CITY COUNCIL CITY OF NEW YORK

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE MINUTES

of the

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS

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February 11, 2011 Start: 10:10 am Recess: 11:00 am

HELD AT:

Committee Room 250 Broadway - 14<sup>th</sup> Fl.

BEFORE:

GALE A. BREWER Chairperson

COUNCIL MEMBERS:

Inez Dickens Erik Martin Dilan Domenic M. Recchia, Jr. Peter F. Vallone, Jr.

## A P P E A R A N C E S (CONTINUED)

Amy Loprest Executive Director New York City Campaign Finance Board

Mimi Marziani Attorney Brennan Center for Justice

Deanna Bitetti Associate Director Common Cause New York

Carol Simon Concerned Citizen

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 3
2	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: So good
3	morning. My name is Gale Brewer, City Council
4	member and head of Governmental Operations. And
5	I'm really honored to be here with Seth Grossman,
б	who is the counsel to the Committee and to Tim
7	Matusov, who is the policy analyst to the
8	Committee. And we're here today to talk about
9	some campaign finance issues. So what I'll do is
10	just go through a few minutes and we hope we'll
11	have more colleagues join us, but it's an
12	incredibly positive amicus brief in terms of our
13	interest, not in terms we hope that it ends up
14	correctly on the national level.
15	Anyway, so on March 28, 2011, the
16	Supreme Court will hear all arguments in the
17	McComish v. Bennett, a case involving a challenge
18	to Arizona's campaign finance law. I think
19	everybody in the audience probably knows about
20	this, but it's not known to the public. It's the
21	latest in a series of legal challenges to campaign
22	finance reforms that have come before the Supreme
23	Court. Most notably last term the Supreme Court
24	decided Citizens United, a controversial decision
25	that many commentators feel display the hostility

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 4
2	toward campaign finance reform.
3	Public campaign financing systems
4	are voluntary programs that seek to reduce
5	corruption in politics by providing candidates
6	running for office public funds in place of large
7	private contributions. There are public campaign
8	financing systems operating in several states,
9	including Arizona, Connecticut, Florida and Maine,
10	and cities here in New York and L.A. Several
11	recent lawsuits have challenged public campaign
12	financing systems in Arizona, Connecticut and
13	Florida.
14	These cases challenge the trigger
15	funds provision, a common feature that provides
16	additional public funds to participating
17	candidates facing high-spending non-participating
18	candidates. Opponents argue the trigger funds
19	provision has a chilling effect on the speech of
20	non-participating candidates. The $9^{th}$ Circuit of
21	Appeals upheld Arizona's Trigger Funds Provision.
22	In ruling on similar laws in Connecticut and
23	Florida, the $2^{nd}$ and $11^{th}$ Circuits have reached the
24	opposite conclusion. The Supreme Court's decision
25	amicus will resolve this split of authority.

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 5
2	We here in New York have unique
3	insight regarding this issue. Our campaign
4	finance program and much thanks to the CFB is one
5	of the nation's oldest public campaign financing
6	systems—I think we all know that. It is widely
7	lauded as a national model for campaign finance
8	reform. We in New York, our law differs from
9	Arizona's law in important ways. New York's
10	experience with its own campaign finance program
11	and the impact of high-spending non-participants
12	is instructive however.
13	The New York City Law Department
14	intends to file a brief as amicus curiae, known as
15	friend of the court, on behalf of the City of New
16	York. This amicus will argue that the Supreme
17	Court should uphold the trigger funds provision as
18	reasonably advancing the government's interest and
19	avoiding corruption in campaign finance
20	activities. And already, the Mayor, the public -
21	- and the campaign finance board or CFB have
22	agreed to join the City's brief.
23	So again, much thanks to everybody
24	who worked on this and we'd like to first call our
25	persons who are going to testify and certainly the

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 6
2	executive director, Amy Loprest of the very well-
3	respected New York City Campaign Finance Board and
4	Mimi Marziani, who is from the Brennan Center,
5	also very well-respected in the City of New York.
6	So, we'd like to have them both join us at the
7	table if you would. And we'd like the Campaign
8	Finance Board to go first.
9	[background noise]
10	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: We've been
11	joined by Council Member Erik Dilan from Brooklyn.
12	Good morning.
13	AMY LOPREST: Good morning,
14	Chairwoman Brewer and Committee members. I want
15	to commend you on the PowerPoint presentation.
16	Very clear. I'm Amy Loprest, executive director
17	of the New York City Campaign Finance Board.
18	Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to
19	testify before you today. Reformers have long
20	sought to enact regulations on campaign finances
21	as a safeguard against real or perceived
22	corruption. In recent years, even the most
23	reasonable of these reforms have come under attack
24	in the courts. Challenges against voluntary
25	public campaign financing systems like ours have

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 7
2	called into question whether additional public
3	funds can be awarded to participating candidates
4	who face high-spending non-participants.
5	Arizona's Clean Elections Program
6	created by that state's voters in 1998 is one of
7	those systems facing judicial challenge. In May
8	2010, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the $9^{th}$ Circuit
9	upheld Arizona's bonus funds provision in McComish
10	v. Bennett. Last November, the U.S. Supreme Court
11	agreed to consider the plaintiff's appeal of that
12	ruling. This system's opponents claim that the
13	provisions of Arizona's public financing system
14	that provide additional grants to candidates
15	facing high-spending opponents or significant
16	independent expenditures violate the First
17	Amendment. They argue that these additional funds
18	chill the speech of non-participating opponents or
19	outside groups.
20	I wanted to take this opportunity
21	to encourage the Council to weigh in on an issue
22	that may determine the future of public campaign
23	financing programs across the nation, including

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program's experience with high-spending non-

ours. I also would like to talk briefly about our

1 COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 8 participants in recent elections, which disproves 2 the theory underlying the plaintiff's First 3 Amendment claims. 4 5 Candidates who join New York City's Campaign Finance Program and are opposed by a 6 7 high-spending non-participant are eligible to receive additional public funds at an increased 8 9 matching rate or bonus rate, and their spending 10 limit is raised-removed completely. This has been 11 true since the program's inception in 1989. 12 Originally, the bonus rewarded matching funds at 13 the rate of two public dollars for every dollar 14 raised, rather than the standard one for one rate. 15 With the regular matching rate now at six to one, 16 there are now two bonus tiers; one for candidates 17 facing high-spending non-participants who raise or 18 spend more than half the spending limit and a 19 second for candidates facing opponents who raise 20 or spend more than three times the applicable 21 limit. 22 It is important to note that there 23 are fundamental differences between New York 24 City's Matching Funds Program and the Clean Money

Program at issue in Arizona and other

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1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 9
2	jurisdictions. In Clean Money programs,
3	participating candidates receive all of their
4	campaign funds from the public financing system.
5	In Arizona, candidates who face high-spending
6	opposition may receive equalizing funds to match
7	their opponent's spending up to two times the
8	original spending limit. In our Matching Funds
9	system, participating candidates must continue to
10	gather private support from New Yorkers to
11	maximize their access to public funds. All public
12	financing programs however have the common goal of
13	preventing corruption and the appearance of
14	corruption-a goal that is best achieved when more
15	candidates participate in the system. If public
16	financing programs are not able to offer an
17	adequate level of public funds to candidates
18	facing high-spending non-participants, these
19	programs will be unable to attract participants.
20	The disincentive to participation created by high-
21	spending non-participants is a serious challenge
22	to any public financing program. Opponents claim
23	that so-called trigger funds or bonus funds
24	suppress the speech of a non-participating
25	candidate because the non-participant spending may

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 10 1 cause additional payments of public funds to his 2 3 opponent. In our long experience, we have 4 5 seen no evidence whatsoever of a chilling effect on non-participant spending. If it were true, we б would see many candidates who spend up to the 7 8 trigger amount and stop before they exceed it, but 9 to the contrary, practically all candidates who opt out of the system spend either well below or 10 11 well above the bonus trigger amount. Since 1989, 12 35 high-spending non-participants have triggered 13 bonus payments for participating candidates. A clear majority, 23 candidates, spent more than 14 15 double the trigger amount. 11 of these candidates 16 spent more than 6 times the trigger amount-even 17 excluding Michael Bloomberg, non-participants who 18 spending resulted in bonus determinations averaged 19 more than four times the trigger amount. On the 20 other end of the spectrum, many non-participating 21 candidates conduct small campaigns or report no 22 spending at all. Of the 313 non-participants 23 since the 1989 who did not spend enough to trigger 24 a bonus, only 53 candidates had enough financial 25 activity to require itemized reports of their

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 11
2	spending. On average, these participants spent
3	82.5% below the bonus trigger amount. Only two
4	candidates came as close as 5% of the bonus
5	trigger and both were candidates in the same City
6	Council race in 1997.
7	The truth is that public funds have
8	increased rather than restricted the volume of
9	political speech in New York City elections. For
10	example, in the most recent mayoral election
11	Michael Bloomberg, a non-participant in the
12	program, outspent William Thompson, a participant,
13	by nearly \$100 million. There is no suggestion
14	whatsoever that Bloomberg's campaign felt
15	compelled to curtail its spending in order to
16	limit the amount of public funds available to his
17	opponent. His campaign spent what it felt was
18	necessary. Additional public funds distributed
19	through the campaign finance program provided
20	Thompson with a greater ability to get his message
21	out, helping provide voters with a real choice.
22	Public financing helps ensure
23	candidates have the resources to communicate with
24	potential voters, even if they lack access to
25	large contributions or personal wealth. Our

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 12
2	program's ability to provide an appropriate level
3	of funding to participants competing against high-
4	spending non-participants has been absolutely
5	critical to maintaining high levels of
6	participation in the program. Thank you again for
7	allowing us the opportunity to speak about our
8	experience and for stepping forward to take a
9	leadership role on this important issue.
10	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Thank you very
11	much and feel free to go ahead and we've been
12	joined by Council Member Inez Dickens.
13	MIMI MARZIANI: First I'd like to
14	extend thanks to Amy Loprest here at the Brennan
15	Center works on campaign finance issues across the
16	country and thinks very, very highly of New York
17	City's groundbreaking program, so thank you for
18	all of your work. Thank you also to the Council
19	for inviting me here today. My name is Mimi
20	Marziani. I'm an attorney with the Brennan Center
21	for Justice. In addition, I am counsel for one of
22	the intervening defendants in the McComish
23	litigation and on top of that, I am a New Yorker.
24	And for all of those reasons, I strongly urge this
25	Committee and this City Council to authorize

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 13
2	Resolution 646 and join the amicus brief that will
3	be filed before the Supreme Court. This case,
4	McComish v. Bennett presents the Court with its
5	first opportunity to consider a public financing
6	system since 1976, when it upheld the presidential
7	public financing system. By participating then,
8	this Council could play a significant role in a
9	case that will very well determine the future of
10	public financing for years to come. And as you
11	have both noted, I mean what's at stake here is a
12	jurisdiction's ability to design a workable and
13	cost-effective public financing system that can
14	also offer viable alternatives to potentially
15	corrupting private money. And in fact, an adverse
16	ruling in McComish could immediately disrupt the
17	public financing systems in over 20 jurisdictions
18	across this country, including New York's
19	groundbreaking system.
20	So to start, and this has been hit
21	on, but I wanted to just briefly go over what's at
22	stake in McComish. As noted, the case involves

one of the most hotly contested issues in campaign finance law and perhaps in constitutional law today, and these are triggered supplemental funds.

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1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 14
2	Arizona's Clean Election Program gives every
3	candidate in Arizona a choice from the onset.
4	They can either opt in and run their campaign
5	primarily on, or exclusively on public funds or
6	they can opt out and run their campaign the old-
7	fashioned way through private contributions.
8	Participating candidates receive 1/3 of the total
9	grant they're allowed at the onset; however,
10	they're eligible for additional funds when they
11	find themselves caught in a particularly high-
12	spending race and high-spending is defined by the
13	spending of their non-participating opponent, but
14	also by third party independent expenditure
15	groups. And so the high-spending of these other
16	parties triggers additional funds to a
17	participant. It's important to note that as Mr.
18	Brewer said, the funds that go to participating
19	candidates are ultimately capped at two times the
20	initial grant; whereas, non-participating
21	candidates and third-party spenders have
22	absolutely no restrictions on their ability to
23	fundraise and raise money. And so as you can
24	imagine, the system is designed to give
25	participating candidates a chance to be

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 15
2	competitive in an expensive race, to respond when
3	they are the target of attack ads or a spending
4	blitz from an opponent, but it's also very
5	carefully tailored to allow Arizona to protect its
6	public fisc [phonetic].
7	Historically, these sort of
8	provisions have been upheld, and they were upheld
9	for years and years and years-never been
10	considered by the Supreme Court, but they were
11	upheld years and years and years by courts of
12	appeals in the federal system. Recently, however,
13	they have been under siege and you know, right now
14	the results are mixed. Some courts have upheld
15	these provisions in recent years. Some have
16	struck them down. Most notably, the $9^{th}$ Circuit in
17	our McComish litigation upheld Arizona's trigger
18	funds. The 2 <sup>nd</sup> Circuit whose law governs New York
19	State struck down very similar provisions in
20	Connecticut's law last summer. And so as others
21	have mentioned, challengers claim that the
22	prospect of triggering funds burdens their ability
23	to spend freely in the election, and they claim
24	specifically that they're forced to self censor
25	and refrain from spending.

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 16
2	As Amy Loprest here noted, the
3	experience in Arizona and in every single other
4	jurisdiction that we have worked in-and by the way
5	the Brennan Center has for better or for worse
6	been litigating this issue across the country, so
7	we've actually gotten to do this empirical work
8	across the country-there is absolutely no sign
9	that candidates or any substantial number of
10	candidates ever refrain from spending to avoid
11	triggering funds and in the Arizona litigation, an
12	expert testified that there's no sign that
13	candidates spend right up to the triggering
14	threshold, but no more. There are also-some of
15	the challengers themselves when their deposition
16	was taken actually could not remember when pressed
17	whether or not they had triggered these funds in
18	the past. Their campaign managers affirmed that
19	the prospect of triggering funds did not in fact
20	effect their decision, so there's absolutely no
21	evidence. And on the legal side, the Brennan
22	Center is confident that trigger funds are
23	constitutional under well-established First
24	Amendment Law, just as they have always been
25	considered.

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 17
2	There is however reason to be
3	seriously concerned about this litigation. First,
4	after the 9 <sup>th</sup> Circuit upheld Arizona's trigger
5	funds in late spring of 2010, the Supreme Court
б	issued a stay enjoining the trigger funds
7	throughout Arizona's 2010 election. And clearly,
8	the Court's willingness to reach out and disrupt
9	Arizona's elections right in the middle sent some
10	sort of predetermined hostility perhaps with-to
11	these provisions.
12	Also, as was noted, the Supreme
13	Court under our current Chief Justice, John
14	Roberts, has issued a series of decisions in
15	recent years striking down campaign finance
16	provisions under state and federal law. Notably
17	in 2006, it struck down for the first time state
18	contribution limits as being too low. In 2008, it
19	invalidated the so-called Millionaire's Amendment
20	under federal law that provided enhanced
21	contribution limits to privately funded candidates
22	who were facing a Bloomberg-like opponent. And
23	then in 2010, perhaps most notoriously, the
24	Supreme Court issued its decision in Citizens
25	United and freed business corporations from long-

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 18
2	term restrictions on their political spending.
3	And indeed some amicae in our McComish litigation,
4	perhaps sensing some sympathetic allies in the
5	Court, are urging the Court to issue a very broad
6	ruling that could undermine public financing
7	generally. And so just to very quickly say that
8	McComish—so there's a very real worry that the
9	Court will issue a broad ruling. Such a broad
10	ruling could affect, as I said, the public funding
11	systems in over 20 jurisdictions. Ten other
12	jurisdictions have triggered supplemental funds.
13	On top of that, at least ten jurisdictions,
14	including New York, have some sort of triggered
15	benefit worked into their law. These provisions
16	as they are in Arizona are often key to
17	encouraging participation, while protecting the
18	public fisc. And by broadly ruling against
19	Arizona's system, there's a very real risk that
20	the Court could handicap the ability of state and
21	local governments to properly protect the
22	integrity of their elections. And so, with that
23	I'll end, but thank you very much and let me know
24	if you have any questions.
25	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: I'm sure we

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 19
2	do-been joined by Council Member Peter Vallone,
3	Jr. from Queens. Two things that just off the top
4	of my mind-come to mind. One of course is you
5	know Michael Bloomberg spent a lot in the
6	elections, but other candidates did pretty well,
7	so it was a—I think the people realized that they
8	understand that our campaign system does work.
9	MIMI MARZIANI: Yes.
10	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: He almost lost
11	and didn't-obviously, the other candidate, Mr.
12	Thompson was outspent, so I think that says
13	something. And second, when you hear Arizona-it's
14	so ironic because with the Clean Money law
15	obviously passed in the 90s, you pointed out, and
16	then today there's a lot of challenges in terms of
17	some of their other policies. I'm not related to
18	the Governor. I just want everybody to know that.
19	[laughter]
20	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: A couple of
21	questions for our Campaign Finance Board for Amy
22	Loprest. I know you talked-but first of all,
23	thank you for your testimony `cause I think that's
24	the first time I've heard sort of the number of
25	races that have been part of the trigger program

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 20
2	and you know, so that was really helpful to see
3	those numbers.
4	AMY LOPREST: Thank you.
5	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: And so can you
6	just again elaborate why the provision-the trigger
7	funds provision is such an important feature of
8	the system? Even though you did it in your
9	testimony-some of our colleagues came in and I
10	just think it should be re-emphasized.
11	AMY LOPREST: You know as you
12	pointed out and I think as the Brennan Center
13	pointed out in their testimony, it's very
14	important to encourage participation because the
15	idea that you may run against a person who has
16	unlimited amount of spending and unlimited access
17	to personal wealth could cause some candidates to
18	consider whether or not they should participate in
19	the program. And New York City has always enjoyed
20	very high participation rates and I think the
21	ability to you know, not match one to one, but
22	certainly to give a bonus when you're facing
23	someone who is spending a large amount of money
24	definitely allows candidates who choose to
25	participate the freedom to do so. And I think if

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 21
2	we didn't have these kind of provisions, there
3	would definitely be-we would see a reduction in
4	participation.
5	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Okay. And I
6	think you have—I mean there are many reasons that
7	I would give for New York City's historically high
8	participation rate, but what are some of the
9	reasons that you would give 'cause we do have a
10	very high participation rate in general.
11	AMY LOPREST: I think that
12	definitely we have-the City Council has passed a
13	law that gives a very generous matching rate.
14	It's one to one from 1989 when the law was passed
15	up until 1998 when it was changed to four to one,
16	then again in 2007, the rate was changed to six to
17	one. I think definitely that matching rate has
18	encouraged participation and also I think you
19	know, the flexibility to not worry about high-
20	spending non-participants has allowed candidates
21	to participate. And also I think that, you know,
22	there is a culture in our electoral system that
23	participation is good.
24	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: And do you
25	find that the tier one and tier two, which I'm not

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 22
2	as familiar with `cause I haven't had to run
3	against somebody who had-spent a lot of money, but
4	how do you feel that those two tiers work in terms
5	of the way that you described in your testimony?
6	AMY LOPREST: Yes, I mean I think
7	that tier two was only passed after the 2001
8	election. Before that, candidates received the
9	bonus was triggered when their opponent raised or
10	spent 50% of the spending limit and that worked
11	fine, but then—and they got a small bonus and I
12	think it was felt that if you're facing someone
13	who spends a large amount of money, 3 times the
14	spending limit, that you really should be entitled
15	to an additional amount of money, so I think that
16	that two-tiered system has worked.
17	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: If you could
18	talk a little bit about, Mimi, about some you
19	outlined some of the other states, but could you
20	be even more specific about what you think could
21	happen at the Supreme Court and maybe some of the
22	other cases that are also, you know-
23	MIMI MARZIANI: [Interposing] Sure.
24	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: —in the
25	pipelines so to speak?

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 23
2	MIMI MARZIANI: Of course. And for
3	the Committee and the Council's convenience, I
4	actually included with my testimony a memo that
5	sets out all the other public financing systems in
6	the country and discusses the various types of
7	triggering mechanisms.
8	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: [Interposing]
9	That's great. Thank you.
10	MIMI MARZIANI: There are so many
11	ways the Court could rule, we feel very strongly
12	that our position is correct in that the Court
13	should affirm the $9^{th}$ Circuit's decision and simply
14	uphold Arizona's law. Alternatively, the Court
15	could strike down Arizona's law for specific, you
16	know, arguable problems within that law and in
17	that case, a very narrow ruling like that would
18	only effect I think Arizona's jurisdiction. More
19	broadly, the Court could find that any sort of
20	triggered supplemental funds are unconstitutional.
21	That would I think call into serious question the
22	triggered supplemental funds in the ten
23	jurisdictions that have that type of trigger.
24	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: It also scares
25	me because those states and cities that don't yet

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 24
2	have campaign finance, you know, that should, like
3	a federal government or state governments-
4	MIMI MARZIANI: [Interposing] And
5	that's a really great point. I mean another-one
6	danger with the-I mean the Court has been very
7	sympathetic in recent years to challenges to
8	campaign finance regulations in general and
9	because of that, jurisdictions have been very
10	skittish about enacting reform and particularly
11	robust reform, like public financing. And just to
12	answer your initial question, we're currently
13	litigating the triggered supplemental issue in-
14	those provisions were repealed in Connecticut, so
15	that's out of that case, but in Maine in their
16	Clean Elections System, in Wisconsin's newly
17	enacted Judicial Public Funding system, of course,
18	Arizona and I think that's actually it for right
19	now.
20	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: So let me just
21	ask you, so all of the campaign finance systems,
22	L.A. and the states that do have them and New
23	York, do they all have a trigger at this point
24	except for anything that has been litigated?
25	MIMI MARZIANI: No. There are some

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 25
2	systems that don't have any sort of triggered
3	benefit and it is important, particularly with
4	pending litigation in New York City, to stress
5	that New York City's-the triggered benefits in New
6	York City I think are legally distinguishable from
7	the triggered supplemental funds at issue in
8	Arizona. Certainly an adverse ruling could cast
9	some constitutional shadow on those, but it
10	wouldn't—unless the Court issues a very broad
11	ruling, it should not knock them out per se.
12	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: And that's
13	because-Amy help me-because we have a different
14	system?
15	AMY LOPREST: I mean there are two
16	main differences between New York City that mean
17	that one, we have a matching funds program whereas
18	Arizona is you know, you get dollar for dollar for
19	each person's spending and in New York City, the
20	candidates still have to raise the money in order
21	to get additional money. The other is that at
22	least in Arizona the-one of the triggers is
23	independent spending-spending by third parties and
24	our law does not have that kind of trigger. Our
25	trigger is only triggered by spending by your

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 26
2	opponent in your election, not by third party
3	actors.
4	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: We don't
5	want this to happen, but say for instance, there
6	is a broader ruling, are there some other means
7	available to enhance candidates to participate?
8	Would there be some other way that we could
9	achieve the same goals? I mean it's a hard
10	question, and maybe there's no answer.
11	MIMI MARZIANI: Sure, I mean I'm
12	sure that there are and something that New York
13	City should feel comforted by is that there is-it
14	is highly, highly, highly unlikely that the
15	Court's ruling could disrupt the heart of the New
16	York City system, which is the small donor-
17	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: [Interposing]
18	I'm mostly concerned just nationally though. I
19	mean, New York City, thank goodness, but also you
20	should know that the clean elections system-we
21	know we have a good system here, but there are
22	others others who also love the clean
23	elections.
24	MIMI MARZIANI: Right, and to tell
25	you the truth I mean in recent years and as

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 27
2	evidenced by the Brennan Center's recent report
3	about the New York City system, in general we
4	support any jurisdiction's enactment of public
5	financing and we think it's typically best for a
6	jurisdiction to decide what works for it. That
7	being said, we tend to endorse systems that are
8	much closer to New York City's because in addition
9	to fighting corruption, it also directly
10	encourages participation from voters, by
11	supercharging their small donations and as you
12	know, in New York-New York's a great example of
13	this-it also really spurns increased competition
14	in a way that I think is very valuable for the
15	democratic system.
16	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Is Brennan
17	filing amicus, are you also—is it appropriate to
18	do this?
19	MIMI MARZIANI: We are not. We're
20	representing one of the parties.
21	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Okay.
22	MIMI MARZIANI: Yes, so we're
23	actually co-counsel in the case-actually arguing
24	the case before the Court.
25	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Thank you both

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 28
2	very much. We're very excited, and we appreciate
3	this, and I want to thank the Speaker because her
4	policy is that if the City Council is to file an
5	amicus, then we need to have the buy in of the
6	members as opposed to just doing it as the
7	Speaker, so we appreciate your participation to
8	help us do that.
9	AMY LOPREST: Thank you.
10	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Thank you very
11	much. So Deanna Bitetti from Common Cause. Thank
12	you for spending so much time.
13	DEANNA BITETTI: I know. I feel
14	like I've always seen you, Councilwoman. Well
15	good morning, Chair Brewer, members of the
16	Committee on Governmental Operations. Thank you
17	again for the opportunity to speak today. My name
18	is Deanna Bitetti. I'm the Associate Director for
19	Common Cause New York. We are a non-partisan,
20	non-profit to citizen lobby, a leading force in
21	the battle for good government. We've also of
22	course been a longstanding advocate of campaign
23	finance across the country and in New York. We've
24	remained a steadfast and ardent supporter of
25	public financing of our elections, or as we now

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 29 1 like to say-this is a new catchphrase-voter-owned 2 elections. 3 4 So to just go in really to the crux 5 of what we've been seeing over the years in study after study with our partners, NYPIRG, Brennan 6 7 Center for Justice has of course detailed this, a 8 very disquieting situation. It is one that causes 9 the public to perceive that special interest 10 campaign dollars and not the public interest is a 11 controlling factor in elections. This 12 disillusionment with the political system has 13 fostered great momentum for public financing 14 system of elections-common cause is actually now a part of the larger coalition that supports voter-15 owned or publicly financed elections on the state 16 17 level, using New York City's current system as a 18 frame for that. It's gathered a lot of support in 19 the state legislature. As many of you have heard, 20 Governor Cuomo of course in the State of the State 21 address, even pledged to make campaign finance 22 reform a main tenant of his legislative priorities 23 and to support public financing system, so it's 24 very germane here in New York State as well. And 25 of course, we applaud this Committee for

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 30
2	introducing this resolution in support of
3	upholding Arizona's trigger fund provisions of its
4	campaign finance law. As we have heard, this will
5	mark the first time in nearly 35 years that the
6	Supreme Court has ruled in a public financing
7	case.
8	At issue of course, are trigger
9	matching funds issued to participating candidates
10	who face high-spending non-participating
11	opponents. These funds enable states such as
12	Arizona and of course New York City to provide
13	candidates who opt into the program with enough
14	money to run in competitive races and very
15	importantly, forgo corporate and special interest
16	dollars. Trigger matching funds place no limits
17	on the amount that privately financed candidates
18	may raise or spend on their campaign;
19	nevertheless, as we have also heard, plaintiffs
20	have claimed that this system halts the speech of
21	non-participating opponents and violates the First
22	Amendment. Common Cause supports the position of
23	course of the defendants in this case, who claim
24	that the provision in no way infringes on freedom
25	of speech rights as guaranteed by the $1^{ ext{st}}$ and $14^{ ext{th}}$

Amendments to the Constitution, but rather simply encourages candidates to forgo corporate money in exchange for participation in this program. The 9<sup>th</sup> Circuit Court of Appeals declared the trigger provision constitutional and of course, we hope that the Supreme Court will uphold this ruling.

1

As we all know, many of you sitting 8 9 here in the Committee, there is constant pressure on elected officials to raise money for campaigns. 10 11 In this - - way, we force the even the best 12 elected officials into untenable situations. А 13 comprehensive and robust campaigns finance system 14 in the form of public financing helps to clearly 15 articulate the line not only for elected 16 officials, but for constituents alike and helps 17 restore faith in our election process.

18 Without such a system, we will 19 continue to see a widening disparity in the amount 20 of money given by special interests versus that 21 given by small donors or regular citizens, as 22 actually documented very well by a recent study 23 put out by NYPIRG. We need to put elections back 24 into the hand of voters. The current political 25 landscape, which is easily dominated by big money

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 32
2	contributors-a situation of course compounded by
3	the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Citizen
4	United, as we saw in last year's election has once
5	again fosters great momentum around the nation in
6	support of this type of system. We must all stand
7	up and support the right to secure trigger funds
8	as a main tenant of this process that for states
9	that publicly finance election will re-risk
10	undermining the process throughout the nation. A
11	robust public financing system will help to
12	emphasize and amplify the impact of small dollar
13	donations, encourage district and voter directed
14	campaigns over dialing for dollars, decrease
15	significantly the amount of time candidates must
16	spend fundraising, and increase the involvement
17	and investment of small donors and grassroots
18	participants in our state election campaigns.
19	Therefore, we wholeheartedly support the intention
20	of this resolution, which would authorize the New
21	York City Council to join in the amicus brief to
22	be filed with the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold
23	the trigger funds provision. At such a critical
24	juncture in the shaping of our campaign finance
25	law around the nation, which is constantly or

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 33
2	seems constantly under attack, this case will have
3	a deep and lasting impact in how publicly financed
4	election systems will be crafted for years to
5	come. So thank you very much for the
6	opportunities.
7	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Thank you for
8	your testimony. Thank you for always being here
9	on the important issues. Are you-is Common Cause
10	maybe nationally or New York filing an amicus on
11	this case, do you know?
12	DEANNA BITETTI: As of right now,
13	we are not. I think it's under consideration by
14	our national offices as of right now.
15	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Thank you very
16	much. Thank you very much.
17	DEANNA BITETTI: Thank you.
18	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Carol Simon?
19	CAROL SIMON: Hello. My name is
20	Carol Simon. I'm formally of Texas, but I'm
21	concerned with this country's economic spending,
22	so basically I've come to speak on these issues.
23	As the trigger fund was briefly discussed there is
24	an issue that lies at hand. Of course, there

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 34
2	established on an earnest budget. Overspending
3	should not be accepted on any margin or scale.
4	Not only does the State of New York suffer from
5	corruption, but several states deal with this
6	horrid transformation of spendage [phonetic].
7	These unethical transfers only hurt those of us
8	who are unaware of where our monies are spent and
9	what expenses accrue. We must be first focused on
10	the world around us as well as the World Bank—not
11	only paying attention to these countries'
12	currency, but the Euro, the Franc, the Yen, be
13	aware even of the value of gold and what actually
14	backs the U.S. dollars. There is so much
15	corruption daily reported in government agencies
16	it makes you question who are the real criminals.
17	Don't be fooled by suits. Some wear suits and
18	ties and be slacking. The topic discussed here is
19	corruption and overspending on a budget that's
20	barely visible. The most U.S. citizens have
21	untrained eyes and when the target has been marked
22	by trigger funds, fundamentally the government is
23	playing with our heads and having fun mentally;
24	therefore, we should indeed pray and ask our
25	Heavenly Father for discernment. There are

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 35
2	private conventions such as the Berne [phonetic]
3	Convention, which I've acknowledged on the Web,
4	that goes unnoticed; therefore, take heed of the
5	monies that are spent and given 'cause every gift
б	isn't free. Don't sell out by voting in a
7	negative direction. They're willing to even
8	infect us all-affect us all. And others for
9	longer periods of time, while you're counting your
10	money, you should really count first and foremost
11	on God. Even if you suffer from minute or
12	incredible circumstances, such as a lisp, and are
13	seeking professional help from a speech therapist,
14	you mist primarily be persistent on seeking God.
15	Who will be in support of the filing in McComish
16	and Bennett? Does each individual stand behind
17	their statement wholeheartedly? Are all decisions
18	that affect only those or us as well?
19	The Committee of Government
20	Operations are currently considering resolutions
21	with opposing views, so these opposite conflicts
22	are like magnets bound to collide. There needs to
23	be further litigation, including more public
24	briefing to establish a boundary-to acknowledge
25	basically and discern if this is the stuff we

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 36
2	should have to follow. Are we even following
3	policy, procedure and law? So just those topics
4	are enough to balance it all, you know what I
5	mean? So that's all I basically wanted to say, but
6	I hope that these opposing views come to some type
7	of conclusion and a resolution.
8	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Thank you very
9	much. I want to thank those who testified and I
10	want to thank the wonderful colleagues and staff
11	and to let the public know in particular that this
12	is an issue that many people in general have
13	worked on campaign finance reform and I think it's
14	a good sign that there are so many people that are
15	paying attention at the national level, but a
16	chilling effect just not only in terms of those
17	laws that currently exist, but for those who have
18	been trying really hard to make sure that all
19	states and all municipalities are-and certainly
20	the federal government-participating campaign
21	finance reform. This has a just many, many
22	aspects to it and I'm delighted that this City of
23	New York is participating in terms of friend of
24	the Court. I'm sure the City Council will vote to
25	do the same and we hope that the Supreme Court

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS 37
2	understands the concerns that are bringing to
3	light today, so that you very much. This hearing
4	is adjourned.
5	[gavel]
6	CHAIRPERSON BREWER: Sure. I'd
7	also like to introduce Council Member Domenic
8	Recchia from Brooklyn. Thank you.

## CERTIFICATE

I, Kimberley Uhlig certify that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings. I further certify that I am not related to any of the parties to this action by blood or marriage, and that I am in no way interested in the outcome of this matter.

Kimberley Uhlig Signature

Date

March 3, 2011