CITY COUNCIL

CITY OF NEW YORK

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE MINUTES

Of the

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS, STATE AND FEDERAL LEGISLATION

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April 19, 2024 Start: 10:17 a.m. Recess: 1:08 p.m.

HELD AT: COMMITTEE ROOM - CITY HALL

B E F O R E: Lincoln Restler, Chairperson

COUNCIL MEMBERS:

Gale A. Brewer
David M. Carr
Shahana Hanif
Vickie Paladino
Inna Vernikov

APPEARANCES

Ethan A. Carrier, General Counsel for the Conflicts of Interest Board

Carolyn Miller, Executive Director at the Conflicts of Interest Board

Michael McSweeney, New York City Clerk

Damaris Acosta, New York City Clerk's Office

Patrick Synmoie, New York City Clerk's Office

Paul S. Ryan, Executive Director at the New York City Campaign Finance Board

Ben Weinberg, Citizens Union

Susan Lerner, Executive Director of Common Cause New York

Rachel Faus, Senior Policy Advisor for Reinvent Albany

Blair Horner, Executive Director of the New York Public Interest Research Group

Christopher Leon Johnson, self

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Good morning. This is a microphone check for the Committee on Governmental Operations, State and Federal Legislation. Today's date is April 19, 2024, located in the Committee Room, recording done by Pedro Lugo.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Good morning and welcome to the New York City Council hearing of the Committee on Governmental Operations, State and Federal Legislation.

At this time, can everybody please silence your cell phones.

If you wish to testify, please go up to the Sergeant-at-Arms' desk to fill out a testimony slip.

At this time and going forward, no one is to approach the dais. I repeat, no one is to approach the dais.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Chair, we are ready to begin.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: [GAVEL] Good
morning. My name is Lincoln Restler, and I am the
Chair of the Committee on Governmental Operations and
State and Federal Legislation. That's a mouthful. I'd
like to welcome my Colleagues who've joined us this

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morning, especially Council Member Brewer who I'm very happy to see and, of course, Brooklyn's newest Council Member, the one and only David Carr. It's good to see you both.

At today's hearing, the Committee will be conducting an oversight will be conducting an oversight hearing on New York City's lobbying laws and necessary reforms. Governing doesn't happen in a vacuum. We rely on external stakeholders for policy expertise and technical information, but we must ensure that there is transparency, accountability, and integrity in our government and that certain actors do not have an outsized influence. We need to put careful limits and reporting requirements in place to prevent people from profiting off of government service and to demonstrate to our constituents that this is a fair and just city with leaders who are prioritizing the needs of our constituents over special interests or self-dealing. It's been over a decade since the City Council has held a lobbying oversight hearing or considered legislative updates to our current lobbying laws. I want to thank Speaker Adrian Adams for her support in holding our hearing today.

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In the past decade, the lobbying industry has exploded. In 2023, lobbyists were paid over 131 million dollars to lobby City officials. That's nearly double what they brought in since our last lobbying oversight hearing over a decade ago. It's past time to take a fresh look at our lobbying laws and consider what improvements we can make to strengthen them. It is our responsibility to make exceedingly clear to the public who has the ear of their elected officials and how much they are paid to exert their influence.

In addition to examining the effectiveness of our City's lobbying laws, we will be hearing three bills today that I believe would help increase transparency and integrity in our city.

Intros 76 and 77 will close loopholes in existing lobbying rules to end the revolving door of senior staff exiting City government and immediately using their power to lobby on behalf of shady clients. I will offer the example of the Mayor's first Chief of Staff, Frank Carone. He was involved in the hiring of all senior officials. He was involved in every key policy decision that was made by the Adams

Administration and, yet, he freely admitted that he

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was building a future lobbying practice while working in this very building. When he left City government at the end of 2022, he was legally permitted to lobby 99 percent of City workers the very next day. The only restriction he faced was advocating on behalf of clients to people who worked in the Office of the Mayor, but every other Mayoral agency was fair game. To offer some insight into the scale of his practice at Oak Tree Solutions, New York Magazine recently reported that Carone's firm is generating at least 24 million dollars annually in lobbying fees.

Beyond senior City Hall staffers, current laws fail to take into account the relationships that the most senior agency leaders build across City government, which is why our legislation would ban the most powerful policy makers from lobbying any City agency after leaving public service, not just the one they work for. Our legislation would finally make New York City's post government service lobbying restrictions consistent with the widely heralded paragon of good governance, Albany, New York. No one should be allowed to leave a position of power in City government and exercise that power to influence City agencies as they pass through the revolving

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door, and that applies to city Council Members, too.

That's why our second piece of legislation proposes

an expansion of anti-lobbying rules to ban former

5 Council Members from appearing before any City agency

6 for two years, not just the Council.

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The loopholes in our existing system undermine the integrity of our government and the faith that New Yorkers have in us when their needs are being overlooked at the expense of special interests. We need to ensure our public officials are committed to the public good, not to enriching themselves.

Intro. 742, sponsored by my Colleague,
Council Member Gale Brewer, would prevent individuals
who have worked as a campaign fundraiser or political
consultant from lobbying the elected official whose
campaign they worked for a period of two years. When
a Council staffer leaves my office, they must wait
for a period of time before engaging the Council on
work-related issues. The same should be true for our
campaign staff.

I want to thank our Committee Staff,

Counsel Jayasri Ganapathy and Erica Cohen, for their

hard work in putting together this hearing. I'd also

like to thank my Communications Director, Nieve
Mooney, for her terrific work. She's also getting
married next week, so happy almost wedding, Nieve,
and I lastly want to thank my Chief-of-Staff, Molly
Haley, for putting so much work into this and being
extraordinary.

During the hearing, I will be calling on panelists to testify. I'd like to remind everyone who is testifying via Zoom that you will be on mute until you are called on to testify at which point you will be unmuted by the host.

For those of you who are testifying in person, be sure to sign up with the Sergeant-at-Arms in the back, even if you registered in advance. You may approach the witness table when your name is called and turn on your microphone before giving your testimony.

At this hearing, we will be inviting testimony from the Conflicts of Interest Board and the City Clerk's Office, and then from members of the public.

During the hearing, if Council Members would like to ask a question of the Administration or

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2 a specific panelist, please let me know and I will 3 call on you in order.

For all panelists, when called to testify, please share your name and the organization you represent, if any.

We will be also including the Campaign Finance Board to answer questions as well.

We will now call representatives of the Administration to testify. We will be hearing testimony from the City Clerk Michael McSweeney, and Deputy Clerk Damaris Acosta, Ethan Carrier, General Counsel at the Conflicts of Interest Board and Carolyn Miller, Executive Director of the Conflicts of Interest Board, and we will also be joined for questions by Paul Ryan, Executive Director of the Campaign Finance Board.

At this time, I'd like to firstly recognize Inna Vernikov. Thank you very much, Council Member, for joining us this morning.

I'd like to call on the Committee Counsel to administer the affirmation.

Oh, and Council Member Shahana Hanif. I didn't see you sneak in there. Good morning.

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Why don't we go to Council Member Brewer for her opening remarks, and then we'll swear in the folks testifying today. Thank you.

much, and thank you, Chair Restler, for your focus on this issue. Many years ago, I was Chair of Government Operations Committee, and I know how important this topic is to the City of New York.

I want to just start by saying I have a lot of respect for lobbyists. I think they bring information that is crucial. They often have lengthier careers in topics that sometimes because of term limits and the way our City operates, more expertise than many others, and it's vastly needed by our City so I want to say that to start with.

Intro. 742, which I am a sponsor of, along with Council Member Restler and others. He said it correctly. If I have a staff member who is leaving and becomes a lobbyist, they have to wait a year in order to talk to me about any substantive issue. However, just like many other people, I employ individuals who helped me get elected, known as a campaign advisor, sometimes it's a company, sometimes it's an individual, sometimes it's a combination of

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people. Those individuals, in my opinion, should stick to campaign work. They should not be contacting me about issues. According to the wonderful briefing, and I always want to thank the Staff because these briefings are phenomenal, lobbying of City Council Members in 2023 accounted for 24 percent, and lobbying of City Council Staff was 17 percent, spending on lobbying the Mayor and his Staff accounted for 9 percent, which apparently was much more than previous Mayors, who averaged between 4 and 6 percent and, as you heard from the Chair, there's a lot more money involved in lobbying today so it is important for me, when you think about the Mayor, the Public Advocate, the City Comptroller, the Borough President, and Council Members, all of whom, I believe, employ individuals to help us get elected. I personally don't want somebody who's helping me get elected, for whom I have great respect, coming to me with an issue. Number one of lobbying topics is real estate followed by non-profits, and I may have a lot of respect for the real estate firms and a lot of respect for the non-profits but, if they want to talk to me, they should call me individually. I'm happy to talk to almost anybody. There may be a few people I

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don't want to talk to, but most people I will talk to, and so the issue is do it that way, do not have your campaign people. Similarly, somebody who's working with you on substantive lobbying issues, I don't want them to be running somebody's campaign. To me, that is a mix that should not exist. To my experience, most people separate them. They either do campaign work or they do lobbying work. They don't mix. But there are some that do, and I think that's a situation that should not exist. Thank you very much, Mr. Chair.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Thank you so much,

Council Member Brewer. I will say that in preparing

for this hearing, I did look back to transcripts from

when you were Chairing the Committee and was very

impressed, and it's unfortunate that we're still

talking about some of the same issues that you were

advocating for 15-odd years ago today, but that's

where we are and we're going to keep pushing.

Without further ado, I'd like to invite the members of the Administration who are here to testify or members of City government who are here to testify. I'll call the representatives again up to join the panel, City Clerk Michael McSweeney and

General Counsel at the Conflicts of Interest Board.

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Here with me is the Board's Executive Director,

Carolyn Lisa Miller. We are here on behalf of COIB to

offer testimony about Intros 76 and 77 of 2024.

Since its creation by the voters of the City of New York in 1989, COIB has been entrusted to administer the City's Conflicts of Interest Law found in Chapter 68 of the City Charter to fulfill a critical mission to preserve the trust placed in public servants of the City, to promote public confidence in government, to promote the integrity of government decision-making, and enhance government efficiency. COIB supports the Council's interest in furthering this mission. However, when considering proposed amendments to Chapter 68, it is critical to maintain the delicate balance of both public interests at play here, the need to limit the reality and appearance of undue influence by former public servants on government decision-making versus the need to continue to attract highly qualified people to City service. By seeking to amend Chapter 68 through legislation rather than through a Charter Revision Commission, that balance may not be achieved, the interests of the impacted stakeholders will likely not be fully accounted for, and

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unintended consequences could well result. First, some brief historical background. The first postemployment communication ban imposed on former public servants in New York City was proposed by the 1986-88 Charter Revision Commission and approved by the voters in November 1988. That restriction found in Charter Section 2604(d)(2) was narrowly tailored and straightforward, prohibiting almost every public servant from appearing, a defined term in Chapter 68 that essentially means communicating for compensation, before their former City agency for one year. For elected officials, deputy mayors and the heads of six named city agencies, the restriction extended to the branch of government served, which for Council Members was the City Council and, for the other named officials, was the entire executive branch. This new prohibition supplemented two long standing post-employment restrictions, Charter Section 2604(d)(4), which prohibits a former public servant from profiting from or communicating with any city agency about a particular matter on which they worked at the City, and Charter Section 2604(d)(5), which prohibits a former public servant from using or disclosing confidential information obtained from

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City service. In essence, Charter Section 2604(d)(2) was added to serve as a one-year buffer for former public servants communicating with their former City agency, even on matters that they had nothing to do with in their City work and involve no confidential information. Charter Section 2604(d)(2) remained unchanged for 32 years. During that 32-year period, COIB provided extensive guidance and education to former public servants about the application of the one-year post-employment communication ban, including 31 advisory opinions and countless pieces of formal and informal advice to individual public servants.

The first and only changes to the original one-year communication ban were proposed by the 2019 Charter Revision Commission created by the City Council. The proposal substantially increased the complexity of the ban by creating a multi-tiered restriction. The first tier is most public servants still subject to the same one-year ban. The second tier is elected officials and the same small group of high-level officials identified in the original first year post-employment ban for a branch-wide prohibition. They have the same branch-wide prohibition, but now for two years instead of one.

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The third tier is a new group of public servants, the head of an agency that is not a board or commission, the executive director, or highest ranking public servant employed by a board or commission, and any paid member of a board or commission. For this third tier, they are now subject to a two-year ban, but only for their agency served. The proposed amendments were approved by the voters in November 2019 and became effective for public servants who left City service in January 2022.

So some concerns about process. These significant changes are the only changes to the restrictions to Chapter 68 since it was approved by the voters in November 1988, and they took effect just over two years ago. Two years is too short of a time to judge the impact of those Charter amendments, in particular, the impact on that delicate balance between limiting the appearance and reality of undue influence on government decision-making with the need to attract the best professionals to City service. There may come a time when it becomes clear that amendments to the post-employment communication ban are necessary, but now is not that time. Moreover, if such a time should come, proposals to amend the

Charter should be considered through a Charter 2 3 Revision Commission process. This is how the 4 prohibitions of Chapter 68 have been amended historically, and for good reason. The Charter Revision Commission engages in a longer deliberative 6 7 process and seeks through multiple public hearings 8 the input of a large cross-section of stakeholders. Here, such stakeholders would include the current public servants impacted by change in their post-10 11 employment job opportunities, hiring managers at City 12 agencies such as the Department of Housing, 13 Preservation, and Development, who have struggled to retain and replace essential professionals in the 14 15 current job environment, and those who work in transition teams or appointment offices on the 16 17 recruitment, appointment, and retention of agency 18 heads and people to serve on city boards and 19 commissions. Finally, if any changes to Charter 20 Section 2604(d)(2) were to be made now, they should be limited to the referendum on the conduct of 21 2.2 elected officials in Intro. 76. To proceed as now 2.3 proposed, that is to enact both Intro. 76 and Intro. 77, would effectively restrict the conduct of non-24 electeds first. Then, if and when such referendum was 25

on the ballot, there would be no real choice for voters because what voter would want a ban on elected officials to be less restrictive than other senior government officials?

Some concerns about substance. Chapter 68 itself and the 2019 amendments were the result of an extensive deliberative process with substantial input and consideration. Any serious change to the regulation of former public servants' conduct should be carefully crafted and as narrow as possible to balance the admirable purpose of ensuring the integrity of government decision-making while not unduly restricting the future professional lives of current public servants. Any additional restriction might have serious collateral consequences for the recruitment of qualified people for important positions throughout City government. COIB's concerns about the substance of Intro. 77 reflect only what this agency has identified in the brief time it has considered this legislation. We would anticipate that additional substantial concerns would come from the many voices that would emerge in a Charter Revision Commission process.

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Some concerns about part-time and unpaid 2 policy makers. Chapter 68 imposes lesser restrictions 3 4 on the conduct of part-time public servants with the implicit understanding that their public service must co-exist with their primary, private employment. 6 7 Intro. 77 erases this distinction by adding public servants charged with substantial policy discretion, 8 what we call policymakers, to the category of those with a two-year post-employment communication ban. 10 11 Many policymakers are part-time public servants, 12 largely those who are members of boards and 13 commissions and some part-time members of boards and commissions are unpaid. Intro. 77 would impose a one-14 15 year post-employment citywide communication ban on part-time unpaid policymakers followed by a second-16 17 year of an agency specific ban. The unwanted 18 consequences of this proposed change are demonstrable 19 in one such Commission, Landmarks Preservation. LPC 20 Commissioners are policymakers who serve part-time and unpaid. Under Charter Section 3020, the 11 21 Commissioners of the LPC shall include at least three 2.2 2.3 architects, one historian qualified in the field, one city planner or landscape architect, and one realtor. 24

Under the current law, an architect serving as an LPC

Commissioner is prohibited from communicating with 2 3 LPC during their City service and for one year after departure. Under Intro. 77, that architect would be 4 prohibited from communicating with LPC during their City service but, after departure, would have a much 6 7 more extensive restriction citywide for one year and 8 then LPC for a second year. A citywide communication ban would effectively preclude an architect from maintaining their practice in the city by prohibiting 10 11 them from communicating with agencies essential to 12 construction, such as the Department of Buildings, 13 the Department of Transportation, and the Department of Environmental Protection. The City needs industry 14 15 professionals to be willing to serve on LPC. It is difficult to imagine any architect, city planner, or 16 realtor willing to make that level a professional 17 18 sacrifice for an unpaid City position, and it is likely that current LPC Commissioners who are active 19 20 industry professionals would resign before Intro. 77 takes effect. The same circumstance exists for many 21 other similarly situated City Boards and Commissions, 2.2 2.3 including many barely paid members of Boards and Commissions, and the recruitment challenges would 24 impact elected officials other than the Mayor. The 25

Taxi and Limousine Commission and the Board of

Correction, for example, both have part-time unpaid

Board Members appointed by the City Council and would

be subject to a two-year post-employment

communication ban, including a citywide ban of the

7 first year.

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I'm going to talk a little bit about full-time policymakers. Policymakers is a term defined in Board Rule Section 1-02. These are public servants designated as such by their agencies. The designation criteria are imprecise and vary greatly depending on the agency's size, hierarchy, and service structure, whether operating centrally or in district or borough offices. Mindful of this, over much of 2023, the Board worked to amend Board Rule Section 1-02 to create a more uniform set of policymakers across differently sized and structured City agencies but failed to identify criteria that would not be either over-inclusive or underinclusive. Without a better option, the Board elected to leave the policymaker definition as is and engage in more fact finding and auditing instead. In its current form, policymakers is a widely overbroad category upon which to impose a two-year post-

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employment communication ban. It likely includes hundreds of public servants without the portfolios or responsibilities that would cause them to have any influence on an agency other than their own. For policymakers at agencies already experiencing difficulties with hiring and retention, approximately 60 at the Department of Housing, Preservation, and Development, over 100 at the Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, for example, there is a strong possibility that there would be resignations before Intro. 77 took effect and even greater challenges in recruiting good candidates.

A couple of other overbroad categories.

While there may be others, COIB has identified two other anomalies that would result from Intro. 77's new multi-tiered structure. In Intro. 77's second category, the Executive Director or highest-ranking public servant employed by a board or commission would be subject to a one-year citywide ban followed by a second-year agency-only ban. This would mean that district managers at Community Boards earning between 75,000 and 95,000 dollars per year on average would be prohibited from communicating with all of City government for one year, the result

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disproportionate to their influence with any City agency other than their own Community Board. In Intro. 77's third category, policymakers "in service of the Executive Office of the Mayor" would be subject to a two-year citywide ban. This would mean that the 19 members of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on the Judiciary, part-time unpaid policymakers, would be subject to a two-year citywide communication ban. Members of the Mayor's Advisory Committee on the Judiciary who include law firm partners, arbitrators, and the CEOs of the City not-for-profit would likely resign before being subject to such an expansive prohibition, and it is hard to imagine what qualified individuals would be willing and able to replace them.

These are just a handful of the examples of the impact of the proposed amendments on the hiring and retention of qualified individuals to serve in City government, whether as full-time professionals or part-time board members. We would anticipate that those who work in recruitment and hiring of agency heads and board members would have even more examples. COIB stands ready to work to advance, as the Charter mandates, both the integrity

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and efficiency of City government, and we are available to answer any questions the Council Members may have. Thank you.

 $\label{eq:chairperson} \mbox{CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Thanks for that.}$ We'll now turn over to the Clerk.

Actually, if you don't mind, I just want to thank Council Member Paladino for joining us today. Sorry. Mr. Clerk.

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: Chairperson

Restler, Council Members, it is an honor to be
invited to testify in the Council Chambers today. I

thank the Committee on Government Operations and

State and Federal Legislation for this privilege.

Let me start by acknowledging some of my Senior Staff Members who are in attendance today.

Damaris Acosta, Deputy City Clerk in charge of the Lobbying Bureau, , newly returned Deputy General Counsel Jaime Chirichella who has joined us but not at this table, and General Counsel Patrick Synmoie.

Since Local Law 129 of 2013 has been enacted, lobbying compensation has doubled as you pointed out earlier. Our 2014 Annual Report listed lobbying compensation in the amount of almost 63 million dollars. Our most recent report in 2024

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listed compensation to the tune of almost 131

million. In 2014, we reported that 1,972 statements

of registration were filed as compared with 2,282,

which were reported in 2024. The Office of the City

Clerk is responsible for the regulation of all

lobbying activity in New York. Our Office first

regulated lobbying of local officials in 1972, when

the Council passed Local Law 79 of 1972 and then

Local Law 86 of 1973.

Through the Lobbying Bureau, we conduct outreach, training, compliance reviews, audits and investigations, and enforcement to ensure that all entities who attempt to influence New York City government, namely lobbyists and clients, not only file requisite reports timely and accurately, but adhere to the text and spirit of the law. Our primary goal has been and continues to be transparency in government. The promotion of transparency in government is a tool that not only educates the public but also serves as a cornerstone to protect integrity in government and to combat waste, misuse, fraud, and corruption.

New York City Administrative Code
Sections 3-211 through 3-223 regulate the conduct of

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lobbyists and their clients. There are two types of lobbyists, the professional standalone lobbyist and lobbyist client filers who are essentially in-house lobbyists. A lobbyist is a person, business, or organization that is retained by a client to engage in lobbying in New York City. A lobbyist client filer is an entity whose employees lobby on behalf of the person, business, or organization itself. The client is any business, person, or organization who retains, employs, or designates another entity to engage in lobbying activities on its behalf. Currently, there are approximately 200 lobbyists, 450 lobbyist client filers, and 2,282 clients registered in e-Lobbyist. In 2023, 2,891 statements of registration were filed by lobbyists and lobbyist client filers.

The law defines lobbying as an attempt to influence 11 specific activities, including 1) legislation by the City Council, 2) local legislation by the Mayor, 3) contracts or public monies, for example, discretionary funds awarded by Council Members, 4) determinations involving zoning or land use, 5) determinations regarding the sale or purchase of real estate, 6) any determination regarding a rule, 7) agency rate-making proceedings, 8) the

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agenda or determination of a New York City Board or Commission, 9) calendaring or scope of a Council oversight hearing, 10) Mayoral Executive Orders, and 11) any support or opposition of federal or state legislation, rule, or regulation by a New York City elected official or employee. The lobbying reporting system is a self-reporting system and the determination of whether an activity is reportable is a detailed fact-specific three-part analysis. The filer must first review the 11 defined activities, which I just stated, the list of excluded activities, and the reporting threshold of over 5,000 dollars per year, and determine whether reporting is required. The obligation is on the filer upon consultation with their counsel, if they have one or they choose to retain one, to review the facts and law and report accordingly. Ultimately, the filer must look to the nature and intention of the communications, who is communicating with whom and for what purpose, and determine whether reporting is required.

Required reports are client-based and include a statement of registration and up to six periodic reports for each client, fundraising and political consulting reports if applicable, and

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termination notices if applicable. Every client is responsible for filing termination notices as well as a client annual. I want to emphasize the point that the Lobbying Law apply applies the same to all entities, regardless of whether an entity is a forprofit or a non-profit organization. This includes foundations, not-for-profit organizations, and charities. Per the Administrative Code, all people and all entities that attempt to influence the City government fall under the jurisdiction of the Office of the City Clerk regardless of trade or profession. I would like to point out that there is no such thing as illegal lobbying as lobbying is a constitutionally protected form of freedom of speech. The question falls as to whether communication with elected officials or officers or employees of the City government are reportable.

Since its inception in 1972, the Lobbying
Law has been amended multiple times. However, the
most significant amendments occurred via Local Law 15
of 2006 and Local Law 129 of 2013. The amendments
contained in Local Law 129 of 2013 were based in
large part upon the recommendations of the Lobbying
Commission. The Lobbying Commission consisted of a

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panel of experts from all areas of government, both public and private sector. The amendments of 2013 were expansive and included an expansion of the definitions of lobbying, increasing the City Clerk's reporting requirements, codification of daily late fines for late reports, implementation of a mandatory training program for all lobbyists, initiation of a one-time amnesty program, and the creation of a system for applications for waivers or reductions of late fines and civil penalties. The amnesty period commenced on January 1, 2016, and continued through June 30, 2016. The Lobbying Bureau received 127 applications for amnesty and, ultimately, 120 entities were granted amnesty, allowing them to file reports without penalty.

From 2013 to 2023, the rules of the City have been amended four times to implement numerous important changes, including the amendment of the rules in their entirety in 2015 to conform to newly mandated provisions of Local Law 129 of 2013, the amendment of Section 1-16(d)(2) regarding the deadline for submission of amnesty applications, the addition of Sections 111(c)(2) and (3) to add a provision defining what constitutes minor

authorizations by the City Planning Commission on
minor decisions related to real property and most
recently, 4) amendments to remove automatic
extensions granted due to late enrollment per Section

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In 2018, the Lobbying Bureau announced the New York City Lobbyist Search Database. The enhanced capabilities of this system greatly assisted our continued efforts to promote transparency in government. The enhancements included dropdown menus by year, lobbying subjects and lobbying targets, text search capabilities including the ability to search by any lobbyist, client, employee, or government target name, the ability to print reports, and the expansion of the available information, including retainer agreements and fundraising and political consulting reports. NYC Lobbyist Search, which is updated twice monthly, has allowed the public to access lobbying information more quickly and more efficiently. The implementation of NYC Lobbyist Search allows any member of the public to have information at their fingertips rather than submit a FOIL request, which can be a lengthy and timeconsuming process.

1 FEDERAL LEGISLATION In addition, we were able to partner with 2 3 the NYC Office of Technology and Innovation, OTI, 4 formerly known as DoITT, to create a lobbyist data platform as part of NYC Open Data. The program allows any member of the public to download the entire 6 7 lobbying database without confidential information in 8 CSV format. Both Lobbyist Search and NYC Open Data have served as a tool for not only the public but also the media and fellow governmental agencies from 10 11 all levels and from all over the country to conduct their own research and investigations. For example, 12 13 recently we received inquiries from the City of 14 Chicago and the Federal Reserve Board, Department of Research and Statistics, and we've had many more 15 going back years before that. Each year, the Lobbying 16 17 Bureau staff reviews over 20,000 reports submitted on 18 the e-Lobbyist system for timeliness and 19 completeness. On average, the Lobbying Bureau 20 collects between 200,000 and 250,000 in registration 21 fees each year. In addition, each year, the Lobbying Bureau continues its efforts to uncover unreported 2.2 2.3 NYC lobbying by comparing statements of registration

filed with the New York State Commission on Ethics

and Lobbying in Government, CELG, with the statements

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of registration filed on the e-Lobbyist system. In 2 3 2022, 6,777 state reports were reviewed. In 2023, 9,141 reports from the state were reviewed.

Since 2013, late filers have been afforded the opportunity to apply for a waiver and/or reduction of late fines and civil penalties. Applications are reviewed by a Committee per the standards set forth in the Administrative Code. The Committee takes the following factors into account in determining whether a waiver or reduction is appropriate including whether and how the lobbyist or client has filed late in the past, the annual operating budget of the lobbyist or client, whether the lobbyist lobbies solely on its own behalf, for periodic reports the number of lobbying matters, number of hours spent, working on those matters, and the amount of compensation and expenditures that were not reported during the relevant period and the significance of the impediments to timely filing faced by the lobbyist or clients.

Pursuant to the rules, significant impediments are used in Section 1-12(f)(ii)(D) of the rules are limited to the death of the principal officer or designee or immediate family members

thereof, the illness of the principal officer or designee, or a force majeure.

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The Lobbying Bureau works diligently to timely and accurately respond to all requests for filing assistance and provides written responses and advisory opinions interpreting the law. In 2023, we responded to over 5,000 requests for filing assistance and interpretations of the law. Each year, our annual report contains data and analytics on the type and numbers of requests received.

The Office of the City Clerk is engaged in numerous outreach and training initiatives. Every new lobbyist is required to attend training within 15 days from its first registration. Every experienced lobbyist attends training every two years. Training is held via Microsoft Teams platform and is also available via pre-recorded video. Each year we conduct approximately 10 to 15 sessions, which are attended by 300 lobbyists on average. Notably, our help desk is available via phone and email to answer basic questions or for step-by-step e-Lobbyist filing assistance and opine on complex inquiries.

When it comes to lobbying in New York
City, the constant pattern has been one of growth.

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Each year, as mandated by the Administrative Code, we publish an annual report which contains detailed analytics including the number and complaints received from the public, the number of random audits conducted by the City Clerk and the outcomes thereof, compliance programs developed and implemented for lobbyists and clients, the number and type of requests for assistance related to the Lobbying Law received by the City Clerk, the number of lobbyists and filing and statements of registration for the first time, the subject matter of lobbying activity most frequently reported by lobbyists, the lobbyist targets most frequently reported by lobbyists, the lobbyist that received the highest compensation, and such other information and analysis as the City Clerk deems appropriate.

We are pleased to provide feedback with respect to the proposed law changes and answer any questions regarding the enforcement of the City's Lobbying Law. Thank you for your time and attention.

I'd be happy to answer any questions from the Committee.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Thanks so much, Mr. Clerk. Appreciate you and your team being here, and

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thank you, Mr. Ryan, we appreciate you being here for
guestions.

I think I'll start with some questions for COIB then kick it over to my Colleagues, and then ask questions of the other agencies. So just firstly, my understanding is that COIB has a relatively small staff, just 21 positions currently budgeted. I think that's down 16 percent from 25 positions prior to the Mayor coming into office in 2021. Is that right, and do you have sufficient resources to meet all of your charter mandates, and what impact does the recent PEG that the Mayor imposed, which would cut two positions, have on your operations?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: We endeavor.

Right now, we have 22 employees. The PEG is for 21 so, when the next employee, whomever he or she might be leaves, we won't be authorized to hire a new replacement for that person. We've lost someone in our Education Unit. We've lost a paralegal who supports the legal work of the entire agency and, most recently, an attorney in our Enforcement Unit, which an Enforcement Unit of four people, losing one person is essentially 25 percent of the ability of the agency to pursue complaints of violations of the

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Conflicts of Interest Law so we have always been a very small City agency. We consider ourselves punching above our weight as it were but, in an agency that in January 2022 was 25 people and now is just 22 people, it's a very significant to lose those individuals who work to give advice, to pursue enforcement, and to train over 300,000 City employees.

agree that the COIB (INAUDIBLE) count has long punched above its weight. Just in all seriousness, as Mr. Carrier testified at the beginning of his remarks, COIB is not technically a Mayoral agency, but it's subject to Mayoral approval on your headcount and your budget. Is that problematic that you're both tasked with kind of ensuring ethics compliance of the Mayor and he's responsible for determining your staff capacity, and budget.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: The Conflicts of Interest Board has long sought an independent budget in various, when there have been Charter Revision Commissions, the Board has testified seeking an independent budget like the Campaign Finance Board and other similar agencies have. The Board proposed

extensive series of Charter amendments back in 2009 and submitted them to the City Council at that time, also with the request for an independent budget, so there are challenges to have the same sort of category of individuals who are subject to the regulation of the Conflicts of Interest Board aAlso decide the staffing and budget of the Conflicts of Interest Board.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Great. We did read those 2009 recommendations and would certainly support them. A review of COIB's enforcement actions showed that there had only been approximately 30 fines imposed for post-employment violations in the previous decade. How do you monitor potential violations, and I'll just add my back of the envelope math is that we see turnover about 20,000 people a year in City government so over a decade we're talking about 200,000 people that have left City government, but we've seen only 30 post-employment violations issued so that's less than one-tenth of 1 percent. How have we been doing it? What more can we be doing to identify folks who are violating this rule?

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2 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: I'd say first 3 that the City workforce is huge, people work 24 hours 4 a day, Sanitation workers start shifts in the middle of the night, City doctors, City teachers have very 5 regulated schedules. It's very difficult to reach 6 7 City employees to educate them about their 8 obligations under the Conflicts of Interest Law. That all being said, among the provisions that's most commonly understood by people is the gifts rule and 10 11 the one-year post-employment communication ban, and I would say that it's quite effective that most times 12 13 when our educators go into City offices to teach people about the Conflicts of Interest Law, most 14 15 people will raise their hand that they understand 16 that they can't communicate with their former City 17 agency for one year so I think in some ways the lack 18 of enforcement actions is a reflection of a very 19 effective educational structure by our agency and by 20 agencies themselves for their own employees. Many 21 agencies have in the offboarding, there's probably a better word for that, procedure to tell people about 2.2 2.3 the post-employment restriction. We have no investigators on our staff. That was a structure that 24

was created by the Charter Revision Commission back

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in 86-88 to separate the enforcement mechanisms from the investigation mechanisms so we rely on the Department of Investigation to investigate, but I will say that because most City employees are aware of that one-year agency-only ban, if a former colleague communicates with them about a private business or a not-for-profit or some other city contract, the contact is very limited. It's just that one communication, and someone reports it either to the agency or to the Conflicts of Interest Board. There could always be more education. We are very serious about doing enforcement so, if there's a complaint that we receive, we pursue it, we prosecute it, and we endeavor to educate the public servant involved because usually the complaint happens so quickly that they're still in their first postemployment year, and so we can ensure that no further violations occur.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: When we're finding approximately three violations a year and 20,000 people are leaving City service, it's possible that everybody's just complying with the rules and the law. It's possible that the loopholes are so big that people can drive a truck through them, or it's

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possible that we just don't have the enforcement capacity to catch people that are doing the wrong thing.

I want to ask about, why don't we shift to the hypothetical situation of the Mayor's Chief-of-Staff who had approved all hiring decisions, been involved in every key policy decision in the Mayor's first year in office, decides to leave City government. Could you just remind us what are the restrictions currently on who he can appear before after he leaves City service?

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Before I do
that, let me just add a fourth category to the three
that you listed of why it is there aren't that many
post-employment violations. When you have a City
workforce that's very well-educated about what the
post-employment restrictions are, when a former
public servant of that agency tries to contact his
former colleagues, they know what the rules are, and
they tell that person we won't talk to you so they're
in fact shutting this communication down before
anything substantive actually happens. I think that
happens all the time. I actually get calls from
attorneys at City agencies just saying, hey, we're

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just confirming, this guy wanted to talk to us, we said we can't, we're right, right, he's still in his first year, the restriction applies that way. That's right, and there's no reason to like fine somebody money when the City agency identifies it right at the outset and nothing...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Of course, it's...

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: That fourth category is important, I think actually covers thousands of such attempts probably each year.

With regard to the senior staff at the Mayor's Office...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Specifically Chiefof-Staff leaves the Mayor's Office, what are the exact restrictions that are on him when he departs City service.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Right, so the Chief-of-Staff at the Mayor's Office is one of the people who continues to have a one-year post-employment communication ban with his former agency served, which for the Mayor's Office would be the Mayor's Office and all the Mayor's Offices of...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Right.

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2 GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: So all the sort
3 of satellite entities created by...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Just to confirm the Mayor's Chief-of-Staff is not permitted to speak to people who work in the Mayor's Office, about 1 percent of City government, but is permitted to engage and appear before the very next day every Mayoral agency in the City of New York.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Yeah, though, that 1 percent is a little misleading of a number, right, because it's the Mayor's Office.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: It's 1 percent of the city workforce. It's maybe 3,000 or so employees out of well over 330,000, and he can appear before every agency head in the City of New York and lobby them the very next day, 24 hours later. Correct?

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Yes, so he is not subject to a one-year communication...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Right.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: But hold on.

That's not the only post-employment restriction he's subject to. He's also subject to the lifetime particular matter ban, which would prohibit him from communicating with any City agency, whether

compensated or not, about any particular matter on which he worked when he was at the Mayor's office.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I do want to come back to that. It was reported widely that, while working in this building as Chief-of-Staff to the Mayor, he solicited and signed clients or solicited clients and agreed to lobby on their behalf after he departed from City service. Is that right?

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: I have no idea.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: It's been widely reported in Politico, City and State, and many other outlets and, in fact, Brendan McGuire, the former Chief Counsel to the Mayor who's now his defense attorney, had to correct on the record his statements because Mr. Carone admitted. You're aware of these reported articles in the press?

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Yes, I've seen the articles. I'm just saying I that's, and I wouldn't be able to comment on anything else that I might know about...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Well, I'm going to keep asking questions so is it permissible for a City employee to build a book of clients, lobbying clients

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: No, I'm going to drive the questions on this one. Somebody works in City Hall, is recruiting lobbying clients, right, and you're not able to confirm whether that is permissible? The Chief-of-Staff to the Mayor, the most powerful person in City government shy of the Mayor himself, is recruiting lobbying clients for his future practice, you're not able to confirm whether that's legal or not.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Chair Restler,

I'm not able to say the answer to that question for

two reasons. One is I don't actually know the facts

of the circumstance...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: But it's been widely reported in the press exactly which clients he retained prior to leaving office.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Again, because I don't know or could not disclose the facts of any such circumstance...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: And you're unwilling to confirm, it's been 16 months since his departure, whether COIB has looked into this matter and its legality.

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GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Chair Restler,
as I said before, I would be violating Chapter 68 if
I disclosed whether the Board...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: How long does it typically take COIB to determine whether to look into a matter of this type.

we can back up, we're implementing a law that was created in '19, by a Charter Revision Commission that is intended to protect the rights of individual public servants and their ability to seek advice from the Conflicts of Interest Board so every single public servant who seeks advice from the Conflicts of Interest Board, we provide confidential advice to that person and we will disclose to nobody whether that person has sought advice and what advice they received.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: But that wasn't my question.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: Similarly, when there's a complaint about a public servant, whether in the press or by an individual person, whether we've received a complaint is confidential as a matter of law under the City Charter. That's the

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: Right, that's a question that's, right, we don't have investigators at the Conflicts of Interest Board.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I understand.

conducts its investigations. They have a broad mandate, and they've also experienced budget cuts so how long a DOI investigation takes can vary widely from a year to much longer than that depending on the nature of the conduct alleged, the investigation, what it's required, witnesses, subpoenas, and other things, but I'm not the expert on how DOI conducts its investigation.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I understand. I'm just looking for context on how long it might take for you all to look into a matter like this, and do you look into similar matters based on reports of potential illegality in the press?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: Not potential illegality. When we read articles in the press or we receive complaints that, if true, would constitute violations of the City's Conflicts of Interest Law, which is a limited law which regulates very specific conduct, we refer those complaints or press reports

to the City's Department of Investigation for investigation. Every single complaint we receive is reviewed by an attorney and is evaluated for whether that, if true, would constitute a violation of the conflicts of interest.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: But you are actively monitoring press reports and, if there are concerns, you will investigate them accordingly.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: If there are reported conduct that would constitute a violation of the Conflicts of Interest Law, which, again, there's many things that public officials may do that's way beyond what the limited Conflicts of Interest Law regulates.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Right, but you're unwilling to testify today when the Chief-of-Staff to the Mayor of New York engages Northwell Health, the largest private employer in New York State, as a client that he's going to lobby on their behalf prior to leaving City service, that Northwell Health gets 11 million dollars in new City contracts significantly more than they've ever received immediately after Mr. Carone leaves public service,

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2 you're unwilling to testify whether that may be a
3 potential violation.

that my insistence, our insistence, on following the mandates of the Conflicts of Interest Law would not be read as unwillingness but rather as adherence to the legal requirements of confidentiality that our Board is required to uphold.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: As you noted in your testimony, the post-employment ban does not just restrict lobbying, it prohibits all communication for compensation, through the end of last year in the case of Mr. Carone. We all know that he and the Mayor have been in active communication during that time period as he serves as the Chair of his reelection campaign. I realize you're not going to offer any insight into specific guidance that you've offered, but can you confirm that COIB is monitoring the situation or if any guidance has been provided to ensure that there has not been illegal communication in the previous year?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: The Conflicts of Interest Law, the City Charter mandates as a matter of law that any communications we have with

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any individual public servants seeking advice is confidential and any advice that person received is confidential so if any Council Member had sought advice from the Conflicts of Interest Board and a reporter called us and said did so and so Council Member seek advice from the Conflicts of Interest Board, we wouldn't say whether they asked, what they asked about, or what we told them. Again, I cannot as a matter of law...

Oftentimes we'll hear elected officials, public officials say I consulted with the Conflicts of Interest Board, they told me this was fine, and we have no insight whether you did tell them it was fine or whether they're accurately describing the guidance that they received. When an elected official publicly misrepresents the guidance they've received from the Conflict of Interest Board, what will you do then?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: The law prohibits the Board from disclosing whether someone sought advice or what advice they received.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I have to say when we're identifying three cases out of 20,000 people leaving City service for violating post-employment

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restrictions and we're unable to really drill down that somebody in the most senior role in City government is creating a lobbying practice while working at City Hall, that there's potentially legality happening, I find myself guite frustrated.

I just want to move on to the substantial discretion policymaker list. Could you describe the proposed changes to the substantial discretion policymaker list that you're pursuing in recent updates to the capital rules?

is in the process of considering some proposed changes to the policymaker rules that are just about the process of doing that work, that is trying some efforts to, the current law has agencies designating policymakers once a years. The Board concluded that wasn't frequent enough because of turnover, you want to have more accurate risk list so that's being updated to be twice a year now and is requiring that agencies provide some additional information, including some organizational charts so that the Board and the Board staff can do a better job of evaluating whether or not the people that agencies are designating are, in fact, the people who have the

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authority and responsibilities that should be designated as policymakers, they're not leaving people out or adding people on that shouldn't be there. In addition to that, the Board is codifying a practice the Board began several years ago where the Board has taken over the responsibility of notifying policymakers of their additional legal obligations directly rather than relying on agencies to do that just to ensure that it's happening and that the communications about those are uniform. Those procedural things, there was a public hearing for that yesterday and the Board at an open meeting sometime in the near future will evaluate those procedural changes.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: In addition to potentially requiring organizational charts, which I think would be helpful for verifying the accuracy of these lists, have you considered other requirements such as agency heads or Deputy Mayors signing off on the accuracy of these policymaking lists? We've found there's like wild discrepancy from agency to agency on who gets added to these lists and who doesn't, and so we think it would be helpful for there to be some senior officials who have more global views verifying

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2 the accuracy of who is actually on the substantial 3 policymaking list.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Right, the Board hasn't contemplated that because it hasn't been our experience that agencies have been reluctant to add people to the policymaker list when the Board or even Board staff suggests that they should be on there so the truth is there's just not really much of an incentive for a City agency to limit that list at the moment because the additional restrictions that those public servants are subject to are not particularly onerous, there's a fundraising restriction and a restriction on holding very high offices for political parties, and while it would also mean that they would have to file an annual disclosure report, almost all of the people who are designated as policymakers are already annual disclosure filers anyway by virtue of the managerial level of position that they're in so agencies don't really push back on those lists, and I think at the moment it's mostly just a matter of when agencies have reorganized they maybe have not looked again at whether or not the new organization, the people in their new roles in the agency really match up with the way the rule would

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require, and so there's a little bit of cleanup that
probably needs to happen and that's mostly what we've
been aimed at.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I just want to say on the record, having worked in City government for over a decade, I totally disagree with your assessment that people don't care about being on or off the list. People actively try to stay off the list. You're not able to fundraise, be on a host Committee, you can't be involved in all kinds of political activities that people care about if they're on this list and, in my experience, when I worked in the de Blasio Administration, there was wild discrepancies agency to agency on how they approached this list and a lack of uniformity in who was considered a substantial policy maker and, while we appreciate some of the improvements that are considered in the rules, we don't believe you're going nearly far enough in ensuring that the right senior policymakers are being accurately reflected on this consistently across the board.

I have a bunch more questions for you all, and I haven't even had a chance to bother the Clerk yet, but let me kick it over to Colleagues who

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2 may have questions, I know everyone has busy days.

3 Let me start with Council Member Brewer, if that's

okay, former Chair of this Committee as she has a

bill, and then we'll go to Council Member Carr. 5

COUNCIL MEMBER CARR: Thank you very much, and I'm not exactly sure who would help, but I think it would be the Clerk's office. The idea is what we described Intro. 742, persons who are active in political campaigns could not be lobbying and lobbyists who are active as lobbyists could not be campaigners, but if they are insistent on having the conversation between the campaign and the elected officials so is that something that you could carry out in terms of enforcement? Do you think you have the capacity to do that? It does have an additional type of person, perhaps, and maybe what kind, if it was to be the law, what kind of information would you need in order to enforce it?

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: We would certainly be willing and able to carry it out. It would require some changes, but I also would like to point out that there is a limitation in the law because it includes for-compensation political consulting. It does not include political consulting

and fundraising that is done pro bono, that is not compensated so that is an important distinction and it does curb the amount of reporting that is engaged in by lobbyists, for example, because if they're not compensated for their political consulting, they do not have to disclose it, but we could certainly undertake, with proper legal changes, we would be able to carry it out. We'd have to make technological changes to our filing systems, which obviously we'd have to do that in consultation with OTI and there's budgetary constraints and technological issues that have to be worked out, but we do feel that it would be in line with our current operations and enforcement and that we would be able and willing to follow any policy changes.

COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: All right, thank

you. One other question just generally and maybe it's

in the briefing and maybe you mentioned it, but

what's the percentage of people that you find and how

do you find them? Is it from individuals who make

complaints? How do you find people who you feel are

abusing the law? How does that mostly get

communicated to the City Clerk?

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CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: We get phone calls. We get tips from time to time. It's not a great number, and we're not getting contacts from good citizens who are trying to advise us of unreported lobbying. It's usually another lobbyist or somebody in the community with a beef, and they're carrying out a vendetta. That's usually where the primary source of information comes from.

COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: Interesting. All right. Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Council Member Carr.

guess this question is for COIB. You talked in your response to the Chair's questions earlier about how agency officials will contact you and say that they shut down attempted communications by former employees who were still within their scope of their post-employment ban talking to their former agency. What's the point at which you deem that to be actionable on your part? Because you're saying like, oh, the communication was shut down, nothing ended up happening because the agency knew better, but that doesn't mean people aren't making multiple attempts at that over the time with different agency

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personnel. At what point does it rise to the level

where nothing happened, but you'd still want to maybe 3

have that referred or considered on your part? 4

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: Yeah, there's a variety of factors that go into it, and it's the 6 7 decision that's of the Board itself, it's not a staff

decision about whether to pursue enforcement. 8

Certainly, if we had a record that they received formal written quidance before they left City service 10

11 and they still made a prohibited communication, then

we know that the sort of the pre-shutdown hadn't 12

13 worked and then enforcement would be appropriate. If

the contact wasn't just a casual, let's set up a 14

15 meeting, but the meeting itself, then we would likely

16 pursue enforcement. Because the post-employment

17 communication is not lobbying. It's a whole wide

18 array of communications that former City employees

make, and many City employees stay in the fields in 19

20 which they worked in City service so we're talking

21 about an ACS case worker who goes to work for

2.2 private, not-for-profit foster care agency and if, at

2.3 that private foster care agency, they call ACS to

say, hey, we're wanting to make sure we have all the

25 right information or case files or something like that, what would be a prohibited post-employment communication, not lobbying. We would want to look at that and make sure that person understood what their obligations were. If they're at a big meeting about the contract, then that's probably something we pursue it for.

COUNCIL MEMBER CARR: So you said the Board makes all the decisions. Is there no time when staff will say that this isn't worthy of Board attention? You're presenting every case to the Board.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: No, not every single case. If there's something that we can deal with, that's just like someone made a phone call, the phone call wasn't returned, it immediately came to us. Sometimes there's a voicemail message, hey, Bob, it's Sheila, I used to work there, and it immediately comes to Ethan's shop who's, in addition to being General Counsel, supervises the Legal Advice Unit.

Our goal is to prevent violations before they occur so if we can reach out to a former public servant and educate them about the Conflicts of Interest Law, we're trying to solve these problems sort of one public servant at a time.

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credible?

COUNCIL MEMBER CARR: Understood. So in 2 3 the event that you have a clearcut violation of the 4 Conflicts of Interest Law being alleged to you, a complaint is submitted to you, what level of 5 verification do you engage in about whether or not 6 7 this is, at what point does it become actionable in 8 your view because it's possible someone makes a frivolous complaint, it's some possible someone just makes something up and it may even get reported on 10

publicly so what kind of assessment do you engage in

whether or not that specific allegation is even

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: Yeah, so if something is reported in the press, almost always it's going to require a formal investigation by the Department of Investigation obtaining documents, interviewing witnesses and the like. In the postemployment context uniquely is that often when we get complaints, the person who was the sort of recipient of the prohibited communication is telling us, hey, former employee Sheila was at this meeting and she just left the agency six months ago so both for the goals of that's enough evidence for us to establish a violation and because we want to prevent the former

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employee from engaging in any additional prohibited conduct, we would proceed with that evidence that we had already so the post-employment one-year ban

violations are the ones we can move most quickly on.

perhaps also the City Clerk's Office. There are plenty of folks who leave City service, right, who were maybe civil service employees, they took tests to get their positions, but then there's the folks like us in the Committee, the elected officials, high ranking members of agencies and the Mayor's Office. Are there particular people that you monitor upon leaving City service based on what they do, whether they're going to not-for-profits or into the lobbying field in order to make sure that they're complying with lobbying registration and whatnot, if they're engaging in those activities, or is it purely reactive to complaints and allegations?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: The first line of proactiveness is always education so to the extent that the City Service Departure Checklist includes a handout that we've created about the post-employment restrictions. That's the ideal scenario. There's no monitoring that we do. Again, we're a staff of 22

people. We have no investigators. As Chair Restler

noted, 20,000 or so public servants leave City

service every year so this is way beyond the capacity

or really probably appropriateness of the agency, but

we try to educate as much as we possibly can.

COUNCIL MEMBER CARR: Thank you, Chair.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I'd like to turn over to my friend and neighbor, Council Member Hanif.

COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: Thank you, Chair

Restler.

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I'll start with the City Clerk's office and just thank you so much for being here. This is a topic of great interest but, also if I wasn't a Council Member, I'd be tuning in to this hearing. Specifically, the 2013 Lobbying Report suggests that the Lobbying Bureau should have a designated full-time staff person responsible for conducting education and outreach, not just to registered lobbyists, but in venues where there are likely to be people who may be subject to the requirements of the lobbying laws but may not be registered. Do you have a staff member or members who are responsible for conducting outreach?

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that.

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: We did hire a staff person after the enactment of Local Law 129 of 2013. That person ended up leaving, and we had difficulty retaining another person to perform the training function so my Deputy City Clerk and Deputy General Counsel have been conducting the training and some of the outreach, but we kind of got into the habit of training those people through those two people so that we've met our training requirement, but it just got easier to make sure we met our training requirement and, after having difficulty in retaining that person, we haven't successfully gotten back to

COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: Got it, so two
members of the team who are not the outreach
representatives are right now filling that role or
have as a part of their portfolio. Could you just
walk me through what the extent of the outreach looks
like and the trainings that you're fulfilling?

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: As part of the amnesty program, there were very specific activities that we were required to undergo. We were required to take out advertisements, attend public meetings, distribute materials, public commercials, and we

fulfilled all of those activities that were 2 3 specifically mandated by the law, but there's other 4 activities that we conduct on a yearly basis, quarterly basis to conduct outreach and to train, and 5 we continue to do those activities even without that 6 7 staff position, so examples include every year we 8 contact every single agency that receives discretionary funding and inform them of the lobbying law and invite them to communicate with our office if 10 11 they need more information. In addition, we review 12 every single report filed with the New York State 13 lobbying entity to make sure that if they are 14 lobbying in New York City, they're also reporting 15 with our office. For example, last year, we reviewed 16 approximately 9,000 reports filed with the State, and we compared them with the approximate 3,000 reports 17 18 filed with the City and made sure that anyone that 19 wasn't in our system came into our system and, as a 20 result of that, we contacted approximately 94 21 entities, but we definitely haven't been able to 2.2 physically go out there and attend as many meetings 2.3 and conduct as much community outreach as we did when we had the trainer because, for example, when we had 24 the trainer, the trainer along with other staff 25

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: 55.

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COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: 55, from sixty...

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: 62.

COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: Got it.

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: Sorry, I just want to add we are the marriage bureau, right, that's the love side, and also the lobbying bureau, which I call the non-love side so just to clarify, the Lobbying Bureau has five staff that full time work on the Lobbying Bureau.

COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: And then the, I was about to say the love bureau, but...

Bureau so that number includes both bureaus in addition to our other functions, such as our esteemed Commissioner who presides over City Council meetings, Commissioner of Deeds, Oaths of Office. We conduct bonds and certainly my General Counsel could speak more to that so we have multiple functions that we are performing with that headcount, and it's five people that are performing in large part the activities and functions of the Lobbying Bureau.

COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: Thank you. Chair, I have a few more questions. Turning now to COIB, and I

do have to of course celebrate the social media

presence, really appreciate it. I want to just get

some clarity on the two pieces of legislation. Are

you making a recommendation that we pursue a Charter

Revision and go through that route as opposed to

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: We're

7 | these two pieces of legislation?

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recommending that if the City Council wants to contemplate changing the restrictions in Chapter 68, in particular the post-employment restrictions, that would be the better process because it would really provide the sort of multiple public hearings and sort of massive outreach to get all the people who are stakeholders in this the opportunity to get a way in, in particular the public servants who are going to be affected by this who when they become private citizens are going to have their speech restricted with regard to their communications with City government and the people in City government now who do the hard work of trying to recruit good people into the City positions that hearing what those people think is a thing that the Charter Revision Commission could do, and it could really take its time to figure out how changes to this post-

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employment restriction fit into what is really an interrelated set of post-employment restrictions, the lifetime particular matter ban and the confidential information ban work with this restriction, and so when you alter one piece of that, trying to make sure it fits in with the others, which is not to say that there might not be room for some improvement, though we did just have changes come into effect just over two years ago, some pretty substantial ones, and our thought is it might make more sense to, at least in large part, let's see how those go. The last version was worked for 32 years. Let's see how this version works for more than just a couple of years before we start changing it again, but the Charter Revision process, we feel like is a sort of better way of doing the hard work of getting this right, and it's also the way that the Chapter 68 has always been changed in the past so it feels like that the best process.

COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: And could you for everybody who's listening in on this great hearing who would be leading that process? Would it be on COIB to identify the public hearings? Would that be staff capacity at COIB?

Revision Commission.

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GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: A Charter
Revision Commission should be independent even from
us. We would obviously be eager testifiers and
providers of information to a Charter Revision
Commission, but that should be a Commission that
really also has a cross-section of people with
different points of view and so forth who are trying
to take testimony from everybody and kind of figure
out what's best for the City so it shouldn't be us
who's doing that, but it should be a nice diverse set
of people who constitute a separately created Charter

COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: Got it. Then for what types of organizations are former elected officials and public servants lobbying in your experience?

an interesting question. So this prohibition, I don't know the answer to that question because we don't regulate lobbying. We regulate former public servants who are communicating with the City under this postemployment restriction, which is both sort of broader and narrower. It's not all lobbyists, because probably most lobbyists are not former public

servants, I'm guessing, I'm assuming most of them are
not, but our concern is only about those former
public servants. And it's broader in that it's
communication of all different kinds, not necessarily
stuff that would qualify as lobbying, though I'm not
expert in what requires somebody to become registered
as a lobbyist, but it's all kinds of communications
as long as you are paid by somebody to communicate so
not just classic lobbying, but also routine business
communications, seeking non-ministerial licenses and
permits from the City, lots of things that I think
people would not normally think of as being
necessarily the kind of advocacy kind of thing that
maybe we think of when we think of lobbyists so this
is just a different kind of restriction. It's really
mostly focused on only former public servants, and
it's mostly focused on trying to make sure that
government officials, who might know those former
public servants because of the work that they did,
are not being unduly influenced so it's a cooling off
period, would be maybe the way to describe it.

COUNCIL MEMBER HANIF: Thank you. Thanks for being here.

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Thank you so much.

3 | Council Member Hanif.

So just to do a little bit of a recap, you testified that the Mayor's Chief-of-Staff, the widely recognized most powerful person in City government shy of the Mayor, could appear before 99 percent of City government the day after he left office, and you've also testified that you believe the current laws on post-employment restrictions are appropriate and good, that they've worked well, I think was your language, over the last series of decades. I could not more strongly disagree. You've testified in opposition to the bills that we're considering today to impose further restrictions and recommended that the appropriate way to consider modifications would be through a Charter Revision Commission. I have to ask, you're appearing before the City Council, we're the duly elected representatives, we pass bills every single month, why are we not equipped to pass legislation here? GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: I certainly did

not say that you're not equipped to pass legislation.

24 CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Okay.

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GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: I'm just suggesting that for a change that's going to impact so many public servants and that is a really complicated change in the post-employment restrictions that there are a lot of different stakeholders who should be heard from and that it should be done over some time where people really get to spend a lot of time, like a group of people really get to spend a lot of time sort of thinking about this and hearing testimony from a lot of people and, as Charter Revision Commissions are the entity that have done that for Chapter 68 in the past, it just seems like the best process for us. It's not to say there might not be other processes, just that would be the best practice.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Yeah. You also testified that you had a limited time to review our bills. We introduced them well over a year ago so I believe there was more than ample time to review them.

I just have to dig in a little further.

As you noted, we had the 2019 Charter Revision

Commission that imposed a more extensive ban on

Deputy Mayors, Directors at OMB, Corp Counsel, DCAS,

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Finance, DOI, CPC Chair, now they all have a two-year ban from appearing before any agency in the branch of government that they served. Why should that not apply to the Mayor's Chief-of-Staff or the Mayor's Chief Counsel or the HPD Commissioner?

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Oh, I'm not actually saying that I don't think it should.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: You just don't think that it's appropriate for us to move forward with that change at this time so it may be something that you could support in the future, you just don't support it today. Is that right?

things. One, I think that, because we've just had these changes in the post-employment restrictions, it would be good to see how they work out because we really haven't had the sort of big turnover of an Administration to see what the impact of these new changes would be because these changes came into effect in the first year of this this current Administration so seeing that sort of big turnover moment and what the implications are of that for the future recruitment and how well that's working I think it's a little bit yet to be seen. Then the

second thought is just one about process, right? We just want to make sure that we have good process and that we've really heard from everyone. Certainly, the law has always required and should require that higher level public servants are subject to greater restrictions than people who have lesser authority or authority...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: But haven't you testified today that isn't the case? We've acknowledged 10 times on the record today that the most powerful person in the City of New York, shy of the Mayor himself, in City government, could lobby 99 percent of City officials hours after leaving public service. How is the current law working well? How do we have the appropriate restrictions in place? I'm flabbergasted by COIB's approach to this.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: We didn't write the law that exists today...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Right, but you're saying that you don't want to see changes to it at this time, and that is shocking to me, considering that we can all see that the current law is broken.

We have far greater restrictions in Albany, New York,

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in the biggest swamp of the entire United States than
we do here at City Hall. How is that acceptable?

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Council Member,

I think that you've identified one position in City

government that may need greater restrictions. It's

not to say that the...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: No, I'm just giving an example. I want to be clear I could keep going if you'd like me to. It's just a very ripe one.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: What I'm trying to say is, we've had a newly enhanced post-employment restriction in effect for just a couple of years. There is no such thing as a law that fits perfectly for every person, right? There's always going to be some people for whom the law is applying, perhaps too strictly or perhaps not strictly enough, and I'm not disagreeing with you about its application in the example that you've provided. I'm not disagreeing with you that there may be other people for whom it's not applying very well at the moment either, but I'm saying overall for 300,000 public servants, overall, it's working pretty well we think. We would like to see what the changes that happened just a couple years ago, how they work out, particularly once we've

2 made it past perhaps another changeover in

3 Administration and just see if they're really doing

4 | the job. As I said in my testimony, it's not to say

5 that there may come a time when we need to look at

6 the post-employment communication ban to see whether

7 or not there should be some changes. We're just

8 saying that perhaps this particular moment is not

9 quite right yet.

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Mr. Carrier, as you testified, the mission of COIB is to preserve the trust placed in the public servants of the City, to promote public confidence in government, to protect the integrity of government decision-making, and the current laws do not allow for that. They allow for legal corruption, and so I'm just shocked that COIB wouldn't come before us today to say, yes, there are clearly improvements we need to make, yes, when the Mayor's Chief-of-Staff is leaving City government and has a 24-million-dollar-a-year lobbying practice 24 hours after leaving City government, he is building a lobbying book while working in this building, that is egregious. It is egregious, and you're telling me that you don't think it needs to be changed. I could give you 100 examples just like this, but I'm shocked

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that considering the mission of your agency, you wouldn't be here testifying, saying you're right, we do need to close these loopholes, we do need to work and do more together to ensure the integrity in our local government because that is not what I heard today. I heard you testify in opposition to these issues and to claim that it's going to undermine recruitment and retention in City service, but Mayor Adams was able to recruit Deputy Mayors, Finance Commissioners, Investigation Commissioners, and all of these other positions subject to these new restrictions that we are advocating for in this legislation to expand to get more positions so what proof or evidence do you have beyond your anecdotal insight that modifying post-employment restrictions would have any impact on recruitment and retention?

I'm sorry that's the message that you've taken away from my testimony today. I don't think that's what I've testified to. I think that what we've been trying to articulate on behalf of our Board is just a slower approach to making changes to this restriction to make sure that we're getting it right because we think that there are a lot of public servants who

would be affected by, a lot of positions in City government, who would be affected by this proposal in a way that would have some significant unintended consequences.

I see corruption taking place, I don't believe that a slow approach is appropriate. We have to step up, intervene, and fix it. I'm not here to sit around and watch paint dry to see if maybe in a few years things might get better. We see broken systems today. They need to be fixed today. That is my approach to governing, and it's the approach of the City Council.

I do want to recognize my friend and neighbor, Council Member Gutiérrez. Thank you for joining us. If you have any questions, just let us know. We'll jump in whenever.

Okay, I have a couple more questions, and then I'd like to shift to the other agencies who've been gracious enough to join us today but, just to clarify on the recruitment and retention piece, do you have any evidence to underscore your concern that these policies will undermine recruitment and retention?

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Restler, the testimony is clear that we're identifying issues and concerns, and the process of a Charter Revision Commission, we are not hiring managers, we don't work in appointment offices, we're not involved in the recruitment and agency heads.

This is not our field of expertise. That is exactly the reason your identification of what evidence is in fact why we think the Charter Revision Commission is the proper process because it would allow the opportunity for those individuals who work in those fields, who have the experience who are in City government to be able to provide that testimony and information.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Okay, so I heard we don't have proof or evidence to this effect. You're just expressing that these are potential concerns that you think could exist.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I understand, but you're that your opposition to this legislation is because you think it could undermine recruitment and retention. I'm saying we don't have a record of that

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with the Mayor's recent round of appointments that have been subject to these expanded lobbying restrictions that we think should be expanded yet further.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: They weren't subject to the restrictions that are in this bill.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: They were not, but they were subject to the 2019 Charter Revision

Commission restrictions that are similar to the restrictions that we would impose in this bill to more public officials and, relatedly, you're saying we should go through a Charter Revision Commission process. The Charter calls for COIB to review Chapter 68 and submit recommendations to the Council at least once every five years. It appears the last recommendations we received were in 2014. Could you explain?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR MILLER: The Board has had a substantial amount of turnover in part because of the changes to the Board that were implemented by the 2019 Charter Revision Commission. We have multiple Board Members who've served less than two years on the Board so the Board is working to acclimate themselves to the Conflicts of Interest

Law. Also, we had a very experienced Board put before the Council extensive recommendations to the Charter that were not taken up by the Council at that time so the Board still believes that those extensive proposed revisions to the Charter remain worthy of consideration.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: We share your assessment. We think that many of the recommendations that you made in 2009 were smart and appropriate, and we do hope to revisit them.

One item that I believe you considered back then related to pre-employment restrictions and a proposed cooling off period for public servants when they enter City service. We'll stick with the example of the day because it's just easier to use specifics. Mr Caron famously was an attorney for many different clients with business before the City when he was appointed Chief-of-Staff. Are there currently any restrictions that are in place for someone like that who has been an attorney for clients with business before the City, lobbyist for real estate clients, lobbyist for others when they enter City Hall? Can they continue to talk to their former

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clients and advocate for their interests from the
inside?

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: So Chapter 68, you're correct, and that was one of one of the proposals I believe in the 2009 Charter Revision recommendations from our Board. Chapter 68 does not contain a pre-employment restriction. There are other jurisdictions that have such pre-employment restrictions, but that's not to say that the Charter doesn't restrict conduct of public servants who recently entered City service with regard to some of their prior interests insofar as they continue to have any kind of financial connection, bills that haven't been paid yet, continuing to have say if they've dissolved their membership in a partnership, the time that it takes to dissolve that membership and have their be paid out for that. When those financial interests continue to exist for that duration of time, a public servant still is prohibited under Charter Section 2604(b)(3) from being involved in matters involving whoever that is, whether a person firm they still have that, but there isn't an express pre-employment restriction.

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: We appreciated the recommendations that you made in 2009 to consider greater pre-employment restrictions, and I think we'd be very interested in working together with you to revisit it.

all, at least for the moment. I apologize, I may think of others, but I wanted to ask you about a comment you made, Mr. Carrier, that relates to a lifetime particular matter ban for issues that somebody works on when they're in City Hall. For positions like Chief-of-Staff to the Mayor that touch just about everything of consequence, what review is conducted by COIB or otherwise to determine what are the issues that individual X is not permitted to work on subsequently following their service in local government.

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Chair Restler, because we are just an agency with currently 22 people, we do not conduct a review of that type. We don't go out to do that, but many public servants come to us to seek advice about that subject and then we will review the questions they've got and try to help them.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Like for a position like this one, just as an example, or a Deputy Mayor, that's touched so much in City government while they work here, how can you evaluate the scale of issues that they should no longer be engaged with?

information about what they have worked on, what particular matters they have worked on, and the standard is worked on personally and substantially is information that they or their agency would have to provide to us. We're an independent agency. We don't know what the day-to-day work of every public servant is.

Sympathetic, you've got 22 people and dozens of folks asking you every single day for advice and guidance is a lot on your plate with a relatively limited capacity. I appreciate the longstanding recommendations you've had to have more investigative capacity in-house to be able to take ownership for more of this work, but it feels like a Sisyphean task to be trying to hope that all 20,000 people that are leaving City government every year are following their post-employment restrictions. Indeed, we're

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only identifying three people a year who are and, for something like this on the issues that the most senior officials are unable to work on or should not, it's very challenging to have any oversight to inform what those issues are, and I think it would be helpful to work together to think about how you all could be resourced to actually provide that oversight in a rigorous and effective way.

Last one, and I told you that you couldn't trust me when I said last one so last one for now. The Mayor's previous Counsel said in an interview that his office had worked with COIB to provide a set of guidelines to senior officials, and I know you won't provide a specific guidance for an individual and that that could be considered confidential, but for something like this where the Mayor's Chief Counsel said that he worked with COIB to provide guidance to senior City Hall officials on related matters, are those guidelines that could be shared with us or could you confirm that you worked with the Mayor's Chief Counsel to craft those guidelines?

GENERAL COUNSEL CARRIER: Any read any documents or records that are in our possession are

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not things that we can provide and, when we provide advice, including by working with General Counsels at City agencies, Chief Counsel, the Mayor, and General Counsel here at the City Council to help provide some advice about policies that agency might be interested in working on, I couldn't answer the question of whether we've done that for any particular agency, but the confidentiality is for them, so they are free to disclose that sort of quidance. Now, all that being said, we work with any City agency's General Counsel or Chief Counsel who comes to us who would like some help in trying to comply with the conflicts of interest law. We are, of course, eager to help. We want to help people comply with the law. Our goal is to take whatever steps we possibly can to do that. CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Okay. Thank you very

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Okay. Thank you very much.

I'd like to shift to the Clerk and your team. Thank you again for being with us today.

As I wrote noted in my opening remarks, last year, lobbyists were paid 131 million dollars, almost double what they were paid a decade ago. Could you just remind us on exactly how many staff Lobbying Bureau has overseeing this industry, how has the

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staffing capacity of the Lobbying Bureau changed over the past decade, and do you think, given that we've seen a doubling in the amount of lobbying activity, should the City Clerk's Lobbying Bureau have doubled as well in that intervening time, and then lastly, just on that, could you let us know if the recent PEGs that you've been subject to by the Mayor have impacted the Lobbying Bureau's operations?

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: The Lobbying Bureau currently operates with Damaris Acosta, our Deputy City Clerk. She oversees the Lobbying Bureau, our Deputy General Counsel, Chief Investigator, an Investigator, and a Paralegal. In addition, my General Counsel, my Deputy City Clerk overseeing the Marriage Bureau and myself, we contribute to the work of the Lobbying Bureau together. After Local Law 129 of 2013, as I said before, we did hire a full-time trainer to assist us with rolling out the amnesty period and doing the outreach for that and, unfortunately, that person departed and we do need to fill that vacancy. Before that, we've had a couple more investigators at one time, but we found that it's been very difficult for us to retain people for these tasks. The people that are working that I have

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described are very hard-working people, and we've been doing a lot of juggling to make sure that we carry out our mandates. Would we like to see the number of staff doubled? We would welcome any increase of resources that we could get. Unfortunately, our PEGs, as I mentioned before, have been substantial, and we're not even in compliance with our headcount because, when the PEGs were given, we couldn't lay anybody off so things were done on an attrition basis, but between the fact that we haven't met our attrition goals and we've had three people returned from maternity leave who went on maternity leave prior to the PEGs, we're actually over our required headcount, and the one other person who's still out on maternity leave contacted us recently and expressed that she would like to return earlier so, with the PEGs that are in place, there's no way we can hire anyone new until we meet those goals. It would be nice if the PEGs that have been extended into the outyears can be addressed during the budget. I would love to see that. That would be huge for us.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: We will do our best and focus on that as we enter into the budget negotiations.

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Could you just remind us how many audits are conducted each year? How is that changed over time? Our review found that these audits generated between 50 and 130 findings that required actions annually. Is that a high rate of findings? Do you think more audits would be beneficial to help identify more issues that exist within these lobbying reports?

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: Yes, we do think more audits would be helpful. The audits help us to find where lobbyists are not providing information about their targets, they're not identifying the Local Law, they're not identifying the borough, block, and lot number which is required for any kind of real property or land use lobbying, and we make corrections to these lobbyists and notify them that these are very important things that they're required to do and often do not do so the audits are very helpful. When we first had the law changed, I think it was Local Law 15 of 2006, that incorporated the random audit program, we started with 30 audits and then, in 2012, we increased that number unilaterally to 45 audits and we definitely think it was worth

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2 raising the number and we definitely should consider 3 raising it again.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: We're still at 45 audits a year, despite significant increase in the amount of lobbying activity. It's a staff capacity issue...

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: That's correct.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: But we would benefit from clearly having more audits in place.

Chairperson. Just to add, we review every single statement of registration and retainer agreement filed by every single lobbyist, even if they're not selected for audits, and we do that every year so even everyone else, the information in their registrations is still being checked. Anything that's missing is, they're served notice of secure, asked to correct it and provide it so it's not as though there are 45 entities that are being examined and everyone else is not.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: No. I appreciate it.

You're looking at everything, but in the 45 audits

you're doing, you're identifying on average one to

three findings that require action, that's a not

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insignificant amount, annually, and we've seen a great increase in the amount of lobbying, and it would clearly be helpful if we had capacity to conduct more audits.

I just wanted to ask specifically on the question of a what it would take to ban somebody from being a lobbyist in New York City, knowing and willful violations. Could you expand upon that?

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: In terms of knowing and willful violations, first of all, we've actually tried to look at a standard for knowing and willful, and we've actually talked to the Law Department about that, and there's no standard that they were able to identify in anywhere in this structure of what constitutes willful so we would have to look at case law in the criminal context to find that. We haven't found where someone's conduct was so egregious that it rose to the level of willfulness that we said this is clearly willful without that standard, because for the most part, we find that most lobbyists in the system do try to comply and, when there is an issue when it comes to late fees or with a failure to file a certain report, the Lobbying Law contains a 14-day cure period so before we can take any further action,

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we have to send out notices to cure for any discrepancy in a lobbyist's filing, so that kind of limits our ability. You know everybody has a chance

5 to cure their lobbying so that kind of can hide a

6 multitude of sins as it were.

with a five-person Lobbying Bureau, I don't imagine, has the ability to conduct proactive investigations so could you share with us a breakdown kind of year-over-year of how many cases, if any, have been referred to DOI maybe in the last few years and, if it's easier to follow up in writing, that would be fine. Similarly, I think we'd be interested in a breakdown of how many cases were pursued for different types of violations, failure to report, filing incorrect information, or is that something you could follow up with us in writing perhaps subsequent to the hearing or if you have any of that information today?

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: Generally speaking, we could definitely follow up with you on the investigations. It seems that we have one to three investigations a year that come up usually due to somebody...

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Get referred to DOI ...

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CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: In terms of

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but it's mostly DOI contacting us for information

referrals to DOI, we have a lot of contact with DOI,

about lobbyists. We have not found any knowing and 6

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willful violations that were required to be reported

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incidents to speak of that required that to happen.

that was it, but there haven't been really any

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unregistered lobbyists, which I think was a major goal of the '06 and 2013 lobbying reforms, and my sense is we made some meaningful progress at that

to DOI. In fact, there haven't been a lot of situations on the lobbying side where we've had to call DOI in. There was one situation I think involving pension lobbying that we contacted them and

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: And just in terms of the violations, it's actually reported. It's included in our annual report so we'd be happy to compile it and provide analytics on it, but that is something that we include in our annual reports.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Thank you, and I did review last year's annual report and found it to be very helpful so thank you for that.

I'd like to ask about the topic of

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time on this issue. I'd imagine it's impossible to estimate the scale of unregistered lobbying or to know how many people may be lobbying without properly filing with the Clerk's Office. I just wanted to think about it from a little bit of a different direction. Is there education that's required of City employees on lobbying laws and reporting requirements? Do you think if people like us, folks on the Mayor's side, and the City agencies were better trained, if the targets of lobbying activity were better trained, we could help ensure that or we could help flag for you all potentially unreported activity?

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: We believe it would be helpful because we don't conduct training of City employees with respect to lobbyists so it would definitely be helpful in our opinion.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Great. I think it's something that we should think a lot about whether there are opportunities for us to require more training of the targets of lobbying so that we can do a better job of informing you all. I think it would be an interesting case study to look at who I've talked to in the last four months and who reported it

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to you and who is missing, and I imagine that there's quite a few people that are.

We really appreciate the data that's included in the annual report and the data that's accessible in Open Data. Is it possible to update the data from the Clerk's Office on the Open Data portal on a more frequent basis?

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: In preparation for the hearing, I reached out to our contact at OTI, and they would be more than willing to look at it. We've talked about doing it, and it's something that they'll be happy to look into. They have the same resource issues that every City agency has, but they're definitely willing.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Great. We will definitely follow up with you all on that.

This is another issue that I think is probably mostly a technology issue, the fundraising and political consulting reports. I have to say I did not know much about these until Courtney Gross' great reporting on them, was that last year, but I found it very insightful and looked into it a bunch in advance of this hearing. I know Council Member Brewer has known about this for a very long time, but I learned

about it last year. I guess just help me on these,

just on the record, if I wanted to know how much

money lobbyists raised for Mayor Adams in 2023, could

you describe the process for how I would access that

information?

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: It can be accessed two different ways. You could go to Campaign Finance and look at their filings, or you could go to our public system, NYC Lobbyist Search, and you could obtain the information. The limitation is that you have to enter the lobbyist and then you have to basically select their report and then, if they filed one for the year, you look at one. If they filed up to six, you look at six. We've been aware of this issue and we have been in consultation with OTI, and they are expecting that by December 31st they're going to expand the Open Data platform to include those reports.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Oh, great.

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: So that would be really helpful.

 $\label{eq:chairperson} \mbox{ CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: That would be very helpful.}$

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to so hopefully...

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: And also we are looking into whether they can update Lobbyist Search to add a left navigation field so that it can just be accessed directly. Also, for now, we willingly provide the information to anyone that requests, if they want the reports or if they want a spreadsheet, we've provided that information, but we are looking

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: That's great because it is quite a cumbersome process to go report by report, to dig in and find it and even to know where to look is, it's not straightforward, and I'm thrilled to hear that you've been successfully working with OTI and expect to have that information on the Open Data portal by the end of the year and that you're looking into a navigation system to make it more easily accessible for everyone. I think that's great.

Just relatedly, is the Clerk's Office on track to publish the lobbyist fundraising and political consulting data on the NYC Open Data portal by December 31st of this year, which I believe is what's required of you all?

automatically with Campaign Finance Board to our

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knowledge so I don't see any reason why we couldn't,

one of the things we would have to work with OTI on,

so that it could be done automatically, but sometimes

certain things are done automatically and certain

things are done manually and, for manual things on

7 their end, it could be more time-consuming.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Maybe I'll shift to Mr. Ryan for a moment, and we're hoping to have a future hearing to dig into this topic in much greater detail, but my understanding is that a lobbyist operating as a fundraiser for the Mayor is required to complete these forms, submits the forms to the Clerk's office that they raised X amount of dollars for the Mayor over the previous time period but, depending on how the fundraiser is structured, they may or may not be required to report to CFB that the lobbyist was raising money for the Mayor, that they may not be required to be reported as an intermediary in CFB's process. Is that right?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR RYAN: Sounds like it's correct, but I want to make a couple things clear.

First of all, the intermediary disclosure requirements are imposed upon the Campaign Committees so it is incumbent upon the Committees to ascertain

2 who is serving as an intermediary with respect to

3 contributions that that Committee receives and then

4 the Committee submits to us an intermediary report.

5 Probably the most important reason we receive

6 lobbyist data is to enforce our lower contribution

7 limits that apply to those doing business with the

8 City and to lobbyists...

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 $\label{eq:CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: And because those } \\$ funds are not matchable.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR RYAN: Correct, not matchable. They also don't count towards qualification for the thresholds for the public funding program.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Do you know, does the CFB proactively crosscheck with the information that is submitted in the lobbyist reports?

eligibility and match, yes, we scrutinize those contributions quite carefully, and my excellent team at the Campaign Finance Board has gone pretty deep into the trees, so to speak, on Intro. 742, but I want to make sure we don't miss the forest for the trees. I have two pretty significant concerns with the bill, one constitutional, one with respect to

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2 administration of the bill that I would love to speak
3 to...

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Please.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR RYAN: If I may. So one of those concerns relates to the constitutionality of the law. The other relates to the administrability of the law and, if addressed, I think would likely address many of the more granular issues that my team flagged for me and perhaps would address some of the more pointed questions you might have for me today. As clearly stated in the title of Intro. 742, this law would prohibit certain lobbying by individuals engaged in campaign fundraising or political consulting activities. This framework turns the conventional approach to regulating in this arena on its head. The conventional approach is to regulate particular activities of lobbyists. The bill's framework, prohibiting certain lobbying activities by those engaged in fundraising or consulting, could have significant constitutional law and administrative implications. First, regarding the constitutional law implications, applying campaign finance restrictions on lobbyists is fairly common.

These restrictions have largely withstood

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constitutional scrutiny here in New York City, for example, when lobbyists challenged the City's reduced political contribution limits for lobbyists and those doing business with the City, a Federal District Court and the Federal Second Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the City law against First and 14th Amendment challenge. The case was Ognibene v Parkes, which the Second Circuit decided in 2012. The Parkes, who is the named defendant in this case, was the Campaign Finance Board's Chair at the time, Joseph P. Parkes. In considering the constitutionality of these lower contribution limits applicable to lobbyists, the Courts applied a heightened intermediate scrutiny that is routinely applied to contribution limits across the board. By contrast to political contribution limits, many other types of laws that burden First Amendment activities are subjected to so called strict scrutiny, and there's a saying among First Amendment litigators, strict in theory, fatal in fact, and that's because once a Court decides to apply strict scrutiny, the challenge law rarely survives that scrutiny but, in Ognibene, the Second Circuit rejected the plaintiff's argument that strict scrutiny should apply, and instead the Court applied

2 what it called the more lenient heightened

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3 intermediate scrutiny and found that the challenged

4 law was constitutionally permissible because it was

5 closely drawn to address the significant government

6 governmental interest in reducing corruption or the

7 appearance thereof.

My constitutional law concern with this proposed law is that rather than applying restrictions on fundraising by lobbyists, which would be subject to this more lenient heightened intermediate scrutiny, this law would prohibit lobbying and would likely be subject to strict judicial scrutiny, making it much harder to defend in court if it's challenged. This differential treatment in constitutional law is because lobbying is considered core First Amendment activity. The First Amendment explicitly protects the right to petition the government and, by contrast, making political contributions has been deemed by Courts to be a form of indirect speech. Making a contribution is an expressive act, but it is not itself speech.

My second concern is an administrative one. There are administrative implications to this unconventional approach of prohibiting certain

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lobbyist activities of those who engage in fundraising or consulting rather than regulating the fundraising and consulting activities of lobbyists. The law would mandate that the Campaign Finance Board work with agencies and the Council to develop notices and advertisements intended to reach persons that engage in fundraising activities or political consulting activities that will inform such persons of the prohibition set forth in this law. The universe of people engaged in fundraising and consulting activities is a largely unknown universe. To my knowledge, there is no database or list of people engaged in fundraising or consulting and, by contrast, if the Council were to take the more conventional approach, applying fundraising and consulting restrictions on lobbyists, then educational efforts could focus on the known universe of registered lobbyist, and that database obviously does exist. The Clerk has been discussing it today, and the Clerk's office maintains it. The new law's starting point would be the known universe of lobbyists, prohibiting them from fundraising or consulting for any officeholder they have lobbied or reasonably expect to lobby, which is the thrust of

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the law even in its present form. Such an approach would be on sounder constitutional footing and would also be easier to administer. There are some foreseeable potential shortcomings in my suggested more conventional approach and, if the starting point for this regulatory regime is registered lobbyists as I suggest it should be, there could be instances in which someone isn't a registered lobbyist at the time they do the fundraising or consulting and they later decide to lobby. One policy solution would be to include the concept that's in the current bill as a backstop of sorts, prohibiting such an individual from lobbying the elected official they raised funds for or worked for and, admittedly, this would raise the same constitutional concerns I flagged moments ago. However, the number of people falling into this category would be relatively small, I think, and I believe that including this type of provision in the law as an anti-circumvention backstop rather than as the entire legal framework of the law is more constitutionally defensible. Even if this backstop provision were challenged and held unconstitutional, the rest of the law would remain in effect, which would effectively regulate most of the people the law 2 is intended to regulate, the professional political

3 class. By contrast, in its current form, I think the

4 entirety of the law may be vulnerable to

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5 constitutional challenge and, if invalidated, the

6 entire regulatory regime would be wiped out.

My team has flagged some other more granular issues, but I really just wanted to get out there on the table this constitutional concern, and I think this change would be significant in its impact, particularly in the ability to defend this law against constitutional challenge, but it would not substantially impact the purpose of this bill as it's been proposed.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I'll start and then kick it over to Council Member Brewer. Thank you for sharing your insights, Mr. Ryan. We welcome them.

We do have post-employment restrictions in place currently, as COIB graciously testified today, that have been in place for decades in New York City, that are limitations imposed on what former colleagues you're allowed to lobby. Why could there not be similar restrictions for paid political consultants and fundraisers on former colleagues that they are permitted to lobby?

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR RYAN: My fundamental point is that would be an untested approach. I don't know of any jurisdiction that does it quite that way, and that it would likely, if enacted and then challenged, be subject to strict scrutiny. I've litigated some of these cases, and I know from experience those cases are very difficult to win, and I think there's an easier way, which is to use as your starting point the known universe of lobbyists and to regulate their activity so it's more predictive on my part of what type of analysis the courts would apply, what type of scrutiny and, if there is an easier road and a more defensible road constitutionally, I'm struggling to see a downside in taking that.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Just making sure I follow. If the Clerk's Office, hypothetically, were tasked with confirming that a registered lobbyist had worked on a political campaign or conducted fundraising for an elected official within the previous period of time, then it would be noted in their lobbying reports that they are prohibited from lobbying those individuals during that period of

time, whatever the designated period of time is. Is
that essentially what you envision?

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR RYAN: Yes, and that is what I would describe as the backstop, because the first line of improving or increasing integrity in local government would be to simply say that those who are lobbyists can't raise money for or serve as consultants to the individuals they lobby or anticipate lobbying, and that the restriction on their ability to contribute is a lesser burden on their First Amendment rights than the prohibition on their lobbying so it's really creating what is in the heart of the structure of the current bill as the backstop, making the most constitutionally vulnerable aspect of this proposal into this backstop and a small piece of it and have a slightly different structure capture most of the people we're trying to get at with regulation.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: To the Clerk's

Office, do you think that that could potentially work

from your all's perspective if we were to pursue a

model along those lines?

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2 CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: I think we could
3 definitely do it. It would be a matter of how to
4 track down the data, but I don't see why we couldn't.

always thank the Clerk's Office because no matter what gets thrown at you, you always say yes, so I want to tell you it is true, and Mike Sweeney has been our savior from day one on that topic so thank you and your staff. I want to say that.

I think what you're saying, Mr. Ryan, is that there is already a built-in possibility for enforcing what we're trying to achieve, and I don't have a problem looking at that. I do think hopefully it could be expanded as time goes on because you have the other side of the coin where there is no list, as you suggest, of people who do the campaign consulting. We don't have that list. I assume that we sort of have half the coin that we could work with and then see if that achieves our goal. I understand what you're saying. I don't want to throw the baby out with a bathwater, which is what you're saying is, and it is the First Amendment issue as we know from the Supreme Court also, a little Citizens Union in there, is a big problem that we have to address on

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many levels. We don't want to lose it on the positive side, as opposed to the Supreme Court with their Citizens Union challenge so I'm certainly willing to look at this and see if it accomplishes what we're trying to accomplish. I think if the word gets out that there is concern and a mandated prohibition about basically, what I would call double dipping, that's what I would call it, then you have a way to approach it that would be constitutionally upheld. I would love to look at that. Thank you very much.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR RYAN: And I'd be happy to share a little bit about what information the Campaign Finance Board does presently have in its possession relevant to this bill as it's currently drafted. If we're talking about outside of the universe of lobbyists, simply the universe of non-lobbyists, consultants, and fundraisers, we don't really have much of that information, not available to us in any sort of comprehensive or usable format. There's no requirement that Committees report their fundraisers or consultants to us in any systematic or uniform way. We do see some of this information, though, for example, on candidate registration forms, candidates can, but are not required to, identify

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their consultant. Some of them do, many of them, most of them do not. We also see some of this information on disclosure reports when campaigns report the purpose of their expenditure, but the quality and the consistency of campaign reporting of expense purpose codes is, to put it bluntly, pretty poor. The most commonly used purpose codes for this type of expense are funder or consultant or professional or, the hardest to deal with for the purpose of administering this type of law, other. Making use of this data as it's presently written in this bill would require manual inspection, I think, particularly of expenditures coded other and perhaps crossreferencing with invoices and other documentation to determine whether the activity done by that person paid by the campaign constitutes consultation as defined in the law or fundraising activity defined in the law. That would be a heavily manual project and it would be a difficult one.

COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: I can promise you there's no such list of those who do campaign, I've tried to find such a thing and there's no such thing. You're right, it's very haphazard, as you just described, but if you look at it from the other side,

prohibiting from those who have a list, that's
something to look at. Thank you very much.

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: That is very helpful. Thank you, Mr. Ryan.

I do think that you've offered some smart suggestions for how we might be able to achieve our policy goals and appreciate the thoughtful recommendations for alternative ways of getting there.

I'd like to return to ask just a few more questions of the Clerk and the team, if that's okay. For the purposes of ensuring that City employees are compliant with restrictions on who they can appear before, do you track if newly registered lobbyists recently left City employment? Do you have access to that information to be able to evaluate whether there may be an issue?

CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: We do not track that information, and we've kind of been operating under the assumption that we have jurisdiction over the lobbyist, COIB has jurisdiction over employees and former employees, etc. so it's not something that we've really looked at to any extent. I mean I'm sure that we would have to and would be able to figure out

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some way of looking at that or at least trying to establish how to track that down looking at the universe of lobbyists. I think we were talking about maybe inserting questions into e-Lobbyist where you would have to certify if you've worked for the City before, what office did you work for, what was your title and, and to have it kind of loaded in on the front end, but that would be one way. We would also probably contact our colleagues at COIB and ask for their help and advice on trying to learn that better.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Appreciate your openness to it.

I think the other area that I'm interested in drilling down on a little bit more is some of the definitions that we have in reporting. We looked online just to see how many folks had lobbied me and my staff over the course of the year to date and found that there were over 150 entities that reported lobbying our office so far this year but, in the reporting, it doesn't indicate whether it was a mass email that was just sent to 51 Council Members or if I had four sit-down meetings with them, which are really different types of interactions. Have you considered in these reports tracking with a little

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more specificity the type of interaction that's made, whether it be mass email or phone call or meeting or multiple meetings to give more insight to the public on how lobbying is working.

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: Currently, the Administrative Code doesn't require that they enter that information. What's required is subject matter details, and the law says they have to include information sufficient to identify the activity so, as the Commissioner mentioned in his openings, for example, if you're talking about a property you have to include an address, if you're talking about a law you have to include an Intro. and a year, but that's really it. The Admin Code doesn't go into more detail but, certainly, whatever is mandated by the Admin Code, we'd be happy to enforce and carry out. When organizations are audited specifically, the subject details are reviewed in more detail and they often are asked to include more information, but the law does not require that they state that.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I think it's something that we should take a look at because I do think it would be helpful and they're already submitting the information. It's just not in the

reports, right, and you're looking at it on the audits, right, so we should be able to gather that information and synthesize it for a public review.

I'm always frustrated by the times in my experience working in City government where people will call me and say I'm an attorney for this client and they're doing everything that looks, smells, and acts like lobbying, but it's not lobbying because they're there as the attorney for the client rather than the lobbyist for the client. I'm just going to say that is something that I find very frustrating and would like to try to figure out a way to capture that information more accurately for public review and really bring more scrutiny to that issue.

Another area that I don't think the

Lobbying Law currently has appropriate clarity is, as

I understand it, around Mayoral discretionary

decision-making and so just to confirm if a lobbyist

calls the Mayor or his team and lobbies them to not

support a given project one way or another, it's not

rulemaking, it's not local law, it's let's say a

street safety project on McGinnis Boulevard, as an

example.

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2 COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: I was wondering if

is what you get.

it was going to come up.

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I'm very predictable, I guess that's the thing. What you see

Is that subject to lobbying disclosures?

Is a lobbyist required to disclose that?

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: Sorry, we're just fighting to, we're both...

 $\label{eq:CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Everybody wants to} % \begin{subarray}{ll} \textbf{CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Everybody wants to} \\ \textbf{answer all the questions.} \end{subarray}$

that the law is drafted, right, each of the 11 definitions is very specific, right? It lists a target and it lists an activity, and then there are 11 exclusions, right, so that's what makes it so complicated. They're only required to report exactly what's listed. That's why we always say there's no such thing as illegal lobbying. There's plenty of lobbying that is not captured. It's a question of what's reportable so our Admin Code does not capture indirect attempts to lobby so, in that circumstance, it would depend on what agency is making the determination and how those determinations are made,

for example, is there a pending rule, is it a matter of a contract or public funds or is it a matter of limited discretion per existing laws, rules and regulations and, in those situations, there are exclusions for what is termed to be an adjudicatory determination so that's the hardest question that we get ironically, is this lobbying? That's the most complicated.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I can't fathom that we have a large employer in Greenpoint, Broadway Stages, that's very famously been advocating, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars, sending out mailers, robocalls, lobbying the Mayor aggressively, reporting on meetings with the Mayor to not support a DOT-proposed street redesign that's got every elected official, 10,000 community members have signed a petition in support. This entity is aggressively lobbying the Mayor, spending in a very public and explicit way, against a DOT proposal, and it's not lobbying so we need to update the laws to capture that kind of activity for something that walks and talks and quacks like a lobbyist, but doesn't actually fit the bill.

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CITY CLERK MCSWEENEY: I think what you're talking about is the indirect lobbying, and I don't think that's captured in the 11 types of activity that constitutes lobbying.

indirect lobbying, which I'm sure is the technical phrase, it's hard to stomach because there's nothing indirect about it. It's a public campaign where they're openly walking out of City Hall saying we met with the Mayor to discuss this issue and he's changed his mind because of his meeting with us and he's no longer supporting the Department of Transportation's Street Safety Plan and, yet, it's not lobbying.

DEPUTY CITY CLERK ACOSTA: We do not

disagree, and I will say that the Commission in 2013, the Commission did add a new definition, which would be similar to adding a definition of indirect. They added a provision that stated if anyone that attempts to influence a New York City elected official or officer or employee on any state or federal rule, regulation, or resolution was captured and, before 2013, that was not part of the law so I do think there is like a precedence for adding that type of definition into the regulations.

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I want to just thank you all for being so patient and doing two-plus, two and a half hours of questions with us. I really appreciate you all coming in. I think we certainly got a bunch of really good suggestions from each of you for ways that we should be working to update some of these laws that weren't officially under consideration today, but this was really our first lobbying oversight hearing as a Council since Gale was here before her Borough Presidency days so that was some time ago, and I'm really glad that you all were willing to take the time, appreciative that you're willing to take the time, answer our questions, engage with us constructively, and look forward to being in touch with each of you in the near future. Thank you so much.

I remind members of the public that this is a formal government proceeding and that the quorum shall be observed at all times. As such, members of the public shall remain silent at all times unless you're testifying.

The witness table is reserved for people who wish to testify. No video recording or photography is allowed from the witness table.

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Furthermore, members of the public may not present audio or visual recordings as testimony but may submit transcripts of such recordings to the Sergeant-at-Arms for inclusion in the hearing record.

If you wish to speak at today's hearing, please do fill out an appearance card with the Sergeant-at-Arms and wait to be recognized. When recognized, you will have three minutes to speak on today's hearing topics, New York City's Lobbying Laws and Necessary Reforms.

If you have a written statement or additional written testimony you wish to submit for the record, please provide a copy of that testimony to the Sergeant-at-Arms. You may also email written testimony to testimony@council.nyc.gov within 72 hours of this hearing. Audio and visual recordings will not be accepted.

Council Members who have questions for a particular panelist, please let me know, and I will call on you after the panelist has completed their testimony.

Once again, thank you for those of you who are testifying in person and registered in

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2 advance. Please fill out an appearance card with the 3 Sergeant-at-Arms.

For panelists on Zoom, once your name is called, a Member of our Staff will unmute you, and the Sergeant-at-Arms will give you the go-ahead to begin upon setting the timer. Please wait for the Sergeant to announce that you may begin before delivering your testimony.

I am now privileged to invite our first panel to come up. We have some exceptional good government groups with us. I'd like to invite Ben Weinberg of Citizens Union, Susan Lerner of Common Cause New York, Rachel Faus of Reinvent Albany, and on Zoom, Blair Horner of NYPIRG, who is, I believe, surviving the Albany budget. Thank you all for being with us and feel free to testify in whatever order you all prefer.

SUSAN LERNER: I've been elected to go first. Thank you very much.

I'm Susan Lerner, Executive Director of
Common Cause New York. I want to thank you for a very
lively and informative hearing this morning. From our
point-of-view and as really explored in Zephyr
Teachout's excellent book regarding the history of

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lobbying and anti-corruption measures in our country, for many decades, if not centuries, lobbying was considered illegal, and actually the constitutional status of lobbying is quite murky as she explores. I think what we heard this morning and what we've seen in the 2013 Charter Revision is a lack of understanding of the real way in which influence is wielded in City government and the fact that lobbyists and those who are part of the revolving door have a real interest in ensuring that any restrictions are very limited. We need to rebalance, and we believe that these three measures help to rebalance between the public interest and being sure that our government makes good decisions based on all information with integrity and the right of those to petition the government, perhaps as a paid employment so we very much approve the impetus behind these measures. We have no problem responding to some of the concerns this morning. I think that the measure 76 and 77 could certainly be crafted to exempt some of the Commissioners, some of the Executive Directors but, when we're dealing with elected officials and particularly in a revolving door situation, we are dealing with a position of unusual trust as well as

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those who are appointed to high administrative positions, and I believe that people who have the privilege of serving as public servants and being paid as such need to keep in mind that they have a position of unusual trust in the public, both while they're on the payroll and after they go off the payroll. We support the impetus. We are certainly open to seeing Intro. 76 and 77 restrictions nuanced a bit more, but the idea that there should be twoyear ban bringing us in line with the State ban, and that there are individuals who should have a ban on any communications with any City agency is a good one. I personally am very excited to see the introduction of 742 because the way in which campaign consultants and lobbying firms have merged and have a confluence is an issue that I've been talking and writing about for the last 10 years so we very much support that effort. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Thank you so much. Really helpful.

RACHEL FAUS: Okay. I was going to say good morning as that's what my testimony says, but good afternoon, Chair Restler and Council Member Brewer. My name's Rachel Faus. I'm the Senior Policy

Advisor for Reinventing Albany. We advocate for a 2 3 more transparent and accountable New York government, 4 both in the city and the state, and thanks again for holding this hearing. Definitely struck that it's been 10 years. I was wearing a different hat at the 6 7 time that the changes went into effect, actually his 8 hat. We support the intent of the three bills you're considering today to reduce the undue influence of deep pocketed political interest and slow the 10 11 revolving door of City government employees lobbying 12 their former employer, the City of New York. However, 13 we urge you to aim much higher. At a minimum, New York City should have a three-year lobbying revolving 14 15 door ban. Just to put things in perspective, Florida has a six-year ban, and this is on elected officials 16 17 and very high-ranking folks. This was passed by 18 public referendum in 2018. I'm going to repeat that a 19 six-year ban so surely New York City can pass a ban 20 half as long as Florida's, and the two-year ban, I 21 think, exists in many states where there's two-year 2.2 terms. We have a four-year term, so I think that's 2.3 something to think about in how this is crafted. Just to speak to the three-year ban, I think we'd like to 24 25 see it apply to all three of the bills, what category

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of people, the policymaker list. I think we heard a lot of discussion today about who to get, but I think a bright line of three years and also a bright line that it's not just your former employer, but also the entire City is really important because when you have different standards for different individuals, it gets very confusing, and we know that enforcement's challenging when there's extremely limited staffing levels so the brighter the lines are, the better.

On a couple of other matters around lobbying activity, just want to draw to your attention in 2013, the City Council passed the major changes to Lobbying Law, and one of those was that smaller lobbyists, those that spend less than 10,000 dollars and do not hire outside firms, they should only have to report twice a year rather than six times. It's not that their lobbying reporting activity is not reported. It's absolutely reported. It's just the filing burden was reduced. From our understanding that has not been implemented. That's something I think you should consider looking at. We crunched the numbers in the e-Lobbyist open data. It looks like there's about 140 groups who fall into that, some of them are notable, Community Service

2 Society, Habitat for Humanity, New York Botanical

3 Garden, Queensborough Public Library, a lot of non-

4 profit institutions. Full disclosure, Reinvent Albany

5 | is also on that list.

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Other piece, while I've got seven seconds, I'm glad to hear that the fundraising and political consulting data is going to be reported as Open Data, that's great. We'd like you to introduce a bill that would specify whether lobbyist activity is in support or opposition to bills. Right now, you only know they lobbied on the subject. You don't know whether it was in support or opposition. This is done in other states like Montana. We think you should introduce a bill to help tighten up the law. Thanks.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Thank you so much. I totally agree. That's a very good recommendation.

I just want to say just prior to your testimony, Ben, we just wanted to thank you for your expert kind of analysis and guidance that you provided to our office in advance of the hearing.

BEN WEINBERG: I was happy to help, and now it's on me to thank you, Council Member Brewer, both for introducing these bills and for bringing us all together to discuss this important issue.

As was mentioned here, since 2007,

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lobbyists have been required to disclose information about their political consulting and fundraising activities in their periodic reports. Now, that disclosure was a necessary first step, but we're 17 years old, and that hasn't really led to any reduction in the number of these kind of dual service firms that serve campaigns and lobby City government. In fact, our analysis as and, as the executive director of the CFP mentioned, is an imprecise analysis because the numbers are imprecise, but our analysis did find that of the top 50 companies that provide campaign consulting and professional services provided in the 2021 election, 24 percent of them were lobbyists, almost a quarter of the top campaign consulting firms in that cycle were lobbyists, and that's actually higher than had existed 10 years before. Our written testimony includes some clear examples of those conflicts where lobbying firms help candidates to win and then go on to lobby those same people in office so that's why we very much support Intro. 742, which would limit the ability of firms and individuals to lobby the candidates they helped get elected. It was mentioned earlier that this might

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be an unconventional approach. I should point out that San Francisco has a similar restriction. They actually have a stricter one of five-years ban, and places like Philadelphia, Alaska, and Maryland all have rules against the direct involvement of lobbyists in campaign or fundraising for campaigns. Some of them have been litigated. We have three recommendations to strengthen this bill, or I should mention two here. First, it currently covers only elected officials that are former clients, and we think it should cover also staff members or appointees of those elected officials. This is especially important for mayoral candidates and really most of the kind of recent news we've seen around this are about lobbying Commissioners after you ran a mayoral campaign. The other one is really to ensure that lobbying firms can't avoid this bill by either setting up a new division or a new LLC, and we have some proposed language in the bill on how to counter that.

Short of time, I will just mention that we also support better transparency on the lobbying disclosure of fundraising and political activities.

As Chair Restler mentioned, it is very difficult to

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8 another important way to close a pay-to-play loophole

9 in our lobbying laws, and that is to ban lobbies from

10 bundling donations. Lobbyists and people on the Doing

11 Business Database are severely restricted in terms of

12 the size of the contribution they can give

13 candidates, but they can freely bundle donations, and

14 we have examples of lobbyists donating more than a

15 | hundred times of their individual limit. In fact, in

16 the last election, from what we saw, nine of the top

17 | ten bundlers were either lobbying firms, their

18 employees, or officials and companies that do

19 business with the City. As imperative, we make sure

20 we close that ban. Lastly, on the two bills on post-

21 employment bans, we support the proposal to extend

22 those restrictions for the Mayor's Office for two

23 years, which would be in line with the rules at the

24 Executive Chamber in Albany, and we also support

expanding the post-employment restriction to any

appreciate the opportunity to testify on the

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proposals to strengthen the oversight of the lobbying industry and to curb conflicts of interest that can impact New York City government.

We applaud you for holding the hearing, and I'll summarize our written comments, which you have already received. NYPIRG supports the measures under consideration by the Committee. New York City has been the state's leader in tackling conflict of interest issues, and this package will boost public participation in the City and help advance reform in Albany. As you can see in our written testimony, the growth of lobbying in the City has been staggering, and the temptation for public servants to cash in on their governmental contacts has never been greater. Thus, it makes perfect sense to strengthen revolving door limitations. While the City has been a leader in the regulation of lobbying and curbing conflicts of interests, the growth of state lobbying and ethics regulations has become deeply entwined with that of the City. As a result, New York has two parallel systems, similar but different. Those differences can lead to confusion and may, unintentionally, create obstacles to policy participation by those who simply cannot handle compliance requirements that are

complex at both the State and City levels but are also different. Those voices can be silenced by these two systems. Our observations are not, however, a call for City policymakers to weaken standards in order to mirror the State. State law should be viewed as a floor, not a policy ceiling, and City policymakers should continue to innovate in order to help the evolution of ethics and lobbying oversight, both at the City and the State. Your measures to curb the revolving door between public service and lobbying are important and deserve support. Approval will meet the policy floor standards set by the State and then raise the ante. Given the enormous amount of money that has spent on lobbying and the lucrative nature of paid advocacy, it is critically important that those in public service are restrained in their ability to cash in when they leave to join the public sector. Thank you for this opportunity to testify. Would love to have been there in person but, unfortunately, I am stuck in Albany dealing with the State budget. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: We really appreciate you making time with everything that's going on in

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Albany so thank you for that and your sharp testimony.

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I just wanted to ask one general question to the panel. With regard to, and I appreciate Ben, your comment that there is a model on Council Member Brewer's bill in San Francisco that is being emulated. What did folks think of the alternative approach suggested by Mr. Ryan from the CFB in trying to tackle this issue of regulating this through the Clerk's Office, and do you think that could be an effective approach or do you prefer how this was drafted originally by Council Member Brewer?

I'm not sure I understood the entire proposal, but I do think we do have already a system where lobbyists disclose their political activities and their fundraising activities. We have a definition in the lobbying law and they must report that. If their idea is to build on top of that system and those disclosures, I think that totally makes sense and if it would streamline the process. I will say we have concerns about whether these activities are being disclosed. There aren't a whole lot of them that are filed, or at least that we can find. If you look at

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the political expenses side and the CFB side, you see way more companies receiving money for political consulting than lobbying companies reporting their political consulting. I think that we can definitely use that disclosure system. We just have to make sure that it is enforced, and those activities are actually disclosed.

RACHEL FAUS: I totally agree. I think the enforcement is really important. I know something I meant to mention earlier is we absolutely support independent budgeting for enforcement agencies like the Conflicts of Interest Board. The City Clerk has an enforcement function that clearly is being hampered right now with the PEGs so I think bolstering enforcement as part of passing these bills is clearly very important. I think we have a Doing Business List, right, and that is crucial to the campaign finance program to enforce the limits. Having a list of political consultants and fundraisers that is just as tight and checkable is important, and I think putting this out in Open Data is going to help a lot as well because right now it's harder to access and there's fewer eyes on it. You want watchdog groups, journalists, the Council, you

want everybody to have their eyes on that so making it tight, public in Open Data is going to, I think, help with that effort.

SUSAN LERNER: Actually hearing the comments from the Campaign Finance Board reminds me that there is another way to approach this, which is when you accept public money, you accept various restrictions, and so it could be possible to look at having a condition of accepting matching funds that you have a contract with your consultants that they will not lobby you, that neither they nor firms they were associated with will lobby you and that gets you around any constitutional challenge.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: That is a really smart idea.

COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: Great idea.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I like that so much. Was there anything you'd like to add?

COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: No, I was going to ask the same question, and I appreciate both the CFB and your responses because, in the totem, we've got a real package that I think people can be supportive of so thank you very much.

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Yeah. Agree on both accounts. I really appreciate it. Thank you. Anything else this panel would like to add?

SUSAN LERNER: I did have a comment on a possible timeframe on 742. I love, as Council Member Brewer knows, starting it with certification but you might want to, whatever timeframe we end up with, one year, two year, three years, you might want to make it to December 31st so that we don't have to worry about when it starts and when it ends, of the year after the certification.

RACHEL FAUS: I just wanted to add one point on 742. We totally agree with Citizens Union that you should expand it not just to the individual but their direct staff. You've got to get the Mayor's Office Staff, you've got to get the Council Members' Office Staff and then Department Heads so I just wanted to verbally say that.

CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: Strongly agree. Thank you very much both of you for noting that.

BEN WEINBERG: One last comment. Susan mentioned timeline. I think it's clear to all of us, but we should say how important this is as we head into a new mayoral election in a new citywide

what's up, and Puni said, he said, what's up? I want

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to know where do you have the balls to come up with a bill about this to regulate lobbying when you're brazenly engaged in a fake protest and rally with Open Plans, TransAlt, Riders Alliance, and Los Deliveristas lobbyists and let their agenda items influence your policies and other programs. Now, I'm against this bill because you're introducing this bill. A lot of you Members of the City Council are captive to these lobbyists, such as Transportation Alternatives and Open Plans and the Riders Alliance. Now, what needs to start happening is, Members like you and Members like Shahana Hanif, need to start condemning Kathy Park Price, who's a lobbyist, who need to be registered as a lobbyist. If I had my way in the City Council, I would have made a bill, introduced this bill to have people like Kathy Park Price register herself as a lobbyist because she does indirect lobbying, but we all know that she has a big influence in the City Council, and we want to know why that you have no problem standing next to seventime stalker, Kevin Lacherra, why are you not condemning the guy? He's in a lawsuit for stalking seven women, and you have no problem standing next to the guy and you're not condemning the guy for what

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he's doing as a Council Member. One more thing is this hearing is nothing but a show. This bill will not go through the City Council. Majority of you Members are for are for standing next to corrupt lobbyists such as Kathy Park Price and Kevin Lacharra and Danny Harris and Jackson Chabat (phonetic) and Elizabeth Adams and Derek Holmes and Betsy Plum and Laura Shepard and Katie Denny Horowitz. It's a big issue in the City Council when you have Council Members standing next to lobbyists that are hellbent on destroying the city so this bill is a sham. This bill is not going to pass the City Council. You instituted this bill for clout. This bill has been standing for the past two years, and you wait until 2024 to do it because of Frank Carone. Yeah, Frank Carone is corrupt, but you're just as corrupt as him. When you're standing next to dirty lobbyists of Transportation Alternatives and Open Plans and the Riders Alliance and Los Deliveristas so, like I said, man, I know you don't care, you're only going to listen to the lobbyist. This is nothing but a clout bill, this is nothing but a farce bill, and this not going to pass. I'm against this so that's all I gotta say. Thank you, Lincoln. Thank you.

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CHAIRPERSON RESTLER: I'd like to just express my strong disagreement with those remarks, but we thank everyone for coming to testify today.

If we've inadvertently missed anyone who is registered to testify today and is yet to be called, please use the Zoom hand function and you'll be called on, but I don't think we have anyone. We're okay.

I just want to say in closing how

appreciative I am to the Conflicts of Interest Board, the Clerk's Office, and to the Campaign Finance Board for coming before us today to testify and each of the good government groups that offered such thoughtful feedback and testimony and input on this legislation. It's really important that we provide ongoing and consistent oversight of lobbying activity in New York City, and it's been far too long since we had a hearing like we did today, and it was, I think, a healthy and productive conversation for us to identify opportunities that are considered in the bills for which we heard, but also new ideas that really require our attention, and so I hope that we'll be able to introduce some new legislation generated from the discussion today and really look

1	COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS, STATE AND FEDERAL LEGISLATION 143
2	forward to working with each of the agencies who had
3	the opportunity to join us in crafting that
4	legislation and hopefully signing it into law. Thank
5	you all for making the time and hope everybody has a
6	wonderful weekend.
7	With that, I will adjourn the hearing.
8	[GAVEL] Thank you.
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World Wide Dictation certifies that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings. We further certify that there is no relation to any of the parties to this action by blood or marriage, and that there is interest in the outcome of this matter.



Date May 20, 2024