
- 4 help, the sessions, all the stuff we have to
- 5 say that we are at the very top, if not --
- 6 well, the very top of any service that any
- 7 city agency gives to its clientele in terms of
- 8 hand-holding and instruction.
- 9 And, in fact, I should also
- 10 mention that we don't hear, by and large,
- 11 nearly as many problems from insurgents as we
- do from established candidates. It's much the
- other way.
- 14 And I wonder whether you have
- any ideas about how we could engage the
- 16 candidates a little more directly because I
- 17 personally believe that sometimes they are
- 18 not, in fact, aware of what the program is,
- 19 what its requirements are, what kind of
- 20 assistance they get because I think they get
- 21 it second-hand and I think they get it only
- when there's a problem so they don't maybe
- 23 know the full dimensions of the help that's
- 24 available or actually what some of the very
- 25 black and white issues are.

2				And	so	Τ	just	wonae	er,	you
3	know,	in	Los	Angeles,	Ca	and	lidate	s are	e r	equired

- 4 to attend the training sessions as a condition
- 5 of their participation in the program. There
- 6 are other jurisdictions where candidates are
- 7 required to sign disclosure statements.
- 8 I know internally here we
- 9 always thought that certainly a second
- 10 statement would be awfully difficult for
- 11 certainly major candidates to be prepared to
- 12 sign those documents and so on.
- 13 But I wonder short of those
- 14 things, whether you have any ideas about
- 15 engaging people personally to take a look at
- 16 what's going on and maybe learn more about it
- in advance so that when issues do come up, if
- they come up, the temperature is not high?
- MR. de BLASIO: Well, again,
- 20 it's a very good point. I'd be the first to
- 21 say I think it's true that most of us do not
- 22 take advantage of the opportunity to go
- 23 directly to the training. I think that's
- 24 probably a mistake.
- I would also say that I think

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- 2 one thing we can do at the Council is to
- 3 sponsor, in a sense, directly the opportunity
- 4 for folks to come in and have it be at the
- 5 Council or, you know, make it particularly
- 6 conducive and consistent with people's work.
- 7 If you did a training on the
- 8 day of a stated Council meeting before or
- 9 after the meeting would be the highest
- 10 likelihood that most people would be there. I
- 11 think that is something we can jointly put
- 12 together, that's one example.
- MS. GORDON: Well, if you can
- 14 help us on that. I mean we have actually done
- 15 exactly those things, we have rented -- we
- 16 said can we have a room within the Council on
- such and such a day and then nobody shows up.
- 18 It's really a tough sell for us to get people
- 19 personally engaged.
- 20 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Let's
- 21 assume starting in January 1st there will be a
- 22 new day and we --
- MR. de BLASIO: Everything
- 24 will be possible. And I think that's part of
- 25 it and I think the point about possibly being

- 2 there for it I think is something worth
- 3 discussing.
- 4 But I think beyond that, my
- 5 only point would be, I've spent a lot of time
- 6 with my staff, with my compliance person, with
- 7 my lawyer talking about a number of issues
- 8 that come up over the last four years and I
- 9 was trying in real good faith, real
- 10 professionals, people who figure stuff out, I
- 11 agree with you, there's a lot of hand-holding
- 12 and a lot of support that your staff provides.
- I think you're different than
- 14 other government agencies in the sense that
- 15 your role is so directly involved in the
- 16 political system, it adds layers of complexity
- 17 and actually of sensitivity and the impact
- that often doesn't occur with a 311 call,
- 19 though, if ever, so I think unfortunately it
- 20 requires a tremendous level of customer
- 21 service and nuance.
- 22 But I think my simple argument
- 23 would be perhaps we can get to a somewhat more
- 24 -- something more of a written system.
- What I found, I heard at least PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 from the folks on my team was that the
- 3 instructions that they heard back were often
- 4 hard to follow in specific or they get one
- 5 answer at one point and get a somewhat
- 6 different answer at another point. And it
- 7 could have been them, I'm the first to say
- 8 we're all humans.
- 9 I think the more we can codify
- 10 the day-to-day practice of custom, if you
- 11 will, the what to do in this situation or that
- 12 scenario type of information, I'm sure a lot
- of that exists, but I would also say to you as
- 14 a public servant speaking for a public
- servant, there are a number of people still
- 16 experiencing some kinds of difficulty and that
- 17 suggests there's something still to be fixed.
- 18 It's not a matter of -- it's not people --
- 19 lack of effort on people's part. It's not
- 20 lack of intelligence or content, it's
- 21 something is missing here, some disconnect is
- occurring, and I think we could continue to
- 23 explore how to bridge that.
- MR. CHRISTENSEN: I just want
- 25 to add a couple of points.

2	I'n	m extremely	<i>appreciative</i>	of

- 3 the fact that you've indicated that you're
- 4 ready to take up this less competitive race
- 5 issue.
- 6 MR. de BLASIO: Yes.
- 7 MR. CHRISTENSEN: Because we've
- 8 been, you know, trying to raise that. We've
- 9 seen that as a real problem in the program for
- 10 a long time and I really appreciate that.
- The second thing I was going
- 12 to say, I raised in connection with the
- 13 self-funded candidate issue with Citizens
- 14 Union, and maybe the Council can look at this
- issue as well, I mean one of the things
- disappointing to me is you not only have a
- 17 self-funded candidate but one who can choose
- 18 not to participate in public debates.
- 19 It would seem to me that we
- 20 have Buckley and it does not prohibit a
- 21 requirement that mandated a candidate for any
- office to be required to be available for
- 23 public debates of the Campaign Finance
- 24 Program.
- 25 And I think that would be, you PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 know, if that can be passed legislatively, I
- don't know whether, you know, whether it's a
- 4 state law issue or city law issue, it's not
- 5 clear to me, but I think that's a very, you
- 6 know, one small step to try to correct some of
- 7 the imbalance created by that.
- 8 MR. de BLASIO: I would
- 9 embrace that and I would add that I think that
- 10 -- I think all these ideas, there's been a lot
- of people feeling at the same time, I would
- 12 add it could be a trigger so failure to
- participate in the debate will be another
- 14 legitimate trigger for further activity to
- 15 compensate the other candidates.
- 16 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I think
- 17 that's an interesting idea.
- I want to ask -- I think
- 19 that's a very interesting idea.
- The one thought that I had,
- 21 when you mentioned going up in response to the
- 22 self-funded candidates to the state law
- 23 limits, I mean we have the Campaign Finance
- 24 Law because this city was rife with the
- 25 appearance of corruption from real estate

- 2 people giving those large gifts to candidates
- 3 running for city office, including some very
- 4 fine candidates running for city office, but
- 5 it stank.
- 6 And I think from speaking
- 7 personally, the idea of going to that level
- 8 without legislation that says that people
- 9 doing business with the City or seeking to do
- 10 business with the City in a meaningful sense,
- 11 cannot contribute would be a terrible mistake.
- 12 So maybe if the two matters
- are joined together we get a win/win all
- 14 around. To go back to the state system, that
- stank and we really shouldn't do that no
- 16 matter what the exigency is.
- 17 MR. de BLASIO: I appreciate
- and respect that but I don't think any of us
- 19 would think that even a single instance of the
- 20 state system is something we should take too
- 21 lightly.
- 22 And I think the second item to
- 23 connect the two is going to become quite
- 24 significant so I would just say, I feel as one
- 25 public servant, more comfort with the idea of

- 2 an increased match than I do with the option
- 3 of going to the state system. The question
- 4 gets back to the previous, what would be the
- 5 public faith in that? I think if we are able
- 6 to continue to make sure the public is
- 7 convinced that every dollar is well spent in
- 8 the program, and that's the predicate, but I
- 9 do believe the public is quickly gaining
- 10 weariness of the self-funded dynamic.
- I think, again, I'll defer to
- 12 New Jersey which was a different moment in
- 13 history than what we experienced here, I think
- 14 the level of negative advertising profoundly
- 15 troubled the public and it could not and would
- 16 not have happened had it not been for the two
- 17 self-funded candidates.
- 18 So I guess I would argue, I
- 19 think we hindered on this point, the first
- 20 examination should be for an increased match
- 21 or certain system by which if certain limits
- 22 are hit or surpassed, then additional match
- 23 occurs in some form or fashion, maybe the
- 24 NYPIRG type proposal.
- 25 I believe in the final

- 2 analysis the public will see that as a matter
- 3 of fairness. A \$50 billion budget, I don't
- 4 think it would be considered impossible for
- 5 the public imagination to embrace.
- 6 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: You know,
- 7 stepping away from this dialogue we've had,
- 8 what's interesting about it is the issues
- 9 ultimately, all of the issues should be
- 10 considered because if we can solve money going
- 11 to people who demonstratively do not need it
- on some activity, that helps in persuading the
- 13 public that more money could go into the fund
- 14 to a substantive condition so it should be a
- 15 package.
- So thank you very much.
- 17 MR. de BLASIO: Thank you.
- 18 Thank you for your time. I appreciate it.
- 19 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I'm going
- 20 to just check on whether he have that
- 21 agreement or we need to do a deliberation.
- 22 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: So now, is
- 23 Mr. Shin here?
- So thank you. You've been
- 25 very patient, we appreciate it.

- 2 MR. DON SHIN: My name is Don
- 3 Shin. I'm from the Young Korean American
- 4 Service and Education Center.
- We're a community
- 6 organization that assists Korean Americans
- 7 here in New York City.
- 8 One of our major initiatives
- 9 is to increase citizen participation in their
- 10 community.
- 11 So I thank you for having this
- 12 hearing.
- 13 First I wanted to start off by
- 14 thanking and commend -- so I'd like to commend
- 15 the Board for the translated Voter Guides.
- 16 They were very helpful for immigrant
- 17 communities in general and for our community
- 18 in particular.
- 19 Thank you for the distribution
- of the Voter Guides as well, and the election
- 21 district with concentrated populations.
- 22 And I just wanted to just
- 23 encourage the Board to continue in their
- 24 efforts.
- Just as a quick estimate, on PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 our estimate, 70 percent of our community is
- 3 limited-English proficient, but that doesn't
- 4 --that doesn't deter them from the civic
- 5 process at all. In fact, I had the privilege
- 6 of volunteering at a poll site this past
- 7 November 8th and many of the people that came
- 8 and voted were elderly and did not speak
- 9 English well, but they were so eager to
- 10 participate to vote.
- 11 They told me that they voted
- 12 every year and that they just enjoy being part
- of a process. But I feel like our
- 14 organization feels that the translated Vote
- 15 Guides allow them to take part in the process
- 16 for new citizens or elderly people who don't
- 17 speak English very well so that we believe
- 18 that the translated Voter Guides are crucial
- 19 to the integrity of democracy.
- 20 On that note I just want to
- 21 urge, I work with Mr. Chan and Mr. Park and
- 22 Mr. Chan who testified here earlier this
- 23 afternoon, I just want to urge, along with
- them to urge the Board to expand the
- 25 distribution of the translated Voter Guides

- 2 and to expand the Voter Guides to other
- 3 languages as well.
- 4 Just as far as I can say, we
- 5 concentrate and we work heavily in the Korean
- 6 American community. We actually have a voter
- 7 database published in the Korean American
- 8 registered voters in New York City. And we
- 9 had it broken down by borough and as well as
- 10 by election district. And those are -- that
- is information that we can share with the
- 12 Board.
- We believe that these Voter
- 14 Guides are not -- are very crucial and for
- what's going on right now and in the future,
- 16 that further distribution, increased
- distribution in other boroughs and other
- 18 election districts is crucial to continuing to
- 19 improve the democratic process in our city.
- Thank you very much.
- 21 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Thank you.
- MS. GORDON: If you haven't
- 23 already been in touch directly with Elizabeth
- 24 Upp, who is in charge of our Voter Guide, I
- 25 hope you can make her acquaintance and become

1 115 a regular contact for us. 2 3 MR. DON SHIN: Great. 4 Thank you very much. 5 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay. 6 Thanks. 7 Is Mr. Meng here? Oh, Sandra 8 Ung. 9 MS. SANDRA UNG: Good 10 afternoon Board members. My name is Sandra Ung, U-N-G. 11 12 I'm here on behalf of Assemblyman Jimmy Meng 13 who's representative of District 22. I have a brief statement to 14 make on his behalf. 15 16 The reality is that non-English proficient speakers are on the 17 rise in New York City. I represent a district 18 which is comprised of several groups of 19 non-proficient English speakers. 20 As citizens of the United 21 States these people have the right to vote and 22

they should be equipped with information

regarding the candidates and their right as

voters so that they can participate in one of

PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

23

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- 2 most important basic civic duties, voting.
- 3 As an elected public official
- 4 I recognize I among other public officials, I
- 5 have to protect everyone's right to vote
- 6 pursuant to state and federal laws.
- 7 The Voters Guide should be in
- 8 different languages, languages that are and
- 9 should be representative of the New York City
- 10 population if we comply and make sure that
- immigrants of this state will participate in
- one of the most significant activities in
- 13 their civic lives.
- 14 Thank you.
- 15 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: So Nicole,
- 16 don't you have a question?
- MS. GORDON: Sure.
- 18 Again, Elizabeth Upp is here
- 19 and I hope you'll make a direct contact with
- 20 her.
- 21 Did you, by chance, did you
- 22 actually get response from people? Did you
- 23 speak to members of the community who
- 24 commented on the guide?
- MS. SANDRA UNG: Certainly

- 2 members of the community are happy that they
- 3 did receive the Voter Guide in different
- 4 languages and that did help their process of
- 5 voting.
- 6 MS. GORDON: And the one thing
- 7 I'm interested in is that I haven't heard and
- 8 I hope there aren't any, but I'm surprised and
- 9 delighted that, you know, we found that, you
- 10 know, the Korean guide is completely new,
- 11 pretty much new, but over the years we found
- that getting Spanish translation and then
- 13 Chinese translation we have to be sensitive
- 14 not just to the literal translations, but also
- to political and geographical differences
- 16 among different constituencies. And I'm
- 17 always pleased when people are pleased with
- 18 the translation because it's very hard to
- 19 sometimes to get the balance.
- 20 And I didn't know whether your
- 21 expertise extends to translation or whether
- 22 you heard any comments on the translation, but
- 23 in particular in Korean which we had the least
- 24 experience with.
- I was wondering whether you PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 had any back --
- 3 MS. SANDRA UNG: Yes, I would
- 4 be happy to get in touch with people and see
- 5 any feedback we have from the community
- 6 regarding how the translation worked out this
- 7 time.
- 8 MS. GORDON: Right, that would
- 9 be great because it would take a lot of
- 10 time --
- 11 MS. SANDRA UNG: We definitely
- 12 appreciate that you recognize the difference
- 13 between the literal translation and how
- 14 sometimes things are not -- cannot be
- translated literally from other languages.
- MS. GORDON: Right. In fact,
- 17 we have a system, a quality control system, we
- 18 have two different entities that do the
- 19 translation. One to do the actual translation
- 20 and then a separate one to study it and review
- 21 it so that it's not somebody reviewing the
- 22 work of their own group because that way we
- 23 are -- feel sure that we have the right
- 24 balance and the correct translation has been
- 25 made.

1	119
2	Well, thank you so much.
3	MS. SANDRA UNG: Thank you.
4	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: You know,
5	I've been to Korea seven or eight times; were
6	you born there?
7	MS. SANDRA UNG: Oh, no,
8	actually I'm Chinese.
9	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Oh, you're
10	Chinese.
11	MS. SANDRA UNG: I'm Chinese.
12	I wasn't born here I was born in China.
13	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay. Thank
14	you.
15	MS. SANDRA UNG: Thank you.
16	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Mr. Adams.
17	MS. GORDON: Adames.
18	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Adams or
19	Adames?
20	MR. JOSE ADAMES: Adames.
21	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: My wife has
22	called me with what she says is a critical
23	question, and I will get your comments from
24	Nicole, and is it okay?
25	MS. GORDON: You want to wait?
	PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

1	120
2	MR. JOSE ADAMES: Sure.
3	MS. GORDON: I just want to say
4	that this work has been tremendously hard and
5	these are very demanding elections for us.
6	And after the election we usually experience a
7	rest. But for some reason and this year there
8	hasn't been any down turn in the work load so
9	I want to thank the staff, again and applaud
10	them for the hard work they've done and

- 13 I know personally how
- 14 frustrating a lot of the challenges we have
- 15 can be. I also wanted to comment on a couple

continue to do and the patience that they

- of things that we've heard today and who say
- that we've gotten some comments that I think,
- 18 people might misinterpret about the work of
- 19 the staff. And we also got actually a little
- 20 bit this is unusual we got a little credit
- 21 that we didn't deserve.
- 22 So I'm just going to comment
- 23 on the criticisms that I think were maybe not
- 24 as informed.

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have.

I just would not like the PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 Board members when they read this transcript
- 3 to think that because we did not respond every
- 4 time a candidate mentioned difficulties that
- 5 that meant that the difficulties were
- 6 necessarily the fault of the staff or that
- 7 they can't be corrected or that they weren't
- 8 corrected in a timely way.
- 9 I don't recall what the issue
- 10 was about dots or periods or in the computer
- 11 systems, but I know that it wasn't through
- 12 fault of anybody on the staff that we couldn't
- deal with that as quickly as we might have
- 14 liked.
- 15 A second comment, and I don't
- 16 want to say in general, you know, we know
- internally what kind of education we do and I
- 18 had hoped at some point today, Fritz to give
- 19 Erik a chance to show the Board a brief
- 20 presentation he did of Cobalt on the purpose
- of candidate training and how you go about it.
- I'm going to obviously hope
- 23 that the Board has time for that next time.
- 24 But it's only a ten-minute presentation but I
- 25 think it gives people a sense of what the

- 2 staff efforts are like.
- 3 On the side of the credit that
- 4 we don't deserve, there was some talk about
- 5 the TV, the Video Voter Guide which we did not
- 6 have anything much to do with. We did
- 7 publicize it a great deal. I know, in fact,
- 8 we're very grateful for that publicity. But
- 9 rather than interrupt every candidate every
- 10 time various things were mentioned, I sat
- 11 silently and I hope people don't take that
- 12 either as an agreement that any issue like the
- 13 periods and the computer software on the one
- 14 hand are a credit that may not be due to us
- should be, you know, assumed to be true.
- Anyhow, Fritz I was just, what
- did I call this vamping (phonetic)?
- 18 (Laughter.)
- 19 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Frankly, I
- think that has a different meaning to me,
- 21 don't think --
- MS. GORDON: I think there's a
- 23 musical term, you know, when you're waiting
- 24 and an interlude you just keep talking, but
- 25 that's not to say that --

1 123
2 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: If you look

- 2 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: If you look
- 3 it up you'll find it's not the meaning.
- 4 MS. GORDON: Well, it's got
- 5 more than one.
- 6 Anyhow, Fritz, I hope when you
- 7 get the transcript you'll read my brief little
- 8 comments.
- 9 I was really just thanking the
- 10 staff for the work that they do and
- 11 understanding that sometimes it's hard to
- 12 listen to things that are going on and not
- have a chance to respond to it. And also that
- 14 unlike other years when we've had an immediate
- fall off in workload, this year has been
- 16 uncharacteristic because we really haven't had
- 17 any rest at all and people are waiting for
- 18 that moment when they can go back to their
- 19 desk and deal with the several months of
- 20 correspondence that hasn't been dealt with
- 21 because it was urgent at the time.
- 22 Anyway, with that, maybe
- 23 Mr. Adames, thank you for your patience.
- 24 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: And then my
- 25 wife, after making an urgent request that I PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

2 call her, I called her and I get a voice mail 3 so. 4 MS. GORDON: Oh, well, women. 5 (Laughter.) 6 MR. JOSE ADAMES: Mr. 7 Chairman, I would say thank you to the Board 8 of the Campaign Finance Board and the job they 9 do. 10 If I look at it as an institution doing its job, beautiful job, very 11 12 kind the people in here. They even -- when I 13 had time and meetings, sometimes I couldn't go 14 to all the events and technology and the campaign. 15 16 And the only complaint I would 17 say about the institution working by itself, is about the Voter Guide (indicating.) 18 Beautiful magazine but I will suggest that 19 they do the statement from the candidate in 20

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MS. GORDON: Larger type.

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it in the same size.

the same letter they use for information.

They put the statement very little, it's many

people don't read. If at least they can put

1	125
2	MR. JOSE ADAMES: Huh?
3	MS. GORDON: You want larger
4	type.
5	MR. JOSE ADAMES: Yes, the
6	candidate statement is too little and the
7	information is big enough to read it so they
8	can do that.
9	As I said, marvelous magazine,
10	I think you do a marvelous job on this.
11	MS. GORDON: Thank you very
12	much.
13	MR. JOSE ADAMES: That's an
14	institution doing his job. But there's a
15	problem. This institution over change where
16	you had a link in two part, the Board of
17	Election and the Campaign Finance Board.
18	There's a big problem here.
19	I would say that bigger
20	problem of all is that the Campaign Finance
21	Board was created to help reduce the influence
22	of money. In the way that City Council create
23	the rules, they change it worse. It's not
24	that the influence of money is biggest because
25	of the influence of money is the way they put

- 2 a big threshold. Now the middle class people,
- 3 the working class people, the poor people are
- 4 not even considered as a candidate.
- I was trying to run for Mayor
- 6 and they didn't even mention my name and not
- just my name, Mr. Brodeur, other candidates
- 8 were never mentioned in any place because they
- 9 know we cannot match this threshold. They do
- 10 it for millionaires and elected officials,
- 11 that kind of money.
- 12 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: You mean
- 13 the media --
- 14 MR. JOSE ADAMES: The media
- doesn't recognize anybody that is not
- 16 millionaire or elected official because they
- 17 know we cannot match that kind of money.
- I make near to 30 thousand
- dollar, they ask me 240,000 to match. How can
- 20 I make that? Not --
- 21 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Doesn't one
- 22 need to look at that by comparison to what the
- 23 world would be like without a campaign finance
- 24 system, because without the campaign finance
- 25 system, I think it's the case relatively

- 2 speaking, a person trying for the first time
- 3 to go out and get recognition would be worse
- 4 off.
- 5 MR. JOSE ADAMES: Well, I have
- 6 run seven time for office and the second time
- 7 I applied was this one. The first time I was
- 8 not recognized because I came late, I didn't
- 9 know about the deadline. And now that I have
- 10 the deadline I was not recognized because I
- 11 couldn't even finish out the matter about my
- 12 bank statement and everything.
- I wouldn't even think most of
- 14 the businessman here doesn't even think of
- 15 giving money to non-elected officials,
- 16 candidates or non-millionaires because we not
- 17 going nowhere with that kind of threshold.
- 18 Imagine I have to work like twenty year to put
- 19 \$240,000 as a bank deposit, I cannot even
- 20 dream.
- 21 That's one of the major
- 22 problem with the Campaign Finance Board with
- 23 the new system. As you know, I'm following
- 24 the court case (indicating) but I'm including
- 25 that situation, I'm trying to get the judge to

- 2 eliminate the threshold so we can at least
- 3 have the opportunity to compete. Because this
- 4 is a beautiful, how you say, compared to the
- 5 Board of Election, this is heaven.
- 6 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Did you
- 7 fall short of the threshold?
- 8 MR. JOSE ADAMES: Excuse me?
- 9 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Did you
- 10 fall short of the threshold?
- MS. GORDON: Yes.
- MR. JOSE ADAMES: I couldn't
- even got out and not even in the --
- 14 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: How far did
- 15 you get towards the threshold?
- MR. JOSE ADAMES: No, no, not
- even dream, I can't even match.
- MS. GORDON: He was a
- 19 candidate for Mayor and he had a small
- 20 campaign in 2000.
- 21 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I see,
- 22 okay.
- 23 MR. JOSE ADAMES: I live in a
- 24 neighborhood where the most of the -- most
- 25 people work for 40 thousand dollars and under,

- 2 \$40,000 a year and the margin doesn't even
- 3 look at any one that is not an elected
- 4 official to come down.
- 5 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Actually, I
- 6 see your name everyday because it was on the
- 7 -- it's on the lamppost or something like
- 8 working --
- 9 MR. JOSE ADAMES: One of my
- 10 campaign. The campaign for poor people or
- 11 working class, we cannot go on television.
- 12 You know, can not even bring or reaching one
- 13 advertisement, take me three or four years
- just to pay one minute on television.
- 15 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay.
- MR. JOSE ADAMES: I'm filing
- 17 this complaint in court because I want to
- 18 eliminate that threshold, not just for me but
- 19 for everyone that is not a millionaire or is
- 20 not an elected official because we cannot
- 21 dream about it.
- I would say the other part of
- 23 the link is what the Board of Election has
- 24 been driven to, there's a conspiracy against
- 25 me at the Board of Election and the Campaign

- 2 Finance Board of getting -- been driven into
- 3 the conspiracy I will say involuntarily.
- 4 First, because the Mayor of
- 5 New York City collect petitions and he
- 6 submitted some illegal petitions, signatures
- 7 without name, they don't say name and
- 8 signature, you must. The Board of Election
- 9 didn't -- in the, what they call prima face
- 10 (sic) that have to eliminate that from the
- 11 very beginning and they didn't.
- 12 I submitted objection, they
- 13 blocked the objection and even to the hearing,
- 14 the call the case number five and I wasn't
- 15 number five. And then they say you cannot
- 16 talk because when we called number five you
- 17 didn't answer.
- 18 From that I follow through
- 19 court. And, again, had another problem to get
- 20 justice in court. But you have to know where
- 21 you are in the place, if you don't have
- 22 signature you're not a candidate. Supposedly
- 23 the Mayor got reelected as a candidate that
- 24 was illegal, he had no signature, not a single
- one.

- 2 He make the form for him to
- 3 run, he need signature, he didn't leave a
- 4 space for name so there were no correct
- 5 signatures, scratches you couldn't even tell
- 6 the site. And I brought that to Board of
- 7 Elect, and the Board of Election didn't even
- 8 do anything to stop it. They brought me out,
- 9 I've been brought at the Supreme Court, the
- 10 State and also in the District Court.
- 11 There is a lot to say but I
- 12 would like to ask -- the Campaign Finance have
- 13 been, I would say, very ethical institution as
- 14 far as I can see, cannot complain as far as I
- 15 can see.
- There is an ethnic in here
- 17 that you were asked to put a candidate in your
- 18 list that was not a candidate, that was the
- 19 Mayor. You were asked to include a candidate
- 20 that was not a candidate in the debates, that
- 21 was the Mayor who was not a candidate, of
- 22 course. Without my money we cannot look like
- 23 it doesn't work as the justice system because
- I cannot get lawyer. The cheapest one I find
- out asked me 25 thousand dollars, almost a

- 2 year just to start the case.
- And I filed pro se in court
- 4 but you have to understand the law is the law.
- 5 The Board of Election give this (indicating)
- 6 to everyone to follow the rule designated to
- 7 each. And they even gave out a sample for the
- 8 format where to collect the petition that said
- 9 name and signature. The Mayor wanted to do
- 10 his own format, signatures without name. I
- mean he's not a candidate because the law say,
- 12 6130 the petition have to have signatures and
- 13 name, it didn't.
- 14 And there is a lot of more
- 15 complaint about, I don't want to get into this
- 16 because I even have signature from
- 17 Westchester, signature from Nassau County, so
- 18 they run in the seat just so the Mayor's
- 19 petition. That's another complaint, I don't
- 20 want to get into that, I just wanted to tell
- 21 you you have in your list one candidate that
- 22 was illegally reelected. The Mayor is not the
- 23 Mayor.
- 24 And thinking I know that if I
- 25 say I'm the elected Mayor somebody going to

- 2 scream now but I as a Mayor, the first thing
- 3 that we have to do is to appoint somebody as a
- 4 liaison between the Campaign Finance Board and
- 5 the Board of Election because it's not the
- 6 only complaint. There so many things in the
- 7 link between the Board of Election, people
- 8 that are running that are illegal.
- 9 When I run as a Councilman, I
- 10 was legally but I was not set to be in program
- 11 because of supposedly the Board of Election
- doesn't give out too much, I don't know
- 13 exactly what is the divorce, I would say is
- 14 between the Campaign Finance Board and the
- 15 Board of Election because the Board of
- 16 Election doesn't give out that much
- information about the Campaign Finance Board.
- 18 If you don't know, let's say
- 19 somebody from Brooklyn come to run and the
- 20 Board of Election he doesn't have a friend
- 21 have experience, he might learn after that he
- 22 was running illegal because they don't say.
- 23 Have to be a liaison.
- 24 And I would say we have to
- 25 tell the Mayor, the Mayor just said in one of PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 his advertising I don't need this job, I will
- 3 tell the Mayor, please give it up because you
- 4 hurting too many people.
- 5 And next year we going to have
- 6 police officer in here, that are going to be
- 7 lower pay officer in the -- I would say public
- 8 employee pay in whole city and the nation.
- 9 They going to be making 25 thousand dollar a
- 10 year, that's amazing.
- 11 As the Mayor, the first thing
- 12 I will say, denounce that situation, it can't
- 13 be. Just the police that are getting killed
- on that street, to tell somebody work this
- bunch for police and come out with 25 thousand
- dollars a year, as the Mayor did just getting
- 17 to campaign to get the police that our offer
- 18 for the police coming in the first -- coming
- in with 25 thousand dollars, doesn't make
- 20 sense.
- 21 MS. GORDON: You might raise
- 22 some of the issues that you have with the
- 23 Board of Elections. There is a -- there are
- 24 two other places you might be interested in, I
- 25 mean maybe you know about the Voter Assistance

- 2 Commission, and also the Mayor created the
- 3 task force on the Board of Elections. And if
- 4 you have specific thoughts I'm sure they'd
- 5 be --
- 6 MR. JOSE ADAMES: I would like
- 7 to get that information.
- 8 MS. GORDON: You know what,
- 9 I'll have somebody from the staff could maybe
- 10 send you, Erik will send you addresses if you
- 11 like to get that, because other people have
- 12 asked the question a little bit about the
- 13 relationship between the Campaign Finance
- 14 Board and the Board of Elections. And there
- is not an actual relationship but we try and
- 16 work together. But as you say, it's not --
- 17 it's not --
- 18 MR. JOSE ADAMES: A link have
- 19 to be established between the two because --
- 20 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: So maybe
- 21 you can just give him that information right
- 22 now.
- 23 MR. JOSE ADAMES: I have it
- 24 here, name and New York City Campaign Finance
- 25 Board as a part of the defendant because of PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 the problem with the law, with the threshold.
- 3 But I would not like to accuse the Campaign
- 4 Finance Board as part of the conspiracy
- 5 because I know in the way I see the Campaign
- 6 Finance Board, I know you won't be doing that
- 7 kind of stuff.
- 8 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: We don't
- 9 take it personally.
- 10 MS. GORDON: And we're very
- 11 grateful for your positive comments.
- MR. JOSE ADAMES: I would say
- 13 the service -- I would have to say the service
- I receive was beautiful but at the same time I
- 15 have to say like it made me lose a little time
- 16 because I tried to get the matching fund, it
- 17 didn't help me, I couldn't get the matching
- 18 fund. Even if I do everything, if I don't
- 19 have money --
- MS. GORDON: What difference
- 21 does it make.
- Thank you.
- MR. JOSE ADAMES: Thank you.

- 24 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Erik's
- 25 right there and he's going to give that

1	137
2	information right outside.
3	MR. JOSE ADAMES: Thank you.
4	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Okay. Dan.
5	MS. GORDON: Dan Forman.
6	MR. DAN FORMAN: Hello.
7	MS. GORDON: How are you?
8	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: The
9	perpetual winner of the debate sweepstakes.
10	(Laughter.)
11	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: We should
12	have an investigation.
13	MR. DAN FORMAN: I'm only a
14	recipient, I've had a lot of great advice on
15	that. And a lot of groups. The League of
16	Women Voters helped me over there and it
17	really taught me a lot. Had a lot of good
18	help.
19	How you doing?
20	MS. GORDON: Good. How were
21	you?
22	MR. DAN FORMAN: Good.
23	MS. GORDON: Thank you for all
24	the good work your people did.

MR. DAN FORMAN: You're

PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 welcome.
- 3 MS. GORDON: It went extremely
- 4 well.
- 5 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: You know,
- 6 there was -- before you start whatever you
- 7 intend to say, there was a suggestion that if
- 8 a self-funded candidate does not attend the
- 9 debate, that self-funded candidates should get
- 10 an extra payment from the government.
- MS. GORDON: The opponent of
- 12 the self.
- 13 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: The opponent
- 14 of the self-funded should get an extra payment
- 15 from the government.
- Do you have any reaction to
- 17 that I mean?
- MR. DAN FORMAN: I think that
- 19 -- my reaction is that something needs to be
- 20 done to make sure that we can tell everybody
- 21 that -- we need to have the debates before the
- 22 public. And I think that's -- I think we have
- 23 to get creative about it and really, you know,
- 24 use the time to think --
- 25 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Even a

- 2 small payment would make clear that it's a
- 3 matter of interest to the public at large and
- 4 that the City is being cost -- is being
- 5 deprived of much needed money because a person
- 6 refused to show up for the debate. But it
- 7 happen for your debate but --
- 8 MR. DAN FORMAN: It happened
- 9 in some others and it could be worse, a person
- 10 cannot show up for any of them.
- 11 So I think it is important to
- 12 try and -- it became a real news point, I mean
- we were doing stories on that almost everyday.
- 14 But anyway, let me -- I've
- 15 never done this before.
- 16 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Well, first
- 17 you've got to swear to tell the truth, the
- 18 whole truth.
- 19 (Laughter.)
- 20 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: For the
- 21 first of our witnesses. News people, we have
- 22 to be --
- MR. DAN FORMAN: My name is Dan
- 24 Forman. I'm the Senior Vice President of News
- and the Station Manager at WNBC TV Channel 4.

2	Ι	have	to	begin	bу	saying	to

- 3 commend the professionalism of the Campaign
- 4 Finance Board: Nicole, Carole, Andrea, Tanya,
- 5 the whole staff for their courteous and
- 6 thorough organization of this whole process.
- 7 I think because they're so
- 8 comprehensive, the sponsor selection process
- 9 guaranteed the highest possible quality and
- 10 viewership to the people of New York. And I
- 11 think that that's the debate part of the
- 12 program.
- 13 And it also provided a
- 14 tremendous service with the Voter Guide which
- 15 actually I learned a lot more about through
- 16 the process and we actually enjoyed promoting
- 17 that.
- The staff was very helpful and
- 19 diligent throughout and we appreciated that
- 20 because we have a lot of moving parts in
- 21 television.
- We also appreciated their
- 23 flexibility to the degree they could based on
- the law about, you know, how we handle the
- 25 content of the debates. And I'll talk a

- 2 little more about that, it's sort of an
- 3 overview.
- 4 Again, an overview, things
- 5 that I think we can look at improving: In the
- 6 world of millionaire candidates how we can
- 7 compel them to strengthen the law which we
- 8 discussed a little bit of?
- 9 Looking at the -- in the base
- 10 side of this whether we stick with a full one
- 11 hour and some of the minor candidate in
- 12 looking and seeing how we can make that work.
- The criteria to include
- 14 candidates and just one suggestion, I think as
- we move into the digital world I think for
- the next round you're going to see web cast
- and all kinds of components like that being a
- 18 big factor. So I guess a suggestion, I
- 19 would --
- 20 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: And
- 21 therefore what?
- MR. DAN FORMAN: Well, the TV
- 23 and the computer is going to merge so I think
- 24 people, you know, part of their -- your
- 25 solicitation of your proposal should be how

- 2 are they going to get --
- MS. GORDON: Does that mean
- 4 another remote, a fourth one or something?
- 5 MR. DAN FORMAN: No. It means
- 6 they can watch this debate or pieces of it on
- 7 their cell phone or PDA.
- 8 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: So you're
- 9 saying in doing the process about thinking
- 10 about sponsors, we should be asking what their
- 11 capacity is to hook up --
- MR. DAN FORMAN: On all
- 13 different digital platforms. Channel 4 for
- 14 example, is now going to have a second and
- third channel so if you have digital cable
- 16 anywhere in the city, you know, maybe that
- debate re-runs or goes along the form on
- 18 digital platforms.
- Maybe there are shortened
- 20 nuggets of it in chunks, five minutes at a
- 21 time so it's put out over the cell phone.
- 22 Maybe the technology will be there then to
- 23 watch the whole thing.
- 24 The technology is changing at
- 25 lightening speed and I just think it's going

- 2 to be a consideration that you might want to
- 3 be looking into in the next round.
- 4 Digging down to the specifics,
- 5 we start right where you began about how we
- 6 deal with high-spending participants or part
- 7 high-spending candidates. Some kind of a law
- 8 even if it came outside the Campaign Finance
- 9 Board program that would require serious
- 10 candidates, particularly incumbents who spend
- 11 their own money to be -- to participate in at
- 12 least two debates for each part of the
- 13 election cycle, primary and general election.
- 14 Again, I realize it's outside
- 15 the purview of possibly --
- 16 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Isn't --
- 17 let me just, isn't that required for anybody
- 18 who's participating in the program?
- 19 MR. DAN FORMAN: In the
- 20 program. I'm talking about a wider election
- 21 law if that's possible to work on. We just
- think that it's important because it reduces
- 23 the manipulation to kind of --
- 24 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: From a news
- 25 person's point of view, is two -- there may be PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 other reasons for having two per primary and
- 3 two per general, but from your perspective as
- 4 a news person, is two the right number or
- 5 would you like to see three or four debates
- 6 from people for --
- 7 MR. DAN FORMAN: You know, it
- 8 feels like the right number to me over the
- 9 years. The first one sort of sets the stage
- 10 and the second one sort of weeds it out.
- In our case it was the leading
- 12 contenders. It takes a lot of preparation by
- 13 the candidates and a lot of preparation by the
- 14 stations, a lot of commotion for the TV
- 15 stations. It's a large effort and the public
- 16 I think can only take so much as well.
- I was happy to see that even
- 18 with our second debate with the polls lopsided
- 19 people tuned in.
- MS. GORDON: Well, they did.
- 21 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: What were
- 22 the statistics on that?
- MR. DAN FORMAN: I don't have
- 24 the specifics with me. I can get them but we
- 25 were surprised that as many people -- were

- were happy with it. Again, we have no
- 3 commercials in it. For us it's a public
- 4 service and an image, you know, bonus. But we
- 5 were very happy to see that people tuned in
- 6 because we want people to be informed, that's
- 7 the number one thing.
- 8 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I think
- 9 that would be, if you could give --
- 10 STAFF MEMBER: In ours
- 11 actually, I just received them yesterday
- 12 actually.
- MR. DAN FORMAN: But there
- 14 were very strong and --
- 15 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: I think
- 16 that's relevant to the discussion about the
- importance of debates.
- 18 MR. DAN FORMAN: People tuned
- in, they wanted to, you know, see what the
- 20 issues were going to be and how they were
- 21 going to be handled. Even if they know who's
- going to win they want to see how this guy's
- 23 mind work.
- 24 How often do you get a chance
- 25 really to see on broadcast, you know, the

- 2 incumbent handle various different situations?
- 3 I think it adds insight into it.
- 4 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: What time of
- 5 day was your --
- MR. DAN FORMAN: 7:00 we ended
- 7 up. It was interesting because we ended -- we
- 8 had initially proposed on Sunday morning
- 9 because Sunday morning is now a place where a
- 10 lot of public discourse happens. It ended up
- 11 for a variety of scheduling reasons and it
- 12 will probably always be that way, in
- 13 September, we had September 11th and depending
- on when it falls, this year it fell on a
- 15 Sunday and in the Marathon, the Marathon is
- 16 always the Sunday before elections, I think
- 17 generally speaking. So it's something to
- 18 keep in mind for the future.
- We had it 7:00 and, you know,
- that's an expensive time period, but we were,
- 21 you know, very happy that we did it, everybody
- 22 in our station.
- MS. GORDON: The pros and
- 24 cons, I mean include the fact that on one hand
- 25 Sunday is a good time because a lot of people

2.	are	interested	and	want.	t.o	watch.	But	on	the

- 3 other hand it's also nice if and who knows
- 4 how this is working out, if you're capturing
- 5 any audience that is not as informed and is
- 6 thereby getting a little extra because they --
- 7 MR. DAN FORMAN: Well, what I
- 8 think what was good was that one ended up --
- 9 the WABC debate ended up, even though it
- 10 wasn't a CFB debate, was on Sunday morning and
- 11 ours was during the week. And I think that
- 12 served the public well to have one on Sunday
- morning and one at 7:00. That was good.
- MS. GORDON: I have two
- 15 questions:
- 16 One has to do in just
- 17 generalities without naming any names, are you
- 18 -- and now you've been through this more than
- once and with two different networks, I'm
- 20 curious to know whether, you know, one of the
- 21 most -- one of the very important things about
- 22 the debates the Campaign Finance Board
- 23 sponsors is that candidates cannot negotiate
- 24 the format or the terms or anything.
- Were you put under pressure to PAUL BECKER, CSR, P.C.

- 2 do things in any other way than that?
- 3 MR. DAN FORMAN: At the end
- 4 there were some circumstances that came to
- 5 pass. I think, I don't know if this happened
- 6 to NY1 at all, but where the -- there were some
- 7 questions asked about the format of our debate
- 8 and whether or not that had been laid in what
- 9 we had -- we were going to do.
- 10 And we maintained and held our
- 11 ground that it was within what we had said we
- were going to do but there was a challenge to
- 13 it.
- MS. GORDON: Right, because
- one thing that would be helpful to us is we,
- 16 you know, after each election we go through
- 17 absolutely everything we did,
- 18 administratively, MOU, Voter Guide,
- 19 everything, and try to see what were the
- 20 challenges, what we can improve on and so on.
- 21 And one thing is that anything
- 22 that you experienced during this period,
- 23 including pressure from the outside or what
- 24 have you, that we can guard against for the
- 25 future either by clarity and the MOU or any

- other means, please let us know because that's
- 3 a very tough place.
- 4 MR. DAN FORMAN: I can give
- 5 you this as an -- I think, you know, the MOU
- 6 on our part and the way we proposed it, if we
- 7 had made it maybe a little bit more
- 8 all-inclusive we wouldn't of had that
- 9 situation. So I think I learned something
- 10 there about how to prepare it on our end too.
- MS. GORDON: And the other
- 12 question I have is totally unrelated to the
- debates but to local advertising, I've heard
- 14 two different versions of this and I'm curious
- whether you're able to give me the correct
- 16 information --
- 17 MR. DAN FORMAN: I'll do my
- 18 best.
- MS. GORDON: -- about law --
- 20 about the requirement that you sell
- 21 advertising at the lowest available rate to
- 22 political campaigns. It was explained to me
- 23 once that when a candidate has a lot of funds
- 24 available and can buy up a lot of time, that a
- 25 side effect of that is that it drives up

- 2 whatever the lowest rate is. And I didn't --
- 3 I wasn't sure if that made sense or not, and I
- 4 don't know whether I'm making sense to you by
- 5 repeating what was said to me, but is that
- 6 true and did that happen in this case?
- 7 MR. DAN FORMAN: I don't know
- 8 if it happened in this case and I don't know
- 9 if it even happened at all. In general it
- 10 does tighten up the market.
- MS. GORDON: And the result of
- 12 that is a higher cost per 30 seconds or it
- means the space is just not available?
- 14 MR. DAN FORMAN: It could be
- 15 both. And then there's -- they can buy it at
- 16 two rates and the lowest unit rate I think can
- 17 be moved around --
- MS. GORDON: By the demand of
- other political campaigns?
- MR. DAN FORMAN: No, no, not,
- 21 not the -- they can't be bumped out by another
- 22 political campaign, but anybody that buys at
- 23 the lowest unit rate can be moved. If you buy
- 24 at a higher rate you can't be moved.
- MS. GORDON: Oh, I see. So

- 2 what it really does is it means that you pay
- 3 the same amount but you won't get the spot
- 4 you're hoping for?
- 5 MR. DAN FORMAN: You'll get
- 6 the number of eyeballs but they may have to
- 7 move it around. If you pay a higher rate,
- 8 it's like locking in a mortgage or something,
- 9 you'll know you'll get it. The other one
- 10 you're planning.
- 11 MR. JOSE ADAMES: I would like
- 12 to give you some information about the
- debates, because I think it should be more
- 14 democratic debates. It's like a dictatorship.
- When I went to the debate at
- 16 City Hall, NY1 didn't allow me to get in
- 17 because they knew -- they said that was the
- 18 reason. They didn't allow, the elected
- 19 official tried to get in, I don't know because
- of what reason, but the worst of all is that a
- 21 reporter from 1010 Wins was not allowed in to
- 22 cover the event because was given to NY1.
- 23 That's the worst thing because the purpose of
- 24 the debates is to bring information to the
- 25 public.

- 2 How come -- that's the first
- 3 time in my life that I see news reporter being
- 4 rejected by a news reporter in covering an
- 5 event. Have to have something more clear on
- 6 the situation at City Hall.
- 7 MR. DAN FORMAN: So since I'm
- 8 not on the sales side I'm really not -- I'm
- 9 not really expert on how all that works so,
- 10 you know, I would rather get you a better
- answer on that because I'm a little shaky on
- 12 that.
- The other thing is I'd like to
- 14 address the questions that you had put out
- about we -- questions 33 through 36 so I'd
- like to take a moment to address those.
- 17 Regarding our feeling on how
- 18 to educate viewers, we actually feel that it
- 19 did. And that's what we said, we think there
- 20 was high viewership as well.
- 21 We did the utmost to publicize
- the debates and put them in prominent
- 23 positions on the air. Where we could we even
- 24 reaired some of the debates on a Sunday
- 25 morning to give them a second viewing.

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- 3 for participation in the debate, I think -- I
- 4 think it was generally effective. We even got
- 5 some interesting civic points of view like
- 6 Andrew Rasiej and some of the exposure to their
- 7 ideas. But we do have some issues with the
- 8 polls and what uses of the polls are to
- 9 determine who should be in.
- 10 We think there should be a
- 11 dedicated round of polls performed by or
- 12 sponsored by the Board or by the public
- 13 because of several reasons: The public polls
- 14 may not guarantee that you get the CFB
- 15 specifications. And this means that, you
- 16 know, they may be asking different questions
- or on a different time limit basis and that
- 18 didn't cut it, that caused us some issues as
- we were determining who would participate.
- 20 Even using multiple public
- 21 polls doesn't really work because the
- 22 questions are different. And this often leads
- 23 to a lack of clarity and what we can take away
- 24 from these bills.
- 25 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Was this a

- 2 abstract and hypothetical condition or a real
- 3 concern in --
- 4 MR. DAN FORMAN: No, this
- 5 happened. This was a real concern on a couple
- of debates both for the Mayor and for the
- 7 other offices.
- 8 In general all polls are
- 9 estimates so, you know, you have a five
- 10 percent error rate going either way. And
- 11 basically we think that most of these issues
- 12 can be addressed with the CFB commissioning
- 13 their own survey with clear public and
- 14 disclosure of polling criteria, timing and
- 15 candidates and establish and communicate well
- in advance.
- 17 But even against that
- 18 backdrop, the poll we think is the weakest of
- 19 all the elements of the weakest link in the
- 20 criteria chain which includes is there
- 21 evidence of the campaign, and the war chest,
- the monetary threshold.
- So that's one of the things
- that we would like to see happen because it
- 25 would be a poll that the public pays for and

- 2 it's a criteria so that you get what you want
- 3 and we can use that fair and square.
- 4 Another thing that was
- 5 interesting that came up, something that we
- 6 think the sponsor should pay for and we did
- 7 pay for, and we did continue to pay for is for
- 8 the paying and selecting of translators. This
- 9 was into Chinese and Korean.
- 10 And what we found going into
- 11 this was that there are different factions,
- 12 political factions in these cultures and you
- 13 want to make sure that you have people that
- 14 down the middle are doing the translating. So
- 15 that's something that we think a news
- organization is best served in doing as part
- of the sponsors.
- 18 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: In other
- 19 words, it's best for you to pick the
- 20 translator.
- 21 MR. DAN FORMAN: To pick them
- 22 and pay for them.
- 23 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: And what
- 24 happened this year?
- MR. DAN FORMAN: Well, we found

- 2 for example, in the Chinese community there
- 3 are people that are more sort of pro
- 4 government, Chinese Government and sort of
- 5 more that are a little more challenging to the
- 6 government and they might translate a little
- 7 bit differently so.
- 8 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: No, what I
- 9 meant was, this year did you pick the
- 10 translator?
- MR. DAN FORMAN: Yes, we did.
- 12 We were just seeing that that was a good
- 13 practice --
- 14 CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: You're
- 15 saying it's important.
- MR. DAN FORMAN: -- that we
- 17 saw and you probably want to retain it.
- MS. GORDON: In fact, we have
- 19 some very interesting press on this whole
- 20 issue because earlier on when there was a
- 21 question about who would, for the Chinese
- 22 community, broadcast some of the debates, we
- 23 didn't realize this until after the fact, we
- 24 didn't know that there was one --
- MR. DAN FORMAN: There's a

- 2 couple of different groups out there and we
- 3 learned a lot from that. And I'll tell you,
- 4 it was great for our news department and I'll
- 5 tell you, no, I'll tell you why, it's a really
- 6 good story. The spin off of this of us being
- 7 involved in this whole process helped our news
- 8 department. By the way, I think it really got
- 9 us organized about covering the elections much
- 10 earlier in the year than we would have, but
- 11 the best part was because what would happen
- 12 with the Chinese is we invited both groups to
- 13 come and speak to the editorial staff of our
- 14 news department.
- 15 And we learned about China. We
- learned about what's going on there, what's
- going on in TV, what's going on with the
- 18 government. And for a local news room, China
- is going to be a dominant force in the world.
- 20 It already is and it's going to be more as we
- 21 go to Beijing for the Olympics, our company in
- 22 particular, NBC. So it was a real nice spin
- 23 off that it got us into that.
- Just a few more and then I'm
- 25 going to let everybody go.

2 One	thing	is	that	as	we	went
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- 3 along we do feel that the CFB was very
- 4 flexible, but there were some requirements
- 5 that were needed that did hem us in a little
- 6 bit sometimes in how we would format or put
- 7 content in the debate. And I would just say I
- 8 realize that's important but as much
- 9 flexibility as you can leave to the sponsor
- 10 once you decide to trust them I think is
- 11 better.
- We tried to be a lot of things
- to a lot of people, we wanted to make sure
- 14 that, you know, we got in to as many
- 15 communities, as many cultures as possible.
- 16 And I think for the most part we did that,
- 17 probably a little so much that we lost a
- 18 little continuity on the TV side. We
- 19 compromised on the TV side a little bit. But
- that's okay, I'd rather err on that side.
- 21 But I think a little more
- 22 flexibility there is a good thing as much as
- 23 we can do it in the law.
- 24 The Board was very sensitive
- to letting us, for example, top the program,

- 2 lay out the purpose of the Board and the
- 3 requirements and letting us make that a little
- 4 more consumable for the viewer, doing it TV
- 5 style. So we appreciate that flexibility, we
- 6 think it helped the program and kept people
- 7 engaged.
- 8 We think that the added
- 9 questions from the boroughs did work well as
- 10 well.
- 11 In terms of the length of the
- 12 debates, we did shorten the control of the
- debates, the length of a news forum which is
- 14 about an hour. There was a negotiation as we
- went along, if people didn't show would it
- 16 be shorter? Again, we want to serve the
- 17 public but we also want to make sure that it
- 18 make sense to us for how long it's on the air
- 19 because the pressure on the real estate on
- 20 television is very high.
- 21 We did have an hour debate for
- 22 public advocate which was lively but we think
- the issues put before Betsy Gotbaum and Jay
- 24 Golub could have been handled in a half an
- 25 hour. Perhaps when there are two qualifying

- 2 candidates, but if the second candidate's
- 3 polls less than 15 percent or some other
- 4 number, maybe that's when the sponsor might
- 5 have the option of shortening the debate, just
- 6 a suggestion.
- 7 And we also want to put --
- 8 MS. GORDON: That would have
- 9 to be a change in the law.
- 10 MR. DAN FORMAN: I understand.
- 11 I'm just throwing it all out there.
- MS. GORDON: No, I know, I'm
- just reminding everybody to make a note.
- MR. DAN FORMAN: And one last
- thing or something that might be addressed
- 16 here, a hypothesis, what if there was a
- 17 self-financed candidate and a
- 18 non-participating who otherwise has a serious
- 19 campaign, who wants to debate a participating
- 20 candidate? For example, let's say Bill
- 21 Thompson is running as a Democrat and Felix
- 22 Roden finances his own campaign, and Roden
- 23 wants to debate. But since they're not two
- 24 candidates should Thompson be required to
- 25 debate?

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2	MS. GORDON: Not two
3	candidates who what? Not two candidates in
4	the election, not two candidates in the
5	program?
6	MR. DAN FORMAN: Not two
7	participants.
8	MS. GORDON: Not two part
9	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: One's in,
10	one's out.
11	MR. DAN FORMAN: One's in,
12	one's out, but the one who wants the debate
13	MS. GORDON: If the one's out,
14	got it, got it, got it. Oh, yeah, I think I
15	have to
16	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: But he's
17	saying is that crystal clear.
18	MS. GORDON: Isn't it?
19	MR. DAN FORMAN: I don't know
20	if it is.
21	MS. GORDON: Well, that's
22	something we should check and make sure.
23	MR. DAN FORMAN: So it's a
24	little loophole to leave you with.

MS. GORDON: Yes.

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2	MR. DAN FORMAN: And that about
3	completes what I have to say.
4	MS. GORDON: Well, thank you so
5	much.
6	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Thank you
7	very much.
8	So are you going to switch
9	channels to the end before
10	MR. DAN FORMAN: No, no, it
11	was an interesting set of circumstances for me
12	but it has given me great perspective to see,
13	you know, this really is at this point a
14	two-station market, most of the people turn to
15	their news at this point to 4 and 7 and to be
16	able to see it from both sides of the two
17	great operations, they approach the news in a
18	lot of different ways, but in some ways the
19	same with a very high standard. And I think
20	people out in the public don't always
21	appreciate what goes into whether it's debate
22	or news coverage everyday and how seriously we
23	take it that in order to be fair and protect
24	people's identities when it's appropriate and
25	to expose the truth, we take it very

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2	seriously.
3	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Have you
4	seen the movie Good Night and Good Luck?
5	MR. DAN FORMAN: Yes.
6	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Because in
7	that era the other one was probably the prime
8	for movies, Channel 2 was.
9	MR. DAN FORMAN: Well, times
10	have changed, you know. I know, look, we
11	would love to see a strong Channel 2 and a
12	strong Channel 2 and a strong Channel 5,
13	because it's better for competition. It keeps
14	the rates up.
15	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: Good.
16	Thank you.
17	MS. GORDON: Thank you.
18	MR. DAN FORMAN: We had a good
19	time. Hope to see you again.
20	CHAIRMAN SCHWARZ: So we're
21	done.
22	(At 5:10 p.m. the proceedings
23	were concluded.)
24	
25	

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2		
3	CERTIFICATE	
4	STATE of NEW YORK )	
5	: ss.	
6	COUNTY of NEW YORK )	
7		
8	I, Marc Russo, a Notary	
9	Public within and for the State of New	
10	York, do hereby certify that the within	
11	is a true and accurate transcript of	
12	the proceedings taken on December 13,	
13	2005. I further certify that I am not	
14	related to any of the parties to this	
15	action by blood or marriage and that I	
16	am in no way interested in the outcome	
17	of this matter.	
18	IN WITNESS	
19	WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand	
20	this 5th day of March, 2006.	
21		
22		
23	MARC RUSSO	
24		