

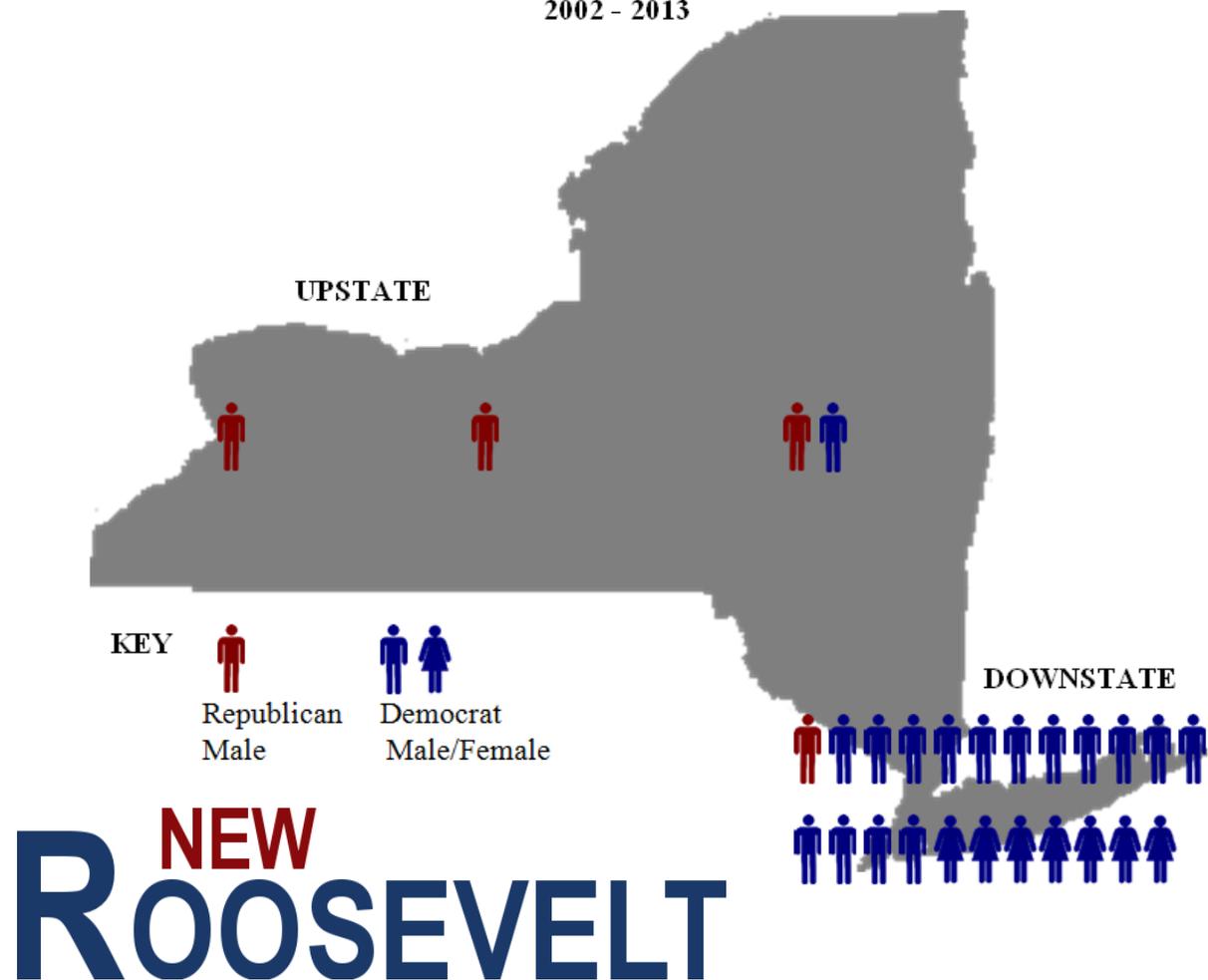
LOST CENTURY:

“I accept this nomination with absolute independence. I am pledged to no man; I am influenced by no special interest.”

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1910

CROOKED RING: 1871 – 2013

CORRUPTION IN THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE
2002 - 2013



DEDICATED LEGISLATURE

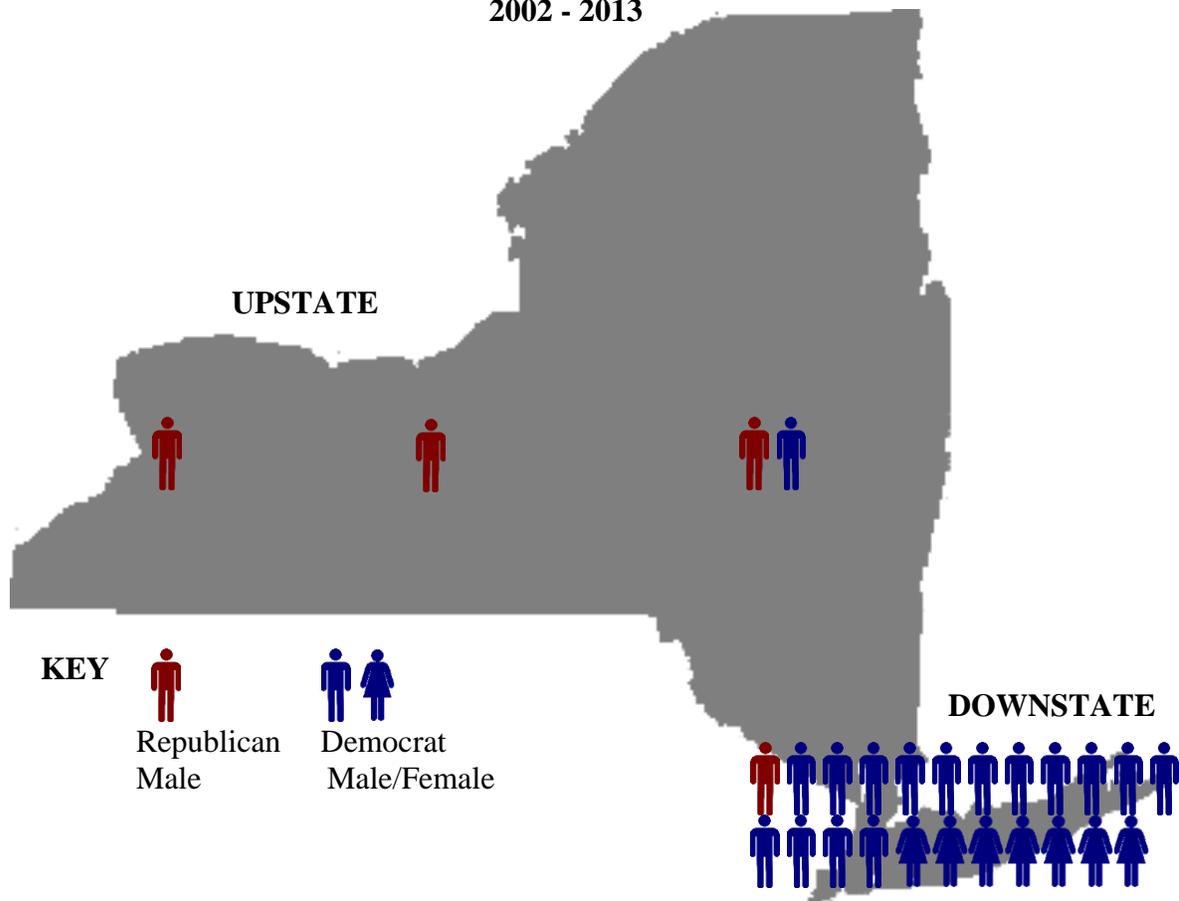
The Last Decade of Corruption in the New York State Legislature

With elected officials accepting hundreds of thousands of dollars from outside employers, New Yorkers must naturally ask whom their legislators are truly accountable to. Is it to the voters who elected them, or to those who pay them for what may very well be private sector, “no show” jobs?

Unfortunately, the volume of criminal charges levied against our state legislators suggests the latter. In the last decade, 27 legislators in New York State were charged, indicted, or convicted of criminal behavior (see graphic below). Citizen’s Union released a report examining turnover in the legislature, finding a recent doubling in the number of legislators leaving office over ethical misconduct or criminal charges.

Though a statewide problem, corruption is heavily concentrated in New York City. The City has only 43% of state’s population, but is home to 73% of its corrupt state officials.

CORRUPTION IN THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE 2002 - 2013



In stark contrast to New York, which had 27 ethics violations in the last decade, are California, which only had one violation where a person was charged with shoplifting in 2011, and Michigan, where one senator was convicted of domestic abuse in 2001. Obviously, New York has a severe, on-going corruption problem, especially downstate, that moving to a dedicated legislature would help alleviate. See Appendix B for a chart of violations.

Illustrating Corruption in the New York State Legislature, 1871 - 2013

Bill Samuels, appalled by Democratic Senator Pedro Espada accepting \$2 million in member items for joining Republican Minority Leader Dean Skelos and further incensed when Democrats paid Espada the same \$2 million to bring him back, commissioned a series of political illustrations based on cartoonist Thomas Nast's 19th Century satire.

Corruption and the influence of special interests in the current, part-time legislature is, unfortunately, part of a long tradition in Albany. Samuel's illustrations play on these historical parallels.

The piece below updates the 1871 "Tammany Tiger Loose" to address the corruption surrounding then Senate Majority Leader Pedro Espada in 2010. In so doing the historical New York Democratic Tiger is brought back to life as a new positive symbol of Democratic reform.

In his original political cartoons in the 1800's, Nast used the Tiger, the original symbol of the Democratic Party, to criticize it for corruption.



In the illustration above, *Transparency: Zero Tolerance for Corruption*, the new Democratic Tiger, the New York Tiger of Reform, has come back to Nast's Coliseum to attack Pedro Espada and New York's modern culture of corruption. Before attacking Espada, the Tiger had already vanquished two former state senators, Monserrate, and Bruno.

On the Coliseum wall is a quote from FDR's campaign for the New York State Senate at the beginning of his political career. 100 years ago, Roosevelt ran against the corruption in Albany, yet a century later, very little has changed.



Franklin D. Roosevelt also pledged to make the legislature his full time job and to not be accountable to any special interest. New Roosevelt founder Bill Samuels has suggested that it is now time for current legislators to finally follow the trail blazed by Roosevelt more than a century ago.

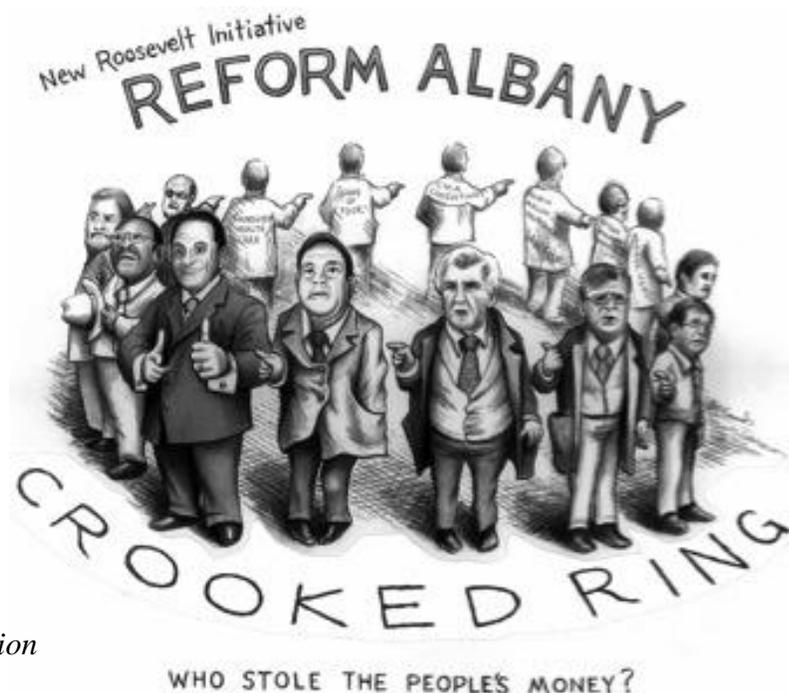
Samuels also remade the classic 1871 political illustration by Thomas Nast, “Who Stole the People’s Money,” originally portraying the scandal and corruption of Boss Tweed’s Tammany Hall. In this recasting, “Tammany Ring” becomes the “Crooked Ring,” and disgraced Senator Espada and a new class of his peers from the New York State Senate replace Boss Tweed.

Corruption then... 1871



In the original “Who stole the people’s money?” (pictured above), the Tammany Ring is depicted with its four leaders in front (from left to right): The rotund Boss Tweed stands at the left; next to him is the shaggy-haired Peter “Brains” Sweeney, then Comptroller Richard “Slippery Dick” Conolly, and the bespectacled Mayor, “Elegant Oakey” Hall. Behind Tweed are the chair-makers James H. Ingersoll and Andrew Garvey, whom the *New York Times* nicknamed the “Prince of Plasterers.”

Corruption NOW ... 2010



See Appendix A for explanation

Appendix A

Explanation: New Roosevelt Initiative's Reform Albany: Crooked Ring



Cast of Characters from Left to Right:



Sen. Carl Kruger

Kruger was the only Democrat to chair a committee under the Republicans, with whom he voted often. In 2008, Democrats won a fragile majority of 32 to 30, taking control of the Senate for the first time since 1965. Kruger joined the “Gang of Four,” holding up the Senate to leverage a special deal for him and his cronies.

He has since become the target of a federal corruption probe over trading official favors for campaign contributions.



Sen. Efraín González, Jr.

González plead guilty to stealing hundreds of thousands of dollars in “member items” from non-profits. While “member items” can be used to fund non-profits that provide essential services to the community, he used his to pay for personal expenses, including credit card bills, rent, and Yankees tickets.



Sen. Ruben Diaz, Sr.

Diaz used his membership in the “Gang of Four” to prevent a Senate initiated debate on gay marriage. When Governor Paterson finally forced the Senate to vote on gay marriage, Diaz cast one of the votes that kept New Yorkers from marriage equality.



Sen. Pedro Espada, Jr.

Espada has replaced Boss Tweed, having carried on the very worst of Tammany Hall traditions in its modern day incarnation as Soundview Health Care.

Among his crimes alleged by former Attorney General Andrew Cuomo are looting more than \$14 million from his non-profit health clinic, pocketing \$1.5 million meant for job training, and spending tax payer money on \$20,000 worth of sushi.

He also held up the Democratic Majority by starting the “Gang of Four” and ultimately joined Republicans. After shutting down the Senate for a month in 2009, he returned to the Democrats in exchange for \$2 million in “member items” and the title of “Majority Leader.”



Sen. Hiram Monserrate

Monserrate, a member of the “Gang of Four,” followed Espada to betray his own party, flip the Senate Majority, and shut down the legislature. Soon after, he flipped back to the Democrats, only to be expelled for the misdemeanor of assaulting his girlfriend.

Monserrate has since been indicted for using “member item” funding for personal benefit instead of providing essential services to the community.



Sen. Joseph Bruno

Bruno was convicted of federal corruption charges for running CMA Consulting Services out of his government office.

Elected Officials like Bruno used a loophole permitting them to earn outside income from Consulting or Law Firms to personally enrich themselves from clients without having to make any of them or the fees they paid public information.



Sen. Dean Skelos

Skelos serves as “Of Counsel” to Ruskin, Moscou, Faltischek, PC, a law firm whose “independent arm,” Empire Government Strategies, landed third on NYPIRG’s 2010 list of the fastest growing lobbying firms in New York.

Following in the Bruno tradition, Skelos hasn’t disclosed his clients or fees as public information.



Sen. George Winner

Winner is a partner at Keyser, Maloney, and Winner LLP. His firm represented Fortuna Energy Inc., a natural gas producer focused on hydraulic fracturing of Marcellus Shale in his district. Winner supported gas drilling legislation and voted against a moratorium that would prevent their drilling.

While the press uncovered Fortuna Energy was a client of his firm, Winner refused to disclose the fees he received to the public.

Appendix B

Chart of Corruption in New York State Elected Office

Name	Party	Office	Year Elected	Year of Allegation	Year Left Office	Reason for Leaving	Crime	Allegation	Status
William Boyland	D	Assembly	2003	2010, 2011, 2013	Still in Office	Still in Office	Bribery, Extortion, Mail Fraud	Charged with bribery, misspending travel reimbursements.	Indicted
Joseph Bruno	R	Senate	1977	2009	2008	Resigned	Corruption / Theft of Honest Services	Charged with taking "kickbacks" from a businessman	Convicted then Overturned
Barbara Clark	D	Assembly	1987	2011	Still in Office	Still in Office	Fraud	Suspicion of wrong-doing by outsiders	Alleged
Michael Cole	R	Assembly	2006	2007	2008	2008 Primary Loss	Sexual Misconduct	Spent the night in a hotel with an intern	Alleged
Vivian Cook	D	Assembly	1991	2011	Still in Office	Still in Office	Fraud	Under investigation for misspent funds	Alleged
Gloria Davis	D	Assembly	1981	2003	2003	Resigned	Bribery	Took \$24,000 from a contractor who wanted to secure an \$880,000 deal.	Convicted
Pedro Espada	D	Senate	1993	2010	2010	Convicted	Embezzlement	Convicted- stealing from Soundview Health Center	Convicted
Diane Gordon	D	Assembly	2001	2008	2008	Convicted	Bribery	Tried to steer city owned land to a private developer in exchange for a house	Convicted
Roger Green	D	Assembly	1981	2004	2004	Resigned	Petty Larceny / Filing a False Instrument	Improperly filed free rides he received to Albany	Convicted

Eferain Gonzalez Jr.	D	Senate	1989	2010	2008	2008 Primary Loss	Conspiracy / Wire Fraud	Corruption, stealing from non-profits	Convicted
Shirley Huntley	D	Senate	2006	2012	2012	2012 Primary Loss	Conspiracy to Commit Mail Fraud	Charged for stealing money from non-profit funded by tax dollars	Convicted
Jerry Johnson	R	Assembly	N/A	2000	2000	Resigned	Second Degree Burglary	Broke into office aids home and stole several items	Convicted
Ryan Karben	D	Assembly	2003	2006	2006	Resigned	Sexual Harassment	Viewed pornography with 3 interns at his home in Albany	Alleged
Carl Kruger	D	Senate	1994	2011	2011	Resigned	Bribery	Corruption and bribery.	Convicted
Vincent Leibell	R	Senate	1994	2010	2010	Resigned	Corruption	Tried to tamper with a federal probe looking into allegations that he siphoned money from a nonprofit he founded	Convicted
Vito Lopez	D	Assembly	1984	2012	Still in Office	Still in Office	Sexual Harassment	Accused of sexually harassing five staff members	Alleged
Brian McLaughlin	D	Assembly	1992	2008	2006	Charged	Racketeering	Using embezzlement, fraud and bribes to take money from taxpayers, labor unions and contractors	Convicted
Hiram Monserrate	D	Senate	2008	2010	2010	Expelled	Misdemeanor Assault, Fraud	Assaulted his girlfriend, misused public funds.	Convicted
Clarence Norman	D	Assembly	1983	2003	2005	Resigned	Corruption	Extorted judicial candidates for his continued support	Convicted

Naomi Rivera	D	Assembly	2005	2012	2012	2012 Primary Loss	Fraud	Investigated for giving boyfriends' jobs at non-profits jobs and stealing tax dollars used to fund it	Alleged
Peter Rivera	D	Assembly	1992	2011	Still in Office	Still in Office	Fraud	Accused of "steering" \$2 million to friends' non-profit the Neighborhood Enhancement for Training and Services	Alleged
John Sampson	D	Senate	1997	2013	Still in Office	Still in Office	Bribery	Under investigation for \$40,000 contribution from real estate broker convicted of mortgage fraud.	Alleged
Tony Seminerio	D	Assembly	1979	2009	2009	Resigned	Honest Service Fraud	Funneled illegal consulting fees through shell corporation	Convicted
Ada Smith	D	Senate	1989	2006	2006	Resigned	Harassment	Threw hot coffee at an aid and pulled her hair	Convicted
Malcolm Smith	D	Senate	2000	2013	Still in Office	Still in Office	Bribery	Bribed Republican leaders to place Smith on GOP ballot for NYC Mayor.	Indicted
Eric Stevenson	D	Assembly	2011	2013	Still in Office	Still in Office	Bribery	Drafted, proposed, and agreed to enact legislation in exchange for money.	Indicted
Guy Velella	R	Senate	1983	2002	2004	Resigned	Bribery	Steered housing subsidies and bridge-painting contracts to bribe payers	Convicted