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P U B L I C H E A R I N G

before

SENATE STATE GOVERNMENT, FEDERAL AND
INTERSTATE RELATIONS AND VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SENATE BILL NO. 1828

(Limits to \$2500 the amount that certain PACs can
contribute to legislative candidates)

SENATE BILL NO. 2211

(Provides for public financing of campaigns
for nomination and election to Legislature;
limits contributions in aid of all such campaigns)

SENATE BILL NO. 2486

(Provides for public financing of campaigns
for election to Legislature; limits contributions
in aid of all such candidates and expenditures
in aid of those candidacies supported by public moneys)

October 27, 1988
Room 410
State House Annex
Trenton, New Jersey

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE PRESENT:

Senator Wynona M. Lipman, Chairwoman
Senator Gerald R. Stockman, Vice Chairman

ALSO PRESENT:

Joseph P. Capalbo
Office of Legislative Services
Aide, Senate State Government, Federal and
Interstate Relations and Veterans' Affairs Committee

* * * * *

Hearing Recorded and Transcribed by
Office of Legislative Services
Public Information Office
Hearing Unit
State House Annex
CN 068
Trenton, New Jersey 08625

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New Jersey State Legislature

**SENATE STATE GOVERNMENT, FEDERAL
AND INTERSTATE RELATIONS AND
VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE**

STATE HOUSE ANNEX, CN-068
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY 08625
(609) 292-9106

WYNONA M. LIPMAN
CHAIRMAN
GERALD R. STOCKMAN
VICE-CHAIRMAN
CATHERINE A. COSTA
GERALD CARDINALE
C. WILLIAM HAINES

M E M O R A N D U M

October 21, 1988

TO: MEMBERS OF THE SENATE STATE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE
FROM: SENATOR WYNONA M. LIPMAN, CHAIRMAN
SUBJECT: PUBLIC HEARING

The Senate State Government Committee will hold a public hearing on legislative campaign financing on Thursday, October 27, 1988. The bills to be discussed are:

S-1828 Dorsey	Limits to \$2,500 the amount that certain PAC's can contribute to legislative candidates.
S-2211 Lynch	Provides for public financing of campaigns for nomination and election to Legislature; limits contributions in aid of all such campaigns.
S-2486 VanWagner	Provides for public financing of campaigns for election to Legislature; limits contributions in aid of all such candidates and expenditures in aid of those candidacies supported by public moneys.

The hearing will be held in Room 410 of the State House Annex. It will follow the previously announced hearing on the implementation of the "Civil Service Act" which is scheduled to start at 10:00 a.m.

Persons wishing to testify, should contact Joseph P. Capalbo, Aide to the Committee, at (609) 292-9106.

SENATE, No. 1828

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Introduced Pending Technical Review by Legislative Counsel
PRE-FILED FOR INTRODUCTION IN THE 1988 SESSION

By Senator DORSEY

1 AN ACT concerning campaign contributions in legislative
elections and amending and supplementing P.L. 1973, c. 83.

3

BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and General Assembly of the
5 State of New Jersey:

1. Sections 4 through 8 of this act shall be known and may be
7 cited as the "Campaign Reform Act of 1987."

2. Section 3 of P.L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-3) is amended to
9 read as follows:

3. As used in this act, unless a different meaning clearly
11 appears from the context:

a. The term "allied candidates" means candidates in any
13 election who are (1) seeking nomination or election (A) to an
office or offices in the same county or municipal government or
15 school district or (B) to the Legislature representing in whole or
part the same constituency, and who are (2) either (A) nominees
17 of the same political party or (B) publicly declared in any
manner, including the seeking or obtaining of any ballot position
19 or common ballot slogan, to be aligned or mutually supportive.

b. The term "allied campaign organization" means any
21 political committee, any State, county or municipal committee
of a political party or any campaign organization of a candidate
23 which is in support or furtherance of the same candidate or any
one or more of the same group of allied candidates or the same
25 public question as any other such committee or organization.

c. The term "candidate" means an individual seeking or
27 having sought election to a public office of the State or of a
county, municipality or school district at an election; except
29 that the term shall not include an individual seeking party office.

EXPLANATION—Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in the
above bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted in the law.

Matter underlined thus is new matter.

1 d. The terms "contributions" and "expenditures" include all
loans and transfers of money or other thing of value to or by any
3 candidate, political committee or continuing political
committee, and all pledges or other commitments or
5 assumptions of liability to make any such transfer; and for
purposes of reports required under the provisions of this act
7 shall be deemed to have been made upon the date when such
commitment is made or liability assumed.

9 e. The term "election" means any election described in
section 4 of this act.

11 f. The term "paid personal services" means personal, clerical,
administrative or professional services of every kind and nature
13 including, without limitation, public relations, research, legal,
canvassing, telephone, speech writing or other such services,
15 performed other than on a voluntary basis, the salary, cost or
consideration for which is paid, borne or provided by someone
17 other than the committee, candidate organization for whom
such services are rendered. In determining the value, for the
19 purpose of reports required under this act, of contributions made
in the form of paid personal services, the person contributing
21 such services shall furnish to the treasurer through whom such
contribution is made a statement setting forth the actual
23 amount of compensation paid by said contributor to the
individuals actually performing said services for the
25 performance thereof. But if any individual or individuals
actually performing such services also performed for the
27 contributor other services during the same period, and the
manner of payment was such that payment for the services
29 contributed cannot readily be segregated from contemporary
payment for the other services, the contributor shall in his
31 statement to the treasurer so state and shall either (1) set forth
his best estimate of the dollar amount of payment to each such
33 individual which is attributable to the contribution of his paid
personal services, and shall certify the substantial accuracy of
35 the same, or (2) if unable to determine such amount with
sufficient accuracy, set forth the total compensation paid by
37 him to each such individual for the period of time during which
the services contributed by him were performed. If any
39 candidate is a holder of public office to whom there is

1 attached or assigned, by virtue of said office, any aide or aides
whose services are of a personal or confidential nature in
3 assisting him to carry out the duties of said office, and whose
salary or other compensation is paid in whole or part out of
5 public funds, the services of such aide or aides which are paid
for out of public funds shall be for public purposes only; but they
7 may contribute their personal services, on a voluntary basis, to
such candidate for election campaign purposes.

9 g. (Deleted by amendment, P.L. 1983, c. 579.)

h. The term "political information" means any statement
11 including, but not limited to, press releases, pamphlets,
newsletters, advertisements, flyers, form letters, or radio or
13 television programs or advertisements which reflects the opinion
of the members of the organization on any candidate or
15 candidates for public office, on any public question, or which
contains facts on any such candidate, or public question whether
17 or not such facts are within the personal knowledge of members
of the organization.

i. The term "political committee" means any two or more
19 persons acting jointly, or any corporation, partnership, or any
21 other incorporated or unincorporated association which is
organized to, or does, aid or promote the nomination, election or
23 defeat of any candidate or candidates for public office, or which
is organized to, or does, aid or promote the passage or defeat of
25 a public question in any election, if the persons, corporation,
partnership or incorporated or unincorporated association raises
27 or expends \$1,000.00 or more to so aid or promote the
nomination, election or defeat of a candidate or candidates or
29 the passage or defeat of a public question; provided that for the
purposes of this act, the term "political committee" shall not
31 include a "continuing political committee," as defined by
subsection n. of this section.

j. The term "public solicitation" means any activity by or on
33 behalf of any candidate, political committee or continuing
political committee whereby either (1) members of the general
35 public are personally solicited for cash contributions not
37 exceeding \$20.00 from each person so solicited and contributed
on the spot by the person so solicited to a person soliciting or

1 through a receptacle provided for the purpose of depositing
contributions, or (2) members of the general public are
3 personally solicited for the purchase of items having some
tangible value as merchandise, at a price not exceeding \$20.00
5 per item, which price is paid on the spot in cash by the person so
solicited to the person so soliciting, which the net proceeds of
7 such solicitation are to be used by or on behalf of such candidate
political committee or continuing political committee.

9 k. The term "testimonial affair" means an affair of any kind
or nature including, without limitation, cocktail parties,
11 breakfasts, luncheons, dinners, dances, picnics or similar affairs
directly or indirectly intended to raise campaign funds in behalf
13 of a person who holds, or who is or was a candidate for
nomination or election to a public office in this State, or
15 directly or indirectly intended to raise funds in behalf of any
State, county or municipal committee of a political party or in
17 behalf of a political committee.

1. The term "other thing of value" means any item of real or
19 personal property, tangible or intangible, but shall not be
deemed to include personal services other than paid personal
21 services.

m. The term "qualified candidate" means:

23 (1) Any candidate for election to the office of Governor whose
name appears on the general election ballot and who has
25 deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7 of P.L.
1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32); or

27 (2) Any candidate for election to the office of Governor whose
name does not appear on the general election ballot but who has
29 deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7 of P. L.
1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32); or

31 (3) Any candidate for nomination for election to the office of
Governor whose name appears on the primary election ballot and
33 who has deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7
of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32); or

35 (4) Any candidate for nomination for election to the office of
Governor whose name does not appear on the primary election
37 ballot but who has deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant
to section 7 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32).

1 n. The term "continuing political committee" means:

3 (1) The State committee, or any county or municipal
committee, of a political party; or

5 (2) Any group of two or more persons acting jointly, or any
corporation, partnership, or any other incorporated or
unincorporated association, including a political club political
7 action committee, civic association or other organization, which
in any calendar year contributes or expects to contribute at
9 least; [~~\$2,500.00~~] \$1,000.00 to the aid or promotion of the
candidacy of an individual, or of the candidacies of individuals,
11 for elective public office, or the passage or defeat of a public
question or public questions, and which may be expected to
13 make contributions toward such aid or promotion or passage or
defeat during a subsequent election, provided that the group,
15 corporation, partnership, association or other organization has
been determined to be a continuing political committee under
17 subsection b. of section 8 of P.L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-8).

19 3. Section 8 of P. L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-8) is amended to
read as follows:

21 8. a. (1) Each political committee shall make a full
cumulative report, upon a form prescribed by the Election Law
Enforcement Commission, of all contributions in the form of
23 moneys, loans, paid personal services, or other things of value
made to it and all expenditures made, incurred, or authorized by
25 it in furtherance of the nomination, election or defeat of any
candidate, or in aid of the passage or defeat of any public
27 question, or to provide political information on any candidate or
public question, during the period ending 48 hours preceding the
29 date of the report and beginning on the date on which the first
of those contributions was received or the first of those
31 expenditures was made, whichever occurred first. The
cumulative report, except as hereinafter provided, shall contain
33 the name and address of each person or group from whom
moneys, loans, paid personal services or other things of value
35 have been contributed since 48 hours preceding the date on
which the previous such report was made and the amount
37 contributed by each person or group. In the case of any loan
reported pursuant to this section, the report shall contain the
39 name and address of each person who has cosigned such loan

1 since 48 hours preceding the date on which the previous such
report was made. The cumulative report shall also contain the
3 name and address of each person, firm, organization to whom
expenditures have been paid since 48 hours preceding the date
5 on which the previous such report was made and amount and
purpose of each such expenditure. The cumulative report shall
7 be filed with the Election Law Enforcement Commission on the
dates designated in section 16 hereof.

9 The campaign treasurer of the political committee reporting
shall certify to the correctness of each report.

11 Each campaign treasurer of a political committee shall file
written notice with the commission of a contribution in excess
13 of \$250.00 received during the period between the 13th day prior
to the election and the date of the election. the notice shall be
15 filed in writing or by telegram within 48 hours of the receipt of
the contribution and shall set forth the amount and date of the
17 contribution and the name and address of the contributor.

(2) When a political committee or an individual seeking party
19 office makes or authorizes an expenditure on behalf of a
candidate, it shall provide immediate written notification to the
21 candidate of the expenditure.

b. (1) A group of two or more persons acting jointly, or any
23 corporation, partnership, or any other incorporated or
unincorporated association including a political club, political
25 action committee, civic association or other organization, which
in any calendar year contributes or expects to contribute at
27 least [~~\$2,500.00~~] \$1,000.00 to the aid or promotion of the
candidacy of all individual, or of the candidacies of individuals,
29 for elective public office or the passage or defeat of a public
question or public questions and which expects to make
31 contributions toward such aid or promotion, or toward such
passaged or defeat, during a subsequent election, shall certify
33 that fact to the commission, and the commission, upon receiving
that certification and on the basis of any information as it may
35 require of the group, corporation, partnership, association or
other organization, shall determine whether the group,
37 corporation, partnership, association or other organization is a

1 continuing political committee for the purposes of this act. If
the commission determines that the group, corporation,
3 partnership, association or other organization is a continuing
political committee, it shall so notify that continuing political
5 committee.

(2) A continuing political committee shall file with the
7 Election Law Enforcement Commission, not later than April 15,
July 15, October 15 and January 15 of each calendar year, a
9 cumulative quarterly report of all moneys, loans, paid personal
services or other things of value contributed to it during the
11 period ending on the 15th day preceding that date and
commencing on January 1 of that calendar year or, in the case
13 of the cumulative quarterly report to be filed not later than
January 15, of the previous calendar year, and all expenditures
15 made, incurred, or authorized by it during the period, whether or
not such expenditures were made, incurred or authorized in
17 furtherance of the election or defeat of any candidate, or in aid
of the passage or defeat of any public question or to provide
19 information on any candidate or public question.

The cumulative quarterly report shall contain the name and
21 address of each person or group from whom moneys, loans, and
personal services or other things of value have been contributed
23 and the amount contributed by each person or group. In the case
of any loan reported pursuant to this section, the report shall
25 contain the name and address of each person who cosigns such
loan. The report shall also contain the name and address of each
27 person, firm or organization to whom expenditures have been
paid and the amount and purpose of each such expenditure. The
29 treasurer of the continuing political committee reporting shall
certify to the correctness of each cumulative quarterly report.

31 Each continuing political committee shall provide immediate
written notification to each candidate of all expenditures made
33 or authorized on behalf of the candidate.

If any continuing political committee submitting cumulative
35 quarterly reports as provided under this subsection receives a
contribution from a single source of more than \$250.00 after the
37 final day of a quarterly reporting period and on or before a
primary, general, municipal, school or special election which

1 occurs after that final day but prior to the final day of the next
reporting period it shall, in writing or by telegram, report that
3 contribution to the commission within 48 hours of the receipt
thereof.

5 A continuing political committee which at any point expects
to cease making contributions toward the aiding or promoting of
7 the candidacy of an individual, or of the candidacies of
individuals, for elective public office in this State or the passage
9 or defeat of a public question or public questions in this State
shall certify that fact in writing to the commission, and that
11 certification shall be accompanied by a final accounting of any
fund relating to such aiding or promoting, including the final
13 disposition of any balance in such fund at the time of
dissolution. Until that certification has been filed, the
15 committee shall continue to file the quarterly reports as
provided under this subsection.

17 c. In any report filed pursuant to the provisions fo this
section the organization or committee reporting may exclude
19 from the report the names and addresses of contributors whose
contributions during the period covered by the report did not
21 exceed \$100.00, provided, however, that (1) such exclusion is
unlawful if any person responsible for the preparation or filing
23 of the report knew that it was made with respect to any person
whose contributions relating to the same election or issue and
25 made to the reporting organization or committee or to an allied
campaign organization or organizations aggregate, in
27 combination with the contribution in respect of which such
exclusion is made, more than \$100.00 and (2) any person who
29 knowingly prepares, assists in preparing files or acquiesces in
the filing of any report from which the identification of a
31 contributor has been excluded contrary to the provisions of this
section is subject to the provisions of section 21 of this act, but
33 (3) nothing in this provision shall be construed as requiring any
committee organization reporting pursuant to this act to report
35 the amounts, dates or other circumstantial data regarding
contributions made to any other organization or political
37 committee, committee of a political party or campaign
organization of a candidate.

1 Any report filed pursuant to the provisions of this section
shall include an itemized accounting of all receipts and
3 expenditures relative to any testimonial affairs held since the
date of the most recent report filed, which accounting shall
5 include the names and addresses of each contributor in excess of
\$100.00 to such testimonial affair and the amount contributed
7 by each, the expenses incurred, and the disposition of the
proceeds of such testimonial affair.

9 A political committee shall be exempt from any requirement
to file reports pursuant to this section of contributions received
11 or expenditures made in behalf of two or more joint candidates
in any election if the committee files with the Election Law
13 Enforcement Commission a sworn statement to the effect that
the total amount to be expended on behalf of their candidacies
15 shall not exceed \$4,000.00; provided, that if a committee which
has filed such a sworn statement receives contributions from
17 any one source aggregating more than \$100.00, it shall forthwith
report that fact, including the identify of the source and the
19 aggregate total of contributions therefrom to the commission.
Any sworn statement under this subsection may be filed with the
21 notice of designation by a political committee of a campaign
treasurer and campaign depository under section 10 of P.L.
23 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-10), if that committee knows or has
reason to believe, at the time when the notice of designation is
25 given, that the total amount to be so expended shall not exceed
\$4,000.00.

27 4. (New section) No continuing political committee other
than the State committee or any county or municipal committee
29 of a political party shall make any contribution to or
expenditures in behalf of a legislative candidate, his campaign
31 treasurer, or deputy campaign treasurer, in aid of the candidacy
of or in behalf of a candidate for nomination for election or for
33 election as a member of the Legislature in any primary, special
or general election in the aggregate in excess of \$2,500.00. No
35 legislative candidate and no campaign treasurer or deputy
campaign treasurer of a legislative candidate shall knowingly
37 accept from any continuing political committee other than the
State committee or any county or municipal committee of a
39 political party any contribution or expenditure in the aggregate

1 in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of a legislative candidate
2 in excess of \$2,500.00 in any primary, special or general
3 election. For the purpose of this section, "legislative
4 candidate" means any candidate for nomination for election or
5 for election to the Legislature in any primary, special or general
6 election.

7 5. (New section) No continuing political committee other
8 than the State committee or any county or municipal committee
9 of a political party shall make any contribution to or
10 expenditures in behalf of another continuing political committee
11 other than the State committee or any county or municipal
12 committee of a political party in the aggregate in excess of
13 \$2,500.00 during any calendar year. No continuing political
14 committee other than the State committee or any county or
15 municipal committee of a political party shall accept from
16 another continuing political committee other than the State
17 committee or any county or municipal committee of a political
18 party any contribution or expenditure in the aggregate in excess
19 of \$2,500.00 during any calendar year.

20 6. (New section) In any calendar year in which members of
21 the Legislature are elected, no continuing political committee
22 other than the State committee or any county or municipal
23 committee of a political party shall make any contribution to or
24 expenditure in behalf of a candidate for nomination for or for
25 election to the Legislature, any political committee promoting
26 the nomination or election of that candidate, or any continuing
27 political committee affiliated with that candidate in the
28 aggregate in excess of \$5,000.00.

29 7. (New section) In addition to the information already
30 required pursuant to section 8 of P.L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-8),
31 continuing political committees other than the State committee
32 or any county or municipal committee of a political party shall
33 disclose in their quarterly reports the bills for which they sought
34 a legislator's support or opposition in return for a contribution
35 to that legislator's campaign for nomination, election or
36 reelection to the Legislature.

37 8. (New section) A continuing political committee may make
38 a contribution to the State committee or any county or
39 municipal committee of a political party in aid of the candidacy
of or in behalf of a specific candidate for member of the

1 Legislature provided the continuing political committee
discloses the bills for which it sought the legislator's support or
3 opposition in return for a campaign contribution, pursuant to
section 5 of P.L., c. (C.) (now
5 pending before the Legislature as this bill).

9. This act shall take effect immediately, but if a quarterly
7 report is due within 30 days after this effective date, the act
shall be inoperative until the day following date on which that
9 report is due.

11

STATEMENT

13

The purpose of this bill is to limit the amount of money that
15 political action committees (PACs) and other continuing
political committees other than the State committee or any
17 county or municipal committee of a political party may
contribute to any candidate for nomination or election to the
19 Legislature.

Specifically, a PAC would be limited to contributing a total of
21 \$2,500.00 to any candidate in any election and to contributing a
total of \$2,500.00 to another PAC during any calendar year.
23 Since this limitation would apply to continuing political
committees other than the State committee or any county or
25 municipal committee of a political party which at present have
a \$2,500.00 reporting threshold, the bill lowers the reporting
27 threshold to \$1,000.00 so that PACs would be required to report
their expenditures before reaching the \$2,500.00 limit. Also, in
29 any calendar year in which members of the Legislature are
elected a cap of \$5,000.00 is placed on amount of money
31 continuing political committees other than the State committee
or any county or municipal committee of a political party can
33 contribute or expend on behalf of a candidate.

In addition, each PAC must disclose in its quarterly report
35 that bills for which it sought a legislator's support or opposition
in return for a contribution to that legislator's campaign for
37 nomination, election or reelection. A continuing political
committee may make a contribution to the State committee or
39 any county or municipal committee of a political party in aid of

- 1 or in behalf of a specific legislative candidate provided the PAC
discloses the bills for which it sought the legislator's support or
3 opposition in return for a campaign contribution.

5

ELECTIONS

7

Ethics and Financial Disclosure

- 9 Limits to \$2,500 the amount that certain PACs can contribute
to legislative candidates.

SENATE, No. 2211
STATE OF NEW JERSEY

INTRODUCED MARCH 21, 1988

By Senator LYNCH

1 **AN ACT** concerning the financing of campaigns for nomination
2 for election and for election to the office of member of the
3 Legislature, amending and supplementing P.L.1973, c.83.

5 **BE IT ENACTED** by the Senate and General Assembly of the
6 State of New Jersey:

7 1. Section 3 of P.L.1973, c.83 (C.19:44A-3) is amended to read
8 as follows:

9 3. As used in this act, unless a different meaning clearly
10 appears from the context:

11 a. The term "allied candidates" means candidates in any
12 election who are (1) seeking nomination or election (A) to an
13 office or offices in the same county or municipal government or
14 school district or (B) to the Legislature representing in whole or
15 part the same constituency, and who are (2) either (A) nominees
16 of the same political party or (B) publicly declared in any manner,
17 including the seeking or obtaining of any ballot position or
18 common ballot slogan, to be aligned or mutually supportive.

19 b. The term "allied campaign organization" means any political
20 committee, any State, county or municipal committee of a
21 political party or any campaign organization of a candidate which
22 is in support or furtherance of the same candidate or any one or
23 more of the same group of allied candidates or the same public
24 question as any other such committee or organization.

25 c. The term "candidate" means an individual seeking or having
26 sought election to a public office of the State or of a county,
27 municipality or school district at an election; except that the
28 term shall not include an individual seeking party office.

29 d. The terms "contributions" and "expenditures" include all
30 loans and transfers of money or other thing of value to or by any
31 candidate, political committee or continuing political committee,

EXPLANATION—Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in the
above bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted in the law.

Matter underlined thus is new matter.

1 and all pledges or other commitments or assumptions of liability
2 to make any such transfer; and for purposes of reports required
3 under the provisions of this act shall be deemed to have been
4 made upon the date when such commitment is made or liability
5 assumed.

6 e. The term "election" means any election described in section
7 4 of this act.

8 f. The term "paid personal services" means personal, clerical,
9 administrative or professional services of every kind and nature
10 including, without limitation, public relations, research, legal,
11 canvassing, telephone, speech writing or other such services,
12 performed other than on a voluntary basis, the salary, cost or
13 consideration for which is paid, borne or provided by someone
14 other than the committee, candidate or organization for whom
15 such services are rendered. In determining the value, for the
16 purpose of reports required under this act, of contributions made
17 in the form of paid personal services, the person contributing
18 such services shall furnish to the treasurer through whom such
19 contribution is made a statement setting forth the actual amount
20 of compensation paid by said contributor to the individuals
21 actually performing said services for the performance thereof.
22 But if any individual or individuals actually performing such
23 services also performed for the contributor other services during
24 the same period, and the manner of payment was such that
25 payment for the services contributed cannot readily be
26 segregated from contemporary payment for the other services,
27 the contributor shall in his statement to the treasurer so state
28 and shall either (1) set forth his best estimate of the dollar
29 amount of payment to each such individual which is attributable
30 to the contribution of his paid personal services, and shall certify
31 the substantial accuracy of the same, or (2) if unable to
32 determine such amount with sufficient accuracy, set forth the
33 total compensation paid by him to each such individual for the
34 period of time during which the services contributed by him were
35 performed. If any candidate is a holder of public office to whom
36 there is attached or assigned, by virtue of said office, any aide or
37 aides whose services are of a personal or confidential nature in
38 assisting him to carry out the duties of said office, and whose
39 salary or other compensation is paid in whole or part out of public

1 funds, the services of such aide or aides which are paid for out of
public funds shall be for public purposes only; but they may
3 contribute their personal services, on a voluntary basis, to such
candidate for election campaign purposes.

5 g. (Deleted by amendment, P.L.1983, c.579.)

h. The term "political information" means any statement
7 including, but not limited to, press releases, pamphlets,
newsletters, advertisements, flyers, form letters, or radio or
9 television programs or advertisements which reflects the opinion
of the members of the organization on any candidate or
11 candidates for public office, on any public question, or which
contains facts on any such candidate, or public question whether
13 or not such facts are within the personal knowledge of members
of the organization.

15 i. The term "political committee" means any two or more
persons acting jointly, or any corporation, partnership, or any
17 other incorporated or unincorporated association which is
organized to, or does, aid or promote the nomination, election or
19 defeat of any candidate or candidates for public office, or which
is organized to, or does, aid or promote the passage or defeat of a
21 public question in any election, if the persons, corporation,
partnership or incorporated or unincorporated association raises
23 or expends \$1,000.00 or more to so aid or promote the
nomination, election or defeat of a candidate or candidates or the
25 passage or defeat of a public question; provided that for the
purposes of this act, the term "political committee" shall not
27 include a "continuing political committee," as defined by
subsection n. of this section.

29 j. The term "public solicitation" means any activity by or on
behalf of any candidate, political committee or continuing
31 political committee whereby either (1) members of the general
public are personally solicited for cash contributions not
33 exceeding \$20.00 from each person so solicited and contributed
on the spot by the person so solicited to a person soliciting or
35 through a receptacle provided for the purpose of depositing
contributions, or (2) members of the general public are personally
37 solicited for the purchase of items having some tangible value as
merchandise, at a price not exceeding \$20.00 per item, which
39 price is paid on the spot in cash by the person so solicited to the

1 person so soliciting, when the net proceeds of such solicitation
 are to be used by or on behalf of such candidate, political
 3 committee or continuing political committee.

k. The term "testimonial affair" means an affair of any kind or
 5 nature including, without limitation, cocktail parties, breakfasts,
 luncheons, dinners, dances, picnics or similar affairs directly or
 7 indirectly intended to raise campaign funds in behalf of a person
 who holds, or who is or was a candidate for nomination or
 9 election to a public office in this State, or directly or indirectly
 intended to raise funds in behalf of any State, county or
 11 municipal committee of a political party or in behalf of a
 political committee.

13 l. The term "other thing of value" means any item of real or
 personal property, tangible or intangible, but shall not be deemed
 15 to include personal services other than paid personal services.

m. The term "qualified candidate" means:

17 (1) Any candidate for election to the office of Governor whose
 name appears on the general election ballot and who has
 19 deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7 of
 P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32); or

21 (2) Any candidate for election to the office of Governor whose
 name does not appear on the general election ballot but who has
 23 deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7 of
 P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32); or

25 (3) Any candidate for nomination for election to the office of
 Governor whose name appears on the primary election ballot and
 27 who has deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7
 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32); or

29 (4) Any candidate for nomination for election to the office of
 Governor whose name does not appear on the primary election
 31 ballot but who has deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to
 section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32); or

33 (5) Any candidate for election to the office of member of the
Legislature whose name appears on the general or special
 35 election ballot and who has deposited and expended \$5,000.00
pursuant to section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32); or

37 (6) Any candidate for election to the office of member of the
Legislature whose name does not appear on the general or special

1 election ballot but who has deposited and expended \$5,000.00
 pursuant to section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32); or

3 (7) Any candidate for nomination for election to the office of
member of the Legislature whose name appears on the primary
 5 election ballot and who has deposited and expended \$5,000.00
pursuant to section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32); or

7 (8) Any candidate for nomination for election to the office of
member of the Legislature whose name does not appear on the
 9 primary election ballot but who has deposited and expended
\$5,000.00 pursuant to section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32).

11 For the purposes of paragraphs (5) through (8) of this
subsection, only the first \$200.00 of aggregate contributions from
 13 each contributor who is an individual shall be considered in
calculating whether a candidate has deposited and expended
 15 \$5,000.00 pursuant to section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32).

n. The term "continuing political committee" means:

17 (1) the State committee, or any county or municipal
 committee, of a political party; or

19 (2) any group of two or more persons acting jointly, or any
 corporation, partnership, or any other incorporated or
 21 unincorporated association, including a political club, political
 action committee, civic association or other organization, which
 23 in any calendar year contributes or expects to contribute at least
 \$2,500.00 to the aid or promotion of the candidacy of an
 25 individual, or of the candidacies of individuals, for elective public
 office, or the passage or defeat of a public question or public
 27 questions, and which may be expected to make contributions
 toward such aid or promotion or passage or defeat during a
 29 subsequent election, provided that the group, corporation,
 partnership, association or other organization has been
 31 determined to be a continuing political committee under
 subsection b. of section 8 of P.L.1973, c.83 (C.19:44A-8).

33 (cf: P.L.1983, c.579, s.7)

2. Section 19 of P.L.1980, c.74 (C.19:44A-7.1) is amended to
 35 read as follows:

19. For the purpose of determining the continuing adequacy of
 37 the limits set by law upon contributions and expenditures in aid of
 the candidacy or in behalf of any candidate for nomination or
 39 election to the office of Governor or member of the Legislature.

1 the Election Law Enforcement Commission shall monitor the
 3 general level of prices, with particular reference to those
 5 directly affecting the costs of election campaigning in this
 7 State. In the year next preceding any year in which a primary
 9 election and general election are to be held to fill for a full term
 the office of Governor [are to be held], and not later than 12
 months before the date of the primary election, the commission
 shall report to the Legislature its recommendations, if any, for
 altering those limits in accordance with its findings pursuant to
 this section.

11 (cf: P.L.1980, c.74, s.19)

13 3. Section 2 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-27) is amended to read
 as follows:

15 2. It is hereby declared to be a compelling public interest and
 17 to be the policy of this State that [primary and general election]
 campaigns for nomination for election and for election to the
 [office] offices of Governor and member of the Legislature shall
 be financed with public support pursuant to the provisions of this
 19 act. It is the intention of this act that such financing be
 adequate in amount so that candidates [for election to the office
 21 of Governor] waging such campaigns may conduct [their] those
 campaigns free from improper influence and so that persons of
 23 limited financial means may seek election to [the State's highest
 office] those State offices.

25 (cf: P.L.1980, c.74, s.3)

27 4. Section 3 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-28) is amended to read
 as follows:

29 3. The provisions of this act shall apply to the general election
 campaign for the office of Governor to be held in November,
 1977 [and], to all subsequent primary and general election
 31 campaigns for nomination for election and for election to the
 office of Governor, and to all primary, general and special
 33 election campaigns to be held in June, 1989 and thereafter for
nomination for election and for election to the office of member
 35 of the Legislature, except that the provisions of this act shall not
 apply to any primary or general election campaign for the office
 37 of Governor or to any primary, general or special election
campaign for nomination for election or for election to the office

1 of member of the Legislature for which the Legislature fails to
make an appropriation.

3 (cf: P.L.1980, c.74, s.4)

5 Section 4 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-29) is amended to read
as follows:

7 4. a. Except in the case of a candidate, as provided in
subsection g. of this section, no person [or], political committee
9 or continuing political committee, otherwise eligible to make
political contributions, shall make any contribution or
contributions to a candidate, his campaign treasurer or deputy
11 campaign treasurer, a State committee, county committee or
municipal committee of any political party, or to any other
13 person or committee, in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of a
candidate for nomination for election or for election to the office
15 of Governor in any primary or general election in the aggregate
in excess of \$800.00, or in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of
17 a candidate for nomination for election or for election to the
office of member of the Legislature in any primary, general or
19 special election in the aggregate in excess of \$500.00. No
candidate for nomination for election or for election to the office
21 of Governor in any primary or general election, or for nomination
for election or for election to the office of member of the
23 Legislature in any primary, general or special election, and no
campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of such
25 candidate, shall knowingly accept from any person, candidate,
[or] political committee, or continuing political committee any
27 contribution or contributions in aid of the candidacy of or in
behalf of such candidate in the aggregate in excess of \$800.00 or
29 \$500.00, as appropriate, in [any] that primary [or], general or
special election. No provision of this act shall be construed to
31 prohibit a contribution or contributions in the aggregate not in
excess of \$800.00 or \$500.00, as appropriate, in aid of the
33 candidacy of or in behalf of any candidate for nomination for
election to the office of Governor or member of the Legislature
35 in a primary election and another contribution or contributions in
the aggregate not in excess of \$800.00 or \$500.00, as appropriate,
37 in the aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of any candidate for
election to the office of Governor or member of the Legislature
39 in a general or special election.

1 b. (Deleted by amendment. (P.L.1980, c.74).)

3 c. The spouse of any contributor may make a contribution or
 5 contributions of up to \$800.00 in the aggregate in aid of the
 7 candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate for nomination for
 9 election or for election to the office of Governor in a primary or
general election and a contribution or contributions of up to
\$500.00 in the aggregate in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of
a candidate for nomination for election or for election to the
office of member of the Legislature in a primary, general or
special election.

11 d. No State committee of any political party shall knowingly
 13 accept from any person [or], political committee [,] or continuing
 15 political committee any contribution or contributions in the
 17 aggregate in excess of \$800.00 in aid of the candidacy of or in
 19 behalf of a candidate for election to the office of Governor in a
 21 general election or any contribution or contributions in the
 23 aggregate in excess of \$500.00 in aid of the candidacy of or in
 25 behalf of a candidate for election to the office of member of the
 27 Legislature in a general or special election. A State committee
 29 may allocate all or part of a contribution of up to \$800.00, [and]
 31 or up to \$800.00 of a contribution in excess of \$800.00, in aid of
 33 the candidacy of or in behalf of [such] a candidate for election to
 35 the office of Governor in a general election and may likewise
 37 allocate all or part of a contribution of up to \$500.00, or up to
 39 \$500.00 of a contribution in excess of \$500.00 in aid of the
candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate for election to the office
of member of the Legislature in a general or special election. A
 State committee shall create an account in a National or State
 bank in behalf of any candidate the committee intends to or does
 assist for election to the office of Governor or member of the
Legislature in a general or special election. shall deposit in such
 account and report to the Election Law Enforcement Commission
 the name of the contributor of all moneys accepted or allocated
 in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate. and may
 make a contribution or contributions from such account in any
 amount in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate.
 No State committee may make any contribution or contributions
 in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate of
 moneys not deposited in a bank account pursuant to this

1 subsection, and no State committee may make a contribution or
 2 contributions in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of such
 3 candidate of moneys or other thing of value pledged or received
 4 in a calendar year in which no [gubernatorial] election was held
 5 for the office to which that candidate seeks election.

6 e. The county committees and municipal committees of any
 7 political party may make an expenditure or expenditures in the
 8 aggregate of \$100,000.00 in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf
 9 of any candidate for election to the office of Governor in a
 10 general election; except that the county committee and
 11 municipal committees in the same county may not make an
 12 expenditure or expenditures in the aggregate in excess of
 13 \$10,000.00 in aid of the candidacy or in behalf of any such
 14 candidate. No county committee or municipal committee may
 15 transfer or contribute any funds to any such candidate or to such
 16 candidate's campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer, or
 17 to any political committee supporting such candidate. A
 18 candidate or his campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer
 19 shall determine the exact amount that individual county
 20 committees or municipal committees may contribute in aid of the
 21 candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate, and shall file a report
 22 of such determination with the Election Law Enforcement
 23 Commission no later than the seventh day prior to the general
 24 election being funded.

25 f. Communications on any subject by a corporation to its
 26 stockholders and their families, or by a labor organization to its
 27 members and their families, and nonpartisan registration and
 28 get-out-the-vote campaigns by a corporation aimed at its
 29 stockholders and their families, or by a labor organization aimed
 30 at its members and their families, shall not be construed to be in
 31 aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate for nomination
 32 for election or for election to the [office] offices of Governor or
 33 member of the Legislature in any primary [or], general or special
 34 election.

35 g. No candidate [receiving] for nomination for election or for
 36 election to the office of Governor who receives public funds may
 37 make expenditures from his own funds, including any
 contributions from his own funds, in aid of his candidacy for

1 nomination or election to [the] that office [of Governor] in excess
 2 of \$25,000.00 for the primary election and \$25,000.00 for the
 3 general election. No candidate for nomination for election or for
 4 election to the office of member of the Legislature who receives
 5 public funds may make expenditures from his own funds, including
 6 any contributions from his own funds, in aid of his candidacy for
 7 nomination or election to that office in excess of \$10,000.00.

8 As used in this subsection "own funds" means funds to which
 9 the candidate is legally and beneficially entitled, but shall not
 10 include funds as to which he is a trustee, or funds given or
 11 otherwise transferred to the candidate by any person other than
 12 the spouse of the candidate for use in aid of his candidacy.

13 (cf: P.L.1980, c.74, s.5)

14 7. Section 5 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-30) is amended to read
 15 as follows:

16 5. a. The Legislature shall appropriate to the New Jersey
 17 Election Law Enforcement Commission out of the Gubernatorial
 18 Elections Fund established pursuant to N.J.S.54A:9-25.1 and
 19 available for appropriation from the fund, and, if necessary, out
 20 of the General Treasury of the State such sums as are necessary
 21 to carry out the [purposes of this act] provisions of subsections a.
 22 and b. of section 8 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-33), which sums
 23 shall constitute a fund for campaign expenses for the primary
 24 election and the general election to fill the office of Governor, in
 25 such amounts or proportions as the Legislature shall direct [the]
 26 by appropriation to be distributed between each of the two
 27 elections, to be regulated and distributed by the commission
 28 pursuant to this act. Upon notice by the commission, the
 29 Legislature shall appropriate to the commission out of the
 30 General Treasury such additional sums as may be required to
 31 carry out the purposes of those subsections if the sums first
 32 appropriated become inadequate.

33 b. The Legislature shall appropriate to the New Jersey Election
 34 Law Enforcement Commission out of the General Treasury of the
 35 State such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of
 36 subsection c. of section 8 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-33), which
 37 sums shall constitute a fund for campaign expenses for any
 38 primary, general or special election to fill the office of member
 39 of the Legislature, to be regulated and distributed

1 by the commission pursuant to this act. Upon notice by the
 2 commission, the Legislature shall appropriate to the commission
 3 out of the General Treasury such additional sums as may be
 4 required to carry out the purposes of that subsection if the sums
 5 first appropriated become inadequate.

(cf: P.L.1980, c.74, s.6)

7 8. Section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32) is amended to read
 as follows:

9 7. a. Each candidate in the primary election for nomination for
 10 election to the [office] offices of Governor or member of the
 11 Legislature, shall, with the approval of the Election Law
 12 Enforcement Commission, create a bank account in a National or
 13 State bank. The candidate, his campaign treasurer or deputy
 14 campaign treasurer shall deposit promptly into the account all
 15 moneys received pursuant to section 4 of P.L.1974, c.26
 16 (C.19:44A-29) and sections 11 and 12 of P.L.1973, c.83
 17 (C.19:44A-11 and 19:44A-12).

18 b. Each candidate in the general election for election to the
 19 office of Governor and each candidate in a general or special
 20 election for election to the office of member of the Legislature
 21 shall, with the approval of the Election Law Enforcement
 22 Commission, create an account in a National or State bank. The
 23 candidate, his campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer
 24 shall deposit promptly into the account all moneys received for
 25 the purpose of the election, provided that the moneys are
 26 received pursuant to section 4 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-29)
 27 and sections 11 and 12 of P.L.1973, c.83 (C.19:44A-11 and
 19:44A-12).

28 c. Immediately after deposit in the bank account the candidate
 29 or his campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer may
 30 transfer or expend the moneys, except that no moneys deposited
 31 in a candidate's bank account for the primary election may be
 32 expended for any candidate's general election expenses, and
 33 except that no moneys deposited in a candidate's bank account
 34 for the general election may be transferred or expended until the
 35 day following the primary election or may be expended for
 36 primary election expenses.

37 d. No State or National bank which acts as a depository for
 38 election funds as provided in this act shall be held accountable
 39

1 for the proper application of funds withdrawn, transferred or
 3 expended from such accounts by the person or persons in whose
 name or names the accounts are opened or maintained, nor shall
 the State or National bank be under any duty to determine
 5 whether the funds deposited in the account are withdrawn,
 transferred or expended for the purposes and at the time or times
 7 prescribed by law, or are received from sources and in amounts
 prescribed or limited by law.

9 (cf: P.L.1980, c.74, s.7)

9. Section 8 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-33) is amended to read
 11 as follows:

8. a. The campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of
 13 any qualified candidate for nomination for election to the office
 of Governor in a primary election upon application to the
 commission shall promptly receive in behalf of the qualified
 15 candidate from the fund for election campaign expenses, but not
 prior to January 1 of the year of the election, moneys in an
 amount equal to twice the amount of no more than \$800.00 of
 17 each contribution deposited in the qualified candidate's primary
 election bank account described in section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26
 19 (C.19:44A-32), except that no payment shall be made from the
 fund to any candidate for the first \$50,000.00 deposited in the
 21 qualified candidate's bank account. The maximum amount which
 any qualified candidate for nomination for election to the office
 23 of Governor in a primary election may receive from the fund for
 election campaign expenses shall not exceed \$0.20 for each voter
 25 who voted in New Jersey in the last preceding general election in
 a presidential year.

29 b. The campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of any
 qualified candidate for election to the office of Governor in a
 31 general election upon application to the commission shall
 promptly receive in behalf of such qualified candidate from the
 33 fund for election campaign expenses, but not prior to the primary
 election, moneys in an amount equal to twice the amount of no
 35 more than \$800.00 [for] of each contribution deposited in such
 qualified candidate's bank account described in section 7 of
 37 P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32), except that no payment shall be
 made from the fund to any candidate for the first \$50,000.00
 39 deposited in such qualified candidate's bank account.

1 The maximum amount which any qualified candidate for
election to the office of Governor in a general election may
3 receive from the fund for election campaign expenses shall not
exceed \$0.40 for each voter who voted in New Jersey in the last
5 preceding general election in a presidential year.

6 c. The campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of any
7 qualified candidate for nomination for election to the office of
8 member of the Legislature in a primary election upon application
9 to the commission shall promptly receive in behalf of such
10 qualified candidate from the fund for election campaign
11 expenses, but not prior to January 1 of the year of the election,
12 moneys in an amount equal to the amount of no more than
13 \$200.00 of a contribution or of the aggregate contributions from
14 an individual deposited in such qualified candidate's bank account
15 described in section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32), except
16 that no payment shall be made from the fund to any candidate
17 with respect to any contribution, all or a portion of which was
18 considered under subsection m. of section 3 of P.L.1973, c.83
19 (C.19:44A-3) in calculating whether the candidate was a qualified
20 candidate, and no such payment shall be made to a candidate
21 upon whose behalf no such application shall have been received by
22 the commission on or before April 25 preceding that primary
23 election. The maximum amount which any qualified candidate
24 for nomination for election to the office of member of the
25 Legislature in a primary election may receive from the fund for
26 election campaign expenses shall not exceed \$10,000.00.

27 d. The campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of any
28 qualified candidate for election to the office of member of the
29 Legislature in a general or special election upon application to
30 the commission shall promptly receive in behalf of such qualified
31 candidate from the fund for election campaign expenses, but not
32 prior to the primary election or meeting at which the qualified
33 candidate is nominated for election to such office, moneys in an
34 amount equal to the amount of no more than \$200.00 of a
35 contribution or of the aggregate contributions from an individual
36 deposited in such qualified candidate's bank account described in
37 section 7 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-32), except that no
38 payment shall be made from the fund to any candidate with
39 respect to any contribution, all or a portion of which was
40 considered under subsection m. of section 3 of P.L. 1973,

1 c. 83 (C. 19:44A-3) in calculating whether the candidate was a
 3 qualified candidate, and no such payment shall be made to a
 5 candidate upon whose behalf no such application shall have been
 7 received by the commission on or before (1) in the case of a
 9 candidate in a general election, August 1 preceding that election,
and (2) in the case of a candidate in a special election, the 30th
day preceding that election. The maximum amount which any
qualified candidate for election to the office of member of the
Legislature in a general or special election may receive from the
fund for election campaign expenses shall not exceed \$10,000.00.
 11 (cf: P.L.1980, c.74, s.8)

10. Section 11 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-36) is amended to
 13 read as follows:

11. Moneys received by any qualified candidate from the fund
 15 for election campaign expenses are to be considered "spent in aid
 of the candidacy of any candidate" for nomination for election or
 17 for election to the [office] offices of Governor or member of the
Legislature for the purpose of section 7 of P.L.1973, c.83
 19 (C.19:44A-7). The Election Law Enforcement Commission shall
 not withdraw from the fund for election campaign expenses any
 21 sum[,] which results in a candidate's exceeding the limitations of
 that section.

23 (cf: P.L.1980, c.74, s.11)

11. Section 14 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-39) is amended to
 25 read as follows:

14. The New Jersey Public Broadcasting Authority established
 27 under P.L.1968, c.405 (C.48:23-1 et seq.) shall promote full
 discussions of public issues by the candidates for nomination for
 29 election or election to the [office] offices of Governor or member
of the Legislature on the ballot in any primary [or], general or
 31 special election, in accordance with Federal law and free of
 charge to the candidate. The authority may promulgate such
 33 rules and regulations as may be necessary to effectuate the
 purpose of this section.

35 (cf: P.L.1981, c.107, s.1)

12. Section 19 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-44) is amended to
 37 read as follows:

19. Notwithstanding any provision of this act any candidate in a
 39 primary election for the office of Governor[,] or his campaign

1 treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer, [or] any candidate in a
 3 treasurer or deputy treasurer, and any candidate in a primary,
general or special election for the office of member of the
 5 Legislature or his campaign treasurer or deputy treasurer may
 borrow funds from any National or State bank. No person or
 7 political committee, other than the candidate himself or the
 State committee of any political party in a general election, may
 9 in any way endorse or guarantee such loan in an amount in the
 aggregate in excess of \$800.00 in the case of a candidate for
 11 nomination for election or for election to the office of Governor,
or \$500.00 in the case of a candidate for nomination for election
 13 or for election to the office of member of the Legislature. The
 endorsement shall constitute a contribution for so long as the
 15 loan is outstanding. The amount borrowed by any such candidate
 or his campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer shall in
 17 the aggregate not exceed \$50,000.00 in the case of a candidate
for nomination for election or for election to the office of
 19 Governer and \$10,000.00 in the case of a candidate for election
to the office of member of the Legislature and must be repaid in
 21 full by such candidate or his campaign treasurer or deputy
 campaign treasurer from moneys accepted or allocated pursuant
 23 to section 4 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-29) 20 days prior to the
 date of the primary [or], general or special election for which the
 25 loan was made, and certification of such repayment shall be made
 by the borrower to the Election Law Enforcement Commission in
 27 accordance with commission regulations.

Upon the failure of the borrower to repay the full amount
 29 borrowed on or before the twentieth day prior to the date of the
 primary or general election for the office of Governor or the
 31 general or special election for the office of member of the
Legislature, or to certify such repayment to the Election Law
 33 Enforcement Commission as required herein, all payments of
 moneys to such candidate from the fund for election campaign
 35 expenses pursuant to section 8 of P.L.1974, c.26 (C.19:44A-33)
 shall promptly cease; and the Election Law Enforcement
 37 Commission shall forthwith seek and may obtain in a summary
 action in the Superior Court an injunction prohibiting the
 39 expenditure by any such candidate of any moneys received by him
 at any time from the fund for election campaign

1 expenses pursuant to said section 8 of P.L.1974, c. 26 (C.
 19:44A-33), and any other moneys received by him in aid of or in
 3 behalf of his candidacy in said election.
 (cf: P.L.1980, c.74. s.15)

5 13. (New section) No county committee or committees of a
 political party in a legislative district and no municipal
 7 committee or committees in the same legislative district shall
 pay or make any contribution of money or other thing of value to
 9 any candidate for the office of member of the Legislature who is
 seeking to represent that legislative district, or the campaign
 11 treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of such a candidate or a
 political committee or continuing political committee serving as
 13 the campaign committee of such a candidate, which in the
 aggregate exceeds \$20,000 per election. No candidate for
 15 election to the office of member of the Legislature, or the
 campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of such a
 17 candidate or a political committee or continuing political
 committee serving as the campaign committee of such a
 19 candidate shall knowingly accept from the county committee or
 committees of a political party in the legislative district that the
 21 candidate is seeking to represent and from the municipal
 committees of a political party in the legislative district that the
 23 candidate is seeking to represent any contribution of money or
 thing of value which in the aggregate exceeds \$20,000 per
 25 election.

14. This act shall take effect January 1, 1989.

29 STATEMENT

31 This bill establishes a program providing partial public
 financing for primary, general and special election campaigns of
 33 candidates for election to the Legislature. The structure of the
 program is broadly similar to that of the existing program for
 35 public support of gubernatorial primary and general election
 campaigns. To qualify for public financing, a candidate must
 37 first raise at least \$5,000 in contributions from individuals;
 aggregate contributions from a single contributor in excess of
 39 \$200 are not to be counted toward the attainment of this \$5,000

1 threshold. Once the threshold is attained, up to \$200 of the
amount of each contribution thereafter received from an
3 individual is to be matched on a dollar-for-dollar basis. The
maximum amount of public funding for which a candidate may
5 qualify under the bill is \$10,000. For those candidates choosing
to participate in the public financing program contemplated by
7 this bill, there is a limit of \$10,000 from the candidate's personal
resources that may be contributed to the election campaign.

9 In addition, the bill limits to \$500 the amount which may be
contributed in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate
11 for nomination or election in a primary, general or special
election for the office of member of the Legislature, except that
13 political party committees are allowed to contribute, in the
aggregate, up to \$20,000 to a campaign.

15

17 **ELECTIONS**
Legislature

19

Provides for public financing of campaigns for nomination and
21 election to Legislature; limits contributions in aid of such
campaigns.

SENATE, No. 2486

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

INTRODUCED MAY 2, 1988

By Senator VAN WAGNER

1 **AN ACT** concerning the financing of campaigns for election to
the office of member of the Legislature and amending P.L.
3 1973, c. 83, P.L. 1974, c. 26, and P.L. 1980, c. 74.

5 **BE IT ENACTED** by the Senate and General Assembly of the
State of New Jersey:

7 1. Section 3 of P.L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-3) is amended to
read as follows:

9 3. As used in this act, unless a different meaning clearly
appears from the context:

11 a. The term "allied candidates" means candidates in any
election who are (1) seeking nomination or election (A) to an
13 office or offices in the same county or municipal government or
school district or (B) to the Legislature representing in whole or
15 part the same constituency, and who are (2) either (A) nominees
of the same political party or (B) publicly declared in any manner,
17 including the seeking or obtaining of any ballot position or
common ballot slogan, to be aligned or mutually supportive.

19 b. The term "allied campaign organization" means any
political committee, any State, county or municipal committee of
21 a political party or any campaign organization of a candidate
which is in support or furtherance of the same candidate or any
23 one or more of the same group of allied candidates or the same
public question as any other such committee or organization.

25 c. The term "candidate" means an individual seeking or having
sought election to a public office of the State or of a county,
27 municipality or school district at an election; except that the
term shall not include an individual seeking party office.

29 d. The terms "contributions" and "expenditures" include all
loans and transfers of money or other thing of value to or by any
31 candidate, political committee or continuing political committee,
and all pledges or other commitments or assumptions of liability
33 to make any such transfer; and for purposes of reports required

EXPLANATION—Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in the
above bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted in the law.

Matter underlined thus is new matter.

1 under the provisions of this act shall be deemed to have been
2 made upon the date when such commitment is made or liability
3 assumed.

4 e. The term "election" means any election described in section
5 4 of this act.

6 f. The term "paid personal services" means personal, clerical,
7 administrative or professional services of every kind and nature
8 including, without limitation, public relations, research, legal,
9 canvassing, telephone, speech writing or other such services,
10 performed other than on a voluntary basis, the salary, cost or
11 consideration for which is paid, borne or provided by someone
12 other than the committee, candidate or organization for whom
13 such services are rendered. In determining the value, for the
14 purpose of reports required under this act, of contributions made
15 in the form of paid personal services, the person contributing
16 such services shall furnish to the treasurer through whom such
17 contribution is made a statement setting forth the actual amount
18 of compensation paid by said contributor to the individuals
19 actually performing said services for the performance thereof.
20 But if any individual or individuals actually performing such
21 services also performed for the contributor other services during
22 the same period, and the manner of payment was such that
23 payment for the services contributed cannot readily be
24 segregated from contemporary payment for the other services,
25 the contributor shall in his statement to the treasurer so state
26 and shall either (1) set forth his best estimate of the dollar
27 amount of payment to each such individual which is attributable
28 to the contribution of his paid personal services, and shall certify
29 the substantial accuracy of the same, or (2) if unable to
30 determine such amount with sufficient accuracy, set forth the
31 total compensation paid by him to each such individual for the
32 period of time during which the services contributed by him were
33 performed. If any candidate is a holder of public office to whom
34 there is attached or assigned, by virtue of said office, any aide or
35 aides whose services are of a personal or confidential nature in
36 assisting him to carry out the duties of said office, and whose
37 salary or other compensation is paid in whole or part out of public
38 funds, the services of such aide or aides which are paid for out of
39 public funds shall be for public purposes only; but they may

1 contribute their personal services, on a voluntary basis, to such
candidate for election campaign purposes.

3 g. (Deleted by amendment, P.L. 1983, c. 579.)

5 h. The term "political information" means any statement
including, but not limited to, press releases, pamphlets,
7 newsletters, advertisements, flyers, form letters, or radio or
television programs or advertisements which reflects the opinion
of the members of the organization on any candidate or
9 candidates for public office, on any public question, or which
contains facts on any such candidate, or public question whether
11 or not such facts are within the personal knowledge of members
of the organization.

13 i. The term "political committee" means any two or more
persons acting jointly, or any corporation, partnership, or any
15 other incorporated or unincorporated association which is
organized to, or does, aid or promote the nomination, election or
17 defeat of any candidate or candidates for public office, or which
is organized to, or does, aid or promote the passage or defeat of a
19 public question in any election, if the persons, corporation,
partnership or incorporated or unincorporated association raises
21 or expends \$1,000.00 or more to so aid or promote the
nomination, election or defeat of a candidate or candidates or the
23 passage or defeat of a public question; provided that for the
purposes of this act, the term "political committee" shall not
25 include a "continuing political committee," as defined by
subsection n. of this section.

27 j. The term "public solicitation" means any activity by or on
behalf of any candidate, political committee or continuing
29 political committee whereby either (1) members of the general
public are personally solicited for cash contributions not
31 exceeding \$20.00 from each person so solicited and contributed
on the spot by the person so solicited to a person soliciting or
33 through a receptacle provided for the purpose of depositing
contributions, or (2) members of the general public are personally
35 solicited for the purchase of items having some tangible value as
merchandise, at a price not exceeding \$20.00 per item, which
37 price is paid on the spot in cash by the person so solicited to the
person so soliciting, when the net proceeds of such solicitation
39 are to be used by or on behalf of such candidate, political

1 committee or continuing political committee.

3 k. The term "testimonial affair" means an affair of any kind or
nature including, without limitation, cocktail parties, breakfasts,
5 luncheons, dinners, dances, picnics or similar affairs directly or
indirectly intended to raise campaign funds in behalf of a person
7 who holds, or who is or was a candidate for nomination or
election to a public office in this State, or directly or indirectly
intended to raise funds in behalf of any State, county or
9 municipal committee of a political party or in behalf of a
political committee.

11 l. The term "other thing of value" means any item of real or
personal property, tangible or intangible, but shall not be deemed
13 to include personal services other than paid personal services.

m. The term "qualified candidate" means:

15 (1) Any candidate for election to the office of Governor whose
name appears on the general election ballot and who has
17 deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7 of P.L.
1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32); or

19 (2) Any candidate for election to the office of Governor whose
name does not appear on the general election ballot but who has
21 deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7 of P.L.
1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32); or

23 (3) Any candidate for nomination for election to the office of
Governor whose name appears on the primary election ballot and
25 who has deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to section 7
of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32); or

27 (4) Any candidate for nomination for election to the office of
Governor whose name does not appear on the primary election
29 ballot but who has deposited and expended \$50,000.00 pursuant to
section 7 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32); or

31 (5) Any candidate for election to the office of member of the
Legislature whose name appears on the general or special
33 election ballot and who has deposited and expended \$37,500.00
pursuant to section 7 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32); or

35 (6) Any candidate for election to the office of member of the
Legislature whose name does not appear on the general or special
37 election ballot but who has deposited and expended \$37,500.00
pursuant to section 7 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32).

1 n. The term "continuing political committee" means:

3 (1) the State committee, or any county or municipal
committee, of a political party; or

5 (2) any group of two or more persons acting jointly, or any
corporation, partnership, or any other incorporated or
unincorporated association, including a political club, political
7 action committee, civic association or other organization, which
in any calendar year contributes or expects to contribute at least
9 \$2,500.00 to the aid or promotion of the candidacy of an
individual, or of the candidacies of individuals, for elective public
11 office, or the passage or defeat of a public question or public
questions, and which may be expected to make contributions
13 toward such aid or promotion or passage or defeat during a
subsequent election, provided that the group, corporation,
15 partnership, association or other organization has been
determined to be a continuing political committee under
17 subsection b. of section 8 of P.L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-8).
(cf: P.L. 1983, c. 579, s. 7)

19 2. Section 7 of P.L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-7) is amended to
read as follows:

21 7. The amount which may be spent in aid of the candidacy of
any qualified candidate for Governor at any election shall not
23 exceed in a primary election \$0.35, and in a general election
\$0.70, for each voter who voted in the last preceding general
25 election in a presidential year in New Jersey; but such sums].
The amount which may be spent in aid of the candidacy of any
27 qualified candidate for election to the office of member of the
Legislature shall not exceed in a general or special election
29 \$100,000.00. Such amounts shall not include the traveling
expenses of the candidate or of any person other than the
31 candidate if such traveling expenses are voluntarily paid by such
person without any understanding or agreement with the
33 candidate that they shall be, directly or indirectly, repaid to him
by the candidate.

35 (cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 2)

37 3. Section 19 of P.L. 1980, c. 74 (C. 19:44A-7.1) is amended to
read as follows:

39 19. For the purpose of determining the continuing adequacy of
the limits set by law upon contributions and expenditures in aid of

1 the candidacy or in behalf of any candidate for nomination or
election to the office of Governor or member of the Legislature,
3 the Election Law Enforcement Commission shall monitor the
general level of prices, with particular reference to those
5 directly affecting the costs of election campaigning in this
State. In the year next preceding any year in which a primary
7 election and general election are to be held to fill for a fullterm
the office of Governor [are to be held], and not later than 12
9 months before the date of the primary election, the commission
shall report to the Legislature its recommendations, if any, for
11 altering those limits in accordance with its findings pursuant to
this section.

13 (cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 19)

4. Section 2 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-27) is amended to
15 read as follows:

2. It is hereby declared to be a compelling public interest and
17 to be the policy of this State that [primary and general election]
campaigns for nomination for election and for election to the
19 office of Governor and campaigns for election to the office of
member of the Legislature shall be financed with public support
21 pursuant to the provisions of this act. It is the intention of this
act that such financing be adequate in amount so that candidates
23 [for election to the office of Governor] waging such campaigns
may conduct [their] those campaigns free from improper
25 influence and so that persons of limited financial means may seek
election to [the State's highest office] those State offices.

27 (cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 3)

5. Section 3 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-28) is amended to
29 read as follows:

3. The provisions of this act shall apply to the general election
31 campaign for the office of Governor to be held in November,
1977 [and], to all subsequent primary and general election
33 campaigns for nomination for election and for election to the
office of Governor, and to all general and special election
35 campaigns to be held in November, 1989 and thereafter for
election to the office of member of the Legislature, except that
37 the provisions of this act shall not apply to any primary or
general election campaign for the office of Governor or to any
39 general or special election campaign for election to the office of

1 member of the Legislature for which the Legislature fails to
make an appropriation.

3 (cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 4)

5 6. Section 4 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-29) is amended to
read as follows:

7 4. a. (1) Except in the case of a candidate, as provided in
subsection g. of this section, no person or political committee,
otherwise eligible to make political contributions, shall make any
9 contribution or contributions to a candidate, his campaign
treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer, a State committee,
11 county committee or municipal committee of any political party,
or to any other person or committee, in aid of the candidacy of or
13 in behalf of a candidate for nomination for election or for
election to the office of Governor in any primary or general
15 election in the aggregate in excess of \$800.00. No candidate for
nomination for election or for election to the office of Governor
17 in any primary or general election and no campaign treasurer or
deputy campaign treasurer of such candidate shall knowingly
19 accept from any person, candidate or political committee any
contribution or contributions in aid of the candidacy of or in
21 behalf of such candidate in the aggregate in excess of \$800.00 in
any primary or general election. No provision of this act shall be
23 construed to prohibit a contribution or contributions in the
aggregate not in excess of \$800.00 in aid of the candidacy of or in
25 behalf of any candidate for nomination for election to the office
of Governor in a primary election and another contribution or
27 contributions in the aggregate not in excess of \$800.00 in the aid
of the candidacy of or in behalf of any candidate for election to
29 the office of Governor in a general election.

31 (2) Except in the case of a candidate, as provided in subsection
g. of this section, no person or political committee, otherwise
eligible to make political contributions, shall make any
33 contribution or contributions to a candidate, his campaign
treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer, a State committee,
35 county committee or municipal committee of any political party,
or to any other person or committee, in aid of the candidacy of or
37 in behalf of a candidate for nomination for election or for
election to the office of member of the Legislature in any
39 primary, general or special election in the aggregate in excess of

1 \$500.00. No candidate for nomination for election or for election
2 to the office of member of the Legislature in any primary,
3 general or special election and no campaign treasurer or deputy
4 campaign treasurer of such candidate shall knowingly accept
5 from any person, candidate or political committee any
6 contribution or contributions in aid of the candidacy of or in
7 behalf of such candidate in the aggregate in excess of \$500.00 in
8 any primary, general or special election. No provision of this act
9 shall be construed to prohibit a contribution or contributions in
10 the aggregate not in excess of \$500.00 in aid of the candidacy of
11 or in behalf of any candidate for nomination for election to the
12 office of member of the Legislature in a primary election and
13 another contribution or contributions in the aggregate not in
14 excess of \$500.00 in the aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of
15 any candidate for election to the office of member of the
16 Legislature in a general election.

17 b. (Deleted by amendment. (P.L. 1980, c. 74).)

18 c. The spouse of any contributor may make a contribution or
19 contributions of up to \$800.00 in the aggregate in aid of the
20 candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate for election to the office
21 of Governor in a general election and a contribution or
22 contributions of up to \$500.00 in the aggregate in aid of the
23 candidacy of or on behalf of a candidate for election to the office
24 of member of the Legislature in a general or special election.

25 d. No State committee of any political party shall knowingly
26 accept from any person or political committee, any contribution
27 or contributions in the aggregate in excess of \$800.00 in aid of
28 the candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate for election to the
29 office of Governor in a general election or any contribution or
30 contributions in the aggregate in excess of \$500.00 in aid of the
31 candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate for election to the office
32 of member of the Legislature in a general or special election. A
33 State committee may allocate a contribution of up to \$800.00,
34 and up to \$800.00 of a contribution in excess of \$800.00 in aid of
35 the candidacy of or in behalf of [such] a candidate for election to
36 the office of Governor and may allocate a contribution of up to
37 \$500.00, and up to \$500.00 of a contribution in excess of \$500.00
38 in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate for election
39 to the office of member of the Legislature. A State committee

1 shall create an account in a National or State bank in behalf of
any candidate the committee intends to or does assist for
3 election to the office of Governor or member of the Legislature
in a general or special election, shall deposit in such account and
5 report to the Election Law Enforcement Commission the name of
the contributor of all moneys accepted or allocated in aid of the
7 candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate, and may make a
contribution or contributions from such account in any amount in
9 aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate. No State
committee may make any contribution or contributions in aid of
11 the candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate of moneys not
deposited in a bank account pursuant to this subsection, and no
13 State committee may make a contribution or contributions in aid
of the candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate of moneys or
15 other thing of value pledged or received in a calendar year in
which no [gubernatorial] election was held for the office to which
17 that candidate seeks election.

e. The county committees and municipal committees of any
19 political party may make an expenditure or expenditures in the
aggregate of \$100,000.00 in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf
21 of any candidate for election to the office of Governor in a
general election; except that the county committee and
23 municipal committees in the same county may not make an
expenditure or expenditures in the aggregate in excess of
25 \$10,000.00 in aid of the candidacy or in behalf of any such
candidate. No county committee or municipal committee may
27 transfer or contribute any funds to any such candidate or to such
candidate's campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer, or
29 to any political committee supporting such candidate. A
candidate or his campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer
31 shall determine the exact amount that individual county
committees or municipal committees may contribute in aid of the
33 candidacy of or in behalf of such candidate, and shall file a report
of such determination with the Election Law Enforcement
35 Commission no later than the seventh day prior to the general
election being funded.

37 f. Communications on any subject by a corporation to its
stockholders and their families, or by a labor organization to its
39 members and their families, and nonpartisan registration and

1 get-out-the-vote campaigns by a corporation aimed at its
2 stockholders and their families, or by a labor organization aimed
3 at its members and their families, shall not be construed to be in
4 aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate for nomination
5 for election or for election to the office of Governor or member
6 of the Legislature in any primary [or], general or special election.

7 g. No candidate [receiving] for nomination for election or for
8 election to the office of Governor who receives public funds may
9 make expenditures from his own funds, including any
10 contributions from his own funds, in aid of his candidacy for
11 nomination or election to [the] that office [of Governor] in excess
12 of \$25,000.00 for the primary election and \$25,000.00 for the
13 general election. No candidate for election to the office of
14 member of the Legislature who receives public funds may make
15 expenditures from his own funds, including any contributions from
16 his own funds, in aid of his candidacy for election to that office
17 in excess of \$5,000.00.

As used in this subsection "own funds" means funds to which
18 the candidate is legally and beneficially entitled, but shall not
19 include funds as to which he is a trustee, or funds given or
20 otherwise transferred to the candidate by any person other than
21 the spouse of the candidate for use in aid of his candidacy.

22 (cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 5)

23 7. Section 5 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-30) is amended to
24 read as follows:

25 5. a. The Legislature shall appropriate to the New Jersey
26 Election Law Enforcement Commission out of the Gubernatorial
27 Elections Fund established pursuant to N.J.S. 54A:9-25.1 and
28 available for appropriation from the fund, and, if necessary, out
29 of the General Treasury of the State such sums as are necessary
30 to carry out the [purposes of this act] provisions of subsections a.
31 and b. of section 8 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-33), which sums
32 shall constitute a fund for campaign expenses for the primary
33 election and the general election to fill the office of Governor, in
34 such amounts or proportions as the Legislature shall direct [the]
35 by appropriation to be distributed between each of the two
36 elections, to be regulated and distributed by the commission
37 pursuant to this act. Upon notice by the commission, the
38 Legislature shall appropriate to the commission out of the

1 General Treasury such additional sums as may be required to
2 carry out the purposes of those subsections if the sums first
3 appropriated become inadequate.

4 b. The Legislature shall appropriate to the New Jersey
5 Election Law Enforcement Commission out of the General
6 Treasury of the State such sums as are necessary to carry out the
7 provisions of subsection c. of section 8 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C.
8 19:44A-33), which sums shall constitute a fund for campaign
9 expenses for any general or special election to fill the office of
10 member of the Legislature, to be regulated and distributed by the
11 commission pursuant to this act. Upon notice by the commission,
12 the Legislature shall appropriate to the commission out of the
13 General Treasury such additional sums as may be required to
14 carry out the purposes of that subsection if the sums first
15 appropriated become inadequate.

(cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 6)

16 8. Section 7 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32) is amended to
17 read as follows:

18 7. a. Each candidate in the primary election for nomination
19 for election to the office of Governor, shall, with the approval of
20 the Election Law Enforcement Commission, create a bank
21 account in a National or State bank. The candidate, his campaign
22 treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer shall deposit promptly
23 into the account all moneys received pursuant to section 4 of P.L.
24 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-29) and sections 11 and 12 of P.L. 1973, c.
25 83 (C. 19:44A-11 and 19:44A-12).

26 b. Each candidate in the general election for election to the
27 office of Governor and each candidate in a general or special
28 election for election to the office of member of the Legislature
29 shall, with the approval of the Election Law Enforcement
30 Commission, create an account in a National or State bank. The
31 candidate, his campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer
32 shall deposit promptly into the account all moneys received for
33 the purpose of the election, provided that the moneys are
34 received pursuant to section 4 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-29)
35 and sections 11 and 12 of P.L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-11 and
36 19:44A-12).

37 c. Immediately after deposit in the bank account the candidate
38 or his campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer may
39

1 transfer or expend the moneys, except that no moneys deposited
in a candidate's bank account for the primary election may be
3 expended for any candidate's general election expenses, and
except that no moneys deposited in a candidate's bank account
5 for the general election may be transferred or expended until the
day following the primary election or may be expended for
7 primary election expenses.

d. No State or National bank which acts as a depository for
9 election funds as provided in this act shall be held accountable
for the proper application of funds withdrawn, transferred or
11 expended from such accounts by the person or persons in whose
name or names the accounts are opened or maintained, nor shall
13 the State or National bank be under any duty to determine
whether the funds deposited in the account are withdrawn,
15 transferred or expended for the purposes and at the time or times
prescribed by law, or are received from sources and in amounts
17 prescribed or limited by law.

(cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 7)

19 9. Section 8 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-33) is amended to
read as follows:

21 8. a. The campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of
any qualified candidate for nomination for election to the office
23 of Governor in a primary election upon application to the
commission shall promptly receive in behalf of the qualified
25 candidate from the fund for election campaign expenses, but not
prior to January 1 of the year of the election, moneys in an
27 amount equal to twice the amount of no more than \$800.00 of
each contribution deposited in the qualified candidate's primary
29 election bank account described in section 7 of P.L. 1974, c. 26
(C. 19:44A-32), except that no payment shall be made from the
31 fund to any candidate for the first \$50,000.00 deposited in the
qualified candidate's bank account. The maximum amount which
33 any qualified candidate for nomination for election to the office
of Governor in a primary election may receive from the fund for
35 election campaign expenses shall not exceed \$0.20 for each voter
who voted in New Jersey in the last preceding general election in
37 a presidential year.

b. The campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of
39 any qualified candidate for election to the office of Governor in a

1 general election upon application to the commission shall
2 promptly receive in behalf of such qualified candidate from the
3 fund for election campaign expenses, but not prior to the primary
4 election, moneys in an amount equal to twice the amount of no
5 more than \$800.00 [for] of each contribution deposited in such
6 qualified candidate's bank account described in section 7 of P.L.
7 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32), except that no payment shall be made
8 from the fund to any candidate for the first \$50,000.00 deposited
9 in such qualified candidate's bank account.

10 The maximum amount which any qualified candidate for
11 election to the office of Governor in a general election may
12 receive from the fund for election campaign expenses shall not
13 exceed \$0.40 for each voter who voted in New Jersey in the last
14 preceding general election in a presidential year.

15 c. The campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of
16 any qualified candidate for election to the office of member of
17 the Legislature in a general or special election upon application
18 to the commission shall promptly receive in behalf of such
19 qualified candidate from the fund for election campaign
20 expenses, but not prior to the primary election or meeting at
21 which the qualified candidate is nominated for election to such
22 office, moneys in an amount equal to one-third of the amount of
23 no more than \$500.00 of each contribution deposited in such
24 qualified candidate's bank account described in section 7 of P.L.
25 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-32), to the nearest whole cent. The
26 maximum amount which any qualified candidate for election to
27 the office of member of the Legislature in a general or special
28 election may receive from the fund for election campaign
29 expenses shall not exceed \$25,000.00.

(cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 8)

31 10. Section 11 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-36) is amended to
32 read as follows:

33 11. Moneys received by any qualified candidate from the fund
34 for election campaign expenses are to be considered "spent in aid
35 of the candidacy of any candidate" for nomination for election or
36 for election to the office of Governor or for election to the
37 office of member of the Legislature for the purpose of section 7
38 of P.L. 1973, c. 83 (C. 19:44A-7). The Election Law Enforcement
39 Commission shall not withdraw from the fund for election

1 campaign expenses any sum[,] which results in a candidate's
exceeding the limitations of that section.

3 (cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 11)

5 11. Section 19 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-44) is amended to
read as follows:

7 19. Notwithstanding any provision of this act any candidate in
a primary election for the office of Governor[,] or his campaign
treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer, [or] any candidate in a
9 general election for the office of Governor[,] or his campaign
treasurer or deputy treasurer, and any candidate in a general or
11 special election for the office of member of the Legislature or
his campaign treasurer or deputy treasurer may borrow funds
13 from any National or State bank. No person or political
committee, other than the candidate himself or the State
15 committee of any political party in a general election, may in any
way endorse or guarantee such loan in an amount in the aggregate
17 in excess of \$800.00 in the case of a candidate for nomination for
election or for election to the office of Governor or \$500.00 in
19 the case of a candidate for election to the office of member of
the Legislature. The endorsement shall constitute a contribution
21 for so long as the loan is outstanding. The amount borrowed by
anysuch candidate or his campaign treasurer or deputy campaign
23 treasurer shall in the aggregate not exceed \$50,000.00 in the case
of a candidate for nomination for election or for election to the
25 office of Governor and \$10,000.00 in the case of a candidate for
election to the office of member of the Legislature and must be
27 repaid in full by such candidate or his campaign treasurer or
deputy campaign treasurer from moneys accepted or allocated
29 pursuant to section 4 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-29) 20 days
prior to the date of the primary [or], general or special election
31 for which the loan was made, and certification of such repayment
shall be made by the borrower to the Election Law Enforcement
33 Commission in accordance with commission regulations.

35 Upon the failure of the borrower to repay the full amount
borrowed on or before the twentieth day prior to the date of the
primary or general election for the office of Governor or the
37 general or special election for the office of member of the
Legislature, or to certify such repayment to the Election Law
39 Enforcement Commission as required herein, all payments of

1 moneys to such candidate from the fund for election campaign
expenses pursuant to section 8 of P.L. 1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-33)
3 shall promptly cease; and the Election Law Enforcement
Commission shall forthwith seek and may obtain in a summary
5 action in the Superior Court an injunction prohibiting the
expenditure by any such candidate of any moneys received by him
7 at any time from the fund for election campaign expenses
pursuant to said section 8 of P.L.1974, c. 26 (C. 19:44A-33), and
9 any other moneys received by him in aid of or in behalf of his
candidacy in said election.
11 (cf: P.L. 1980, c. 74, s. 15)

12. This act shall take effect January 1, 1989.

13

15

STATEMENT

17 This bill limits to \$500.00 the amount which may be
contributed in aid of the candidacy of or in behalf of a candidate
19 for nomination or election in a primary, general or special
election for the office of member of the Legislature. The bill
21 establishes a public financing program, broadly similar to the
existing program for public support of gubernatorial primary and
23 general election campaigns, for general and special election
campaigns of candidates for election to the Legislature; it also
25 imposes upon any such candidate who receives money under the
program a limit on the amount of campaign expenditures which
27 may be made in aid of his candidacy and a limit on the amount of
his own funds which he may spend in aid of that candidacy.

29

31

ELECTIONS

Legislature

33

35 Provides for public financing of campaigns for election to
Legislature; limits contributions in aid of all such candidates and
expenditures in aid of those candidacies supported by public
37 moneys.

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pmp: 1-45

SENATOR WYNONA M. LIPMAN (Chairwoman): We're now going to open this discussion hearing on legislative campaign financing. We just lost the first witness. Where is Senator Van Wagner?

STEVE DE MICCO: He's outside.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Tell him we just called him. Assemblyman Schluter was here. Is he still here? (affirmative response) Oh, you're right here. I can't see you in the front seat. And Steve, you're going to speak on behalf of Senator John Lynch?

MR. DE MICCO: Yes.

SENATOR LIPMAN: All right. Is he coming in, or what? (referring to Senator Van Wagner)

MR. DE MICCO: He will be right back.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Oh, he's not outside.

MR. DE MICCO: He's indisposed. (laughter)

SENATOR LIPMAN: Oh, I'm sorry. Boy, this is a bad afternoon. Assemblyman, you have presented us with written testimony. Why don't you begin our hearing?

ASSEMBLYMAN WILLIAM E. SCHLUTER: Thank you, Senator. I will be short. The bill before you which is sponsored by Senator Lynch is the same as the bill which I am sponsoring on public financing of legislative elections in the Assembly. The bill number for the Assembly is 2531.

There are a few differences between Senator Lynch's bill and Senator Van Wagner's bill. There's a difference in the total amount of funds that an individual candidate can spend from his or her own resources. My bill and Senator Lynch's bill calls for \$10,000 as a limit. Senator Van Wagner's is \$5000. There is a difference in the total amount of public funds which can be contributed under both. Under the Senator Lynch proposal it is a \$10,000 limit of public funds. In the Van Wagner approach it is \$25,000.

I would like to leave with you the thought that these

are reasonable differences which can be worked out by reasonable people. I don't think they are major or that they cannot be overcome by a Committee which is committed to releasing something to improve the campaign finance abuses which do exist in the State. I would like to mention a few concepts generically to leave with you, which you should, I think, consider in the total fabric of campaign finance reform.

First of all, for campaigns other than Governor, it seems to me that the most important thing to do to bring the campaigns under control and to remove the abuses of excessive money, is to put in contribution limits on those campaigns -- contribution limits from individuals and contribution limits from PACs. Both of these bills -- both the Lynch bill and the Van Wagner bill -- do that. They set it at \$500 which is the same as mine. But it's only, of course, for legislative races.

I think the Legislature must consider contribution limits generically for all elections where there are no limits now, which means all except the Governor. The Election Law Enforcement Commission -- ELEC -- in their "White Paper" which has just been published, agrees. They say there should be limits.

Another very important concern is the matter of contributions directly from corporations and labor unions. I think, history has proven that such contributions can very much be special interest contributions. And in other legislation, by Senator Lynch and by myself, those contributions would be prohibited. The Election Law Enforcement Commission also made a recommendation that contributions from corporations be prohibited. Both of these principles are the same as applied to Federal elections at the present time, so this is asking no more of New Jersey than is asked of candidates who run for Federal office.

A third item, which is very important-- If you're going to have a comprehensive bill, if you're going to close the loopholes, it's important in my judgment to regulate PACs

more than they are regulated now -- to regulate them in very much the same manner as they are regulated under Federal law. Otherwise, PACs can proliferate. You can have a PAC for a special interest in each county. You can have PACs without names that actually reflect what their basic mission is. You can have PACs which one person controls and their basic membership has no say in it, and all these other things which I think are harmful to the system unless you have passed laws to regulate PACs. If you do have contribution limits as in the legislative public financing bills or any other bills, one of the loopholes that can be used to avoid those limits is having a proliferation of PACs.

In the same manners, the recent report by the grand jury, which talked about the bundling of contributions in the Gubernatorial Financing Law where there is a contribution limit, as you know, of \$800 and where a concerted effort was made by members of one firm and their wives and their relatives through corporate loans. I presume it was a corporation; they did not say. They increased the magnitude of a single giver up to somewhere in excess of \$35,000. These things have to be controlled. So it's not just passing legislation on partial public financing for legislative races; it's all of these other things put together.

Finally, a very important provision, which incidentally the voters of California in June have approved; and that provision would not be in these two bills, but in the other Lynch bill -- I think that's 2212 -- would restrict the amount of contribution transfers from one candidate to the other. We have seen where some individuals who are running for legislative office through a multiplicity of committees, raised over a million dollars and those are spread out among competitive races. The people who make contributions to that particular candidate really would have no interest in

supporting the other candidates for whom those monies are used. It also has to be examined from the standpoint of an abuse and is there a possibility of undue influence exerted not only on the one candidate, but on several? So this, I think, should be reformed. The California law prohibits any transfers between candidates on a totally outright basis. Having said all of these things, I did leave with you, a position statement on the level of campaign contribution limits.

In my judgment, the \$500 limit in both of the bills before you is reasonable when you consider the \$800 limit which applies to gubernatorial and the \$1000 which applies to the Federal elections. I have a very strong disagreement with some of the other positions that have been expressed for a \$2000 or \$2500 contribution limit, because I think, particularly in relation to the \$800, I think the arguments proposed to rationalize those levels are fallacious and I've tried to explain it in that position paper. I won't repeat the various reasons.

I think we have an opportunity now to try to bring the contributions arms race under control, and I commend you for having this hearing.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Thank you very much. I think your position paper is very clear. I don't have a problem with it. Is there something that you want to ask? (negative response)

I think you gave a good analysis as to what all the bills are like. And yours is most like Senator Lynch's.

ASSEMBLYMAN SCHLUTER: Senator Lynch agreed to sponsor the same one in the Senate. Can I ask one thing, Senator, which escaped my mind? You, of course, are taking this up in the order that you and the sponsors deem appropriate, but it seems in the Assembly, some of the basic generic questions are being addressed first, such as contribution limits, transfers between candidates, corporate union giving, and PAC regulation

before we get to the partial public financing of legislative races.

The thought on strategy is that if those pass, then there is going to be one basic inequity or two basic inequities, and those two basic inequities are that they would not restrict and limit contributions from a candidate himself or herself; the only way you can do that is with public financing. The other is that they will not place limits on the amount of expenditures. So, the thought was if we get the others passed first, then there will be a greater pressure for those other two limits which have come in through the public financing. Thank you.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Okay. Assemblyman (sic) Van Wagner, you're back with us, so, you can present your views.

SENATOR RICHARD VAN WAGNER: Thank you, Senator. I appreciate the fact that the Committee has been in session on the previous public hearing regarding civil service reform, so I'll try to be as brief as I can. S-2486, which is a bill that also provides for partial public financing of legislative elections is, again -- at least on my part, and I'm sure the other sponsors feel similarly -- an attempt to try to reduce the constant escalation of fund-raising that takes place from each legislative campaign to the next.

I can recall my first legislative campaign in 1973 for the Assembly, having raised somewhere in the vicinity of \$7000 and having money left over at the end of the campaign.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Is this seven or 70?

SENATOR VAN WAGNER: Seven thousand. I might add that in 1979, just reviewing my records recently, my total expenditure was somewhere in the vicinity of \$26,000. I think my running mate in the Assembly that year raised and spent approximately half of that. So, the actual cost of the total Assembly race for us in 1979, which is just a little less than

10 years ago, was about \$40,000. In 1987 by my last calculation based on the reports filed by my office or by my treasurer's office, we had spent in the Senate race in 1987 somewhere in the vicinity of \$226,000 and we were not in the top five.

I find it to be almost appalling that we've reached a point where a Senate race for the New Jersey State Senate, assuming both candidates spend in excess of \$200,000, could on a combined basis reach a half a million dollar expenditure. And I would suspect that within a short period of time, we're going to see legislative races routinely costing a million dollars.

This can only, I believe, lead to one conclusion. When candidates have to raise that kind of money just to be competitive:

- 1) It does harm to the system by making it increasingly difficult for candidates who are not incumbents, to compete effectively.

- 2) It makes the candidates themselves almost slaves to the fund-raising effort and gives them very little time to do what I think candidates should be doing in campaigns -- and that's meeting the public and discussing the issues.

- 3) It raises, whether real or imagined, the specter of special interest money playing a bigger and bigger role in the outcome of elections.

So, S-2486, although in some cases similar to the versions you previously discussed, is somewhat different. To qualify the candidate, you must first raise \$37,500 to qualify for public funds. Individual contributions as well as party committees are limited to \$500. The limit that can be spent in each election per candidate is \$100,000, and for every three dollars of private money raised, the public match would be one dollar with a maximum of a \$25,000 cap of public funds for each candidate.

In addition to that, the candidate would be limited to using \$10,000 of his or her personal funds. That basically is what 2486 calls for. All of us as, I think you may recall, at the end of our 1981 session, did attempt to pass a stronger Lobbyist Disclosure Act. That, however, was amended and ultimately did not pass in the form that it was proposed.

There very well may be a need to regulate PACs and to provide some of the things that were suggested to you and other legislators -- the so-called control mechanisms. But I think that notwithstanding whether that creates the pressure for a public financing vehicle or expenditure limitations, I still believe that it is in keeping with anyone's attempt to try to bring about some reform to our process and to try to bring about some reasonableness to the amount of money that is being spent; that we must begin to consider now a partial public financing mechanism for legislative elections. I thank you for your time and I thank you for taking up what I consider a very important governmental issue.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Jerry?

SENATOR STOCKMAN: I really have no questions at this time.

SENATOR LIPMAN: All right.

SENATOR VAN WAGNER: Thank you, Senator.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Senator, I have just one question. To what do you attribute the increase in financing costs for our legislative campaigns? You started with \$7000 and most recently you spent a half a million -- \$250,000.

SENATOR VAN WAGNER: I believe that in the race that I had in 1987 upwards of-- Between both the Republican and Democratic Senate candidates, not counting what was spent on the Assembly races, I believe upwards of half a million dollars was spent. I would say that in terms of the candidacies of both the Senate and Assembly candidates and the races on both

sides, we are probably moving towards the \$800,000 mark. Why do I think that this has occurred?

SENATOR LIPMAN: Proliferation of PACs?

SENATOR VAN WAGNER: No. I think PACs sometimes get the blame for a lot of things that are occurring in the political process that really have as much to do with why PACs grow and why they get organized as anything else. At the risk of-- I was interviewed recently by a newspaper in the area about the type of political campaigning that's taking place, and I perhaps made some unkind remarks which I didn't mean that way-- But at the risk of offending anybody, I think what's happened is campaigns have become big business in this country. And we now have political consultants.

I find it interesting. I spoke to a Kiwanis Club recently who asked me to come and make a speech that was not so much political as it was designed to give some insights as to what politics is really all about. I explained to them that politics has changed dramatically from what it once was. At one time, the name of the game was for the candidate to get out and meet as many people as possible, to shepherd whatever resources he or she had, and try to develop some type of descriptive piece of literature that would accurately and as concisely as possible, outline his or her positions on the issues. And perhaps if money were left over, there might even be a few newspaper ads and flyers that were normally handed out by volunteer workers. We seem to have come full circle from that point.

And now we have a political pollster, sometimes several of them if it's a high level race at the Federal level, who takes polls and determines what voter attitudes are. They also determine what the negatives and positives are of the respective candidates at a cost of somewhere around \$10,000, perhaps more -- \$15,000 depending on how large the sample. The candidate or the candidate's political consultant decides what

should be taken. Then of course you have the political consultant, who's also paid perhaps \$20,000 or \$25,000. Then next you have another series of individuals who may be doing graphics or media work.

So in essence, a campaign, even at the legislative level, could cost as much as \$50,000 or \$75,000 before one sign is produced, before one piece of literature is prepared, and before one radio station runs one ad on one day of a week.

The cost, of course, for advertising on radio or on television for those who use it; even in newspapers it has gone up. But, when one considers if one really analyzed the expenditures in an election and began to look at the so-called soft costs that are now incurred that have become almost mandatory, because God knows, where would you be without a poll?

Take today's election for President. I find it amusing that the media, particularly the electronic media, finds so much pleasure in identifying Democratic and Republican spin doctors, which is new nomenclature -- and I suppose in the next election we'll have paid spin doctors. Spin doctors, for those of you who may not know what it is or for the people in the audience, are someone who tells the news media how well their candidate did after the news media has watched an hour long debate. Why someone has to explain to the media who just watched the debate, how well one candidate did or didn't do, is beyond me. But anyway that's what they do.

What I find interesting is that with the advent of polling, the real spin doctors in essence become the media themselves.

SENATOR LIPMAN: What did you say a spin doctor is?

SENATOR VAN WAGNER: A spin doctor is a person who after a particular-- For example, if you were debating an opponent, and I know, Senator, you probably don't have to be concerned about too many debates with your opponents since you've done so well representing your district and very few

opponents come forward. And I don't blame them. (laughter) But when you finish debating your opponent, afterwards the media usually mills around and starts talking to people about what went on.

I'll use the Bush/Dukakis debate as an example. We don't need spin doctors. We do our own spin doctoring. We've become adept at that. And what they do is that they usually make statements about how well their own candidate did. Naturally the Democratic people who are designated spin doctors will go on about how well Governor Dukakis presented his arguments, and the Republican spin doctors will go on about how well their candidate did, and it provides a sort of a backdrop.

But I think all of this circus-like atmosphere, if you will "Entertainment Today," is what politics have become. It's become a 45-second clip on a television program. Candidates are almost controlled by the agenda that's set forth for them. I see very little gut level campaigning today where a candidate comes face-to-face with an audience of questioners in which he or she does not really know what questions are going to be asked. Very little time is spent on spontaneous kinds of events. Everything is a planned event -- even the movement through a crowd. I think all of this has added to the cost, because you have to have people who are specialists in doing this; specialized advance people, specialized schedulers, etc. I don't fault that so much. I don't think there's anything wrong. It's great employment practice. A lot more people go to work during election campaigns probably than under normal conditions, and I don't have any problem with that. I think that's fine. I think there probably is a necessity for paid people in a campaign, and today with the complexities of the issues, it's probably good to have professional advisors.

But it's gotten to a point where we are seeing candidates packaged, and as long as packaging is going to be what's spelled success in political campaigns, it's going to continue to cost more and more money. And it's really up to us in the election process, including myself, to stop; to point

the finger at why all of this is taking place, and sit down and realistically design a campaign expenditure limit that gives the opportunity for candidates to get their messages out, but at the same time does not require the candidate to spend 50 or more percent of his or her time raising money to run a campaign, and finding out that they have less and less time to be in front of the voters, which is where you want to be.

You know, I think eventually and ultimately something will really go astray. The voters will get the wrong impression. We see today we're one of the few democracies that I know of in the free world that less than 50%, or only a little more than 50% actually participate in selecting the highest office in the United States. And I think that's a very dangerous and sad commentary on what's happening.

Now, I don't know who's at fault for that. I don't have the wisdom. But I do believe that if we begin to take some steps to make the project more realistic in terms of what has to be raised, and in a sort of, I guess, in an inverse way, invite more of the public to participate by checking off their dollars to participating in campaigns.

You know, the public has to take some responsibility for it too, because if they simply turn us off because we're not producing neat campaign ads, then I think they're not meeting their responsibilities.

But I think we in government in whatever limited role we have in trying to develop more realistic campaign expenditure limits, should take on the responsibility of getting that work done before it gets to the point where candidates will be decided not on their ability to address the issues, not on their ability to relate to the voters that they wish to represent, but on their abilities to develop a slick advertising and public relations campaign, and the money that's needed to sell them to the people that are going to elect them.

SENATOR LIPMAN: I see. Any questions? That's right, Jim. Jim has a question.

MR. CARROLL (Minority Staff Aide): Through you Madam Chair. Senator, you don't fund public funds for primary elections. One bill you have up--

SENATOR VAN WAGNER: I want to take one step at a time. I know some years ago former Assemblyman Burstein and others had put together a rather comprehensive package to do primary elections for legislative campaigns. I'd like to get to that. I think that's important. I think that probably the most important aspect of any election reform is in the primary process, but I'm trying to work from what I know is now a growing problem and try to address it in a realistic way, which would allow even a newcomer to a campaign to raise enough money to qualify for some portion of public money.

For example, comparing my ability to raise \$7000 or \$8000 in 1973 to someone's ability to raise \$30,000 in 1989 is not unrealistic. I also should point out that I am not married to these numbers in any manner, shape, or form. These are-- Whenever you're picking them out, you have to make some arbitrary judgments. So, if the threshold amount for qualifying were lowered, I would have no objection to that, as long as there was a proportionate adjustment along the way.

My original sense was I was going to eliminate the expenditures to \$75,000 per candidate, which would mean that in a race where there was Senate and Assembly candidates running on each side, each side would spend a maximum of \$225,000 combined. The limit I have is \$100,000 per candidate, so, that would be a \$300,000 expenditure. But, I don't think it's unrealistic to think that even a new person coming into campaigning would not be able to raise \$37,500.

I think a person, particularly one who runs for legislative office, is usually aware of the realities of the money they have to raise. This at least gives them a better opportunity to compete than they have right now, where we see non incumbents, for example, in some of the congressional

racess, spending \$14,000 while their counterpart in the incumbency is spending \$360,000. I don't know of any legislative races where that much of an imbalance took place, but I'm sure that proportionately speaking there were some. This at least evens the playing field a little bit, if we get our foot in the door, I think then we can sit down and realistically talk about financing primary elections.

MR. CARROLL: Just interested.

SENATOR VAN WAGNER: That was the only reason. I took the course of least resistance.

MR. CARROLL: Thank you.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Senator, just a general comment. The cost of campaigns now has grown so rapidly, that some people are commenting that only the wealthy can run. But, I think the good part of these bills is that they limit personal contributions as well as the public part. That's the part that really is to be appreciated by younger, poorer candidates if they are not incumbents so that they have the opportunity. All right, okay, Senator Lynch -- Mr. De Micco.

MR. DE MICCO: Thank you, Senator. Senator Lynch asked me to provide a few of his thoughts about the bill that he's sponsoring. And since Assemblyman Schluter has already testified on a bill which is identical, I just thought I would add for the record a few of the things that Senator Lynch wanted the Committee to know about.

First, as with Senator Van Wagner, he is not wedded to every detail, every provision of the bill you have before you. As you know, there are some major differences, not the least of which is that Senator Lynch's bill has no expenditure limit and Senator Van Wagner's has a limit of \$100,000.

Senator Lynch wanted you to know that he understands that there would probably be a lot of support for an expenditure limit, but at the same time we are dealing with the reality that if you are going to impose an expenditure limit,

we're then talking about at the same time creating a public financing program, because that's the only way we can do that.

He also wants the Committee to know with respect to the contribution limit which is identical in both bills, \$500, he concedes that in this day and age it's probably a low number. It does not go against, however, the findings of Election Law Enforcement Commission in the "White Paper" I think they provided you with today, which showed averages in 1985 of about \$425 in the primary, \$769 in the general, and in the 1987 primary of \$531.

So, bringing that figure up, and I think Election Law recommended \$2000 to \$2500 as a reasonable contribution level is certainly within the bounds of reason as far as Senator Lynch was concerned. And finally, the whole issue of trying to-- If the goal here is trying to limit the influence of contributors, we realize of the four ways you can do that as pointed out by Election Law: disclosure, contribution limits, expenditure limits, and public financing, that these bills only deal with three of those in any comprehensive way; that disclosure is really dealt with in other legislation, including the gubernatorial financing bills-- That if you're going to make a judgment about to what extent you are influencing a single contributor who is influencing an election, obviously it's a question of not only the size of the contribution limit, but a spending limit as well, and what your judgment is as to what the relationship should be.

Lastly, he just wanted the Committee to know that he's concerned that the trend, especially in the last three or four years has been that the pace of fund-raising has become so great, that the PAC corporate and union contributions are themselves dominant issues in campaigns now; that candidates are campaigning on what the others are getting in contributions and what some people might consider the real issues in campaigns are more and more falling to the wayside as the issue of contributors gets discussed more and more in highly financed campaigns.

So, he wanted the Committee to know that he feels that there's a window of opportunity that's not very wide open right now -- to come to some kind of consensus with respect to legislative financing before the 1989 Assembly elections. And in the interest to trying to come to that consensus, he said he's flexible about trying to reach an accommodation between his and Senator Van Wagner's bill. Thank you.

SENATOR LIPMAN: All right. Thanks very much. I think we've had the three bills, it's four actually. Senator Lynch and Assemblyman Schluter have the same bill and Senator Van Wagner's bill is a little different, but they all address similar problems. Dr. Herrmann, you're going to give us some testimony now.

D R. F R E D E R I C K M. H E R R M A N N: Thank you, Senator. I'm Fred Herrmann, the Executive Director of the Election Law Enforcement Commission. I'd like to thank the Committee for the opportunity to testify on these three very important bills which advocate reform in the way we finance our legislative elections.

The ELEC data shows between 1983 and 1987 a doubling of spending in legislative races. In 1987 we spent over \$11 million in financing our legislative races. PAC contributions between just 1985 and 1987 doubled to over \$4 million. And the Commission feels that this jump in the data points to the need for critically reexamining the entire campaign financing process in New Jersey.

ELEC is convinced that the public is alarmed that the large amounts of money used to finance our elections is creating an appearance of impropriety. The Commission feels that contribution limits are necessary to remove the appearance of impropriety from our legislative elections. The Commission is interested in the concept of legislative public financing, but it feels that we must first make sure that the gubernatorial program is not destroyed because of inflation.

As a matter of fact, I was happy to hear that there's another gubernatorial public financing bill being considered by the Assembly today -- and we've had a number of them considered. Senator Van Wagner, his bill, as you recall, didn't get through the Committee, and we'd just like to see something happen with that because we do have a time frame concern there. It's getting awfully close to January 1 and we will have to start passing out our money. So, that, of course, has got to be a priority.

SENATOR LIPMAN: That bill has not gone through a committee in the Assembly?

DR. HERRMANN: The current-- I believe it's Assembly Bill 3886 and I believe it was given no reference and will probably be voted on today in the Assembly.

Moreover, the Commission believes it must receive an adequate appropriation. I did hand out some testimony earlier today, and attached to that we did some charting out of what these bills do simply, and we also put in fiscal information about what we think it would cost to administer the program. The ball park figure is a little over a half a million dollars to administer a legislative public financing program along the lines that Senator Van Wagner and Assemblyman Schluter are talking about which is in the same ball park, Senator, as the current gubernatorial financing program. So, it is feasible to do.

But, I did want to emphasize that it's important to keep in mind that there has to be money to administer these programs. The Commission currently-- I think, will be all right for the next couple of years with the budget that we have. We're very concerned perhaps by 1991 that our level of funding has got to increase if we're going to do the job, because the same data that I started my testimony with, the doubling of expenditures for legislative races, the doubling of PAC money, the increase of lobbying activity by over \$2 million in a one-year period, means that we just have to have more staff to keep up with the flow of transactions.

SENATOR LIPMAN: So, your bottom line for handling the financing of a campaign is half a million dollars?

DR. HERRMANN: Yes, Senator.

SENATOR LIPMAN: That's what you would ask for. Presently, how much are you spending now?

DR. HERRMANN: Well, to administer the gubernatorial primary we have an appropriation, Senator, of about \$362,000. To do the gubernatorial general, it's about a half million for the next fiscal year. We also pointed out that we need another \$200,000 as a start-up cost for legislative public financing. That's mostly computer. That would be just the first year. But after that, it would be only half a million a year.

SENATOR LIPMAN: You mean -- I'm trying to straighten it out -- you mean you have \$360,000 for the gubernatorial?

DR. HERRMANN: Right. We would need this money on top of that because--

SENATOR LIPMAN: I know you need start-up expenses for computers and stuff for all campaigns.

DR. HERRMANN: Well, the breakdown we have for the one-time cost, and this is on the last sheet in the packet that I gave the Committee was for software-- We predicted we'd need \$54,000 just to get new software. It's the last sheet and it says at the top, "S-2211 and S-2486 - Administrative Costs." We did a breakdown of all of our different accounts, salary costs. But the start-up costs are mostly in the area of data processing software -- the computer costs.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Okay. I see.

DR. HERRMANN: And that's a one-shot deal. Once you have the software, you get to use it over and over again.

SENATOR LIPMAN: You have some other titles here that you need, right?

DR. HERRMANN: Yes.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Analyst?

DR. HERRMANN: Well, a public financing analyst. What we would need is that if we are going to have a contribution limit, we are going to have to make sure that people are not getting public money when they haven't actually raised the money. We have to really check all the contributions that are coming in.

So, with the gubernatorial financing program, we've had a terrific record over the ten years in terms of auditing these things properly and making sure that a corporation, for example, wasn't giving more than \$800. And we'd need another report -- field investigator -- because we're going to have more investigations to do and that sort of thing, and another compliance officer to answer the telephone calls. Currently, our situation is, for the entire State of New Jersey we have one field investigator, which is a terrible situation in terms of trying to get enforcement of the law, because it's one thing to get the reports into the Commission, but you've got to make sure that they are there on time, you've got to make sure they are accurate, and you can't do that unless you have adequate staffing.

As I said, at the current time we're holding our own, but we're really concerned for the future -- if the law doesn't change at all. And here we are contemplating a major new program.

Another concern that we have that we just want to mention to the Committee is that The Star-Ledger/Eagleton Poll, which was done about six months ago at this point, polled the people of New Jersey, asked them certain questions about campaign financing. Fewer than half of the respondents said that they would favor public financing for legislative elections. So, I think if we're going to go this route, we have a selling job to do with the public to convince them that it is necessary to do.

We also feel in general terms again that the contribution limit of the public financing cap, and the expenditure limit must be set high enough to allow candidates

to run viable campaigns. Setting the limits too low will encourage improper financial activity and aid incumbents and wealthy candidates. That's the point I think you were making a little bit earlier, Senator.

Candidates must be able to raise enough from public and private resources and spend enough to communicate their message. A reductio ad absurdum in this area would be the State of Hawaii, where they have public financing and if you're running for the State Senate, they give you \$50. That is absurd, but their even level is a little higher than that. It just wouldn't be enough to have a program that would be meaningful. And of course, if you multiply the Hawaiian program which covers all levels of government, they are spending considerable amounts of money, but they are spreading it so thin, it just doesn't make any sense.

Turning specifically to the different bills, I just want to make some general comments again, because this is for discussion purposes only. Senate Bill 1828, sponsored by Senator Dorsey, we find to be an acceptable variation of contribution limit reform. It's the same bill, as a matter of fact, that Assemblywoman Randall has sponsored in the lower house which is being considered by the Assembly State Government Committee. We believe that that bill needs some amending to eliminate potential loopholes and technical problems that we found in it, but there are other competing bills that also have some loopholes and technical problems, and we commend Senator Dorsey. We think it's certainly moving in the right direction, but if we are to become law, we'd want to work on it a little bit to plug up some of the loopholes with him.

One thing, again, that I want to mention-- A big problem that we have with it is that it doesn't contain an appropriation. And again, we've got problems in the near future if we don't get some more money at the Commission.

During the decade of the '80s, the law was changed three times. In 1981, we got responsibility for lobbying. In 1981, we also got responsibility for the personal financial disclosure statements that you have to file while you're running. In 1984, we got the responsibility for a PAC program. The one thing that all three of those bills had in common was you didn't appropriate us any money to do it. So, we really started out in the hole because of that. So, the Commission wants to be very careful in the future that if we are going to get more responsibilities -- and we think that it's absolutely necessary that we tighten up some of these loopholes in the law -- we've got to just have the money to do it.

Speaking nationally, I'm the Chairperson this year for the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, which is a Canadian/American organization of governmental ethics groups. Nationally in this country, one of the problems is a lot of states have tough laws, but there's nobody there to enforce them. Wisconsin has a tough ethics law and a staff of 1.5 people. I don't know if it's a head, legs, or what the point five was; but the point being, you've got to have enough people there to enforce the law. If we lower the speed limit on the Turnpike to 25 miles an hour and lower the State trooper patrol to one trooper a tricycle, we're not going to be able to enforce the law. And the same thing happens in campaign financing as well.

SENATOR LIPMAN: You're comparing the Commission to a trooper riding a tricycle? (laughter)

DR. HERRMANN: Well, that was an exaggeration. I think it would probably be a 10-speed. But I think right now as you said, Senator, we're okay; we're holding our own; and we've got a great record. But a couple of years down the road with our current funding levels and with the increase in business in this field, as I said, the Legislature's spending doubled. That means we've got twice as many transactions that

we're trying to deal with, more reports coming in, more telephones, more prosecutions, more Xeroxing--

SENATOR LIPMAN: Mr. Herrmann, how much do you monitor local government candidates?

DR. HERRMANN: Well, that's a good question, Senator. We have responsibility, as you know, for that. How much do we monitor it? We have to prioritize it. Our resources since I've been there-- I've taken what I consider the IRS approach. We spend our time with the larger campaigns, spending larger amounts of money.

We don't want to spend too much time with local committees that can't account for \$50. I think there was a tendency in the past-- The Commission had been criticized for calling up local political clubs and saying, "You're having a donut sale, where's the \$15?" We don't spend our time there. We don't want to discourage people from participating in the political process. It's also just simply a resource problem. It would be irresponsible to spend time with local committees in any great length and not be spending time with statewide campaigns that can't account for--

SENATOR LIPMAN: I understand your limitations of staff and so forth. But I think if you look at the graph of local candidates, you would find out that some candidates, as for example, in the City of Newark, jumped past legislative campaigns in their finances.

DR. HERRMANN: I understand that, Senator. The way we target it, it's really not on the same level as what you're spending. So, if we have a local candidate that's spending hundreds of thousands of dollars, we're looking.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Yeah, we do.

DR. HERRMANN: Oh, yeah. We're looking. There's no doubt about that. And we have probably-- I think it may well be the best enforcement record in the country at this time. We

have 550 final decisions and do 100 investigations a year. We've been written up in national publications for having one of the best enforcement records in the nation. And I'm just concerned that we'll slip if we don't continue to be budgeted adequately.

SENATOR LIPMAN: I understand your concern. Senator, did you want to speak?

SENATOR STOCKMAN: Just give me a little insight, Fred, into what's happening nationally on this? Let's stick to legislative campaigns. Do you know who was the first state that got into public finance of legislative campaigns?

DR. HERRMANN: Well, we were the first, as you know, to do gubernatorial. I'm proud of that. Legislatively, Senator, maybe five states are into that. There are about 20 states that have public financing of some sort. The big ones for legislative financing I believe are Wisconsin and Minnesota.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: And how long have they've been out there?

DR. HERRMANN: They've been doing it for five or six years, perhaps.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: Do they have a track record in the sense that it's working or that it's not working?

DR. HERRMANN: The programs are vastly different than what we'd be contemplating here. We are planning to do another "White Paper" early next year on legislative public financing. We have some preliminary data from those states. We've talked to the people there. The accountability there, I think, is what we want to hear. Their emphasis is basically on getting out the money, but they are not being as careful as we'd like to be in terms of making sure that you're not giving people public money for maybe money they didn't raise. So, the programs are quite different. It was somewhat amazing.

Even a state like Wisconsin, they're not spending the kind of money that we're spending in New Jersey. I mean, we're

a little state in terms of geographic area, but we're one of the most important states politically in the country in terms of what it costs to run for office here, and you know, the population of the State -- we're ninth.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: In terms of per capita spending on campaigns, we're up near the top?

DR. HERRMANN: My sense is, and again, I haven't done anything statistically, but my sense would be that that would be correct, and again because the New York and Philadelphia media markets are the same thing that generate the expenses of a gubernatorial campaign, we're in a very unique situation, in that New York is the most expensive media market and Philadelphia is fourth.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: Well, is a fair amount of money now spent, I guess, up north by candidates on television?

DR. HERRMANN: In North Jersey?

SENATOR STOCKMAN: Yeah.

DR. HERRMANN: I think we're seeing more and more of that. We did an analysis of the gubernatorial election which we gave to the Legislature a few months ago. This legislation contemplates we extend to the legislative races, but speculatively speaking on my hard data, my sense is that you see more and more of the use of cable television because it can be targeted, and a lot of use of radio -- a great use of radio. We have seen some use of television even in legislative races in Philadelphia and New York television.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: And the number of people that are coming out to vote as we spend more money is getting to be less. Is it not?

DR. HERRMANN: Yeah. And I don't know if there's a direct correlation, but one of the oddities of the current public financing program is that the dollars that we're going to give the candidates in '89 is tied to the number of people that vote. In picking up on what Senator Stockman just said,

the projection for the vote this year is going down, which means if we're even just talking about real dollars, our candidates in '89 will get fewer dollars, because we're getting so many cents per voter in the last presidential election.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: Okay.

DR. HERRMANN: I just want to make a few brief comments about Senate Bill 2211, Senator Lynch's bill which is also Assemblyman Schluter's bill, and Senate Bill 2486, Senator Van Wagner's bill. Again, the Commission feels that these are both good ways of conducting a legislative public funding program. I was happy to hear from both Senator Van Wagner and Senator Lynch that there's flexibility there, because the programs are somewhat different and I want to make a few general comments about them.

First of all, we feel that it would be preferable if we're going to do it, to also include the primary as well. I was happy to hear that Senator Van Wagner was interested in that, too. We also would like to see an inflation adjuster put into the bill. We've recommended that and most of the public financing bills for the gubernatorial races have that built in. And the Commission in its report a few months ago came up with the only index for campaign costs that I know of in the nation. I'm very happy that we can do that.

We can do something similar for legislative races. The idea there was that if you use the Consumer Price Index, that is not a true index of what's going on in campaigns. We find that campaigns are inflating at almost twice the rate of regular inflation. We came up with a formula for doing that. We'd like to see that incorporated in this kind of legislation so that every two years we wouldn't have to come back and change the numbers. It would occur automatically based on what it really costs to run.

We also -- and I mentioned this but just to repeat again -- that the various limits and caps should not be set too

low, because we don't want to hurt candidates from being able to communicate. And that's the last thing we want to do. Senator Van Wagner pointed out very well that we don't want a situation where candidates have to spend most of their time raising money and very little time debating the issues.

The final problem that I want to call to your attention--

SENATOR LIPMAN: Wait just a minute.

DR. HERRMANN: Sure.

SENATOR LIPMAN: We have a question here about you wanting us to build in an inflation factor into this legislation. Tell why you don't tie that inflation rate to the Consumer Index, rather than to another inflation rate which is going to carry it higher and higher and higher? It seems like, to me, that if it was tied to a lower rate, then they would spend less money, or be allowed to spend it. I think some candidates would kill me if they heard me asking that question.

DR. HERRMANN: I'm not a candidate, so you're safe. I think the answer to that is, do we want to reflect reality? If we just tie it to the Consumer Price Index, that's not reality. We pointed out, and you asked the question earlier, Senator and Senator Van Wagner gave a very good answer--What's going on here? Why are we spending so much money? And in our analysis we found that the answer is that we're using television, as the Senator said.

SENATOR LIPMAN: And specialists, consultants, and so forth.

DR. HERRMANN: Consultants, computers, direct mailing, and various high tech, and that costs money. The campaigns today are really money intensive affairs instead of being labor intensive affairs. I don't think we can turn back the clock. I think the approach is that we have to deal with what we have today. The solutions we're going to come up with will have

to be based on high technology. Some of these bills talk about more air time for the candidates. The Commission didn't directly deal with that in the "White Paper," but that sort of solution seems to me to be the kind of solution that we should be looking for. It's sort of like the Maginot line in World War II. You can't fight World War II using a World War I defensive system. I don't think we can run our campaigns today based on models from the '50s or the '60s or maybe even the '70s. So, I think we have to address the reality--

SENATOR LIPMAN: And half of the '80s, too.

DR. HERRMANN: And half of the '80s, too. Yes, I think we're finding that as well. Another issue that will come up if we go with legislative public financing and even with contribution limits, is dual office holding. The concern that we will have here -- and I know Senator Weiss has put in legislation to deal with this recently -- and it's not appropriate for the Commission to comment on anything going beyond our jurisdiction--

SENATOR LIPMAN: But you're going to comment anyway.

DR. HERRMANN: No, I'm not. Actually I'm not. I'm going to comment on it within the interests of the Commission which is that if we have dual office, which we have, if somebody is running say for the Senate and the Mayor-- Let's say Senator, you were running for the Senate seat and you're also running for Mayor of Newark, we have contribution limits, people will be limited in what they can give Senator Lipman, but Mayor Lipman can get as much in contributions as she could collect.

SENATOR LIPMAN: But they can't cross lines. I mean, the Mayor's election cannot contribute--

DR. HERRMANN: No. But let me continue a little bit. The expenditure issue would also be another issue. Senator Lipman could only spend say \$100,000, but Mayor Lipman could

spend \$500,000. Now you're running for Mayor of Newark in this hypothetical--

SENATOR LIPMAN: I wouldn't even like you to consider that as an example. It's too expensive a race for me to--

DR. HERRMANN: Okay.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Go ahead. That's all right. You can use it.

DR. HERRMANN: Okay, thank you, Senator. So, you decide, "Well, okay. I can only spend \$100,000 for my Senate race." So, you go to New York City because you've got the New York media. And you start \$500,000/\$1,000,000 campaign for Mayor Lipman. It's running on New York television. As a matter of fact, your district is only part of the City of Newark. So, it's even a better example. It becomes a travesty, because you've got the two offices and you've evaded the limit by putting money into the other office.

A similar situation I believe at the Federal level right now is Senator Bentsen who's running for U.S. Senate and for Vice President. So, a concern is if we do continue dual office holding, it's going to make it difficult from the perspective of having contribution limits and expenditure limits.

SENATOR LIPMAN: I see. You think it has a direct bearing.

DR. HERRMANN: It's a concern. Of course we can extend contributions to the other offices. That might handle that problem, then you'd only get double. But with the expenditure limit--

SENATOR LIPMAN: The persons in the Legislature now who have dual offices, have they been a problem?

DR. HERRMANN: Well, they haven't been a problem at all. But we don't have contribution and expenditure limits. They are all doing a fine job. We don't have contribution and expenditure limits now, so it doesn't become an issue. But if

you impose those kinds of limits, then the problem would be there.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Interesting.

DR. HERRMANN: Well, it is interesting and it gets quite technical. That's one of the reasons, I know, you're having a hearing, because there are a lot of things to think about. Well, the bottom line is that the Commission is very pleased that the Committee is addressing these bills and it wants to commend the sponsors of the bills and wants to commend the Committee for addressing this vital ethical issue.

I wanted to note three things: 1) As I mentioned, we are planning to do another "White Paper" -- "White Paper No. 3" next year, and we're going to study this in-depth. We want to look at the states that I mentioned, and we're also going to be looking at New York City, which has just adopted a similar program for the mayor, borough president, and members of the council. The council seats are roughly equivalent to the legislative seats in New Jersey in terms of constituency and even some of the media problems. So we want to see how that's going to function.

At the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws which I also mentioned earlier, we're working on model laws, and we're having a conference in Florida at the end of the year. One of the model statutes will be campaign financing, and I'm going to be very interested and I'm sure the rest of New Jersey will be, just to see what the Council does with that and what kind of recommendation grows out of that.

Finally, I'd like to thank the Committee staff, who was very helpful in letting me know when to testify and suggesting some things to bring. So, that was nice.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Is that right? You did your job. I forgot our transcribers are here. I want to thank you for coming and bringing us all this information. And in your Council meeting, you know the meeting of the country on

this issue, we wish you would really bring us more information from Wisconsin and Minnesota and those states which has had some experience with this kind of law. Jerry?

SENATOR STOCKMAN: I have nothing further to say.

DR. HERRMANN: I'll add too, that we've just published what we call our "Blue Book" which is sort of a mini book of the states which covers just the area of ethics laws. Perhaps the Committee could pick one up. It's three dollars. Cheap. I think we advertised it with the "Book of the States" this year. That would have the tables in there that deal with legislative public financing and I think that would be useful for research as well.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Thank you.

DR. HERRMANN: You're welcome. My pleasure. Thank you.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Okay. Now we have some other groups who have come today to talk about this subject. Since Joe (referring to aide) does not have you registered here, do you want to tell me who you are and informally come forward? Do you want to testify? (positive response) All right. Mr. McCool, Common Cause. We have quite a few.

E D W A R D A. M c C O O L: Thank you Senator Lipman, Senator Stockman. I'll be brief considering the length of the day and the number of people after me who also want to speak.

First I'd like to thank you for bringing up this very important subject before this Committee, even though it's just for a public hearing. I presume that that's just the first step for active consideration by this Committee of some type of campaign finance reform for legislative races. It's a very difficult job.

One of the things I was trying to think of is what you might need to know in order to be convinced that it's absolutely necessary, not just you two Senators, but the entire membership of the Committee. And I think it's really just relating-- If each Senator relates to their own personal

experiences, because I view you as individuals as being victims of this system, which is forcing each of you, as Senator Van Wagner pointed out, to spending increasing amounts of time raising campaign monies in a system that has no parameters around it. And so you live and occupy the elected office that you're in always with the possibility that you could be singled out by a particularly well-financed interest group and be made to raise and spend money like you've never had to spend before, in order to simply retain your office. If the voters want to decide whether or not to return an elected official based on the merits of their performance, that's one thing; but, if it's going to be based on a spending war, that's an entirely different thing.

And I believe every legislator and every challenger is benefited by putting parameters around that kind of a system so at the very least, there are contribution limits. Right now that outside interest could come in and write a check for \$100,000 to an opponent and suddenly escalate all the terms of running for office. So, we need contribution limits and we need spending limits -- responsible ones, and of course the only way to do that is through partial public financing. I don't believe full public financing is necessary.

There are lots of good proposals. There's no one way to do this. There's no one single figure for a contribution limit, and certainly to work out a public financing system is complicated to do; how to set a spending limit so that it's not an incumbency protection act where it's so low that the challenger doesn't stand any chance at all, yet not so high as to be meaningless. They are difficult decisions. I would just like to suggest that certainly our approach is, it is not locked into any one set of figures and that we recognize that what comes out of efforts like this is a result of a lot of hard work, and it reflects what's possible; not necessarily what's ideal.

I've brought for the Committee for the record a copy of the preliminary report on spending in the '87 general election that we did and released back in April when Archibald Cox and Millicent Fenwick joined us in a press conference calling for this. Basically it's a study of two things. The first part of it is a listing of what we call PACs. As you know, you don't need to form a PAC in this State in order to contribute. Only corporations and interest groups are allowed to contribute directly to candidates as well as form their own PACs. We took the list of what we call PACs as they appeared in the '85 election and we asked for their spending for the '87 election. I'd just like to read some of the aspects that we came up with in the summary.

In '87 they started the year with \$3.1 million already in their accounts. They then went out and raised another \$5.7 million and spent a total of over \$6 million for the '87 election. Just two years before, the same group only spent \$1.1 million. So, that's a sixfold increase, and it was \$1.3 million in '83.

The top five PACs in '87 spent more than all the PACs in '85. PACs reported spending \$1.3 million for operating costs and still finished with a balance with \$2.6 million in their treasuries. And there are no laws governing the use of this leftover money. The amount of money left over by these PAC accounts in '87 is higher than what they spent in the last three legislative elections. So, there's no question that the trend is upward. What's surprising is the leap in spending in just a two-year period from \$1.1 million to \$6 million. And there's no question in my mind that it would go over \$10 million for the 1989 legislative races unless we put some contribution limits in place.

At your leisure when you look through that report, you'll see that these groups are ranked by who spent the most -- who spent the most directly on a candidate, who spent the

most indirectly, who has the highest operating costs, and the like. The second part of the report has to do with the ranking of the present members of the Assembly and Senate in terms of their expenditures. That just needs to be noted with some modification, that we were not able to get the individual accounts. Many times candidates ran as part of a three-person account.

And if the total amount spent by three people was say, \$300,000, we divided by three and said each person spent \$100,000. That may not be technically correct in some cases it's been pointed out to us. That's why this was a preliminary report. Individuals who were partied to a three-person account actually spent less than; in some cases, more than one-third.

In any case, it's quite evident that the spending has gotten out of hand. 1987 was an excellent example of the need for some type of controls. I'd like to suggest that the Committee seriously consider the \$500 contribution limit. I do not believe that the \$2500 contribution is in any way warranted. It is so high as to be virtually meaningless. It will include just about 95% to 97% of all the contributions that are already occurring. What that's saying is that when this \$6 million was spent, it wasn't spent in \$2500 contributions. It was spent in contributions well under that, and in fact, closer to the neighborhood of \$500. So, that rarely is it singled out in one huge chunk. Five hundred dollars is more than adequate.

Another thing that I enter as evidence for that, is in 1985 -- that's the only time we have figures for -- the average contribution was only \$769 in 1985. Now remember, averaging includes a contribution -- the lowest contribution was six cents and the highest contribution was \$42,000. So, when you add the six cents, the \$42,000, and all those in-between, and divide by that number, you get an average of \$769. So, average contributions don't mean anything.

What we really want to find out is, what is the median contribution? What was the most frequent contribution amount? That's always different than what the average is, and I think when we find that, we're going to find that it's closer to the \$500 figure. (Committee examines the report) I'm glad you find the report so interesting. That's great.

SENATOR LIPMAN: We're looking at who spent what. (laughter)

MR. McCOOL: Yeah, I figured that. Well, I've had requests from numerous PACs for this to find out what other PACs are giving out.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Really?

MR. McCOOL: Sure. I know of at least five different major PACs who've asked for copies of this report. No problem.

I'd also ask the Committee to consider establishing a one-candidate-one-account rule when it works-up its Committee substitute. One of the trends that has occurred is the proliferation of campaign accounts. There's not only a "Scmidlup for Senate" or a "Scmidlup for Assembly" account, there's "Friends of," there's "Booster," there's "Victory for," and let me tell you what the impact of that is. It makes it impossible to find out the source of contributions because all you need to do is have your contributions come into one of those multiple accounts and it gets transferred down the line and when it gets transferred from the "Victory for" to the "Booster" to the "Friends of," all that shows up is the name of the account that it came from.

And for those groups that wish to keep before the public this type of information, it becomes impossible in terms of labor intensity to plow through all the reports that you would have to plow through. The logic of it is that there is no logic for it. I mean, we have to really basically go down to the ground question of, why do you need more than one

account if you're running for elective office? You should, by law, be restricted to simply the account that is funding your campaign, and that's it.

We would also ask that the Committee consider what we call a PAC consumer protection package, which is that we recognize that PACs have a legitimate role to play in political campaigns. There's certainly nothing nefarious about them. All we're talking about is putting parameters on the role that each of the interests in an election might play.

But right now, for people who do use PACs there's no, what we call, consumer protection. So we would ask the Committee to also consider the following points. One of them is that on the job solicitations be prohibited. PACs obviously need to raise money from their members. Most PACs are formed around a work situation. There's absolutely no excuse for soliciting for PAC contributions on the work site.

It has been pointed out that some PACs in the case of like, NJEA, they do solicitation of their members on the work site, because it's difficult to get them at other times and in almost all cases it's done from equal to equal. And so, we'd be willing to accept a modification that there be no on the job solicitations from superior to subordinate. Okay? I would like to see none, whatsoever, but if the only way we can begin to address this problem of basically being maced on the job is to eliminate superior to subordinate, that's fine.

We would also ask that the PAC money that's raised be limited to election and campaign related expenses. Right now, PAC -- continuing political committee -- can go out and raise hundreds of thousands of dollars and spend it on anything. There's no law governing the use of that money. If we went and formed our own PAC and wanted to conduct training sessions on how to get out to vote in Maui, we could all fly out to Maui, we could have our training session, and come back and it's all totally legal. We may not be able to raise that money again

from our members once they find out, but the point is, there's no limitations on what it can be spent for.

We also would like that as part of a registry when you register as a PAC or as a continuing political committee, that you be required to indicate what percentage of the contribution goes for operating costs. Again, like with charities, people like to know how much of the dollar that they give to this charity is going for the cause for which it's being collected. There's no guarantee that the dollar that you give to a PAC goes to the election. As you see in these operating costs, 60 cents or 40 cents of it could go for operating costs, which basically could be the salary of the administrators of a PAC. People need to know that when they give the money, and then decide whether or not that's where they want to give it.

We would also ask that PACs develop a method whereby the contributor can play a role in deciding who gets the money. Like with the United Way, you can indicate which of the United Way agencies you would like to have receive your contribution, there's no reason why contributors to a PAC couldn't at least be offered the option of letting the PAC decide, or, "Please make sure my money goes to this particular candidate in the name of the PAC."

And the last one is one that is included -- the truth in labeling; that PACs be required to register in such a way that the membership and the purpose of the PAC is clear, rather than these vague generic "do nice things for nice people" type of labels that come up.

That's essentially it. And in the end--

SENATOR LIPMAN: Okay, go ahead.

MR. McCOOL: Just one more point. I'd just like to suggest this Committee consider working as a joint Committee with the Assembly State Government Committee. They are in the process of reviewing very much of the same proposal. In fact, they'll be going into a work committee in the next couple of

weeks after they get done their regular business. They hope to meet as working committee to discuss a Committee substitute, and then in December hopefully report that Committee substitute out.

Recognizing the complexity of this and how both the chambers desire to address it, I'd like to suggest that you might like to consider forming a joint Committee to work on the whole thing.

SENATOR LIPMAN: That's not a bad idea.

MR. McCOOL: Okay. Thank you very much.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Those persons who want to testify, let's see your hands again, because he (referring to Senator Stockman) has a problem with time.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: I've got to leave by 3:30.

SENATOR LIPMAN: No one represents the same group, do they? (positive response) All right. Over here in the front seat is the League of Women Voters. So, there's just really four groups represented here -- the League of Women Voters, New Jersey Environmental Lobby, LEGAL, and the Realtors.

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER FROM AUDIENCE: We're planning to submit written testimony. We're New Jersey PIRG.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Okay, PIRG. I didn't see your hand. All right. Let's start with the League of Women Voters. I have to explain to you-- Well, you can do your own explaining -- you're here. You said that you have to get a haircut?

SENATOR STOCKMAN: No. I didn't say I had to get a haircut. (laughter) If I had said that and you revealed it, I'd be distressed. But I didn't say it. I did say that I have to leave at 3:30, so I've got 15 minutes. Saying that in front of my friends--

SENATOR LIPMAN: That's what it sounded like -- a haircut.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: I said a Harris case -- a little bit different. (laughter) My client wouldn't want to be mixed up with my hair.

M A R I E A . C U R T I S: I won't take up much of those 15 minutes, Senator. On behalf of the League, I would like to commend the Committee for looking into this area and I would like to apologize on behalf of the League that we do not, as is our usual norm, have written testimony for you prepared. I'm sure that this will not be the only hearing, and you will get it in writing in the future and if you'd like, we have several instances where we have given it in writing to the Assembly Committee. You can have copies of that, believe me.

But the bottom line here is that we do, indeed, endorse the concept of public financing of campaigns at virtually all levels. We would like to see-- We think this move into the legislative area is a good one, primarily because we have seen, through newspaper reports showing the tremendous increase in the PAC contributions as Common Cause has already pointed out, we have seen through our telephone hot line, we have heard from the public, and we've seen a public perception that indeed there is undue influence being purchased through campaign contributions. Now, this is not necessarily the case, but the public's perception seems to be there.

And since the League's concern is to encourage the informed and active participation of all citizens in government, and since the integrity of the entire election process is fundamental to our government as a whole, we believe that anything that undermines that process is something that will undermine government in general, and this, of course, is of great concern to us.

So, we would support public financing of legislative elections. We believe that realistic limits on campaign financing have to be imposed -- realistic limits on the contributions. The Van Wagner bill, with the \$500 limitation, may appear to be low, but at the same time it would seem to meet the need, if you put it in contrast with the contribution limitations that we have on the gubernatorial race at the present time.

We think that the limit should not be so high as to allow undue influence or the perception of undue influence, as I said before. But it shouldn't be so low either to prohibit a challenger or a virtual unknown from jumping into the political mainstream and getting himself elected.

We're trying to even the playing field. We've all used that analogy in the past. It's very difficult to know how to do that. That was a concern of ours. It's interesting that Senator Van Wagner, when he was here earlier, mentioned that he first raised only \$7000 in 1973. I'd like to point out that it was in 1973 that the League of Women Voters first did an in-depth study and came to its position on these public financing questions. So even though it was only \$7000 then and we're well over \$2000 today, our concern today, of course, is all the greater, but our position stems from 1973. Even then we saw the need; even then we had a concern.

We strongly advocate also -- and I believe this is in the Van Wagner bill but I don't think it's in the Lynch bill -- limits on the overall campaign spending. There, we think, is where the problem lies. And of course, the courts have said that if you are going to limit campaign spending, it must be public financing. So, it all does tie together in our minds.

We further, of course, advocate -- and this is not in these bills, it's in other bills that are also going to come before you -- full disclosure on the contribution and the spending. These are virtually the points that we are primarily concerned with. Like both Senator Van Wagner and Senator Lynch, we are not tied to any specific numbers in this particular area. We believe that there should be flexibility built into the program. I understand that ELEC does have a formula which would address the inflation in our nature and the increase in expenditures over the years, and it would seem logical to look at that. I'm not sure that that's the answer, but it certainly seems like a logical starting place to look at

flexibility in the limitations that we build in, whatever the starting place might be. But basically, the concepts, yes, we endorse very strongly.

At this point we would just like to point out that it does seem to us that what we're hearing from the public is that they are concerned with the fact that there's more emphasis on packaging the candidates than on the substance involved. The consumers in the State of New Jersey have not been fooled by fancy or deceptive packaging in the past, and I don't think the electorate of New Jersey is going to be fooled by packaging and lack of image in the campaign area.

We have a pretty discriminating and sophisticated electorate here in New Jersey. They do pick and choose very carefully on public questions and issues, as well as candidates, and I think that if we level the playing field, we may give them, perhaps, the opportunity for even more worthwhile candidates from which they can select.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Very good. Any questions? (negative response) Thank you very much, and we will get the Assembly testimony that you sent to them?

MS. CURTIS: Yes.

SENATOR LIPMAN: And now we go to LEGAL, then Environmental, and then to the Realtors.

KAREN KOTVAS: Thank you Chairman Lipman, and thank you for allowing LEGAL to testify. I'm Karen Kotvas, and LEGAL as a lawyers' lobby, is a PAC. We do support the Committee looking at this area, and we support the bills that are here today. We commend the Senators who have submitted the legislation, and we're hopeful that something will come out of the Committee.

What I would like to do is just give you, perhaps a few creative suggestions that may be synergistic and may start other people to thinking. When we were talking earlier about

the cost of campaigns, they are definitely escalating. What we're doing is providing partial public funding. But perhaps what we might also like to do to help the candidate keep the costs down -- because as Senator Van Wagner said, "It's out of control at this point," -- what we can do to keep the costs down is perhaps a few little creative things like this to help in addition with the partial public financing. Because by contributing to the campaign with even partial public funding, we're still not keeping the cost of that campaign down, which is growing.

Perhaps a thing that we might do is, if a candidate gets contributions of "X" number of people in the \$50 to \$75 range, maybe we can give that candidate 30 seconds on New Jersey Nightly News, which is funded, you know, in part by the Legislature. If somebody gets "X" number of contributions from \$75 to \$100, perhaps we can give that candidate a free mailing for "X" number of people in his district or whatever. Things like that that may help contain the costs. It's an idea. It's just an idea.

We agree with Common Cause that we would like to have one campaign fund per candidate, because you can't keep track of where the money has come from, and it's blatantly unfair to have that many duplicate campaign funds which can be given to.

The third thing that I'd like to bring up -- and it may not be a function of the Campaign Financing Law, but Senator Van Wagner did touch on it, and it may be better addressed in a lobbying law -- but there is money that changes hands between special interest groups and the candidates, whether they fly people to Florida to play golf or take them to the Meadowlands, or whatever. Somehow this never does get reported, because specific legislation doesn't get addressed. It may be something that may get addressed in the future.

And the last point that we'd like to mention and that we feel is the most important point of all is that ELEC has to

have money to monitor this, because we can do wondrous things here and make wondrous reforms and have the best system in the entire world, but, if ELEC doesn't have the money to monitor, to police, and to do what it has to do, it's really meaningless. I thank you for the attention that you've given us. I know the hour is late and I'm not going elaborate, but those four things, I think, might be addressed by you when you do deliberate.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Thank you very much. Do you have a question?

SENATOR STOCKMAN: No.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Okay. Thanks very much for your innovative ideas.

MS. KOTVAS: You're welcome.

SENATOR LIPMAN: I'm not so sure that political parties would appreciate it. The Environmental Lobby, Ms. Elston.

P H Y L L I S R. E L S T O N: Thank you, Senator. I'll be super brief. I'm Phyllis Elston from the New Jersey Environmental Lobby. We would like to go on record, having only learned of the hearing today, as supporting the testimony that you heard from Ed McCool with whom we are working in coalition on this issue. We also have appeared before the Assembly Committee on this topic and my testimony, on behalf of the Lobby, I will get to you after the fact.

I just want to reiterate those points that we especially want to target at. You heard from Mr. McCool the one-candidate-one-campaign fund, the truth in labeling, the no soliciting on the job. As he said, we hope that we can have no soliciting on the job, period; end of report without any qualification.

And as you heard from Karen Kotvas, the ELEC appropriation, we think, is super important, because of the same old happening where programs are mandated without the

funds to carry them out. And ELEC will need the enforcement people, if we're lucky enough to see reform in our campaign laws.

From the environmental standpoint, I probably don't have to tell you, but we'll go on record anyway as saying that the biggest disadvantage that we work with as we try to work towards solutions for the many environmental crises that our State has today, is that as representatives of the public interest, we are constantly faced with hordes of dollars from the private interests on any given issue, whatever that may be. There is no hope given to what environmental groups are as such that we could ever equal industry dollars. We have our people; we have our dedication; we don't have the dollars.

So, in bringing about meaningful campaign funding on the State legislative level, it really equalizes the competition between the public and the private interests. And so, if I want to leave you with just one main point on behalf of the environmental community, that would be it. We need that equalization. Thank you.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Good point. A very good point. Thank you, Ms. Elston.

MS. ELSTON: You're welcome.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Okay, the Realtors.

S U S A N C O V A I S: Thank you, Senator. My name is Sue Covais. I represent the New Jersey Association of Realtors. I'll also be very brief. We oppose the bills before you and some of them are for different various reasons.

Basically, the Lynch bill and the Van Wagner bill we oppose. We feel the \$500 limit is too unrealistic. It's too low. It's been already been brought out by a previous speaker, Fred Herrmann. You have to have a reasonable limit set so you don't have the factor that you might have an incumbency protection bill and not a bill that will help challengers -- which is one of our main concerns.

Also, we have a concern about public financing. I think-- The Realtors Association doesn't support this. We feel that it's an inappropriate use of public dollars. Before, it was mentioned how we can help challengers by giving them free air time or mailings. Well, there's no such thing as a free lunch in this situation. I mean, someone's got to pay for that mailing; someone's got to pay for that 30 minutes on public TV or whatever TV it's on. So, this public financing is going to be very, very expensive if you're going to be covering every legislative race.

And the issue was brought up before about double races, that you can limit this race, and if you're running for mayor at the same time, that there has to be some kind of provision for that. Again, we're looking at more and more money, because the ELEC will have to have more and more enforcement staff. So this is going to happen anyway. ELEC is going to have to be funded better if there are going to be any changes, namely better disclosure laws.

I think even the public is not all that convinced that public financing is the answer either, according to that Eagleton/Star-Ledger Poll. The other bill, S-1828, there may be some unconstitutional language in there regarding independent expenditures. I'm not sure what the exact Supreme Court case was, but it was ruled by the Supreme Court of the United States that you cannot limit a group's expression of the right of free speech -- the First Amendment. So, the independent expenditures type of idea came in -- where you would not have any communication with the campaign committee of the candidate and you could express your right of free will.

There was some language in Dorsey's bill and also in Randall's bill which may limit that. I don't know if that's intentional or whether they did not realize what that said, but that would be one of the reasons that we would oppose that bill; because that language would have to be cleared up,

because that is a Supreme Court decision, and would be unconstitutional.

Basically, that's our main problem with the bills. I think if they are trying to try to stop undue influence and things like that, you're going to have to do better ELEC reporting to see if there's any correlation between large amounts of expenditures and what the Legislature does. I think that putting the limits too low, you're going to create a lot more problems than you are going to solve.

SENATOR LIPMAN: You've made some very interesting suggestions. Senator Stockman?

SENATOR STOCKMAN: Just one question. Would the Realtors be supportive of a Lynch-like bill if the figures were higher? In other words, if that \$500 were \$750 or \$1000?

MS. COVAIS: Well, I think they really haven't come up with a figure, but what we are facing is that we have to comply with Federal-- We are a Federal PAC so we have to comply with Federal limits which is a two-tier system -- individuals and PACs. PACs are allowed more money than an individual, because if you're worried about undue influence, you'd be more worried about the individual contribution than the PAC contribution. It's \$1000 and \$5000 -- \$5000 for the PAC and \$1000 for the individual. We think if you're going to put limits on them, why don't we just parallel the Federal law? If that's deemed too high, then they can bring that down or whatever, but they really haven't decided on a certain limit.

SENATOR LIPMAN: All right. Thank you. I think we have reached the-- I don't have questions for you, but you're going to give your name to our transcribers and we would like to see in writing for the rest of the Committee, your reasons for opposing the bills. All right? Can you do that?

MS. COVAIS: Okay. Sure.

SENATOR LIPMAN: We've got the transcript but they couldn't come today, so we're a little worried about it. Ms. Elston?

MS. ELSTON: No, I'm sorry. I have something that I want to say to Senator Stockman.

SENATOR LIPMAN: Oh, I see.

SENATOR STOCKMAN: Move that we adjourn.

SENATOR LIPMAN: All right. If there's no more testimony, I second the motion. Thank you all for coming today. It's been very interesting.

(HEARING CONCLUDED)

APPENDIX

October 20, 1988

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION LIMITS

Position Statement by Assemblyman Bill Schluter

In the continuing effort to achieve campaign finance reform for New Jersey, a consensus seems to have been reached that there must be limits to campaign contributions. The debate has now shifted to the dollar amounts of these limits. However, all the good work that has been done on campaign finance reform in 1988 will be lost if these limits are set too high.

The Election Law Enforcement Commission (ELEC) at its June 21st meeting stated that it was not the practice of the Commission to make recommendations with respect to major policy issues. This position was asserted notwithstanding the fact the the Commission had been on record for a long time in favor of removing

limits to campaign expenditures under the gubernatorial finance laws and in favor of closing up a gaping loophole in the reporting requirements of expenditures by lobbyists.

It is heartening to see that ELEC has decided to speak out on certain campaign finance abuses as it did in the publication of its first White Paper in August of this year. This White Paper recommended that contribution limits be imposed for those candidates running in New Jersey where no limits now exist, and that corporations and labor unions be prohibited from contributing directly to political candidates and campaigns. Although no specific dollar amount was recommended by the Commission as appropriate for contribution limits, various statements have been made that a range of \$2,000 to \$2,500 would be reasonable. This same range was stated by ELEC at the Assembly State Government Committee hearing on October 17, and was picked up extensively in subsequent news stories.

It would be extremely harmful to the cause of campaign finance reform if contribution limits are set at the very high level of \$2,000 to \$2,500. Such a level would still allow special interests and "fat cats" to dominate in the financing of political campaigns in New Jersey. ELEC claims that a contribution limit which is not "too low" is essential to avoid several side effects: efforts by candidates to seek and use loopholes; a proliferation of PACs; encouragement of "independent expenditures"; and possible infringement upon First Amendment rights.

These arguments, as used by advocates of higher contribution limits, are baseless. In fact, they are sending out contradictory signals to the New Jersey public as to the true intent of the Legislature in reforming political finance.

At the heart of this issue is the corrupting influence of money in the political process. The practice of making large political contributions has convinced many observers that undue influence is exerted by the contributor over the elected official who receives the contribution. If such undue influence is real, there is actual corruption; if the influence is perceived, the entire system still suffers because of a breakdown of public confidence.

The various assertions made by proponents of high contribution limits can be addressed as follows:

I. Infringement of First Amendment rights

A recommended contribution limit of \$500 from an individual and from a PAC is part of the comprehensive provisions of my bill, A-2529. This limit would apply to all candidates in New Jersey not covered by other laws, and would include legislators, freeholders, mayors and local officials. The figure of \$500 is appropriate considering the current contribution limit under New Jersey law of \$800 for gubernatorial candidates and, under federal law, \$1,000 for candidates for Congress and United States Senate. In fact, the

Executive Director of ELEC admitted in testimony on October 17 that the \$500 is not too low in view of other existing limitations. If a limit of \$500 infringes on First Amendment rights, clearly the figure of \$800 and \$1,000 would represent an even greater infringement on the higher offices to which they apply.

Assuming the level of contribution limits for the gubernatorial campaign increases to \$1,200, it would be entirely reasonable to increase the contribution level applying to legislative and other offices to \$800 or even \$1,000. But at present, we are operating under a system where the limit on gubernatorial contributions is \$800.

II. Encouragement of Candidates to Use Loopholes

For one to say that low contribution limits will force candidates and political committees into developing a multitude of loopholes is a false premise. Any law reforming campaign contributions must be carefully crafted to prevent such loopholes. This has generally been the case with other laws where there is a limit, such as the gubernatorial campaign finance law. The \$800 limit in races for governor in New Jersey has worked well without significant loopholes. (The practice of "bundling" of contributions from a single firm or interest for a gubernatorial candidate has been addressed in the October 7 presentment of the State Grand Jury with specific recommendations for amending the law.)

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An analogy can be made with drug enforcement laws. Is one to conclude that we must accept lax standards of drug enforcement on the mere premise that drug traffickers will find loopholes? If the evil of the large contribution and the influence which it buys is serious, then we should make the commitment to attack the evil and provide comprehensive enforcement. To do otherwise is to let the present conditions continue and refuse to respond to the public outcry against present campaign funding abuses.

It is claimed that low contribution limits might cause a loophole with the proliferation of PACs. Such a conclusion does not have to be accepted if the PAC regulation provisions of A-2529 are adopted - - - and strengthened where appropriate.

III. Challengers are at a Disadvantage

The notion that low contribution limits puts challengers at a severe disadvantage does not have substance when examining the patterns of special interest giving in New Jersey.

Many observers of the New Jersey legislative scene claim that about 30 of the 40 districts are "safe" for the incumbent. Challengers in these districts currently do not receive large contributions from individuals or from special interests because of the simple political "facts of life". Conversely, large

contributions to incumbents in "safe" districts are not needed to run efficient campaigns. But incumbents in "safe" districts receive substantial contributions, and they are given because they are asked for. Consider the Senate race in the second legislative district in 1987: the "safe" incumbent Senator raised over \$400,000, while the challenger raised \$12,000. Is not the challenger under the present system at a severe disadvantage?

In the competitive districts for legislative seats, both sides have been able to raise substantial funds for waging competitive contests. Because of the "arms race" mentality we have in New Jersey on campaign contributions, competitive candidates have never been at a loss for raising sufficient funds. Also, these candidates receive considerable financial support from the campaign committees of other candidates. When contribution limits are imposed on these races, the level of spending on both sides will decline - - - and the contest will still be competitive. And if less money is being spent, the general public (both cynics and realists) will have the more comfortable feeling that considerably less money is being used to "influence" their legislators' votes in Trenton.

IV. Average Contributions are High Under Present Conditions

It is true that average contributions are higher than most people imagine. The most recent ELEC analysis of legislative races (1985 - Assembly) discloses that the average "value" of

every contribution was \$769 and the mean average was \$250. However, the ELEC analysis neglects to point out that the average number of contributors per Assembly campaign in 1985 was a dismal 55. In my view, this condition has come about because of the accepted premise that only the special interest "heavy hitters" make a difference in campaign financing. The small contributor has been effectively frozen out of the system. Basic political science tells us that it is desirable to have many small contributors. But the result of the present system with unlimited contribution amounts is that special interest giving dominates campaign financing for the Legislature. This set of circumstances argues strongly for low contribution limits.

V. Encouragement of "Independent Expenditures"

The United States Constitution guarantees the right of purely independent expenditures in support of a candidacy or public question. The presumption that low contribution limits will encourage independent expenditures is part of the "loophole" theory" described above in section II.

Accordingly, comprehensive laws are necessary to insure that independent expenditures are truly independent, and do not result from collusive action. Also, it must be remembered that contribution limits and disclosure requirements still apply to an "independent" fund raising effort.

VI. Advantage for Wealthy Candidates

There is no question that wealthy candidates would have an advantage in providing campaign funds if contribution limits are low. Nevertheless, there are methods available to mitigate this advantage. The principal method is under a system of partial public financing which, although not proposed in any of the bills currently before the State Government Committee of the Assembly, is included in legislation which has been introduced and is currently being reviewed by the Senate.

Another suggestion was put forth by LEGAL in its testimony on October 17 whereby candidates receiving a substantial number of contributions under a certain dollar threshold would be eligible for "bonus" time through State media efforts such as Public Broadcasting.

Of course, the question has to be asked: "Is the evil of the present system of excessive contributions and the attendant corrupting influences worse than any imbalances caused by a candidate with large personal resources!?"

The issue of campaign contribution limits must be considered ~~in the context of the total campaign financing scheme which is being~~

8x

in the context of the total campaign financing scheme which is being adopted. The law must be comprehensive in order to eliminate unfair advantages and loopholes.

A reasonable and fair system will not be achieved unless the following concerns are addressed:

- a. A limit on aggregate gifts from an individual or a PAC must apply - - - as they now do at the federal level. For example, a single individual can only give a maximum of \$25,000 to federal contests, including political committees, during a single election cycle. This provision has been held constitutional.

Assembly Bill 2529 establishes an aggregate for individual giving to a candidate in one election cycle of \$25,000. The aggregate proposed from a PAC is \$100,000.

Obviously, the aggregate concept is important in diminishing the impact of a single contributor, and it "plugs up" some of the possible loopholes described earlier.

- b. The prohibition against corporate and labor union contributions to political campaigns

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at the federal level should be extended to elections held under state law in New Jersey. ELEC has endorsed this concept in its August White Paper. Such a prohibition will reduce the opportunities for uneven and heavy campaign financing from special interests.

- c. PACs should be regulated more tightly under New Jersey law in the same manner as they are regulated under federal statutes. Corporations and labor unions would still be allowed to raise money from their memberships on a voluntary basis through a PAC which is operated in accordance with basic standards of disclosure and accountability. The corporation or union would only be allowed to contribute its funds to the administrative costs of the PAC.
- d. The law should limit transfers between candidates and candidate committees. At present, there are 17 states which allow only one fund raising committee to operate for each candidate. In June of 1988, California by popular referendum enacted a prohibition against any transfers between candidates. *

*This same referendum imposed a maximum limit on contributions of \$1000.

10x

Assembly Bill 2529 would limit the transfer from one candidate to another to \$2,500 with an aggregate limit of \$100,000.

- e. Controls must be established to prevent contributors from exceeding their limits by making additional contributions to PACs and political committees which would then channel that money to a desired candidate or candidates. The practice of "earmarking" funds contributed to a PAC or committee should be allowed, but it also should apply against the contributor's personal limits. Or, in the case of political party committees, the contribution and expenditure scheme should be balanced so that no individual contributor has undue influence, while the political committee is in a position to exercise its traditional role in financing election campaigns.
-

In the context of campaign financing which currently takes place in New Jersey, it is clear that a contribution limit of \$2,000 or \$2,500 is excessive. The \$800 limit which applies to

11x

gubernatorial campaigns has been effective in providing a level playing field for candidates for the highest office in the State. In my judgment the limit for legislators, county and local office should be below the limit for the office of Governor.

Statistics have shown that ^{large sums of} special interest money has been attracted to legislative races in recent years. If it is our intent to reduce the unfavorable influences of special interest money, the level of the campaign contribution must be restricted to reasonable amounts.

In 1973 when the Legislature was considering the present law (New Jersey Campaign Contribution and Expenditure Reporting Act), opponents and naysayers were claiming that this law requiring disclosure would never work because there would be too many loopholes. History has proven them wrong; the law has worked and has served New Jersey well in the intervening 15 years.

For those who are serious about campaign finance reform, the time has come to stop looking for excuses not to pass a meaningful program. The actual as well as the perceived evil of special interests dominating the State's electoral process is bound to get worse if no action is taken.

As an indication of the strong support for reasonable contribution limits and for a comprehensive approach to all issues involved in basic campaign finance reform, it is important to note

that the following objective and public-spirited organizations are among those supporting Assembly Bill 2529:

N.J. Common Cause

N.J. Environmental Lobby

N.J. League of Women Voters

LEGAL (Lawyers Encouraging Government & Law)

N.J. PIRG

N.J. Conservation Foundation

Assemblyman Bill Schluter

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MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF THE SENATE STATE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE

FROM: FREDERICK M. HERRMANN, PH.D. *FMH*

DATE: OCTOBER 27, 1988

RE: COMMISSION REMARKS ON S-1828 (DORSEY), S-2211 (LYNCH), AND
S-2486 (VAN WAGNER)

On behalf of the Election Law Enforcement Commission (ELEC), I would like to express our appreciation to this committee and its chairperson for this opportunity to testify on these three very important bills advocating reform in the way we finance our legislative elections.

The data that ELEC has compiled for legislative elections during the period from 1983 to 1987 shows a doubling of campaign spending to over \$11 million and a doubling of PAC contributions between 1985 and 1987 to over \$4 million. These statistics point to the need for critically reexamining the entire campaign financing process in New Jersey.

The Commission is convinced that the public is alarmed that the large sums of money used to finance our elections are creating an appearance of impropriety. Further, the Commission believes that contribution limits are necessary to remove the appearance of impropriety in our legislative elections.

ELEC is, of course, very interested in the concept of legislative public financing. However, we feel that we must first make sure that the gubernatorial program, which has not been amended since 1980, receives immediate legislative attention so it is not destroyed by the effects of inflation. It would be most unfortunate if the gubernatorial public financing program, which has been a model for the nation since its inception, is allowed to become obsolete.

Returning to public financing of legislative elections, the Commission believes it must receive an adequate appropriation to administer such a public financing program and is concerned more broadly about public support to commit State resources for it. If legislative public financing is enacted, the contribution limit, the public financing cap, and the expenditure limit must be set high enough to permit candidates to run viable campaigns. Setting these limits too low may also encourage improper activity and unduly aid incumbents and personally wealthy candidates.

In regard to the two legislative public financing bills, S-2211 (Lynch) and S-2486 (Van Wagner) are acceptable variations of a legislative public funding program. However, ELEC would suggest that the primary election as well as the general election be eligible for public financing in Senator Van Wagner's bill. Not providing public financing in primary elections while imposing a \$500 contribution limit may be unduly restrictive especially to challengers and lesser-known candidates. Also, an inflation adjuster should be included so that the various thresholds and limits can be adjusted automatically without the necessity of seeking new legislation.

Finally, the various limits and caps included in these two bills may be set too low, and ELEC is concerned that Legislators who are dual officeholders may be able to evade the contribution and expenditure limits by moving campaign activity to their non-legislative races.

In regard to the bill limiting contributions to legislative candidates, S-1828 (Dorsey) is an acceptable approach. ELEC believes that amendments are necessary to eliminate potential loopholes and technical problems. More specifically, it contains no appropriation for enforcing the contribution limits and appears to ban unconstitutionally independent expenditures by PACs.

ELEC is delighted that the Senate State Government Committee is addressing these bills and commends their sponsors for promoting these vital, ethical issues. Concluding, permit me to note that the Commission is planning in its "White Paper No. 3" to study the issue of legislative public financing in depth. Also, New York City, which has a population similar in size to that of New Jersey, has recently adopted public financing of its municipal races including council seats. ELEC will be studying this program so we can benefit from its experiences. The Commission is also waiting to review the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws' (COGEL) model campaign financing statute for a further sense of direction. That statute should be drafted by early next year.

Thank you again for this opportunity to testify.

Attachment

FMH/ck

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S-1828 (Dorsey) - Contribution Limits on CPCs

FROM	TO A LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATE, PER ELECTION	TO A LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATE, TO A POLITICAL COMMITTEE "PROMOTING" THAT CANDIDATE, OR TO A CONTINUING POLITICAL COMMITTEE "PROMOTING" THAT CANDIDATE, PER CALENDAR YEAR IN WHICH LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES ARE ELECTED	TO ANOTHER CONTINUING POLITICAL COMMITTEE, PER CALENDAR YEAR
<p>17x</p> <p>A continuing political committee other than a political party committee (i.e. PAC)</p>	\$2,500	\$5,000	\$2,500
<p>Person (includes associations, corporations, etc.) or "political committee" as defined in <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:44A-3(i)</p>	No Limit	No Limit	No Limit

PROPOSED LEGISLATIVE PUBLIC FINANCING BILLS

	Lynch (S-2211)	Van Wagner (S-2486)
Elections (PF)	P, G, & S	G & S
Contribution Limit	\$500 A. applies to primary, general and special	\$500 A. applies to primary, general and special
Qualification threshold	\$5,000 A. funds must be deposited and spent from <u>individuals</u> B. contributions in excess of \$200 (aggregate) are not to be counted toward the qualification threshold C. these funds are not matched.	\$37,500 A. funds must be deposited and spent B. the funds raised to meet the qualification threshold are matched

18X

	Lynch (S-2211)	Van Wagner (S-2486)
Number of maximum contributions needed to qualify	25 (from only individuals)	75
Matching or grant program	matching	matching
Matching ratio	1:1 A. contributions up to \$200 from individuals can be matched	1:3
Public funds per maximum contribution	\$200	\$167
Expenditure limit	none	\$100,000
Public fund cap	\$10,000	\$25,000
Inflation adjustment	none	none

	Lynch (S-2211)	Van Wagner (S-2486)
Estimated maximum funds to candidates when both houses running	\$6,000,000 (primary & general)	\$6,250,000 (general only)
Financing method	Legislature appropriates from general treasury	Legislature appropriates from general treasury
Other Provisions	<p>A. New Jersey broadcasting to give free air time</p> <p>B. the cost analysis report done for gubernatorial public financing would apply to the legislative program</p>	<p>A. the cost analysis report done for gubernatorial public financing would apply to the legislative program</p>
Personal funds limit	<p>\$10,000</p> <p>A. applies only to candidates receiving public funds</p>	<p>\$5,000</p> <p>A. applies only to candidates receiving public funds</p>

Lynch
(S-2211)

Van Wagner
(S-2486)

Political party provisions

A. State committees can only accept up to \$500 contributions (aggregate) for a legislative candidate

A. State committees can only accept up to \$500 contributions (aggregate) for a legislative candidate

B. A State committee can only allocate \$500 of a contribution in aid of or on behalf of a legislative candidate

B. A State committee can only allocate \$500 of a contribution in aid of or on behalf of a legislative candidate

C. county committees that are part of a legislative district and municipal committees that are part of a legislative district can only give in the aggregate up to \$20,000 per candidate

Loans


limited to \$10,000
in the aggregate

limited to \$10,000
in the aggregate

NEW JERSEY ELECTION LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: FREDERICK M. HERRMANN, PH.D.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FROM: JEFFREY M. BRINDLEY 
DEPUTY DIRECTOR

DATE: OCTOBER 20, 1988

SUBJ: Fiscal Note S-1828

The Act concerning campaign contributions in legislative elections (S-1828) by Senator Dorsey is estimated to cost \$340,000. This figure includes personnel costs, computer costs and administrative support costs.

It is estimated that current staff would have to increase by nine to fulfill the requirements of the proposed law. A total of four professionals would have to be added along with five non-professional staff. The professional staff would include: 1 Assistant Counsel, 1 Report Examiner, 1 Investigator, and 1 Compliance Officer. The non-professional staff would include: 2 Clerks, and 3 Data Entry Operators. The salary appropriation would be \$192,000.

Computer costs would amount to \$65,000. These costs would be incurred due to the necessity of creating new software to accommodate the changes envisioned by the legislation as well as the addition of hardware to support the addition of more data processing staff.

Administrative support costs would total \$83,000. This category includes printing, postage, telephone, and travel. It also includes costs for office space, office equipment and a vehicle.


In the Legal Section added staff would be necessary to process complaints generated by the legislation. The added enforcement activity will derive from anticipated violations of the contribution limit and the increased reporting obligation due to the lower threshold.

The Review and Investigation Section would require additional staff to review the anticipated increase in the number of reports generated by the lower threshold. The increased number of reports will necessitate an additional field investigator to investigate any violations of the contribution limit.

In the Compliance Section added staff would be needed to process the additional reports, which stem from the lower threshold, to process non-filer and late-filer letters, and to process additional requests for information. Moreover, the staff would need to be increased to enhance compliance efforts through education and the development of new manuals, forms and periodic memorandum.

Finally, the data entry staff would be required to enter all CPC data into the computer in order to monitor contributions to assure compliance with the limit.

JMB/slm



NEW JERSEY ELECTION LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: FREDERICK M. HERRMANN, PH.D.
 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FROM: JEFFREY M. BRINDLEY
 DEPUTY DIRECTOR

DATE: OCTOBER 19, 1988

SUBJ: Fiscal Note S-2211

State Senator Lynch's bill (S-2211) creates a public financing program for legislative primary, special, and general elections.

The cost for implementing this bill is estimated to be \$6,736,000. The cost estimate includes \$6,000,000 in public funds to candidates and \$736,000 in funds for staff, computer and administrative support, of which \$221,000 is for one-time start-up costs and \$515,000 is for annual on-going operating costs.

These figures are based on an estimated 600 candidates per legislative election year, 350 of whom would participate in the primary election, and 250 of whom would participate in the general election and any special elections held. The figures assume that all candidates would qualify for the maximum \$10,000 in public funds.

An estimated 15 new staff members would be required to carry out the provisions of the program. Public financing staff would be required as well as some regular staff. The projected cost for salaries would be \$374,000.

Public financing staff would consist of 5 public financing analysts, 3 data entry operators, and 1 secretary.

Additions to the regular staff would include 1 report reviewer, 1 field investigator, 1 assistant counsel, 1 compliance officer, 1 computer analyst, and 1 fiscal/personnel officer. These staff members would be required to accommodate increased review, investigatory and enforcement activity generated by the bill. They are also needed to accommodate increased compliance efforts, computerization and projected budgetary and personnel requirements.

Computer costs would amount to an estimated \$151,000. This would include funding for an upgrade, hardware and the development of a new software package.

Administrative support costs would total \$211,000, not including the above computer costs. These costs include printing, postage, telephone, furniture, office equipment, additional office space, vehicle and supplies.

JMB/slm

23x

NEW JERSEY ELECTION LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: FREDERICK M. HERRMANN, PH.D.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FROM: JEFFREY M. BRINDLEY
DEPUTY DIRECTOR

DATE: OCTOBER 19, 1988

SUBJ: Fiscal Note S-2486

State Senator Van Wagner's bill (S-2486) creates a public financing program for legislative special and general elections.

The cost for implementing this bill is estimated to be \$6,986,000. The cost estimate includes \$6,250,000 in public funds to candidates and \$736,000 in funds for staff, computer and administrative support, of which \$221,000 is for one-time start-up costs and \$515,000 is for annual on-going operating costs.

These figures are based on an estimated 250 candidates participating in the general election and any special elections held. The figures assume that all candidates would qualify for the maximum \$25,000 in public funds.

It is anticipated that 15 new staff members would be required to carry out the provisions of the program. Public financing staff and some regular staff would be required. The projected cost for salaries would be \$374,000.

Public financing staff would consist of 5 public financing analysts, 3 data entry operators, and 1 secretary.

Additions to the regular staff would include 1 report reviewer, 1 field investigator, 1 assistant counsel, 1 compliance officer, 1 computer analyst, and 1 fiscal/personnel officer. These staff members would be required to accommodate increased review, investigatory and enforcement activity generated by the bill. They are also needed to accommodate increased compliance efforts, computerization and projected budgetary and personnel requirements.

Computer costs would amount to an estimated \$151,000. This would include funding for an upgrade, hardware and the development of new software.

Administrative support costs would total \$211,000, not including the above computer costs. These costs include printing, postage, telephone, furniture, office equipment, additional office space, vehicle and supplies.

JMB/slm

PERSONNEL

LEGAL

1 assistant counsel	\$ 35,000
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REVIEW

1 report reviewer	\$ 25,000
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1 field investigator	\$ 35,000
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COMPLIANCE

1 compliance officer	\$ 24,000
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2 compliance clerks	\$ 28,000
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COMPUTER

3 data entry operators	\$ 45,000
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Sub Total	\$192,000
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NON-PERSONNEL (ELEC)

Software Changes	\$ 50,000
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Furniture	\$ 14,000
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Supplies	\$ 15,000
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Telephone	\$ 8,000
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Postage	\$ 8,000
---------	----------

Data Processing	\$ 15,000
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Miscellaneous	\$ 8,000
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Sub Total	\$118,000
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NON-PERSONNEL (TREASURY)

Space	\$ 10,000
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Vehicle	\$ 20,000
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Sub Total	\$ 30,000
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<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>\$340,000</u>
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25x

S-2211 & S-2486 - ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS

<u>PERSONNEL</u>		<u>1st Yr Total</u>	<u>Annual</u>
PUBLIC FINANCING -			
5 public financing analysts		\$125,000	\$125,000
1 secretary		\$ 19,000	\$ 19,000
3 data entry operators		\$ 45,000	\$ 45,000
LEGAL			
1 assistant counsel		\$ 35,000	\$ 35,000
REVIEW			
1 report reviewer		\$ 25,000	\$ 25,000
1 field investigator		\$ 35,000	\$ 35,000
COMPLIANCE			
1 compliance officer		\$ 25,000	\$ 25,000
COMPUTER			
1 computer analyst		\$ 30,000	\$ 30,000
ADMINISTRATION			
1 fiscal/personnel officer		\$ 35,000	\$ 35,000
Sub Total		<u>\$374,000</u>	<u>\$374,000</u>
<u>NON-PERSONNEL</u>	<u>One Time Costs-1st Yr</u>		
Software	\$ 54,000*	\$ 54,000	
Printing/Supplies		\$ 9,000	\$ 9,000
Vehicle-Operating		\$ 2,000	\$ 2,000
Travel		\$ 5,000	\$ 5,000
Telephone	\$ 2,000	\$ 16,000	\$ 14,000
Postage		\$ 9,000	\$ 9,000
Data Processing	\$ 75,000**	\$ 97,000	\$ 22,000****
Training		\$ 19,000	\$ 19,000
Rent		\$ 33,000	\$ 33,000
Vehicle		\$ 5,000	\$ 5,000
Furniture/Equipment (including data processing)	\$ 90,000***	\$113,000	\$ 23,000
Sub Total	<u>\$221,000</u>	<u>\$362,000</u>	<u>\$141,000</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>\$221,000</u>	<u>\$736,000</u>	<u>\$515,000</u>

* \$50,000 Public Financing software, \$4,000 other software

** computer upgrade

*** 3 PC's at \$9,000
furniture for 3 employees at \$3,000
furniture for 12 others at \$4,500

**** \$9,000 software maintenance
\$13,000 other maintenance and operating

NOTE: Costs after the first year have not been adjusted for salary or inflationary increases.

ELEC WHITE PAPER

"Contribution Limits and Prohibited Contributions"



NUMBER ONE

OCTOBER 1988



State of New Jersey

ELECTION LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

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A C K N O W L E D G M E N T

The Commission would like to thank the following staff members for contributing to this analysis:

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Executive Director Frederick M. Herrmann

Director of Compliance and Information Evelyn Ford

Legal Director Gregory E. Nagy

Assistant Director for Systems Administration Warren L. Heins

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ELEC would also like to give special thanks to Professor Stephen A. Salmore of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey for his expert assistance with this study.

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This paper is the first in a series of occasional analyses that the New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission (ELEC) will publish on topics of interest in the field of public disclosure. These studies will be based on staff research as well as work by outside persons such as university professors and graduate students. Analyses written by external sources will be published with a disclaimer. It is ELEC's goal to contribute substantive research for the ongoing debate on improving the way our State regulates the impact of money on its political process.

The topic of this paper is a review of the issue of contribution limits and prohibited contributions.

A. Contribution Limits

There are four commonly accepted approaches to limiting the influence campaign contributors have over legislators: 1) disclosure, 2) contribution limits, 3) expenditure limits, and 4) public financing.

A June 19, 1988, Eagleton/Star-Ledger poll indicated that the majority of New Jerseyans support full disclosure, contribution limits, and spending caps as a way of preventing members of the Legislature from being obligated to campaign contributors. This same poll suggested that there is a high degree of reluctance among the public to use public money to help legislators get elected.

With this information in mind, it is important to note that the U.S. Supreme Court, in Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 96 S.Ct. 612 (1976), tied expenditure limits and public financing together. In other words, the high court said that it is permissible to impose spending caps only if a candidate opts to be subject to those caps by taking public financing. Consequently, the public opinion represented in the poll has only a limited utility in any blueprint for reform.

There are currently four bills in the Legislature that would establish legislative public financing. Unless these bills are enacted, disclosure and contribution limits alone remain as feasible approaches toward controlling undue influence over the legislative process.

There is no question that disclosure is fundamental to checking the potential influence contributors might have over would-be officeholders. As the ultimate watchdog over the process, disclosure forces accountability. And accountability, by its very nature, must enhance the public trust. Accordingly, the Commission would be well advised to continue its efforts in insuring that the State of New Jersey has strong disclosure laws. Whether through tightening disclosure, i.e. identification of contributor's employers, closing the loophole in the lobbyist law, or, as Professor Stephen A. Salmore of Eagleton Institute suggests, beefing up ELEC's staff in order to turn around summary information more quickly, most New Jerseyans would probably agree this effort should be made.

While the importance of disclosure is certain, the viability of contribution limits as a means of controlling influence is somewhat conjectural.

To be sure, many members of the disclosure community, some academics, numerous politicians, and a majority of the public in New Jersey, favor curbs on contributors as a way of keeping the process honest. Moreover, certain voices in the political science community, in particular, believe that contribution limits force campaigns to demonstrate broad support among the electorate by collecting adequate funds from many small contributors.

Indeed, contribution limits are designed to accomplish two major purposes: 1) to reduce a candidate's and future public official's dependence on large donors, and 2) to encourage small donations from a broad base of contributors.

Moreover, in the Buckley case, the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged a real or potential connection between corruption and political contributions. It found that large donations potentially could influence a candidate's position on issues and his or her actions when elected to public office.

At the same time, the Court found contribution limits to be constitutional because they reduce the influence wealthy persons and groups potentially have over the electoral process and help to keep the costs of political campaigns under control.

In sum, the arguments for contribution limits are that they democratize the process of elections by restricting the potential influence that big donors might exert over the governmental process. Moreover, they prevent an appearance of undue influence, if not the reality.

On the other hand, there are numerous arguments against contribution limits. Professor Larry J. Sabato writes that contribution limits may result in contributions being hidden by deceptive reporting or non-reporting. He suggests that in states that have weak lobbying and personal financial disclosure laws, such as New Jersey, contribution limits may result in money being channeled to candidates in other, more "direct" ways. These more "direct" ways may be more corrupting because the money goes directly to the candidate personally, not the campaign.

Another argument against contribution limits is that they can result in the proliferation of PACs, and improperly disclosed contributions by affiliated corporations and unions. To prevent the occurrence of this phenomenon, strong anti-proliferation laws would have to be enacted. Even so, the mere existence of these laws would not be enough to stop entities from circumventing contribution limits if the Commission did not have the staff resources to enforce them. Sufficient enforcement staff would be of paramount importance.

Contribution limits, opponents argue, might also encourage independent expenditures; that is, expenditures made without the cooperation or consent of a candidate. This constitutionally protected device for an individual, PAC, corporation, or union to exercise First Amendment rights may not be in the best interest of the election process.

Contribution limits may also give unfair advantage to wealthy candidates and inadvertently result in an insurance policy for incumbents. Only if a public financing program exists, and only if a candidate opts to participate in it, can the expenditure of a candidate's personal funds be limited. While every candidate would be subject to contribution limits from outside sources, the wealthy candidate could spend his or her own money at will and derive a significant advantage in the campaign. Likewise, incumbents would perhaps benefit from contribution limits because these limits would make it more difficult for all candidates, but especially challengers, to raise money. Since incumbents generally have higher name recognition than challengers, better access to the media, and the ability to provide constituent services, opponents of limits believe that incumbents gain more advantage through them than challengers.

In addition, contribution limits might encourage committees or political parties to channel funds from corporations, unions, PACs and individuals to non-profit foundations to conduct voter registration drives and turn-out-the-vote efforts. Not only would this tactic be a way around the limits, but it would also transfer traditional campaign functions to entities outside of the mainstream campaigns.

Contribution limits also may encourage a practice known as bundling. Bundling occurs when an individual or group, such as a PAC, collects a number of individual contributions and delivers these contributions to the candidate. This practice should not be confused with the normal fund-raising activity undertaken by PACs, for instance. Nor should it be confused with the contribution made by the contributor. It is a distinctly different activity and one that some people feel allows a contributor to circumvent contribution limits. The contributions that are collected in this way are earmarked for one particular candidate or campaign committee.

Finally, contribution limits, opponents argue, merely shift influence over candidates and future public officials from big contributors to big fund-raisers. Those individuals with the ability to raise large amounts of money in small contributions from many contributors become more important to campaigns and more influential in the process.

Thus, reasonable people disagree on the merits of contribution limits. One point that most do not disagree on, however, is that if contribution limits are introduced into the system they should, as Professor Salmore says, "not be too low." Contribution limits that are too low are an inducement for people to go outside of the system. Reasonable contribution limits, while preventing the appearance and

perhaps reality of impropriety, would still permit candidates to raise enough money right away, on an ongoing basis, to get their campaigns off the ground and sustain them throughout. Adequate limits would permit enough money to be raised to get the candidate's message to the voters. Moreover, if candidates cannot do this then perhaps it would be fertile ground for a constitutional challenge.

But what is a reasonable contribution limit in New Jersey? Perhaps the best way of determining that relative to legislative races is to look at the average contribution, the mean contribution, the highest and lowest contributions, and the percentage of contributors over and under certain numerical levels in the most recent legislative elections. Also, it is important, for establishing contribution limits in New Jersey, to consider the cost of living in the State, and that the State has a large population and a sophisticated electorate.

In the 1985 primary and general elections, the average contributions were \$425 and \$769 respectively. The mean contributions were \$200 and \$250. In the 1987 primary, the average contribution was \$531 and the mean contribution \$200. Figures are not yet available for the general election of 1987 but will be later this year.

Likewise, the highest PAC contributions in the primary and general election of 1985 were \$2,000 and \$10,000 respectively. In primary 1987, the highest PAC contribution was \$5,000.

The percentage of contributions over \$2,500 in primary 1985 was two percent, in general 1985 five percent, and in primary 1987 three percent. The percentage of contributions under \$500 in these elections was 78 percent, 67 percent, and 76 percent respectively.

Based on these statistics, and with the expectation that general 1987 statistics will be somewhat higher, a reasonable contribution limit might fall between \$2,000-\$2,500. Such a limit should be adjusted for inflation periodically. It would be low enough to prevent any appearance of impropriety yet high enough to withstand any constitutional challenge on the grounds that it did not permit candidates to raise adequate funds to get their message to the voters or contributors to exercise their First Amendment rights. The Buckley opinion upheld for congressional candidates a \$1,000 contribution limit in 1976, and adjusting for inflation since then the \$2,000 to \$2,500 range appears comparable.

Certainly the range might be somewhat higher or lower. But it is a good starting point and one that balances the two public interests involved: 1) eliminating undue influence and 2) protecting First Amendment rights.

B. Prohibited Contributors

New Jersey law prohibits certain regulated corporations from using corporate funds to make campaign contributions, but does not prohibit all corporations from contributing.

The corporations prohibited from making campaign contributions are described in N.J.S.A. 19:34-32, which bans insurance corporations or associations from making either direct or indirect contributions for any political purpose, and N.J.S.A. 19:34-45 which reads:

No corporation carrying on the business of a bank, savings banks, co-operative bank, trust, trustee, savings indemnity, safe deposit, insurance, railroad, street railway, telephone, telegraph, gas, electric light, heat or power, canal or aqueduct company, or having the right to condemn land, or to exercise franchises in public ways granted by the State or any county or municipality, and no corporation, person, trustee or trustees, owning or holding the majority of stock in any such corporation, shall pay or contribute money or thing of value in order to aid or promote the nomination or election of any person, or in order to aid or promote the interests, success or defeat of any political party.

This prohibition against certain regulated corporations making campaign contributions was originally enacted in 1911 as part of a comprehensive corrupt practices act under Governor Woodrow Wilson. A federal statute

enacted in 1907 is the source from which the New Jersey statute probably sprang; see N.J. Attorney General Formal Opinion No. 14-1979. This federal statute made it unlawful for any national bank, or any corporation organized by Congress, to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election to any political office; see 2 U.S.C. S441b. (Formerly 18 U.S.C. S610).

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 amended the statute and excluded from the definition of "contribution and expenditure" the establishment, administration and solicitation of contributions to a separate segregated fund to be utilized for political purposes provided that they were given voluntarily and the contributor had knowledge of the intended use for political purposes. Of course, this language is the basis for forming a political action committee (PAC).

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld this amendment in Pipefitters Local Union No. 562 v. United States, 407 U.S. 385, 92 S.Ct. 2247 (1972). The Court maintained that the 1907 federal law did not intend to prohibit a corporation (or union) from making, through a political fund organized by it, political contributions or expenditures so long as the monies going into the fund were voluntary.

In sum, while federal law, originally through the 1907 statute addressing certain corporations, and later through the "Federal Elections Campaign Act" of 1971, prohibits all corporations from making contributions to federal candidates, it does not prohibit corporations from using corporate funds to establish and maintain a PAC. It does not prevent corporations from using corporate funds to help raise voluntary money for political purposes.

With respect to the 1911 New Jersey statute prohibiting certain regulated corporations from contributing, Formal Opinion No. 14-1979 arrived at a similar, but not identical, conclusion vis-a-vis the establishment of PACs by banks, one category of prohibited contributors.

The Attorney General's opinion suggests that since the 1911 New Jersey statute was enacted four years after the federal statute of 1907, the New Jersey Legislature operated under the same objectives as did Congress. It therefore concludes that N.J.S.A. 19:34-45 did not intend to prohibit bank PACs from being formed and funded voluntarily by members of the corporation. However, unlike the federal law which was amended to permit corporate assets to be used to set up such funds, in New Jersey, banks would not be permitted to use corporate assets to establish, administer, or solicit contributions for the political fund.

Presumably this advisory opinion can be extrapolated to govern the activities of all prohibited contributors in New Jersey.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in its 1972 Pipefitters opinion, suggested that an important congressional purpose in enacting the 1907 law was to overcome the influence over elections exercised by holders of large amounts of capital through campaign contributions. The federal law was addressing the influence over government officials by wealthy corporations.

In a related way, Attorney General Kimmelman, in Formal Opinion No. 4-1983, suggested that the intent of the 1911 New Jersey statute is to "insulate elective officials from the influence of regulated industries". It further states, "each business listed in the act may be characterized as of a type strongly affected with a public interest.

Each business has been made the subject of extensive and pervasive government regulation. Comprehensive regulatory programs, vital to the protection of the public, could become prime targets of elected officials seeking to satisfy perceived debts to corporate benefactors affiliated with a regulated industry."

This statutory provision in New Jersey law has been broadly supported by the public through the years. And, as evidenced by the recent Eagleton/Star-Ledger poll, which found a majority of citizens concerned about the negative affects of large contributions and campaign expenditures, it seems safe to say that New Jersey residents would continue to support the prohibited contributor provisions in the law.

Despite the legal justification for the New Jersey prohibition and the historical tradition surrounding it, approval for the ban on contributions from selected corporations is not unanimous.

It is not clear that the New Jersey Legislature, in enacting "The New Jersey Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Reporting Act" in 1973 supported prohibitions against certain contributors. While not superceding the 1911 provision, the stated purpose of the Campaign Act is to "require the reporting of all contributions received and expenditures made to . . . any candidate." The only contributions prohibited by this Act are anonymous contributions and certain currency contributions over \$100. Indeed, the 1970 report of the Election Law Revision Commission that led to the enactment of the law stated that "public disclosure . . . would do more to protect the political system from unbridled spending than legal limits on the size of the contributions."

Thus, the Campaign Act views disclosure as the primary tool for preventing the corruption of State officials. It does not seem to lean in the direction of prohibiting certain contributors from participating in the process.

The argument put forth by proponents of the ban, and certainly a most reasonable one, is that banks, insurance companies and certain other regulated industries have, more so than other corporations, have been the subject of extensive governmental regulation. Also, because these corporations are vital to the public, it would invite undue influence to allow them to contribute to legislative candidates.

A response to this argument is that the prohibition against contributions by banks, insurance companies and certain regulated industries may be outdated. The rationale for why New Jersey banks, insurance companies and regulated industries cannot contribute comes from the national concerns of the early 1900's. It may be inapplicable to the State's interests in contemporary times.

The reasoning is that in modern times there are many other industries that are heavily regulated by the State - some even more so - but not subject to the same restrictions. The building industry, the chemical

and pharmaceutical industries, the legal profession, the medical profession, the dental profession, and the real estate business, are among these. Corporations in these categories are not prohibited from making political contributions. There is certainly a public interest in the governmental activities of these corporate entities not being perceived as unduly influencing public officials.

Moreover, there is today a significant problem in determining just what is a prohibited contributor because of modern corporate structure. Large, contemporary industries are horizontally integrated; that is a major toy company, for example, may have interests in not only the production of toys but also of candy bars, automobiles, soap, and various other unrelated products. Such a company might even have an insurance affiliate. Therein lies the problem. Is the parent company a prohibited contributor because it owns an insurance company even if that company only represents a small percentage of its corporate holdings and profits?

Certainly, in the early twentieth century such problems did not arise with the frequency they do today. Horizontal integration creates major enforcement problems for an ethics agency attempting to prohibit only "certain classes" of corporate contributors. Perhaps, the two most viable options are to prohibit all corporate contributions or none.

Some members of the political science community also express concerns about prohibiting some or all contributors, but for different reasons. Professor Salmore suggests that the "unintended consequences of public policy are sometimes more important than the intended consequences."

His thinking is that no matter what kinds of prohibitions the State may place on certain contributors it cannot stop the flow of money; these prohibited contributors will simply rechannel where they spend it. Professor Salmore does not believe that expenditures will be decreased by prohibiting contributions. He says that public policy only affects the rules by which these entities play, not that they will play. Professor Salmore believes, as mentioned in the discussion about contribution limits, that the best answer is to tighten the disclosure laws.

The spectre of independent expenditures is not one that delights knowledgeable people in the field. Yet this is one of the ways that some experts believe the money will be channeled as prohibitory laws become more prohibitive.

The concern with independent expenditures is that they result in less accountability in the electoral process. Although reported by the committee doing the spending, independent expenditures are not contained in the candidates' reports; therefore, there is not the same degree of disclosure. It is more difficult to see what is going on.

Many different reports have to be reviewed and more staff would be needed to enforce campaign disclosure laws. Moreover, there is considerable concern that independent expenditures, because of the accountability issue, lead to campaign tactics that are offensive, in particular negative advertising. Most would agree that spending by the campaigns themselves is preferable to spending by independent committees.

With regard to prohibited contributors in New Jersey law, PACs established by employees of these corporations may begin spending independently from campaigns. While it has not begun to happen yet in New Jersey, it has begun to occur on the federal level.

Additionally, it is not a foregone conclusion that prohibited contributors in New Jersey could not tap their corporate funds to make independent expenditures on behalf of certain candidates. This possibility is raised because of the decisions in First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti, 435 U.S. 765 (1978) and Consolidated Edison Company v. Public Service Commission, 447 U.S. 530 (1980). These two cases state the proposition that corporations have rights under the

First Amendment to comment on public issues. Since elections involve public issues, the constitutional justification for prohibiting the right of speech via independent expenditures is questionable.

In sum, it is important for the Commission and the public to be aware of all sides of the questions in considering the important issues of contribution limits and prohibited contributors.

Recommendation 1:

The Commission recommends that contribution limits be enacted, provided that such limits are set high enough to permit candidates to raise enough money to run effective campaigns, and provided that sufficient safeguards are enacted to prevent the evasion of contribution limits.

Recommendation 2:

The Commission recommends that corporations and labor unions be prohibited from contributing, except through political action committees (PACs).

Recommendation 3:

The Commission recommends that it receive an adequate appropriation to enforce these changes to the law.

- The recommendations contained in this report are solely those of the New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission and do not necessarily represent the views of any other individual, institution, governmental agency or organization.

SUGGESTED READING LIST

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- Alexander, Herbert E. and Brian A. Haggerty. Political Reform in California: How Has It Worked? Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1980.
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NEW JERSEY COMMON CAUSE

1987 GENERAL ELECTION

NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE

A

PRELIMINARY REPORT

APRIL 28, 1988

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Winners expenditure figures are taken from candidates own campaign fund and do not include "Friends of..." accounts unless indicated by "f". Also, list is incomplete due to candidate late filing or ELEC unable to locate report in time for release of this preliminary report.

The following preliminary report is in itself clear evidence of the need for immediate and far reaching reform of New Jersey's campaign finance system, particularly as it applies to the New Jersey legislature. The data is from the respective reports submitted by PACs and the candidates. It includes all requested data supplied by ELEC as of April 20. Absent reports represent those reports ELEC was unable to locate. The compilation of the data is the result of the work of the staff of New Jersey Common Cause, particularly the efforts of Ms. Doreen Degnan, Eagleton Institute intern working with NJCC.

Ed McCool
Executive Director

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SUMMARY

New Jersey PACs began 1987 with \$3,139,308 on hand. They then collected an additional \$5,779,924 during the year. They spent \$6,072,971 during 1987.

This compares with \$1.1 million in '85 and \$1.3 million in '83. The top five PACs in '87 spent more than all the PACs combined in '85 (\$1,315,940 to \$1.1 million).

PACs reported spending \$1,318,872 for operating costs during '87 and still finished the year with \$2,699,208 remaining in their accounts. There are no laws governing the use of this money. The amount leftover in PAC accounts for '87 is higher by 100% than what PACs used to spend in the last three legislative campaigns-1981-83-85.

The present members of the New Jersey Legislature reported spending \$9,280,962 from their own campaign accounts. They reported having \$1,125,505 leftover and on balance in those accounts. There are no laws governing the use of this money.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

NEW JERSEY NEEDS THE CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORMS CALLED FOR IN A-2529-SCHLUTER/S-2212-LYNCH. PASSAGE OF THESE BILLS IS ESSENTIAL IF NEW JERSEY IS TO HAVE MEANINGFUL REFORM. THE TIME TO ACT ON THEM IS NOW.

IN ADDITION THERE IS NEED FOR MORE PROTECTION FOR THE PAC CONSUMER. PRESENTLY THERE ARE NO LAWS GOVERNING THE USE OF PAC CONTRIBUTIONS. A LAW IS NEEDED THAT WOULD:

LIMIT THE USE OF PAC MONEY TO ELECTION/CAMPAIGN RELATED EXPENSES.
PROHIBIT ON THE JOB SOLICITATION OF PAC CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
REQUIRE TRUTH IN LABELING-WHEREBY THE CONTRIBUTOR CAN KNOW WHO THE PAC REPRESENTS-(IN A-2529)
REQUIRE ALL SOLICITATION REQUESTS TO SHOW WHAT PERCENTAGE OF THE CONTRIBUTION ACTUALLY GOES TO THE CANDIDATES/AND WHAT IS FOR OPERATING COSTS.
PROVIDE THE CONTRIBUTOR WITH A METHOD TO PARTICIPATE IN SELECTION OF THE CANDIDATES TO RECEIVE THE MONIES.

IN ADDITION THE EXISTENCE OF \$1.1 MILLION IN LEFTOVER CANDIDATE FUNDS REQUIRES A LAW LIMITING THE USE OF THOSE MONIES TO OTHER CAMPAIGNS OR DONATION TO RECOGNIZED CHARITY. THEIR USE IN LEGISLATIVE OFFICES SHOULD BE PROHIBITED.

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NJ PACs - 1987 Activity Ranked by Total Disbursements

PAC name	88 Beg 87	Receipts	88 end 87	Operat 88	Op % Rec	88 to Cand	88 FOR Cand	Tot.D:st.	'88 D:
NJ EDUCATION ASSOCIATION PAC	156559	256361	182657	19616	.88	298646	0	318263	
CAMP. FUND OF LAWYERS ENCOUR. GOVT & LAW	213653	86645	33798	78839	.98	188478	0	266589	
NJ DENTAL PAC	94688	175439	22379	182998	.59	144758	0	247748	
REALTORS PAC	243973	317982	314679	69436	.22	177415	0	247196	1715-
TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND II	0	235688	9118	11732	.85	232588	0	244232	
BUILDERS PAC	318591	193674	265988	26511	.14	211765	0	238276	
COMM. FOR CLEAN & SAFE AMERICA	0	286852	13458	189581	.92	3888	0	192681	
MEDICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	35694	155297	4818	0	0.88	182855	7318	198173	
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMAN'S AFL-CIO					0.88	175347	0	173347	
NJ STATE LABORERS PAC	33385	186526	19836	162528	.87	4958	0	167472	
LOCAL 322 FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION	288758	48815	179212	113131	2.32	37498	7741	155582	
NJ CAR PAC	128872	81848	57862	18434	.23	134424	0	152853	
PROTECT NJ	5634	149588	25798	138568	.77	17958	0	149518	
NJ ORGANIZATION FOR A BETTER STATE	58587	96998	6119	13958	.14	127588	0	141458	
OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 825	9583	137128	8469	1841	.81	137113	0	135154	
NJ CPA PAC	86154	68818	24837	3682	.86	118525	0	122127	
AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	0	154111	34789	65	.88	119158	187	119482	
PRIVATE ENTERPRISES PAC	79712	67545	45711	37546	.56	64888	0	181548	
SAVINGS ASSOCIATION PAC	57846	75538	37857	44	.82	95475	0	95518	
MFAC INC	18789	116325	32114	0	0.88	95888	0	95888	
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMM. OF NJHTA	32983	65716	6395	38744	.59	53485	0	92384	
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS	68818	39528	11871	0	0.88	89259	0	89259	
INTL. BROTH. OF PAINTERS & ALLIED TRADES	11919	92883	16584	57296	.62	38932	0	88218	
SOUTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	39413	122288	81215	6878	.86	75815	0	82495	
LOCAL 68 PAC	9835	79258	18139	48973	.52	37181	0	78154	
FOOD COUNCIL COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOVT	38917	48581	13458	9622	.28	64488	0	74322	
ATLANTIC STATE PAC	58385	71982	51898	564	.81	78425	0	78585	
LABORER'S LOCAL #172 PAC	13933	68391	6812	3825	.65	62268	0	67411	
NJ SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	15874	68826	9353	9449	.16	52988	5888	67349	
NJ SOFT DRINK COM. FOR GOOD GOVT	25752	59497	21348	453	.81	63458	0	63923	
CENTRAL JERSEY BUILDERS ASSOC.	24223	45298	11193	0	0.88	58322	0	58322	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 828	138899	189787	198789	12625	.12	45349	0	57977	
DEVELOPERS PAC	18888	55925	8898	627	.81	42888	0	57827	
JERSEY BANKERS PAC	16963	47148	6986	1375	.83	55758	0	57128	
COMMITTEE FOR A BETTER NJ	43	51947	0	27874	.54	13815	0	51989	
NJ PHARMACISTS PAC	28814	42918	19183	4819	.89	47418	311	51748	
COMMITTEE FOR NJ	3547	64888	16872	2678	.84	47399	0	58475	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL #19	14252	43296	7269	413	.81	49116	0	58379	2243
NJ UAW PAC	133134	89545	175769	888	.81	46118	0	46918	
FIRST FIDELITY BANK CORP.	2767	51388	8978	0	0.88	45175	0	45175	
POLITICAL COMMITTEE FOR NJ	653	47458	5238	8	.88	42885	0	42873	
PROFESSIONAL INSURANCE AGENTS PAC	13488	28725	1914	4596	.16	35895	0	48281	
NJ OPTOMETRIC PAC	18544	22889	3725	3778	.17	32758	379	36987	744
EMERSON ROBER CO INC	25417	14888	3212	0	0.88	35285	0	38285	
NORTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	11614	28438	4951	17321	.61	17525	0	35181	
HOSPITAL CORP OF AMERICA PAC	3253	32522	2487	1346	.84	13958	0	33296	3443
NJ COMMITTEE FOR QUALITY ORTHOPAEDIC CARE	6758	51358	2541	2359	.85	38888	0	38585	
FIRST JERSEY NATIONAL CORPORATION	0	38888	283	383	.81	38388	0	38888	
JOHNSON & JOHNSON EMPLOYEES GOOD GOVT FUN	29658	182589	22495	0	0.88	29888	0	29888	
NJ BELL STATE PAC	4888	35386	11433	448	.81	28345	0	28793	
CONSTRUCTORS FOR GOOD GOVT	17382	21678	18271	3611	.17	25158	0	28781	
NJ AMERICAN PHYSICAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	6941	25145	3388	1468	.86	22258	0	28719	
PRUDENTIAL NJ PAC	3881	25484	825	218	.81	27458	0	27888	
USB PAC	5259	26731	5558	213	.81	25768	468	28441	
INTERESTED MERCHANTS PAC	1388	17487	3648	1368	.88	23875	0	25235	
NJ HEALTH CARE PAC	4889	21458	2813	191	.81	23335	0	23526	
AFSCME PUBLE EMPL. TO PROMOTE LEG. ED	8	23888	8	8	0.88	23888	0	23888	

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PAC name	88 Beg 87	Receipts	88 end 87	Operat 88	Op % Rec	88 to Cand	88 FOR Cand	Tot.Dist.	'85 Dis
SUMMIT BANCORPORATION PAC	5420	20420	3953	15	.00	21072	0	21057	
REPUBLICAN PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION	1652	22496	3302	732	.03	14500	4935	20767	
AT&T PAC	97	27770	7419	398	.01	20050	0	20440	
OFFICE DEVELOPERS ASSN.	6943	27000	27005	57	.00	20000	0	20007	
NJ MCDONALD'S OPERATORS PAC	5706	13946	307	245	.02	19100	0	19345	
FUND FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN NJ	20	20600	1316	54	.00	19250	0	19304	
PIPEFITTERS LOCAL 0274	95602	56702	133476	11727	.21	7000	0	10529	
CITY FEDERAL PAC	12517	23374	17301	9	.00	10500	0	10509	
UTILITY EXECUTIVES FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT	0	20000	10000	3031	.13	14675	0	10500	
NJ FEDERATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS	0	19721	1342	0990	.46	0	9300	10500	
NJ I.I.A. PAC	5634	15345	2961	0	.00	10210	0	10210	
CONSULTING ENGINEERS PAC	11520	16900	10696	129	.01	17000	0	17720	
MERCK & CO. INC NJ PAC	45	17100	495	0	0.00	16050	0	16050	
HOWARD SAVINGS BANK CITIZENS COMMITTEE	12345	13667	9760	402	.03	15050	0	16050	
OPHTHALMOLOGY PAC	12710	7750	4710	0	0.00	15750	0	15750	
NJ PRO-LIFE PAC	1270	13900	525	0000	.49	1200	4997	14700	
NJ HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION HEALTH PAC	21730	16040	23075	0	0.00	14700	0	14700	
FUEL MERCHANTS FOR GOOD GOVT	457	19350	5407	0	0.00	14400	0	14400	
CHERRY HILL INDUSTRIAL SITES INC PAC	220	10500	230	0	0.00	14100	0	14100	
NJ TRADE ASSOCIATION PAC	12496	4320	2704	9040	2.27	4000	0	14040	
WOMENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF NJ	3763	12900	2941	3791	.29	9000	0	12974	
NMJ ABC MERIT PAC	4279	0400	269	0	0.00	12410	0	12410	
UNITED COUNTIES TRUST CO. PAC	9132	10000	7767	0	0.00	12165	0	12165	
POLITICAL ACTION COM. OF BCA	14000	0	2330	0	0.00	11750	0	11750	
ARTHUR YOUNG CO. PAC	1015	11400	939	100	.02	11350	0	11350	
OIL CHEMICAL ATOMIC WORKERS	500	12770	2777	579	.05	10000	0	10000	
NJ CHAMBER PAC	0	12360	2040	200	.02	10100	0	10300	
BEAR STEARNS PAC	56	155000	2655	0	0.00	10000	0	10000	14500
NJ PODIATRY PAC	0701	5679	4200	1000	.10	9200	0	10000	
NJ VETERINARY PAC	2701	7500	500	70	.21	9000	0	9000	
NJ LIFE UNDERWRITERS	16001	0704	15000	000	.10	0010	0	9400	
MUTUAL BENEFIT NJ PAC	1055	9400	1010	01	.01	9400	0	9400	
INSURANCE BROKERS ASSOCIATION OF NJ	4951	0200	4011	0	0.00	9200	0	9200	
INTERESTED NURSES PAC	2010	7977	940	0040	.03	2390	0	9040	
NJ RESTAURATEURS GOOD GOVT FUND	33	12100	3000	1054	.14	6150	0	0004	
SALOMON BROTHERS PAC	0	0250	0	0	0.00	0250	0	0250	
PLUMBERS LOCAL 14 PAC	17704	12040	22077	3707	.30	3700	0	7407	
NJ NATIONAL BANK	0	11137	3770	0	0.00	7305	0	7305	
MORTGAGE BANKERS OF NJ PAC	2900	4775	340	02	.02	7250	0	7300	
STANDARDIZED HORSE INDUSTRY PAC	2751	4700	400	49	.01	7000	0	7049	
BUILDERS OF METRO NJ	0	17043	10004	1100	.07	5000	0	7010	
LIBERTY PAC	0	7000	000	100	.02	0000	0	0947	
BULK LIQUID TERMINAL OPERATORS	0077	0	351	20	0.00	0000	0	0000	
BLAC PAC	0510	20000	20750	4310	.16	2000	0	0010	
NJ SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTS	007	0707	039	00	.01	0000	0	0000	
HOFFMAN-LAROCHE GOOD GOVT COMMITTEE	13	5950	13	900	.15	5000	0	5950	
NJ ABC PAC	7196	4099	5073	340	.00	5277	0	5000	
HORIZON BANK CORPORATION	1119	0031	3700	0	0.00	5300	0	5300	
ALLIED SIGNAL NJ PAC	0	5000	0	0	0.00	5000	0	5000	
SAVINGS BANKS ASSOCIATION PAC	253	4070	157	00	.01	4700	0	4700	
GENERAL MOTORS CIVIL INVOLVEMENT PAC	10700	15400	0	0	0.00	4700	0	4700	0000
SO. JERSEY NONPARTISAN POL. ED. COMM.	115	5500	99	3010	.55	1500	0	4510	
NJ FUNERAL DIRECTORS PAC	4007	2595	3050	309	.14	3795	0	4104	
GARDEN STATE STRAIGHT CHIROPRACTIC	5290	7015	0000	01	.01	2000	0	4001	
FRANKLIN STATE BANK PAC	700	4311	1110	0	0.00	3000	0	3900	
SECURITY SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION PAC	3209	3500	2904	0	0.00	3000	0	3000	
LOCAL 1171 PAC	9411	7453	13017	070	.12	2975	0	3047	
ENSEARCH CORP	4000	127539	40001	0	0.00	3000	0	3000	
COUNCIL OF NJ STATE COLLEGE LOCALS COPE	3317	1074	1504	997	.51	2770	0	3707	

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PAC name	\$ Beg 87	Receipts	\$ end 87	Operat \$	Op % Rec	\$ to Cand	\$ FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	\$ Dis
FOSTER WHEELER PAC	449	3258	1	48	.01	3650	0	3696	
JERSEY OSTEOPATHIC PAC	1812	3601	1958	0	0.00	3455	0	3455	
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF IND. BUSINESSES	3870	4694	4427	89	.02	2950	0	3039	1752
BURLINGTON COUNTY CENTURY CLUB	13823	13500	24367	2956	.22	0	0	2956	
WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS OF NJ	1757	1900	730	367	.19	2385	0	2727	
UPCW ACTIVE BALLOT CLUB	96825	49334	143259	0	0.00	2900	0	2900	
STATEWIDE CON. OF PHARMICISTS FOR LEG. ED	2205	1950	1373	23	.01	2760	0	2763	
NJ PRINCIPALS & SUPERVISORS ASSC. PAC	1514	2062	876	1026	.09	875	0	2701	
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN NJ	1635	1115	182	2192	1.97	376	0	2568	
NJ PSYCHOLOGY PAC	8141	502	6220	1413	2.83	1000	0	2413	
CAMPAIGN ASSOC. PAC	0	2152	81	69	.03	2062	0	2067	
TRW GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	0	1975	1975	0	0.00	1975	0	1975	
NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	1518	1092	630	22	.02	1950	0	1972	
AMER ASSN OF MARRIAGE & FAMILY PLANNING	456	1485	27	94	.06	1852	0	1944	
TRANS. POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE	717	1910	626	0	0.00	1970	0	1900	
RIGHT TO CHOOSE PAC	230	2233	375	234	.12	1650	0	1634	
NJ SURPLUS LINES PAC	162	1650	171	141	.09	1250	0	1641	
COLLECTIVE FEDERAL SAVINGS PAC	0	2775	1324	51	.02	1400	0	1451	
MAWA PAC	7672	11225	18239	159	.01	500	0	659	11200
NJ HOTEL MOTEL ASSOCIATION	1666	24	1065	125	5.14	500	0	625	
PFZIER PAC	50	550	50	0	0.00	550	0	550	1100
NJ FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	0	204	102	82	.29		154	207	
TEXACO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT PAC	0	3500	3250	0	0.00	250	0	250	
NON-PARTISAN CITIZENS FOR BETTER ENVIRON	374	0	330	45	0.02	0	0	45	
NJ ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS ALLIANCE	24	25	30	19	.77	0	0	19	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 027	0	65	65	9	.14	0	0	9	
COALITION OF NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	345	0	345	0	0.00	0	0	0	

PAC SPENDING RANGES

	1987	1985	1983	1981
\$300,000+	1	0	0	0
\$200,000-299,999	5	0	0	0
\$100,000-199,999	12	6	1	1
\$90,000-99,999	3	1	1	0
\$80,000-89,999	3	4	4	3
\$70,000-79,999	3	0	0	0
\$60,000-69,999	3	0	3	3
\$50,000-59,999	8	2	1	1
\$40,000-49,999	4	5	2	3
\$30,000-39,999	6	7	2	2
\$20,000-29,999	13	10	6	2
\$10,000-19,999	25	10	14	10
\$1-9,999	50	24	72	55

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NJ PACs - 1987 Activity Ranked by \$\$ Spent on Behalf of Candidates

PAC name	86 Beg 87	Receipts	86 end 87	Operat 86	Op & Rec	86 to Cand	86 FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	86 Disb.
NJ FEDERATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS	0	19721	1342	8990	.46	0	9383	18378	
LOCAL 322 FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION	288758	48815	179212	113131	2.32	37490	7741	156362	
MEDICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	35694	159297	4818	0	0.08	182853	7318	198173	
NJ SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	15874	60828	9353	9449	.16	52980	5888	67349	
NJ PROLIFE PAC	1270	13987	525	6880	.49	1260	4997	14732	
REPUBLICAN PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION	1652	22496	3382	732	.03	14500	4935	28767	
UJB PAC	3259	26731	5558	213	.01	25768	468	26441	
NJ OPTOMETRIC PAC	18544	22089	3725	3778	.17	32750	379	36927	7442
NJ PHARMACISTS PAC	28814	42510	19183	4019	.05	47410	311	51746	
AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	0	154111	34789	65	.08	119150	187	119402	
NJ FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	0	284	188	82	.29		184	257	
ALLIED SIGNAL NJ PAC	0	5888	0	0	0.08	5888	0	5888	
AMER ASSN OF MARRIAGE & FAMILY PLANNING	486	1485	27	94	.06	1256	0	1944	
ARTHUR YOUNG CO. PAC	1815	11402	939	186	.02	11350	0	11536	
AT&T PAC	97	27778	7419	398	.01	28952	0	29449	
BEAR STEARNS PAC	56	155810	2655	0	0.08	10251	0	10251	14545
BLAC PAC	6318	26680	26799	4312	.16	2888	0	6312	
BUILDERS OF RETRO NJ	0	17843	18934	1168	.07	5850	0	7812	
BUILDERS PAC	318591	193674	265988	26511	.14	211705	0	238276	
BULK LIQUID TERMINAL OPERATORS	6877	0	351	26	0.08	6588	0	6588	
BURLINGTON COUNTY CENTURY CLUB	13623	13582	24367	2956	.22	0	0	2754	
CAMP. FUND OF LAWYERS ENCOUR. GOVT & LAW	213653	80645	33790	78839	.98	186470	0	262569	
CAMPAIGN ASSOC. PAC	0	2150	81	69	.02	2020	0	2869	
CENTRAL JERSEY BUILDERS ASSOC.	24223	45290	11193	0	0.02	56320	0	56320	
CHEERY HILL INDUSTRIAL SITES INC PAC	228	18582	238	0	0.08	14180	0	14180	
CITY FEDERAL PAC	12517	23374	17381	9	.02	18580	0	18580	
COALITION OF NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	345	0	345	0	0.08	0	0	0	
COLLECTIVE FEDERAL SAVINGS PAC	0	2775	1324	51	.02	1488	0	1488	
CORN. FOR CLEAN & SAFE AMERICA	0	288852	13458	189081	.92	3882	0	192821	
COMMITTEE FOR A BETTER NJ	43	51947	0	27874	.54	13615	0	51969	
COMMITTEE FOR NJ	3547	64888	16872	2676	.04	47399	0	58375	
CONSTRUCTORS FOR GOOD GOVT	17362	21678	18271	3011	.17	25150	0	28761	
CONSULTING ENGINEERS PAC	11528	16985	18696	129	.01	17688	0	17729	
COUNCIL OF NJ STATE COLLEGE LOCALS COPE	3317	1974	1524	997	.51	2778	0	3767	
DEVELOPERS PAC	18888	55925	8298	627	.01	42888	0	57887	
EMERICH GOSER CO INC	25417	14888	3212	0	0.08	36285	0	36285	
ENSEARCH CORP	4862	127539	48981	0	0.08	3825	0	3825	
FIRST FIDELITY BANK CORP.	2767	51386	8978	0	0.08	45175	0	45175	
FIRST JERSEY NATIONAL CORPORATION	0	38996	283	383	.01	38388	0	38388	
FOOD COUNCIL COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOVT	38917	48501	13456	9023	.28	64488	0	74333	
FOSTER WHEELER PAC	449	3258	1	48	.01	3658	0	3658	
FRANKLIN STATE BANK PAC	728	4311	1110	0	0.08	3880	0	3928	
FUEL MERCHANTS FOR GOOD GOVT	457	19350	5487	0	0.08	14488	0	14488	
FUND FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN NJ	20	28688	1316	54	.08	19250	0	19254	
GARDEN STATE STRAIGHT CHIROPRACTIC	5296	7615	8858	61	.01	2882	0	4861	
GENERAL MOTORS CIVIL INVOLVEMENT PAC	18722	15422	0	0	0.08	4782	0	4782	687
HOFFMAN-LARDNER GOOD GOVT COMMITTEE	13	5958	13	982	.15	5850	0	5958	
HORIZON BANK CORPORATION	1119	8431	3782	0	0.02	5368	0	5368	
HOSPITAL CORP OF AMERICA PAC	3253	32523	2498	1345	.04	13950	0	33273	3442
HOWARD SAVINGS BANK CITIZENS COMMITTEE	12345	13667	9708	482	.03	15858	0	16252	
INSURANCE BROKERS ASSOCIATION OF NJ	4951	8245	4811	0	0.08	9285	0	9285	
INTERESTED MERCHANTS PAC	1388	17437	3648	1368	.08	23875	0	25235	
INTERESTED NURSES PAC	2812	7977	948	6448	.83	2393	0	7842	
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS	68810	39528	11871	0	0.08	89259	0	89259	
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMAN'S AFL-CIO					0.08	173347	0	173347	
INTL. BROTH. OF PAINTERS & ALLIED TRADES	11919	92583	16564	57296	.62	38922	0	88216	
JERSEY BANKERS PAC	16962	47148	6755	1373	.03	55750	0	57125	

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PAC name	\$ Beg 87	Receipts	\$ end 87	Operat \$	Op % Rec	\$ to Cand	\$ FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	\$8 Dis
JERSEY OSTEOPATHIC PAC	1812	3681	1958	0	0.00	3455	0	3455	
JOHNSON & JOHNSON EMPLOYEES GOOD GOVT FUN	29658	182589	22495	0	0.00	29868	0	29868	
LABORER'S LOCAL 8172 PAC	13938	68391	6918	3825	.06	63268	0	67411	
LIBERTY PAC	0	7888	853	122	.02	6825	0	6947	
LOCAL 1171 PAC	9411	7453	13817	872	.12	2975	0	3847	
LOCAL 68 PAC	9835	79258	18139	48973	.52	37181	0	78154	
MERCK & CO. INC NJ PAC	45	17188	495	0	0.00	16658	0	16658	
MIDLANTIC STATE PAC	58858	71988	51888	564	.01	78425	0	78788	
MORTGAGE BANKERS OF NJ PAC	2583	4775	346	82	.02	7258	0	7322	
MUTUAL BENEFIT NJ PAC	1855	9458	1816	61	.01	9425	0	9458	
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF IND. BUSINESSES	3878	4894	4427	89	.02	2958	0	3838	1788
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN NJ	1635	1115	182	2192	1.97	376	0	2588	
NJ ABC PAC	7196	4299	5873	346	.08	5277	0	5623	
NJ AMERICAN PHYSICAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	6941	25145	3368	1468	.05	22258	0	28718	
NJ BELL STATE PAC	4888	35388	11433	446	.01	28345	0	28788	
NJ CAR PAC	128872	81848	57852	18434	.23	134424	0	152858	
NJ CHAMBER PAC	0	12382	2882	288	.02	18188	0	18388	
NJ COMMITTEE FOR QUALITY ORTHOPAEDIC CAR	6758	51358	25141	2359	.05	38628	0	32858	
NJ CPA PAC	86154	68518	24837	3682	.06	118525	0	122187	
NJ DENTAL PAC	94888	175439	22379	182998	.59	144758	0	247748	
NJ EDUCATION ASSOCIATION PAC	158559	258381	182857	19816	.08	298648	0	318283	
NJ ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS ALLIANCE	24	25	38	19	.77	0	0	19	
NJ FUNERAL DIRECTORS PAC	4527	2595	3255	369	.14	3795	0	4184	
NJ HEALTH CARE PAC	4889	21458	2813	191	.01	23335	0	23528	
NJ HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION HEALTH PAC	21738	16845	23875	0	0.02	14788	0	14788	
NJ HOTEL MOTEL ASSOCIATION	1666	24	1845	125	5.14	588	0	625	
NJ I.L.A. PAC	5834	15345	2981	0	.08	18218	0	18218	
NJ LIFE UNDERWRITERS	18881	8784	15353	888	.18	8613	0	9493	
NJ McDONALD'S OPERATORS PAC	5788	13846	387	245	.02	19182	0	19245	
NJ NATIONAL BANK	0	11137	3778	0	0.02	7385	0	7385	
NJ ORGANIZATION FOR A BETTER STATE	58587	98988	6119	13858	.14	127882	0	141458	
NJ PODIATRY PAC	8781	5879	4232	1828	.18	9288	0	18228	
NJ PRINCIPALS & SUPERVISORS ASS. PAC	1514	2882	876	1828	.89	875	0	2781	
NJ PSYCHOLOGY PAC	8141	588	6228	1413	2.83	1888	0	2413	
NJ RESTAURATEURS GOOD GOVT FUND	33	12125	3855	1854	.14	6158	0	8384	
NJ SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTS	687	6727	639	82	.01	6888	0	6838	
NJ SOFT DRINK COM. FOR GOOD GOVT	25752	59497	21346	453	.01	63458	0	63928	
NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	1518	1892	638	22	.02	1958	0	1972	
NJ STATE LABORERS PAC	33385	186528	19836	162528	.87	4958	0	167482	
NJ SURPLUS LINES PAC	162	1858	171	141	.09	1258	0	1841	
NJ TRADE ASSOCIATION PAC	12496	4328	2784	9848	2.27	4288	0	14848	
NJ UAW PAC	133134	89545	175789	888	.01	46118	0	46718	
NJ VETERINARY PAC	2781	7528	389	72	.01	9858	0	9922	
MNJ ABC MERIT PAC	4279	8488	259	0	0.08	12418	0	12418	
NON-PARTISAN CITIZENS FOR BETTER ENVIRON	374	0	338	45	0.02	0	0	45	
NORTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	11814	28438	4951	17321	.61	17525	0	35121	
OFFICE DEVELOPERS ASSN.	6943	27888	27825	57	.08	28882	0	28857	
OIL CHEMICAL ATOMIC WORKERS	558	12776	2777	579	.05	18888	0	18579	
OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 825	9583	137128	8489	1841	.01	137113	0	138154	
OPHTHALMOLOGY PAC	12718	7758	4713	0	0.02	15755	0	15755	
PFCIER PAC	58	558	58	0	0.08	558	0	558	1188
PIPEFITTERS LOCAL 8274	95882	56782	133478	11727	.21	7888	0	16828	
PLUMBERS LOCAL 14 PAC	17784	12648	22877	3767	.38	3788	0	7487	
POLITICAL ACTION COM. OF BCA	14888	0	2338	0	0.08	11758	0	11758	
POLITICAL COMMITTEE FOR NJ	653	47458	5238	0	.08	42885	0	42873	
PRIVATE ENTERPRISES PAC	79712	67545	45711	37548	.56	68882	0	181546	
PROFESSIONAL INSURANCE AGENTS PAC	13488	28725	1914	4598	.16	35895	0	48281	
PROJECT NJ	5838	169888	25798	138588	.77	17958	0	149518	
PRUDENTIAL NJ PAC	3881	25484	825	218	.01	27458	0	27888	

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PAC name	88 Beg 87	Receipts	88 end 87	Operat 88	Op & Rec	88 to Cand	88 FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'85 Dis
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMM. OF NJMTA	32983	65716	6395	38744	.59	53485	0	92384	
REALTORS PAC	243973	317902	314679	69436	.22	177415	0	247196	171544
RIGHT TO CHOOSE PAC	230	2033	378	234	.12	1650	0	1854	
SALOMON BROTHERS PAC	0	8250	0	0	0.00	8250	0	8250	
SAVINGS ASSOCIATION PAC	57646	75530	37657	44	.00	95475	0	95519	
SAVINGS BANKS ASSOCIATION PAC	253	4670	157	66	.01	4700	0	4766	
SECURITY SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION PAC	3269	3565	2904	0	0.00	3050	0	3950	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 019	14252	43296	7269	413	.01	49116	0	50279	22435
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 027	0	65	65	9	.14	0	0	9	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 029	130099	109767	190709	12628	.12	45349	0	57977	
SO. JERSEY NONPARTISAN POL. ED. COMM.	115	5500	99	3016	.55	1500	0	4516	
SOUTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	39413	122200	01215	6070	.06	73615	0	80425	
STANDARDIZED HORSE INDUSTRY PAC	2751	4700	402	49	.01	7020	0	7049	
STATEWIDE COM. OF PHARMICISTS FOR LEG. ED	2205	1950	1373	23	.01	2760	0	2703	
SUMMIT BANCORPORATION PAC	5420	20420	3953	15	.00	21872	0	21957	
TEXACO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT PAC	0	3500	3250	0	0.00	250	0	250	
TRANS. POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE	717	1610	620	0	0.00	1900	0	1900	
TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND II	0	235600	9110	11732	.05	232500	0	244232	
TRW GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	0	1975	1975	0	0.00	1975	0	1975	
UPCW ACTIVE BALLOT CLUB	96025	49534	143259	0	0.00	2900	0	2900	
UNITED COUNTIES TRUST CO. PAC	9132	10500	7767	0	0.00	12165	0	12165	
UTILITY EXECUTIVES FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT	0	20000	10302	3031	.13	14675	0	10500	
WABA PAC	7672	11225	10230	159	.01	500	0	659	11000
WOMENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF NJ	3703	12900	2941	3791	.29	9000	0	12974	
WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS OF NJ	1757	1900	730	367	.19	2300	0	2507	
AFSCME PUBLE EMPL. TO PROMOTE LEG. ED	0	23000	0	0	0.00	23000	0	23000	
NPAC INC	10709	116325	32114	0	0.00	95000	0	95000	

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NJ PACs - 1987 Activity Ranked by \$6 on Hand At End of Year

PAC name	\$6 Beg 87	Receipts	\$6 end 87	Operat \$6	Op % Rec	\$6 to Cand	\$6 FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'85 Disb.
REALTORS PAC	243973	317982	314679	69436	.22	177415	0	247196	171544
BUILDERS PAC	318591	193674	262986	26511	.14	211765	0	235276	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 828	136299	189787	198787	12628	.12	45349	0	57977	
LOCAL 322 FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION	288758	48815	179212	113131	2.32	37498	7741	158362	
NJ UAW PAC	133134	89545	175769	888	.01	46118	0	46918	
UFCW ACTIVE BALLOT CLUB	96825	49334	143259	0	0.00	2988	0	2988	
PIPEFITTERS LOCAL 8274	95682	56782	133476	11727	.21	7888	0	18828	
NJ EDUCATION ASSOCIATION PAC	156559	256361	182657	19616	.08	298646	0	318263	
SOUTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	39413	122285	81215	6878	.06	73615	0	84435	
NJ CAR PAC	128872	81848	57862	18434	.23	134424	0	152853	
MIDLANTIC STATE PAC	58883	71988	51888	564	.01	78425	0	78955	
PRIVATE ENTERPRISES PAC	79712	67545	45711	37546	.56	64888	0	181546	
ENSEARCH CORP	4882	127539	48981	0	0.00	3823	0	3823	
SAVINES ASSOCIATION PAC	57646	75538	37657	44	.00	95475	0	95519	
AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	0	154111	34759	65	.02	119158	187	119423	
CAMP. FUND OF LAWYERS ENCOUR. GOVT & LAW	213653	86645	33798	78839	.98	188478	0	288529	
MPAC INC	18789	116325	32114	0	0.00	95888	0	95888	
OFFICE DEVELOPERS ASSN.	6943	27888	27685	57	.00	28888	0	28857	
BLAC PAC	6518	26688	26798	4312	.16	2888	0	4312	
PROJECT NJ	5634	169488	25796	132566	.77	17958	0	149518	
NJ COMMITTEE FOR QUALITY ORTHOPAEDIC CAR	6758	51358	25141	2359	.25	38282	0	32959	
NJ CPA PAC	86154	68818	24837	3682	.06	118525	0	122127	
BURLINGTON COUNTY CENTURY CLUB	13823	13528	24367	2956	.22	0	0	2956	
NJ HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION HEALTH PAC	21738	16345	23875	0	0.00	14788	0	14788	
PLUMBERS LOCAL 14 PAC	17784	12648	22877	3767	.38	3788	0	7467	
JOHNSON & JOHNSON EMPLOYEES GOOD GOVT FUN	29658	182589	22475	0	0.00	29368	0	29368	
NJ DENTAL PAC	94682	175439	22379	182994	.59	144758	0	247749	
NJ SOFT DRINK COM. FOR GOOD GOVT	25752	59497	21346	453	.01	63458	0	63903	
NJ PHARMACISTS PAC	28814	42718	19163	4819	.09	47418	311	51048	
NJ STATE LABORERS PAC	33385	186526	19836	162528	.87	4958	0	167498	
MAWA PAC	7672	11225	18236	159	.01	588	0	659	11225
CITY FEDERAL PAC	12517	23374	17321	9	.00	16588	0	18339	
COMMITTEE FOR NJ	3547	64888	16872	2676	.04	47399	0	58675	
INTL. BROTH. OF PAINTERS & ALLIED TRADES	11919	92883	16584	57256	.62	38922	0	88212	
NJ LIFE UNDERWRITERS	16851	8784	15353	888	.18	8613	0	9453	
FOOD COUNCIL COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOVT	38917	48561	13456	9623	.28	64488	0	74332	
COMM. FOR CLEAN & SAFE AMERICA	0	281852	13458	189681	.92	3888	0	192881	
LOCAL 1171 PAC	9411	7453	13217	872	.12	2975	0	3847	
NJ BELL STATE PAC	4868	35366	11423	448	.01	28346	0	28793	
CENTRAL JERSEY BUILDERS ASSOC.	24223	45298	11193	0	0.00	58328	0	58328	
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS	68818	39328	11871	0	0.00	69259	0	84359	
BUILDERS OF METRO NJ	0	17843	18834	1168	.07	5858	0	7818	
CONSULTING ENGINEERS PAC	11528	16985	18496	129	.01	17688	0	17729	
UTILITY EXECUTIVES FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT	0	28888	18282	3821	.13	14675	0	16526	
CONSTRUCTORS FOR GOOD GOVT	17362	21878	18271	3611	.17	25158	0	28761	
LOCAL 68 PAC	9835	75258	18139	48973	.52	37181	0	78154	
HOWARD SAVINGS BANK CITIZENS COMMITTEE	12545	13667	9768	482	.03	15858	0	16553	
NJ SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	15874	68528	9353	9449	.16	52988	5282	67949	
TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND II	0	235682	9118	11732	.05	232588	0	244332	
FIRST FIDELITY BANK CORP.	2767	51386	8978	0	0.00	45175	0	45175	
GARDEN STATE STRAIGHT CHIROPRACTIC	5296	7615	8858	61	.01	2888	0	4861	
OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 825	9583	137128	8469	1841	.01	137113	0	138154	
DEVELOPERS PAC	18888	55925	8259	827	.01	42888	0	57827	
UNITED COUNTIES TRUST CO. PAC	9132	18888	7767	0	0.00	12165	0	12165	
AT&T PAC	97	27778	7419	398	.01	28858	0	28448	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 819	14252	43296	7269	413	.01	49116	0	58279	22-25
JERSEY BANKERS PAC	16963	47148	6956	1375	.03	55758	0	57125	

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New Jersey State Library

PAC name	\$ Beg 87	Receipts	\$ end 87	Operat \$	Op % Rec	\$ to Cand	\$ FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'85 D:
LABORER'S LOCAL 8172 PAC	13938	60391	6918	3625	.06	63248	0	67411	
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMM. OF NJHTA	32983	65716	6395	38744	.59	53485	0	92264	
NJ PSYCHOLOGY PAC	8141	500	6228	1413	2.83	1061	0	2413	
NJ ORGANIZATION FOR A BETTER STATE	50597	96978	6119	13958	.14	127580	0	141453	
NJ ABC PAC	7196	4299	5873	346	.06	5277	0	5623	
UJB PAC	5259	26731	5350	213	.01	25768	462	26441	
FUEL MERCHANTS FOR GOOD GOVT	457	19350	5487	0	0.00	14480	0	14480	
POLITICAL COMMITTEE FOR NJ	653	47450	5230	0	.00	42865	0	42872	
NORTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	11614	28438	4951	17321	.61	17525	0	35181	
MEDICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	35694	159297	4818	0	0.00	182853	7318	191173	
OPHTHALMOLOGY PAC	12718	7750	4713	0	0.00	15755	0	15755	
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF IND. BUSINESSES	3870	4894	4427	89	.02	2950	0	3839	
NJ PODIATRY PAC	8781	5679	4232	1025	.18	9280	0	10222	
INSURANCE BROKERS ASSOCIATION OF NJ	4951	8245	4811	0	0.00	9205	0	9205	
SUMMIT BANCORPORATION PAC	5422	28420	3953	15	.02	21872	0	21827	
NJ RESTAURATEURS GOOD GOVT FUND	33	12125	3855	1654	.14	6150	0	6304	
HORIZON BANK CORPORATION	1119	8831	3762	0	0.00	5368	0	5368	
NJ NATIONAL BANK	0	11137	3772	0	0.00	7365	0	7365	
NJ OPTOMETRIC PAC	18544	22089	3725	3778	.17	32758	379	36987	
INTERESTED MERCHANTS PAC	1383	17487	3648	1360	.08	23875	0	25235	
REPUBLICAN PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION	1652	22496	3362	732	.03	14500	4935	20767	
NJ AMERICAN PHYSICAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	6941	25145	3360	1460	.06	22258	0	20718	
NJ FUNERAL DIRECTORS PAC	4827	2595	3258	369	.14	3795	0	4164	
TEXACO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT PAC	0	3500	3250	0	0.00	250	0	250	
EHRLICH ROBER CO INC	25417	14000	3212	0	0.00	36280	0	36280	
SECURITY SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION PAC	3269	3535	2984	0	0.00	3650	0	3650	
NJ I.I.A. PAC	5634	15345	2961	0	.02	18218	0	18218	
WOMENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF NJ	3783	12559	2941	3791	.29	9600	0	12774	
NJ HEALTH CARE PAC	4899	21452	2613	191	.01	23335	0	23335	
NJ TRADE ASSOCIATION PAC	12492	4329	2754	9842	2.27	4200	0	14042	
OIL CHEMICAL ATOMIC WORKERS	560	12770	2777	579	.05	10000	0	12579	
BEAR STEARNS PAC	56	155820	2655	0	0.00	18251	0	18251	
HOSPITAL CORP OF AMERICA PAC	3253	32523	2488	1346	.04	13958	0	33296	
POLITICAL ACTION COM. OF BCA	14695	0	2338	0	0.00	11750	0	11750	
NJ CHAMBER PAC	0	12362	2062	202	.02	10100	0	10302	
TRW GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	0	1975	1975	0	0.00	1975	0	1975	
JERSEY OSTEOPATHIC PAC	1812	3601	1950	0	0.00	3455	0	3455	
PROFESSIONAL INSURANCE AGENTS PAC	13480	28725	1914	4576	.16	35695	0	40271	
MUTUAL BENEFIT NJ PAC	1655	9450	1616	61	.01	9425	0	9486	
COUNCIL OF NJ STATE COLLEGE LOCALS COPE	3317	1974	1524	997	.51	2770	0	3767	
STATEWIDE COM. OF PHARMICISTS FOR LEG. ED	2225	1950	1373	23	.01	2760	0	2783	
NJ FEDERATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS	0	19721	1342	8998	.46	0	9323	16378	
COLLECTIVE FEDERAL SAVINGS PAC	0	2775	1324	51	.02	1400	0	1451	
FUND FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN NJ	20	20600	1316	54	.00	19250	0	19304	
FRANKLIN STATE BANK PAC	728	4311	1110	0	0.00	3680	0	3923	
NJ HOTEL MOTEL ASSOCIATION	1666	24	1865	125	5.14	500	0	625	
INTERESTED NURSES PAC	2012	7977	946	6642	.83	2393	0	9043	
ARTHUR YOUNG CO. PAC	1815	11460	939	106	.02	11350	0	11536	
NJ PRINCIPALS & SUPERVISORS ASSC. PAC	1514	2862	876	1626	.89	875	0	2781	
LIBERTY PAC	0	7600	853	122	.02	6825	0	6947	
PRUDENTIAL NJ PAC	3881	25484	825	210	.01	27450	0	27660	
WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS OF NJ	1757	1906	730	367	.19	2385	0	2527	
NJ SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTS	607	6727	639	82	.01	6000	0	6082	
NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	1518	1892	639	22	.02	1950	0	1972	
TRANS. POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE	717	1810	626	0	0.00	1900	0	1900	
NJ PROLIFE PAC	1278	13987	525	6880	.49	1260	4957	14732	
MERCK & CO. INC NJ PAC	45	17100	495	6	0.00	16650	0	16650	
STANDARDIZED HORSE INDUSTRY PAC	2751	4700	482	49	.01	7800	0	7849	
RIGHT TO CHOOSE PAC	230	2033	378	234	.12	1650	0	1884	

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PAC name	\$ Beg 87	Receipts	\$ end 87	Operat \$	Op % Rec	\$ to Cand	\$ FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'85 Dis
BULK LIQUID TERMINAL OPERATORS	4677	0	351	26	0.06	6500	0	6526	
MORTGAGE BANKERS OF NJ PAC	2903	4775	346	82	.02	7250	0	7332	
COALITION OF NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	345	0	345	0	0.00	0	0	0	
NON-PARTISAN CITIZENS FOR BETTER ENVIRON	374	0	330	45	0.00	0	0	45	
NJ VETERINARY PAC	2701	7530	309	72	.01	9850	0	9922	
NJ McDONALD'S OPERATORS PAC	5706	13946	307	245	.02	19100	0	19345	
NNJ ABC MERIT PAC	4279	8400	269	0	0.00	12410	0	12410	
CHERRY HILL INDUSTRIAL SITES INC PAC	220	10500	230	0	0.00	14100	0	14100	
FIRST JERSEY NATIONAL CORPORATION	0	30906	203	303	.01	30300	0	30303	
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN NJ	1635	1115	102	2192	1.97	376	0	2565	
NJ SURPLUS LINES PAC	162	1650	171	141	.09	1250	0	1641	
SAVINGS BANKS ASSOCIATION PAC	253	4670	157	66	.01	4700	0	4700	
NJ FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	0	254	100	82	.29		104	267	
SO. JERSEY NONPARTISAN POL. ED. COMM.	115	5500	99	3016	.55	1500	0	4516	
CAMPAIGN ASSOC. PAC	0	2150	81	69	.03	2000	0	2000	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 027	0	65	65	9	.14	0	0	9	
PFZIER PAC	50	550	50	0	0.00	550	0	550	1100
NJ ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS ALLIANCE	24	25	30	19	.77	0	0	19	
AMER ASSN OF MARRIAGE & FAMILY PLANNING	406	1405	27	94	.05	1850	0	1944	
HOFFMAN-LAROCHE GOOD GOVT COMMITTEE	13	5950	13	900	.15	5050	0	5950	
FOSTER WHEELER PAC	449	3250	1	40	.01	3650	0	3650	
AFSCME PUBLIC ENPL. TO PROMOTE LEG. ED	0	23000	0	0	0.00	23000		23000	
ALLIED SIGNAL NJ PAC	0	5000	0	0	0.00	5000	0	5000	
COMMITTEE FOR A BETTER NJ	43	51947	0	27074	.54	13615	0	51929	
GENERAL MOTORS CIVIL INVOLVEMENT PAC	10722	15422	0	0	0.00	4700	0	4700	6000
SALOMON BROTHERS PAC	0	8250	0	0	0.00	8250	0	8250	
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMAN'S AFL-CIO					0.00	173347	0	173347	

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NJ PACs - 1987 Activity Ranked by Operating Costs (\$\$)

PAC name	66 Beg 87	Receipts	66 end 87	Operat 66	Op % Rec	66 to Cand	66 FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'65 11
COMM. FOR CLEAN & SAFE AMERICA	0	26652	13450	189681	.92	3000	0	192581	
NJ STATE LABORERS PAC	33385	186526	19036	162528	.87	4950	0	167478	
PROJECT NJ	5636	169638	25796	136568	.77	17950	0	149518	
LOCAL 322 FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION	288758	48815	179212	113131	2.32	37490	7741	158362	
NJ DENTAL PAC	94680	175439	22379	102990	.59	144750	0	247748	
CAMP. FUND OF LAWYERS ENCOUR. GOVT & LAW	213653	86645	33798	78839	.90	108470	0	265529	
REALTORS PAC	243973	317982	314679	69436	.22	177415	0	247196	171544
INTL. BROTH. OF PAINTERS & ALLIED TRADES	11919	92883	16584	57296	.62	30922	0	88210	
LOCAL 66 PAC	9035	79258	10139	48973	.52	37181	0	78154	
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMM. OF NJMTA	32983	65716	6395	38744	.59	53485	0	92364	
PRIVATE ENTERPRISES PAC	79712	67545	45711	37546	.56	64000	0	121546	
COMMITTEE FOR A BETTER NJ	43	51947	0	27874	.54	13615	0	51989	
BUILDERS PAC	310591	193674	265956	26511	.14	211765	0	236276	
NJ EDUCATION ASSOCIATION PAC	156359	256361	182657	19616	.06	290446	0	312263	
NJ CAR PAC	128872	81849	57852	18434	.23	134424	0	152355	
NORTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	11614	28436	4951	17321	.61	17525	0	35121	
NJ ORGANIZATION FOR A BETTER STATE	50587	96990	6119	13953	.14	127586	0	141458	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 828	138899	185787	198789	12626	.12	45349	0	57977	
TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND II	0	235688	9118	11732	.05	232586	0	244233	
PIPEFITTERS LOCAL 8274	95682	56782	133476	11727	.21	7000	0	16325	
NJ TRADE ASSOCIATION PAC	12496	4329	2784	9848	2.27	4288	0	14847	
FOOD COUNCIL COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOVT	38917	48561	13456	9623	.28	64400	0	74332	
NJ SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	15874	68828	9353	9449	.16	52588	5842	67349	
NJ FEDERATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS	0	19721	1342	8998	.46	0	9322	18276	
NJ PROLIFE PAC	1278	13987	525	6886	.49	1268	4957	14732	
SOUTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	39413	122288	81215	6878	.06	73615	0	68425	
INTERESTED NURSES PAC	2812	7977	948	6648	.83	2393	0	9842	
PROFESSIONAL INSURANCE AGENTS PAC	13488	28725	1914	4556	.16	35695	0	48551	
BLAC PAC	6518	26688	26795	4312	.16	2888	0	6512	
NJ PHARMACISTS PAC	26814	42918	19183	4819	.09	47418	311	51740	
UTILITY EXECUTIVES FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT	0	28853	18382	3831	.13	14675	0	18526	
LABORER'S LOCAL 8172 PAC	13936	68391	6918	3625	.06	63268	0	67411	
WOMENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF NJ	3783	12939	2941	3791	.29	9888	0	12974	
NJ OPTOMETRIC PAC	18544	22829	3725	3778	.17	32758	379	35967	7442
PLUMBERS LOCAL 14 PAC	17784	12648	22877	3767	.38	3788	0	7467	
CONSTRUCTORS FOR GOOD GOVT	17362	21678	18271	3611	.17	25156	0	28761	
NJ CPA PAC	86154	68818	24837	3682	.06	118525	0	122127	
SO. JERSEY NONPARTISAN POL. ED. COMM.	115	5588	99	3816	.55	1582	0	4516	
BURLINGTON COUNTY CENTURY CLUB	13823	13588	24367	2956	.22	0	0	2956	
COMMITTEE FOR NJ	3547	64888	16872	2676	.04	47399	0	58675	
NJ COMMITTEE FOR QUALITY ORTHOPAEDIC CARE	6758	51358	25141	2359	.05	38688	0	32559	
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN NJ	1635	1115	182	2192	1.97	376	0	2518	
NJ PRINCIPALS & SUPERVISORS ASS. PAC	1514	2862	876	1826	.87	875	0	2781	
NJ RESTAURATEURS GOOD GOVT FUND	33	12125	3853	1654	.14	6156	0	8384	
NJ AMERICAN PHYSICAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	6941	25145	3363	1468	.05	22255	0	22718	
NJ PSYCHOLOGY PAC	8141	588	6228	1413	2.83	1888	0	2413	
JERSEY BANKERS PAC	16963	47149	6986	1375	.03	55758	0	57125	
INTERESTED MERCHANTS PAC	1368	17487	3648	1368	.02	23875	0	25235	
HOSPITAL CORP OF AMERICA PAC	3253	32523	2482	1346	.04	13958	0	32296	3442
BUILDERS OF METRO NJ	0	17643	18834	1168	.07	5858	0	7618	
OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 825	9525	137128	8469	1841	.01	137113	0	136154	
NJ PEDIATRY PAC	8781	5679	4232	1828	.18	9288	0	18228	
COUNCIL OF NJ STATE COLLEGE LOCALS COPE	3317	1974	1524	997	.51	2778	0	3767	
HOFFMAN-LAROCHE GOOD GOVT COMMITTEE	13	5958	13	988	.15	5858	0	5952	
NJ LIFE UNDERWRITERS	16861	8784	15353	882	.18	8613	0	9493	
LOCAL 1171 PAC	9411	7453	13817	872	.12	2975	0	3847	
NJ UAW PAC	133134	89545	175769	888	.01	46118	0	46918	

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PAC name	88 Beg 87	Receipts	88 end 87	Operat 88	Op % Rec	88 to Cand	88 FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'85 Dis
REPUBLICAN PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION	1452	22496	3382	732	.03	14500	4935	28767	
DEVELOPERS PAC	10000	55925	8293	627	.01	42000	0	57627	
OIL CHEMICAL ATOMIC WORKERS	588	12776	2777	579	.05	10000	0	10579	
MIDLANTIC STATE PAC	50000	71900	51000	564	.01	70425	0	70900	
NJ SOFT DRINK COM. FOR GOOD GOVT	25752	59497	21346	453	.01	63450	0	63900	
NJ BELL STATE PAC	4060	35366	11433	448	.01	28345	0	28793	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 019	14252	43296	7269	413	.01	49116	0	50275	22400
HOWARD SAVINGS BANK CITIZENS COMMITTEE	12345	13667	9760	402	.03	15850	0	16252	
AT&T PAC	97	27770	7419	398	.01	20050	0	20446	
NJ FUNERAL DIRECTORS PAC	4827	2595	3256	369	.14	3795	0	4164	
WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS OF NJ	1757	1900	730	367	.19	2300	0	2527	
NJ ABC PAC	7196	4299	5073	346	.00	5277	0	5623	
FIRST JERSEY NATIONAL CORPORATION	0	30000	203	303	.01	30300	0	30603	
NJ McDONALD'S OPERATORS PAC	5706	13946	367	245	.02	19100	0	19345	
RIGHT TO CHOOSE PAC	230	2033	376	234	.12	1050	0	1050	
UJB PAC	5259	26731	3550	213	.01	25700	400	26400	
PRUDENTIAL NJ PAC	3001	25404	825	210	.01	27450	0	27600	
NJ CHAMBER PAC	0	12302	2002	200	.02	10100	0	10300	
NJ HEALTH CARE PAC	4809	21450	2813	191	.01	23335	0	23500	
ARTHUR YOUNG CO. PAC	1015	11460	939	106	.02	11350	0	11500	
WAMA PAC	7672	11225	10230	150	.01	500	0	650	11200
NJ SURPLUS LINES PAC	162	1650	171	141	.09	1250	0	1641	
CONSULTING ENGINEERS PAC	11520	16905	10696	129	.01	17600	0	17700	
NJ HOTEL MOTEL ASSOCIATION	1666	24	1065	125	5.14	500	0	625	
LIBERTY PAC	0	7000	053	122	.02	6025	0	6947	
AMER ASSN OF MARRIAGE & FAMILY PLANNING	400	1400	27	94	.06	1000	0	1000	
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF IND. BUSINESSES	3070	4094	4427	09	.02	2950	0	3000	1700
NJ SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTS	607	6707	639	00	.01	6000	0	6000	
MORTGAGE BANKERS OF NJ PAC	2903	4775	346	02	.02	7250	0	7000	
NJ FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	0	200	100	02	.29	0	100	200	
NJ VETERINARY PAC	2701	7500	320	72	.01	9000	0	9000	
CAMPAIGN ASSOC. PAC	0	2150	01	69	.03	2000	0	2000	
SAVINGS BANKS ASSOCIATION PAC	253	4670	157	66	.01	4700	0	4700	
AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	0	154111	34709	65	.00	119150	107	119400	
GARDEN STATE STRAIGHT CHIROPRACTIC	5296	7610	0050	61	.01	2000	0	4000	
MUTUAL BENEFIT NJ PAC	1655	9450	1616	61	.01	9425	0	9425	
OFFICE DEVELOPERS ASSN.	6943	27000	27000	57	.00	20000	0	20000	
FUND FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN NJ	20	20000	1316	54	.00	19250	0	19304	
COLLECTIVE FEDERAL SAVINGS PAC	0	2775	1324	51	.02	1400	0	1400	
STANDARDIZED HORSE INDUSTRY PAC	2751	4700	402	49	.01	7000	0	7000	
FOSTER WHEELER PAC	449	3250	1	40	.01	3650	0	3650	
NON-PARTISAN CITIZENS FOR BETTER ENVIRON	374	0	330	45	0.00	0	0	45	
SAVINGS ASSOCIATION PAC	57646	75330	37657	44	.00	95475	0	95510	
PULY LIQUID TERMINAL OPERATORS	6077	0	351	26	0.00	6500	0	6500	
STATECODE COM. OF PHARMICISTS FOR LEG. ED	2200	1950	1370	23	.01	2700	0	2700	
NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	1510	1000	600	22	.02	1950	0	1972	
NJ ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS ALLIANCE	24	25	30	19	.77	0	0	19	
SUMMIT BANKCORPORATION PAC	5400	20400	3953	15	.00	21072	0	21057	
CITY FEDERAL PAC	12517	23374	17301	9	.02	10500	0	10500	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 027	0	60	60	9	.14	0	0	0	
NJ I.I.A. PAC	5034	15345	2961	0	.00	10210	0	10210	
POLITICAL COMMITTEE FOR NJ	653	47450	5230	0	.00	42000	0	42000	
AFSCME PUBLE EMPL. TO PROMOTE LEG. ED	0	23000	0	0	0.00	23000	0	23000	
ALLIED SIGNAL NJ PAC	0	5000	0	0	0.00	5000	0	5000	
BEAR STEARNS PAC	56	155000	2600	0	0.00	10251	0	10251	145000
CENTRAL JERSEY BUILDERS ASSOC.	24223	45200	11193	0	0.00	50320	0	50320	
CHERRY HILL INDUSTRIAL SITES INC PAC	220	10500	230	0	0.00	14100	0	14100	
COALITION OF NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	345	0	345	0	0.00	0	0	0	
ENRICH BOBER CO INC	25417	14000	3212	0	0.00	36200	0	36200	

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PAC name	\$ Beg 87	Receipts	\$ end 87	Operat \$	Op % Rec	\$ to Cand	\$ FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'85 Disb.
ENSEARCH CORP	4862	127539	48981	0	0.00	3825	0	3825	
FIRST FIDELITY BANK CORP.	2767	51366	8978	0	0.00	45175	0	45175	
FRANKLIN STATE BANK PAC	728	4311	1110	0	0.00	3880	0	3923	
FUEL MERCHANTS FOR GOOD GOVT	457	19350	5487	0	0.00	14400	0	14400	
GENERAL MOTORS CIVIL INVOLVEMENT PAC	10722	15422	0	0	0.00	4700	0	4700	959
HORIZON BANK CORPORATION	1119	8031	3782	0	0.00	5368	0	5368	
INSURANCE BROKERS ASSOCIATION OF NJ	4951	8265	4811	0	0.00	9205	0	9205	
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS	68810	39520	11071	0	0.00	89259	0	89259	
JERSEY OSTEOFATHIC PAC	1812	3681	1958	0	0.00	3455	0	3455	
JOHNSON & JOHNSON EMPLOYEES GOOD GOVT FUN	29650	102509	22495	0	0.00	29860	0	29860	
MEDICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	35694	159297	4818	0	0.00	182255	7319	192173	
MERCK & CO. INC NJ PAC	45	17100	495	0	0.00	16650	0	16650	
MPAC INC	10789	116325	32114	0	0.00	95020	0	95020	
NJ HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION HEALTH PAC	21730	16845	23975	0	0.00	14700	0	14700	
NJ NATIONAL BANK	0	11137	3772	0	0.00	7365	0	7365	
NNC AEC MERIT PAC	4279	8407	269	0	0.00	12410	0	12410	
OPHTHALMOLOGY PAC	12718	7750	4713	0	0.00	15755	0	15755	
PFZIER PAC	50	550	50	0	0.00	550	0	550	1100
POLITICAL ACTION COM. OF BCA	14090	0	2336	0	0.00	11750	0	11750	
SALOMON BROTHERS PAC	0	8250	0	0	0.00	8250	0	8250	
SECURITY SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION PAC	3207	3565	2954	0	0.00	3850	0	3850	
TEXACO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT PAC	0	3500	3250	0	0.00	250	0	250	
TRANS. POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE	717	1810	620	0	0.00	1900	0	1900	
TRW GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	0	1975	1975	0	0.00	1975	0	1975	
UFCW ACTIVE BALLOT CLUB	96825	49334	143259	0	0.00	2900	0	2900	
UNITED COUNTIES TRUST CO. PAC	9132	10500	7707	0	0.00	12100	0	12100	
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMAN'S AFL-CIO					0.00	173347	0	173347	

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NJ PACs - 1987 Activity Ranked by Operating Costs as % of Receipts

PAC name	\$ Beg 87	Receipts	\$ end 87	Operat \$	Op % Rec	\$ to Cand	\$ FCR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'85 Dis
NJ HOTEL MOTEL ASSOCIATION	1666	24	1855	125	5.14	588	0	625	
NJ PSYCHOLOGY PAC	8141	588	6228	1413	2.83	1888	0	2413	
LOCAL 322 FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION	288759	48813	179212	113131	2.32	37498	7741	153362	
NJ TRADE ASSOCIATION PAC	12496	4328	2784	9848	2.27	4288	0	14842	
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN NJ	1635	1115	182	2192	1.97	376	0	2513	
COMM. FOR CLEAN & SAFE AMERICA	0	286852	13452	189621	.92	3888	0	192221	
CAMP. FUND OF LAWYERS ENDCOR. GOVT & LAW	213653	86545	33793	75839	.98	188472	0	266529	
NJ PRINCIPALS & SUPERVISORS ASC. PAC	1514	2862	876	1824	.69	875	0	2781	
NJ STATE LABORERS PAC	33395	188325	19835	162525	.87	4952	0	167492	
INTERESTED NURSES PAC	2812	7977	948	6648	.82	2393	0	9242	
NJ ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS ALLIANCE	24	25	38	19	.77	0	0	19	
PROJECT NJ	5635	169688	25798	138562	.77	17958	0	149218	
INTL. BROTH. OF PAINTERS & ALLIED TRADES	11919	92883	16584	57395	.62	38922	0	88318	
NORTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	11614	28438	4951	17321	.61	17325	0	35131	
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMM. OF NJMHA	32923	65716	6395	35744	.59	53435	0	93324	
NJ DENTAL PAC	94882	175439	22379	182992	.59	144758	0	247742	
PRIVATE ENTERPRISES PAC	79712	67545	45711	37546	.56	64882	0	181546	
SO. JERSEY NONPARTISAN POL. ED. COMM.	115	5588	99	3816	.55	1588	0	4516	
COMMITTEE FOR A BETTER NJ	43	51947	0	27874	.54	13615	0	51959	
LOCAL 88 PAC	9835	79258	18139	48973	.52	37181	0	78154	
COUNCIL OF NJ STATE COLLEGE LOCALS COPE	3317	1974	1524	997	.51	2778	0	3787	
NJ PROLIFE PAC	1278	13987	525	6888	.49	1268	4997	14732	
NJ FEDERATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS	0	19721	1342	8992	.46	0	9323	18378	
PLUMBERS LOCAL 14 PAC	17724	12648	22877	3787	.38	3782	0	7487	
WOMENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF NJ	3783	12985	2541	3791	.29	5882	0	12574	
NJ FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	0	224	182	82	.29	0	184	287	
NJ CAR PAC	122878	91443	57852	15434	.23	13424	0	153853	
BURLINGTON COUNTY CENTURY CLUB	12283	13522	24367	2958	.22	0	0	2958	
REALTORS PAC	243973	317982	314679	67432	.22	177415	0	247192	17.5--
PIPEFITTERS LOCAL 8274	95882	56782	133476	11727	.21	7888	0	18525	
FOOD COUNCIL COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOVT	38917	48551	13456	9625	.22	64482	0	74332	
WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS OF NJ	1757	1988	738	367	.19	2355	0	2437	
NJ PODIATRY PAC	8781	5679	4232	1828	.13	9263	0	18223	
NJ OPTOMETRIC PAC	18544	22889	3725	3776	.17	32752	379	36987	7--1
CONSTRUCTORS FOR GOOD GOVT	17362	21678	18271	3611	.17	25152	0	23781	
BLAC PAC	6518	26488	26798	4312	.16	2888	0	6312	
PROFESSIONAL INSURANCE AGENTS PAC	13482	28725	1914	4596	.16	35495	0	48291	
NJ SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	15874	68823	9353	9449	.16	52922	5882	67842	
HOFFMAN-LAROCHE GOOD GOVT COMMITTEE	13	5952	13	922	.15	5854	0	5952	
NJ ORGANIZATION FOR A BETTER STATE	58587	96958	6119	13958	.14	127582	0	141452	
NJ FUNERAL DIRECTORS PAC	4827	2595	3255	359	.14	3795	0	4194	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 827	0	65	65	9	.14	0	0	9	
BUILDERS PAC	318591	153674	265538	26511	.14	211785	0	235278	
NJ RESTAURATEURS GOOD GOVT FUND	33	12125	3855	1654	.14	6158	0	8364	
UTILITY EXECUTIVES FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT	0	29338	18328	3651	.13	14875	0	18578	
LOCAL 1171 PAC	9411	7453	13217	872	.12	2975	0	3587	
RIGHT TO CHOOSE PAC	252	2833	378	234	.12	1658	0	1654	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 828	13859	189787	192719	16628	.12	45349	0	57977	
NJ LIFE UNDERWRITERS	1681	6784	15353	882	.18	8613	0	9473	
NJ PHARMACISTS PAC	28814	42918	19183	4219	.89	47418	311	51742	
NJ SURPLUS LINES PAC	162	1652	171	141	.89	1258	0	1641	
NJ AEC PAC	7196	4299	5873	346	.86	5277	0	5623	
INTERESTED MERCHANTS PAC	1353	17487	3648	1368	.88	23575	0	25335	
NJ EDUCATION ASSOCIATION PAC	156557	256261	182657	19616	.88	298442	0	318833	
BUILDERS OF METRO NJ	0	17843	18534	1182	.87	5852	0	7212	
LABORER'S LOCAL 8172 PAC	13938	62391	6718	3525	.86	63282	0	67411	
AMER ASSN OF MARRIAGE & FAMILY PLANNING	488	1435	27	94	.86	1852	0	1944	

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PAC name	66 Beg 67	Receipts	66 end 67	Operat 66	Op % Rec	66 to Cand	66 FOR Cand	Tot. Dist.	'65 Dis
NJ CPA PAC	86154	60510	24637	3622	.06	119525	0	122127	
NJ AMERICAN PHYSICAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	6941	25145	3368	1462	.05	22252	0	25712	
SOUTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	39413	122298	81215	6878	.06	73615	0	88425	
TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND II	0	235020	9116	11732	.05	232502	0	244332	
NJ COMMITTEE FOR QUALITY ORTHOPAEDIC CAR	6750	91350	25141	2357	.05	30600	0	32957	
OIL CHEMICAL ATOMIC WORKERS	580	12776	2777	579	.05	10070	0	10579	
COMMITTEE FOR NJ	3547	64002	16872	2676	.04	47399	0	50678	
HOSPITAL CORP OF AMERICA PAC	3253	32523	2482	1346	.04	13950	0	33276	34-27
REPUBLICAN PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION	1652	22496	3392	732	.03	14500	4925	27757	
CAMPAIGN ASSOC. PAC	0	2150	61	69	.03	2000	0	2050	
HONARD SAVINGS BANK CITIZENS COMMITTEE	12345	13667	9752	482	.03	15650	0	16272	
JERSEY BANKERS PAC	16963	47148	6986	1375	.03	55752	0	57120	
NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	1518	1092	633	22	.02	1950	0	1972	
COLLECTIVE FEDERAL SAVINGS PAC	0	2775	1324	51	.02	1400	0	1401	
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF IND. BUSINESSES	3970	4094	4427	69	.02	2952	0	3022	175
NJ MCDONALD'S OPERATORS PAC	5781	13942	357	245	.02	19122	0	19345	
MORTGAGE BANKERS OF NJ PAC	2923	4775	366	62	.02	7250	0	7312	
ARTHUR YOUNG CO. PAC	1015	11460	939	166	.02	11350	0	11536	
NJ CHAMBER PAC	0	12302	2052	202	.02	10102	0	12322	
LIBERTY PAC	0	7022	853	122	.02	6025	0	6247	
FOSTER WHEELER PAC	449	3250	1	46	.01	3652	0	3692	
AT&T PAC	97	27770	7419	393	.01	20052	0	20445	
WABJ PAC	7672	11225	10335	159	.01	500	0	655	11200
SAVINGS BANKS ASSOCIATION PAC	253	4672	157	66	.01	4702	0	4762	
NJ SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTS	607	6727	639	69	.01	6000	0	6232	
NJ BELL STATE PAC	4552	35355	11433	448	.01	25345	0	25755	
STATEWIDE COM. OF PHARMACISTS FOR LEG. ED	2285	1952	1373	23	.01	2762	0	2782	
DEVELOPERS PAC	10070	55925	6292	627	.01	42002	0	57627	
STANDARDIZED HORSE INDUSTRY PAC	2751	4702	402	40	.01	7000	0	7242	
FIRST JERSEY NATIONAL CORPORATION	0	30522	282	303	.01	30502	0	30612	
NJ VETERINARY PAC	2701	7530	309	72	.01	9050	0	9402	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 819	14252	43296	7269	413	.01	49116	0	50279	32-55
NJ UAW PAC	133134	89545	175769	820	.01	46110	0	46910	
NJ HEALTH CARE PAC	4029	21450	2313	191	.01	23335	0	23525	
PRINCETON NJ PAC	3061	25404	825	210	.01	27452	0	27602	
GARDEN STATE STRAIGHT CHIROPRACTIC	3295	7615	8350	61	.01	2880	0	4061	
UCB PAC	5259	26731	5550	213	.01	25760	462	26441	
NJ ATLANTIC STATE PAC	50533	71900	51002	504	.01	70425	0	72925	
CONSULTING ENGINEERS PAC	11520	16905	10696	129	.01	17602	0	17722	
NJ SOFT SPINK COM. FOR GOOD GOVT	25752	59497	21346	453	.01	63450	0	63952	
OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 825	9503	137122	0469	1241	.01	137113	0	137154	
MUTUAL BENEFIT NJ PAC	1655	9450	1616	61	.01	9425	0	9455	
FUND FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN NJ	20	22602	1316	54	.01	19252	0	19302	
OFFICE DEVELOPERS ASSN.	6943	27020	27020	57	.01	20022	0	20057	
SUMMIT BANCORPORATION PAC	5420	20420	3953	15	.01	21672	0	21827	
SAVINGS ASSOCIATION PAC	57646	75530	37657	44	.01	95475	0	95516	
NJ I.T.A. PAC	5034	15345	2951	6	.01	10210	0	10210	
AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	0	154111	34729	65	.01	119150	107	119422	
CITY FEDERAL PAC	12517	23374	17321	9	.01	10560	0	10560	
POLITICAL COMMITTEE FOR NJ	653	47450	5252	0	.01	42005	0	42010	
AFSCME PUBLC EMP. TO PROMOTE LEG. ED	0	23002	0	0	0.02	23002	0	23222	
ALLIED SIGNAL NJ PAC	0	5000	0	0	0.02	5002	0	5002	
DEAR STEARNS PAC	36	155022	2655	0	0.02	10251	0	10251	1450-2
BULK LIQUID TERMINAL OPERATORS	6077	0	351	26	0.00	6500	0	6500	
CENTRAL JERSEY BUILDERS ASSOC.	24223	45290	11193	0	0.00	56320	0	56320	
CHERRY HILL INDUSTRIAL SITES INC PAC	225	10500	250	0	0.02	14100	0	14100	
COALITION OF NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	345	0	345	0	0.00	0	0	0	
ENRICH BOSEY CO INC	25417	14002	3212	0	0.02	36225	0	36225	
ENSEARCH CORP	4062	127539	40921	0	0.02	3525	0	3525	

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PAC name	\$ Beg 87	Receipts	\$ end 87	Operat \$	Op % Rec	\$ to Cand	\$ FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	Net Disb.
FIRST FIDELITY BANK CORP.	2767	51386	8978	0	0.00	45175	0	45175	
FRANKLIN STATE BANK PAC	729	4311	1110	0	0.00	3652	0	3923	
FUEL MERCHANTS FOR GOOD GOVT	457	19352	5487	0	0.00	14480	0	14480	
GENERAL MOTORS CIVIL INVOLVEMENT PAC	10722	15422	0	0	0.00	4700	0	4700	637
HORIZON BANK CORPORATION	1119	6831	3762	0	0.00	5368	0	5368	
INSURANCE BROKERS ASSOCIATION OF NJ	4951	8265	4011	0	0.00	9205	0	9205	
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS	66310	39529	11071	0	0.00	89259	0	89259	
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMAN'S AFL-CIO					0.00	173347	0	173347	
JERSEY OSTEOPATHIC PAC	1812	3601	1950	0	0.00	3455	0	3455	
JOHNSON & JOHNSON EMPLOYEES GOOD GOVT FUN	29652	102529	22495	0	0.00	29809	0	29809	
MEDICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	35694	159297	4819	0	0.00	162855	7310	190170	
MERCK & CO. INC NJ PAC	45	17120	495	0	0.00	16650	0	16650	
MFAC INC	10769	116325	32114	0	0.00	95005	0	95005	
NJ HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION HEALTH PAC	21730	16845	23075	0	0.00	14700	0	14700	
NJ NATIONAL BANK	0	11137	3772	0	0.00	7365	0	7365	
NNE ABC MERIT PAC	4279	6402	269	0	0.00	12410	0	12410	
NON-PARTISAN CITIZENS FOR BETTER ENVIRON	374	0	330	45	0.00	0	0	45	
OPHTHALMOLOGY PAC	12719	7750	4713	0	0.00	15755	0	15755	
PFIZER PAC	50	550	50	0	0.00	550	0	550	110
POLITICAL ACTION COM. OF BCA	14022	0	2330	0	0.00	11750	0	11750	
SALOMON BROTHERS PAC	0	8250	0	0	0.00	8250	0	8250	
SECURITY SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION PAC	3269	3565	2984	0	0.00	3050	0	3050	
TEXACO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT PAC	0	3500	3250	0	0.00	250	0	250	
TRANS. POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE	717	1610	626	0	0.00	1900	0	1900	
TRW GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	0	1975	1975	0	0.00	1975	0	1975	
UFCW ACTIVE BALLOT CLUB	96625	49324	14325	0	0.00	2900	0	2900	
UNITED COUNTIES TRUST CO. PAC	9132	10600	7767	0	0.00	12105	0	12105	

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NJ PACs - 1987 Activity

PAC name	66 Beg 87	Receipts	66 end 87	Operat 66	Op % Rec	66 to Cand	66 FOR Cand	Tot.D:sb.	'87 Dis
AFSCME PUBLE EMPL. TO PROMOTE LEG. ED	0	23888	0	0	0.00	23888	0	23888	
ALLIED SIGNAL NJ PAC	0	5068	0	0	0.00	5068	0	5068	
AMER ASSN OF MARRIAGE & FAMILY PLANNING	486	1485	27	94	.06	1858	0	1944	
AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	0	154111	34789	65	.00	119150	187	119422	
ARTHUR YOUNG CO. PAC	1815	11468	939	186	.02	11350	0	11536	
AT&T PAC	97	27778	7419	398	.01	28850	0	26468	
BEAR STEARNS PAC	56	153888	2655	0	0.00	18251	0	18251	1455-5
BLAC PAC	6518	26602	26798	4312	.16	2888	0	6312	
BUILDERS OF METRO NJ	0	17843	18934	1162	.07	5858	0	7812	
BUILDERS PAC	318591	193674	265986	26511	.14	211765	0	288576	
BULK LIQUID TERMINAL OPERATORS	6877	0	351	26	0.00	6588	0	6588	
BURLINGTON COUNTY CENTURY CLUB	13823	13548	24367	2956	.22	0	0	2956	
CAMP. FUND OF LAWYERS ENCOUR. GOVT & LAW	213653	86645	33798	76839	.98	188478	0	288578	
CAMPAIGN ASSOC. PAC	0	2152	81	69	.03	2682	0	2682	
CENTRAL JERSEY BUILDERS ASSOC.	24223	45292	11193	0	0.00	58328	0	58328	
CHERRY HILL INDUSTRIAL SITES INC PAC	228	18588	238	0	0.00	14182	0	14182	
CITY FEDERAL PAC	12517	23374	17381	9	.00	18588	0	18588	
COALITION OF NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	345	0	345	0	0.00	0	0	0	
COLLECTIVE FEDERAL SAVINGS PAC	0	2775	1324	51	.02	1482	0	1482	
COMM. FOR CLEAN & SAFE AMERICA	0	288852	13458	189681	.92	3888	0	192681	
COMMITTEE FOR A BETTER NJ	43	51947	0	27874	.54	13615	0	51947	
COMMITTEE FOR NJ	3547	64888	16872	2676	.04	47395	0	58878	
CONSTRUCTORS FOR GOOD GOVT	17362	21678	18271	3611	.17	25158	0	25761	
CONSULTING ENGINEERS PAC	11528	16885	18596	129	.01	17688	0	17785	
COUNCIL OF NJ STATE COLLEGE LOCALS COPE	3317	1974	1524	997	.51	2778	0	3787	
DEVELOPERS PAC	18812	55925	8295	627	.01	42888	0	57627	
EMERSON BOSSER CO INC	25417	14883	3212	0	0.00	36285	0	36285	
ENSEARCH CORP	4862	127539	48831	0	0.00	3825	0	3825	
FIRST FIDELITY BANK CORP.	2787	51386	8972	0	0.00	45175	0	45175	
FIRST JERSEY NATIONAL CORPORATION	0	38884	283	383	.01	38388	0	38682	
FOOD COUNCIL COMMITTEE FOR GOOD GOVT	38917	48561	13456	9523	.28	64488	0	74352	
FOSTER WHEELER PAC	449	3258	1	46	.01	3652	0	3652	
FRANKLIN STATE BANK PAC	728	4311	1118	0	0.00	3882	0	3882	
FUEL MERCHANTS FOR GOOD GOVT	457	19358	5487	0	0.00	14488	0	14487	
FUND FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN NJ	28	28682	1316	54	.00	19258	0	19384	
GARDEN STATE STRAIGHT CHIROPRACTIC	5296	7615	8958	61	.01	2882	0	4861	
GENERAL MOTORS CIVIL INVOLVEMENT PAC	18722	15422	0	0	0.00	4788	0	4788	2882
HOFFMAN-LAROCHE GOOD GOVT COMMITTEE	13	5952	13	988	.15	5852	0	5952	
HORIZON BANK CORPORATION	1119	8831	3782	0	0.00	5368	0	5368	
HOSPITAL CORP OF AMERICA PAC	3253	32523	2482	1346	.04	13958	0	33816	34411
HOWARD SAVINGS BANK CITIZENS COMMITTEE	12345	13667	9762	482	.03	15552	0	16252	
INSURANCE BROKERS ASSOCIATION OF NJ	4951	6265	4811	0	0.00	9225	0	9225	
INTERESTED MERCHANTS PAC	1388	17487	3542	1368	.03	23975	0	25228	
INTERESTED NURSES PAC	2812	7977	948	6848	.03	2393	0	9442	
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS	68518	39522	11871	0	0.00	89259	0	89259	
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMAN'S AFL-CIO	0	0	0	0	0.00	173347	0	173347	
INTL. BROTH. OF PAINTERS & ALLIED TRADES	11919	92853	16584	57276	.62	38922	0	89278	
JERSEY BANKERS PAC	16963	47148	6968	1375	.03	55758	0	57185	
JERSEY CHIROPRACTIC PAC	1812	3681	1952	0	0.00	3455	0	3455	
JOHNSON & JOHNSON EMPLOYEES GOOD GOVT FUN	29658	182589	22495	0	0.00	29868	0	29868	
LABORER'S LOCAL 8172 PAC	13939	68391	6918	3825	.05	63268	0	67411	
LIBERTY PAC	0	7668	853	122	.02	6825	0	6847	
LOCAL 1171 PAC	9411	7453	13817	872	.12	2975	0	3247	
LOCAL 322 FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION	288758	48815	179212	113131	2.32	37498	7741	158362	
LOCAL 88 PAC	9835	79259	18139	48573	.52	37181	0	78154	
MEDICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	35194	157297	4818	0	0.00	182855	7318	192173	
MERCK & CO. INC NJ PAC	45	17168	495	0	0.00	16658	0	16658	

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PAC name	\$ Beg 87	Receipts	\$ end 87	Operat \$	Op % Rec	\$ to Cand	\$ FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'85 Dis
MIDLANTIC STATE PAC	50888	71988	51888	564	.01	78425	0	78989	
MORTGAGE BANKERS OF NJ PAC	2983	4775	346	82	.02	7258	0	7332	
MPAC INC	18787	116325	32114	0	0.00	95888	0	95888	
MUTUAL BENEFIT NJ PAC	1655	9458	1616	61	.01	9425	0	9425	
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF IND. BUSINESSES	3878	4894	4427	89	.02	2958	0	3227	1758
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN NJ	1635	1115	182	2192	1.97	376	0	2568	
NJ AEC PAC	7196	4297	5873	346	.08	5277	0	5623	
NJ AMERICAN PHYSICAL THERAPY ASSOCIATION	6941	25145	3368	1468	.06	22258	0	28718	
NJ BELL STATE PAC	4868	35366	11433	448	.01	28345	0	28793	
NJ CAR PAC	128872	81848	57882	18434	.23	134424	0	152858	
NJ CHAMBER PAC	0	12382	2852	288	.02	18188	0	18387	
NJ COMMITTEE FOR QUALITY ORTHOPAEDIC CARE	6758	51358	25141	2359	.05	38888	0	32889	
NJ CPA PAC	86154	68818	24837	3688	.06	118525	0	122187	
NJ DENTAL PAC	9468	175439	22379	182998	.59	144758	0	247748	
NJ EDUCATION ASSOCIATION PAC	158559	258381	182857	19816	.08	298846	0	318288	
NJ ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS ALLIANCE	24	25	38	19	.77	0	0	19	
NJ FEDERATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL VOTERS	0	19721	1342	8582	.46	0	9388	18888	
NJ FRIENDS OF FAMILY PLANNING	0	284	188	82	.29	0	188	287	
NJ FUNERAL DIRECTORS PAC	4827	2595	3258	369	.14	3795	0	4188	
NJ HEALTH CARE PAC	4827	21458	2813	191	.01	23335	0	23588	
NJ HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION HEALTH PAC	21738	16845	23875	0	0.00	14782	0	14782	
NJ HOTEL MOTEL ASSOCIATION	1666	24	1855	125	5.14	588	0	625	
NJ I.T.A. PAC	5834	15345	2961	8	.02	18218	0	18218	
NJ LIFE UNDERWRITERS	16881	8784	15353	852	.18	8813	0	9493	
NJ MCDONALD'S OPERATORS PAC	5788	13946	387	245	.02	19188	0	19345	
NJ NATIONAL BANK	0	11137	3772	0	0.02	7385	0	7385	
NJ OPTOMETRIC PAC	18544	28889	3725	3778	.17	38758	378	38987	7448
NJ ORGANIZATION FOR A BETTER STATE	58837	98998	8119	13958	.14	127588	0	141888	
NJ PHARMACISTS PAC	28814	42818	19188	4219	.09	47418	311	51788	
NJ PODIATRY PAC	8781	5879	4232	1888	.19	9281	0	18388	
NJ PRINCIPALS & SUPERVISORS ASS. PAC	1514	2882	878	1828	.09	878	0	2781	
NJ PROLIFE PAC	1278	13937	325	6888	.49	1248	4997	14788	
NJ PSYCHOLOGY PAC	8141	588	6228	1413	2.82	1888	0	2413	
NJ RESTAURATEURS GOOD GOVT FUND	33	12125	3855	1854	.14	6158	0	8284	
NJ SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTS	687	6727	639	68	.01	6888	0	6888	
NJ SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS	15874	68823	9353	9449	.16	52887	5888	87887	
NJ SOFT DRINK COM. FOR GOOD GOVT	25752	59497	21348	453	.01	63458	0	63888	
NJ SPORTSMEN PAC	1518	1892	638	22	.02	1958	0	1972	
NJ STATE LABORERS PAC	33385	188528	19838	162528	.87	4958	0	187482	
NJ SURPLUS LINES PAC	162	1858	171	141	.09	1258	0	1641	
NJ TRADE ASSOCIATION PAC	12496	4328	2784	9848	2.27	4288	0	14848	
NJ UAW PAC	133134	89545	175769	828	.01	48118	0	48918	
NJ VETERINARY PAC	2781	7538	388	72	.01	9958	0	9958	
NWJ ABC MERIT PAC	4279	8488	289	0	0.00	12418	0	12418	
NON-PARTISAN CITIZENS FOR BETTER ENVIRON	374	0	338	45	6.88	0	0	45	
NORTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	11814	28438	4951	17381	.61	17525	0	28181	
OFFICE DEVELOPERS ASSN.	6943	27888	27885	57	.00	28888	0	28187	
OIL CHEMICAL ATOMIC WORKERS	588	12778	2777	579	.05	18828	0	19579	
OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 825	9523	137128	8469	1841	.01	137113	0	138154	
OPHTHALMOLOGY PAC	12718	7758	4713	0	6.82	15753	0	18753	
PFIZER PAC	58	558	58	0	0.00	558	0	558	1188
PIPEFITTERS LOCAL 8274	95882	56782	133476	11727	.21	7888	0	18888	
PLUMBERS LOCAL 14 PAC	17784	12648	22877	3787	.38	3788	0	7487	
POLITICAL ACTION COM. OF BCA	14888	0	2338	0	0.00	11758	0	11758	
POLITICAL COMMITTEE FOR NJ	653	47458	5238	0	.00	42885	0	42878	
PRIVATE ENTERPRISES PAC	79712	67545	45711	37546	.56	64888	0	181846	
PROFESSIONAL INSURANCE AGENTS PAC	13488	28725	1914	4588	.16	35895	0	42891	
PROJECT NJ	5835	169588	25798	138585	.77	17958	0	148513	
PRUDENTIAL NJ PAC	3851	25484	825	218	.01	27458	0	27888	

PAC name	86 Beg 87	Receipts	86 end 87	Operat 86	Op % Rec	86 to Cand	86 FOR Cand	Tot. Disb.	'86 Dis
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMM. OF NJHTA	32983	65716	6395	38744	.59	53485	0	92384	
REALTORS PAC	243973	317982	314679	69436	.22	177415	0	247146	171544
REPUBLICAN PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION	1652	22496	3382	732	.03	14588	4935	28767	
RIGHT TO CHOOSE PAC	238	2833	378	234	.12	1658	0	1884	
SALOMON BROTHERS PAC	0	8258	0	0	0.00	8258	0	8258	
SAVINGS ASSOCIATION PAC	57646	75538	37657	44	.00	95475	0	95519	
SAVINGS BANKS ASSOCIATION PAC	253	4678	157	66	.01	4788	0	4788	
SECURITY SAVINGS & LOAN ASSOCIATION PAC	3269	3565	2984	0	0.00	3858	0	3858	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 819	14252	43295	7269	413	.01	49116	0	52279	22455
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 827	0	65	65	9	.14	0	0	9	
SHEET METAL WORKERS LOCAL 828	139899	189787	198789	12628	.12	45349	0	57977	
SO. JERSEY NONPARTISAN POL. ED. COMM.	115	5588	99	3816	.55	1588	0	4518	
SOUTH JERSEY BUILDERS PAC	39413	122223	81215	6878	.06	73615	0	82425	
STANDARDRED HORSE INDUSTRY PAC	2751	4788	482	49	.01	7888	0	7849	
STATEWIDE COM. OF PHARMICISTS FOR LEG. ED	2285	1958	1373	23	.01	2788	0	2788	
SUMMIT BANCORPORATION PAC	5428	28428	3953	15	.05	21872	0	21887	
TEXACO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT PAC	6	3588	3258	6	6.88	258	0	258	
TRANS. POLITICAL EDUCATION LEAGUE	717	1818	628	0	0.00	1988	0	1988	
TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND II	0	235888	9118	11732	.05	232588	0	244832	
TRW GOOD GOVERNMENT FUND	0	1975	1975	0	0.00	1975	0	1975	
UFCW ACTIVE BALLOT CLUB	96825	49334	143259	0	0.00	2988	0	2988	
UJE PAC	5259	26731	5558	213	.01	25768	468	26441	
UNITED COUNTIES TRUST CO. PAC	9132	18988	7767	0	0.00	12168	0	12168	
UTILITY EXECUTIVES FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT	0	28888	18382	3831	.13	14675	0	18588	
WAWA PAC	7672	11225	18238	159	.01	588	0	659	11881
WOMENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF NJ	3723	12929	2941	3791	.29	9882	0	12974	
WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS OF NJ	1757	1988	738	367	.19	2355	0	2527	

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EXPENDITURE/LEFTOVER CAMPAIGN MONEY RANKING-1987 LEGISLATORS

THE FOLLOWING RANKING(S) OF EXPENDITURES AND LEFTOVER CAMPAIGN MONEY FOR THE CURRENT LEGISLATURE REPRESENTS ONLY THOSE REPORTS FILED BY AN INDIVIDUAL LEGISLATOR. MONEY SPENT BY THE NUMEROUS "FRIENDS OF..." COMMITTEES IS NOT INCLUDED, UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED BY APPEARANCE OF "+f".

THE APPEARANCE OF *** AFTER A LEGISLATOR'S NAME INDICATES THAT THE DOLLAR FIGURES ARE DRAWN FROM A JOINT CAMPAIGN ACCOUNT FILED BY THE TWO ASSEMBLY AND ONE SENATE CANDIDATE. THE DOLLAR FIGURE LISTED REPRESENTS ONE THIRD OF THE AMOUNT SPENT AND AMOUNT REMAINING IN THE ACCOUNT. A PARTICULAR LEGISLATOR'S SHARE OF THE JOINT AMOUNT SPENT/LEFTOVER MAY IN FACT HAVE BEEN LESS THAN ONE THIRD, IN SOME CASES MORE THAN ONE THIRD.

A FINAL REPORT BASED ON ADDITIONAL RESEARCH WILL INCLUDE THE "FRIENDS OF..." MONEY AND THE EXACT AMOUNT SPENT BY EACH LEGISLATOR NOW LISTED AS JOINT ACCOUNTS.

District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
36	Senator	Ambrosio	D	388666	10957
02	Senator	Gormley	R	377491	0
11	Senator	Pallone, Jr.	D	266588	522
30	Senator	Orechio	D	266466	14272
01	Senator	Hurley	R	254136	1960
13	Senator	Van Wagner	D	252457	3034
05	Senator	Rand ***	D	208417	25040
10	Senator	Russo	D	202913	225272
01	Assemblyman	Salmon ***	D	198113	14748
04	Senator	Dalton ***	D	178836	6894
21	Senator	Bassano ***	R	178621	10091
34	Senator	Bubba	R	173118	7
35	Senator	Graves, Jr.	D	163439	38615
32	Senator	Cowan	D	159545	0
24	Assemblyman	Haytaian	R	149498	0
06	Senator	Laskin	R	135845	0
18	Assemblyman	Pelly ***	D	130614	599
18	Assemblyman	Spadaro ***	D	130614	599
18	Senator	Paterniti ***	D	130614	599
33	Senator	Jackman	D	128248	76531
40	Senator	McNamara	R	124593	0
34	Assemblyman	Miller ***	R	124502	0
07	Assemblyman	Foy	D	122443	32334
02	Assemblyman	Kline	R	114015	9276
04	Assemblyman	Marsella ***	D	111356	8822
10	Assemblyman	Doyle ***	D	109747	2170
13	Assemblyman	Kryillos, Jr.	R	108459	5103
12	Senator	Gagliano ***	R	107860	48135
33	Assemblyman	Menendez	D	107572	0
15	Senator	Stockman ***	D	104201	581
34	Assemblyman	Zecker ***	R	101511	0
11	Assemblyman	Palaia	R	98793	1857
30	Assemblywoman	Crecco ***	R	97982	346
12	Assemblyman	Bennett ***	R	94523	22330
26	Senator	Brown	R	94347	0
05	Assemblyman	Bryant ***	D	92398	25754
03	Assemblyman	Stuhltrager ***	R	87833	0
03	Assemblyman	Collins ***	R	87833	0
01	Assemblyman	LoBiondo ***	R	87774	0
08	Senator	Haines ***	R	86647	0
05	Assemblyman	Roberts, Jr. ***	D	86211	450
20	Senator	Lesniak	D	85155	0
17	Assemblyman	Schwartz	D	83693	22974
17	Senator	Lynch	D	78554	0
16	Assemblyman	Penn ***	R	78492	0
06	Assemblyman	Rocco ***	R	78082	0
06	Assemblyman	Shusted ***	R	78082	0
04	Assemblyman	Riley ***	D	78016	19033
11	Assemblyman	Villaine	R	75047	48
12	Assemblywoman	Farragher ***	R	73938	1017
33	Assemblyman	Kenny, Jr.	D	72139	0

District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
35	Assemblyman	Pascrell, Jr.	D	71856	0
38	Assemblyman	Schuber	R	71267	416
31	Assemblyman	Doria ***	D	70658	5079
14	Assemblyman	Patero ***	D	68697	63
38	Assemblyman	Roma	R	67726	1990
37	Senator	Feldman ***	D	64704	68066
15	Assemblyman	Watson ***	D	63382	1420
22	Assemblywoman	Ogden	R	62748	0
35	Assemblyman	Girgenti	D	61768	13271
16	Senator	Ewing ***	R	59788	0
39	Assemblyman	Rooney ***	R	57426	0
16	Assemblyman	Kavanaugh ***	R	54116	0
39	Assemblywoman	Randall ***	R	53370	0
36	Assemblyman	Gill ***	D	52321	2183
36	Assemblyman	Duch ***	D	52321	2183
37	Assemblyman	Baer ****+f	D	51633	0
31	Senator	O'Connor	D	51032	0
17	Assemblyman	Smith	D	50346	0
37	Assemblyman	Mazur ***	D	49453	0
19	Senator	Weiss	D	49293	11429
26	Assemblyman	Loveys	R	46775	0
26	Assemblyman	Martin	R	45382	0
21	Assemblyman	Genova ***	R	42729	10226
28	Assemblyman	Adubato	D	42685	0
32	Assemblyman	Imprevuto	D	42353	3
14	Senator	McManimon ***	D	42120	63
03	Senator	Zane ***	D	40358	120105
28	Assemblyman	Zangari	D	37898	0
23	Assemblyman	Kamin	R	36825	0
14	Assemblyman	Cimino ***	D	35845	63
31	Assemblyman	Charles ***	D	35486	0
40	Assemblyman	Kern, Jr	R	33957	0
08	Assemblyman	Colburn ***	R	33610	0
08	Assemblyman	Shinn ***	R	33610	0
24	Assemblyman	Littell	R	32562	0
19	Assemblyman	Karcher ***	D	31248	1482
19	Assemblyman	Otlowski ***	D	31248	1482
39	Senator	Cardinale ***	R	30073	0
40	Assemblyman	Felice	R	29843	0
29	Senator	Lipman	D	28488	6756
27	Senator	Codey	D	27892	43977
25	Assemblyman	Freylinghuysen +f	R	27722	37115
29	Assemblywoman	Mattison	D	27141	5909
15	Assemblyman	Naples ***	D	25698	820
07	Senator	Costa	D	24885	20150
32	Assemblyman	Kronick	D	24392	0
20	Assemblyman	Deverin	D	21072	21148
07	Assemblywoman	Kalik	D	20318	0
30	Assemblyman	Kelly ***	R	20000	0
21	Assemblyman	Hardwick ***	R	17741	18045
02	Assemblywoman	Cooper	R	17599	11509
24	Senator	Dumont, Jr	R	15537	12262

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EXPENDITURE RANKING 1987 LEGISLATORS

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
23	Senator	Zimmer	R	15220	0
25	Assemblyman	Albohn	R	14547	10020
23	Assemblyman	Schluter	R	12354	67
20	Assemblyman	Hudak	D	11937	3901
27	Assemblywoman	Bush	D	11180	2534
04	Senator	Lunnors, Jr.	R	10617	0
27	Assemblyman	McEnroe	D	7205	14780
13	Assemblywoman	Smith	R	4848	9
09	Assemblyman	Moran	R		
09	Assemblyman	Hendrickson	R		
10	Assemblyman	Singer	R		
22	Assemblyman	Franks	R		
22	Senator	DiFrancesco	R		
25	Senator	Dorsey	R		
28	Senator	Rice	D		4181
29	Assemblyman	Brown	D		42828
38	Senator	Contillo	D		

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EXPENDITURE RANGES- BY WINNERS 1981-87

	1987		1985		1983		1981	
	A	S	A	S	A	S	A	S
300,000 & up		2						
200,000-299999		6	1		1			
100,000-199999	12	11	6		1	6		1
90,000-99999	4	1	3					
80,000-89999	5	2	3		1	3		1
70,000-79999	10	1	6			1		
60,000-69999	5	1	8		1	2		1
50,000-59999	7	2	4		2	2		3
40,000-49999	6	3	10		1	2		1
30,000-39999	10	1	15		8	4	7	7
20,000-29999	8	3	15		19	7	21	11
10,000-19999	6	3	7		24	6	35	12
0-9,999	2		2		23	6	17	3

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
10	Senator	Russo	D	202913	225272
03	Senator	Zane ***	D	40358	120105
33	Senator	Jackman	D	128248	76531
37	Senator	Feldman ***	D	64704	68066
12	Senator	Gagliano ***	R	107860	48135
27	Senator	Codey	D	27892	43977
29	Assemblyman	Brown	D		42828
35	Senator	Graves, Jr.	D	163439	38615
25	Assemblyman	Freylinghuysen +f	R	27722	37115
07	Assemblyman	Foy	D	122443	32334
05	Assemblyman	Bryant ***	D	92398	25754
05	Senator	Rand ***	D	208417	25040
17	Assemblyman	Schwartz	D	83693	22974
12	Assemblyman	Bennett ***	R	94523	22330
20	Assemblyman	Deverin	D	21072	21148
07	Senator	Costa	D	24885	20150
04	Assemblyman	Riley ***	D	78016	19033
21	Assemblyman	Hardwick ***	R	17741	18045
27	Assemblyman	McEnroe	D	7205	14780
01	Assemblyman	Salmon ***	D	198113	14748
30	Senator	Orechio	D	266466	14272
35	Assemblyman	Girgenti	D	61768	13271
24	Senator	Dumont, Jr	R	15537	12262
02	Assemblywoman	Cooper	R	17599	11509
19	Senator	Weiss	D	49293	11429
36	Senator	Ambrosio	D	388666	10957
21	Assemblyman	Genova ***	R	42729	10226
21	Senator	Bassano ***	R	178621	10091
25	Assemblyman	Albohn	R	14547	10020
02	Assemblyman	Kline	R	114015	9276
04	Assemblyman	Marsella ***	D	111356	8822
04	Senator	Dalton ***	D	178836	6894
29	Senator	Lipman	D	28488	6756
29	Assemblywoman	Mattison	D	27141	5909
13	Assemblyman	Kryillos, Jr.	R	108459	5103
31	Assemblyman	Doria ***	D	70658	5079
28	Senator	Rice	D		4181
20	Assemblyman	Hudak	D	11937	3901
13	Senator	Van Wagner	D	252457	3034
27	Assemblywoman	Bush	D	11180	2534
36	Assemblyman	Gill ***	D	52321	2183
36	Assemblyman	Duch ***	D	52321	2183
10	Assemblyman	Doyle ***	D	109747	2170
38	Assemblyman	Roma	R	67726	1990
01	Senator	Hurley	R	254136	1960
11	Assemblyman	Palaia	R	98793	1857
19	Assemblyman	Karcher ***	D	31248	1482
19	Assemblyman	Otlowski ***	D	31248	1482
15	Assemblyman	Watson ***	D	63382	1420
12	Assemblywoman	Farragher ***	R	73938	1017
15	Assemblyman	Naples ***	D	25698	820

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District	Salutation	Last Name		Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
18	Assemblyman	Pelly	***	D	130614	599
18	Assemblyman	Spadaro	***	D	130614	599
18	Senator	Paterniti	***	D	130614	599
15	Senator	Stockman	***	D	104201	581
11	Senator	Pallone, Jr.		D	266588	522
05	Assemblyman	Roberts, Jr.	***	D	86211	450
38	Assemblyman	Schuber		R	71267	416
30	Assemblywoman	Crecco	***	R	97982	346
23	Assemblyman	Schluter		R	12354	67
14	Assemblyman	Cimino	***	D	35845	63
14	Assemblyman	Patero	***	D	68697	63
14	Senator	McManimon	***	D	42120	63
11	Assemblyman	Villaine		R	75047	48
13	Assemblywoman	Smith		R	4848	9
34	Senator	Bubba		R	173118	7
32	Assemblyman	Impreveduto		D	42353	3
01	Assemblyman	LoBiondo	***	R	87774	0
02	Senator	Gormley		R	377491	0
03	Assemblyman	Stuhltrager	***	R	87833	0
03	Assemblyman	Collins	***	R	87833	0
06	Assemblyman	Rocco	***	R	78082	0
06	Assemblyman	Shusted	***	R	78082	0
06	Senator	Laskin		R	135845	0
07	Assemblywoman	Kalik		D	20318	0
08	Assemblyman	Colburn	***	R	33610	0
08	Assemblyman	Shinn	***	R	33610	0
08	Senator	Haines	***	R	86647	0
09	Senator	Connors, Jr.		R	10637	0
16	Assemblyman	Penn	***	R	78492	0
16	Assemblyman	Kavanaugh	***	R	54116	0
16	Senator	Ewing	***	R	59788	0
17	Assemblyman	Smith		D	50346	0
17	Senator	Lynch		D	78554	0
20	Senator	Lesniak		D	85155	0
22	Assemblywoman	Ogden		R	62748	0
23	Assemblyman	Kamin		R	36825	0
23	Senator	Zimmer		R	15220	0
24	Assemblyman	Haytaian		R	149498	0
24	Assemblyman	Littell		R	32562	0
26	Assemblyman	Loveys		R	46775	0
26	Assemblyman	Martin		R	45382	0
26	Senator	Brown		R	94347	0
28	Assemblyman	Zangari		D	37898	0
28	Assemblyman	Adubato		D	42685	0
30	Assemblyman	Kelly	***	R	20000	0
31	Assemblyman	Charles	***	D	35486	0
31	Senator	O'Connor		D	51032	0
32	Assemblyman	Kronick		D	24392	0
32	Senator	Cowan		D	159545	0
33	Assemblyman	Kenny, Jr.		D	72139	0
33	Assemblyman	Menendez		D	107572	0
34	Assemblyman	Zecker	***	R	101511	0

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RANKING BY LEFTOVER \$\$ 1987 LEGISLATORS

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
34	Assemblyman	Miller ***	R	124502	
35	Assemblyman	Pascrell, Jr.	D	71856	0
37	Assemblyman	Baer ****f	D	51633	0
37	Assemblyman	Mazur ***	D	49453	0
39	Assemblyman	Rooney ***	R	57426	0
39	Assemblywoman	Randall ***	R	53370	0
39	Senator	Cardinale ***	R	30073	0
40	Assemblyman	Felice	R	29843	0
40	Assemblyman	Kern, Jr.	R	33957	0
40	Senator	McNamara	R	124593	0
09	Assemblyman	Moran	R		0
09	Assemblyman	Hendrickson	R		0
10	Assemblyman	Singer	R		0
22	Assemblyman	Franks	R		0
22	Senator	DiFrancesco	R		0
25	Senator	Dorsey	R		0
38	Senator	Contillo	D		0

District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
36	Senator	Ambrosio	D	388666	10957
02	Senator	Gormley	R	377491	0
11	Senator	Pallone, Jr.	D	266588	522
30	Senator	Orechio	D	266466	14272
01	Senator	Hurley	R	254136	1960
13	Senator	Van Wagner	D	252457	3034
05	Senator	Rand ***	D	208417	25040
10	Senator	Russo	D	202913	225272
04	Senator	Dalton ***	D	178836	6894
21	Senator	Bassano ***	R	178621	10091
34	Senator	Bubba	R	173118	7
35	Senator	Graves, Jr.	D	163439	38615
32	Senator	Cowan	D	159545	0
06	Senator	Laskin	R	135845	0
18	Senator	Paterniti ***	D	130614	599
33	Senator	Jackman	D	128248	76531
40	Senator	McNamara	R	124593	0
12	Senator	Gagliano ***	R	107860	48135
15	Senator	Stockman ***	D	104201	581
26	Senator	Brown	R	94347	0
08	Senator	Haines ***	R	86647	0
20	Senator	Lesniak	D	85155	0
17	Senator	Lynch	D	78554	0
37	Senator	Feldman ***	D	64704	68066
16	Senator	Ewing ***	R	59788	0
31	Senator	O'Connor	D	51032	0
19	Senator	Weiss	D	49293	11429
14	Senator	McManimon ***	D	42120	63
03	Senator	Zane ***	D	40358	120105
39	Senator	Cardinale ***	R	30073	0
29	Senator	Lipman	D	28488	6756
27	Senator	Codey	D	27892	43977
07	Senator	Costa	D	24885	20150
24	Senator	Dumont, Jr	R	15537	12262
23	Senator	Zimmer	R	15220	0
09	Senator	Connors, Jr.	R	10637	0
22	Senator	DiFrancesco	R		
25	Senator	Dorsey	R		
28	Senator	Rice	D		4181
38	Senator	Contillo	D		
30	Assemblywoman	Crecco ***	R	97982	346
12	Assemblywoman	Farragher ***	R	73938	1017
22	Assemblywoman	Ogden	R	62748	0
39	Assemblywoman	Randall ***	R	53370	0
29	Assemblywoman	Mattison	D	27141	5909
07	Assemblywoman	Kalik	D	20318	0
02	Assemblywoman	Cooper	R	17599	11509
27	Assemblywoman	Bush	D	11180	2534
13	Assemblywoman	Smith	R	4848	9
01	Assemblyman	Salmon ***	D	198113	14748
24	Assemblyman	Haytaian	R	149498	0

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
18	Assemblyman	Pelly ***	D	130614	599
18	Assemblyman	Spadoro ***	D	130614	599
34	Assemblyman	Miller ***	R	124502	0
07	Assemblyman	Foy	D	122443	32334
02	Assemblyman	Kline	R	114015	9276
04	Assemblyman	Marsella ***	D	111356	8822
10	Assemblyman	Doyle ***	D	109747	2170
13	Assemblyman	Kryillos, Jr.	R	108459	5103
33	Assemblyman	Menendez	D	107572	0
34	Assemblyman	Zecker ***	R	101511	0
11	Assemblyman	Palaia	R	98793	1857
12	Assemblyman	Bennett ***	R	94523	22330
05	Assemblyman	Bryant ***	D	92398	25754
03	Assemblyman	Stuhltrager ***	R	87833	0
03	Assemblyman	Collins ***	R	87833	0
01	Assemblyman	LoBiondo ***	R	87774	0
05	Assemblyman	Roberts, Jr. ***	D	86211	450
17	Assemblyman	Schwartz	D	83693	22974
16	Assemblyman	Penn ***	R	78492	0
06	Assemblyman	Rocco ***	R	78082	0
06	Assemblyman	Shusted ***	R	78082	0
04	Assemblyman	Riley ***	D	78016	19033
11	Assemblyman	Villaine	R	75047	48
33	Assemblyman	Kenny, Jr.	D	72139	0
35	Assemblyman	Pascrell, Jr.	D	71856	0
38	Assemblyman	Schuber	R	71267	416
31	Assemblyman	Doria ***	D	70658	5079
14	Assemblyman	Patero ***	D	68697	63
38	Assemblyman	Roma	R	67726	1990
15	Assemblyman	Watson ***	D	63382	1420
35	Assemblyman	Girgenti	D	61768	13271
39	Assemblyman	Rooney ***	R	57426	0
16	Assemblyman	Kavanaugh ***	R	54116	0
36	Assemblyman	Gill ***	D	52321	2183
36	Assemblyman	Duch ***	D	52321	2183
37	Assemblyman	Baer ****+f	D	51633	0
17	Assemblyman	Smith	D	50346	0
37	Assemblyman	Mazur ***	D	49453	0
26	Assemblyman	Loveys	R	46775	0
26	Assemblyman	Martin	R	45382	0
21	Assemblyman	Genova ***	R	42729	10226
28	Assemblyman	Adubato	D	42685	0
32	Assemblyman	Imprevuto	D	42353	3
28	Assemblyman	Zangari	D	37898	0
23	Assemblyman	Kamin	R	36825	0
14	Assemblyman	Cimino ***	D	35845	63
31	Assemblyman	Charles ***	D	35486	0
40	Assemblyman	Kern, Jr.	R	33957	0
08	Assemblyman	Colburn ***	R	33610	0
08	Assemblyman	Shinn ***	R	33610	0
24	Assemblyman	Littell	R	32562	0
19	Assemblyman	Karcher ***	D	31248	1482

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
19	Assemblyman	Otlowski ***	D	31248	1482
40	Assemblyman	Felice	R	29843	0
25	Assemblyman	Freylinghuysen +f	R	27722	37115
15	Assemblyman	Naples ***	D	25698	820
32	Assemblyman	Kronick	D	24392	0
20	Assemblyman	Deverin	D	21072	21148
30	Assemblyman	Kelly ***	R	20000	0
21	Assemblyman	Hardwick ***	R	17741	18045
25	Assemblyman	Albohn	R	14547	10020
23	Assemblyman	Schluter	R	12354	67
20	Assemblyman	Hudak	D	11937	3901
27	Assemblyman	McEnroe	D	7205	14780
09	Assemblyman	Moran	R		
09	Assemblyman	Hendrickson	R		
10	Assemblyman	Singer	R		
22	Assemblyman	Franks	R		
29	Assemblyman	Brown	D		42828

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RANKING BY LEFTOVER \$, OFFICE

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
10	Senator	Russo	D	202913	225272
03	Senator	Zane ***	D	40358	120105
33	Senator	Jackman	D	128248	76531
37	Senator	Feldman ***	D	64704	68066
12	Senator	Gagliano ***	R	107860	48135
27	Senator	Codey	D	27892	43977
35	Senator	Graves, Jr.	D	163439	38615
05	Senator	Rand ***	D	208417	25040
07	Senator	Costa	D	24885	20150
30	Senator	Orechio	D	266466	14272
24	Senator	Dumont, Jr	R	15537	12262
19	Senator	Weiss	D	49293	11429
36	Senator	Ambrosio	D	388666	10957
21	Senator	Bassano ***	R	178621	10091
04	Senator	Dalton ***	D	178836	6894
29	Senator	Lipman	D	28488	6756
28	Senator	Rice	D		4181
13	Senator	Van Wagner	D	252457	3034
01	Senator	Hurley	R	254136	1960
18	Senator	Paterniti ***	D	130614	599
15	Senator	Stockman ***	D	104201	581
11	Senator	Pallone, Jr.	D	266588	522
14	Senator	McManimon ***	D	42120	63
34	Senator	Bubba	R	173118	7
02	Senator	Gormley	R	377491	0
06	Senator	Laskin	R	135845	0
08	Senator	Haines ***	R	86647	0
09	Senator	Connors, Jr.	R	10637	0
16	Senator	Ewing ***	R	59788	0
17	Senator	Lynch	D	78554	0
20	Senator	Lesniak	D	85155	0
23	Senator	Zimmer	R	15220	0
26	Senator	Brown	R	94347	0
31	Senator	O'Connor	D	51032	0
32	Senator	Cowan	D	159545	0
39	Senator	Cardinale ***	R	30073	0
40	Senator	McNamara	R	124593	0
22	Senator	DiFrancesco	R		
25	Senator	Dorsey	R		
38	Senator	Contillo	D		
02	Assemblywoman	Cooper	R	17599	11509
29	Assemblywoman	Mattison	D	27141	5909
27	Assemblywoman	Bush	D	11180	2534
12	Assemblywoman	Farragher ***	R	73938	1017
30	Assemblywoman	Crecco ***	R	97982	346
13	Assemblywoman	Smith	R	4848	9
07	Assemblywoman	Kalik	D	20318	0
22	Assemblywoman	Ogden	R	62748	0
39	Assemblywoman	Randall ***	R	53370	0
29	Assemblyman	Brown	D		42828
25	Assemblyman	Freylinghuysen +f	R	27722	37115

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
07	Assemblyman	Foy	D	122443	32334
05	Assemblyman	Bryant ***	D	92398	25754
17	Assemblyman	Schwartz	D	83693	22974
12	Assemblyman	Bennett ***	R	94523	22330
20	Assemblyman	Deverin	D	21072	21148
04	Assemblyman	Riley ***	D	78016	19033
21	Assemblyman	Hardwick ***	R	17741	18045
27	Assemblyman	McEnroe	D	7205	14780
01	Assemblyman	Salmon ***	D	198113	14748
35	Assemblyman	Girgenti	D	61768	13271
21	Assemblyman	Genova ***	R	42729	10226
25	Assemblyman	Albohn	R	14547	10020
02	Assemblyman	Kline	R	114015	9276
04	Assemblyman	Marsella ***	D	111356	8822
13	Assemblyman	Kryillos, Jr.	R	108459	5103
31	Assemblyman	Doria ***	D	70658	5079
20	Assemblyman	Hudak	D	11937	3901
36	Assemblyman	Gill ***	D	52321	2183
36	Assemblyman	Duch ***	D	52321	2183
10	Assemblyman	Doyle ***	D	109747	2170
38	Assemblyman	Roma	R	67726	1990
11	Assemblyman	Palaia	R	98793	1857
19	Assemblyman	Karcher ***	D	31248	1482
19	Assemblyman	Otlowski ***	D	31248	1482
15	Assemblyman	Watson ***	D	63382	1420
15	Assemblyman	Naples ***	D	25698	820
18	Assemblyman	Pelly ***	D	130614	599
18	Assemblyman	Spadaro ***	D	130614	599
05	Assemblyman	Roberts, Jr. ***	D	86211	450
38	Assemblyman	Schuber	R	71267	416
23	Assemblyman	Schluter	R	12354	67
14	Assemblyman	Cimino ***	D	35845	63
14	Assemblyman	Patero ***	D	68697	63
11	Assemblyman	Villaine	R	75047	48
32	Assemblyman	Imprevuto	D	42353	3
01	Assemblyman	LoBiondo ***	R	87774	0
03	Assemblyman	Stuhltrager ***	R	87833	0
03	Assemblyman	Collins ***	R	87833	0
06	Assemblyman	Rocco ***	R	78082	0
06	Assemblyman	Shusted ***	R	78082	0
08	Assemblyman	Colburn ***	R	33610	0
08	Assemblyman	Shinn ***	R	33610	0
16	Assemblyman	Penn ***	R	78492	0
16	Assemblyman	Kavanaugh ***	R	54116	0
17	Assemblyman	Smith	D	50346	0
23	Assemblyman	Kamin	R	36825	0
24	Assemblyman	Haytaian	R	149498	0
24	Assemblyman	Littell	R	32562	0
26	Assemblyman	Loveys	R	46775	0
26	Assemblyman	Martin	R	45382	0
28	Assemblyman	Zangari	D	37898	0
28	Assemblyman	Adubato	D	42685	0

84x

1/01/80

RANKING BY LEFTOVER \$, OFFICE

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
30	Assemblyman	Kelly ***	R	20000	0
31	Assemblyman	Charles ***	D	35486	0
32	Assemblyman	Kronick	D	24392	0
33	Assemblyman	Kenny, Jr.	D	72139	0
33	Assemblyman	Menendez	D	107572	0
34	Assemblyman	Zecker ***	R	101511	0
34	Assemblyman	Miller ***	R	124502	0
35	Assemblyman	Pascrell, Jr.	D	71856	0
37	Assemblyman	Baer ****+f	D	51633	0
37	Assemblyman	Mazur ***	D	49453	0
39	Assemblyman	Rooney ***	R	57426	0
40	Assemblyman	Felice	R	29843	0
40	Assemblyman	Kern, Jr	R	33957	0
09	Assemblyman	Moran	R		
09	Assemblyman	Hendrickson	R		
10	Assemblyman	Singer	R		
22	Assemblyman	Franks	R		

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
01	Assemblyman	Salmon *	D	198113	14748
01	Assemblyman	LoBiondo *	R	87774	0
01	Senator	Hurley	R	254136	1960
02	Assemblyman	Kline	R	114015	9276
02	Assemblywoman	Cooper	R	17599	11509
02	Senator	Gormley	R	377491	0
03	Assemblyman	Stuhltrager *	R	87833	0
03	Assemblyman	Collins *	R	87833	0
03	Senator	Zane *	D	40358	120105
04	Assemblyman	Marsella *	D	111356	8822
04	Assemblyman	Riley *	D	78016	19033
04	Senator	Dalton *	D	178836	6894
05	Assemblyman	Roberts, Jr. *	D	86211	450
05	Assemblyman	Bryant *	D	92398	25754
05	Senator	Rand *	D	208417	25040
06	Assemblyman	Rocco *	R	78082	0
06	Assemblyman	Shusted *	R	78082	0
06	Senator	Laskin	R	135845	0
07	Assemblyman	Foy	D	122443	32334
07	Assemblywoman	Kalik	D	20318	0
07	Senator	Costa	D	24885	20150
08	Assemblyman	Colburn *	R	33610	0
08	Assemblyman	Shinn *	R	33610	0
08	Senator	Haines *	R	86647	0
09	Assemblyman	Moran	R		
09	Assemblyman	Hendrickson	R		
09	Senator	Connors, Jr.	R	10637	0
10	Assemblyman	Doyle *	D	109747	2170
10	Assemblyman	Singer	R		
10	Senator	Russo	D	202913	225272
11	Assemblyman	Villaine	R	75047	48
11	Assemblyman	Palaia	R	98793	1857
11	Senator	Pallone, Jr.	D	266588	522
12	Assemblyman	Bennett *	R	94523	22330
12	Assemblywoman	Farragher *	R	73938	1017
12	Senator	Gagliano *	R	107860	48135
13	Assemblyman	Kryillos, Jr.	R	108459	5103
13	Assemblywoman	Smith	R	4848	9
13	Senator	Van Wagner	D	252457	3034
14	Assemblyman	Cimino *	D	35845	63
14	Assemblyman	Patero *	D	68697	63
14	Senator	McManimon *	D	42120	63
15	Assemblyman	Naples *	D	25698	820
15	Assemblyman	Watson *	D	63382	1420
15	Senator	Stockman *	D	104201	581
16	Assemblyman	Penn *	R	78492	0
16	Assemblyman	Kavanaugh *	R	54116	0
16	Senator	Ewing *	R	59788	0
17	Assemblyman	Schwartz	D	83693	22974
17	Assemblyman	Smith	D	50346	0

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
17	Senator	Lynch	D	78554	0
18	Assemblyman	Pelly *	D	130614	599
18	Assemblyman	Spadaro *	D	130614	599
18	Senator	Paterniti *	D	130614	599
19	Assemblyman	Karcher *	D	31248	1482
19	Assemblyman	Otlowski *	D	31248	1482
19	Senator	Weiss	D	49293	11429
20	Assemblyman	Hudak	D	11937	3901
20	Assemblyman	Deverin	D	21072	21148
20	Senator	Lesniak	D	85155	0
21	Assemblyman	Hardwick *	R	17741	18045
21	Assemblyman	Genova *	R	42729	10226
21	Senator	Bassano *	R	178621	10091
22	Assemblyman	Franks	R		
22	Assemblywoman	Ogden	R	62748	0
22	Senator	DiFrancesco	R		
23	Assemblyman	Kamin	R	36825	0
23	Assemblyman	Schluter	R	12354	67
23	Senator	Zimmer	R	15220	0
24	Assemblyman	Haytaian	R	149498	0
24	Assemblyman	Littell	R	32562	0
24	Senator	Dumont, Jr	R	15537	12262
25	Assemblyman	Albohn	R	14547	10020
25	Assemblyman	Freylinghuysen	R	27722	37115
25	Senator	Dorsey	R		
26	Assemblyman	Loveys	R	46775	0
26	Assemblyman	Martin	R	45382	0
26	Senator	Brown	R	94347	0
27	Assemblyman	McEnroe	D	7205	14780
27	Assemblywoman	Bush	D	11180	2534
27	Senator	Codey	D	27892	43977
28	Assemblyman	Zangari	D	37898	0
28	Assemblyman	Adubato	D	42685	0
28	Senator	Rice	D		4181
29	Assemblyman	Brown	D		42828
29	Assemblywoman	Mattison	D	27141	5909
29	Senator	Lipman	D	28488	6756
30	Assemblyman	Kelly *	R	20000	0
30	Assemblywoman	Crecco *	R	97982	346
30	Senator	Orechio	D	266466	14272
31	Assemblyman	Charles *	D	35486	0
31	Assemblyman	Doria *	D	70658	5079
31	Senator	O'Connor	D	51032	0
32	Assemblyman	Impreveduto	D	42353	3
32	Assemblyman	Kronick	D	24392	0
32	Senator	Cowan	D	159545	0
33	Assemblyman	Kenny, Jr.	D	72139	0
33	Assemblyman	Menendez	D	107572	0
33	Senator	Jackman	D	128248	76531
34	Assemblyman	Zecker *	R	101511	0
34	Assemblyman	Miller *	R	124502	0
34	Senator	Bubba	R	173118	7

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District	Salutation	Last Name	Party	87 Expend.	87 Leftover
35	Assemblyman	Girgenti	D	61768	13271
35	Assemblyman	Pascrell, Jr.	D	71856	0
35	Senator	Graves, Jr.	D	163439	38615
36	Assemblyman	Gill *	D	52321	2183
36	Assemblyman	Duch *	D	52321	2183
36	Senator	Ambrosio	D	388666	10957
37	Assemblyman	Baer *	D	51633	0
37	Assemblyman	Mazur *	D	49453	0
37	Senator	Feldman *	D	64704	68066
38	Assemblyman	Roma	R	67726	1990
38	Assemblyman	Schuber	R	71267	416
38	Senator	Contillo	D		
39	Assemblyman	Rooney *	R	57426	0
39	Assemblywoman	Randall *	R	53370	0
39	Senator	Cardinale *	R	30073	0
40	Assemblyman	Felice	R	29843	0
40	Assemblyman	Kern, Jr	R	33957	0
40	Senator	McNamara	R	124593	0
40	Senator	McNamara	R		
				9280962	1125505

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TRENTON, NEW JERSEY 08608

609-396-1150

PAC CONSUMER PROTECTION

PROHIBIT ON THE JOB SOLICITATION OF PAC/CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

LIMIT THE USE OF PAC MONEY TO ELECTION\CAMPAIGN RELATED EXPENSES, AND OPERATING COSTS

REQUIRE ALL SOLICITATION REQUESTS SHOW WHAT PERCENTAGE OF THE CONTRIBUTION ACTUALLY GOES TO CANDIDATES AND WHAT PERCENTAGE IS USED FOR "OPERATING COSTS"

PROVIDE THE CONTRIBUTOR WITH A METHOD/OPTION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES TO RECEIVE THE MONEY.

REQUIRE TRUTH IN LABELING--WHEREBY CONTRIBUTOR CAN KNOW WHO THE PAC REPRESENTS

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CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM

October 27, 1988

Presented to Senate State Government, Federal and
Interstate Relations and Veterans' Affairs Committee

Testifying for LEGAL: Karen Kotvas

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Thank you, Chairman Lipman and members of the Senate State Government, Federal and Interstate Relations and Veterans' Affairs Committee for allowing LEGAL to testify here today. I am Karen Kotvas and I represent LEGAL which is an organization of attorneys whose goal is to preserve the private practice of law for the public interest. Our special interest is to keep open the court house door and protect the civil jury system.

In 1977, New Jersey became the first state to hold a gubernatorial election primarily financed with public funds. We have demonstrated to the nation that limits on campaign contributions by individuals and PACS coupled with public financing does work.

Now it is time to extend this process to the election campaigns of our state legislators, and we respectfully request the committee to keep in mind the following considerations as you come to your conclusions and report a bill out of this committee.

* The cost of campaigns in New Jersey is obscene. It is absolutely incredible that campaign spending can be more than the amount of two years of a state legislator's salary.

We agree that limits should be placed on campaign contributions from individuals and from PACS. However, this will not help a candidate reduce the cost of his campaign bills which are spiraling upwards. Most of this money goes for media buys.

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Therefore, to get to the cause of huge campaign expenses and to reduce them, LEGAL strongly endorses forms of free media to candidates who meet criteria of a viable candidacy. For example, perhaps 50 contributions of \$50 to \$100 would entitle the candidate to one/half page of advertising in the major newspaper of his or her election district OR perhaps one hundred contributions of \$75 to \$150 might entitle the candidate to one thirty-second spot on New Jersey Public Television Network.

* Meaningful reform must include the formation of only one campaign fund per candidate. This would eliminate any attempts to circumvent campaign reform laws. For example, candidate Sam Smith may have contributions going into any number of campaign funds or PACS, such as: Friends of Sam Smith, Campaign Fund of Sam Smith, Americans for Sam Smith, Environmentalists for Sam Smith and any other of a number of myriad combinations. One fund would stop over contributing and would stop very large contributions. If the campaign spending limit is X dollars, then with one fund, candidate Sam Smith gets X dollars. If there is no limit on funds and PACS for candidates, then instead of X dollars, candidate Sam Smith could receive 5 times X dollars or 10 times X dollars depending on how many campaign funds are established by him and/or for him.

* Even though it appears to be a function of the lobbying law and not the campaign financing law, certain practices called entertaining involve money and candidates. LEGAL feels that all

monies spent on candidates and legislators should be reported to ELEC, whether or not any legislation is discussed between the parties. This includes flying legislators to Florida to play golf to taking them to dinner locally or to sporting events. It is money expended and legislators and candidates are the recipients.

* In order to ensure that any campaign financing reform is enforced, LEGAL strongly recommends increasing the ELEC budget.

All campaign financing reform is meaningless without strong enforcement to adequately monitor the process.

LEGAL strongly favors the legislation of Senators Richard VanWagner and John Lynch because it is comprehensive and meaningful. We are available to work with this committee to further the reforms of these two Senators.

Thank you for your attention.

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