

The \$2,100 Club:

*What New York State Political Campaigns Cost,
How Much Those Costs are Rising and Who's
Footing the Bill*

A Common Cause/NY Report

March 2006

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He senses that he is being commanded to survive, so he makes a forcible point to himself – Don't die, Roscoe, survive – which some may say begs the question...How? You get the Money. How do you get the money? Oh my Jesus. Money is blood. Get it anyway you can. Money buys survival. Too bad about that stock market. Those fellows should've tried politics, which is the real stock market.

-William Kennedy, *Roscoe*

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

Most New Yorkers have a sense that money plays an all too important role in New York State political campaigns. Most also believe that campaigns are funded largely by special interests and wealthy individuals who neither represent the diversity of our state nor represent the best interests of the public at large in their interactions with elected officials. In fact, in a recent statewide survey, 58% of New Yorkers responded that they believe that special interests have too much influence on elected officials in our state.¹

Nevertheless, there is a lack of clear data outlining the current state of campaign financing in New York State. How much do campaigns cost and how much has that cost increased in recent years? What is driving the increasing cost of campaigns? Who is funding these high dollar political races?

Common Cause/NY undertook this study to get answers to those basic questions and to provide New Yorkers with a more complete picture of how campaigns are currently funded in our state.

The results of our research reveal some disturbing facts. Campaigns in New York rank among the most expensive in the nation. Over 99% of New Yorkers give nothing directly to state-level political campaigns, and, more often than not, those few who do give make contributions in amounts that are far outside of the reach of most New Yorkers. Candidates rely heavily on corporate and special interest contributions to fund their campaigns, and in some cases, their lifestyles.

That these findings largely confirm conventional wisdom about campaign funding in our state should by no means lessen their impact as a call to action for campaign finance reform in Albany. On the contrary, the fact that things *are* as bad as most people think should spur lawmakers to urgent action to restore public confidence in our democracy.

¹ Empire Center for New York State Policy. "Ready for Change: A Statewide New York Voter Survey," January 2006.

Reforms that lawmakers should embrace include a ban on soft money, a reduction in New York's sky-high contribution limits, an end to fundraisers near the Capitol during the legislative session, a ban on the use of campaign funds for personal use, improved disclosure and enforcement, and public financing of elections.

Our neighboring state of Connecticut has recently proven that state legislatures can enact comprehensive campaign finance reform, including public financing of elections, even in a state that lacks the option of voter referendum. Even closer to home, New York City has a program of partial public financing of elections that is considered a national model. It's time for New York State to act.

Summary of Findings

- **Over 99% of New Yorkers do not make direct contributions to state-level political campaigns.** In 2003 and 2004, less than one percent of New Yorkers made a direct political contribution to a state legislative candidate or supporting party committee.
- **Over 55% of the campaign contributions made by individuals in New York State would have been illegal on the federal level.** 55% of New York State campaign funds received by candidates during the 2002, 2004 and 2006 election cycles has come via checks written for more than \$2,100 (the federal contribution limit for individuals giving directly to candidates).
- **The cost of a winning gubernatorial campaign has almost quadrupled since 1986, and has actually increased more than eight fold since 1990.** The winning gubernatorial candidate spent over \$11 million in 1986, only about \$5 million in 1990 and over \$44 million in 2002 (the years between 1990 and 2002 saw a steady increase in expenditures). Even adjusted for inflation, the cost of a winning campaign has more than doubled since 1986, and has increased six fold since 1990. In 2005 dollars, the 1986 and 2002 winning campaigns would have cost \$20.6 million and \$48.1 million, respectively.
- **Winners spend early and they spend often.** In the 2004 election cycle, winning candidates for legislative office made 32% of their campaign expenditures during calendar year 2003, excluding any special election expenditures.
- **The single largest category of expenses for legislative candidates in the 2004 election cycle was not TV ads or fundraising but “other.”** This fact, combined with the above information showing that winning candidates tend to spend a significant portion of their money outside of the height of the election season, highlights the pervasive practice of using campaign funds for purposes that stretch the definition of “campaign expense” to its breaking point.
- **Political parties have raised over \$47 million in soft money since 1999.** Over 72% of that \$47.5 million has come via checks written for amounts exceeding \$10,000!
- **Eliot Spitzer, the gubernatorial candidate at the front of the fundraising race, has both more money in the bank and has spent more money than George Pataki had at the same point four years ago.** Spitzer had a closing balance of \$19 million on January 15, 2006 as compared to Pataki’s \$16.2 million as of January 15, 2002. Since the beginning of 2002, Spitzer has spent \$5.7 million. Pataki spent \$4.6 million during the same time period four years ago. Even adjusted for inflation, that’s a 13.5% increase.
- **Legislative candidates have more cash in the bank now than they did at the same point two years ago.** Current legislative incumbents who also had campaign committees in January 2004 have, on average, 34% more money in the bank now than two years ago (30% more when adjusted for inflation).
- **The only legislative party committee to increase its cash reserves since two years ago belongs to the Senate Democrats.**

PART TWO: FINDINGS

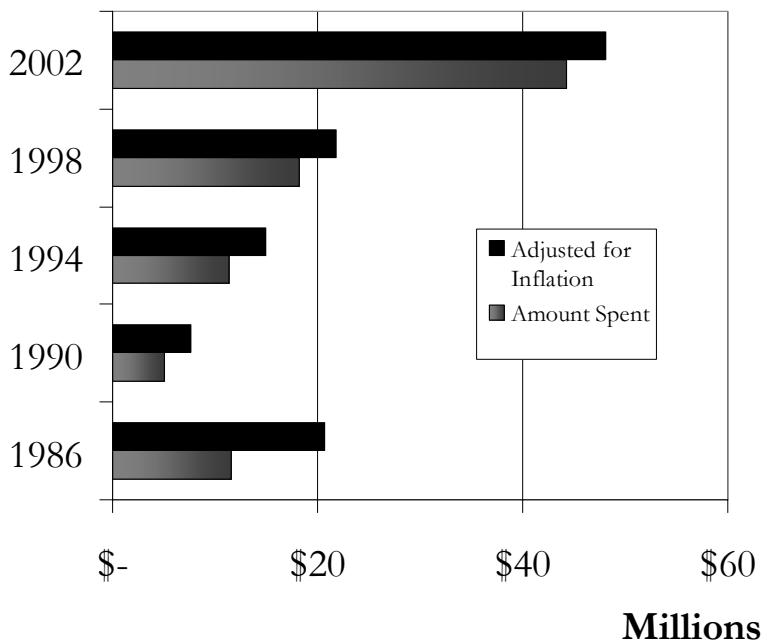
The High Cost of Campaigns

A look at the data on the cost of campaigns in New York State reveals two important facts. First, political campaigns in New York State are expensive and getting more so. Second, a large campaign war chest is very strongly correlated with success at the ballot box. Taken together, these facts underscore the importance of campaign contributions to candidates for office and the increasing pressure on these candidates to raise more.

According to the National Institute for Money in State Politics, New York State ranked third in the country in terms of total contributions raised by general-election legislative candidates in 2004. All told, legislative candidates raised \$50,245,805, making New York second only to California and Illinois in terms of the amount of money poured into state legislative races that year.²

New York’s state party committees also ranked third in the nation in terms of how much they raised. New York party committees raised a total of \$33.8 million, compared to \$42.8 million for California party committees and \$36.7 million for Florida party committees.³

Total Spending by Winning Gubernatorial Candidates



Costs on the Rise

In addition, the cost of campaigns in our state is on the rise. The cost of a winning gubernatorial campaign has almost quadrupled since 1986, and has actually increased more than eight fold since 1990. The winning gubernatorial candidate spent over

² Institute on Monday in State Politics. “State Elections Overview 2004,” December, 2005. It is notable that Illinois places no limits on campaign contributions.

³ *Ibid*

\$11 million in 1986, only about \$5 million in 1990, and over \$44 million in 2002 (the years between 1990 and 2002 saw a steady increase in expenditures). Even when adjusted for inflation, the cost of a winning campaign has more than doubled since 1986 and has increased six fold since 1990. In 2005 dollars, the 1986 and 2002 winning campaigns would have cost \$20.6 million \$48.1 million, respectively.

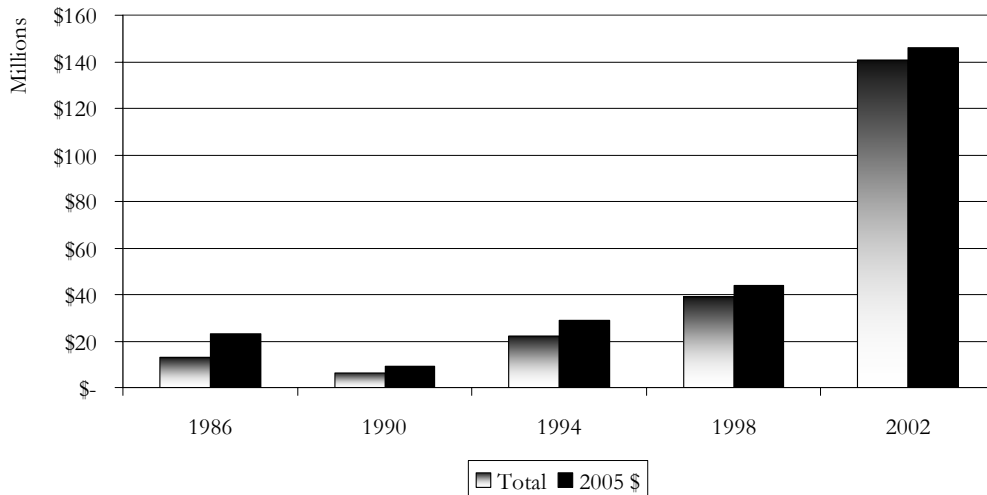
	1986	1990	1994	1998	2002
Winning Gubernatorial Campaign Expenditures	\$11,592,607.20	\$ 5,077,057.27	\$11,306,252.01	\$18,193,754.78	\$44,316,771.44
Adjusted to 2005 \$	\$20,634,840.82	\$ 7,564,815.33	\$14,899,534.53	\$21,799,020.30	\$48,110,425.03

When George Pataki first ran for Governor in 1994, he spent \$14 million. In 2002, he spent three times as much to get reelected, clocking in at over \$44 million. This is an especially striking change because, as a two-term incumbent, Governor Pataki had the name recognition and myriad other advantages that come along with holding office in 2002, theoretically making it less necessary for him to spend heavily to get his name and message out.

	1986	1990	1994	1998	2002
Total Gubernatorial Campaign Expenditures	\$12,926,218	\$6,193,993	\$21,942,314	\$39,253,589	\$140,773,051
Adjusted to 2005 \$	\$23,033,672	\$9,255,446	\$28,915,884	\$44,023,396	\$145,955,733

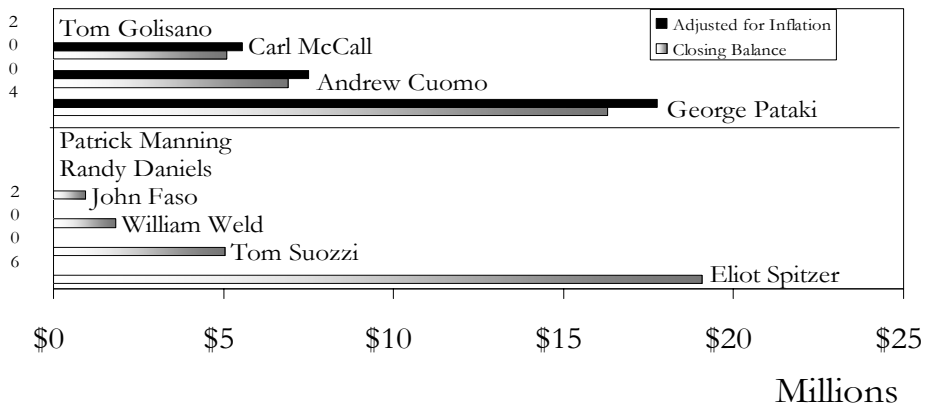
Adjusted for inflation to 2005 dollars, the total amount spent in a gubernatorial election by general election major party and high-spending, self-financed candidates has skyrocketed from \$23 million in 1986 to over \$145 million in 2002. This figure includes spending in 1998 and 2002 by third party candidate Tom Golisano, who funded his own high-cost gubernatorial campaigns. It is true that spending by this western New York billionaire has fueled much of the increase both directly—he spent \$73 million in 2002—and indirectly, by driving up the cost of campaign resources and forcing increased spending by other candidates in third party primary contests. Nonetheless, the cost of running for Governor in New York State continues to rise, with the presence of self-funded, high spending candidates in these races being one factor explaining this increase.

**Total Spending in Gubernatorial Campaigns by Major Party General Election
Candidates and Tom Golisano 1986-2002**



Looking ahead to the 2006 gubernatorial election, there are some indications that this trend will continue, although the available data is somewhat contradictory. In the aggregate, declared candidates for Governor have less money on hand now than they did at the same time four years ago. Taken together, candidates for Governor in 2006 have \$26,938,369 in the bank as of January 15, 2006, 4.8% less than the \$28,293,198 that 2002 candidates had in the bank at the same time that year.

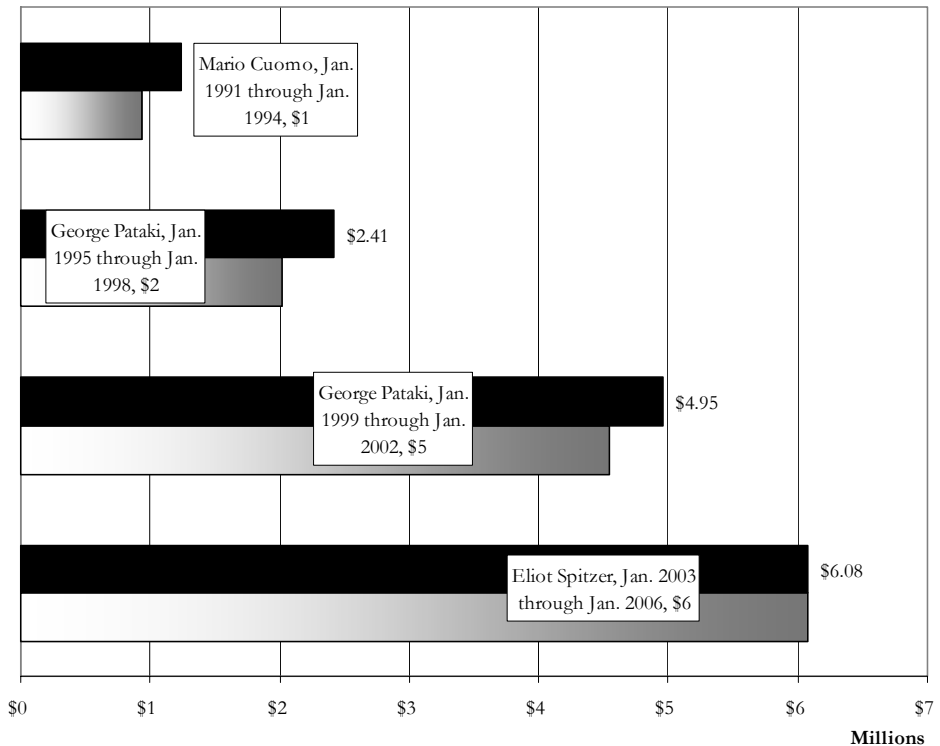
**Gubernatorial Candidates Committees' Closing
Balances
January 15 2006 versus January 15 2004**



However, the leading fundraiser in 2006—Eliot Spitzer—has 17% more available cash now than the leading fundraiser in 2002—George Pataki. Additionally, since January 2003, Eliot Spitzer has spent 25% more money than George Pataki spent in a similar time period between January 1999 and January 2002.

As mentioned above, New York State’s legislative races are among the most expensive in the nation. Interestingly, however, a large proportion of the total spending is concentrated in a small number of races. In 2004 almost \$50 million was spent on New York State Senate and Assembly races.

Highest Spending Gubernatorial Candidates as of January 15 of Relevant Election Years



Over 50% of that total was spent on just 25 of the 212 elections. This is likely because partisan gerrymandering and other factors like the natural power of incumbency mean that New York has very few truly competitive state-level races in any given election cycle. Even more striking was that in eleven of those 25 races, almost 90% of the spending was on the part of winning candidates! That is, high spending is very strongly correlated with success in legislative races.

Looking forward to the 2006 election cycle, current legislative incumbents, special election challengers and parties spending in those special elections have already spent over \$11.8 million since January 2003. Just 4% of that \$11.8 million has been spent on special election races, meaning

**Senate District 34:
Portrait of a High-
Spending Legislative
Race**

Over \$3.6 million was spent in pursuit of the rare open state Senate seat in District 34, making it the most expensive legislative race of the 2004 general election. The seat was vacated by Republican Senator Guy Vellela, when he pleaded guilty to taking money from people bidding to paint bridges for the state.

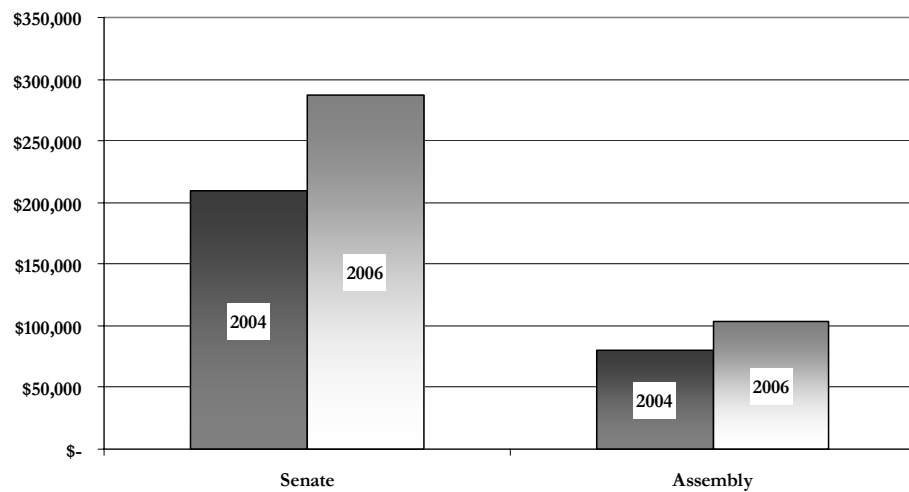
A grand total of \$2,956,974 was spent in support of former Democratic Assembly Member Jeff Klein, who won the election with 43,276 votes. His victory ultimately cost over \$51 per vote! The Republicans, who previously controlled the seat, spent just one third of that in support of retired New York City police detective John Fleming. A total of \$735,401 was spent to support him, and he received 31,522 votes.

The Klein campaign spent the majority of its funds on T.V. ads, campaign workers, mailings, campaign consulting and political contributions. The Fleming campaign did not come close to matching Klein's spending in any of those areas, its largest expense being campaign literature.

that the lion's share of this spending represents current incumbents' early expenditures for the 2006 elections.

Despite being some of the most costly races in the nation already, there are some indications that New York State legislative campaigns, like gubernatorial campaigns, are becoming still more expensive. As of January 2006, the average State Senate and State Assembly incumbent has 37% and 29% more cash on hand, respectively, than they did at the same point in 2004⁴.

Average Senate & Assembly Incumbent Closing Balance
January 2004 versus January 2006



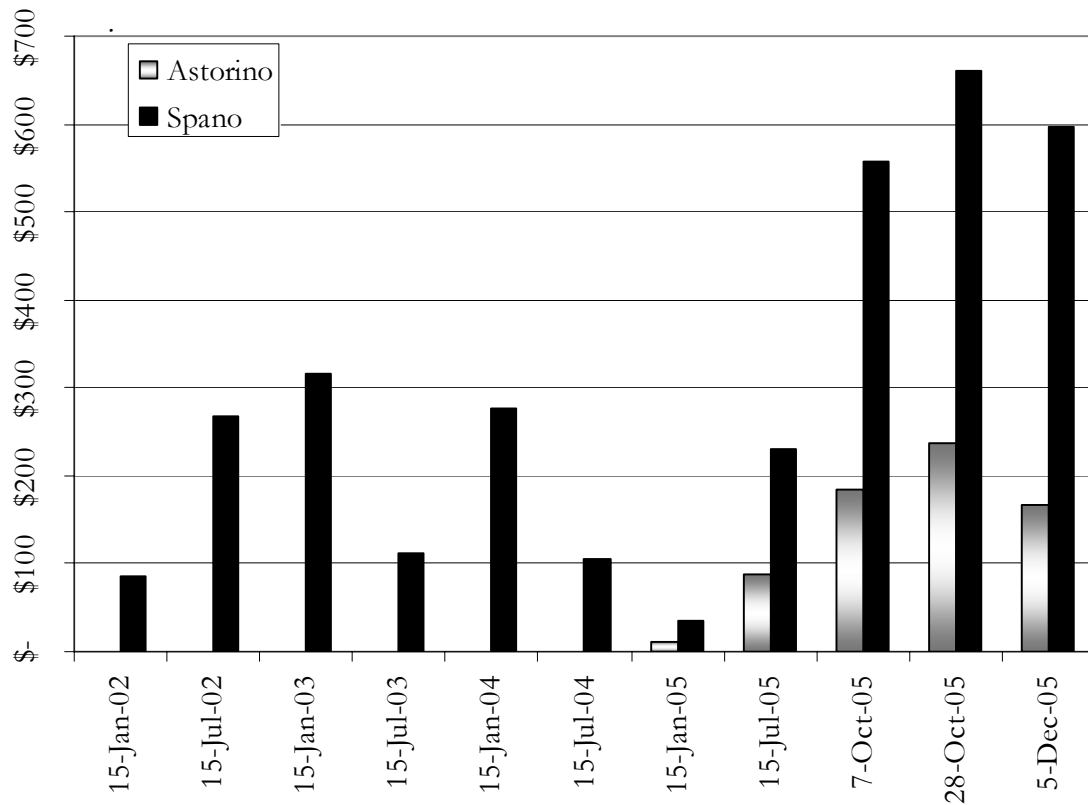
County and municipal elections are by no means immune to the pressure of rising costs. Most notable among high cost local elections was the 2005 New York City Mayoral election, which cost over \$109 million.⁵ The overwhelming majority of this astronomical figure—\$84,587,319—was spent by incumbent mayor and billionaire Michael Bloomberg who funded his own campaign.

⁴ This comparison only includes the 179 current incumbents who had campaign committees that also had active committees in January 2004.

⁵ Source: The New York City Campaign Finance Board. This total includes liabilities.

Looking beyond New York City, Westchester County also saw two very high cost county-level elections in 2005. The race for Westchester County Executive cost almost \$4 million, with over \$3.2 million spent by Democratic incumbent Andy Spano against Republican challenger Rob Astorino's \$687,074. Incumbent Spano spent over \$1.1 million of the total in the first three years of his four-year term. Even more surprising is the fact that the race for Westchester County Clerk clocked in at \$673,931.

Campaign Spending in the 2005 Westchester County Executive Race

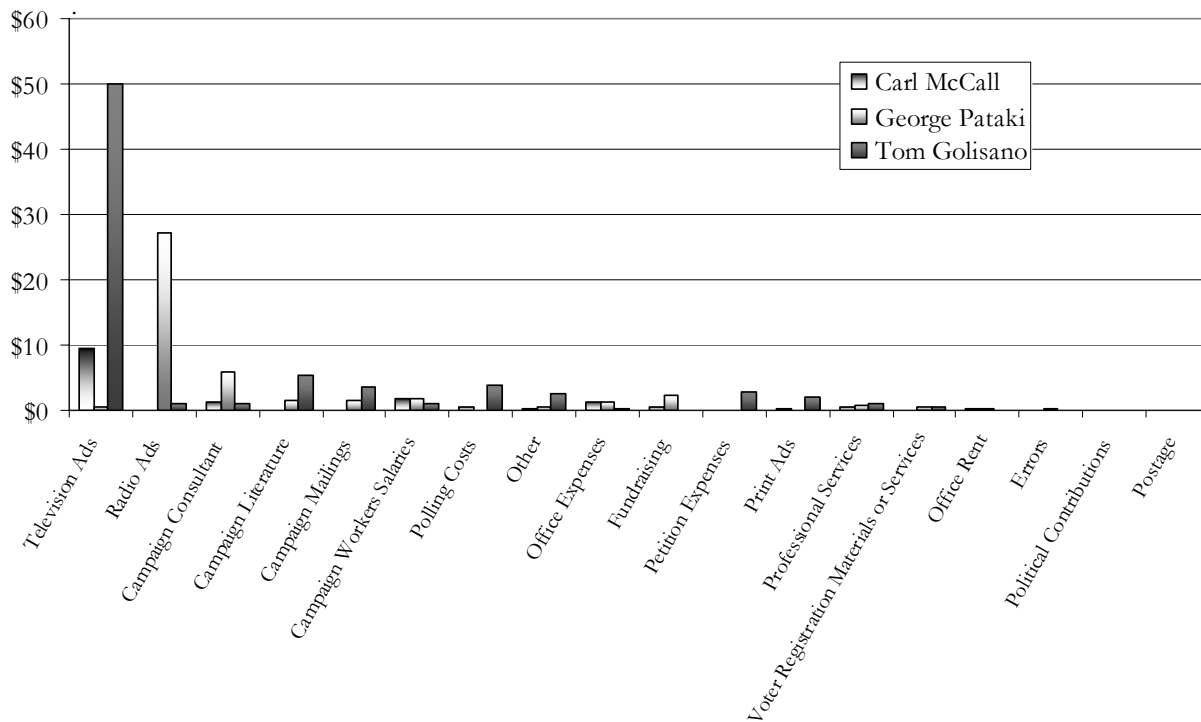


The fact that the cost of elections in our state is high and increasing, combined with the strong correlation between high campaign spending and winning campaigns, suggests that there is a great deal of pressure on candidates to raise money. It also speaks to the importance of money in statewide political campaigns and broaches worrying questions about what these trends mean for the health of our democracy.

What's Driving the Rising Cost of Campaigns?

So why are campaigns in New York State so expensive, and why do those costs continue to rise? The statistics relating to where campaign funds are spent are by and large not surprising. In 2002, the two greatest categories of expenses in the gubernatorial race were television and radio ads. The fact that our state represents a large and expensive media market means that there is more pressure on candidates to raise more to get their message out.

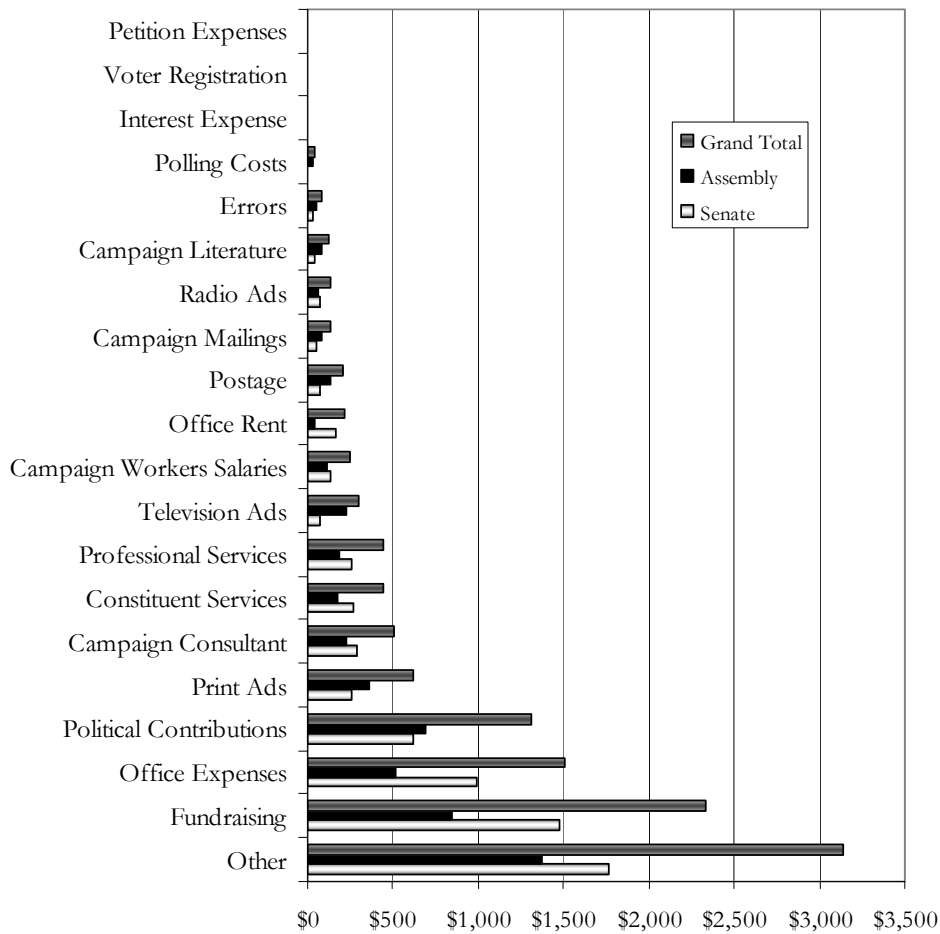
How Candidates in the 2002 Gubernatorial Election Spent their Money



It is also notable that fundraising represented incumbent Governor Pataki's 4th largest expense. This suggests that there is a sort of vicious cycle of money in politics wherein candidates have to spend more and more money to raise the sums that are required for a winning campaign. Legislative candidates spend an even greater share of their funds on fundraising expenses. In the 2004 legislative elections, fundraising was ranked third among candidates' expenses. Television

advertising was the second highest expense for these candidates, and payments in the nebulous “other” category represented the largest use of their funds. In 2005 (an “off” year for legislative elections) incumbent state legislators spent over \$2.3 million on fundraising.

How Senators and Assemblymembers Spent their Campaign Funds in 2005



Another strange wrinkle in the data on where campaign money is spent by state-level candidates is that some of the money spent by candidates is actually spent on services and items that stretch the definition of a campaign expense to its breaking point. Unfortunately, New York State’s lax laws so broadly

Personal Use: Connor’s \$70,000 Auto Expenses

Former Chair of the Senate Democratic Conference and Senator from the 25th district, Martin Connor, has spent over \$70,000 of his campaign funds since July 2003 on purchases relating to a car he bought in July 2003, also with campaign funds.

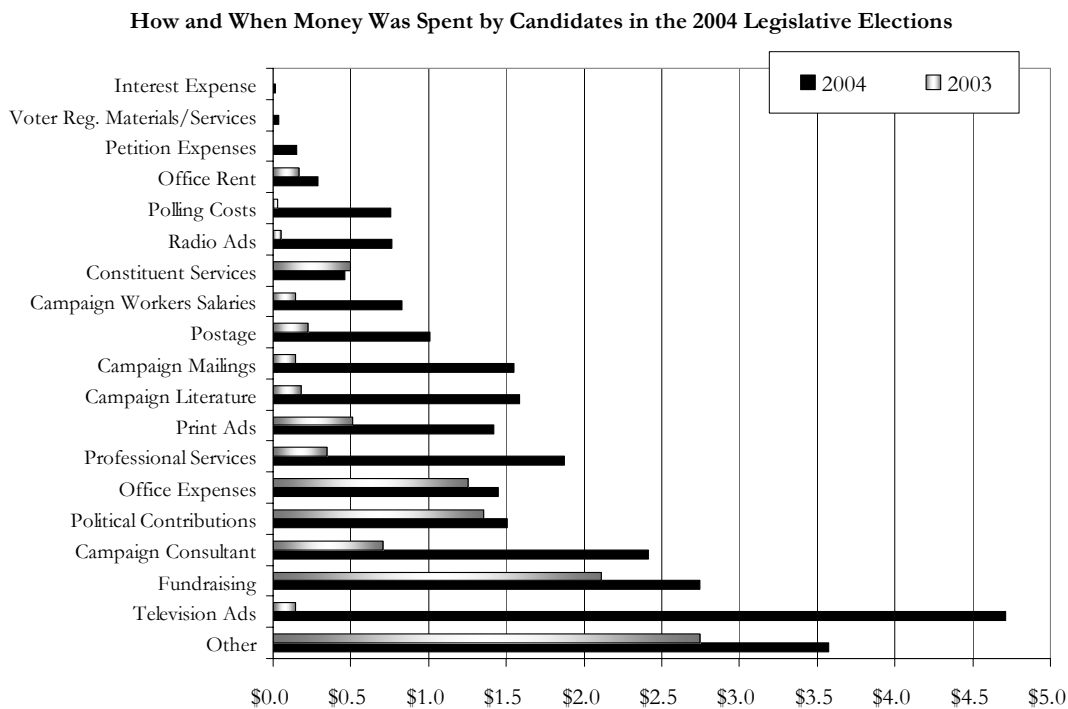
The single largest expense was the car itself, purchased for \$34,582.08. The Senator also spent a total of \$11,966 to park his car at a garage located over two miles from his district office in Manhattan but just one block from his Brooklyn residence. The third largest expense was car insurance from Allstate, costing a total of \$11,763. Connor also spent \$8,558 on repairs and maintenance, including a \$5,422 repair in July 2004, just one year from the purchase date. Rounding out the car-related expense list was \$2,773 for miscellaneous “car expense” reimbursements made directly to the Senator; \$1,999 spent on gasoline reimbursements; \$150 to register the car; and \$45 for a AAA membership.

This \$71,837 in automotive expenses represented 35% of Connor’s total campaign expenses during that time period - during which he faced no primary or general election opponents.

Clearly, these purchases stretch the definition of “campaign expense” beyond any reasonable limit and they provide a vivid example of how some candidates use their campaign funds to support their lifestyles.

define permissible uses of campaign funds that there have been multiple public accounts of candidates and elected officials using these funds for everything from junkets to country club memberships to leases on luxury cars.

While it is exceedingly difficult to accurately determine what is and what isn't a personal expense, one very telling characteristic is when the funds are actually spent. It is notable that in 2004, over half of the money spent by winning legislative candidates was not spent immediately before or after a primary, special or general election. This means that, in the aggregate, winning candidates spent less than 50% of their overall campaign totals between July 2004 and December 2004 or in the month before or after a special election. In comparison, losing candidates spent over 95% during those time periods – the height of the election season. In other words, candidates who were, by all indications, spending the vast majority of their funds on direct campaign expenses during the height of the election season, nevertheless lost their elections, while candidates who spent over half of their campaign funds before or after the height of the campaign season nevertheless won. This likely speaks to the power of incumbency in helping legislative candidates to get elected, and the willingness of incumbents who feel comfortable in their positions to spend campaign funds on goods and services that stretch the definition of “campaign expenses.”



When individuals make contributions to political campaigns, they expect those contributions to be used for legitimate campaigning purposes. Candidates who use these funds to pad their lifestyles betray the trust of those who contributed, further eroding public confidence in the electoral process.

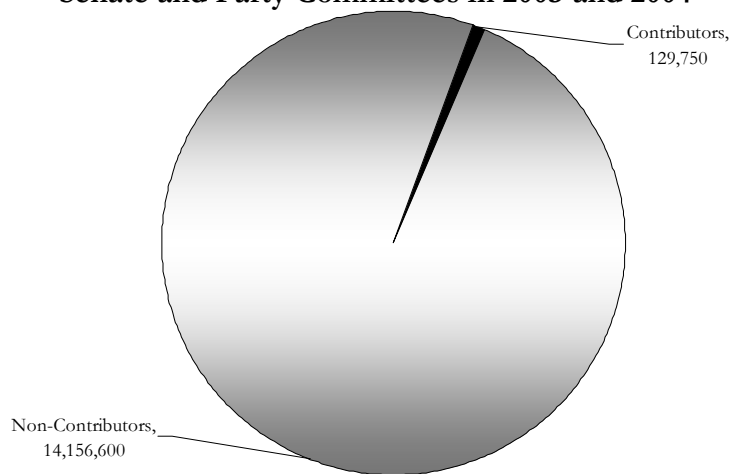
Conclusion

A look at the available data clearly indicates that New York State political campaigns are expensive compared with those in other states; that the historical trend has been toward rising costs; and that usual suspects such as television ads are driving these rising costs. That these worrying trends seem by most indications set to continue in 2006 demands that we investigate further the implications of these high cost elections for our democracy.

Who's Giving?

The high and increasing cost of running for office begs the question – who is funding these high dollar campaigns? The answer, unfortunately, is all too clear: New York state political campaigns are by and large funded by a combination of corporations, unions, PACs and a rarefied group of individuals who are able to give contributions in amounts far beyond the means of most New Yorkers.

Estimated Portion of New York State's Population that Made Direct Political Contributions to Candidates for Assembly or Senate and Party Committees in 2003 and 2004



In fact, even the most generous possible interpretation of available data shows that, in the current election cycle, over 99% of New Yorkers gave nothing at all in direct contributions to any state-level political campaign⁶. That means that multi-million dollar campaigns are being run with the financial support of only a minuscule portion of the state population.

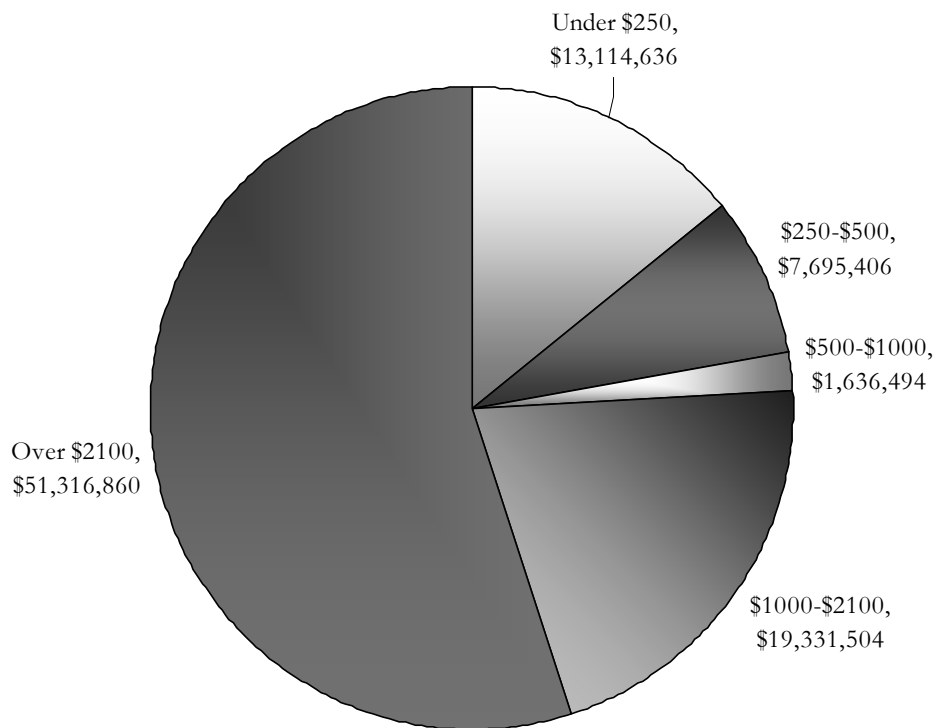
Furthermore, the individuals who do give to campaigns tend to give at levels outside of the reach of most New Yorkers. For the 2002⁷, 2004 and 2006 election cycles, only 6.7% of the total dollar

⁶ For the 2004 election cycle, Common Cause/NY was able to identify 76,451 separate contributions made by individuals to state-level campaigns. While we know that some donors give multiple contributions, even assuming that each of these contributions came from a separate donor provides us with 76,451 donors who gave in amounts above \$100 (the minimum amount that is itemized on state disclosure reports). We also factored in unitemized contributions (those that come in at amounts under \$100) which candidates may simply lump together on their contribution reports. A total of \$1,332,465.71 in unitemized contributions was reported in the 2004 election cycle. Even if we assume that each of these contributions was given in the amount of \$25 this still leaves a total of only 129,750 separate individual contributors, or 0.92% of New York State's 18 year old+ population of 14,286,350 (as estimated by the US Census Bureau in 2004).

⁷ For the purposes of this report, our data on the 2002 election cycle includes only candidates running for Governor, Attorney General, and Comptroller. Legislative races are not included in our 2002 data.

amount of contributions has thus far come from individuals giving \$250 or less⁸. That's compared to 43.4% coming from individuals giving over \$250, 18.9% coming from corporations and partnerships, 30.5% coming from PACs, and 0.5% from candidates and their families.

The Majority of Individuals' Contributions to New York State Candidate Committees Would have been Illegal on the Federal Level



⁸ We selected \$250 as a benchmark because this is the maximum contribution amount that is matchable with public funds under the New York City campaign finance program. This figure therefore allows easy comparison with available data on contributions on the city level.

In fact, the largest percentage of the total dollar value of *all* (individual, corporate, PAC and partnership) campaign contributions (58.6%) for the 2002⁹, 2004 and 2006 cycles, has thus far come in at amounts exceeding \$2,100. That's compared to just 9.5% coming in at amounts below \$250. Over 55% of all the money contributed by individuals to candidates' committees in New York State would have exceeded the federal individual contribution limit of \$2,100. By contrast, a report issued by the New York City Campaign Finance Board shows that contributions under \$250 represent 37% of total dollar amount of contributions received by city-level candidates during the 2003 election cycle.¹⁰ It is worth noting that New York City, unlike the state, has an outright ban on corporate contributions, subjects candidates to stricter contribution limits, and has a system of public financing for elections that is intended to encourage small, individual contributions.

Leonard Litwin: Portrait of a Contributor

From 1999 to the present, real estate developer Leonard Litwin, his wife, his company, Glenwood Management and multiple parking garages owned by Litwin have together contributed \$841,280.00 to state-level campaigns.

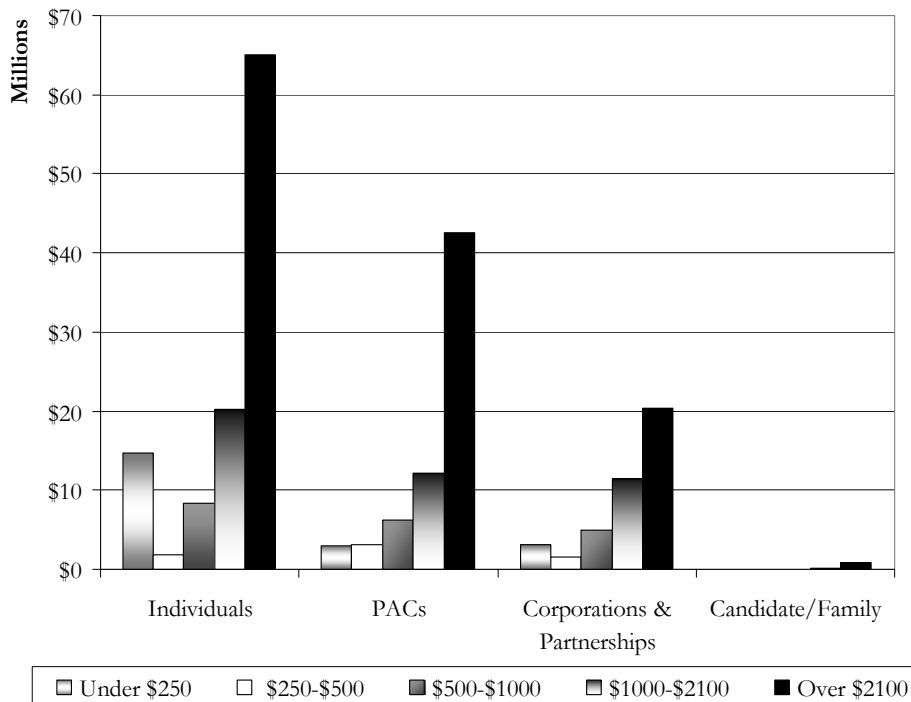
From 1999 to today, twenty companies controlled by Litwin or sharing his Union Turnpike address all contributed the \$5,000 annual maximum for a total of \$100,000 in giving.

Litwin himself gave a total of \$594,980.00 and his wife, Ruth, gave \$127,300.00.

Litwin was able to contribute such astronomical sums by taking advantage of New York State's sky-high contribution limits and the "legal entities loophole" (both described in the next section). Litwin is clearly an extreme example. But his giving shows how distant many of those individuals and interests funding New York State political campaigns are from regular New Yorkers in terms of their ability to funnel large sums of money to their candidates of choice.

Some of the companies associated with Litwin that made contributions included 39th Garage LLC, 92nd Garage LLC, E. 46th Garage Corp., E. 73rd Garage Corp., E. 77th Garage Corp., Briarwood Garage Corp., Briar Hill Country Club, Inc., and the Glenwood Operation Corporation.

Who Gives in What Sizes?



⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ NYCCFB, *City Council Election: A Report by the Campaign Finance Board*, Volume 1, September 2004, Page 14.

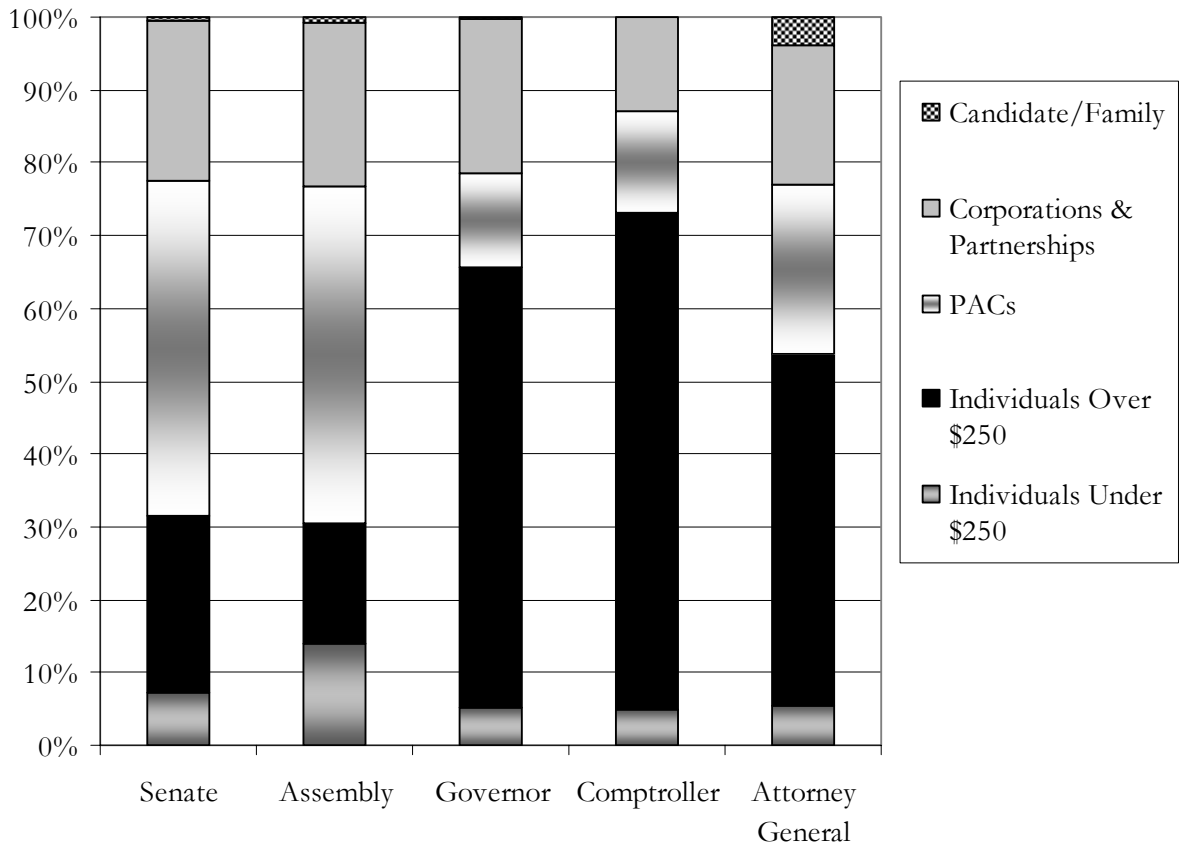
And, in fact, the disparity between the way campaigns are funded on the state and city levels is great. In terms of the total number of contributions made, 64.6% of contributions came in at amounts equal to or less than \$250 at the state level, compared to 84% in the New York City Council Elections of 2003 and 89% in council elections of 2001¹¹. Combined with the above data on the total dollar amount of contributions, this means that there are significantly more small dollar contributions made in New York City than on the state level, and that these small dollar contributions represent a much larger percentage of the total amount given in the city than they do on the state level.

The majority of state-level contributions in excess of \$2,100 were made by individuals. Over \$65 million dollars was given to candidates and party committees by individuals giving over \$2,100, with an average contribution size of \$3,367.

The story this data tells is one of state campaigns funded by an elite group of wealthy individuals as well as corporations, unions and PACs that give at levels outside of the ability of most New Yorkers and surpassing the limits that are imposed upon federal candidates.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Candidates' Funding Sources by Contributor Type as a Percentage of Total Funds Raised



Notably, legislative candidates rely heavily on contributions from Political Action Committees—significantly more so than candidates for other state offices. In the 2004 and 2006 election cycles, legislative candidates and legislative party committees received 41.3% of their funding from PACs while candidates for Governor, Attorney General and Comptroller received only 13.5% from PACs. There are probably several reasons for this disparity. Candidates for statewide office invariably gain wider notoriety and therefore garner greater support from individuals. Additionally, the contribution limits for statewide office are significantly higher than those for legislative candidates. The current contribution limit for general elections is \$33,900, \$8,500 and \$3,400 for statewide office, State Senate and State Assembly, respectively. This means that individuals can give more to statewide candidates.

Corporate & PAC Giving

Corporate and partnership contributions thus far account for 22% of funding for political campaigns during the 2002¹², 2004 and 2006 election cycles. This total includes contributions made directly from labor unions. On the federal level, direct corporate and union contributions are banned. New York City also bans contributions from corporations, even those that are not-for-profit. However, in New York State corporations are still allowed to give a total of \$5,000 annually. Corporate contributions raise special concerns about their ability to corrupt the political process. An editorial opinion written by a lawyer for the Brennan Center for Justice outlines these special concerns:

*Corporate donations are particularly likely to be intended to curry support with officeholders. Indeed, if corporate donations did not buy political influence, it would be hard to see how corporate management could justify them. The common practice of giving to both parties eliminates any doubt about the purpose of corporate contributions. In addition, the very structure of corporations — limited liability, perpetual existence, and easy access to capital markets — are benefits derived from the government. Companies should not be allowed to use those benefits to gain political power. And when corporations make political expenditures, they spend money that belongs to the shareholders. The government has a legitimate interest in protecting dissenting shareholders.*¹³

Furthermore, as Supreme Court Justice David Souter wrote in the majority opinion in *Federal Election Commission v. Beaumont*, which upheld the ban on corporate contributions, “within the realm of contributions generally, corporate contributions are furthest from the core of political expression, since corporations’ First Amendment speech and association interests are derived largely from those of their members.”¹⁴ That is, not only are corporate contributions a source of greater concern with regard to their potential to corrupt the political process, but the First Amendment concerns that would arise from a similar ban on individual contributions do not exist in the same way because a corporation is fundamentally different from a person.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Morse, Adam H. “Still Awash in Cash.” *Legal Times*, 23 June 2003.

¹⁴ Qtd. in Greenhouse, Linda. “Ban on Corporate Contributions is Upheld.” *New York Times*, 17 June 2003.

On the federal level, corporations and unions are able to contribute through Political Action Committees that are set up for that purpose and subject to contribution limits and disclosure requirements. In New York, not only are corporations able to give directly to campaigns, but they have in many instances exploited loopholes in our campaign finance law that allow them to contribute more. These loopholes, which include the fact that each legal subsidiary of a company is allowed to contribute up to the \$5,000 annual limit, are described in greater detail in the next section.

It is worrisome that almost a quarter of funding for New York State campaigns comes directly from corporations and partnerships, including direct union contributions. Furthermore, because this total does not even include money given through PACs, it underestimates the real influence of corporations and unions on our political campaigns. Corporations and their executives and officers often give money through corporate PACs set up for that purpose. A corporation's contributions to its PAC are still subject to the aggregate \$5,000 annual limit placed on all corporate contributions, but some companies nevertheless use PACs as a vehicle to amass and distribute contributions.

	TOP TEN PACs JANUARY – JULY 2005	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties
1	VOICE OF TEACHERS FOR EDUCATION/COMM. ON POLITICAL EDUC.	\$480,281.50
2	EMPIRE DENTAL PAC	\$321,007.00
3	D.R.I.V.E. - DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, INDEPENDENT VOTER EDUCATION	\$295,156.82
4	HEALTHCARE ASSOCIATION OF NYS PAC (HANYS PAC)	\$200,225.00
5	REALTORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$193,784.00
6	WILSON, ELSER, MOSKOWITZ, EDELMAN & DICKER LLP	\$165,606.00
7	NYS AFL-CIO COPE	\$161,300.00
8	NEW YORK STATE LABORERS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$149,005.00
9	NYSCOPBA PAC	\$146,215.00
10	LAWPAC OF NEW YORK	\$144,715.00
	Top 10 Total	\$2,257,295.32
	Top 40 Total	\$4,401,769.32
	All 431 PACs	\$8,366,739.32

Furthermore, as the data below indicates, unions make particularly prolific use of PACs to gather and disburse contributions from their members.

During the six month period ending on July 15, 2005, the top 40 Political Action Committees donated a total of \$4,401,769, over half of the total amount given during the same time period

by all of the 431 PACs that contributed. Almost half (48%) of the total contributions from those top 40 PACs was contributed by union interests—\$2,125,328.32.

Conclusion

Who's funding New York's high dollar political campaigns matters because, by their very nature, campaign contributions help to elect an individual to political office. These statistics show that most New Yorkers do not participate in helping to elect one candidate or another through this method. Furthermore, New Yorkers who do give come primarily from a rarified group of individuals who are able to make contributions in amounts exceeding \$250 – a level that is out of reach for most New Yorkers. Finally, corporations – entities that are not even allowed to give campaign contributions in New York City or on the federal level and that raise particular concerns with respect to their ability to corrupt the political process – play a large role in electing candidates to office.

A Weak, Loophole-Ridden Law

A look at who's giving to New York State political campaigns opens up yet more questions. If New York has contribution limits and if the State Board of Elections is authorized to enforce these limits, how is it that some individuals and corporations seem to be able to give to campaigns in such astronomical amounts?

The answer lies first and foremost in the fact that our state's contribution limits are exceedingly high compared to limits for the federal government, New York City and other states. Political parties are allowed to receive annual contributions of \$84,400 from one individual or PAC; statewide candidates can receive contributions of nearly \$50,000 (including up to \$14,700 for a primary) per election cycle; state senate candidates can receive \$8,500 for the general election (and an additional \$5,400 for a primary); and assembly candidates can receive \$3,400 for the general election (and an additional \$3,400 for a primary).

These limits are hardly limits at all when compared to limits for federal campaigns. Candidates for national office may receive contributions of only \$2,100 from individuals per election cycle (plus the same amount for a primary campaign) and \$5,000 per election from a multicandidate PAC. Direct corporate and union contributions are banned on the federal level.¹⁵

Still, high contribution limits tell only part of the story. Loopholes in the state's campaign finance law offer numerous avenues for enterprising individuals and corporations to surpass even those limits we do have.

Soft Money

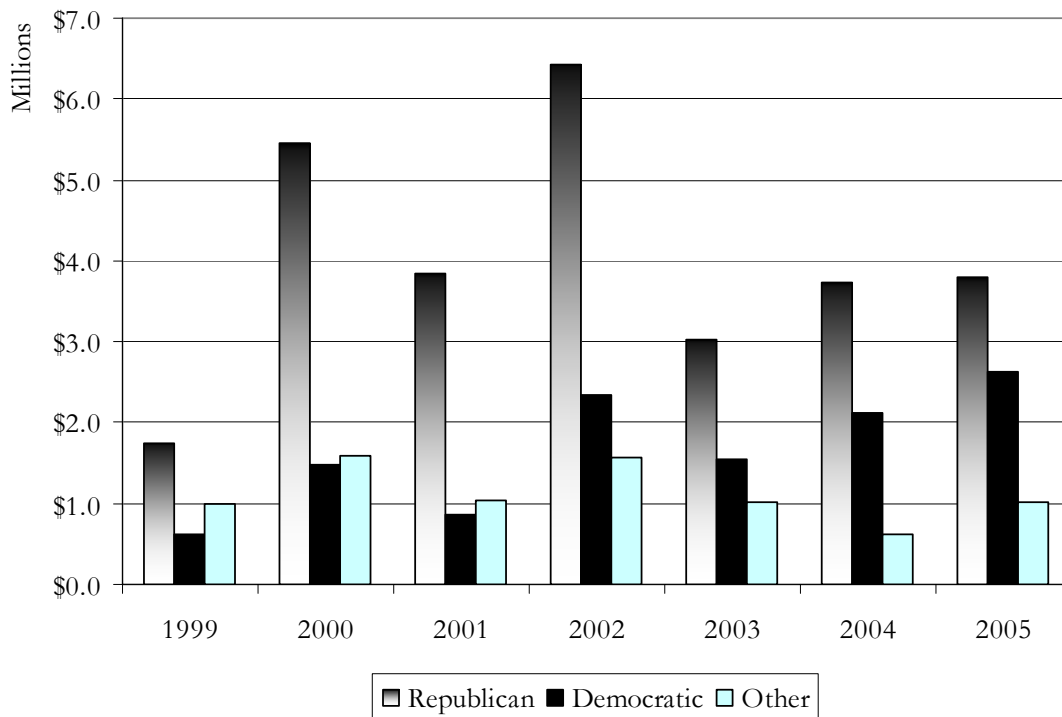
Another weakness of our state campaign finance law is that, unlike on the national level, New York State continues to allow so-called "soft money" donations to state parties. Banned on the federal level by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, soft money donations are those given to parties' "housekeeping" accounts. Theoretically, these donations are supposed to be used only for

¹⁵ Source: Federal Election Commission. www.fec.gov.

party-building purposes, and not to support individual candidates. In reality, however, the practice of using these dollars for campaigns is common and well-documented.

A well known example of the way that New York State’s parties have used the soft money loophole to subvert our state’s already high contribution limits is a April 25, 1996 fundraising letter written by former head of the Republican Party Bill Powers (now a lobbyist), which outlined the contribution limits for New York but included a postscript that advised donors that if they wrote the word “housekeeping” on the checks their donations could be unlimited.¹⁶ Specifically, the letter said, “a corporation can write a \$10,000 check to New York Republican State Committee with ‘Housekeeping Account’ in the memo portion of the check.”

Breakdown of Soft Money Raised Since 1999



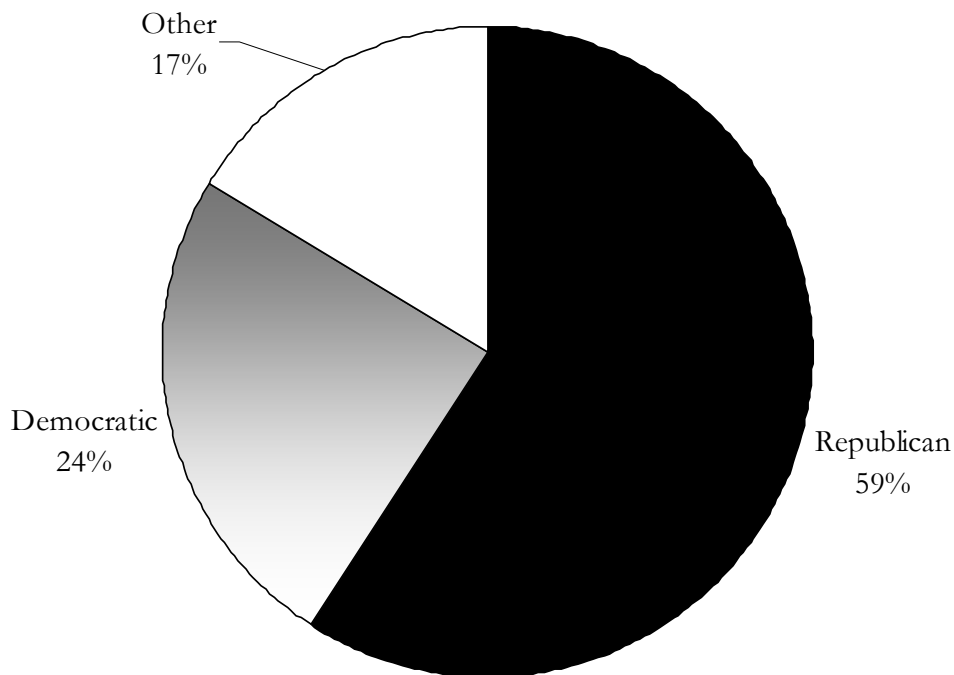
Even state elections officials acknowledge that the laws governing the use of soft money are weak. State Board of Elections spokesman Lee Daghlian was quoted as saying that the board takes a

¹⁶ Sheingold, Dave and Ed Tagliaferri. “Millions Funneled Through Loopholes” *The Journal News*, 1999. (<http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/ny/ny015.htm>)

“pretty liberal” reading of the law. “It is as wide open as a truck, the law as written,” he said. The only way to violate it would be for a party to take money from its housekeeping account and make a “direct payment to a candidate.”¹⁷

Since 1999 New York State’s political parties have raised over \$47 million in soft money. These large, unregulated contributions overwhelmingly favor Republican Party committees—almost 60% went into Republican “housekeeping” accounts. Furthermore, over 72% of the soft money was raised via checks written in amounts greater than \$10,000 each.

Soft Money Grand Total: \$47.4 Million Since 1999



Legal Entities Loophole

Corporations are theoretically limited to giving \$5,000 in contributions on the state-level per year. However, this limit is frequently surpassed by companies that make use of the “legal entities loophole.”

¹⁷ Ibid.

Under state law, each separate legal entity of a corporation is entitled to give up to the \$5,000 limit. That means that one corporation with twenty separately incorporated subsidiaries could actually give \$105,000 legally simply by giving up to the \$5,000 limit from each individual company.

There are countless examples of individuals and corporate interests maximizing their campaign giving ability by making use of this loophole. The sidebar story to the right as well and the story on Leonard Litwin's campaign giving found on page 19 provide two portraits of how the legal entities loophole works.

Bundling

Bundling is the practice of pooling contributions from multiple sources and delivering them to a candidate in one "bundle." A bundler is therefore able to curry favor with a political candidate by delivering multiple contributions to this candidate – potentially surpassing the individual contribution limit – without even being required to report this activity.

In New York City, if a contribution is given through an intermediary, the intermediary's name and address must be reported to the Campaign Finance Board. Not so on the state level. This weakness in our state's disclosure law prevents New Yorkers from knowing who the powerful bundlers are on the state level and how much they're delivering to state candidates.

Poor Disclosure and Enforcement

As mentioned above, New York does not require reporting of the names or addresses of "bundlers" who deliver contributions to elected officials. Another important advancement in New York City that the state has thus far failed to replicate is reporting of an individual contributor's employer. Without this critical information, New Yorkers have an incomplete picture of who is giving to state-level campaigns.

Sheldon Solow: How the Legal Entities Loophole Works

In late 2004, real-estate developer Sheldon Solow purchased the Consolidated Edison plant on the East River for \$600 million. The only problem was that the United Nations wanted to erect a 35-story tower of its own on a park directly to the north of his property. Such a move would cut off breathing room for any skyscrapers he would build himself.

So Mr. Solow fought back. He lavished money on state Republicans and hired one of Albany's best-connected lobbyists, whose clients have included Philip Morris and the New York Yankees, to block a bill in the State Senate that would have paved the way for the U.N. tower.

The bill died, pummeled by anti-U.N. rhetoric led by Senate Republicans.

That same fall, Common Cause/NY research shows that four companies that were either explicitly controlled by Mr. Solow or listed the same building address contributed \$25,500 to New York Forward, a political-action committee founded by Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno and used to fund state candidates. The contributions were all made on the same day, Sept. 16, 2004, in a move that would have maximized their impact.

Giving from multiple legal entities allowed Solow to make an end run around the state's corporate contribution limit.

Source: *The New York Observer*, 2/6/2006

Furthermore, New York State's Board of Elections is under funded and limited by law in its ability to punish campaign finance scofflaws. A 2003 report authored by Common Cause/NY and the New York Public Interest Research Group entitled "Over the Top: Corporations Exceeding the Limits of New York State Campaign Finance Law" found 96 corporations that had apparently violated our state's campaign finance law by contributing over the \$5,000 annual limit in 2002.¹⁸ As the report noted, the fact that so many companies were allowed to apparently break the law had to do first and foremost with the fact that local campaign contribution data was not computerized (a problem that was remedied by legislative action in 2005). But, equally as important was the fact that the Board of Elections is extremely limited in its ability to investigate or punish violations of campaign finance law.

Current election law requires that all contribution violations be "knowing and willful." In the case of the corporate violations referenced above, this would mean that those corporate officers could not be held liable for a violation if they did not fully know of the existence of the statute. Furthermore, the law stipulates that the State Board must refer all violations to District Attorneys for prosecution. Few of these cases get referred and fewer still get acted upon.

Conclusion

Weaknesses in New York State's campaign finance law allow for a system in which campaigns are largely funded through high-dollar contributions, including unlimited soft money contributions. Furthermore, loopholes like the legal entities loophole vastly increase the influence of corporations on our state-level political campaigns. The fact that the State Board of Elections has so little capacity for enforcement gives those who violate what laws we do have little reason to worry that their actions will be discovered or punished.

¹⁸ Horner, Blair, Rachel Leon, Andria Bentley, Liam Arbetman, Theresa Cassiack, Stephen Crim, Joanna Erenberg, Emily Mathieu and Katie Nadeau. "Over the Top: Corporations Exceeding the Limits of New York State Campaign Finance Law." Common Cause/NY and the New York Public Interest Research Group. April, 2003.

PART THREE: CONCLUSION

The picture this report paints of the current state of campaign financing in New York State is disturbing. Elections are expensive and those costs are rising, driven by a combination of expensive television and radio ads, costly fundraising bills, and most egregiously, by candidates spending in the nebulous “other” category, suggesting the pervasiveness of the practice of spending campaign funds for purposes that stretch the definition of “campaign expense” beyond a plausible limit.

Furthermore, the vast majority of New Yorkers give nothing directly to state-level candidates, but those who do give write checks in amounts that far exceed the ability of most New Yorkers. 55% of contributions from individuals that are made directly to state-level candidates would be illegal on the federal level because they violate federal contribution limits for individuals giving directly to campaigns. That state-level campaigns are largely funded by an exclusive group of individuals able to give over \$2,100, as well as corporations and unions that aren’t even allowed to make direct contributions on the federal level, should give pause to any New Yorker concerned about the health of our democracy.

As the cost of campaigns rises, seeking out campaign funds becomes more important to candidates. Given the way campaigns are currently financed, that means that the elite individuals who make up the \$2,100 Club become more important to our elected officials and those aspiring to public office every day.

Revelations that something is wrong with our state’s campaign finance law are not new. As described in a report entitled “Reform NY: Ten Steps on the Path to Change Albany” written in 2004 by the New York Public Interest Research Group and endorsed by Common Cause/NY, calls for reform have long gone ignored by leaders in Albany.

Over ten years ago, the final report of the Commission on Government Integrity was sent to the Governor and state legislative leaders. The Commission's report condemned New York's lax ethical standards calling them "disgraceful" and "embarrassingly weak." In addition, the Commission scolded state leaders for failing to act saying, "Instead partisan, personal and vested interests have been allowed to come before larger public interests."

The now-defunct Commission was created fifteen years ago in response to scandals that rocked the political establishment in both New York City and New York State. The

Commission, led by Fordham Law School Dean John Feerick and other luminaries including former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, was charged with examining the way political business is conducted in New York State and developing a blueprint for reform.

One decade later, New York City now has [a] most far reaching and effective system of financing campaigns for city office - in fact a model for the nation - and it has placed significant limits on the efforts of special interests to control government decision-making.

Yet in Albany, nothing has changed. By 1990, the Commission had released 23 reports, including recommendations for sweeping campaign finance and ethics reforms for both state and municipal governments. State lawmakers in Albany ignored these recommendations.

Despite the Commission's statement that "The campaign finance law of the State is a disgrace and embarrassment," there have been no significant changes in that law.¹⁹

Recommendations

In the face of data that shows both how important money has become to candidates and how small and unrepresentative the group of individuals who are funding their campaigns truly is, it is time for New Yorkers to ask whether this system could possibly best serve democracy in our state.

Reforms that lawmakers should embrace include, among other things, a ban on soft money, a reduction in New York's sky-high contribution limits, closure of the legal entities loophole, an end to fundraisers near the Capitol during the legislative session, improved disclosure and enforcement, a ban on candidates putting campaign contributions to personal use and public financing of elections.

First and foremost, the state should create a system of voluntary public financing of elections. Though different in different states and localities, public financing systems allow candidates who have demonstrated broad-based support for their candidacies to collect public funds to help them conduct their campaigns. In New York City, for example, contributions up to \$250 are matched at a rate of 4 to 1 with public funds. This system maximizes the value of small contributions and allows candidates to run successful campaigns without having to rely on special interests and elite, big

¹⁹ Horner, Blair. "Reform New York: Ten Steps on the Path to Change Albany." The New York Public Interest Research Group. October, 2004.

money donors. In exchange for receiving public funds, candidates must agree to expenditure limits, which help to hold down the cost of campaigns and level the playing field so that candidates compete in a war of ideas rather than a war of campaign dollars.

As recent experience on the state and city levels shows, the phenomenon of high-spending, self-funded candidates seems to be on the rise. Tom Golisano and Michael Bloomberg both vastly increased spending in those elections in which they participated. That this practice creates challenges for a public financing system cannot be doubted. For the 2005 Mayoral election, New York City had in place a program whereby high spending on the part of a candidate not participating in the public financing system would trigger an increase in the matching public funds available to that candidate's participating opponent. This was an important first step that helped to mitigate somewhat the impact of Bloomberg's high spending. Nevertheless, it was not a total solution to the problem, and further steps have been suggested and should be pursued to attempt to deal with this issue. With the benefit of having witnessed New York City's experience trying to address these issues, the state should incorporate similar safeguards into any public financing program it enacts.

Concurrent with the creation of a public financing system, the state should also overhaul existing law to remedy the egregious problems with the current state of affairs. The state should:

- **Ban soft money.** The federal government now bans "soft money" donations to the political parties. Yet, the federal law allows state and local parties to continue to receive these huge donations. New York State should close the soft money loophole.
- **Dramatically lower contribution limits.** New York State's sky high contribution limits should be lowered.
- **Close the legal entities loophole.** The loophole that allows corporations to circumvent New York's \$5,000 annual aggregate corporate limit by funneling contributions through subsidiaries should be eliminated.
- **End fundraisers near the Capitol during the legislative session.**
- **Expand disclosure.** The state should require disclosure of the name of the employer or the occupation of the contributor.
- **Strengthen enforcement.** The State should create a new enforcement agency with the power to crack down on election law "scofflaws."
- **Limit the use of campaign contributions to those activities directly involved in campaigning.** New York State law not only allows the use of campaign contributions for purposes relating to a candidacy, but also for spending relating to an official's role as a public or party official. This loophole allows incumbents - who are rarely challenged in elections - to use campaign donations for essentially personal uses. This loophole should be closed.
- **Enact a system of public financing for elections across New York State.**

The difference that Public Financing Makes

Maine and Arizona remain the only two states to offer full public financing for all state-level candidates, though a law that was passed last year in Connecticut means that that state will soon join the list. Six other states offer partial public financing to at least some candidates (Hawaii, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina and Wisconsin).

While differences in population size and the cost of advertising in Maine and Arizona as compared to New York make fair comparisons between the total cost of elections in those states and ours difficult, one clear impact of the public financing systems in Maine and Arizona has been to level the playing field between candidates so that, unlike in New York, winners and losers now spend approximately the same amount.

As the Institute of Money in State politics notes, in both Maine and Arizona, candidates who ran publicly financed campaigns in 2004 raised about the same amount as their competitors, putting both winners and losers on equal footing. Among candidates who did not participate, losing candidates typically raised far less than winning candidates.

	PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES			NON-PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES		
	Winner	Loser	Primary Loser	Winner	Loser	Primary Loser
Arizona	\$38,704	\$36,940	\$24,645	\$35,034	\$1,565	\$35,572
Maine	\$9,720	\$9,009	\$5,409	\$9,720	\$7,246	\$469

Source: Institute of Money in State Politics. "State Elections Overview 2004." December, 2005.

New York City has also seen many benefits from its public financing program. The number of people contributing to city-level campaigns rose between 1997 and 2005 for all offices. The number of contributors was particularly high in 2001, when term limits were enacted leading to an unusual number of open seats, but the general trend has been toward an increase.

PART FOUR: APPENDICES

Notes to Appendices and Data

Appendix A: Methodology

Appendix B: The \$100,000 Club. A chart listing all contributions from individuals and entities that gave contributions in amounts of \$100,000 and higher to New York State political parties.

Appendix C: Top Spending Assembly Incumbents. A chart listing the top 15 spenders among Assembly incumbents.

Appendix D: Top Spending Senate Incumbents. A chart listing the top 15 spenders among Senate incumbents.

Appendix E: PACs and Their Giving. A list of PACs in NY and what they gave.

Appendix F: Purpose Code Definition Examples.

Appendix G: NY State Campaign Contribution Limits

Appendix A: Methodology

The data contained in this report was downloaded as ASCII delimited data files from the New York State Board of Elections website on February 1, 2006 and imported into a database. The filings submitted to the Board of Elections have numerous and varied flaws that result from a combination of poor data entry, misunderstandings of disclosure regulations and genuine mistakes. For the purposes of this report, except in instances where glaring mistakes were noticed by our researchers, data is presumed to be correct as reported to and by the Board of Elections.

Codes were interpreted using the 2005 edition of the New York State Board of Elections' *Handbook Of Instructions For Campaign Financial Disclosure*. A contribution from an individual is any transaction reported on a candidate or party committee's schedule A (individuals and partnerships) and coded as either an "ind" (individual) or "unit" (unitemized). Contributions from corporations are any contribution reported on a schedule B (corporations). Contributions from partnerships were those reported on schedules A (individuals and partnerships) and schedules D (in-kind) and coded as "part" (partnerships). PAC contributions were those that were reported on schedules C (all other). Expenses are reported on schedules F (expenses) and were categorized according to the "purpose code" field—and explanation of these codes can be found in appendix F of this report.

Total campaign expenses for gubernatorial campaigns prior to 2002 were obtained from the 27 day post general election disclosure reports from all candidates' authorized committees.

<p>DATA ACCURACY DISCLAIMER: The majority of financial disclosure statements filed at the State Board are entered into the database directly from e-mail or diskette filings submitted by committee treasurers or candidates. The information contained in paper filings will be entered into the database exactly as it appears on the forms. Because database searches retrieve information exactly the way it is reported and then entered into the database, search results may be inaccurate and/or incomplete. This will occur, for example, if filers do not adhere to the required format, do not use the proper codes, misspell words or leave items blank. Although the State Board carefully reviews disclosure reports and requires treasurers to submit amended reports as needed, there will necessarily be delays before the review process is completed and the information in the database is corrected.</p>
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Appendix B: The \$100,000 Club

A complete listing of soft money donations mad in excess of \$100,000

Recipient	Date	Donor	Address	City	NY	Zip	Amount
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/01/01	MR. MICHAEL R. BLOOMBERG	800 THIRD AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10022	\$705,750.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/03/02	MR. MICHAEL R. BLOOMBERG	800 THIRD AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10022	\$500,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	10/25/02	ROBERT F SILLERMAN	157 EAST 70TH STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10021	\$500,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	11/04/05	MR. MICHAEL R. BLOOMBERG	800 THIRD AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10022	\$400,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/17/05	MR. MICHAEL R. BLOOMBERG	800 THIRD AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10022	\$400,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	09/12/00	NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE	425 SECOND STREET, N.E.	WASHINGTON	DC	20002	\$250,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	10/31/02	DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE NON-FEDERAL FUND	430 SOUTH CAPITOL STREET	WASHINGTON	DC	20003	\$250,000.00
DEMOCRATIC SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/04/00	NYS DEMOCRATIC COMM. HOUSEKEEPING	60 MADISON AVE	NEW YORK	NY	10010	\$200,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	09/07/00	REPUBLICAN NATIONAL STATE ELECT. COMM.	310 FIRST STREET, SE	WASHINGTON	DC	20003	\$200,000.00

Recipient	Date	Donor	Address	City	NY	Zip	Amount
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	11/06/00	MR. LESLIE C. QUICK, JR.	11870 TURTLE BEACH ROAD	NORTH PALM BEAC	FL	33408	\$200,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	10/28/03	NYC CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL	386 PARK AVENUE SOUTH	NEW YORK	NY	10016	\$178,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/12/01	BLOOMBERG FOR MAYOR, INC.	499 PARK AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10022	\$176,880.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	06/01/01	BLOOMBERG FOR MAYOR	499 PARK AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10022	\$150,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	06/02/05	GNYHA MANAGEMENT CORP.	555 W. 57TH ST., STE 1500	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$150,000.00
WORKING FAMILIES PARTY	08/12/03	1199 POLITICAL ACTION FUNDS					\$150,000.00
DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE-HOUSEKEEPING	05/25/05	GNYHA MANAGEMENT CORP.	555 WEST 57TH ST.	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$150,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	04/01/04	EMPIRE DENTAL PAC	121 STATE ST. 4TH FLOOR	ALBANY	NY	12207	\$138,000.00
CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF NYS (HEADQUARTERS ACCOUNT)	11/08/00	LAWRENCE AURIANA	140 E 45TH STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10017	\$133,541.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/31/03	MR. MICHAEL R. BLOOMBERG	800 THIRD AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10022	\$120,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/11/00	MR. STUART SUBOTNICK	810 SEVENTH AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE	03/20/00	GREATER NEW YORK HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION MA	555 W. 57TH STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00

Recipient	Date	Donor	Address	City	NY	Zip	Amount
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	04/08/02	MBNA CORPORATION	PO BOX 15546	WILMINGTON	DE	19850	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	06/07/02	J.P. MORGAN CHASE & CO.	270 PARK AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10017	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	05/24/02	MRS. JANE F. CLARK	ONE ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, 31ST FLOOR	NEW YORK	NY	10020	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	04/30/02	MR. HUSHANG ANSARY	1000 LOUISIANA SUITE 5900	HOUSTON	TX	77002	\$100,000.00
CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF NYS (HEADQUARTERS ACCOUNT)	10/23/00	LEWIS S RANIERI	50 CHARLES LINDENBERGH BLVD	UNIONDALE	NY	11553	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	07/20/00	MR. EARLE I. MACK	860 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA	NEW YORK	NY	10017	\$100,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	03/20/02	FREDDIE MAC	8100 JONES BRANCH DR.	MCLEAN	VA	22102	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	11/03/00	EMILY'S LIST	805 15TH STREET	WASHINGTON	DC	20005	\$100,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	05/30/01	MATCO, INC.	2054 WILLOW CREEK ROAD	PRESCOTT	AZ	86310	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	05/10/01	MBNA CORPORATION	PO BOX 15546	WILMINGTON	DE	19850	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	04/04/01	MR. EDGAR M. BRONFMAN	1401 EYE STREET, NW, SUITE 1220	WASHINGTON	DC	20005	\$100,000.00

Recipient	Date	Donor	Address	City	NY	Zip	Amount
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/20/00	FREDDIE MAC	8100 JONES BRANCH DRIVE	MC LEAN	VA	22102	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	03/29/04	KAWASAKI RAIL CAR, INC.	29 WELLS AVENUE, BLDG. 4	YONKERS	NY	10701	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	10/27/05	ROBERT R DYSON	565 FIFTH AVENUE	NEW YORK	NY	10017	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	08/18/05	VOTE/COPE OF THE NYS UNITED TEACHERS	800 TROY-SCHENECTADY ROAD	LATHAM	NY	12210	\$100,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	06/02/05	EMPIRE DENTAL PAC	121 STATE ST. 4TH FLOOR	ALBANY	NY	12207	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	02/23/05	MS. NORMA LERNER	37185 S. WOODLAND ROAD	CHAGRIN FALLS	OH	44022	\$100,000.00
DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE-HOUSEKEEPING	05/13/05	1199/SEIU NYS PAC	310 WEST 43RD STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10036	\$100,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	10/21/04	1199 SEIU	310 WEST 43RD STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10036	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	11/09/04	PARSONS	1133 15TH STREET, NW	WASHINGTON	DC	20005	\$100,000.00
WORKING FAMILIES PARTY	09/02/05	1199 SEIU POLITICAL ACTION FUND	310 WEST 43 STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10036	\$100,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	03/04/04	GNYHA MANAGEMENT CORP.	555 W. 57TH STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00

Recipient	Date	Donor	Address	City	NY	Zip	Amount
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	09/19/02	MR. HUSHANG ANSARY	1000 LOUISIANA SUITE 5900	HOUSTON	TX	77002	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	05/24/04	AGNES VARIS	150 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	05/15/02	GREATER NEW YORK HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION MANAGEMENT C	555 W. 57TH STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00
DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE-HOUSEKEEPING	06/09/04	GNYHA MANAGEMENT CORP.	555 WEST 57TH ST.	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00
NYS SENATE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	05/29/03	GREATER NEW YORK HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION MANAGEMENT C	555 W. 57TH STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00
DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE-HOUSEKEEPING	02/24/03	GNYHA MANAGEMENT CORP.	555 WEST 57TH ST.	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	10/11/02	ROBERT F SILLERMAN	157 EAST 70TH STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10021	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	09/16/02	TURNER CONSTRUCTION COMPANY	375 HUDSON STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10014	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	11/07/05	1199 SEIU	310 WEST 43RD STREET	NEW YORK	NY	10036	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	11/01/02	FREDDIE MAC	8100 JONES BRANCH DRIVE	MC LEAN	VA	22102	\$100,000.00

Recipient	Date	Donor	Address	City	NY	Zip	Amount
NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE - HOUSEKEEPING	04/02/99	MR. CHARLES B. WANG	PO BOX 11381	HAUPPAUGE	NY	11788	\$100,000.00
DEMOCRATIC ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE- HOUSEKEEPING	07/18/02	GNYHA MANAGEMENT CORP.	555 WEST 57TH ST.	NEW YORK	NY	10019	\$100,000.00
NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE (HOUSEKEEPING)	05/24/04	AGVAR CHEMICALS INC.	96 ROUTE 23	LITTLE FALLS	NJ	7424	\$100,000.00

Appendix C: Top Spending Assembly Incumbents – 2005

Name	Campaign Consultant	Campaign Literature	Campaign Mailings	Campaign Workers Salaries	Constituent Services	Fundraising	Interest Expense	Office Expenses	Office Rent	Other	Petition Expenses	Political Contributions	Polling Costs	Postage	Print Ads	Professional Services	Radio Ads	Television Ads	Voter Registration Materials or Services	Grand Total
Herman Farrell - D	\$46,500	\$1,170		\$3,000	\$2,883	\$6,050		\$13,991	\$4,550	\$27,812		\$81,988		\$11,207		\$30,201				\$229,351
Richard Brodsky - D		\$0		\$76,257		\$9,827	\$0	\$2,049	\$1,576	\$68,690		\$18,029		\$0	\$195					\$176,623
Susan John - D						\$3,084		\$11,436		\$9,195		\$10,499		\$1,060	\$4,366			\$129,313		\$168,954
Paul Tokasz - D		\$1,500				\$35,016		\$14,363		\$61,039		\$34,815		\$1,665	\$2,784					\$151,182
Brian McLaughlin - D	\$54,677				\$65	\$17,159		\$25,079		\$33,728	\$43	\$2,500		\$3,351	\$13,129	\$100				\$149,830
Pat Manning - R	\$1,500	\$2,076		\$12,100		\$21,500		\$5,817		\$43,201		\$5,000		\$1,540		\$40,054				\$132,788
Frank Seddio - D	\$10,000					\$4,255		\$239		\$70,771		\$20,925			\$616	\$84				\$106,890
Joseph Morelle - D					\$700	\$13,482		\$18,299	\$5,326	\$5,712		\$24,853		\$7,179	\$6,621	\$22,301		\$350		\$104,822
Thomas DiNapoli - D					\$43,574	\$2,684		\$4,149		\$5,095		\$41,428		\$319		\$75				\$97,323
Sam Hoyt - D	\$7,574					\$16,132		\$22,486		\$7,500		\$21,281		\$609	\$4,270	\$6,337	\$75			\$86,265
Marc Alessi - D		\$326								\$6,887		\$100	\$18,500				\$59,029			\$84,842
Robert Reilly - D						\$6,209		\$581		\$6,653		\$2,595		\$6,380	\$2,044			\$57,221		\$81,683
Anthony Seminerio - D					\$13,256	\$18,219		\$19,415		\$15,245		\$2,132		\$1,582	\$8,474					\$78,324
N. Perry - D	\$10,632				\$4,199	\$20,390		\$6,420		\$28,299		\$1,685		\$2,443	\$3,640		\$250			\$77,958
Charlie Nesbitt - R						\$16,574	\$537	\$43,322		\$5,362		\$4,873		\$438	\$1,364					\$72,469

Appendix D: Top Spending Senate Incumbents - 2005

	Campaign Consultant	Campaign Literature	Campaign Mailings	Campaign Workers Salaries	Constituent Services	Fundraising	Interest Expense	Office Expenses	Office Rent	Other	Petition Expenses	Political Contributions	Polling Costs	Postage	Print Ads	Professional Services	Radio Ads	Television Ads	Voter Registration Materials or Services	Total
Joseph Bruno - R					\$12,105	\$125,599		\$305,847	\$70,000	\$83,304		\$74,655		\$370	\$2,815	\$450				\$675,145
Thomas Libous - R	\$2,062			\$47,250	\$77,688	\$150,337		\$12,169	\$4,900	\$180,923		\$1,700	\$243	\$2,800	\$5,355		\$2,928	\$1,021		\$489,374
Nicholas Spano - R	\$15,000					\$40,013		\$105,752	\$9,000	\$150,007		\$20,668	\$2,608	\$2,041	\$7,992	\$83,289				\$436,370
Martin Golden - R	\$39,971	\$8,279			\$60,629	\$90,004		\$71,489	\$12,000	\$1,608		\$16,147		\$1,834	\$23,933				\$1,860	\$327,755
Dean Skelos - R	\$33,000	\$5,455				\$88,218		\$10,272		\$76,352		\$47,025		\$7,384	\$6,189					\$273,895
George Maziarz - R						\$13,534		\$79,985		\$67,784				\$2,833	\$14,600	\$68,401				\$247,138
Catharine Young - R						\$17,019		\$14,897		\$19,788		\$49,183		\$690	\$15,204	\$360	\$70,920	\$45,800		\$233,861
Michael Balboni - R	\$25,500	\$3,361				\$56,903		\$5,875		\$83,154		\$34,950		\$951	\$8,140	\$3,000		\$60		\$221,894
Michael Nozzolio - R					\$650	\$105,909		\$31,010		\$52,507		\$12,049		\$4,952	\$2,779	\$8,514	\$398			\$218,767
David Paterson - D	\$1,200			\$5,700	\$5,251	\$19,385	\$414	\$9,215		\$40,989		\$104,092		\$630	\$3,245	\$5,929				\$196,050
Vincent Leibell - R					\$4,817	\$59,419		\$28,417	\$15,600	\$67,083		\$6,199		\$4,224						\$185,761
Raymond Meier - R	\$1,500				\$22,408	\$36,686		\$11,698	\$8,775	\$23,302		\$28,180	\$7,677	\$4,253	\$3,420	\$1,849		\$14,780		\$164,527
James Seward - R		\$886		\$5,451	\$879	\$51,368	\$1,814	\$14,348	\$7,592	\$71,883				\$1,931	\$525	\$6,268				\$162,944
Charles Fuschillo - R	\$15,000				\$13,438	\$51,505		\$2,675		\$13,704		\$20,120		\$74	\$23,872	\$150				\$140,539
Jeffrey Klein - D	\$12,000	\$9,171		\$34,670	\$4,364	\$9,408	\$819	\$16,134	\$1,750	\$32,114		\$15,178		\$508	\$2,695	\$1,300				\$140,110

Appendix E: All PACs and Their Giving January – July 2005

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
VOICE OF TEACHERS FOR EDUCATION/COMM. ON POLITICAL EDUC.	\$480,281.50	\$2,413.47	\$3,451,283.64
EMPIRE DENTAL PAC	\$321,007.00	\$3,028.37	\$393,353.10
D.R.I.V.E. - DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, INDEPENDENT VOTER EDUCATION	\$295,156.82	\$4,157.14	\$2,202,503.53
HEALTHCARE ASSOCIATION OF NYS PAC (HANYS PAC)	\$200,225.00	\$5,133.97	\$202,877.18
REALTORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$193,784.00	\$1,300.56	\$419,131.57
WILSON, ELSER, MOSKOWITZ, EDELMAN & DICKER LLP	\$165,606.00	\$1,452.68	\$182,491.00
NYS AFL-CIO COPE	\$161,300.00	\$1,260.16	\$164,849.00
NEW YORK STATE LABORERS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$149,005.00	\$1,392.57	\$320,565.56
NYS COPBA PAC	\$146,215.00	\$937.28	\$149,065.00
LAWPAC OF NEW YORK	\$144,715.00	\$1,786.60	\$293,672.83
SEIU PEA STATE FUND	\$109,400.00	\$36,466.67	\$109,428.98
NYC DISTRICT COUNCIL OF CARPENTERS PAC	\$107,900.00	\$4,316.00	\$444,895.34
PFIZER INC PAC	\$95,500.00	\$837.72	\$741,057.00
CABLEVISION SYSTEMS NEW YORK PAC	\$91,725.00	\$2,038.33	\$121,848.00
NYS TROOPERS PAC	\$90,302.00	\$1,530.54	\$97,818.00
MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK PAC	\$87,700.00	\$1,538.60	\$113,235.27
GREATER NY AUTO DEALERS ASSOC INC	\$86,790.00	\$1,471.02	\$88,865.00
HEALTH CARE PROVIDERS PAC	\$85,965.00	\$868.33	\$87,490.00
BROOKLYN DEMOCRATS	\$83,800.00	\$10,475.00	\$148,697.32
RSA PAC	\$80,125.00	\$1,863.37	\$99,800.03
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION LOCAL 100 POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS COMMITTEE	\$73,500.00	\$1,336.36	\$328,158.27
LIFE INSURANCE COUNCIL OF NY PAC (LICONY)	\$72,750.00	\$817.42	\$79,396.19
NEW YORK BUILD PAC	\$72,107.00	\$1,092.53	\$112,331.30
ATU-NY COPE FUND	\$71,235.00	\$1,618.98	\$79,885.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
LOCAL 6 COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION	\$69,925.00	\$2,330.83	\$144,822.43
NEW YORK STATE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES FEDERATION - PAC	\$66,613.00	\$822.38	\$75,363.00
STATE STREET ASSOCIATES PAC	\$66,100.00	\$4,131.25	\$66,400.35
REAL ESTATE BOARD PAC	\$65,757.00	\$424.24	\$88,568.89
NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION PAF	\$64,500.00	\$16,125.00	\$103,881.84
AUTOMOBILE DEALERS OF NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$63,172.00	\$726.11	\$68,159.46
1199/SEIU NEW YORK STATE POLITICAL ACTION FUND	\$58,250.00	\$3,640.63	\$182,752.00
THE BUSINESS COUNCIL PAC, INC..	\$57,432.00	\$652.64	\$59,639.04
ERNST & YOUNG COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOV.T	\$55,875.00	\$1,693.18	\$56,375.00
NEW YORK HOTEL & MOTEL TRADES COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION	\$54,725.00	\$1,824.17	\$82,597.24
SOFT DRINK AND BREWERY WORKERS POLITICAL ACTION	\$54,275.00	\$2,584.52	\$59,955.00
IRONWORKERS POLITICAL ACTION LEAGUE	\$53,700.00	\$3,580.00	\$477,850.00
INDEPENDENT AGENTS PAC	\$51,921.00	\$546.54	\$53,289.22
COUNCIL OF SCHOOL SUPERVISORS AND ADMINISTRATORS, LOCAL 1 AFSA AFL-CIO COPE	\$51,480.00	\$1,170.00	\$113,493.70
CITIGROUP INC. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE - FEDERAL/STATE	\$51,025.00	\$1,109.24	\$218,139.23
NEW YORK ANESTHESIOLOGISTS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$50,925.00	\$1,376.35	\$53,625.00
N.Y.S. FUNERAL DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$49,300.00	\$1,332.43	\$50,219.40
NEW YORK STATE BEER WHOLESALERS ASSOCIATION PAC	\$49,007.00	\$576.55	\$51,007.00
PAC OF THE PATROLMEN'S BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF NY, INC.	\$48,351.00	\$636.20	\$58,536.00
DC 37 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$48,350.00	\$848.25	\$87,375.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
UNIFORMED FIREFIGHTERS ASSOC. STATE FIREPAC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$47,375.00	\$751.98	\$72,150.00
COMMITTEE FOR ACTION FOR A RESPONSIBLE ELECTORATE (C.A.R.E.)	\$46,082.00	\$400.71	\$48,225.71
SHEET METAL WORKERS' INT'L ASSOC. LOCAL 28 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$41,400.00	\$2,070.00	\$105,914.28
PLUMBERS LOCAL UNION NO.1 N.Y.C. - POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$41,175.00	\$1,419.83	\$131,469.50
PROFESSIONAL INSURANCE AGENTS OF NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$41,100.00	\$548.00	\$52,831.41
ESPAC	\$41,075.00	\$1,325.00	\$43,617.96
MASON TENDERS DISTRICT COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK PAC	\$40,925.00	\$2,728.33	\$121,095.55
STEAMFITTERS LOCAL 638 PAC	\$37,895.00	\$728.75	\$132,740.17
NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OF PBA'S	\$37,080.00	\$353.14	\$38,700.00
COMMUNICATION WORKERS OF AMERICA DISTRICT 1 PAC	\$36,650.00	\$2,443.33	\$96,709.84
NYS VETERINARY PEC	\$36,340.00	\$386.60	\$36,340.00
NY INDEPENDENT BANKERS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$36,000.00	\$6,000.00	\$36,000.00
J. P. MORGAN CHASE & CO. PAC	\$35,902.00	\$970.32	\$327,014.09
SUPERIOR OFFICERS ASSOC - NASSAU COUNTY POLICE	\$35,750.00	\$700.98	\$55,105.00
NYS CONFERENCE OF THE IUOE POL ACTION ACCT	\$35,575.00	\$508.21	\$61,194.00
NASSAU COUNTY PBA PAC	\$35,515.02	\$1,014.71	\$65,040.02
PEPSI-COLA BOTTLER'S PAC	\$35,350.00	\$2,356.67	\$41,257.51
NEW YORK LIFE - NEW YORK STATE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$34,550.00	\$822.62	\$44,550.00
NEW YORK RETAILERS FOR EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT	\$34,350.00	\$687.00	\$34,387.00
EMPIRE STATE REGIONAL COUNCIL OF CARPENTERS POLITICAL ACTION FUND - NYS	\$33,755.00	\$675.10	\$109,487.49
PHARMACY PAC OF NEW YORK STATE	\$33,525.00	\$986.03	\$34,219.48
BELL ATLANTIC CORPORATION PAC	\$33,000.00	\$2,538.46	\$437,305.00
AFGI PAC	\$31,500.00	\$1,369.57	\$31,500.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
METALIC LATHERS LOCAL 46 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$30,800.00	\$2,200.00	\$37,170.11
NYS CHAPTER, AGC-PAC	\$30,300.00	\$7,575.00	\$30,774.00
AMERICAN INSURANCE ASSOCIATION NEW YORK PAC	\$30,225.00	\$643.09	\$37,587.00
LOCAL 138, 138A, & 138B INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS	\$30,125.00	\$886.03	\$66,725.00
NYS FOOD INDUSTRY	\$29,775.00	\$783.55	\$31,422.12
METROPOLITAN PACKAGE STORE, INC. ASSOC PAF	\$29,765.00	\$744.13	\$35,415.00
JY TRANS PAC	\$29,685.00	\$353.39	\$31,185.00
CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES PAF	\$29,575.00	\$3,286.11	\$34,496.58
NEW YORK STATE NURSES ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$29,442.00	\$684.70	\$36,052.09
NYS PSYCHIATRIC POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE INC	\$28,000.00	\$1,217.39	\$30,857.57
NEW YORK INSURANCE ASSN., INC. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$27,457.00	\$481.70	\$27,457.00
VERIZON COMMUNICATIONS GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB NEW YORK PAC	\$27,425.00	\$365.67	\$33,274.00
PCI STATE POLITICAL ACCOUNT I	\$27,300.00	\$2,275.00	\$31,500.00
FRIENDS OF NEW YORK RACING PAC	\$27,250.00	\$3,406.25	\$30,239.28
METLIFE, INC. POLITICAL FUND B (PAC B)	\$26,775.00	\$3,346.88	\$32,914.70
BMW PAC	\$26,425.00	\$574.46	\$26,775.00
GOLDMAN SACHS NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$25,000.00	\$4,166.67	\$30,500.00
NEW YORK THOROUGHBRED RACING INDUSTRY PAC	\$25,000.00	\$25,000.00	\$25,000.00
SUFFOLK COUNTY ASSOCIATION OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES PAC, INC.	\$24,695.00	\$823.17	\$126,789.92
CREDIT UNIONS' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (CUPAC)	\$24,615.00	\$535.11	\$43,133.39
NEW YORK BANKERS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$24,575.00	\$571.51	\$27,938.77
DETECTIVES ENDOWMENT COPE	\$24,365.00	\$427.46	\$45,490.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
UNIFORMED FIRE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION 527 ACCOUNT	\$24,326.00	\$374.25	\$37,427.00
RANGEL FOR CONGRESS - NY STATE	\$24,200.00	\$3,025.00	\$47,024.33
NEW YORK STATE RESTAURANT INDUSTRY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$24,100.00	\$1,205.00	\$61,256.01
UNITED PARCEL SERVICE INC. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE - NEW YORK	\$23,850.00	\$1,135.71	\$23,850.00
NEW YORK CITY CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$23,345.00	\$614.34	\$58,273.25
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL 82	\$22,735.00	\$811.96	\$47,507.07
NY PODIATRY PAC	\$22,730.00	\$988.26	\$31,630.88
NORTHEASTERN POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$22,600.00	\$807.14	\$75,681.39
EMPIRE STATE ASSOC OF ADULT HOMES, INC. PAC	\$22,600.00	\$2,511.11	\$25,800.00
SEMPER FI N.Y. STATE PAC INC.	\$22,500.00	\$7,500.00	\$27,989.69
TAP PAC-APC	\$22,400.00	\$476.60	\$23,515.00
THE COCA-COLA BOTTLING COMPANY OF NEW YORK, PAC	\$22,257.00	\$463.69	\$22,594.00
PIPE TRADES POLITICAL ACTION PAC	\$22,100.00	\$1,700.00	\$43,959.70
THE WINE PAC	\$21,750.00	\$1,450.00	\$21,750.00
TEAPAC	\$21,325.00	\$387.73	\$22,085.39
NYSCHP PAC	\$21,200.00	\$7,066.67	\$21,200.00
NYSAIFA - PAC	\$21,025.00	\$368.86	\$28,157.20
LONG ISLAND CONTRACTORS' ASSOCIATION PAC, INC.	\$20,550.00	\$2,935.71	\$34,050.00
I.U.O.E. LOCAL 15 PAC	\$20,475.00	\$487.50	\$51,664.00
NEW YORK SCHOOL BUS OPERATORS FOR EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT	\$20,000.00	\$666.67	\$20,500.00
NEA OF NY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$19,850.00	\$661.67	\$62,105.86
CITIZENS FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING	\$19,565.00	\$815.21	\$20,732.39
NATIONAL FUEL GAS NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$19,457.00	\$353.76	\$20,492.00
NEW YORK TRUCK-PAC	\$19,275.00	\$535.42	\$19,275.00
ASGM PAC	\$19,000.00	\$1,900.00	\$19,800.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
EMPIRE LIQUOR STORE ASSOCIATION	\$18,800.00	\$18,800.00	\$18,800.00
CAPE PAC	\$18,650.00	\$666.07	\$18,669.25
KEYSPAN ENERGY STATE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (KEYSPAC)	\$18,500.00	\$500.00	\$30,535.00
NY CHIROPRACTIC PAC	\$18,400.00	\$1,150.00	\$19,630.00
CONVENIENCE PAC	\$18,086.00	\$411.05	\$21,086.00
ROCHESTER REGIONAL JOINT BOARD STATE PAC	\$18,080.00	\$1,205.33	\$26,385.00
LOCAL 32BJ SEIU NY/NJ AMERICAN DREAM FUND	\$18,000.00	\$1,058.82	\$130,986.76
GREEN WORLDS COALITION FUND	\$18,000.00	\$4,500.00	\$19,266.95
SUBCONTRACTORS TRADE ASSOCIATION, INC. STATE PAC	\$17,550.00	\$2,925.00	\$17,750.00
DIVERSE NEW YORK PAC	\$17,550.00	\$548.44	\$19,735.00
SUFFOLK COUNTY POLICE BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION PAC	\$17,325.00	\$455.92	\$38,422.00
SAVINGS & BANKING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$17,000.00	\$250.00	\$17,650.00
AETNA INC. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$17,000.00	\$2,428.57	\$17,000.00
COMMITTEE FOR MEDICAL EYE CARE PAC	\$16,999.00	\$1,416.58	\$16,999.00
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 891 PAC	\$16,970.00	\$678.80	\$30,382.76
NEW YORK STATE SOCIETY CPA PAC	\$16,900.00	\$1,408.33	\$20,923.47
HARRIS BEACH POLITICAL COMMITTEE	\$16,800.00	\$2,400.00	\$38,663.40
LOCAL 137 PEF	\$16,720.00	\$880.00	\$30,425.00
INDEPENDENT POWER PRODUCERS OF NY PAC	\$16,625.00	\$302.27	\$20,030.40
NEW YORK CHILDREN'S ADVOCATES MAKING PROGRESS	\$16,475.00	\$457.64	\$16,638.74
UFT COPE LOCAL	\$16,205.00	\$704.57	\$48,340.93
NYS OPTOMETRIC ASSOC PAC	\$15,850.00	\$587.04	\$18,627.42
AFFORDABLE HOUSING PAC, LTD.	\$15,700.00	\$475.76	\$20,925.00
HSBC NORTH AMERICA POLITICAL ACTION	\$15,625.00	\$422.30	\$23,725.00
BUILDING CONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION, INC./PAC	\$15,500.00	\$5,166.67	\$15,750.00
WELLCHOICE POLITICAL ACTION	\$15,500.00	\$5,166.67	\$22,000.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
COMMITTEE			
HPA PAC	\$15,275.00	\$636.46	\$16,992.10
ELI LILLY AND COMPANY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$15,250.00	\$476.56	\$15,250.00
RWDSU, LOCAL 338 PAC	\$15,195.00	\$345.34	\$31,260.20
MLMICPAC	\$15,150.00	\$7,575.00	\$15,150.00
NEW YORK CHECK PAC, INC.	\$15,060.00	\$717.14	\$18,610.00
DLA PIPER RUDNICK GRAY CARY US LLP NEW YORK STATE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$15,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$15,520.00
NEW YORK MERCANTILE EXCHANGE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.	\$15,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$235,500.00
UNYAN PAC	\$14,600.00	\$1,622.22	\$14,600.00
WYETH GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	\$14,500.00	\$1,450.00	\$114,205.00
NASSAU COUNTY DETECTIVES ASSOCIATION	\$14,425.00	\$465.32	\$26,277.87
MONUMENT INDUSTRY PAC	\$14,250.00	\$647.73	\$14,262.42
UFCW ACTIVE BALLOT CLUB	\$14,075.00	\$1,407.50	\$26,975.00
CORRECTION OFFICERS BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION PAC	\$14,000.00	\$1,750.00	\$27,100.00
MCI NY PAC	\$13,700.00	\$595.65	\$13,706.40
IUOE LOCAL 17 PAC	\$13,405.00	\$638.33	\$30,030.22
SUFFOLK CO. POLICE DEPT. SUPERIOR OFFICERS ASSOC. PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMM.	\$13,260.00	\$368.33	\$24,565.00
NYS ARCHITECTS PAC	\$12,850.00	\$535.42	\$13,547.47
CORRECTION CAPTAINS ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$12,440.00	\$376.97	\$15,240.00
CONSOLIDATED EDISON, INC. EMPLOYEES' POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (CEIPAC)	\$12,400.00	\$354.29	\$19,111.04
EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP (EL) PAC	\$12,361.00	\$650.58	\$13,111.00
UNITED RESTAURANT, HOTEL & TAVERN ASSOCIATION OF NY STATEWIDE PAC	\$12,300.00	\$585.71	\$12,426.80
ASSOCIATION OF COMMUTER RAIL EMPLOYEES PAC NY	\$11,800.00	\$1,475.00	\$11,881.59
OPTICIANS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$11,650.00	\$364.06	\$11,650.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
NIAGARA MOHAWK HOLDINGS, INC. VOLUNTARY STATE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$11,550.00	\$427.78	\$11,717.70
SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOC NY DISTRICT	\$11,300.00	\$3,766.67	\$13,812.60
LABORERS' LOCAL 17 PAC	\$11,240.00	\$488.70	\$22,970.24
NYAHSА PAC	\$11,150.00	\$464.58	\$45,201.45
JOHNSON & JOHNSON EMPLOYEES' GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND PAC	\$11,150.00	\$2,787.50	\$11,150.00
EMPIRE STATE ABC PAC	\$10,823.00	\$773.07	\$18,690.44
PECKHAM INDUSTRIES, INC. PAC	\$10,815.00	\$600.83	\$27,305.00
BUILDERS PAC	\$10,700.00	\$2,140.00	\$22,704.86
SUPERIOR OFFICERS BENEVOLENT ASSOC. OF THE T.B.T.A. PAC	\$10,673.00	\$237.18	\$13,208.50
UNITED TRANSPORTATION UNION POLITICAL ACTION CMTE (UTU PAC)	\$10,507.00	\$456.83	\$10,555.00
HOTEL EMPLOYEES RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES INT'L UNION TIP EDUCAT' L FUND	\$10,500.00	\$1,750.00	\$29,500.00
BANK OF AMERICA NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$10,300.00	\$5,150.00	\$10,800.00
SBA POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$10,200.00	\$1,700.00	\$39,411.42
COUNCIL OF URBAN INVESTORS	\$10,000.00	\$10,000.00	\$10,045.20
PORT AUTHORITY PBA, INC. STATE OF NEW YORK PAC	\$9,725.00	\$511.84	\$11,830.00
HOTEL ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK CITY, INC. - PAC	\$9,550.00	\$434.09	\$10,863.46
NINTH DECADE FUND	\$9,550.00	\$955.00	\$18,140.00
NYS PLUMBING, HEATING & COOLING CONTRACTORS PAC FUND	\$9,450.00	\$726.92	\$12,050.00
NEW YORK STATE RADIOLOGISTS PAC	\$9,450.00	\$630.00	\$9,450.00
NRA POL VICTORY FUND	\$9,425.00	\$589.06	\$9,628.91
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSC, AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL ED	\$9,400.00	\$3,133.33	\$14,900.00
CHAIN PHARMACY ASSOCIATION PAC	\$9,350.00	\$935.00	\$10,450.00
SPRINT NEXTEL CORPORATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$9,000.00	\$750.00	\$9,000.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
GENERAL BUILDING CONTRACTORS OF NEW YORK STATE PAC	\$8,850.00	\$421.43	\$8,850.00
PRUDENTIAL NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$8,300.00	\$922.22	\$8,300.00
NEW YORK EMERGENCY MEDICINE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$8,150.00	\$1,358.33	\$8,150.00
ENTERGY CORPORATION POLITICAL COMMITTEE - NEW YORK ("ENPAC-NEW YORK")	\$7,900.00	\$438.89	\$32,567.00
HARTFORD ADVOCATES FUND, THE	\$7,900.00	\$987.50	\$161,767.48
NYS TITLE AGENTS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$7,750.00	\$407.89	\$7,750.00
NYPT PAC	\$7,550.00	\$444.12	\$7,550.00
NURSE PRACTITIONERS OF NEW YORK STATE	\$7,450.00	\$532.14	\$9,015.00
TEACHING HOSPITAL EDUCATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$7,425.00	\$675.00	\$8,763.73
TOW PAC	\$7,400.00	\$370.00	\$7,700.00
HOLLAND & KNIGHT COMMITTEE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT THE	\$7,380.00	\$922.50	\$11,724.00
NYS AUTOMATIC VENDING ASSOCIATION PAC	\$7,375.00	\$351.19	\$7,375.00
UA PLUMBERS & STEAMFITTERS LOCAL NO.22 PAC INC.	\$7,340.00	\$611.67	\$12,585.00
IUOE LOCAL 14-14B VOL PAC	\$7,250.00	\$906.25	\$43,148.57
NEW YORK CITY DEPUTY SHERIFFS' ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$7,150.00	\$794.44	\$15,413.35
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE BUFFALO PBA	\$7,100.00	\$1,183.33	\$8,942.00
BUFFALO PROFESSIONAL FIREFIGHTERS PAC	\$7,082.00	\$708.20	\$20,060.18
ENERGY FOR NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMM.	\$7,025.00	\$281.00	\$7,375.00
STARS & STRIPES PAC	\$7,000.00	\$1,166.67	\$20,701.25
SHEET METAL WORKERS' LOCAL #46 POLITICAL ACTION FUND	\$6,950.00	\$1,390.00	\$9,880.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY COUNCIL - NYS PAC	\$6,949.00	\$992.71	\$12,124.00
CABLE PAC	\$6,900.00	\$383.33	\$6,900.00
THOROPAC - THOROUGHBRED BREEDERS PAC	\$6,864.00	\$762.67	\$6,880.55
AES NEW YORK STATE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$6,800.00	\$485.71	\$6,800.00
NYS TELECOMMUNICATIONS PAC	\$6,800.00	\$400.00	\$7,563.06
ENTERPRISE RENT-A-CAR COMPANY NEW YORK PAC	\$6,750.00	\$1,125.00	\$6,750.00
INDEPENDENT HEALTH ASSOCIATION, INC. POLITICAL ALLIANCE	\$6,750.00	\$321.43	\$6,830.02
NYPD LIEUTENANTS BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION PAC	\$6,725.00	\$448.33	\$11,475.00
BRICKLAYERS & ALLIED CRAFTSMAN LOCAL UNION 1 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$6,700.00	\$744.44	\$24,686.14
OILHEAT PAC, INC.	\$6,550.00	\$503.85	\$13,050.00
NEW YORK ASSOCIATION OF TEMPORARY SERVICES STATE PAC	\$6,500.00	\$722.22	\$6,500.00
ALLSTATE INSURANCE COMPANY PAC	\$6,500.00	\$1,083.33	\$145,450.63
TOURISM ADVOCACY COALITION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$6,500.00	\$1,625.00	\$7,750.00
CENTRAL NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, REGION 9 UAW	\$6,445.00	\$805.63	\$18,145.00
PLUMBERS & PIPEFITTERS LOCAL UNION 112 PAC	\$6,275.00	\$570.45	\$10,071.54
PSYCHOLOGISTS FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION IN NY	\$6,250.00	\$480.77	\$12,377.23
GROUP HEALTH INCORPORATED STATE POLITICAL COMMITTEE	\$6,225.00	\$518.75	\$7,725.00
CAS PAC	\$6,200.00	\$387.50	\$6,556.00
MANUFACTURERS & TRADERS TRUST COMPANY PAC	\$6,130.00	\$557.27	\$29,883.00
U.A. PLUMBERS & PIPEFITTERS L.U. 773 VOLUNTARY N.Y.S. PAC FUND	\$6,120.00	\$408.00	\$8,320.00
LOCAL 30 IUOE PAC	\$6,000.00	\$1,500.00	\$24,415.45

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
PLUMBERS LOCAL UNION NO. 200 POLITICAL ACTION FUND	\$5,900.00	\$737.50	\$20,481.45
NEW YORK ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT LUMBER DEALERS PAC (NAIL PAC)	\$5,800.00	\$305.26	\$5,800.00
GRASSY SPRAIN PAC	\$5,750.00	\$1,437.50	\$14,149.00
COUCH WHITE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$5,625.00	\$432.69	\$5,637.00
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF PAINTERS AND ALLIED TRADES LEGISLATIVE & EDUCATIONAL COMM	\$5,500.00	\$1,100.00	\$11,685.00
FINGER LAKES PAC	\$5,500.00	\$2,750.00	\$5,500.00
EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY EMPLOYEE PAC	\$5,500.00	\$2,750.00	\$5,500.00
HUDSON VALLEY BUILD PAC	\$5,500.00	\$2,750.00	\$5,504.00
PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS LOCAL 21 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$5,500.00	\$611.11	\$13,676.00
MANUFACTURED HOUSING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$5,482.00	\$342.63	\$5,482.00
GREENBERG, TRAURIG POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$5,345.00	\$485.91	\$5,895.00
HIGH-NEED HOSPITAL PAC, INC.	\$5,300.00	\$662.50	\$10,251.50
COPE 25	\$5,235.00	\$402.69	\$33,245.32
LOCAL UNION #373 U.A. POLITICAL ACTION FUND	\$5,100.00	\$392.31	\$13,939.20
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$11,680.00
SSL POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$14,450.00
BRAB PAC, INC.	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$15,775.00
OMMLLP PAC	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00
AMERICAN TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH CO. PAC NY	\$4,950.00	\$990.00	\$5,217.47
UNITY PAC	\$4,900.00	\$490.00	\$5,000.00
GENERAL CONTRACTORS ASSOC OF NY PAC	\$4,850.00	\$1,616.67	\$4,914.90
HEARING HEALTHCARE ALLIANCE OF NEW YORK PAC	\$4,800.00	\$600.00	\$4,856.26
SUFFOLK COUNTY CORRECTION OFFICERS ASSN. INC.	\$4,775.00	\$434.09	\$20,640.00
OUTDOOR ADVERTISING NY PAC	\$4,750.00	\$395.83	\$5,200.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
PLUMBERS & PIPEFITTERS LOCAL NO. 13 POLITICAL FUND	\$4,750.00	\$678.57	\$15,164.45
IUOE LOCAL 106 VPAF	\$4,675.00	\$389.58	\$12,032.24
FRIENDS OF THE VOLUNTEER FIREFIGHTER	\$4,665.00	\$291.56	\$4,665.00
PLUMBING CONTRACTORS PAC OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, INC.	\$4,500.00	\$1,125.00	\$5,000.00
NEW YORK COCA COLA ENTERPRISE EMP NONPARTISAN COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOV.	\$4,500.00	\$1,500.00	\$5,500.00
LOCAL 73 PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS PAC FUND	\$4,493.00	\$345.62	\$6,467.00
NEW YORK PEPSI COLA PAC	\$4,475.00	\$447.50	\$9,575.00
NASW-NYS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$4,450.00	\$494.44	\$7,564.99
TEAMSTERS LOCAL 317 PAC	\$4,450.00	\$741.67	\$9,959.00
ERDMAN, ANTHONY & ASSOCIATES EMPLOYEES PAC	\$4,434.00	\$316.71	\$12,921.00
WEINGARTEN, REID & MCNALLY	\$4,400.00	\$440.00	\$4,650.00
TRANSIT SUPERVISORS ORGANIZATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$4,350.00	\$621.43	\$5,350.00
NEW YORK PROPANE PAC	\$4,150.00	\$691.67	\$4,175.00
REPAIR SHOP AND GASOLINE DEALERS PAC FUND	\$4,125.00	\$825.00	\$4,125.00
GUARDIAN LIFE PAC	\$4,125.00	\$515.63	\$4,191.17
NYS ASSOC OF TOBACCO & CANDY DISTRIBUTORS INC	\$4,000.00	\$1,333.33	\$8,500.00
BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL PAC	\$4,000.00	\$2,000.00	\$5,500.00
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, DISTRICT 4 PAC	\$3,900.00	\$487.50	\$5,547.03
QUEST DIAGNOSTICS NEW YORK PAC	\$3,900.00	\$780.00	\$3,900.00
PROBATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PROPAC)	\$3,850.00	\$770.00	\$12,050.00
ASBESTOS WORKERS LOCAL 12 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$3,850.00	\$962.50	\$8,765.65
KEYCORP ADVOCATES FUND-NEW YORK	\$3,850.00	\$427.78	\$4,865.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
WESTERN NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, REGION 9 UAW	\$3,850.00	\$427.78	\$8,622.00
USB FUND FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT, INC.	\$3,840.00	\$480.00	\$9,769.00
ENGINEERS PEF - LOCAL 832	\$3,830.00	\$638.33	\$17,317.50
IRON WORKERS LOCAL 40 VOLUNTARY COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION	\$3,800.00	\$633.33	\$5,802.94
PLUMBERS & STEAMFITTERS LOCAL 267 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$3,800.00	\$475.00	\$10,679.50
ENGINEERS VOLUNTARY POL ACTION FUND	\$3,800.00	\$475.00	\$8,387.00
FORD MOTOR COMPANY CIVIC ACTION FUND	\$3,750.00	\$1,250.00	\$3,750.00
SUFFOLK COUNTY DEPUTY SHERIFFS BENEVOLENT ASSN., INC. PAC	\$3,700.00	\$411.11	\$18,505.00
IBEW LOCAL UNION #1249 PAC	\$3,700.00	\$370.00	\$5,940.00
NBT/PAC - STATE FUND	\$3,685.00	\$460.63	\$10,185.00
NEW YORK STATE TRANSIT & TOUR OPERATORS' PAC	\$3,625.00	\$453.13	\$3,925.00
CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION PAC	\$3,600.00	\$1,200.00	\$10,766.25
IUOE LOCAL 463 STATE & LOCAL PAC	\$3,575.00	\$510.71	\$6,625.00
NEW YORK STATE SHERIFFS' GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	\$3,550.00	\$710.00	\$4,775.00
ISSUES MOBILIZATION FUND - GREATER ROCHESTER	\$3,550.00	\$887.50	\$6,550.00
ECOLOGY & ENVIRONMENT NYS COMM FOR RESPONSIBLE GOV.T	\$3,507.00	\$206.29	\$4,502.00
NEW YORK CITY PARTNERSHIP STATE PAC	\$3,500.00	\$500.00	\$7,850.00
IUOE LOCAL 825 POLITICAL ACTION & EDUCATION COMMITTEE	\$3,490.00	\$498.57	\$9,661.00
EMPIRE STATE PRIDE AGENDA POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$3,450.00	\$690.00	\$7,200.00
LONG ISLAND ASSOCIATION ACTION COMMITTEE	\$3,400.00	\$566.67	\$20,228.83
FRIENDS OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS	\$3,400.00	\$566.67	\$4,714.28
CONSOLIDATED EDISON COMPANY OF NY, INC. EMPLOYEES' PAC	\$3,325.00	\$302.27	\$28,663.95
NYS CEMETERIES PAC	\$3,275.00	\$655.00	\$3,526.55

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
LABORERS' LOCAL 103 POLITICAL ACTION FUND COMMITTEE	\$3,250.00	\$812.50	\$3,250.00
IRONWORKERS LOCAL #12 POLITICAL ACTION FUND	\$3,235.00	\$179.72	\$8,895.25
SUFFOLK COUNTY POLICE CONFERENCE PAC	\$3,100.00	\$206.67	\$7,525.00
SHEET METAL WORKERS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION LEAGUE LOCAL 137	\$3,025.00	\$144.05	\$8,434.00
ENERGY ACTION FUND	\$3,000.00	\$333.33	\$3,195.00
BUSINESS-INDUSTRY PAC OF CENTRAL NY, INC.	\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00	\$4,508.08
THOROUGHbred HORSEMEN OF WESTERN NY PAC	\$3,000.00	\$600.00	\$3,000.00
TILE LAYERS SUBORDINATE UNION LOCAL 7 OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY PAC	\$3,000.00	\$1,500.00	\$6,750.00
NARAL/NY MULTICANDIDATE PAC	\$3,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$7,845.94
EMPIRE LEADERSHIP COUNCIL	\$3,000.00	\$1,500.00	\$6,899.45
ACECNY - PAC	\$2,900.00	\$966.67	\$2,900.00
NYS SPEECH-LANGUAGE-HEARING ASSOCIATION - COMPAC	\$2,650.00	\$530.00	\$2,654.00
NYNHP-PAC	\$2,600.00	\$520.00	\$2,634.86
NEW YORK PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	\$2,500.00	\$416.67	\$2,500.00
EMILY'S LIST - NY	\$2,500.00	\$2,500.00	\$2,664.94
DRUG POLICY ALLIANCE NETWORK (SSF)	\$2,500.00	\$1,250.00	\$59,888.50
SUFFOLK CO DETECTIVE INVESTIGATORS PBA INC PAC	\$2,425.00	\$346.43	\$8,250.00
NY FILM PAC	\$2,400.00	\$480.00	\$2,400.00
COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$2,400.00	\$1,200.00	\$2,400.00
WESTCHESTER REPUBLICAN WOMENS CLUB PAC	\$2,400.00	\$342.86	\$17,198.18
NYS HOSPITALITY & TOURISM ASSOCIATION PAC	\$2,300.00	\$383.33	\$3,303.25
ORTHO-PAC OF NY	\$2,300.00	\$383.33	\$2,313.51

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
OXFORD HEALTH PLANS, INC. NEW YORK COMMITTEE FOR QUALITY HEALTH CARE	\$2,300.00	\$766.67	\$2,806.37
POLICE CONFERENCE OF NEW YORK, INC. PAC	\$2,275.00	\$75.83	\$2,275.00
SHEET METAL WORKERS' LOCAL UNION 83 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$2,115.00	\$235.00	\$3,844.95
NEW YORK ASSOCIATION OF MORTGAGE BROKERS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$2,100.00	\$420.00	\$2,272.87
ASAPPAC	\$2,050.00	\$341.67	\$2,050.00
NEW YORK MEDICAL EQUIPMENT PROVIDERS - PAC	\$2,000.00	\$666.67	\$2,436.70
DOMINION PAC - NY	\$2,000.00	\$666.67	\$2,072.00
NEW YORK STATE SOCIETY OF PHYSICIAN ASSISTANTS PAC	\$2,000.00	\$500.00	\$3,636.49
CONTRACTORS, AGENTS, & BROKERS PAC	\$2,000.00	\$666.67	\$2,500.00
PRAXAIR PAC NEW YORK	\$1,950.00	\$487.50	\$1,950.00
BRISTOL-MYERS SQUIBB COMPANY EMPLOYEE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$1,950.00	\$278.57	\$55,148.22
CARPENTERS LOCAL 747 PAC	\$1,935.00	\$241.88	\$9,785.00
SHEET METAL WORKERS LU 38 - PAC	\$1,900.00	\$271.43	\$4,250.91
SYRACUSE TOMORROW	\$1,847.00	\$205.22	\$8,659.95
SAVE AMERICAN JOBS PAC	\$1,845.00	\$230.63	\$7,177.15
REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FOR CHOICE PAC	\$1,757.00	\$351.40	\$5,057.00
METROPOLITAN GARAGE OWNERS ASSOCIATION PAC	\$1,750.00	\$437.50	\$6,900.00
NEW YORK STATE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, REGION 9, UAW	\$1,700.00	\$850.00	\$51,700.00
HEMPSTEAD PBA PAC	\$1,650.00	\$330.00	\$5,350.00
ABATE RRF INC.	\$1,600.00	\$533.33	\$2,398.00
PAC OF NASSAU POLICE CONFERENCE	\$1,600.00	\$228.57	\$3,422.00
NATIONAL MARINE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION PAC (NAT PAC)	\$1,550.00	\$387.50	\$1,550.00
NEW YORK STATE CAR WASH PAC	\$1,500.00	\$500.00	\$1,500.00
NORTHEASTERN SUBCONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$1,500.00	\$375.00	\$1,500.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS	\$1,500.00	\$500.00	\$4,117.00
LOCAL 147 PAF	\$1,500.00	\$500.00	\$9,357.30
NEW YORK STATE DAIRY FOODS PAC	\$1,500.00	\$500.00	\$1,528.00
BRICKLAYERS & ALLIED CRAFTWORKERS LOCAL 5 NY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$1,500.00	\$500.00	\$4,350.00
DISTRICT COUNCIL #9 PAC	\$1,475.00	\$245.83	\$15,540.00
OIL HEAT INSTITUTE PAC	\$1,450.00	\$241.67	\$13,250.00
UHAP PAC	\$1,450.00	\$483.33	\$1,450.00
FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE EMPIRE STATE LODGE INC.	\$1,400.00	\$700.00	\$6,420.00
NY REGION 9A UAW PAC COMMITTEE	\$1,350.00	\$675.00	\$5,050.00
ONE ELEVEN PAC	\$1,300.00	\$325.00	\$1,300.00
MEYER SUOZZI ENGLISH & KLEIN PC POLITICAL ACCOUNT	\$1,300.00	\$1,300.00	\$2,800.00
NEW YORK BUILDING CONGRESS PAF	\$1,250.00	\$625.00	\$6,500.00
GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE-NY (GM PAC-NY)	\$1,200.00	\$600.00	\$1,200.00
WESTERN NEW YORK SAFARI CLUB P.A.C.	\$1,200.00	\$200.00	\$1,700.00
ROCKLAND COUNTY CORRECTION OFFICERS BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION PAC	\$1,140.00	\$570.00	\$1,290.00
CAPTAIN'S ENDOWMENT ASSOCIATION PAC	\$1,125.00	\$375.00	\$2,625.00
FACULTY ASSOCIATION PAC	\$1,100.00	\$366.67	\$1,917.55
REHABILITATION ASSOCIATES PAC	\$1,050.00	\$525.00	\$1,050.00
SERVICE STATION & REPAIR SHOP OPERATORS OF UPSTATE NEW YORK, INC.	\$1,046.00	\$261.50	\$1,046.00
MAC/ PAC	\$1,000.00	\$250.00	\$1,040.01
ROCHESTER HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH PAC	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$12,078.19
FAMILY PHYSICIANS PAC	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$4,648.93
DEWEY BALLANTINE LLP POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE-NEW YORK	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$2,119.50
ABO BUILD PAC, INC.	\$1,000.00	\$500.00	\$4,365.00
LONG ISLAND GASOLINE RETAILERS ASSOC PAC	\$1,000.00	\$250.00	\$1,000.00

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
MORRIS & MCVEIGH NYS PAC	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$2,000.00
ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT COMMERCIAL PRODUCERS, INC. PAC	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$26,259.84
LOG CABIN REPUBLICANS HUDSON VALLEY PAC	\$1,000.00	\$333.33	\$1,339.00
ATPAM COPE STATE FUND	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$2,001.20
NISOURCE INC. PAC - NY	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00
METLIFE, INC. EMPLOYEES' POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FUND A	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00	\$276,984.00
DYNEGY NEW YORK PAC	\$900.00	\$450.00	\$900.00
HBA OF CNY LOCAL BUILDPAC	\$850.00	\$283.33	\$2,790.73
BAC LOCAL 2 POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$850.00	\$283.33	\$17,888.37
AMERICAN MOTORCYCLIST ASSOCIATION PAC	\$750.00	\$187.50	\$1,144.67
RPA-PAC	\$750.00	\$375.00	\$3,474.63
CLEAR CHANNEL COMMUNICATIONS INC. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$750.00	\$375.00	\$1,864.00
ROCKLAND COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPUTY ASSOC. PAC	\$750.00	\$375.00	\$2,047.00
COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH	\$750.00	\$375.00	\$4,575.00
FAIR PAC	\$700.00	\$350.00	\$700.00
NURSE ANETHESIA - CRNA - PAC FUND	\$700.00	\$350.00	\$700.00
CLEAN PAC INC.	\$700.00	\$350.00	\$700.00
LABORERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA LOCAL 214 PAF	\$700.00	\$350.00	\$1,139.31
CITIZENS FOR SPORTS & ARTS, INC.	\$600.00	\$200.00	\$6,975.20
NYS PEST MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION PAC	\$600.00	\$300.00	\$600.00
CONSERVATIVE ACTION FUND	\$600.00	\$600.00	\$2,738.20
EXCELSIOR 2000	\$599.00	\$149.75	\$2,673.65
LYNBROOK P.B.A. PAC	\$550.00	\$275.00	\$1,175.00
LOCAL #41, I.B.E.W.-PAC	\$540.00	\$180.00	\$6,059.00
COMMITTEE FOR WORKERS' COMPENSATION REFORM	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$1,494.63
LOCAL 23-25, UNITE STATE & LOCAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$1,254.04

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
PORT AUTHORITY SERGEANT'S BENEVOLENT ASSOC. PAC	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$500.00
NYS SNOWMOBILE PAC	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$500.00
HUDSON VALLEY CHAPTER NECA PAC	\$500.00	\$166.67	\$2,600.00
ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK STATE YOUNG REPUBLICANS, INC.	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$8,914.66
SOUTHERN TIER HB & REM. BUILD - PAC	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$755.00
UWUA LOCAL 1-2 NON FEDERAL PAC	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$1,047.08
N.Y.S. ASSOCIATION OF SERVICE STATIONS & REPAIR SHOPS INC.	\$500.00	\$250.00	\$2,320.83
FED PAC	\$500.00	\$250.00	\$500.00
WACHOVIA NEW YORK EMPLOYEES GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$4,683.00
NEW YORK FINANCIAL SERVICES PAC	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$572.00
CWA SSF (NY)	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$613.67
ROCKLAND COUNTY PBA ASSOCIATION PAC NY	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$1,050.00
IBEW LOCAL UNION 363 PAC	\$500.00	\$500.00	\$5,844.00
LAND SURVEYORS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$400.00	\$400.00	\$400.00
NEW YORK STATE DIETETIC ASSOCIATION (NYSDA) PAC	\$400.00	\$400.00	\$400.00
FEDERATIONS OF POLICE PAC	\$400.00	\$100.00	\$659.82
TELECOMMUNICATIONS IMPROVEMENT COUNCIL	\$350.00	\$350.00	\$387.15
FIRST DISTRICT DENTAL SOCIETY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$350.00	\$175.00	\$3,475.00
LABORERS' INT'L UNION OF NORTH AMERICA LOCAL 435 VOLUNTARY PAF	\$300.00	\$300.00	\$17,942.75
OPEIU LOCAL 153 "VOTE" VOICE OF THE ELECTORATE	\$250.00	\$250.00	\$2,859.17
THEATRICAL PROTECTIVE UNION LOCAL NO ONE IATSE NYC STAGEHANDS PAC	\$250.00	\$250.00	\$4,591.34
EMPIRE STATE LEADERSHIP PAC	\$250.00	\$250.00	\$4,436.18
I.B.E.W. LOCAL UNION #237 COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM	\$250.00	\$250.00	\$1,087.70

PAC NAME	Total Contributions to State Offices and Parties	Average Contribution Size	Total PAC expenses
LOCAL # 30 PAF	\$250.00	\$250.00	\$1,351.16
LIFE OF THE PARTY	\$225.00	\$225.00	\$625.00
ROCHESTER BUILD PAC	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$785.00
NYS OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY PAC	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$277.80
U.S.W.A. LOCAL 420 A PAC	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$200.00
BUFFALO TEACHERS FEDERATION - PAC	\$150.00	\$150.00	\$880.00
COPE AFL-CIO	\$140.00	\$70.00	\$729.00
NEW YORKERS FOR BETTER LIBRARIES PAC	\$125.00	\$125.00	\$225.35
FRIENDS OF LAZIO	\$120.00	\$30.00	\$7,009.34
LONG ISLAND FEDERATION OF LABOR, AFL-CIO	\$100.00	\$25.00	\$3,638.96
NYS COUNCIL OF PHYSIOTHERAPISTS PAC	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT LEGACY COMMITTEE, INC.	\$79.98	\$79.98	\$71,846.49
DELPHI CORPORATION NEW YORK POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$50.00	\$16.67	\$75.60
KITCHEN PAC	\$50.00	\$50.00	\$1,171.23

Appendix F: Purpose Code Definition Examples²⁰

CMAIL: Campaign Mailings - cost to produce mailing envelopes, typing, printing, design
CONSL: Consultant Services - consultant's fees, subcontracts
CONSV: Constituent Services - district office renovations, supplies, telephones²¹
CNTRB: Political Contributions
FUNDR: Fundraising - meals, entertainment, hall rental, tickets²²
LITER: Campaign Literature - palm cards, flyers, brochures, lawn signs, letters, billboards, voter lists, printing, circulation costs
OFFCE: Office Expenses - utilities, telephone, equipment, supplies, cleaning
OTHER: Other - (must provide explanation, i.e., campaign van rental, campaign travel, tuxedo rental, reimbursements)
PETTT: Petition Expenses - voter lists, printing, circulation costs,
INT: Interest Expense - loan interest, late payment charges
POLLS: Polling Costs - pollster fee, telephones, voter lists
POSTA: Postage - includes all mailing and delivery service production and placement expense paid
PRINT: Print Ads - directly by the candidate
RADIO: Radio Ads
TV ADS: Television Ads
PROFL: Professional Services - accounting fees, legal fees, speech writing
RENTO: Office Rent
VOTER: Voter Registration Materials - maps, printing, mailing costs or services
WAGES: Campaign Workers' Salaries

²⁰ NYS Board of Elections, *Handbook of Instructions for Campaign Financial Disclosure*, 2005.

²¹ CONSV can be used only by a political office holder to better serve your constituents or better serve your office.

²² Expenses to conduct your own fund raiser are fund raising expenses. Purchasing tickets to another candidate's fund raiser is a political contribution and you would use the code CNTRB. For candidates, purchasing tickets.

Appendix G: NY State Campaign Contribution Limits²³

What is a contributor?

A contributor may be an individual, a corporation, another candidate's political committee, an unincorporated union or trade organization, a PAC or any other entity such as a League or association, etc.

A limited liability company is treated as an individual. **Sole proprietors' contributions are from the owner and must be listed as such.** Partnership contributions are contributions from the partners individually, but they are not listed individually until the partnership contribution exceeds \$2500. Then complete Schedule O. **With no other information available, checks drawn on a joint account are assumed given by the signatory.**

The funds of a candidate and the spouse of the candidate spent on the campaign are not contributions and are not limited. They must be reported, however.

The New York State Election Law places aggregate calendar year limits on the amount of political contributions that can be made by **individuals** and **corporations** to New York State candidates and committees, as follows:

- An individual may contribute up to a total of \$150,000.00 in a calendar year.
- A corporation may contribute up to a total of \$5,000.00 in a calendar year.
- Each affiliated or subsidiary corporation, if a separate legal entity, has its own limit.

No other type of contributor has an aggregate calendar year limit on its contributions.

Notwithstanding the above, no individual, corporation, or other contributor **may give more to a candidate or a candidate's authorized political committee(s)** than an amount determined under the law for the office sought by the candidate. This is called the election limit. This amount is the maximum that the candidate may receive from any one contributor during the campaign cycle for the particular election.

For some offices, the law requires a formula be used to determine the limit. In those cases, you should contact the board of elections where the candidate files their reports to find out the limits.

Each Primary, General or Special election campaign has its own limit. Therefore, contributors may give up to the limit for each election in which the candidate participates. Candidates and committee treasurers must ensure that the election limits are not exceeded and that those funds are spent only for the election to which they pertain unless they were surplus funds left over from a prior election.

The election limit for family members is an aggregate limit from all the candidate's family (defined as a child, parent, grandparent, brother and sister and the spouse's of those persons).

²³ <http://www.elections.state.ny.us/>

The following charts set forth the maximum election limits that may be received by a candidate for a particular office. Column A represents the amount that can be received from any non-family contributor and Column B represents the amount that can be received from the family.

Contribution Limit Formulas:

Office	Election	Non-Family Limit	Family Limit
Statewide	Primary	Total number of enrolled voters in the candidate's party in the state x \$0.005.*	Total number of enrolled voters in the candidate's party in the state x \$0.025.
	General	Any amount up to \$33,900	Total number of registered voters in the state x \$0.025.
New York State Senate	Primary	\$5,400	\$0.25 x enrolled voters in candidate's district and party but at least \$20,000, and no more than \$100,000.
	General	\$8,500	\$0.25 x registered voters in district but at least \$20,000, and no more than \$100,000.
New York State Assembly	Primary	\$3,400	\$0.25 x enrolled voters in candidate's district & party but at least \$12,500, and no more than \$100,000.
	General	\$3,400	\$0.25 x registered voters in district but at least \$12,500, and no more than \$100,000.
New York City Offices of Mayor, Public Advocate, and Comptroller	Primary	Total number of enrolled voters in candidate's party in the city x \$0.05*	\$0.25 x enrolled voters in candidate's party in the city but at least \$1,250, and no more than \$100,000.
	General	Any amount up to \$33,900.	\$0.25 x registered voter in the city but at least \$1,250, and no more than \$100,000.

* The formula amount up to \$16,200, but at least \$5,400.

NOTE: Candidates opting into the New York City Public Financing program should check with that [New York City Campaign Finance Board](#) for further limitations.

Office	Election	Non-Family Limit	Family Limit
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Other Public Offices	Primary	\$0.05 x enrolled voters in candidate's party & district but at least \$1,000, with a maximum of \$50,000.	\$0.25 x enrolled voters in candidate's party & district but at least \$1,250, and no more than \$100,000.
	General	\$0.05 x registered voters in candidate's district but at least \$1,000, with a maximum of \$50,000.	\$0.25 x registered voter in candidate's district but at least \$1,250, and no more than \$100,000.

The general election limit applies to Special elections as well.

Please remember that these limits are for the entire election cycle. Generally, the Election Cycle is either two or four years. Where the limit exceeds \$5,000.00, a corporation is still restricted to its limit of \$5,000.00 in a calendar year. But, it may give during each year of the election up to the lesser of its or the candidate's limit.

The person making a contribution, as well as the person receiving it, are responsible to ensure that the limits are not exceeded.

- The contribution limit for family members is an aggregate limit from all the candidate's family members (defined as a child, parent, grandparent, brother and sister and the spouse's of those persons.)
- Ballot Issues - There are no limits on contributions for ballot issues.
- Party or constituted committees - these committees may receive no more than \$84,400 from any individual contributor in a calendar year and up to \$5,000 from a corporation.
- Housekeeping - there are no limits on contributions to a Party or Constituted committee for Housekeeping expenses.

Unless otherwise designated in writing, a contribution is deemed attributable to the very next election in which the candidate participates. Contributions allocated to prior campaigns (to pay outstanding debts) must remain within the limits applicable to that election.