

Edward I. Koch

Testimony Before the New York City Council

October 16, 2008

I am here this afternoon to testify in support of legislation that would amend the existing term limit legislation currently in effect. The change I support would allow those who are term limited to serve for three terms – 12 years – rather than the current permissible two terms -- 8 years.

I have, from the very inception of the term limits proposal, supported the concept. However, I have always supported 12 years, or three terms, as opposed to 8 years, two terms. My belief in the need for three terms was and is predicated on the experience of my own service as Mayor of New York City from 1978 through 1989. The job of the Mayor is a daunting one. The Mayor initiates policies and legislation and I concluded that it often takes as much as 12 years of effort and support to place in a position for a lasting effect those policies and laws.

I do not concede, as some have suggested, that to amend the existing law is to, in effect, gut it. I believe the proposed amendment would strengthen and improve the existing law.

Much has been made of the fact that the existing law was enacted as a result of referenda, and to change it in any way except by referendum would be to violate the people's mandate.

I do not believe that amending a law adopted by referendum by legislative action of the City Council violates the spirit of what the people of this city did by their voting for the law using referendum as the vehicle.

I will leave to the Corporation Counsel and others to comment in detail on the legality of the City Council's authority to enact in effect an amendment to the law to strengthen and improve it. I believe that the laws governing the City and State of New York allow three ways to effectuate laws and amendments applying to the legislation before you: by State legislation, by City Council legislation, and by referendum.

None of the options, so far as I know, are treated under our governing documents, the State Constitution and the City Charter, as superior to any of the options allowed.

Thank you.

**Testimony of Frederick A. O. Schwarz, Jr. on the Subject of Term Limits.
City Council Committee on Government Operations, October 16, 2008.¹**

The subject of term limits—should they be changed, and if so by what process—merits careful thought by those in government and by the citizens of New York City.

I believe that term limits are appropriate in New York City. However, I also believe that the number of terms should be increased from two to three. The most important policy reason for change is that the two term limit has weakened the City Council—the City’s most representative branch of government.

How to make a change from two to three terms—the process question—is a difficult question. Both options—City Council legislation signed by the Mayor and a prompt referendum—have problems and both have advantages.

In my view, City Council legislation can be justified despite the voters having established and kept term limits in the mid-nineties. However, unless two clarifications are made, I believe that a referendum is the wiser course. Without the two clarifications—relating to (i) the Charter Commission agreed upon by the Mayor and Leonard Lauder, and (ii) to preserving a level playing field in the 2009 mayoral election (see pp 5-7 below)—the legislation and the arguments for it appear hypocritical.

* * *

One further preliminary point should be made. The proposals for change come very late. They would change the rules in the middle of the game. Until very recently, both the Mayor and the Speaker in salty and unequivocal terms declared that under no circumstances should term limits be changed by legislation. Relying on these statements and on the existing law, many prospective candidates have expended enormous effort and have devoted themselves and their families to prepare to run for seats that they understood would be open.

Of course, leaders can change their minds—though expressing a little empathy for those who relied on the existing law and on the leaders’ own clear statements is called for. Still, changed circumstances can fairly lead to new conclusions.

¹ My credentials to offer opinions on this subject stem primarily from my service as Chair of the 1989 Charter Revision Commission, which successfully proposed to the people of the City by far the greatest changes in City Government since 1901, after three rounds of extensive [fourteen] public hearings held all over the City and twenty open public meetings. In addition, my service as Corporation Counsel from 1982 through 1986, and as Chair of the City’s Campaign Finance Board for a five-year term ending in April 2008 are relevant to thinking about the issues before this Council.

Nonetheless, this history does, it seems to me, make the two clarifications I call for below even more important.

A. How to Think About the Issues.

Policy, Process and Personality have all been the subject of discussion. The right decision must be based on (i) what is the right long-term policy for the City and (ii) what process is proper. The decision should *not* be driven by a short-term question: what person or persons are helped or hurt by a change.

If the focus is on personalities rather than policy and process, this City risks slipping into ping pong politics, aping many countries across the globe who over the years have, to their discredit, changed the rules to help people in power. Changing the City's charter—our constitution—just to help current office holders for this election—no matter how highly regarded or skilled those office holders may be—should not be done unless the change is good policy. And it must be good policy not just for one election but for the future of the City. Unless the change is clearly designed to be for the foreseeable future, those sponsors of change who would otherwise be barred by term limits from running in 2009 would appear to be pressing for a constitutional change solely in their own self-interest.

On the other hand, the fact that current office holders now barred from seeking a third term would be helped by a change is not a reason to be against change so long as the change represents good policy for the City—and does so not just for this year but for the foreseeable future.

* * *

So the question should not be which people are helped or harmed. Rather, the question should be what is the right policy, and what is the proper process to get there.

B. Policy Questions.

1. As a Matter of Policy, New York City Should Have Term Limits.

A case can be made against having any term limits. After all, the voters have power to end the terms of any elected officials by voting them out of office.

For two reasons, however, I believe that New York City should keep term limits.

First, except for the mayoralty, the City is basically a one-party state. This substantially undercuts the argument against term limits based on voters' ability to reject office holders at an election.

Second, given that the voters themselves adopted term limits, it would be too fundamental a change to eliminate them.

2. **As a Matter of Policy, Should New York City Limit Office Holders to Two Terms, or Should There Be Three Terms?**

a. **The City Council, as an Institution, Has Been Severely Harmed by the Two Term Limit.**

New York City has an extremely powerful mayoralty. In the City sphere, mayors have more power than presidents in the national sphere, or governors in the New York State sphere. The City Council is supposed to be the principal check on excesses of mayoral power. The City Council is the City's most representative body.

Given a mayoralty that is already extremely powerful, limiting the Council to two terms has substantially reduced its power to serve as a check.

To generalize, with a limit of two terms, council members spend their first years learning the ropes. Then they spend their second term focusing on aspirations for a new office.

In contrast, mayors easily hit the ground running. They have the benefit of the enormously competent and large staff of experts in the City's departments that serve the City's general interests, including the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the Corporation Counsel's Office, and the Finance Department. They also have the benefit of career experts in line agencies such as at the Police Department.

Having reached the City's highest office (and being generally older), moreover, mayors are somewhat less likely to feel the need in their second term to maneuver for another office. (No New York City mayor to date has succeeded in attaining higher office.)

Finally, a further institutional harm caused to the City Council by the two term limit, is that a Council Speaker is always going to be limited to a single term.

The case for changing to three terms for the Council is, therefore, powerful.²

² Eric Lane's prior writings and his testimony today elaborate further on the harm done to the City Council as an institution by the two-term limit.

b. What about the Mayoralty and Other Executive Positions?

The case for also changing the mayoralty and other executive positions to three terms is weaker, but sufficient. Unlike for the City Council, there is no city-governance case for changing executive positions to three terms. However, there is the general argument that voters should not be deprived of the opportunity to vote for an official, particularly if he or she has performed well.

To be sure, third terms for mayors have in fact been difficult. There are some reasons for this. Key aides often become tired and less effective. Psychologically, mayors in their third term may be less willing to adopt new ideas—perhaps because of a view that if it was a good idea I would have thought of it before.

Nonetheless, a mayor who has been doing well should have a chance to ask the voters for a third term and to press the argument that his or her skills are particularly well-suited for new problems that will face the City in a third term. This argument is made on behalf of and by the current Mayor. As long as this is understood as representing a general principle for the future—and not a position that is good for this trip and this trip only—it is a strong argument for change.

Moreover, as a practical matter—and because of the unfortunately rushed circumstances—the City is clearly not going to make a change this year that does not include all elected officials.

C. Process Questions.

Two options are before the Council: (i) legislation by the Council as presented by the Mayor; and (ii) Council legislation that is designed to open the door to the possibility of a prompt referendum choice. Both have practical and theoretical advantages. And both have practical and theoretical disadvantages.

A City Council law would more quickly aid planning for both incumbents and potential new candidates. Moreover, referenda—particularly in a special election—tend to have low turnout and be dominated by money. On the other hand, there is a powerful appeal to referring back to the people themselves a measure to change the people's law.

I set out below a number of points that support change by a City Council law. However, I believe that unless two things are clarified, the wiser course is for the City Council to approve a process leading to an early referendum rather than voting for the bill that has been introduced by the Mayor.

1. **The Fact That Term Limits Were Initially Established by the Voters Does Not Make it Inherently Improper for the Council to Change the Terms From Two to Three.**

It is lawful for the Council to change charter terms that were established by a referendum.

While that does not mean the Council should act by legislation, there are a number of arguments that support action by Council legislation.

First, changing from two to three terms is tinkering with term limits, not a fundamental rejection of term limits.³

Second, particularly when the question is detailed and subtle—e.g., two terms as opposed to three—referenda are blunt instruments. Referenda also have low turnout. The turnout is often particularly low in poor areas of the City. And in referenda money is usually disproportionately influential.

Third, the referenda were passed long before there was any actual experience with term limits in the City. And that experience has shown that since it came into effect, the two term limit has been harmful to the City's most representative body.

Fourth, any incumbents that support changing from two to three terms by legislation can be punished at the polls within twelve months if the voters are offended by either the method of, or the substance of, the change.

2. **Nonetheless, Unless Two Points are Clarified, I Believe the City Council Should Vote in Favor of a Process that Can Lead to a Prompt Referendum Rather Than Decide the Issue by Legislation.**

First, the Mayor has agreed with Leonard Lauder (the father of City term limits) to act in 2010 to appoint a charter revision commission to review term limits. Mr. Lauder had previously made clear that while he approves of changing to three terms this year so the sitting Mayor can get reelected next year, he will fight for returning to two terms for elections in 2013 and thereafter. The Mayor also promised to appoint Mr. Lauder to a seat on the charter commission. And the Mayor has said the term limits issue will be placed on the ballot by the charter revision commission he intends to appoint.

These events can be read to suggest the worst of all worlds. Ping pong politics. Personalities over policy. Cynicism.

To begin with, if a charter commission is independent and representative and takes the time to listen to the public carefully and to explain its thinking, it is not

³ I say this recognizing that in 1996 (years before there had been any actual experience with term limits in the City) voters rejected a change from two to three terms.

possible or proper to state, as the Mayor has done, that a charter commission will place the question of term limits on the ballot. A commission should do so only if it is convinced, after extensive hearings and careful deliberation, that any action taken by legislation this year should be reversed with the City returning to two terms.

Unfortunately, what has been said about a charter commission thus far creates the impression that the Mayor and other sponsors of legislation would be comfortable with the worst, and most cynical, result: a general appearance of change in their own self-interest that is good for this term and this term only. This is only an impression. It can be dispelled if two steps are taken:

(i) The Mayor and the Speaker should make clear to the public before any votes on Council legislation that they support changing from two to three terms for long-term policy reasons. And they should state, publicly and unequivocally, that they would so testify to a new charter commission;⁴

(ii) The Mayor should commit that the Charter Commission members he appoints will be independent. Moreover, he should commit to follow a practice adopted by Mayor Ed Koch when he appointed the original members of what became the 1989 Charter Commission. Mayor Koch agreed that half the members of the Commission would be appointed from at least three names provided to him by each of the City's other senior elected officials. (No one would be told who had suggested their name.) (Another practice adopted by Mayor Koch should be adopted: all charter-change suggestions of the Mayor to the Charter Commission were made publicly.)

Second, the Mayor and the Speaker say it is OK for the Council to override the prior votes by the public because the Mayor and all members of the Council who support that method of change can be challenged in an election in just one year on the basis of their vote (or bill signature) to give incumbents the chance for another term. This sounds good—unless it is not real.

A problem arises if the Mayor plans to spend up to \$100 million of his own money in seeking reelection—as stated in a recent New York Times article attributed to City Hall staff members. But, under City law, opponents of the Mayor will be limited to spending \$6,158,000 in a general election, plus an equal sum if they face a primary.

The Mayor has a constitutional right to spend as much of his own money as he wishes. When running the first time as a largely unknown outsider, there was an

⁴ Of course, the position could be nuanced—such as supporting staggering the three-year terms for the Council. However, the essence of the position should be that the change to three terms is good long term policy for the City, and that it would be bad policy to revert to two terms.

argument for flooding the voters with money. But not when you are a two-term incumbent whose record is widely known. And particularly not when you are asking the City Council to reverse laws enacted by the people themselves, using as an argument that the people can always vote you out at the next election. This key argument made by the Mayor requires that the next election be a fair fight. Changing the rules in the middle of the game should not be compounded by then also tilting the electoral playing field to favor yourself.

I believe the Mayor has a first-rate record and is a fair person. Whatever his aides have said about spending up to \$100 million, the Mayor should commit publicly to abide by the same spending rules as other candidates.

* * *

Without these clarifications and commitments on (i) a Charter Commission, and (ii) spending, I would recommend that Council members vote against the legislation calling for change to three terms by Council vote, and instead support a prompt referendum. If, as I hope, the clarifications and commitments are made, then it seems to me that a vote in favor of the bill is appropriate and in the long-term interest of the City.

Statement of Geoffrey Canada, President and CEO, Harlem Children's Zone,
at City Council hearing on term limits,
October 16th, 2008

I want to thank the Speaker and the entire City Council for holding this hearing and allowing me to testify.

I was one of the people who supported term limits when they were first introduced to New York City in 1993.

I felt New York City had done poorly for decades; that the city's political establishment was not solving the problems the city faced, so it was on a slow decline overall and in particular in its poorest communities where I work.

It seemed that the Council and the Mayor had long-time, built-in animosities that prevented the city from moving forward.

I am probably older than many of those testifying today, so I remember the impact of the last fiscal crisis that hit the city in the mid-70s and led to the creation of the Financial Control Board.

I remember the inability of our city leaders both at the Council and the Mayor's Office to jointly come up with a plan that could provide essential services and also balance the budget of the city.

When I began to work in Harlem in the mid-1980s, the poor of New York City were disproportionately impacted by the city's economic problems. It was true, the city streets were dirtier and there was an overall sense that the city was not doing well. But poor children and families were in a crisis. Homeless numbers skyrocketed, drug usage and crime seemed to be out of control. Families were disintegrating almost before our

eyes. There seemed to be no light at the end of the tunnel. Trying to get the tough decisions made that might put the city on firmer financial footing seemed all but impossible.

The City Council had one set of priorities, the Mayor had another. For those of us on the ground, serving children and families, it was a full-time disaster, and it lasted more than a decade.

I'm not in the business of forecasting the financial markets, but it seems clear to me that the city is facing a challenge that by all accounts it is at least as bad, and probably worse, than the prior fiscal crises I have spoken about. This new crisis will devastate Harlem and other low-income communities in New York City.

I think there is one important difference. We have a Mayor who has great instincts and financial acumen, one who is prepared to call for sacrifice from all sectors of the city so the poor don't suffer more so than everyone else.

And we have a City Council that has shown itself able to rise to the challenges that have faced the city over and over again.

Am I concerned that power concentrated in the hands of a few for a long period of time poses certain challenges that aren't healthy for the city. Yes I am.

Under normal circumstances would I be in favor of term extensions? No, I would not.

But under these circumstances I think we need a steady, seasoned veteran such as Mayor Bloomberg, and a City Council led by Speaker Quinn that is not learning on the job - that is prepared to act decisively on behalf of all New Yorkers, but especially the city's children and poor.

Even with this Mayor and Speaker in place, and with the current City Council leadership, I believe there will be a grim fiscal year or two in New York City.

The need to navigate these troubled times as safely as possible calls for the experience and boldness that the current leadership of the City Council and the Mayor have demonstrated.

That is why, at this time of crisis, I am in favor of extending term limits.

Thank you for this opportunity to testify.

Mayor Bloomberg

City Hall

New York New York 10007

&

Councilman Domenic M. Recchia Jr

445 Neptune Avenue

Brooklyn New York 11224

Dear Mayor Bloomberg & Councilman Domenic M. Recchia Jr.

My name is Sheryl D. Robertson and I am the Executive Director of South Brooklyn Youth Consortium and a longtime member of the Coney Island community. Prior to the election of Mayor Bloomberg and Councilman Domenic M. Recchia Jr, the Coney Island Community suffered from a lack of clear vision, strategic planning , political participation and effective leadership.

Because of the leadership of Domenic M. Recchia in particular we have seen substantive improvement in the quality of life in the Coney Island Community. We have seen significant improvements in our local schools and economic development. In fact our local schools have acquired new computers, mobile science labs, new early childhood science labs, electrical upgrades, resurfaced playgrounds, new gyms, libraries have been renovated, smart boards, auditorium upgrades, and other rehabilitations and improvements. Test Scores and the Quality of Education of at our local schools has improved dramatically. Two new schools were created in our community the Rachel Carson School of Coastal Studies and the High School of Sports Management, and Coney Island Prep Charter School will be opening in September 2009.

Kaiser Park has been remodeled with a new track, baseball and soccer fields and the park house is currently undergoing renovation.

Mayor Bloomberg and Councilman Recchia were the driving forces behind creating the Coney Island Economic Development Corporation. Because of their exemplary leadership diversified economic drivers now exist in the Coney Island community, new businesses are taking a chance in Coney Island such as Rite Aid, Fine Fare, Dunkin Donuts, McDonalds, the new YMCA, The Bank of New York and CitiBank.

And this is important to us because for over 25 years, there was no bank or supermarket or high end multi purpose center in our community.

Councilman Recchia has taken the lead in helping our faith based and community based organizations, to ensure that we are fiscally viable, and leverage our resources for the benefit of the members of our community, who need us the most such as our seniors and youth, by funding capacity/ sustainability building activities, Senior programs and after school programs.

During these dire economic times we cannot afford to turn back the clock or leave our future in the hands of unstable or new leadership. Everyone is quite clear that with the start of any new administration, most projects resume a ground zero status and for the people in Coney Island most of whom are children and senior citizens, this would have dire consequences.

We support the extension of term limits.

Sincerely,

Sheryl D. Robertson

Executive Director

P.O.Box 245134

Brooklyn New York 11224

**Testimony of Eric Lane on the Subject of Term Limits.
City Council Committee on Government Operations, October 16, 2008**

I am here to support the bill to amend New York City's term limit restrictions from two to three terms for all of the City's elected officials.

The notion that a person should be disqualified from office on the basis of his or her prior governmental service is nutty. That in fact why we are having the hearing today, the Mayor and the Speaker awoke to the fact that experience matters.

My qualifications for this testimony are multiple. I live in NYC. I am law professor at Hofstra Law School, and have studied and written on the topic. In fact I have published a paper on NYC's term limits in the Election Law Journal in 2004. I have some copies here for the record. I also served as special counsel to this body from 2001 to 2004 and was author of the 2001 changes to the term limit qualifications and part of the litigation team that successfully defended it. Finally I served as executive director and counsel to the Charter Revision Commission of 1989, the Schwarz Commission, which birthed the modern city counsel, and I feel especially attached to it's the councils's success, and I think term limits has seriously contribute to an institutional decline in the Council since 2001.

Term limits came to New York in 1993. Proponents advanced the utopian hope that limits would allow citizens to replace politicians and then return to private life. This would assure that the public interest would trump special interests. None of this has or could have happened. For example in 2001 the first year term limit qualifications were in effect, almost every elected official, with the exception of Mayor Bloomberg, had previously served in other elected positions or in other public positions. And more significantly almost all of them wanted to stay in elected office. The same is true today.

This reality does not just give lie to the claimed virtues of term limits, but perversely accomplishes the precise opposite of what its proponents promised. Specials interests, lobbyists, the bureaucracy, have grown in power and influence, for two reasons. First newly elected officials, regardless of their background, are unfamiliar with the particulars of subject matter on which they will now have to make decisions. They need a lot of information quickly and without experienced colleagues and an established institutional memory, they necessarily will turn to lobbyist and other entrenched interests. Nationally, interviews of lobbyists have indicated that interest groups have gained influence, due to the inexperience of the newly elected in term limit states.

Special interests have also gained far greater power in New York City government as a result of the continuing political ambitions of term limited officials. As, for example, many members of the Council run against each other for mayor, for comptroller, and for borough president, competition among them grows to gain support, money, and other resources from the same core special interests, vesting in them unprecedented power to influence policy outcomes.

Term limits have also substantially compromised the legislative process. One of the important goals of the 1989 Charter Commission was an independent seriously functioning city legislative body. Achieving this goal requires legislative consensus building and compromise. Term limits weigh against such efforts. Politicians eyeing higher office make self-regarding statements rather than struggle with the compromises of lawmaking. They seek favor from their potential supporters rather than work with their colleagues to frame consensus solutions to problems. As one political consultant told a New York Times reporter several years ago, new members began “plotting their next step up the political ladder from the day they [take]office.”

But many of City’s “good government” groups and others argue that even if term limits are bad (which many agree they are) they should only be changed by referendum because they were passed by referendum. The question here is not about law. In fact the Council can modify or repeal the term limits by local law, i.e., without referendum. This is judicially established by an unsuccessful challenge to a 2001 local law that changed the existing term limit bill.

The question rather is political. Does a legislative solution disrespect the will of the public? The answer to that question is, in a representative democracy, no. Representative democracy requires the ongoing and unrestricted right and obligation of the public to participate in the electoral process. And that fundamental principle was betrayed in 1993 by a campaign for term limits characterized by excessive spending and repetitive and reductionist preaching that only term limit could protect the people from the predation of career politicians. The unspoken message was that voters could only protect themselves by limiting their own power to vote. Against such a specious and simplistic formulation of a problem and its solution, reasoned and careful explications of the real situation didn’t and couldn’t make headway.

Luckily we now have a second chance. That is if the Council enacts an appropriate bill, restoring the right kind of term limit power to New York voters, the power to throw the bums out.

I do have one thing to add about the events surrounding this legislative

proposal. The papers report that the mayor has promised to establish a charter commission with Ronald Lauder already named as a member to study term limits. Sounds to me from this that the extension from two terms to three terms is to be short lived. If I were in your shoes I would be demanding an explanation from the mayor of his plans for the Charter Commission before I would vote for this bill. Similarly the Mayor has said the he believes that the election in 2009 will serve as a referendum on the term limit decision you are being asked to support today. That no doubt will be true for most of you. But for the mayor that will only be true if he is willing to restrain his spending for election. His staff has reportedly said he is willing to spend \$100,000,000 for his race. That you may note is one hell of a lot of money, more than enough for an unknown, and for a man as well know and well regarded as the mayor about ten times to much. If the mayor wants his election to really be a test of his experience and his decision to support term limits, he ought to really let himself be tested.



Testimony
Of
GENE RUSSIANOFF
Senior Attorney
NEW YORK PUBLIC INTEREST RESEARCH GROUP, INC.
before the
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE
of the
NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL
hearing on
TERM LIMITS
(INTRO 845, 850 AND A PRECONSIDERED INTRO)
City Hall
October 16, 2008

NYPIRG strongly opposes Intro 845, which would overturn two previous public votes favoring two-term limits for elected City officials. Action by the City Council here – without going back to the voters – will greatly harm its reputation, undermine its authority as a check and balance on the Mayor and sadly reinforce the cynicism of the public.

I come here today as someone who has fought for more 25 years for increasing the powers of the Council in a city with a very strong mayor form of government. There have been ups and downs in getting a stronger Council, but the march has been forward. Hasty action by the Council now on term limits would be a big step backward in that struggle.

New Yorkers twice voted for the current two-term limits law, in 1993 and again in 1996. A legislative extension would send a terrible message to New Yorkers that their votes don't count. It would widely be seen as a shameless act of self-dealing.

Both Mayor Michael Bloomberg and City Council Speaker Christine Quinn have been clear in the past in opposing changing term limits by legislation.

Mayor Bloomberg told the Daily News in 2002: "I would oppose any change in the law that a legislative body tries to make. I do think after you've asked the public to express their views twice, you don't try to circumvent the will of the people." And in 2008 you renewed this view, saying: "The public has voted for it twice."

A statement issued by Speaker Quinn on December 3, 2007 said: "After careful consideration and discussions with my colleagues in the Council, I have decided not to pursue a change in New York City's term limit law... I believe that over-ruling the will of New Yorkers - who have voted twice in favor of term limits - would be anti-democratic and anti-reform."

Mayor Bloomberg and the supporters of Intro 845 now say that the nation's financial turmoil justifies legislation allowing them to run for a third term. This same argument was made in 2001 in the wake of 9/11 by former Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. But he was denied an extended term and new leadership in both the City's executive and legislative branches rose to the occasion.

There is a fairer alternative to Intro 845 that respects past votes of New Yorkers. That's to hold a special election on the issue before the municipal elections cycle officially begins next year.

NYPIRG requests that the Council slow down the process and give the public a fair chance to have its say. Rumors abound that there could be a vote on term limits as early as the end of this month. At a minimum, the Council Government Operations Committee should hold a public hearing in each borough, rather than only two days of hearings at City Hall. Far better would be to enact Intro 850 or the other term-limits pre-considered Intro. These would allow a more democratic process, with the public to vote in 2009 on whether to change the current two-term limit. The current limit was previously approved in public votes in 1993 and 1996.

Lastly, NYPIRG – along with Citizens Union and Common Cause/NY – asks that all Council Members who vote in favor of Intro 845 file a conflicts disclosure form at the time of the vote. Our request to Speaker Quinn is attached.

I understand the rationale of last night's advisory opinion by the Conflicts of Interest Board that Council Members could not be disqualified "from their core legislative function" of voting. But the opinion was unconvincing on the issue of disclosure. Indeed, in the course of the advisory opinion, COIB positively cited cases requiring disclosure when Council Members have a conflict. But the opinion goes on to say unconvincingly that "any specific act of "disclosure"" is not required "because it is plainly apparent on the face of the legislation."

**Citizens Union
Common Cause/NY
New York Public Interest Research Group, Inc.**

October 8, 2008

Hon. Christine Quinn
Speaker
New York City Council
City Hall
New York, New York 10007

Dear Speaker Quinn:

Our groups write to ask that you direct all Council Members who vote in favor of Intro 845 to file a conflicts disclosure form with the New York City Conflicts of Interest Board by the time of the vote.

The bill – if passed – would change existing law by extending service by all Members from being limited to two four-year terms to three terms. The original law was ratified and placed in the City Charter by a vote of the public; Intro 845 would change this mandate by local law.

Under section 2604(b)(2) of the City Charter all City Council Members cannot “use or attempt to use his or her position as a public servant to obtain any financial gain, contract, license, privilege or other private or personal advantage, direct or indirect, for the public servant ...”

All current Council Members would be affected. Nearly two-thirds of members of the City Council – including you – are currently prevented from running for a third term under Section 1138 of the New York City Charter.

Intro 845 would allow all Council Members to run for three terms. The current two-term limit would be lifted for all current members.

As such, passage of Intro 845 is clearly both a “financial gain” and a personal advantage to Council Members. These gains and advantages include a base salary of \$112,500, medical insurance and pension benefits, in addition to the political influence that comes from being eligible to serve three full terms as a Council Member.

In such cases, Council Members are not prohibited from voting. That’s in accord with the principle that to do so would disenfranchise their constituents. Rather, as related language in section 2604(b)(1) of the City Charter supports, “such action shall not be prohibited, but the elected official shall disclose the interest to the conflicts of interest board, and on the official records of the council ...”

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We do not ask for a conflicts disclosure concerning votes on other bills that call for a public referendum on term limits. In that case, Councils Members are asking the public to make the final decision.

Again, we ask that your office notify all Council Members of their responsibility to file.

Sincerely yours,

Dick Dadey
Citizens Union
299 Broadway
New York, NY

Susan Lerner
Common Cause/NY
155 Sixth Avenue
New York, NY 10013

Gene Russianoff
NYPIRG
9 Murray Street
New York, NY 10007

Cc: Mark Davies



**TESTIMONY OF
CITIZENS UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
on Ints. Nos. 845-A & 850, Preconsidered Int. No., and Res. No. 1640
Before the New York City Council Committee on Governmental Operations
October 16, 2008**

Good afternoon Chairman Felder, and members of the Committee on Governmental Operations. My name is Dick Dadey, and I am the executive director of Citizens Union of the City of New York, an independent, non-partisan, civic organization of New Yorkers who promote good government and advance political reform in our city and state. For more than a century, Citizens Union has served as a watchdog for the public interest and an advocate for the common good. I thank you for holding this hearing and giving me the opportunity to present Citizens Union's views on the important topic of whether to extend term limits for elective office in New York City.

Citizens Union has historically opposed the establishment of term limits since the 1990's because we believed then and continue to believe now that term limits restrict voter choice and that the current law of two, four-year terms should either be amended or ended altogether. We also believe that the battles over term limits in the 1990s were not fair fights as one citizen with a lot of money was able to influence the view of enough New Yorkers to enact term limits in the absence of equally well funded and visible opposition.

Citizens Union does believe, however, that the enactment of term limits in 2001 proved ultimately to be good for the citizens of New York and its government, because it allowed many good, fresh faces to be elected to public office that would not have otherwise been because it cleared out what had been an ossified lot of many tired and ineffective elected officials who had served too long.

Despite our opposition to term limits as a general principle, Citizens Union is open to the idea of extending the current term limits to three, four-year terms, but we have consistently opposed any effort by the Mayor or the City Council to change term limits *without* putting this question before the voters of New York City via a referendum. Citizens Union cannot support any effort to change term limits via local legislative action because such an action would circumvent the will of the voters, as twice expressed – in 1993 when the voters enacted term limits and again in 1996 when the voters opted to keep term limits. We believe that it is imperative that the voters are consulted again and have a chance to have their voice heard on this critically important issue.

In considering this action, the Council is letting down the citizens of New York by not inviting them to engage in and learn from a robust and informed discussion about term limits. We are saddened that it only now is being discussed and distressed that until today the only deliberations and discussions held on this matter have been the ones taking place behind closed doors away from the public.

In this time of economic turmoil with yet unforeseen consequences to our great city, Citizens Union acknowledges that many New Yorkers may desire stable political leadership and at least want the opportunity to consider returning to office the Mayor, the Speaker, and many members of the City Council. However, the form of our democracy and the function of our government should not be changed hastily to respond to a crisis, no matter how severe it is thought to be, or how feared it might be. We didn't do it after the most tragic day in the history of our city - 9/11, and we shouldn't be doing it now. Not this way at least.

Amending term limits by legislative action instead of via a referendum will have a detrimental effect on our representative form of democracy. Flouting the referendum results, twice expressed by the voters, and the corresponding fifteen year old law and failing to obtain the input of current voters will undermine New Yorkers' confidence in you and our municipal government by making it appear that their elected officials are acting in their own self-interest rather than in the public interest. It will fuel a growing level of public cynicism and mistrust of government, especially since both the Mayor and the Speaker have previously and strongly spoken out against Council action overturning term limits. It will be just one more argument that voters can legitimately make - that it doesn't matter what we think, because the Council and the Mayor can act to disregard our publicly cast votes and overturn them.

No matter how strongly you feel about term limits, do you really want to contribute to undermining the past votes of New Yorkers and circumventing the right of voters to change their minds by not asking them to vote again on a referendum? This is not as if you are taking a vote on which the voters haven't voted before, like raising property taxes or changing a zoning law. You are considering voting to change a law that New Yorkers have voted on before - twice.

Citizens Union agrees with what its Vice Chair Richard Briffault said the other night at our term limits public forum: that a Council change to the term limits will say that circumstances and talent are more important than the general rules designed to limit power and promote rotation in office. There will be talented people. And there will be unusual times. But should the Council and the Mayor act alone to change how long elected officials could serve in office?

I appreciate the difficulty of the decision before you and that we can strongly disagree without being disagreeable to each other. But I ask you: Is this really the right way to make this change?

Moreover, Citizens Union does not understand the urgency to amend the term limit law now when almost three years ago, Citizens Union urged the Mayor and the City Council to engage in a robust public discussion about term limits, including the creation of a charter revision commission to study this issue in more detail. Unfortunately, our recommendations were ignored. We believe that Mayor Bloomberg and Speaker Christine Quinn missed an opportunity in these past three years in not working together to form a needed charter revision commission to address the issue of term limits and evaluate their impact on city government, as Citizens Union had first called for in 2005, and many times since. As a city, we have not thoughtfully examined how well term limits have worked, evaluated how they have affected City government, or discussed whether and how they need to be changed.

And now in the span of approximately three weeks the Mayor and the City Council have made the extension of term limits an urgent priority. Despite the Mayor's recommendation in January to create a charter revision commission, it took over nine months for the issue to be raised again and now term limits must be extended immediately and without time for a full public conversation on the issue. Citizens Union does not support this approach.

We urge the Council and the Mayor to slow down this hasty process. It is unacceptable and a large disservice to the citizens of this City that the extent of the public input on this issue will be conducting two Council hearings at City Hall within twenty-four hours of one another – that is not the appropriate level of public discourse for such an important issue. This is a conversation that must take place in all five boroughs at all times of the day and night to ensure that there is sufficient input from all New Yorkers – not just those who happen to hear about the hearing and are able to come down to testify during their lunch hour. If the Mayor and the Council are adamant that term limits must be changed via local law then the Council should wait until the people have had a chance to comment. There is no justification for rushing consideration and action on this issue.

While, Citizens Union acknowledges that the Council is likely within its power and authority to act on its own to change the term limits law. And we are not surprised by the Conflicts of Interest Board's ruling last night that possible Council action does not amount to a conflict as currently defined by law. Just because the Council may have the authority to act, Citizens Union believes that you should not act on your own. Because for us, the process of how laws are made is just as important as to what laws are made. The "how" is just as important as the "what" in our democracy, and arguably even more important if government is to have legitimacy and the support of those it governs.

While Citizens Union is not convinced that we should be holding a special election to decide this matter, we do believe that only the voters should change the term limits and that it is preferable to Council action. Just like we believe that state legislators should not draw their own district lines, we also believe that the City Council should not determine the length of the terms of office. In fact, the lines for city council are drawn by an independent commission so as not to have Council members involved in an activity in which they have a self interest. The same view should be applied to the term limits law.

It is not too late to receive input from the voters on changing term limits. There is still time for the Council to pass a local law creating a Charter Revision Commission to consider this issue and a special election could be scheduled in the spring of 2009 where the question of whether to extend term limits would be put before the voters. Citizens Union acknowledges that it would be preferable to have such a serious question presented to the voters during a general election where voter turnout and participation may be higher; however, given that the deadline for submission at the 2008 general election has already lapsed that is no longer a viable option.

The Committee is considering 4 pieces of legislation today which take varying approaches on how to address the question of term limits:

1. First, Int. No. 845-A which was introduced by Council Member Felder by request of the Mayor would amend New York City Charter §§1137 and 1138 to extend the term of office for city elective office from two, four-year terms to three, four-year terms. As previously stated, Citizens Union opposes this bill because, while the Council has the legislative authority to pass a local law changing term limits, doing so completely ignores the will of the voters who have twice voted in favor of term limits.
2. The second bill is Int. No. 850 sponsored by Council Member Weprin. This bill would amend New York City Charter §38 to prohibit the Council from changing its term of office without submitting such a change to a referendum.
3. The third bill before the Committee is the preconsidered bill sponsored by Council Member James. This bill would create a Council-initiated Charter Revision Commission to study the Charter and submit any questions, including whether to extend term limits, to the voters during an election.
4. Finally, the Committee is considering Res. No. 1640 which calls upon the State Legislature to amend the State Municipal Home Rule Law to give the City authority to amend the Charter to require that any change to term limits must be subject to voter referendum.

At this time, Citizens Union has not formulated a position on Int. No. 850, the preconsidered bill or Res. No. 1640. As previously mentioned, the cornerstone of our position with respect to term limits is that there must be an opportunity for the voters to have their voices heard on this issue. .

Citizens Union is mindful that whatever action is taken, either by the Council itself, or by the voters in a referendum, it will be the subject of legal action and Justice Department review because of the Voting Rights Act. This is an important component of this broader discussion that Citizens Union would like to consider more thoroughly and discuss in more detail at tomorrow's hearing.

In closing, I would note that what is interesting about this discussion and the increasingly heated debate is the consensus that seems to exist around term limits - that they need to be changed to improve government and that the Council has the authority to act.

So the question really before you - as democratically elected members of the New York City Council charged with representing the views of your constituents as you enact local laws and pass city budgets - is not so much, should term limits be changed, or can we act on our own to make that change, but rather and whether you should.

As NY Times columnist Tom Friedman pointed out yesterday, our country in recent years has been consumed by making money, and paid little attention to how that money was being made. The failure not to pay attention to how money was being made has now come back to haunt us and cause us terrible harm, because we didn't value the process and ignored how we were doing it.

How we do things in this city matters, especially in our democracy. They should matter to you as well.



**TESTIMONY OF
ANTHONY W. CROWELL, COUNSELOR TO THE MAYOR,
ON INTRO. 845-A
BEFORE THE NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS
CONCERNING THE EXTENSION OF TERM LIMITS
OCTOBER 16, 2008**

Good afternoon Chair Felder and members of the Committee. I am Anthony Crowell, Counselor to Mayor Michael Bloomberg, and I am here on behalf of the Administration to testify in support of Intro. 845-A. This bill would amend the City Charter's provisions regarding term limits by changing the number of full consecutive terms of office that may be served by a City elected official from two to three terms. Joining me today is New York City Corporation Counsel Michael Cardozo, who will deliver testimony focused on the legal issues tied to this bill, and others being considered by the Council.

The issue of term limits is an important one for the Council to consider, and we would encourage you to begin by thinking about where our City is today – and how we got here. Looking back over the past six and three-quarter years since the Mayor was first sworn into office, along with many of you, the City has made gains that no one thought possible. I am sure all of you know the key stats:

- Crime has been cut to a 40-year low;
- Graduation rates have climbed 20 percent;
- Record budget deficits were turned into record surpluses;
- Unemployment dropped to all-time lows;
- 165,000 units of affordable housing are being built or preserved – the largest such program

undertaken by any city, ever;

- Lower Manhattan has been transformed from a 9 to 5 business district into a vibrant 24-7 community;
- Smoking rates among teens have been cut by more than half;
- New York's public hospitals have never been healthier or higher rated;
- And carbon emissions are being reduced, thanks to the Mayor's visionary *PlaNYC* agenda.

All of this – and more – has not happened by accident. It has been achieved by the Mayor and the City Council, working together in partnership.

The great progress we have made, however, is now threatened by the turmoil on Wall Street and bank panics that carry echoes of the 1930s. In just a few short months, some of New York's largest and most important financial institutions have collapsed – victims of a financial crisis that is rocking the global marketplace and shaking the very foundation we have worked so hard to build.

Under these crisis conditions, everything has changed. Whereas a year ago, we could think of term limits in theoretical terms, crisis has a way of clearing the mind and forcing us to put pragmatism first. As Ben Bernanke, the chairman of the Federal Reserve has noted, “There are no atheists in foxholes, and no ideologues in financial crises.” In Washington, free market ideologues have now become proponents of a rescue plan in which government will take an ownership interest in banks.

The economic crisis has made everyone stop and think – and re-assess. That is healthy. And

it is necessary. Because when conditions change, all of us have the responsibility to factor them into our thinking. To do otherwise would be to allow stubbornness to get in the way of rational and clear-headed decisions.

Here in New York, as the Mayor has said, the financial crisis threatens many of the gains we have made as a City. In light of this, many people have paused to reconsider the issue of term limits and how they are structured. After listening to many different people with many different opinions, the Mayor has come to believe that it is in the City's best interests to give voters more options, not fewer – and let them decide who they want in office. In addition, he intends to appoint a Charter Revision Commission to study the issue and consider whether to put before voters in 2010, among other potential issues, a proposal on term limits.

There has been a great deal of support for the merits of extending term limits, while much of the opposition has concentrated on the process by which it would occur. So let me address the process briefly, and let me begin with a historical precedent.

In 1966, voters approved a citizen-driven referendum – by a margin of 63 percent to 37 percent – that effectively repealed Mayor Lindsay's Civilian Complaint Review Board by requiring that all members of any complaint review board be full-time members of the NYPD. But twenty years later, in 1986, the City Council reconsidered the issue and passed a law requiring that half the members of the board be civilians. Council members did not put the issue to a referendum, because they had no legal obligation to do so, and because they believed they were acting in the best interest of the City – and, in our opinion, they were right. The revised structure of the CCRB has served the

City well.

Today, the circumstances are not so different. Twelve years ago, voters upheld the two term limit in a referendum, by a far narrower margin than the 1966¹ referendum was decided. The Courts have upheld the Council's authority to amend Charter provisions originally adopted by referenda, including the 1966 referendum – and so the question today for the Council is a straightforward one: Is extending term limits from two to three terms in the best interests of the City?

If you believe the answer is “yes,” as we do, we urge you to vote for this legislation and not hold it hostage to process concerns that have no legal basis. In addition, we urge you to consider that the alternative process, a special election in the winter or spring of 2009, is fraught with difficulties:

First, it could leave candidates in limbo for at least another four months, making fundraising and organizing exceptionally difficult.

Second, it would feature low voter turnout – perhaps as low as 10 or 15 percent. In such elections, special interests often have a disproportionately large voice, creating a result that does not reflect the broad popular will.

Third, the time requirement posed by a Charter Revision Commission and the Voting Rights Act pre-clearance process could conceivably delay a special election until well into the

¹ The 1996 referendum extending term limits to three was defeated by a margin of 53.7% to 46.3%, but only 1.2 million of the 2 million voters who went to the polls – out of more than 3.8 million registered voters – cast a ballot on the issue. Thus, the referendum was defeated by less than 17 % of all registered voters.

spring, leaving candidates under a cloud of uncertainty until then.

Fourth, it bears noting that holding a citywide special election would cost taxpayers upwards of \$15 million, at a time when all City agencies are being asked to reduce spending, and the possibility of rescinding the 7% property tax cut is being discussed.

For all of these reasons, we believe a special election to decide this question is far more problematic, and far less representative, than a vote by the 51-member Council, each member representing 160,000 New Yorkers. In addition, it is worthwhile to note how public opinion on this issue has shifted – just as it did with the CCRB in the two decades following the 1966 vote. A referendum reflects public opinion at a particular point in time. Current polls show public opinion now supports an extension to three terms. The Mayor has never believed that any decisions should be made based on polls – that’s not leadership. But the recent polls do show the times have changed, and people’s opinions have changed too.

Finally, the Administration understands that this is a difficult issue and one that requires thoughtful consideration. As you deliberate, we urge you to put policy above process – and leave the rest to voters. If the bill is passed, they will be empowered to render the ultimate verdict on whether we were right or wrong.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today, and now I will ask Corporation Counsel Michael Cardozo to offer his guidance on the legal ramifications of the bills before us today.

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**Testimony of Michael A. Cardozo
Corporation Counsel
City of New York**

**Before
New York City Council, Governmental Operations Committee**

Thursday, October 16, 2008

**Testimony of Corporation Counsel Michael A. Cardozo
New York City Council, Governmental Operations Committee
October 16, 2008**

Chairperson Felder and members of the Governmental Operations Committee, good afternoon, and thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify before you today. As you know, I am Michael Cardozo, and since the beginning of the Bloomberg Administration I have had the honor to serve as the City's Corporation Counsel. Together with Mr. Crowell, I am here to give brief testimony on Intro. Number 845, a bill that would amend the term limit provisions of the City Charter to provide that elected officials serve no more than three, rather than two, full consecutive terms. In particular, I am here to stress to you and to the public-at-large that the representative legislative body of this City – the City Council – has clear legislative authority to enact this bill.

In general, in accordance with the home rule provisions of the State's Constitution and Section 10 of the Municipal Home Rule Law, the authority of the City to amend its Charter to adopt term limits (and, in turn, to amend or repeal them) is well settled. When term limits were originally proposed as a petition initiative, the question arose as to whether the City could enact term limit provisions by local law or whether State action was required. In a decision upheld by the state's highest court, the New York State Supreme Court held that the City

possessed the authority to enact term limits locally without any further State action.¹

Given this general authority, the law is crystal clear that the City can enact, amend or repeal the term limit provisions of the City Charter in three different ways – by petition initiative approved by the voters, by action of a charter revision commission subject to approval of the voters, or by action of the City’s elected representatives in the City Council. It is important to stress, however, that no one of these means of amending the Charter is somehow inherently “better” or more appropriate. Pursuant to Section 10 and Article 3 of the Municipal Home Rule Law, the City Council *regularly* amends the City Charter. Indeed, amendments to both the Charter and the Administrative Code are carried out in the normal course by the City Council, acting on behalf of the City’s residents.

Thus, the only remaining question is whether the City Council, which normally has the authority to amend the City Charter, lacks the authority to change provisions that were initially enacted as a result of a referendum. The courts have spoken to this issue, and the answer is clear – the Council has authority to enact Charter amendments regardless of whether a prior local law enacted those

¹ See *Roth v. Cuevas*, 158 Misc. 2d 238 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. New York County 1993), *aff’d*, 197 A.D.2d 369 (1st Dep’t 1993), *aff’d*, 82 N.Y.2d 791 (1993).

provisions or whether such provisions were enacted by referendum. This very question was at issue in the *Golden* case, which I personally argued on behalf of the City in the Appellate Division, Second Department, which concerned the City Council's authority to change the City's term limit provisions to address an anomaly that had arisen as a result of the original passage of term limits. Under the original term limit language, certain council members would have been term-limited at 6 years, even though other council members could have served for 8 years. In 2002 the Council addressed this issue by amending the Charter to define a "full term" as two two-year terms for purposes of the term limit provisions.

The appellate court ruled that State law did not require that the change be put to a mandatory referendum. Perhaps more importantly for purposes of our discussion today, the Court held that the Council could amend a Charter provision even if it had been enacted first by referendum because, as the court noted, "laws proposed and enacted by the people under an initiative are subject to the same constitutional, statutory and charter limitations as those passed by the Legislature."²

² *Golden v. New York City Council, et al.*, 305 A.D. 2d 598, 600 (1st Dep't 2003), *appeal denied*, 100 N.Y.2d 504 (2003) (emphasis added) (citing *Matter of Caruso v. City of New York*, 136 Misc. 2d 892, 895-896 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. New York County 1988), *aff'd*, 134 A.D.2d 601 (1st Dep't 1989), *aff'd*, 74 N.Y.2d 854 (1988)).

This decision interpreted Section 23 of the Municipal Home Rule Law and relied primarily on two decisions of the State's highest court. In the earlier of the two, the Court of Appeals had upheld the action of the City Council of Buffalo when it abolished a one-term limit on the Mayor of Buffalo, even though the original term limit provision had been enacted by referendum.³ My colleague Mr. Crowell already discussed the second decision, which was quoted in *Golden* and held that the City Council could amend by local law without a referendum provisions of the Charter relating to the Civilian Complaint Review Board that had been adopted by a petition initiative in 1966.⁴

Given these precedents, it should come as no surprise that the City Council has on numerous occasions amended provisions of the Charter that were originally enacted by referendum, including many provisions adopted by the voters upon the recommendations of the 1988 and 1989 charter revision commissions. Thus long-standing legal authority, recently re-enforced in the *Golden* case, as well as historical practice, remove any possible doubt that the City Council has the authority to enact the change proposed by Intro. No. 845 even though term limits were originally enacted by referendum.

³ *Benzow v. Cooley*, 12 A.D.2d 162 (4th Dep't 1961), *aff'd*, 9 N.Y.2d 888 (1961).

⁴ *See Caruso*, 136 Misc. 2d at 895-896.

I want to also briefly address Intro No. 850, which was not covered by my colleague's testimony, because I believe it raises serious legal questions. That bill purports to amend provisions of the City Charter by making any change to term limit provisions subject to a mandatory referendum. However, Section 23 of the Municipal Home Rule Law already specifies types of local laws that subject such laws to mandatory referenda, and the City's ability to augment that list by local action only is, as a long line of decided state cases suggest, at best highly doubtful. I recognize that Section 38 of the Charter contains a provision specifying additional grounds for a mandatory referendum, but note that much of that provision originates in the work of charter revision commissions that were specially created by the State Legislature.

Finally, if Intro. No. 845 is enacted into law, the City will submit the bill to the Department of Justice for a process known as "preclearance", during which the Department of Justice would review the bill to confirm that it would not adversely affect the voting rights opportunities of certain racial or ethnic groups. The original enactment of term limits was pre-cleared by the Justice Department, as was the 2002 amendment I described earlier. Based on these precedents and the federal law governing pre-clearance questions, I am confident that the Justice Department will find nothing objectionable about the amendment proposed in Intro. No. 845. In short, the proposed term limits change will not diminish the

opportunities the City's diverse racial and ethnic groups currently have to nominate and elect the candidates of their choice, whether or not such candidates are incumbents.

Thank you once again for your time, and I am happy to take any questions you may have.

Testimony By

**Mark D. Levine
Democratic District Leader (71st AD - Part A)**

Before the City Council Committee on Government Operations

In opposition to extension of term limits through legislative action

October 16th, 2008

Thank you Mr. Chairman. My name is Mark Levine. I am a Democratic District Leader and a likely 2009 City Council candidate. I wish to speak in the strongest possible terms against the proposal to extend term limits through legislative action.

Those who advocate overturning the 8-year term limit rule for city office holders routinely claim that all they want to do is to give the voters a fair chance to make a choice. Some even claim that any election is a form of term limits--since voters, they would have us believe, can easily vote an incumbent out of office. But such statements fly in the face of the reality of elections in New York.

The reelection rate for incumbents in New York is 98%. That's higher than the reelection rate was for officials in the former Soviet Union. In Albany, where there are no term limits, tenures in the state legislature routinely run past two and even three decades. The same was true for the City Council before term limits were instituted here in 2001. For all practical purposes, absent term limits, incumbency in New York is a lifetime privilege.

Now there are many things that those who oppose term limits could do if they were sincere in their desire to provide free and fair choices to voters:

- We can, and should, reform the state's election laws, almost universally acknowledged to be the most Byzantine in the nation, to make it harder to knock grassroots candidates off the ballot by invoking obscure technicalities.
- We can, and should, end gerrymandering, which is used to draw districts that favor keeping incumbents in office.
- We can, and should, bring the City's Board of Elections into the 21st century, by ending the practice of staffing entirely with patronage hires.

But those now calling for a weakening of the term limits law have not acted to implement ANY of these reforms over the past 7 1/2 years, which makes it obvious for all the world to see that their interest is in anything but "giving voters a fair chance to make a choice." Their interest is in giving themselves the chance to run for reelection under a system that they--and we--know is designed to virtually guarantee they will stay in office. That is neither fair, nor democratic, and it's a path that I urge the Council not to follow.

THANK YOU.

FOR THE THIRD TERM... Ms. Pat Singer, Founder/Executive Director
Brighton Neighborhood Association, Inc.
718 891-0800

I HAVE BEEN A COMMUNITY ACTIVIST FOR OVER 32 YEARS AND I AM HERE TODAY AS SOMEONE WHO CARES ABOUT COMMUNITY ESPECIALLY THE COMMUNITIES OF BRIGHTON BEACH AND CONEY ISLAND. I HAVE WEIGHED THIS ISSUE. AND I'M HERE TODAY BECAUSE I FEEL THE NEED TO SPEAK OUT.

AS PAT SINGER, YOUR AVERAGE CITIZEN, I DON'T KNOW WHAT **IT WILL TAKE TO SOLVE OUR COUNTRY NATIONALLY, BUT I DO KNOW** THAT ON THE LOCAL FRONT THERE IS MUCH WORK THAT CAN BE DONE TO PUT CONEY ISLAND BACK ON ITS FEET. COUNCILMAN DOMINICK RECCHIA HAS BEEN AT THE HELM OF THIS MISSION AND **KNOWS** WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE. **EIGHT YEARS WAS NOT ENOUGH.** COUNCILMAN RECCHIA MUST **FINISH THE VISION HE SAW FOR CONEY ISLAND AND ITS RESIDENTS.**

IN BRIGHTON BEACH IT TOOK MY ORGANIZATION, BRIGHTON NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION, FIVE LONG YEARS TO GET CITY PLANNING TO CONSIDER DOWN ZONING TO **SAVE WHAT AFFORDABLE UNITS WE HAVE LEFT.** WE ARE SEEING THE POOR, THE MIDDLE CLASS AND THE WORKING CLASS, PUSHED OUT OF OUR BEACH FRONT COMMUNITY. WE NEED COUNCILMAN MICHAEL NELSON'S LEADERSHIP TO CONTINUE

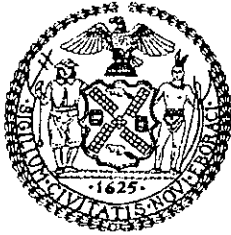
THIS FIGHT TO 'DOWN ZONE' BRIGHTON BEACH. WE NEED COUNCILMAN NELSON TO REPAIR OUR STREETS AND JOIN HIS COLLEAGUES TO REPAIR OUR BELOVED BUT DANGEROUS BOARDWALK.

WE NEED TO RUN...NOT WALK TO STRAIGHTEN OUT THIS COUNTRY, THIS CITY, OUR COMMUNITIES. WE HAVE NO TIME TO REVIEW RETHINK, RELEARN, REEVALUATE!

THERE'S AN ENEMY OUT THERE AND IT'S NOT JUST TERRORISM, IT'S POVERTY... WE NEED MAYOR BLOOMBERG, BROOKLYN BOROUGH PRESIDENT MARKOWITZ AND OUR COUNCILMEN BACK IN THE TRENCHES. THEY KNOW HOW TO FIGHT THE ENEMY. WE ARE IN A WAR RIGHT HERE IN OUR HOMELAND. IT'S A WAR OF SURVIVAL.

THE CANDIDATES THAT ARE STANDING BY WILL BE THERE IN FOUR YEARS, IF THEY ARE THAT COMMITTED TO THIS CITY....AND WE THE PEOPLE HOPEFULLY WILL BE ECONOMICALLY STRONG ENOUGH TO PUT THE FUTURE IN THEIR HANDS.

I SUPPORT A THIRD TERM!



CITY OF NEW YORK
CONFLICTS OF INTEREST BOARD

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Kevin B. Frawley
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Term Limits
Use of Position

Charter Sections: 38, 1137, 1138, 2601(5), 2603(c)(3), 2604(b)(1)(a),
2604(b)(2), 2604(b)(3), 2604(b)(14)

Opinions Cited: 94-17, 94-28, 95-24

Board Rules: 1-13

Advisory Opinion No. 2008-3

Mark Davies
Executive Director

Wayne G. Hawley
*Deputy Executive Director
& General Counsel*

Julia Davis
*Special Counsel &
Director of Financial
Disclosure*

Carolyn Lisa Miller
Director of Enforcement

Alex Kipp
*Director of Training &
Education*

Ute O'Malley
*Director of
Administration*

Derick Yu
*Director of Information
Technology*

The Conflicts of Interest Board (the "Board") has received inquiries from Public Advocate Betsy Gotbaum and City Council Members Bill de Blasio and Letitia James, through their attorneys,¹ as well as from the Council itself, asking whether, consistent with the provisions of Chapter 68 of the City Charter, the City's conflicts of interest law, Council Members and the Public Advocate may participate in the consideration of currently-pending legislation to alter the City Charter's term limits provisions, Charter Sections 1137 and 1138, by supporting or opposing, and ultimately voting upon, that

¹ The subjects of this opinion have consented to the use of their names and other identifying information. See Charter § 2603(c)(3).

legislation. For the reasons set forth below, the Board concludes that they may.

Background

Charter Sections 1137 and 1138 currently limit certain City elected officials, including Council Members, the Public Advocate, the Mayor, and Borough Presidents, to serving no more than two terms; these provisions were enacted as the result of referenda approved by the voters. A bill (Int. No. 845) (the "Bill") has recently been introduced in the City Council to amend these provisions to permit elected officials to serve a maximum of three terms. The Board is advised that, as of this writing, the Council has scheduled committee hearings on the Bill for October 16 and 17, 2008. The Board is also advised that Mayor Bloomberg has publicly supported enactment of the Bill and has said that he will sign it if it is passed by the Council.

The Board has further been advised that Ms. Gotbaum's second term as Public Advocate ends next year, so that under current law she may not run for re-election in the 2009 municipal elections. On the consent of the Council Speaker, Ms. Gotbaum presides over the City Council. The Board is further advised that Mr. de Blasio's second Council term ends next year; that he, too, is therefore barred by current law from seeking re-election in 2009; that he is contemplating running for Brooklyn Borough President in 2009 but would be eligible to run for re-election as a Council Member if the Bill becomes law; and that the incumbent Borough President would also be barred by current law from running for re-election in 2009 but would be eligible to seek re-election if the Bill becomes law. Finally, the Board is advised that Ms. James is completing her first term as a Council Member; that she is eligible under current law to run, and is considering running, for re-election in 2009; that, in contrast, the majority of her fellow Council Members are

barred by current law from running for re-election in 2009; and that if the Bill becomes law, and if Ms. James is re-elected in 2009, she would be eligible, and might choose, to seek a third term thereafter.

Accordingly, Council Members de Blasio and James and Public Advocate Gotbaum, and the Council itself, have requested the Board's advice on whether, as a result of the introduction of the Bill, Council Members and the Public Advocate were to take actions as public servants to participate in the Council's consideration of the Bill, including supporting or opposing it and voting on its adoption, they would violate the City's conflicts of interest law, and in particular Charter Sections 2604(b)(2) and (b)(3). Counsel for Council Members de Blasio and James and Public Advocate Gotbaum has also suggested that, in so doing, they might violate Board Rules Section 1-13(d), which prohibits public servants from intentionally or knowingly aiding, inducing, or causing another public servant to violate any provision of Charter Section 2604.

Relevant Law

Charter Section 2604(b)(2) prohibits a public servant from engaging in "any business, transaction or private employment, or having any financial or other private interest, direct or indirect, which is in conflict with the proper discharge of his or her official duties."

Section 1-13(d) of the Rules of the Board provides that it shall be a violation of Charter Section 2604(b)(2) for a public servant to, among other things, "aid, induce or cause" another public servant to "intentionally or knowingly" violate any provision of Section 2604.

Charter Section 2604(b)(3) prohibits a public servant from using or attempting to use his or her position as a public servant "to obtain any financial gain, contract, license, privilege or

other private or personal advantage, direct or indirect, for the public servant or any person or firm associated with the public servant.” Charter Section 2601(5) defines those “associated” with a public servant to include a spouse, domestic partner, child, parent, or sibling; a person with whom the public servant has a business or other financial relationship; and each firm in which the public servant has a present or potential interest.

Charter Section 2604(b)(1)(a) provides as follows:

“1. A public servant who has an interest in a firm which is not prohibited by subdivision a of this section, shall not take any action as a public servant particularly affecting that interest, except that (a) in the case of an elected official, such action shall not be prohibited, but the elected official shall disclose the interest to the conflicts of interest board, and on the official records of the council or the board of estimate in the case of matters before those bodies.”

Discussion

At the outset the Board emphasizes that it expresses no view whatsoever on the merits or lack of merits of term limits or the Bill, nor does the Board express any view on whether an extension, if any, should be made by local law or by a referendum or State legislation. The Board limits its advice in this Opinion to the question posed, namely, whether actions taken by Ms. Gotbaum, Ms. James, Mr. de Blasio and other Council Members to support or oppose the Bill would contravene Chapter 68, that is, the conflicts of interest provisions, of the City Charter.

Because the Bill, if enacted, would permit many current City elected officials, including Ms. Gotbaum, Ms. James, Mr. de Blasio, and other Council Members, to seek an additional four-

year term that the current law denies them, it would, to that extent, arguably confer a "benefit" upon them. However, for the reasons set forth below, it is the Board's view that their official actions in participating in a legislative process that might yield them this arguable benefit would *not* confer upon them any "private or personal advantage" within the meaning of Charter Section 2604(b)(3), nor would it constitute a "private interest" in conflict with the proper discharge of their official duties in violation of Charter Section 2604(b)(2). Indeed, the Board believes that it is squarely *within* the proper discharge of Council Members' official duties as legislators (and, in Ms. Gotbaum's case, as an elected official whose duties include presiding over the Council) for them to vote upon, and otherwise participate in the legislative process regarding, a bill lawfully pending before the Council. Accordingly, these elected officials, and indeed any elected official of the City, **will not violate Chapter 68** by participating in this legislative process.

The Board first notes that the framers of current Chapter 68 did not intend to "define the full scope of ethical behavior for public servants" but, rather, only to identify "a definable and crucial subset of ethical behavior." Report of the 1986-1988 Charter Revision Commission, Volume II, p. 148. This crucial subset concerns conflicts between public servants' official duties and, in the main, their *private, financial* interests (and those of their "associates"), not their political interests in serving as public officials or in the terms and conditions of that service. Accordingly, while term-limited elected officials may have a personal political interest in the Bill's outcome, that interest does not fall within the "definable and crucial subset" of Chapter 68 that would disqualify them from participating in consideration and possible enactment of the proposed legislation.

A second tenet that underlies Chapter 68 is the recognition that, in a democratic system of government, elected officials are charged by their constituencies with fulfilling certain basic duties – and that, in the case of legislators, such as Council Members, there is no duty more fundamental to their office than the obligation to vote upon pending bills lawfully before them. Thus, Charter Section 2604(b)(1) expressly permits Council Members (and other elected officials) to take actions “particularly affecting” their private financial investments in private firms, provided only that they disclose their private interests to the Board and, in the case of Council Members, “on the official records of the council.” This provision clearly stands for the proposition that the Charter disfavors disqualifying elected officials from their core legislative function of voting.

Consistent with this underlying tenet, the Board has permitted Council Members to take actions that are intrinsic to their role as elected representatives, but might further their personal financial interests, so long as those financial interests were fully disclosed. Thus, for example, in Advisory Opinion No. 94-28, the Board permitted a Council Member to propose and support legislation (both City and *State* legislation) that could directly benefit a real estate developer with whom the Council Member had a financial relationship. In so doing, the Board noted that the “Charter recognizes this unique function of elected officials in Charter Section 2604(b)(1)(a), which provides that an elected official may take an action as a public servant which affects an interest he has in a firm, provided that the elected official discloses such interest to the Board and on the records of the Council.” *Id.* at 5.

So too here, voting on the term limits Bill is squarely within the “unique function” of elected legislators that the framers of Chapter 68 did not mean to impede. If Council Members

are not prohibited by Chapter 68 from voting on legislation that affects their private financial interests, so long as those interests are disclosed, *a fortiori* they cannot be prohibited from voting on legislation that affects the terms and conditions of their service as Council Members. And such an "interest" does not require any specific act of "disclosure," because it is plainly apparent on the face of the legislation.²

Indeed, the courts have recognized that it is squarely within the authority of the City Council to enact laws regarding term limits, and that a voter referendum under City Charter Section 38 or Municipal Home Rule Law Section 23(2) is not required to enact such laws. *See Golden v. New York City Council*, 305 A.D. 2d 598, 762 N.Y.S. 4102d 410 (2d Dep't 2003). Given this judicial authority, to hold that all Members of the Council who would arguably benefit by being enabled to run for another term are disqualified by Chapter 68 from voting on such a law would deny to the people's elected representatives one of the powers afforded them by State and local law.³

The Board precedents cited by counsel for Council Members de Blasio and James and Public Advocate Gotbaum are fully consistent with both of these tenets underlying Chapter 68.

² It is nevertheless worth stating that the disclosure requirement of Charter Section 2604(b)(1)(a) clearly does not apply to any Council Member's vote on the Bill. Here, the bill to extend term limits does not at all relate to any Council Member's "interest in a firm," much less "particularly affect" any such interest.

³ By the same token, the Board rejects the suggestion of counsel for Council Members de Blasio and James and the Public Advocate that the members of this Board are disqualified from rendering a valid and objective opinion on the question posed herein, simply because they were appointed by the Mayor (with the consent of the Council) and could be re-appointed by the Mayor were he to be re-elected for another term. There is no basis for concluding that the Charter, having established the Board as a body so appointed, bars the Board from discharging its duty to construe Chapter 68 in matters involving the interests of the Mayor and the Council Members. The six-year terms which Board members serve, which are longer than the terms of any Mayor or Council Member, address the issue of the relationship between the Board members on the one hand and the Mayor and Council Members on the other.

Thus, for example, the Board has found violations of Chapter 68 where a public servant supervised a person with whom the public servant had a private financial relationship, a violation of the express terms of Charter Section 2604(b)(14) (*COIB Case No. 2005-442*); used City letterhead for the public servant's personal affairs, again in plain violation of Charter Section 2604(b)(2) as interpreted in Board Rules Section 1-13 (*COIB Case No. 2008-501*); acted on a matter that would benefit a not-for-profit that the public servant served as a paid consultant, again a textbook violation of Charter Section 2604(b)(3) (*Advisory Opinion No. 94-17*); or engaged, on City time, in such partisan political activity as distributing political campaign material, also a plain violation of Board Rules Section 1-13 (*Advisory Opinion No. 95-24*). In each one of these cases, the interest served by the public servant's official actions was a *personal, private* interest, not an interest in the terms and conditions of his or her public office, and in none of them was the public servant an elected official expressly discharging the core duties for which he or she was elected.

In contrast with these violations of definable, and defined, standards relating to personal, private interests, an interpretation of Chapter 68 that would prohibit elected officials from considering or voting on a bill modifying or extending (or even abolishing) term limits would extend the scope of Chapter 68 far beyond any workable interpretation of the law. If Council Members voting on a bill to extend their permissible terms were held to be unlawfully using their positions to obtain a "financial gain" or "other private or personal advantage" in violation of Charter Section 2604(b)(3), or to be acting "in conflict with the proper discharge of [their] official duties," in violation of Charter Section 2604(b)(2), it must follow that they could not vote on *any measure* affecting the terms and conditions of their public service as Council

Members. So, for example, they would likewise violate the law by voting on pay raises for themselves – a bill that the Council in fact recently passed, without (so far as the Board is aware) anyone suggesting that the Council Members violated Chapter 68 by voting for that measure. Similarly, if Council Members cannot vote on term limits, they would likewise be prohibited from voting to limit the amount of campaign contributions that they may receive, and concomitantly to permit certain contributions (again, a bill that the Council recently passed); from voting to limit the amount of gifts that they may receive from lobbyists, and to permit certain gifts (also a recently passed bill)⁴; or even from voting to purchase more comfortable chairs for the Council chamber, or to give City Hall a new paint job.⁵ In addition, the logic of the notion that Chapter 68 prevents Council Members from voting to extend term limits also suggests that elected officials may never act on matters properly before them if their actions would have implications for their personal political prospects; such a conclusion would bring democratic government to a halt.

A review of analogous authorities in other jurisdictions supports the Board's conclusion. For example, while cases challenging determinations by legislators to increase their own salaries often turn on the interpretation of legislation specific to that question, in the absence of such specific legislation, it has been held that general conflicts of interest laws do not prohibit such

⁴ While the recently enacted bills with respect to campaign contributions and gifts from lobbyists might be described as yielding a "disadvantage" to most if not all Members of the Council, as noted, the legislation also permits certain contributions and gifts, and the act of voting on those bills surely implicated the interests of Council Members – which would also be implicated if the Council were to vote on legislation relaxing or repealing the restrictions of the pay-to-play or lobbyist gift laws

⁵ Concluding that Chapter 68 precludes elected officials from taking action to extend term limits or otherwise improve the conditions of their offices would also have implications for appointed officials, who would likewise presumably be precluded from requesting a raise, applying for a promotion or for another City position, or seeking reappointment.

action. The following language of the Court of Appeals of Ohio, Fifth District, in a decision overturning an opinion of the Ohio Ethics Commission, is instructive:

“The act of voting a pay raise, even for the benefit of oneself, cannot be considered the acceptance of something of value that will influence one’s public actions, substantially, improperly or otherwise. It is the act of a pay raise and the potentially self-serving nature of it that may be found to be offensive but not pursuant to this statute. The voters will have the ultimate say as to the propriety of the timing of the pay raise.”

Coleman. v. City of Canton, No. 1997CA00303, 1998 WL 401026, at *3 (Ohio Ct. App. May 4, 1998).

So, too, with term limits legislation. A legislator’s act of voting for, or against, extending his or her own ability to seek another term cannot be considered either using the legislator’s office to “obtain any financial gain . . . or other personal or private advantage” for the legislator (Charter Section 2604(b)(3)); nor can it be considered an act “in conflict with the proper discharge of” the office of legislator (Charter Section 2604(b)(2)).⁶ And if the electorate believes there is something unseemly or even outrageous in such actions, then (in the words of *Coleman, supra*), “the voters will have the ultimate say” – because, in the final analysis, the Bill does not guarantee any public official a third term; it would merely allow the voters to decide whether another term is merited. That is the democratic system our State and local laws have erected – and nothing in Chapter 68 disables that system.⁷

⁶ Nor, by extension, would the Public Advocate’s participation in that same legislative process violate either of these Sections.

⁷ Because the act of voting on lawful legislation is thus so clearly *within* Council Members’ official duties, the Board need not decide whether any actions taken, or reported to have been taken, by any member of the Executive Branch in regard to the term limits issue have violated or will violate Chapter 68: rather, the Board is convinced that, simply by supporting and voting on a Bill properly before the Council, a Council Member cannot be held to have “aid[ed], induce[d] or cause[d]” any Executive Branch actions in arguable violation of Board Rules Section I-13(d)(1).

Conclusion

Members of the City Council and the Public Advocate will not violate Charter Chapter 68, the City's conflicts of interest law, by participating in the legislative process in relation to the modification, extension, or abolition of term limits, including but not limited to voting for or against any such changes.

S/STEVEN B. ROSENFELD

Steven B. Rosenfeld
Chair

Monica Blum
Kevin B. Frawley
Angela Mariana Freyre
Andrew Irving

Dated: October 15, 2008

Matt Gewolb
NYC Council
250 Broadway 14th fl
New York, N.Y. 10007

FOR THE RECORD

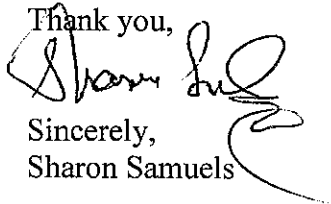
After the attack on the World Trade Center and a series of bad judgment decisions by the former administration the city was crippled and at a loss of confidence. Yet it was a challenge Mayor Bloomberg took on with the knowledge he would persevere. The city has since started to recover and rebuild. Yet strong, steady leadership is in greatly appreciated at all times here in the city.

The public has already voted and chose Mayor Bloomberg and he has accepted the responsibility of being our Mayor. Not only did he accept the position in time of such great distress in the city, but without a salary. This is a remarkable leader and needs to be rewarded for all his labor and sound judgment and concern for our city.

He is the man who can stand up at this time of change and instability in the world and act conscientiously.

I know we will do the right thing and support the mayor in this endeavor.

Thank you,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Sharon Samuels", with a long, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

Sincerely,
Sharon Samuels

TESTIMONY OF JOHN W. BURNS ,29 WEBSTER PLACE, BROOKLYN,NEW YORK 11215 BEFORE THE GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL, OCTOBER 16,2008

Mr. Chairman:

I speak in opposition to Proposed Bill 845-A, the Bloomberg – Quinn bill to amend term limits and in favor of Proposed Bill 850-A, the People’s bill to require a referendum before any change in the term limits, of the Mayor, City Council members and Borough Presidents may occur.

Mr. Chair to allow a majority of the City Council to vote, in a self dealing manor, for an extension of term limits will demonstrate the moral and legal bankruptcy of those who vote in favor of 845-A. To illegally extend term limits by a mere 26 votes over the heads of 8 million citizens of New York City would be against each and every principle of democracy our nation is founded upon.

The idea that this Council and the Mayor could eliminate the voice of the people in this rushed process is shocking to the consciences.

A few years ago we watched the citizens of Baghdad wavepainted purple fingers as a symbol of their belief in democracy. Now the Bloomberg –Quinn bill which is nothing more than a power grab will take away the rights of New Yorkers to vote as Bloomberg & Quinn march New York into a banana republic. This is truly a sad time.

For the past 6 years, I have served on Community Board 7 Brooklyn. I have proudly served my community by attending monthly board meetings- committee meetings public hearings and various community events — I get paid a grand annual salary of ZERO Dollars. I have spent hours away from my family because I believe it is our duty as citizens to be involved.

I believe Borough President Marty Markowitz is the greatest B.P. Brooklyn has ever had – but should Marty be re-elected pursuant to the Bloomberg Quinn Bill 854-A – I would consider his re-election, and anyone else re-elected to be illegitimate and illegal. I will urge all my fellow community board members not just in Brooklyn but across the city to resign in protest of this disgraceful trampling of democracy.

Mr. Chair, while I note you are a sponsor of 845-A I ask you to reconsider your position and vote with the people and in favor of 850-A.

Thank you.

John W. Burns 917 453-3180

FOR THE RECORD

October 16, 2008

This is my statement against extending term limits for the mayor and city council.

Serena Nanda, Apt. 12 L, 4 Washington Square Village, NYC 10012 Councilperson Alan Gerson.

Mayor Bloomberg's call for extension of term limits for mayor and by extension, for the city council, is an arrogant attempt to override the voters who have twice clearly declared against it. No one is indispensable – remember Mayor Giuliani's claim that he needed to stay as mayor to get the city over 9/11. Bloomberg did just fine then and I have no doubt that with excellent candidates offering themselves for the job, New York will do just fine now. The city council members who go along to get along only increase the cynicism of New Yorkers about the lack of integrity in local politics. JUST SAY NO.

Serena Nanda

FOR THE RECORD

Term Limits Legislation

Whether or not one agrees with term limits, I am against any legislative action to overturn the term limits voted on twice by the Citizens of our City and view this attempt by the Mayor and certain Councilmembers to undo those decisions very unfavorably.

I am particularly disturbed that my Council Representative, Speaker Christine Quinn, would deliberately try to undermine democracy and support an end run around the voters. Her behavior is shameless, as it that of the Mayor. Based on their actions, neither is worthy of holding public office.

Even if the Council, in it's wisdom, sees fit to hold a referendum, I think that the taxpayers should not have to pay for the excessive costs involved; if the Mayor wants this so badly he should pay for this out of his own pocket and accept the will of the People.



Linda Aizer
305 West 13th Street Apt. 3E
New York, NY 10014

917-817-4774
linda.aizer@verizon.net

FOR THE RECORD

Flaunting the public will on the issue of term limits is the thin edge of the wedge that we avoided with our votes when Rudy Giuliani assured us that only he and he alone could manage our city following the devastation of 9/11. Mr. Blumberg has pleased many with his financial acumen which comes down to a. upping property taxes on working and middle class citizens to shore up the economy and b. creating lots of overpriced unaffordable empty apartments. Rather than spend even more of his fortune on getting himself re-elected, he might retire nicely, write a memoir, or spend big on some other office in government. Mr. Giuliani was knighted for his efforts and now, thankfully, goes into the night, trekking towards deserved obscurity. We have plenty of less arrogant and more capable possibilities for Mayor.

Beth M. Pacheco
45 Cranberry Street
Brooklyn Heights 11201

David Yassky



**BUILDING &
CONSTRUCTION
TRADES COUNCIL
OF GREATER NEW YORK**

EDWARD J. MALLOY
PRESIDENT

AFFILIATED WITH THE
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT
OF WASHINGTON D.C.
—
BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL
OF NEW YORK STATE
—
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR OF CONGRESS
OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

**TESTIMONY OF
EDWARD J. MALLOY
PRESIDENT
BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK**

**COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS**

**PUBLIC HEARING ON
LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE NEW YORK CITY CHARTER
IN RELATION TO TERM LIMITS**

OCTOBER 16, 2008

Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. My name is Edward J. Malloy. I am president of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York, an organization consisting of local affiliates of fifteen national and international unions which represent 100,000 members in the five boroughs. We are pleased to testify today in support of Int. 845 to amend the New York City Charter in relation to term limits.

During the past decade, our industry has enjoyed an historic boom. It has been a period not merely marked by high employment levels, but perhaps more importantly by sustained high employment levels. In fact, the current boom is expected to last at least twice as long as the impressive boom of the late 1980s. This stability has allowed an unprecedented number of



working men and women in our industry to reliably attend to their family household obligations and contribute to the city's economy and tax base.

It is clear, however, that this boom is in jeopardy. Because the construction industry is a lagging indicator of the economy, it is possible if not likely that our industry will not realize the effects of market difficulties immediately or even in the very near term. The enormity of the volume of construction activity which is underway, including a number of large multi-year projects, may well allow employment to remain strong into 2009.

The harsh fact, however, is that almost no new major private construction projects are advancing. In late 2009 or 2010, we face the prospect of precipitous declines in construction activity which could throw tens of thousands of members of our industry into unemployment. Concurrently, the city will lose substantial tax revenue from this loss of activity and have it coupled with the pressures created by unemployment and underemployment. To the extent we can locally do so, we can and must position ourselves to mitigate against these difficulties and meet the challenges posed by market declines and volatility.

As we move to meet these and other challenges, it is our considered opinion that the people of New York City will be best served by allowing the public to re-elect a mayor, comptroller, public advocate, borough presidents and members of the Council who possess the experience to manage the city's fiscal affairs, deliver government services efficiently and work with the private sector to promote economic activity and job creation.

We reject the notion that there is anything magical about two four-year terms being the maximum amount of time during which elected officials can effectively serve the interests of the people of New York City and hardly believe that extending the limit to three terms will represent any affront to democracy. To the contrary, as long as the parameters established by the City Charter are adhered to, which plainly will be the case under Int. 845, and voters ultimately maintain their rights and the ability to elect their leaders and representatives, the democratic principles underlying our local government will remain strong.

We look forward to working with the administration and the Council to advance this legislation and to work collaboratively to assure that New York City's best days continue to lay ahead.

Thank you.



Building Material Teamsters Local 282

GARY LA BARBERA
President

THOMAS GESUALDI
Secretary-Treasurer

New York City Council Testimony: October 16, 2008

Good afternoon Councilmember Felder and members of the Committee on Government Operations. I'm Gary La Barbera, President of Teamsters Local 282, and I'm here in support of the administration's proposed bill to the City Council that would extend term limits from two terms to three terms. This bill would alter the current term limits law for the Mayor, Comptroller, Public Advocate, Borough Presidents, and City Council. Under the proposed legislation, all City elected officials would be able to serve three consecutive four-year terms.

Our workers have been one of the hardest hit in the financial collapse over the last couple of weeks with the construction sector taking an immediate blow. The credit market has tightened; banks have refused to extend loans; and every day more projects have simply stopped.

This administration, working with the NYC City Council, has revitalized neighborhoods with foresighted economic development initiatives that have driven much needed capital into our city. There is more that needs to be done. Our city needs continued leadership that understands that capital investment creates good paying jobs; builds schools, generates needed housing, and creates and strengthens communities. For example, the current proposal for Willets



Point would create thousands of jobs and transform a blighted area into a world-class neighborhood that will attract business and residents alike. It would also ensure that the types of jobs that would be created would use a skilled workforce who will be paid a prevailing wage or living wage. These are the types of jobs that will forcefully pulls us up and quickly create financial stability for working families rather than have us stumble and fight our way slowly out of a recession.

As we all face this economic crisis together, it bodes well to give New Yorkers simply the option of supporting the same elected officials that have been so successful in making our city a great place to work, live and visit.

Your support of this bill is not an endorsement of any single candidate. It will simply give voters more choices, including the option of keeping Mayor Bloomberg, the City Council and other City elected officials in office.

I have always been opposed to term limits and there is no question that continued leadership in this economic crisis is best for New York City and New York City's workforce.

Thank you for your time and consideration

**Testimony of
Arthur Cheliotas, President of
New York Administrative Employees
Local 1180 of the
Communications Workers of America, AFLCIO;
to the New York City Council
on October 16, 2008.**

Regarding the Extension of Term Limits to Three Terms



Good afternoon, my name is Arthur Cheliotis, President of New York Administrative Employees Local 1180 of the Communications Workers of America, AFLCIO representing nearly 10,000 workers who are residents of our city. We help deliver important public services to the residents of and visitors to the City of New York.

The voters in a referendum approved the term limits law in 1993. In 1996, a proposal, which would have extended term limits to three terms was defeated in a referendum. I opposed term limits in 1993 and supported the extension in 1996. However, the citizens of our city voted and their decision must be respected.

Mayor Bloomberg is intelligent and very capable; he calculatingly let the deadline to establish charter revision commissions on term limits pass. Thus denying the voters of our city the opportunity to re-evaluate and vote on term limits for a third time. The mayor has cleverly gamed the system by not letting term limits get on the ballot this November 4th. Then he convinced some rich and influential people he pals around with ~~to let him run for a third term. Well this city government does not belong to any one person or a cabal of the rich and powerful; it belongs to the people of New York, the people who consent to be governed by you. Now the mayor has proposed legislation to the New York City Council to enact a local law permanently changing term limits from two terms to three~~

It would be a violation of the trust the people of the City of New York placed with you to change term limits by legislative action without a referendum. **Voters must have confidence that when they vote on a matter, it counts.** You must respect the voters. Taking the decision on a change in term limits away from the voters who have twice voted on them can only promote greater cynicism about the political process. It would make the referendum process meaningless and potentially discourage future participation.

It would be difficult to convince New Yorkers that after being twice affirmed by the voters, that the Council members had the public interest at heart when they voted to overturn their decision. Clearly, a change in term limits by legislative action would be contrary to basic principles of democracy.

Some claim that circumstances warrant a change in term limits. Our nation, state and city face a period of unprecedented financial upheaval. But the crisis following 9/11 were even more critical by many measures yet legislation was not proposed then. Somehow we endured and healed, the new administration did an exemplary job in leading the City.

The city council and the mayor have an opportunity to find redemption by supporting legislation that has been introduced which would establish a charter revision commission that will conduct hearings on a change in term limits and any proposed amendments. Those proposals would then be put to a referendum on or before May 1, 2009.

Fair and transparent consideration of any proposed change in New York City's term limits law requires submission to the voters in another referendum. We need public hearings and consideration of the matter in a public forums with full public disclosure of contributions to campaigns for or against changes in the law.

I encourage City Council members to consider establishing a charter revision commission that will conduct hearings on a change in term limits that will then be put to a referendum of the voters. I urge you to embrace the basic principles of democracy that insure a fair and open process.

**Parvati Devi
P.O. Box 20863
New York, N.Y. 10025-0013
16 Oct. 2008**

TERM LIMITS

My name is Parvati Devi. I am a disabled rights activist. I believe a two term limit is a two term limit. Neither the mayor nor the council has the right to change it—only the people can.

Why any poor or working class person would want this billionaire to run again is beyond me. The media is bought by the rich. Wake up people! How long do we live under this plutocracy.

Bloomberg profits from this expensive housing market. In eight years he's done nothing to increase availability of real affordable housing. In fact he chose all the members of the Rent Guidelines Board (RGB), who this year voted in the highest increases ever for rent stabilized tenants. Members of the RGB should be elected by the council. The mayor's been told that but he won't give up the power or abandon his cronies from the real estate industry.

Rent stabilized tenants are expected to pay a minimum of \$85 for a two year lease. The irony is that many in the senior and disabled communities have rent exemptions which the city pays for. Can the city afford these increases? DRIE for people with disabilities has a low \$17,000 income limit while SCRIE for seniors is up to \$28,000. The disabled community is the most threatened. The mayor refuses to give DRIE parity with SCRIE. Only for veterans," he said. Of course the disabled community felt the discrimination. Are we all not citizens to be treated the same in our time of need? Bloomberg is not our friend. He will continue to primarily help the rich.

The council has no business voting itself in for another term. If we let them do this, what next? Don't let this billionaire buy another term.

TESTIMONY OF YETTA KURLAND IN OPPOSITION OF PROPOSITION 845a

October 16, 2008
161 W. 16th Street, #5C
New York, NY 10011
kurland@kurlandassociates.com

Chairperson Felder, members of City Council, over the years I have worked with many of you and consider many of you friends, allies, and dedicated public servants.

Because of this, I respectfully stand before you today, to say there is no reason to cut the public out of the decision on something as important to our democratic process as the decision to extend term limits.

The issue here is not whether we support or oppose term limits, not whether we support or oppose the Mayor running for a third term. It is not even about what is legally allowable. It is about what is right.

I have respectfully listened to the arguments, and I still don't understand the reasons for doing something so drastic as ignoring two referendums which make clear New Yorkers want term limits.

The Mayor has said that he merely wants to give the people of New York a choice. But what choice are you giving when you knock out qualified and competent opponents who simply cannot compete with \$80 million and an incumbent billionaire when there are only 11 months left in the race? This doesn't create choices, it extinguishes them.

The Mayor's Counsel in his testimony today in support of proposition 845 sited concern for candidates who, he claimed, would be inconvenienced by the long time they would have to wait if a referendum was to occur in early Spring. Well on behalf of the many many candidates, a caucus of which are coming together this Saturday, let me say that we don't mind and we are much more concerned about the threat to democracy this poses to say nothing of being unable to run or being forced to run against incumbents who have been able to raise millions and spend thousands beyond what the campaign finance board allows.

It is also said that because of the financial turmoil going on it is important for Mayor Bloomberg to be a consistent force in our leadership through these trying times. Well, Mayor Bloomberg, even with term limits, is in office until January 2010... rather than wasting time with an aggressive \$80 million re-election campaign, why not spend the time left in his second term doing whatever he feels he is so uniquely qualified to do for this City, and if it is so compelling let him make his case to voters.

We have time to listen to the voters and we have an obligation to listen to the voters. I appeal to each of you. For those who have come out in support of this extension, it is not too late to change your mind and join the people. For those of you who have not yet decided I urge you to do the right thing and carry the voice of the people, and for those of you who have courageously come out in opposition I thank you on behalf of the people.

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Testimony, 10/16/08
By Julie DiMauro
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617-650-1973

Thank you for letting me share my remarks with you today.

I think Mayor Michael Bloomberg has done a great job in managing this city during some turbulent times – particularly under an ever-growing financial malaise that is only getting worse.

But Mr. Bloomberg's performance to date, and his expected performance in a third term, is not relevant to the separate analysis and consideration of the democratic process that revolve around voting for a mayor of New York City. It is only that process that should be factored into our analysis of term limitations. It dismays me that one person's merits could ever be considered trumping this important and independent analysis.

By throwing away the two-term limitation, this Council would undermine the public's confidence in the legislative process. How do you convince New Yorkers that the Council truly cares about their opinions if it takes this matter into its own hands after having been twice told by these voters that two terms is what they want?

This approach is bad policy; it's anti-democratic; and it sets a bad precedent.

I understand Mr. Bloomberg has stated that he was too busy to put together a charter revision commission that would have ensured that term limits made it onto the ballot this year. But when I miss a deadline, I typically suffer the consequences.

The voters already made this judgment call – supporting the two-term limitation – and I believe it's because they have some valid concerns about keeping the doors open for talented competition

and for holding their leaders accountable during what is an adequate amount of time for judging them.

If a mayor is a lame duck during his or her second term, you probably elected the wrong person. If he or she was bold – when required – well, then, you likely voted in a person with the stamina for the job.

The probable value of term limitations aside – please just remember – the merits of one man do not usurp the actual and symbolic importance of the democratic process.

Am I right?

Have a good evening.

My name is Ed Wallace. I am here to speak in favor of modifying term limits. As a former member of the Council, I am particularly honored to be permitted to testify here today.

Let me get to the heart of the matter quickly: City Council modification of a charter amendment adopted by public referendum is not only appropriate, but urgent, in order to protect the constitutional liberty of every voter to choose qualified candidates. The term limits law is a pernicious law and the two term limit has robbed the people of the right to have experienced representation and governance. Let me be very clear I am not advocating for incumbent elected officials, but for the rights of voters to re-elect or reject experienced incumbents.

Many will hide behind the “process” issue claiming only the public should repeal or modify a public referendum, but if the public adopted a referendum barring a group from voting based on some invidious classification, no one would say “Let the public vote again.” Everyone would demand that the council repeal such an objectionable enactment promptly.

In our representative democracy, the legislature and the courts exist to protect the fundamental liberties of the individual voters from tyranny of the majority. Artificial term limits don't just punish incumbent legislators, they deprive every voter of his or her fundamental right to re-elect an effective representative.

Of course we already have genuine term limits, we call them elections. By what right should the public majority be able to tell voters that experienced incumbents can't even appear on the ballot? Typically, the argument goes, the power of incumbency is so disproportionate as to enable officeholders to entrench themselves to the point there elections don't matter. Certainly incumbents may enjoy an advantage based on their performance, but equally true their track record may hang them. To prevent voters from evaluating all possible candidates is wrong, undemocratic and most important an abridgement of the voters right to choose.

What about the two term limit on the President? Even though artificial term limits generally are constitutionally suspect there can be competing fundamental values that make them lawful. First, of course, the Presidential term limits enacted after FDR required an amendment to the U.S. Constitution itself. Neither an act of Congress, nor public referendums, was considered sufficient to limit the voter's choices. Substantively, moreover, a strong argument can be made that the awesome powers of President--to wage war, for example, should be curbed by limits on any single person's ability to stay in power too long. No similar policy concern exists with Municipal Officials.

While public referenda provide an important opportunity for voters to directly change the law, they must be understood as a part of our system of governmental checks and balances. Generally, we rely on elected representatives to enact laws because of the

time and information required to properly decide which law makes sense. Direct voting by all the people may sound “democratic” in theory but in practice it disproportionately favors those with power and money even more than our representative form of government.

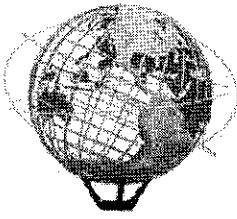
The term limit referendum is a case in point. A mega millionaire poured millions of dollars into putting the term limit question on the ballot and promoting its passage. Yet, of the 1.9 million voters who came to the polls on election day, only 30% voted for term limits. Most voter’s didn’t pull the lever on that question. Lauder’s petitions were not the result of grassroots populism but the product of paid petition gatherers. To claim that terms limits are the will of the majority is of course technically true, but its the majority of the minority who actually voted on the question.

To decry repeal by the Council as anti-democratic is sheer hypocrisy. Council members have been democratically elected from districts small enough to make them accountable to their constituents. Indeed, some sponsors of the term limit repeal may choose not to run for re-election and I suspect that some who vote for the repeal--will suffer at the hands of voters in their districts. Far from being a narrow, self-serving act, a vote to repeal term limits has all the attributes of political courage.

As a voter, I am outraged that Ron Lauder’s money could stir up anti-incumbent fervor to the point where my right to vote for an experienced, honest and responsible elected official is denied to me. I have often favored unseating an incumbent. But, that

decision should be the collective choice of individual voters. Under the current regime we voters don't even have the choice.

The City Council will debate a simple substantive question: should the decision of a majority of those who cast ballots in 1993 (but not a majority of eligible voters) determine who we can vote for in 2009? I hope the Council will recognize the right of the voters in 2009 to choose the next Council. Those who disagree will have their say at these Council's hearings. Most important--if the Council modifies term limits--they and all of us will have our democratic say at the polls. That is what democracy demands.



Queens Civic Congress

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
THURSDAY, October 16, 2008

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QUEENS CIVIC CONGRESS ON TERM LIMITS: *LET THE VOTERS DECIDE!*

Testimony
to
the City Council Committee on Government Operations
by
Corey Bearak
President, Queens Civic Congress

Thursday, October 16, 2008

Thank you Chairman Felder for this opportunity to address the City Council on this important issue of democracy and good governance. I am Corey Bearak, President of the borough-wide coalition of civic and condo, cooperative, tenant and other community organizations. Queens Civic Congress supports only a voter referendum when it comes to revisiting term limits.

We write laws not to reign in the good but to prevent bad acts and bad actors from hurting others and sometimes themselves and society in general. Sometimes good rules limit options, actions and opportunities for the "good folk".

As someone who drafted more than his fair share of bylaws and constitutions for non-profit, community and other organizations, I recognized this imperative at an early age. I also recognize the importance of good, fair and open processes in deliberations of utmost public interest.

That makes it easy for me to stand before you and clearly share – if you have not already heard the message – the Queens Civic Congress recommendation that any decision on term limits must be left to the voters.

That's right: Let the voters decide.

The time exists.

Any change in city governance of that magnitude requires that path to avoid the tag of illegitimacy.

More and more new New Yorkers come to our boroughs, our communities, from lands where they left countries ruled by *juntas* and other regimes that govern with little if any legitimacy. These newer New Yorkers interact with longer time residents and other new New Yorkers from other parts of our great nation who would never seek to live under such dastardly rulers.

The proposed process to address term limits embraced by the west wing of City Hall and the leader of its East Wing approach that distasteful governance form.

It must be avoided at all costs.

Unlike the closed-door deliberations that resulted in pending City Council legislation to unilaterally extend the terms of all Council members, the five borough presidents, the public advocate, the controller and the mayor, QCC's adopted a resolution on the process to address term limits on September 15 that followed a summer's worth of discussion in the Queens civic movement.

Our member civics, in open discussion with media present, unanimously adopted a resolution that, "calls on ALL public officials and those who aspire to public office to commit to the use of referendum to attempt any change in the City Charter enacted in that matter, and state that position publicly."

Why? What makes this so important? As I stated in a Daily New Op-ed (Tuesday, October 14): "The public already voted consistently - two separate times - on this issue. First, voters opted to enact term limits. Second, voters rejected its repeal. As a matter of good public policy and basic democracy, any change in term limits, from its revocation to its extension or its reduction must only be enacted by the same process that led to its 1993 enactment - voter referendum."

What makes these times so different that 1996? That year a City Council, populated by office holders who would have kept their posts by legislative enactment, placed a referendum on the ballot in an attempt to repeal the 1993 imposition of term limits. Those Council members clearly recognized the need to "Let the voters decide."

This time around, the term limits discussion at City Hall developed so that the opportunity to place the issue before voters by next month lapsed. The mayor asserts a claim of not enough time to put this issue before the voters. He argues against voter involvement as a "luxury" we cannot afford. Simply not true. **Good government remains a necessity, never a luxury. I repeat: Good government remains a necessity, never a luxury.**

While the time has expired to place an initiative on this November's ballot, plenty of time remains to place a referendum before the voters in a special election following a Charter Revision Commission proposed by City Council legislation or by local law. Queens Civic Congress looks favorably on the pending legislation that follow that noble path of good public policy, of good government.

In conclusion and to reiterate: Queens Civic Congress opposes any plan to change term limits except through a public referendum. If City Hall and the City Council seek to repeal or modify terms limits, anything other than a voter referendum smacks of illegitimacy. Legitimacy and confidence in government depends on politicians recognizing the public will. Any failure to recognize two public referendums would reduce the city government to, in my predecessor's words, *junta*. Let the voters decide term limits.

Queens Civic Congress also urges New Yorkers to call 3-1-1 with this simple and direct message to City Hall, "Let the voters decide term limits." Thank you.

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Queens Civic Congress Position on Term Limits Approved by the Membership, Monday, September 15, 2008

1. Queens Civic Congress – representing the civic movement in the borough of Queens – calls on ALL public officials and those who aspire to public office to commit to the use of referendum to attempt any change in the City Charter enacted in that matter, and state that position publicly.
2. The public voted two separate times, first to enact term limits and second to reject its repeal. Consistent with this position, any change in term limits, from revocation to extending or reducing the number of terms must only be enacted by the same process of voter referendum that enacted the two-term limits on municipal office holder.
3. Queens Civic Congress takes no position on the substance of term limits; some in the civic movement support term limits; some oppose it; others support it for some offices but not all. Queens Civic Congress says "let the voters decide."
4. Simply put, Queens Civic Congress opposes any plan to change the term limit law as currently exists except through a public referendum.
5. If City Hall and the City Council seek to repeal or modify terms limits, anything other than a voter referendum smacks of illegitimacy.

For more information call (718) 343-6779 or e-mail bearak@aol.com.

Queens Civic Congress Members

Association of Old Forest Hills ♦ Auburndale Improvement Association ♦ Bayside Civic Database ♦ Bayside Clear-Spring Council ♦ Bayside Hills Civic Association ♦ Bayswater Civic Association ♦ Bay Terrace Community Alliance, Inc. ♦ Bellaire-BellVill Civic Association ♦ Belle Harbor Property Owners Association ♦ Bellerose Commonwealth Civic Association ♦ Bellerose Hillside Civic Association ♦ Bell Park Manor Terrace Community Council ♦ Bowne Park Civic Association ♦ Briarwood Community Association ♦ Cambria Heights Civic Association ♦ Civic Association of Utopia Estates ♦ C.O.M.E.T. (Communities of Maspeth-Elmhurst Together) ♦ Concerned Citizens of Laurelton ♦ Cornucopia Society ♦ Creedmoor Civic Association ♦ Deerfield Area Association ♦ Doug-Bay Manor Civic Association ♦ Douglas Manor Association ♦ Douglaston Civic Association ♦ Dutch Kills Civic Assn. of Long Island City ♦ East Elmhurst Corona Civic Association ♦ East Flushing Civic Association ♦ Federated Block Associations of Laurelton ♦ Federation of Civic Associations of Southeast Queens ♦ Floral Park Community Council ♦ Flushing Heights Civic Association ♦ Flushing on the Hill Taxpayers Association ♦ Forest Hills Chamber of Commerce ♦ Forest Hills Crescents Association ♦ Forest Hills-Van Court Association ♦ Fresh Meadows Homeowners Association ♦ Georgetown Mews ♦ Glendale Civic Association of Queens ♦ Glen Oaks Village Owners, Inc. ♦ Greater Astoria Historical Society ♦ Greater Whitestone Taxpayers Civic Association ♦ Harding Heights Civic Association ♦ Hillcrest Estates Civic Association ♦ Hilltop Village Co-Op #1 ♦ Hilltop Village Co-Op #2 ♦ Hilltop Village Co-Op #3 ♦ Hilltop Village Co-Op #4 ♦ Hollis 11423 Block Association ♦ Hollis Hills Civic Association ♦ Holliswood Civic Association ♦ Hollis Park Gardens Civic Association ♦ Holly Civic Association ♦ Hyde Park Gardens Cooperative ♦ Jackson Heights Beautification Group ♦ Jamaica Estates Association ♦ Jamaica Hill Community Association ♦ Juniper Park Civic Association ♦ Kew Gardens Civic Association ♦ Kew Gardens Hills Homeowners Association ♦ Kew Gardens Improvement Association ♦ Kissena Park Civic Association ♦ Little Neck Bay Civic Association ♦ Little Neck Pines ♦ Long Island City Alliance ♦ Malba Civic Association ♦ Meadowlark Gardens Owners ♦ Middle Village Property Owners Association ♦ Mitchell Linden Civic Association ♦ Neponsit Property Owners Association ♦ Newtown Civic Association ♦ North Bellerose Civic Association ♦ North Flushing Civic Association ♦ North Hills Estates Civic Association ♦ Northwest Clearview Homeowners Association ♦ Norwood Civic Association ♦ Oakland Terrace/ Gardens Community Council ♦ Off Broadway Homeowners Association ♦ Our Neighborhood Improvement Association ♦ Our Neighbors Association of Ozone Park, Inc. ♦ Parkway Village Historical Society ♦ Queensboro Hill Neighborhood Association ♦ Queens Colony Civic Association ♦ Queens Community Civic Corp. ♦ Queens Preservation Council ♦ Queens Village Civic Association ♦ Ramblersville-Hawtree Civic Association ♦ Richmond Hill Historical Society ♦ Ridgewood Property Owners and Civic Association ♦ Rockaway Park Homeowners/ Residents ♦ Rocky Hill Civic Association ♦ Rosedale Civic Association ♦ Royal Ranch Association. ♦ Southeast Queens Concerned Neighbors ♦ South Ozone Park West Civic Association ♦ Springfield/Rosedale Community Action Association ♦ Station Road Civic Assoc. of Auburndale ♦ Sunnyside Gardens/Harrison Place Homeowners ♦ Surrey Estates Civic Association ♦ Union Turnpike Merchants Association ♦ United Forties Civic Association ♦ United Neighbors Civic Association ♦ Waldheim Neighborhood Association ♦ Wayanda Civic Association ♦ West Cunningham Park Civic Association ♦ Westmoreland Association ♦ Woodside Community Council

Patricia Dolan
President
Kew Gardens Hills Civic Association*

City Council Hearing on Term Limits

October 16, 2008

I am Patricia Dolan and for more than thirty years I have fought for my community and city as an individual and currently as president of the Kew Gardens Hills Civic Association and executive vice president of the Queens Civic Congress, a borough wide coalition of more than 100 civics.

Because neither Mayor Bloomberg nor Speaker Quinn have given community groups like the Kew Gardens Hills Civic Association time to meet and consider their proposal to overturn term limits, my statement today is a personal one.

I voted twice against imposing term limits on the City's elected officials. I remain personally opposed to term limits. But that is not what this is all about.

The people's right to vote is the bedrock of democracy and trumps retaining the services of Mayor Bloomberg, Speaker Quinn and the current Council members—even in these perilous times. **Especially in these perilous times.**

For Mayor Bloomberg, Speaker Quinn and some current Council members to try to deprive the public of the right to vote on an issue that the people have twice resoundingly supported because they are convinced of their importance to our City's future—or because they know better than the people who have spoken--is contemptible.

Those who are so eager to throw away our right to vote should think about the day when they might not be able to vote at all. And they would do well to ask their friends and neighbors who have lived in places where voting does not count at all what that is like.

*** For identification purposes**

FOR THE RECORD

Caron Atlas
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City Council Testimony on Introduction 845 October 16, 2008

My name is Caron Atlas and I live in Brooklyn, New York. I am against extending term limits by legislation and for deciding this issue through a referendum.

Like everyone, I'm concerned about this uncertain economic time and how it will affect my community and city. It's easy to feel helpless or cynical in times like this – when it seems like things are just being done to you like a force of nature over which you have no control. But I don't want my democracy done to me – I want to participate in it. Knowing that our government is a place where we all have a voice gives me balance in the storm.

We may have different points of view about term limits, but everyone I talk to wants to resolve this issue with a vote. At a time when historic numbers of people are getting involved in civic participation for the first time, it would be ironic and deeply disempowering for the city council and mayor to decide that our vote has no consequence.

I teach my students that they need to stand up and take responsibility to make their democracy work – that democracy is only as strong as all of our participation in it. What is the lesson of extending term limits without involving the public? I fear that it is a lesson in how, in the name of crisis, we come to lose our democracy, one step at a time. What's next?

Thank you for this opportunity to testify.

BOB FRIEDRICH

NYC Council Candidate 23rd CD
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TERM LIMITS BRING COMPETITIVE ELECTIONS TO ALL VOTERS BY PROVIDING A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD FOR ALL CANDIDATES. Regardless of one's position, the integrity of the process demands that any change to term limits be done by Voter Referendum. Why not put it before the public and allow the voters to decide? The answer is plain and simple and the City Council knows it: The voters are likely to reject it, as they've done twice before.

City Council members who ironically are on the City Council because of term limits, and who knew the rules of the game going in, should not now be allowed to extend their term an additional 4 years by legislative fiat. **NOT ONLY IS THIS A SHAMELESS GRAB FOR POWER BUT IT IS A TRANSPARENT SCHEME TO ENRICH THEMSELVES TO THE TUNE OF AN ADDITIONAL 4 YEARS OF SALARY WORTH \$460,000, WHICH THEY ARE CURRENTLY NOT ENTITLED TO. THIS IS THE CITY COUNCIL EQUIVALENT OF INSIDER TRADING.**

THIS BRAZEN GRAB FOR POWER AND MONEY IS BEING SOLD UNDER THE PRETEXT THAT CURRENT COUNCIL MEMBERS ARE THE ONLY ONES WHO CAN GUIDE THIS CITY THROUGH TOUGH ECONOMIC TIMES. 7 YEARS AGO, OUR FORMER MAYOR MADE A SIMILAR CLAIM, SAYING ONLY HE COULD GUIDE US THROUGH THE POST-9/11 PERIOD. NO ONE IN BUSINESS IS IRREPLACEABLE, AND CERTAINLY THAT GOES FOR THOSE IN POLITICS -- PERHAPS EVEN MORE SO.

It is offensive to the voters of this city that members of the City Council who have benefitted from term limits and entered office knowing the rules, now seek its repeal. This is just another reason why voters are so cynical about elections and politicians.

Only term limits will provide a level playing field for all candidates and bring competitive elections to voters. And if the city council overturns term limits? **I SAY TO THOSE COUNCIL MEMBERS WHO ARE CONTEMPLATING A RUN FOR A THIRD TERM; IN 2009 YOUR INCUMBENCY IS NO LONGER A GUARANTEE OF AN EASY VICTORY. CANDIDATES LIKE ME WILL NOT GO AWAY QUIETLY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MOUNT EXCITING AND EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGNS WITH INNOVATIVE IDEAS AND CREATIVE SOLUTIONS THAT WILL GIVE THE VOTERS OF OUR DISTRICTS THE ABILITY TO IMPLEMENT TERM LIMITS AT THE BALLOT BOX!**

Thank you.

While my feelings about term limits are mixed, that is not the real issue here. Nor is it Mayor Bloomberg's popularity or competency, or the popularity or competency of the term-limited Council members. Rather, it is the rule of law, and whether our elected officials choose to uphold the law as voted twice by the people of New York, or whether they choose to gratify their own egos and ambitions.

Two fabulously wealthy men decide between themselves that term limits are an impediment to their continued hold on power, and determine to toss aside the spirit of that law. It does not matter that they may be able to do so within the letter of the law, if they can persuade the Speaker and the Council to comply. This is a level of imperial arrogance that even Mr. Bloomberg has not previously demonstrated.

The mayor has never really absorbed the concept that he is the employee of the people, not their boss. For instance, he considers the exercise of free speech by his constituents an impediment to the efficiency of his administration, rather than one of its most important charges.

Now he seems to have decided that because he is popular, he is indispensable. Charles de Gaulle, who knew a thing or two about wielding power, observed that the graveyards are full of indispensable men. Our previous mayor was equally convinced that the city could not survive without him, and yet we have. We will survive without Mr. Bloomberg, too.

I urge the Council to heed their constituents, uphold the law and vote down the Mayor's proposal.

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NARAL
Pro-Choice New York



NATIONAL
INSTITUTE FOR
REPRODUCTIVE
HEALTH

Testimony
City Council Hearing on Term Limits
October 16, 2008

Kelli Conlin, President

NARAL Pro-Choice New York and the National Institute for Reproductive Health

I would first like to take this opportunity to thank Mayor Bloomberg, Speaker Quinn and the pro-choice movement's many friends and allies in the New York City Council.

At a time when women's reproductive rights have been under attack in Washington, we are fortunate that this has been such a successful period for the reproductive rights and health of women here in New York City. Because of this Mayor, and this Speaker, and this City Council, in the last eight years we have accomplished extraordinary things together. We have witnessed dramatic increases in the availability of emergency contraception and condom distribution. Because of this Mayor and this Speaker, we have ensured the training of medical residents in abortion care for future generations to come. Just last spring, Mayor Bloomberg and Speaker Quinn helped convene an Urban Initiative for Reproductive Health, a summit that brought together mayors, health commissioners and advocates from 36 cities to support a reproductive health agenda for urban centers across this nation. And in just a few short weeks, I believe Speaker Quinn and this City Council will do something we haven't been able to accomplish in decades – pass clinic access legislation that will truly protect women and their doctors from violence and harassment at reproductive health clinics throughout this city.

Where others in this nation have followed, Mayor Bloomberg, Speaker Quinn and this City Council have led.

The reproductive rights community remembers what it was like when we had a Mayor disinterested in a woman's right to choose and an anti-choice City Council Speaker. Legislation stalled, reproductive health care suffered, and the women of New York City paid the price. After witnessing the incredible vision and successes of many in this room today, we simply cannot risk a roll of the dice and a possible return to leadership that is any less passionate, any less committed or any less capable to get things done than those elected officials who serve the people of this city at this very moment.

This is both an unsettling and yet also a hopeful time in this nation and this city. We have done much together, but there is still much left to be done. As just one example, for the very first time we may actually witness federal abstinence-only funding converted into dollars that can be used by cities to provide comprehensive sex education, and our youth are depending on us to pave the way. There is genuine opportunity to build on the successes of Mayor Bloomberg, Speaker Quinn, and the passionately pro-choice members of this City Council. The people of this city should at least be afforded the opportunity to vote for whomever they so choose.

I thank the City Council for its vision these last 8 years to improve the reproductive health on behalf of the women of New York. While NARAL Pro-Choice New York takes no official position on the subject of term limits, we would be honored to continue working with Mayor Bloomberg, Speaker Christine Quinn and the members of this City Council should this measure prevail and the people decide to reelect them to office.

THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
TERM LIMITS HEARING
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2008
TESTIMONY BY:
QUEEN MOTHER DR. DELOIS BLAKELY
COMMUNITY MAYOR OF HARLEM

Speaker, Council Members, Voters, and Mayor of the City of New York I, Queen Mother Dr. Delois Blakely, Community Mayor of Harlem testify today in regards to a local law to amend the New York City Charter, in relation to term limits for elected officials.

It has been the wish of New York City voters to defend term limits legislation that was passed two {2} times in 1993 and 1996.

As the Community Mayor of Harlem:

1. We are calling for a resolution by the State Legislatures to adopt legislation amending the State Municipal Home Rule Law, which is MHRL to give the City the authority to divide in its charter any changes in the City's term limits law must be subject to voter referendum.
2. We the citizens of New York City insist that Mayor Mike Bloomberg adhere to the wish and unified voice of the people that have spoken twice {2} regarding term limits by voter referendum.
3. We ask that Mayor Mike Bloomberg take into consideration his decision by engaging the voters in the democratic process through the voter ballot box in revisiting term limits.
4. We ask that Mayor Mike Bloomberg **Do The Right Thing** on behalf of the people of The City of New York.

I, thank you, Queen Mother Dr. Delois Blakely, Community Mayor of Harlem.

John Rozankowski, Ph.D.
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City Council Hearing on Term Limits - October 16, 2008

The bill to extend term limits (INT 845) is an audacious attempt to establish a ruling class; transforming a government of, for and by the people to a government of, for and by career politicians and their wealthy allies.

Experience, Experience that is their cry! Isn't it the primary duty of experienced leaders to calm people down, to diffuse panic and to restore overall confidence in our system, which is what every economist of note contends. Instead these power-ossified individuals are taking advantage of the economic troubles and conjuring even greater fear among the people while quickly trying to ratify this raw and self-serving power grab.

Experience? Where were they to warn the people or to take some precautionary measures? It took them by surprise. It's clear that only new and bold solutions, which only new leaders can implement are desperately needed. That's why the people want change and not the same people in public office forever.

They are not reacting to some popular movement or petition requesting them to stay. Instead, enveloped by a cloud of narcissism, Mayor Bloomberg and his allies have decided that they are the best and the brightest and thus, indispensable. In so doing, they have expressed contempt for referenda, voting and for democracy itself. Even constitutional law poses no barrier. This action of extending term limits is retroactive to those already in office and can easily be considered an "ex post facto" law, which is specifically banned by the U.S. Constitution!

In my native Bronx, this creeping autocracy is far more advanced. Democracy is in shambles with people locked out of public hearings, community boards intimidated, and civil society at the point of extinction. Even an internal election for Bronx Democratic County Chairman was characterized by unfair and possibly illegal practices.

Members of the City Council, the choice before you is very clear. You can either vote for this term limit extension and stand with the autocrats; thereby, forever enshrining your name in a gallery of shame and forfeiting your moral right to seek any other public office. Or you can vote against it, and proudly stand with the people, publicly affirming your oath of office to uphold democratic principles.

The Ravens, Friends of Poe Park, the Bronx urge you to uphold democracy and to stand with the people!

**Before a Public Hearing of the City Council of the City of New York
Held on October 16, 2008**

Testimony of George Rosquist

Chairman and esteemed members of the council: My name is George Rosquist and I am the director of Freedom Now which is a non-partisan public advocacy group based on Staten Island and I am a resident of Staten Island. I thank you for this opportunity to testify before you today on their behalf and for myself in opposition to any alteration of the existing law that by public vote, twice given in 1993 and again in 1996, established term limits of no more than two terms of office. After numerous public hearings and much debate the referendum was offered to the people of New York City who have expressed their will at the voting booth that limits on the term of office were necessary and desired to put an end to entrenched politics in our seat of city governance.

We are here today because of a threat to disregard the consent of the people of New York City because that threat disregards the democracy that demanded these term limits. That threat is brought by Mayor Bloomberg, who was openly for term limits imposed on others before he is now openly advocating against them imposed upon himself, and Speaker Quinn and apparently a few members of the council who, at this midnight hour, are about to reach the planned end of their respective terms. Democracy is the will and consent of the people, not the self-serving whim of public servants. Public servants have a fiduciary obligation to serve the public, not ignore or to circumvent them.

The pretext for this threat against the public will and consent is Mayor Bloomberg's suggestion that the city needs him in particular in the face of the current economic crisis that is plaguing the entire nation, yet we are hard pressed to hear any other public servant in our state or any other state or our federal government or that of any other municipality in the country making these claims of extraordinary talents or skills to take such extraordinary steps as to betray the will and consent of the people. Indeed, this is a pretext that even Mayor Bloomberg, does not believe himself if his statements in a recent interview on a BBC television broadcast program HARDTalk can be taken at his word given then. There he stated that there are others qualified to serve as Mayor of this city and that this is a unique crisis that no one has special experience with and that no one can predict what will happen or who will be hurt, or hurt the most, by any actions or inactions taken – in short he has no idea what to do any more than anyone else and has no particular talent or skills in the face of this crisis which is, by the way, a federal issue to be resolved by federal action.

Furthermore, the "current" crisis for Wall Street is neither current nor small for the people of New York City on "Main Street" but has been raging for them for quite some time, many months in fact, before coming back to haunt "Wall Street" where Mayor Bloomberg only begins to give it much notice at all. In my borough of residence, on Staten Island, the press has long been reporting that we have had the distinction of having more sup-prime foreclosures than any other borough of New York City. The question is

begged as to what new vision will emerge only after election day to a third term of office for any in city government, to justify disregarding the vote of the people at all, that did not emerge long before today for Mr. Bloomberg in particular who hails from Wall Street. It was Wall Street, after all, that caused this crisis. Now Wall Street is being bailed out by the taxpayers, many of whom never even qualified for even a sub-prime mortgage or credit card.

On Staten Island we have watched Mayor Bloomberg's policies and advocacy eliminate affordable housing in general, tearing down section 8 housing for so called mixed income housing that the income limits for the low income constituents is set above the cap on fixed incomes to eliminate them from inclusion altogether. Mayor Bloomberg is disconnected from the mainstream constituents and their needs in normal times and has not demonstrated much skill or talent in serving these constituents who need it most who are the unknown people who are hurt that he speaks of in his HARDtalk interview.

Disregarding the voters is wrong and unconscionable and the pretext and premise used to advocate for it and to justify it is false. Please respect your constituents and honor your fiduciary obligations to them by rejecting this self-serving and abusive maneuver to ignore and circumvent them. Term limits is the will, consent and the voice of the people who have spoken on the matter.

Thank you for this opportunity to be heard.

Does Your Vote Matter?

New Yorkers twice voted for term limits for elected officials.

Now the Mayor wants to overturn the will of the voters by passing a power-grab law that would allow him to serve another 4 years.

Should the Mayor be allowed to disregard the will of the people?

Tell us how you feel

Visit the Public Advocate's Blog at

www.publicadvocatescorner.com

Post a comment. Make your voice heard.

MICHAEL R. BLOOMBERG

September 27, 2005

Mr. James Caldwell
787 Dean Street, Apt. 1R
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11238

Dear James: ✓

I can't thank you enough for introducing me on Sunday morning at Junior's restaurant in Brooklyn. It was last minute, yet you pulled through and had an amazing group of volunteers turn out as well. You really are a superstar, and I can't tell you how crucial it is to have dedicated volunteers like you on board. I am so appreciative of your efforts and hope that you will continue to encourage and inspire others to volunteer for the campaign.

All the best.

Sincerely,



Michael R. Bloomberg

MRB:cl

Extending Term Limits from Two to Three Terms

Submitted by
Marie Louis
343 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn, NY 11216
October 16, 2008

I thank my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ for the opportunity to speak to you today. My name is Marie Louis. I was born, raised and reside in Brooklyn. I support extending term limits from two to three terms. Our city and nation are in financial and economic crisis. We should have the option of re-electing a proven effective, independent and experienced leader like Michael Bloomberg, as well as Speaker Quinn and many in the City Council.

Our City's vitality is particularly impacted by the crisis in the financial sector. The downturn means less revenues for the city. Mayor Bloomberg effectively managed our troubled economy in the wake of 9/11 and created reserves during healthy economic times that are strengthening our ability to weather this time of famine. Under Mayor Bloomberg's leadership the city is positioned to realize many important large projects like Atlantic Yards in Brooklyn. In addition to understanding the importance of and supporting projects like Atlantic Yards, Mayor Bloomberg witnessed the signing of the first Community Benefits Agreement on the East Coast. Thus, as Brooklyn and the city at large prepares to build for the future, he has demonstrated leadership committed to ensuring that all New Yorkers, especially those who have been marginalized and are among the most economically vulnerable are able to connect to employment, small business and affordable housing opportunities created by large development projects like Atlantic Yards.

Mayor Bloomberg's Plan NYC initiative is another compelling example of his effective leadership. This comprehensive plan prioritizes upgrading our

infrastructure and parks as well as building affordable housing for the future of our city.

Under the leadership of Speaker Quinn we have the Jobs to Build On initiative (JTBO) which is connecting thousands of New Yorkers to meaningful employment and occupational training opportunities. Given persistent rates of high unemployment and poverty among many in the Black and Latino communities even during good economic times, JTBO is even more vitally important to our communities and the city at large during these times of economic crisis.

Combating unemployment and poverty is an important priority for many of us. Mayor Bloomberg's leadership has created an environment that is heralding a building era that creates a wide spectrum of jobs, business and affordable housing opportunities that are critical to combating unemployment and poverty. Mayor Bloomberg's accomplishments in managing the public education system are another front on which the city is making great strides in combating poverty. More of our children are meeting educational standards and graduating from high school in four years. A good education is a tried and true strategy to breaking the cycle of unemployment and poverty.

We should be able to choose to re-elect leadership that is building the future of our city in a way that reaches out to the most economically vulnerable of our city to promote pathways for all to thrive and grow as our city thrives and grows. We are at a critical juncture where we should be able to choose consistency of proven and effective leadership.

JAMES M. VOGEL

October 16, 2008

IN OPPOSITION TO THE LEGISLATIVE EXTENSION OF TERM LIMITS

Thank you for participating in the appearance of democracy by holding these public comment sessions. I hope they will be carefully considered before the Council votes to overturn the twice expressed will of the voters of New York City regarding term limits.

Legalities aside, this is about the will of Michael Bloomberg.

During the Bloomberg Administration power has been centralized in the office of the Mayor. During his administration city budgets were slashed for a number of "non-essential" services, but the Mayor generously made up the shortfall by establishing special efforts that businesses could donate to (in lieu of campaign contributions, which Mayor Bloomberg certainly doesn't need.) Sort of looks like pay-to-play money. The effect has been that these charities and city services are obligated to Mayor Bloomberg, not the City. No wonder there's a hallelujah chorus calling for his extension! But when the office of the Mayor goes imperial, you're stuck with the Great Man game, and not a public process staffed by public servants.

Mayor Bloomberg calls for another term and the City Council rolls over, as long as they get to stick around. Inspiring. Mayor Bloomberg selflessly feels he is the only one to steer us through these disastrous financial times, but doesn't trust the voters to agree with him by calling for a referendum in the upcoming November election, which he clearly could have done given the reports that he was talking about running again as early as May of this year. Were it on the upcoming November ballot the entire city would be able to vote on the idea. So why isn't it there? Why bribe the Council by offering to extend their terms as well with a legislative end-run?

Mayor Bloomberg has never been very big on the will of the voters. Within 2 weeks of being sworn into his first administration he said he felt New York City's building review process was onerous and that he would do all in his power to get around it. The results are all around us: cranes falling on citizens; eminent domain abuse; how many million in unnecessary subsidies to builders, holes in the ground that will be with us for decades; millions of square feet of unnecessary and unoccupied office space. But he's a big picture guy who must have seen this coming. During his administration manufacturing and light industry were further driven from the city to make way for real estate development. The City budget became even more dependent on real estate, financial services, and Wall Street. And now we're crippled. So why do people think we need another 4 years of this? Why an Emperor instead of a Mayor?

Perhaps Michael Bloomberg is sincere in his belief that he has much to offer during difficult economic times. But if he felt 9/11 wasn't reason enough to extend Mayor Giuliani's term by 3 months (an opinion I shared), I fail to see how the fruits of economic missteps that occurred during his administration qualify as a reason to extend his administration. But still, he might have something to offer. Just do it with the cooperation of the voters. New York City has a democratic government, not a plutocracy where billionaires settle things in cozy chats, Mr. Lauder. There are many ways he could serve; he could run for Comptroller, or Public Advocate. He could ally himself with a new mayor and become an economic advisor. Maybe he could be called a czar.

Simply put, show some faith in the voters. If there is a case to be made for the extension of term limits, make it to the voters. Relying on a detail of the current legislation, placed there by lawmakers, to allow lawmakers to extend their own term limits is slick to the point of sleazy. It's cheap and disingenuous. The very attempt points to the wisdom of enacting term limits in the first place. Clearly it's time some folks moved on. Councilman Recchia chanted on NY1 last week that term limits were unnecessary because voters can always just vote the incumbents out. Again, disingenuous. Brooklyn Boro President Markowitz has shown us the hidden power of incumbency to stay in the public eye on pay-to-play money.

Let the voters decide. Or gamble that Randy Mastro is wrong that this type of self serving legislation is illegal, or that anyone voting for it won't be personally liable for the attempt. Or just gamble the voters won't throw out anyone voting for this end run. I think they will. Throw the bums out, if they won't listen to the people they pretend to serve.

Better just to let the voters decide.

PHILIP SCHNEIDER
88 JANE STREET
NEW YORK, NY 10014

(212) 924 4462
PHILIP@PSNY.US

October 16, 2008

City Council
City Hall
New York, New York 10007

RE: Testimony in Opposition to Rescinding Term Limits

Dear Council Members:

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak in opposition to the bill to rescind term limits. The question of term limits is certainly complicated and people of good faith can disagree on whether term limits are a good idea or not. However, what is not in question, is that any legislation that alters the term limits regulations now in effect, as previously ratified by two referendums, should be done in an open and fair manner.

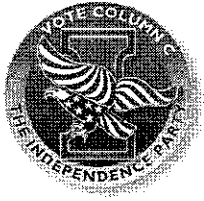
The proposal to rescind term limits that is now being considered does not meet that test. The proposed legislation is being rushed through in an unseemly manner without regard for the two previous referendums for the benefit of the incumbent administration. If the proposal was structured to apply to future administrations, then an argument could be made that it was necessary for better governance. But that is not the case; instead, legislation is proposed that benefits a sitting administration.

Additionally, the Mayor has proposed that a long term supporter of term limits be appointed to a future charter revision commission to study the issue, presumably, with the intention to restore term limits after the current administration has avoided those limits. Basically, two billionaires have agreed on the shape of city government for the next several years.

Last week, Mayor Bloomberg's campaign office announced that it was prepared to spend 80 million dollars in a re-election bid. Obviously this spending would swamp any challenger and make it an unfair contest. I know that each Council Member struggles with the difficulty of raising campaign funds and appreciates the power of opposing a rival with unlimited funds.

Please remember that turkeys are for Thanksgiving; so do the right thing and oppose this power grab.

Thank you for your attention.



Independence Party of Kings County

323 Putnam Avenue, #4
Brooklyn, NY 11216
718-415-0571 • 718-503-3771 (f)
bobconroy@ipnyc.org

Public Testimony of Robert Conroy before Government Operations Committee on amending the Term Limits law follows:

My name is Robert Conroy, I'm chairman of the Kings County Independence Party. I am testifying against Bill Number 845-A. The Mayor's proposed law to amend the city charter in relation to Term Limits. This law was added by the voters through the 1993 Voter Referendum.

The City Council may have the legal right to amend the city charter that was added through voter referendum, but it doesn't have the moral right. If the city council and the mayor pass this law, you are infringing on the democratic rights of voters.

The mayor and those who opposed Term Limits argue that Term Limits limit the right for incumbents to run for office. It does. The voters understood that the power of incumbency undermines the democratic process. It was the voters' choice to do this. The mayor and city council should respect that choice.

The Mayor says he is doing this because of the economic crisis. So his solution to the economic crisis is to undermine the democratic process. The solution to an economic crisis is to enhance our democracy. This is done by including more people into the decision making process. The Voter Referendum process does this and enhances our democracy. Thru this process we established Term Limits.

I want to conclude with disagreeing with former Governor Mario Cuomo, who testified much earlier today, when he said that morality is a personal issue. I disagree with him. It is a political issue for a society. It is immoral for the Mayor and the city council to tell the voters that their votes do not count and to disregard the voters' decision. The Mayor and the city council have no moral right to undermine the democratic process and I urge you to vote against the Mayor's undemocratic bill.

Thank You.

My name is Benjamin Haber. I reside in Queens County and have lived in New York City all my life. I speak in opposition to the City Council unilaterally extending term limits.

The public not once, but twice voted to have term limits and Mayor Bloomberg was an avid supporter. When former Mayor Guiliani sought to extend his term, it was correctly rejected.

The scenario being spinned to the public is the current financial crisis mandates over turning term limits so Mayor Bloomberg can seek a third term, and council members a free ride on his back, because his financial background will in some ill defined way make him the savior of this city. Held up to scrutiny there is no basis to such claim. The current crisis is not simply that of New York City or even this country, but globally and it will not be solved by a mayor of this city, but by international governments and not in a few years.

The public believes with much justification the current crisis was precipitated by Wall Street aided by a Washington lack of adequate regulation. Mayor Bloomberg spent a lifetime as a Wall Street regular. If he is so clever why is it he never warned about the impending Wall Street implosion and the ensuing crisis? He did not because like every one else and despite his Wall Street credentials he was as unknowing as the rest of us. If Wall Street was a major culprit, why should we trust a Wall Street regular to be our rescuer to the exclusion of all others who seek to be mayor?

Legislative authority in this city rests exclusively with the City Council. The mayor on his own has no power to over turn term limits and therefore seeks to do so through a cabal with council members who may well have a more personal agenda than simply satisfying the mayor. You are aware city employees which includes the council must work and pay into the pension system ten years in order to become eligible for retiree health benefits. Since you currently can only serve 8 years, an extension will give you lifetime retiree health insurance said to cost presently about \$12,00 a year. Over a lifetime and with many members and inflation, we may be talking about millions of taxpayer dollars.

Council members whose terms are about to expire and who in defiance of the people extend their own terms and reap financial rewards, may have to confront a question of self dealing and conflict of interest.

When Speaker Christine Quinn who once vowed she would never tinker with term limits, attempts to justify by-passing the voters claiming they can be heard when people stand for election, she is aware this is a one party town, and short of a costly primary, there is no real choice and without term limits people may sit for life. If she is so enraptured over giving the voters the right to heard at the ballot box, she is reminded they were heard, TWICE. In willfully ignoring the will of the people and in failing to schedule public hearings in each borough. she has unfortunately bought into political mediocrity. One expected more of her.

There is no justification to ignore the public and no justification for council members to hide behind the mayor,

LET RIGHT BE DONE AND REJECT ATTEMPTS BY COUNCIL MEMBERS WHO SEEK TO IGNORE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. IF THERE IS TO BE A REVISIT TO TERM LIMITS, IT IS THE PEOPLE WHO SHOULD MAKE THAT DECISION.

Thank you.

Benjamin Haber
138-27 78th Drive
Flushing, New York 11367
718-380-3955
October 16, 2008

I know some of you, and I so I know there are a lot of good, honest people in this room. I am proud that my City Councilman, David Weprin, has been a fervent opponent of the bill introduced by the Mayor, and that as of today, nearly 20 of you have publicly joined with David in this opposition. To those of you who are still publicly undecided, I urge you to consider joining those who oppose Bloomberg's Bill – because the will of the people must not be ignored, because this issue – and those of you on each side of the bill- will not be soon forgotten by the people of New York – and most of all, because it is the right thing to do.

Thank you for your time, and I am confident you will do the right thing, and let New Yorkers vote on term limits. I hope in a few weeks I can tell my 5 year old daughter that we will, in fact, be getting to vote on that thing we talked about.

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The Impact of Term Limits on Lawmaking in the City of New York

ERIC LANE

IN 1993, voters in the City of New York adopted a term limit amendment to the New York City Charter.¹ Under its terms, elected municipal officials could serve no more than two consecutive terms of office. Supporters argued that this qualification would return government to the people by replacing career politicians with citizen legislators. Opponents, I among them,² argued that in addition to undermining democratic principles, term limits would only serve to replace experienced politicians with inexperienced ones. The arrival of such inexperienced legislators would, consequently, further empower the very interests—bureaucrats and lobbyists—that term limits advocates declare they want weakened. These arguments were not unique to New York; rather, in one form or other, they have formed the core arguments for and against term limits throughout the nation.³

To a large extent, the arguments were rhetorical and, at least for the proponents, ideological. The virtues of term limits seemed fundamentally based on a faith that clearing away the political underbrush of careerists would allow the public good to grow through the agency of the citizen legislator. This is the same type of faith that has stoked many reform

movements, most with disappointing results. To opponents, especially those who had governmental experience, term limits and the reformist ideology that underlay them seemed intuitively wrong. At the time, term limits were new and their impacts only little studied. Although there had been some exploration of the effects of term limits on municipal government, none of the cities studied had any of New York City's political or governmental characteristics.⁴ No body of experience or evidence, in New York or elsewhere, informed the debate or cast light on the validity of the various arguments.

Since January of 2002, the first year of a legislative term in which term limits were fully applicable, I have had the opportunity as a special counsel to the Speaker of the New York City Council to observe the actual effect of term limits on the City Council from a relatively close, but hopefully not too close, perspective.⁵

¹N.Y.C. Charter §§1138 and 1139 (hereinafter Charter).

²This opposition was based on my experience as Executive Director and Counsel to both New York's 1988 and 1989 New York City Charter Revision Commissions. These commissions had considered and rejected term limit qualifications. See generally Frederick A.O. Schwarz and Eric Lane, *The Policy and Politics of Charter Making: The Story of New York City's 1989 Charter*, 42 N.Y.L.S. Law Rev. 723 (1998) (hereinafter Schwarz and Lane).

³The debate over term limits in New York City is discussed *infra*. For a discussion of the general debate see Abner J. Mikva and Eric Lane, *THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS* (2nd ed. 2002) and sources cited therein.

⁴See Norman R. Luttbeg, *Comparing Term Limits in Cities and States in THE TEST OF TIME: COPING WITH LEGISLATIVE TERM LIMITS*, 75 (Rick Farmer et al., eds., 2003).

⁵Under this arrangement I am called upon to advise on particular matters. This work does not bring me to City Hall every day, but it has put me in contact with most members of the Council and many staff members, lobbyists and observers.

Eric Lane is the Eric J. Schmertz Distinguished Professor of Public Law and Public Service at Hofstra University School of Law. He is also Special Counsel to the Speaker of the New York City Council and co-author with Abner J. Mikva of AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS AND STATUTORY INTERPRETATION and THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS. The author wishes to thank Gifford Miller, the Speaker of the Council, for the opportunity to once again engage in legislative government. Thanks are also due to the many members, staff, lobbyists and observers who shared their thoughts on term limits.

This article is partly the product of my own observations, but mostly of interviews with numerous members of the Council, staff members, lobbyists, and other observers. It is also informed by a number of council-related sources. Except for those findings that are compelled by data, much still remains tentative. The picture is obscured by the array of motivations that influence political conduct in particular contexts and also by the shortness of the measuring time.

In brief, the significant findings, discussed fully below, are as follows. First, and unexpectedly, term limits have resulted in an intentional decentralization of the Council leadership's power. Second, the argument that term limits will replace careerists with citizen legislators is wrong; almost all of those elected since the City's term limit law has become effective have had political backgrounds and intend to remain in elective politics. Third, as a consequence, many members seem to be in a great rush to promote themselves individually, at a cost to the Council's newly decentralized deliberative processes. Fourth, both the dispersion of power and the career concerns have made the Council more accessible, allowing new "special" interests into the process, while at the same time upping the cost of participating for traditional interests. Finally, the large number of new members increased the relative influence of the speaker, staff, and lobbyists.

From a broader perspective, term limits have improved the representative and accessibility characteristics of the Council. But they have also resulted in growing pressures for the immediate enactment of laws, raising serious questions of whether they have undermined the Council's deliberative processes, those which fight against conversion of factional passions into law.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ABOUT NEW YORK CITY AND A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF ITS GOVERNING INSTITUTIONS

A discussion of the effects of term limits on New York City governance requires a few ob-

servations about the city and a brief description of its government and governmental processes.

New York's governing ethos

New York is a big government jurisdiction, one in which government plays a central role in almost all aspects of city life. As Sayre and Kaufman have written, "Government is the city's central agency of change and conservation. It is the city's prime rule-maker, its omnipresent supervisor."⁶ Since at least the Progressive Era, no problem has seemed too non-public nor too small to address. The city's reigning ethos has been that government can and should fix problems. And its governing attitude is that more regulation and more services are better.

Such an ethos has made New York government extremely active. In New York, almost every step can create a problem—literally. For years, the government has tried out numerous responses to competition over the use of sidewalks among pedestrians, bicycle riders, news stands and boxes, bus stops, trees, garbage cans, outdoor cafes, vendors, artists, and, soon perhaps, public toilets. In the last two years alone, the Council has enacted legislation on almost all of the above topics plus a law dealing with liability for sidewalk injuries and is presently considering legislation on sidewalk tree planting, sidewalk flag "planting," and sidewalk-opening cellar doors.

The City's limited space and the incredible pluralism and aggressive entrepreneurship of its population creates a a fiercely competitive environment and insures a never-ending supply of conflicts for government to address.

No subject of city lawmaking has been historically more contested than decisions over the use of land. New York has been called a "land town,"⁷ and land's scarcity has produced fierce competition for its various possible uses.

⁶Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, *GOVERNING NEW YORK CITY* 32-33 (1960).

⁷Todd S. Purdum, *Schwarz Yields to Critics on Land Use*, N.Y. Times, May 12, 1989, at B1.

"Through City decisions about land use, communities can be uprooted or preserved, new communities can be created, fortunes can be made or lost, and the power of various political offices or agencies can wax or wane."⁸ Right now, for example, battle lines are being drawn over the Mayor's determination to establish a football stadium for the New York Jets on the west side of Manhattan and an arena for the New Jersey Nets in downtown Brooklyn.

New York's elected officials and its lawmaking processes

At the center of the City's lawmaking structure are the Council and the Mayor, particularly since 1989 when a new city charter eliminated the Board of Estimate and strengthened the Council's lawmaking role.⁹ While there are additional elected officials, their role in the lawmaking processes is minimal.

The Council. Every New York municipality is constitutionally required to have a legislative body.¹⁰ There is no requirement for an executive. In New York City, the legislative body is the Council.¹¹ The Council is a 51-member unicameral legislative body, whose members are elected from single member districts, each having populations of 157,000 residents. The largeness of this municipal legislature, increased from an already large 35 members in 1989, reflects the activism of city government, the pluralism of the City, and the determination that broad representation is the means for building public consensus and legitimacy.¹²

Council terms are normally four years, except that every twenty years there are two consecutive two-year terms instead of one four-year term. For example, council elections were held or will be held in 1997, 2001, 2003, and 2005 rather than in 1997, 2001, and 2005, which would be the regular four-year pattern. Such two-year terms allow for a faster implementation of newly drawn districts, which the charter requires to be completed early in the third year of every decade.¹³

The Council is organized in a typical way. There is a speaker, the Council's chief executive officer and only charter-required legislative officer, who is elected by Council members

in January of each new term. Each political party, in caucus, selects those who will serve as the majority and minority leaders and will hold other party leadership positions. There are committees with chairs chosen by the membership with guidance from the Speaker. There is also a strong central staff that does much of the research and counseling for the members. Within this formal structure, the Speaker has historically exercised extraordinary power over the lawmaking process. Nothing moved without his approval. The rationale was that such domination disciplined the centrifugal forces that would otherwise be set loose in the Council. As discussed below, term limits has changed the balance between centrifugal and centripetal forces.

The Council is a professional legislature, with a current budget of over \$45,000,000. Members are paid \$90,000 per year plus various stipends for assuming leadership positions. Many members are full time, although this is not required. Members have individual budgets through which they pay rent for district offices and hire their own staffs, whose work they manage.

The functions of the Council, in general terms, are also typical. Under the Charter it is granted the legislative power of the city and is required to oversee the executive branch. Section 29(2) mandates that each committee hold at least one oversight hearing a year for each agency under its jurisdiction. And many committees, as noted below, hold many more.

Municipal legislative power in New York is constitutionally defined as the power to adopt local laws "relating to property, affairs or government."¹⁴ Under the City Charter this power is expressed as the power to pass local laws for "the good rule and government of the city; for the order, protection and government of persons and property; for the preservation of the

⁸Schwarz and Lane, *supra* note 2, at 853.

⁹For a complete history of these changes see Schwarz and Lane, *supra* note 2.

¹⁰N.Y. Const. Art. IX.

¹¹Charter § 21.

¹²Schwarz and Lane, *supra* note 2,

¹³Charter § 51.

¹⁴N.Y. Const. Art. IX, §2.

public health, comfort, peace and prosperity of the city and its inhabitants."¹⁵

Included within the Council's jurisdiction are a variety of land use decisions. These include the obvious legislative function of zoning. But a variety of project specific decisions, more executive in nature, are included.¹⁶ The 1989 charter commission was reluctant to grant such site specific decision making power to the Council. The concern was that decisions that did not implicate city-wide interests would not engage full Council attention. As a result, the commission worried that Council members would view land use decisions within their districts as within their prerogatives for approval or disapproval. In the end a combination of politics and law pushed the decision to favor more Council involvement.¹⁷ That decision was accompanied by a commitment by then Speaker Peter Vallone that all land use decision making by the Council would be highly supervised and professionally managed. But, as discussed below, term limits have begun to undermine this commitment.

Under both state law and the City Charter, laws are enacted by a majority of the Council and then presented to the Mayor for either approval or disapproval. Certain subjects require a referendum for enactment.¹⁸ Included among them are local laws that change the term of office of elected officials. This particular provision became the center of a dispute over the City's term limit provisions in 2001. The question was when the Council may amend the provisions without referendum. The enactment was characterized by litigants as changing the term of office and was unsuccessfully challenged as requiring a referendum.¹⁹

Mayor. The Mayor is the chief executive officer of the city government and its most dominant force. Beyond being the top city-wide elected official and, consequentially, the central focus of intense media attention, the Mayor's prominence results from the fact that the function of city government is primarily the direct delivery of services. The Mayor directs these services through the power to appoint and remove commissioners and the power to manage the budget.

The Mayor also plays a significant legislative

role. Like many municipal executives he must either approve or veto legislation. The Mayor's most extraordinary legislative powers are his budget powers. The city must enact a balanced budget. And the Mayor alone has the power to set the estimated revenues, thereby controlling the expenditures.

Other elected officials. In addition to the Council members and the Mayor, the City has two additional city-wide elected officials, the Public Advocate and Comptroller, and five borough-wide elected officials, the borough presidents.²⁰ All serve four-year terms and are elected at the same time as the Mayor and Council members. Their tasks are largely unrelated to the lawmaking processes

TERM LIMITS GENERALLY

Limiting terms is not, of course, a new idea. Such disqualifications were part of the Articles of Confederation.²¹ And their absence from the proposed constitution was a serious point of contention between the Federalists and anti-Federalists during the Ratification debate. The arguments are familiar. To the anti-Federalists, rotation in office was the antidote to lifetime tenure and a means of bringing new people into government. To the successful Federalists rotation undermined democracy and denied

¹⁵Charter § 28.

¹⁶Charter § 197-d.

¹⁷Schwarz and Lane, *supra* note 2, 856-866

¹⁸Charter § 38.

¹⁹*Golden v. New York City Council*, 765 N.Y.S.2d 135 (2003), *reversed*, 762 N.Y.S.2d 410 (2nd Dept., 2003), *appeal denied*, 762 N.Y.S.2d 874 (2003) (holding that term limits provision set forth qualifications for office, which could be amended without referendum).

²⁰The City is comprised of five counties, but, unlike elsewhere in New York State and elsewhere in the country, there is no county form of government within the City. Instead, under the Charter, the City is divided into five boroughs, each corresponding to one of the counties.

²¹Art. V of the Articles of Confederation provides: "No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; . . ."

the people the advantages of experienced representatives.²²

Since 1990 a term limit movement has swept the country. This movement has been part of the larger "reform" movement which has included the reemergence of initiative and referendum, a variety of campaign finance proposals and a revamping of state ethics provisions. At the heart of all of these efforts has been broadening public dissatisfaction with both the pace and substance of governmental, particularly legislative, decision making. Unfortunately, this perceived failure of legislatures to respond to public demands in a satisfactory manner has been converted in the public mind, urged on by leaders, into legislative corruption which can only be remedied by either getting the politician out of politics (term limits), allowing the people to directly legislate (initiative and referendum) or getting money out of politics (campaign finance reform).

As for term limits, in particular, the overarching notion of their proponents has been that their favored proposal would result in the "return" of the citizen legislator and a consequential reclamation of the common good. Citizen legislators were generally defined as individuals who would leave private jobs, serve in elected office and then return to private life after the expiration of their terms. There are two views of citizen legislators. The elitist view sees them as successful in another career and now willing to provide the public with their skills. "The finest candidates for a representative body are citizen-legislators, people who have proven their abilities in other fields and can bring their experience to public service. Lack of term limits encourages and sustains only career politicians."²³ The other view sees them as representative of the average American or common person. As Elizabeth Garrett has drawn from the national debate:

Much of the term limits literature reads as a paean to amateurism. The solution to the problem of careerists, activists argue, is to eliminate the incentives that encourage people to make politics their profession and instead to fill Congress with citizen-legislators. Average Americans will leave their jobs in the private sector for a very

short period sector for a very short period of time, serve their country, and then return to their ordinary lives.²⁴

Both views assume that the citizen legislator will be free from the political and special interest entanglements of careerists (however those entanglements are actually defined), because in each case the citizen legislator will return to private life. The elitist view postulates that the private successes of the citizen legislator will *ipso facto* translate into public success, while the average man view postulates that the citizen legislator will bring "common sense" to governmental processes.

It is hard not to view such assertions skeptically. For centuries, American reform movements have been premised on assumptions about human nature and behavior that are inconsistent with the actual teachings of history. From the revolutionary period through the Progressive era until today, Americans have wished for "direct participation of a united people pursuing a shared community interest,"²⁵ But each movement has ended with a recognition that, at least, in the detail of legislative policy there is almost never a shared community of interest. Rather there is an array of self and group interests. What Madison noted in Federalist 10 remains true today. Individuals organize themselves into groups to further their economic interests and passions. As will be discussed below, the New York City experience, for the most part, is entirely consistent with this history.

Other arguments for term limits include the promotion of greater competition for elected office, the introduction of new ideas into the

²²Mark P. Petracca, *Rotation in Office: The History of an Idea*, in *LIMITING LEGISLATIVE TERMS* (Gerald Benjamin and Michael J. Malbin, eds., 1992).

²³National Civic League, Model City Charter Revision Project, Term Limits, ncl.org/npp/charter/memos/termlimits.html (2004).

²⁴Elizabeth Garrett, *Term Limitations and the Myth of the Citizen-Legislator*, 81 *Cornell L. Rev.* 623, 630-631 (1996).

²⁵James A. Morone, *THE DEMOCRATIC WISH*, 5 (1990); see also Gordon Wood, *THE CREATION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC: 1776-1787* (1969); Michael McGerr, *A FIERCE DISCONTENT: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA* (2003).

lawmaking process, and greater attention to public needs.

Proponents of term limits have enjoyed considerable success. Since 1990, twenty-one states have adopted term limits, all except one (Utah) through an initiative and referendum process. Some of these states have also attempted to impose term limits on their members of Congress. This effort was declared unconstitutional in *U.S. Term Limits v. Thornton*.²⁶ There is an ironic aspect to the successes of the state term limits movement. For twenty years prior to this period there had been a national reform movement to professionalize state legislators. The strategy was "to recruit lawmakers who would stay around long enough to become seasoned professionals."²⁷ Perhaps that concern has again arisen. Over the last several years, two states, Idaho and Utah, have repealed their term limits laws, and the supreme courts of four other states, Massachusetts, Washington, Oregon, and Wyoming, have declared their states' term limits unconstitutional. The repeals were occasioned by a concern that term limits were denying citizens the benefits of experience and the right to support candidates of their choice.²⁸ The jurisprudential basis for the decisions was that qualifications for office could not be imposed without constitutional amendment²⁹ or that the initiative violated the state's single subject rule.³⁰

In the meantime, numerous municipalities throughout the country have adopted some form of term limits. According to one observer, as of 1995, 47 of the country's 100 largest cities had some form of term limit law. Among them, in addition to New York, are Los Angeles, Houston, Dallas, Phoenix, San Francisco, Kansas City, New Orleans, Denver, Cincinnati, and Washington, D.C.³¹

TERM LIMITS ARRIVE IN NEW YORK CITY

The term limit qualifications

Term limits came to New York in 1993 through a voter initiated referendum. While New York is not an initiative friendly state, a special exception in the state's Municipal Home

Rule Law allows initiatives for amending municipal charters.³² The effort for term limits was led by Ronald J. Lauder, a wealthy man, whom many thought initiated the effort as a result of his costly and unsuccessful run for Mayor on the Conservative Party line in 1989.³³ In fact, this successful term limit effort was not supported by either the City's civic community or the editorial pages of its main papers.³⁴

As adopted, the referendum added two provisions to the New York City Charter. The first set forth the anti-careerism policy underlying term limit qualifications and the second disqualified any candidate for city office from serving more than two full consecutive terms in any elected office.³⁵

§ 1137. It is hereby declared to be the public policy of the city of New York to limit to not more than eight consecutive years the time elected officials can serve . . . so that elected representatives are "citizen

²⁶514 U.S. 779 (1995). As a result of *Thornton*, term limit proponents in a number of states, again through initiatives, adopted laws that required the placement of ballot designation such as "violated voter instruction on term limits" next to the names of candidates who did not support term limits amendments to the Constitution in the various ways set forth in the respective initiative laws. These "scarlet letter" laws were declared unconstitutional in *Cook v. Gralike* 531 U.S. 510 (2001).

²⁷David H. Everson, *The Impact of Term Limitation on the States: Cutting the Underbrush or Chopping Down the Tall Timber*, in *LIMITING LEGISLATIVE TERMS* 189 (Gerald Benjamin and Michael J. Malbin, eds., 1992).

²⁸See, e.g., Dan Harrie, *Term Limit Laws from 1994 Tossed*, *The Salt Lake City Tribune* (March 8, 2003); Bob Bernick Jr., *Term Limits Get the Boot*, *Deseret News* (March 6, 2003).

²⁹*Cathcart v. Meyer* 2004 WL 943451 (Wy. 2004); *Gerberding v. Munro*, 949 P.2d 1336 (Wash., 1998); *League of Women Voters of Massachusetts v. Secretary of Commonwealth*, 681 N.E. 842 (Mass. 1997).

³⁰*Lehman v. Bradbury*, 37 P.3d 989 (Ore. 2002).

³¹Daniella Fagre, *Microcosm of the Movement: Local Term Limits in the United States*, U.S. Term Limits Report (1995).

³²N.Y. Mun. Home Rule Law § 37 (McKinney, 1994).

³³See, e.g., *Beware Term Limits*, N.Y. Times, Nov. 1, 1993 at A18.

³⁴Lining up against the referendum were, among others, Citizens Union, The City Club of the City of New York, the New York City Partnership, numerous municipal unions, and a number of city leaders. See press release of The Coalition on Voters Choice, Oct. 26, 1993 (on file with the author). Additionally, major newspapers also opposed the efforts. See *id.*

³⁵Charter §1138.

representatives" who are responsive to the needs of the people and are not career politicians.

§ 1138. . . . [N]o person shall be eligible to be elected to or serve in the offices of mayor, public advocate, comptroller, borough president or council member if that person had previously held such office for two or more full consecutive terms (including in the case of council members at least one four-year term) unless one full term or more has elapsed since that person last held such office; provided, however that in calculating the number of consecutive terms a person has served, only terms commencing on or after January 1, 1994 shall be counted.

With one exception, discussed below, the term of office for each of the City's elected positions is four years, with general elections, under New York State law, only held in odd years. Under this regimen, term limit qualifications first became fully applicable in the 2001 general election.

The text of the provision and its timing resulted in a very dramatic, although almost unreported, event. After the September 11th attacks on New York City's World Trade Center, supporters of Mayor Rudy Giuliani, searching for a way to extend his term, suggested that he resign and then run again. Their argument was that part of a term, no matter how long, did not constitute a full term as contemplated by section 1139 of the Charter. In the end this path was not followed. But whether they could have legally succeeded remains a challenging question for a law school class. In 2000, the Charter was amended to close this possible loophole. As a matter of note, Giuliani favored the term limits referendum in 1993.³⁶

The one exception to the four year term of office for elected city officials applies to Council members. Under Chapter 2A of the Charter, redistricting of council lines must be finished by the third year of every decade. With four year terms, in decades in which the general election is held in the first year (e.g., 2001), the new redistricting plan would not go into effect until the sixth year of that decade, the year in

which Council members elected in the fifth year take office. This meant that equal representation and the other benefits of redistricting would not be realized until the decade was half over. To avoid this result, the 1989 Charter Revision Commission provided in Section 25 of the Charter that in such decades the election of Council members would be held in the third year of the decade as well as the fifth, and that the term of office of Council members during that period would be two years. By way of example, Council members elected in 2001 had to stand for reelection in 2003 and will have to do so again in 2005.

This led to another problem. Reading section 25 with the section 1138, the term limit provision of the Charter, meant that some members of the Council would be disqualified for reelection after six years, rather than eight, as two full terms could constitute one two-year and one four-year term. To remedy this problem, the Council amended the Charter by local law in 2001 to provide that, for the purposes of term limits, two consecutive two-year terms under section 25 would constitute a single full term under section 1138.³⁷ This change assured every council member the possibility of eight consecutive years in office.

The debate over term limits

The debate over term limits in New York followed the national script. Supporters argued that through term limits New Yorkers would "take the power away from the politicians and return it to the people," that members would serve "long enough to make a contribution, but not long enough to make a career."³⁸ As set forth in their campaign literature, the term limits advocates claimed:

This City is a victim of professional politicians who are more interested in getting re-elected than in representing the legitimate needs of New York City taxpayers.

³⁶Roberts, Term-Limit Backers to Begin Ad Campaign, N.Y. Times, Oct. 21, 2003, at B1.

³⁷Local Law 27, 2001.

³⁸Press release, New Yorkers for Term Limits, Inc., March 11, 1993 (on file with the author).

This "careerism" has led to special interest politics and the expense of the public good.³⁹

The solution was simple. Elect the citizen legislator, a person who will leave his private life, serve for a short time, and leave again for private life. "We need to recapture the benefits of citizen politicians, elected representatives, who have excelled in the private sector; apply their experience as public servants; and return to the private sector."⁴⁰

To amplify this sentiment, Cleta Deatherage Mitchell, the director of the national Term Limits Legal Institute, argued in support of the City's referendum:

... only by putting citizens back in charge of their governments will we have any hope of restoring the American taxpayers' faith in their democratic processes. That faith has been systematically destroyed by the special interests, the professional lobby groups, and career politicians working in concert against the interest of the ordinary voters.⁴¹

Supporters also argued that term limits would "guarantee a constant source of new people and fresh ideas in government."⁴² Finally, advocates argued that term limits would make elections more competitive. "Term limits will open seats, sparking competitive elections."⁴³

On the other side, opponents to the measure also followed the national script, arguing that term limits undermined representative democracy and removed policy and lawmaking power from elected officials. This view was best summed up in a *New York Times* editorial in opposition to the referendum:

[Term] limits can foster mediocrity, by discouraging men and women genuinely interested in government as a professional calling, not just a brief fling. And by terminating everyone after a fixed number of years, term limits guarantee that permanent professional staff members—bureaucrats elected by no one—will have the real

power, conferred by continuity and experience.

Worst of all term limits violate democracy. They deny citizens the right to vote for the candidate of their choice, whether that's someone who has served with distinction for decades, a one-term hack or challengers who seek the office.⁴⁴

THE TERM LIMITS EXPERIENCE IN NEW YORK CITY

Term limit disqualifications became effective in 2001. As a result, the three incumbent city-wide officials, two borough presidents, and 37 Council members, including the Speaker, were disqualified from further consecutive service and replaced by new officials. The 14 elected incumbent Council members each had been first elected in a special election or general election post 1993, and will be disqualified from further consecutive service in either 2005 or 2009. One dramatic consequence of these disqualifications was that Mayor Rudy Giuliani could not stand for reelection despite the overwhelming public support due to his performance after the 9/11 tragedy.

The new government has now been in place for two and one-half years. In early 2001, the members of the Council elected as their Speaker Democrat Gifford Miller. Miller was a hold-over, having first been elected in 1996. Miller was reelected Speaker in January of 2004.

During this two and one-half year period, the Council has passed two extremely difficult budgets of over \$40 billion, which required it to close the largest deficits in the City's history through tax increases and service cuts of approximately \$3 billion. As of January 1, 2004,

³⁹Questions and Answers, New Yorkers for Term Limits, Inc. (undated) (on file with the author).

⁴⁰*Id.*

⁴¹Press release, Term Limits Legal Institute, Mar. 11, 1993 (on file with the author).

⁴²*Id.*

⁴³*Id.*

⁴⁴*Term Limits Limit Voters' Rights*, N.Y. Times, Oct. 21, 1993, at A26.

124 new laws had been enacted, 13 of them over mayoral veto. Additionally, during that period the Council made some 1000 land use decisions and conducted over 800 legislative hearings, most of which were for oversight or budget purposes.

These two and one-half years have provided an opportunity to explore and measure the effects that term limits have had on the legislative process. Some of the measurements are easy. The Council, for example, decentralized its processes. As will be explained, this was a result of the need for a new Speaker occasioned by term limits and of the fact that the 2002 Council had 37 new members. Beyond this the view is murkier. For example, it seems that the consensus building processes of the Council are being countered by the centrifugal force of legislators constantly looking for individual opportunities in order to enhance their opportunities to run for other elected offices. But some of this pull might more simply be the perception of observers used to the former highly centralized leadership model. This murkiness makes many of the following findings tentative, the product of my own impressions and those of the many legislators, staff, lobbyists and other observers with whom I have spoken.

A race for Speaker, a change in rules, decentralized power

The Speaker of the New York City Council has long dominated the institution, to the exclusion of any meaningful committee system or real participation by members. Changes to the 1989 Charter attempted to address that issue,⁴⁵ but fall short of imposing the structural balance necessary for achieving a real deliberative process. The basic problem remained. The Speaker controlled every step of the legislative process, from the drafting of bills to their enactment. A positive and unexpected outcome of term limits in New York City was a change in this leadership domination. As one Council member has stated:

[The Speaker has] improved members' access to the flow of information. There are open forums to discuss strategic direction, which to the best of my memory Vallone

did rarely. Committee chairs . . . have much more responsibility now. It is a bit like a cabinet; we know who the leader is, but people feel a real sense of responsibility for their subject matter.⁴⁶

Several amendments to the rules of the Council established the framework for this expanded deliberation. Pursuant to these amendments committee chairs may now designate their own senior committee staff members and call hearings on any matter before the committee.⁴⁷ Also sponsors of bills may require a vote on a bill passed out of committee and not brought to the floor.⁴⁸ Finally the new rules also protect individual members from having their operating expense budgets reduced by the Speaker.⁴⁹ While these change may seem flat on paper, in the dynamic of the legislative process they have provided serious opportunities for entrepreneurial legislators and entrepreneurial interests.

These amendments were a product of the 2002 election for the speakership of the Council, made meaningful by the term limit disqualification of the long time former Speaker. The election pushed the Council rules to the fore, with groups of members successfully demanding from the various candidates decentralizing amendments in return for their support. Many of the current Speaker's strongest allies were members of these groups and their views were consistent with his own.

While viewed from this perspective these changes have positively awakened the Council as an institution, not all share this positive view. One former Council chief of staff, now head of a substantial trade organization, has complained that: "The powers from this membership are flowing up, when historically how it went was from the top down."⁵⁰ And a union representative is reported to have complained

⁴⁵Schwarz and Lane, *supra* note 2 at 802-803.

⁴⁶*Id.*

⁴⁷Council Rules, 7.40 and 7.60.

⁴⁸*Id.*, 7.10.

⁴⁹*Id.*, 2.60

⁵⁰Jennifer Steinhauer, Speakers Grip on Power Weakens as City Council Grows Fractious, *N.Y. Times*, Mar. 28, 2004, at 33 (hereinafter Steinhauer).

that "the old sense of discipline is gone, much to our disappointment."⁵¹ For the most part such criticisms seem a lament for former times, but they do suggest a question, addressed below, about whether the new empowerment of the members undermines the deliberative characteristics of the Council.

No "citizen legislators," the rise of the new careerists

The keystone claim of term limit advocates in the City's debate was that term limit disqualifications would replace career legislators with citizen legislators. The falsity of this claim would destroy their central vision of a government free of special interests and working for the people, however either of those goals is defined. This claim was wrong. Careerists still populate the Council. This has been the national experience as well. "Early observers of term limits thought altering the career incentive structure of potential legislators would produce a new breed of public servants. No evidence is found to support this speculation. The characteristics of legislators are largely unchanged as a result of term limits."⁵²

In the 2001 general election, the first at which term limits were applicable, 37 new members were elected. The remaining 14 members had first been elected to a full term at the 1997 general election or at a special election after that date. Of these 51 members, 46 submitted biographies for the Council's website. Of these 46, with some small overlap, five had previously served in the state legislature, 16 had been either congressional, state or Council legislative staff, 20 had either held party office or been elected members of school boards or community boards or had extensive community organizing experience, four had served in the administrative branch of government and seven were either the sons or daughters of elected officials. Of these 46 members, only one stated he had been the sales manager of a company, another that he had practiced podiatry and several that they had practiced law (two or three continue to do so). And all of these individuals' backgrounds included community service and other public experiences of the sort that have long been understood as grooming people for public office.

The fact that term limits disqualification did not foster the ascent of what proponents characterized as citizen legislators has also meant that those in office are not planning to return to private life. In fact, virtually all current members of the Council are planning to run for some other elected office either when their terms are up or earlier. For example, the Speaker and two other members of the Council are running for mayor. Three or four members are running for Borough President of Manhattan. And almost all of the remaining members have indicated an intention to stay in elected office. As one political consultant has observed, many elected officials began "plotting their next step up the political ladder from the day they [took] office."⁵³ This view was confirmed by a member of the Council leadership who told me that even with seven years to go members were plotting their strategies for future office. "A man's got to eat" said another leadership member.⁵⁴

The fact that term limits did not foster citizen legislators should not be surprising. It is almost embarrassingly obvious to observe that electoral politics in New York, and surely everywhere, is a self-selecting career. Few people simply leave private careers to engage in politics with an intent to return to those private careers. And, for the most part, those that do have had extremely successful private careers. One has to have the political bug to be willing to undergo the arduous task of elective politics. For example, one young candidate for a Council seat to be open at the 2005 general election has told me that she is already working almost full time at raising money and building constituencies. And this despite her having been a community activist and legislative staff member in her district for years and the existence of a public campaign financing system. These efforts are being replayed throughout the city.

⁵¹*Id.* at 39

⁵²Rick Farmer et al., *Clues from Term Limits at Two*, in *THE TEST OF TIME*, *supra* note 4, at 11.

⁵³Jonathan P. Hicks, *Three's a Crowd (but a Small One) as Term Limits Change the Local Election Front*, *N.Y. Times*, Apr. 5, 2004, at B5.

⁵⁴Steinhauer, *supra* note 50, at 39.

Short-term careerists challenge consensus-building institutions and processes of Council

An important function of a legislative body, even a unicameral municipal one, is to develop majority consensus among elected representatives over what problems require government responses and what responses are appropriate. The success of such consensus building depends upon the time taken to learn the interests and needs of others and upon compromise. For this to best occur the legislative institution must develop a collective sense of institutional mission. The broadly shared intention among Council members to seek other elected offices at the end of their tenure or, because of term limits, at the first opportunity appears to challenge the Council's consensus building processes.

Many participants and observers have commented that the new Council members seem in a rush to build their individual reputations and that deliberative consensus building has suffered. Particularly, concern has been expressed about the capacity of Council leadership to assure legislative cohesiveness. One newspaper reporter has observed that council members are "promoting their own legislation more aggressively, holding news conferences and, in a few cases, defying Mr. Miller [the Speaker]. . . ." ⁵⁵ And these activities, according to the reporter, are the result of members "looking for a new reservation: under the term limit laws passed in 1993, which restrict them, with some exceptions to roughly two terms, they lost their ability to make a life-time career in the Council, and are so are eager to make names for themselves to propel them to their next elected office." ⁵⁶ On this point, a former Speaker of the Council has stated:

Every one of them serving knows they are going to be out. Which means that there cannot be long-term planning. The speaker now has to spend more time politicking. I could bring people in and say, 'hey you, you have a future here; stop talking about small things and squabbling. You could be finance chair one day, or speaker, or chair of the Land Use Com-

mittee.' Now if you are not elected speaker [or at least chair of a substantial committee] right away, you're finished. So instead you look for ways to get your name in the paper. . . . The speaker, in order to remain speaker, has to keep mending political fences because he is also looking for city-wide office . . . ⁵⁷

While this view of term limit consequences is often repeated and broadly shared by Council members, staff, lobbyists, and observers, it is hard to isolate and measure. The fact that virtually all members are careerists but cannot build a career in the Council pulls them toward self-promotion and away from consensus building efforts. But term limits are not the only reason that it is harder to manage the Council or that the individual voices of members are heard more frequently. As noted earlier, the Council that shaped the former Speaker's observations was one he and his staff tightly controlled. And such control has been intentionally and formally relinquished.

This difficulty in measuring the impact of term limits is illustrated by the enactment of the lead paint law of 2003. ⁵⁸ Lead paint poisoning of children has long been a City concern, and earlier legislation has addressed it. The 2003 law is especially rigorous. Applying particularly to all pre-1960 buildings, the law establishes lead paint standards and imposes strict requirements for inspection, reporting, and clean-up. Most controversial are provisions that establish presumptions that lead paint hazards exist in all pre-1960 buildings. For example, some potential renovators of moderate and low-income apartments claim they will pull out of the market because of the cost of insuring against risk imposed by the presumption. ⁵⁹

According to some observers, among them the bill's opponents, this law exemplifies the

⁵⁵*Id.*

⁵⁶*Id.*

⁵⁷*Id.*

⁵⁸*Id.*

⁵⁹Alan S. Oser, *Lead-Paint Law Frustrates Plans for Low-Income Housing*, N.Y. Times, May 28, 2004, at B6.

negative incentives that term limits create for political careerists. The criticism is that the political ambition of both the Speaker and the law's chief sponsor created a dynamic reflecting the immediate political ambitions of both, resulting in a law that would have been more moderate without term limits. Particularly, the claim is that protests suggesting racism by the Speaker as a reason for his delay in supporting the legislation scared his political campaign and forced his capitulation.⁶⁰

But there are better explanations for the rigor of the law, mainly the democratization of the legislative process described above, itself indirectly the result of term limits. The chair of the relevant committee sponsored the bill, held hearings, and publicly and privately pushed for its enactment. As part of this process he worked with a coalition of groups that supported a broad regulatory law. The Speaker, by withholding his support, forced a long iterative process through which an array of views on the bill was heard and through which many changes were made. At the end of that process, a consensus had developed for a broad approach to the problem, and the law passed with the Speaker's support. Interestingly, a prior lead paint law, which had been judicially invalidated⁶¹ in 2003, had been pushed through the Council in 1999 without any meaningful opportunity for members or citizens to participate.

Concern has also been expressed about the impact of the new careerists on land use decision making. As discussed earlier, decisions over the use of land are almost always contested and the debates that surround them almost always intense. Since granted its land use decision making power in 1989, the Council has managed it well, relying on the professional staff of its land use committee and careful leadership oversight. In particular, this arrangement has fended off the efforts of individual members to determine the outcome of land use contests within their districts. Basically, members have submitted to a system in which Council standards trump the political demands of individual members. Such a system is always at risk. The heat of a land use debate can create enormous political pressure on a Council member who finds it difficult to explain that

he or she has no power to affect the outcome of a land-use decision that impacts that member's district. Term limit disqualifications have put additional pressure on this process. Several long term staff members described the problem as twofold. First, new members do not understand the institutional interests that argue against the member prerogative. Second, and worse, the new careerists have far less interest in advancing the institutional interests in their rush to position themselves for future elective office.

Finally, according to various long term legislative participants and observers, members seeking individual advancement are more likely to disregard the advice of professional staff than in the past. For example a number of council attorneys have reported that members were unwilling to follow their guidance with respect to a proposed law's potential validity. In the view of staff members and attorneys, the legislators were more interested in the short term personal gain from the laws' enactment than in the long term value of the law's enforcement.

*Special interests still retain power,
new interests emerge*

As noted earlier, the most desired consequence of electing citizen legislators was the demise of special interests. As careerists have remained in office, the hypothesis as stated cannot be tested. This is fortunate. The idea of trying to distinguish special interests from the public good in the legislative arena is far more difficult and complex, if even possible, despite rhetoric that may suggest otherwise.

A question that can be addressed is what if any effect term limits have had on interest groups. Nationally, interviews of lobbyists have indicated that interest groups have gained influence, apparently due to the inexperience

⁶⁰*Id.* From my perspective, any claim of racism on the part of the Speaker was untrue.

⁶¹*New York City Coalition to End Lead Poisoning, Inc. v. Vallone*, 794 N.E.2d 672 (2003).

of the newly elected.⁶² While it might be expected that the New York City experience would be similar, it is hard to take that measure except to report the consensus views of a number of long time observers, including lobbyists. One thing that is clear is that the amount of money spent on compensation for lobbyists certainly increased. In 2003 over \$24 million was spent on fees for lobbyists, nearly double the amount paid in 1999.⁶³ According to one lobbyist this increase reflects three factors, two of which are a direct result of term limits. The first is that there has been a general increase in lobbying fees in New York City. But more significantly, this increase in spending reflects the fact that the decentralization of power in the Council means more members play a significant role in decision making and that most members are unknown or not as well known by the various interest groups. This view of the increase is generally shared by many participants and observers. Additionally, some observers credit a more active Council with this increase. According to one, such activism is a direct result of the new careerists. What impact this additional spending has had on the legislative process is unclear.

A potentially powerful consequence of term limits is the increase in power of traditionally marginalized interest groups at the expense of some traditionally ensconced ones. Two laws enacted over the last couple of years illustrate this possibility. In 2002, the Council enacted a predatory lending bill that penalizes lenders, defined broadly, for making predatory loans. The impression of many observers was that such legislation would not have passed a pre-term limit Council because of the influence of the banking lobby. This same point is made about the lead paint bill discussed earlier. In earlier councils, this bill would not have survived the lobbying of the real estate industry. Whether this is accurate or not, it is clear that coalitions of interest groups using visible grassroots lobbying methods affected the substance of both of these laws. The susceptibility of Council members to such lobbying could be attributable to any of the impacts of term limits discussed above or below. I should make clear that I am only reporting on the emergence of

these new interest groups and not evaluating their policy views.

New careerists, little experience

A central argument of term limit opponents was that the cumulative inexperience of new Council members would result in greater empowerment of the government's bureaucracy, lobbyists, and other political interests. Certainly the inexperience of the new members of the Council required them to seek guidance on all aspects of the legislative process and on the substance of pending legislation and the budget. But the question of whom they relied on for this information is somewhat unclear. Also, to the extent that reliance on a particular informational source is identifiable, the question of whether such reliance is a product of inexperience or a product of a desire for maintaining an elective career, as discussed above, is difficult to measure. This point is illustrated by the enactment process that resulted in the 2002 changes in the City's extensive campaign finance law. The legislation proposed by the Campaign Finance Board was complex and required both historical and substantive context to be understood fully. While most new members knew something about the system as participants, few had any deeper or broader appreciation. This was evidenced in the various briefing sessions held for members and by the questions of individual members. The questions of members also indicated the concerns of election lawyers and interest groups who were active in city electioneering.

The budget process provides another arena in which to measure the impact of the cumulative inexperience of members. In New York City, the Speaker has historically dominated the legislative side of the budget process. Con-

⁶²Joel Thompson and Gary Moncrief, *Lobbying Under Limits: Interest Group Perspectives on the Effects of Term Limits in State Legislatures* in *THE TEST OF TIME*, *supra* note 4, at 211.

⁶³Office of the City Clerk, City of New York, *Lobbyist Annual Report*, 2003.

sensus is generally reached through numerous meetings with legislative groups, such as borough delegations, and through numerous meetings with individual legislators. The finance committee plays a significantly lesser role than its name would suggest, although its chair has often exercised some significant power. During the 2002 process, it was reasonably clear to observers that reliance on the Speaker for most decisions was greater than in the past, thus providing an exception to the Speaker's more general loss of power. Few members had sufficient information or experience to push back against the Speaker's views. This, of course, reduced the representative value of the members. Nor was the new chair able to provide a counter force to the Speaker's agenda. The Speaker himself, while new to leadership, was an experienced legislator. Without this experience it seems evident to most observers that the Council's professional budget staff would have dominated the process.

More competition, new people, fresh ideas?

One of the often repeated claims for term limits was that they would enhance competition for elected office and would produce "new people and fresh ideas in government."⁶⁴ Certainly term limits have increased the competition for public office and produced new people. In 1997, according to the City's Campaign Finance Board, there were at least 138 candidates and in 2001 at least 301. As noted earlier, candidates with a public background were almost always selected. Whether their opponents had similar experience is unknown. It would take extensive further research to measure the actual competition. Whether the new people elected have produced fresh ideas is open to both definition and question. What seems true is that, over the last two years, legislation that would otherwise have been killed or greatly restrained has passed the Council. And more such legislation is on its way. In all, the new careerists have, according to many, increased the energy of the Council, but the value of such enhanced energy is undetermined.

A BROADER LOOK AT THE IMPACT OF TERM LIMITS

In 1989 the citizens of New York City adopted a new charter.⁶⁵ Central to the governmental structure envisioned by the charter was a stronger and more representative Council. A stronger council meant a council entirely responsible for the framing or detailing of policy and a Council that would be able, as an institution, to assert that policy against a very strong mayoralty. Stronger also meant a council that could fulfill its oversight and investigatory functions. More representative meant more opportunities for the representation of the city's multiple minority groups and more opportunities within the Council for those voices to be heard.

To strengthen the Council, the Commission voted to abolish the City's Board of Estimate, an eight member body comprised of the city's three city-wide elected officials and five borough presidents. The Board while not charged with legislative power except for the budget, still had long overshadowed the Council and in fact controlled most of its efforts through the power then wielded by the Borough Presidents. The new charter also allowed the Council to establish its own operational budget.

To provide the opportunity for broader representation the Council was enlarged, reducing the size of each district. This change produced the desired effect immediately. The percentage of minorities in the Council after the 1991 election jumped from 28% to 41%. The number of women also increased from 28% to 31%. But beyond that, the commission went little further than the changes referred to above. Although the commission was aware that the significance of this new representation might be greater in a more decentralized Council, and that many of its civic allies thought it was putting too much power into the hands of too few people, its concern was that a new Council without strong leadership might in the

⁶⁴Press release, *supra* note 38.

⁶⁵See generally Schwarz and Lane, *supra* note 2.

Madisonian sense submit to the passion of factions, particularly in its first years of strengthened powers. This concern became particularly acute after the commission had rejected a bicameral legislature as too inefficient and unrepresentative. As one member of the commission stated about the final balance, "it should enhance the ability of the Council to get the public confidence in its new expanded role."⁶⁶

Term limits have changed this balance. Because of the decentralization of power representatives and those interested in legislation have a larger role to play in the process and more access to it. The question that remains is whether in a unicameral legislature with an ethos of activism, these changes have built too much pressure for rash action.

CONCLUSION

As anticipated, term limits have not generated a legislature free of either special interests or self-interests. In fact, such interests may well be playing a larger role in the lawmaking pro-

cess than before. Term limits, on the other hand, have brought some unanticipated changes to the lawmaking process, particularly the decentralization of power compelled by the election contest for Speaker. This shift in power has made the Council more representative and more accessible. What remains problematic, and as yet unanswered, is whether, in conjunction with the ambitions of the new careerists, this decentralization will undermine the Council's extremely important legislative function of grounding law in more than factional pressure.

Address correspondence to:

Eric Lane
Hofstra University School of Law
121 Hofstra University
Hempstead, NY 11549-1210

E-mail: lawezl@Mail1.Hofstra.edu

⁶⁶New York City Charter Revision Commission, Public Meeting, June 22, 1989, at 93-94.

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-08

Name: SIMON L. BELSKY
Address: 229 E. 24th ST. BROOKLYN, NY 11229
I represent: THE PEOPLE OF NYC
Address: 229 E. 24th ST. BROOKLYN, NY 11229

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Arthur Chelofus
Address: 6 Harrison St NY, NY.
I represent: CWA Local 1180
Address: 6 Harrison St. NY, NY.

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-08

Name: HAL WACKER
Address: 27 Wash Sq NYC

I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

3:32 PM

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-08

Name: Sandra Jarmuth (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 221 E. 70 St NY 10021

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

3:20

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 16

Name: Ann Noonan (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 3660 Oxford Ave - 8F

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: BRAD LANDER (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 256 13th Street, Brooklyn NY 11215

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Sheryl D. Roberts (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 2811 Mermaid Avenue 2nd Fl

I represent: BKlyn NY 11224

Address: South Brooklyn Youth Coosrvn

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

3.25
**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-2008

Name: LILA SINGH (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Roxanne Delgado (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 1108 Esplanade St

I represent: Self

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Caron Atlas (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 88 Prospect Park West 3D

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-08

Name: JIM FOUCHATT (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 227 WAINWRIGHT PL

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Victor Rosario

Address: P.O. Box 309 Bklyn NY 11221

I represent: Vets. D-116

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A ^{w/ Amendments} Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/15/2008

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: George Espinal

Address: 73 Payson Avenue NY NY 10036

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: HELOISE GRUNBERG

Address: 167 Bergen St, Brooklyn NY

I represent: Brooklyn House #11

Address: 167 Bergen Street

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: RONNIE COLANGELO

Address: 1810 SEMINOLE AVE

I represent: TH

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845-A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Terrence Yang (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 1735 York Ave. NY, NY 10128

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845-A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Jeff Kurzon (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 431 Broome St. #4 NY, NY 10013

I represent: myself and other good citizens

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 893 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Jeff Strabone (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 202 Baltic St, Bklyn

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: ANN Einsidler (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 1909 Quentin Rd Bklyn NY 11229

I represent: Mayor Bloomberg

Address: City Hall

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

66

12-27

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: GENE RUSSLANDO

Address: _____

I represent: NYPIRG

Address: 9 Murray Street NY, NY 10007

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

15:50

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Det Michael Palladino

Address: _____

I represent: Detectives Endowment Assoc.

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

11:03

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Rafael Martinez

Address: 3985 Gouverneur Blvd

I represent: ME

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

11:50a

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: ERIK JACOBS

Address: 400 CPW NY NY 10025

I represent: all fair-minded citizens

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

4:40

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: YDANIS RODRIGUEZ

Address: 18 JACOBUS PL #42

I represent: ^{IMM} CANDIDATE FOR DISTRICT 10

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-2008

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Andrie Remon Solel, Esq.

Address: ~~241~~ 26 Court Street, #1503, Brooklyn, NY 11202

I represent: Politically Correct

Address: -same-

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16 12:24

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: CHRIS KEELEY

Address: _____

I represent: COMMON CAUSE NY

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Hon. Mark Green

Address: 641 6 Ave NYC 10011

I represent: Self

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

AB Pre considered Date: 10/16

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: Earl Snyder

Address: 598 FIFTH ST

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK 12.39**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

of extending Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: SUSAN STETZER

Address: 141 E 35 ST

I represent: SELF

Address: 141 E

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 844 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: VICTOR KONNER

Address: _____

I represent: SELF

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: Rebecca Major

Address: 30 Greenwich Ave # 3D

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

450

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Emily RESPASS (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

12:16 pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 840A-25 Res. No. 1640

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/07

Name: CAROL MACHULSKI (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 50-56 96 St

I represent: myself

Address: 3 above

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

1152

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Joseph G. GARDEN (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 121 WILSON ST APT 4E

I represent: CIVIC ACTIVIST & DIRECTOR CIVIL SERVICE

Address: 220 E. 23rd St

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

12:45

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Mr Marshall MORTON SR. (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 6666 Avenue Du. Bt. NY. 10467

I represent: Cor. 21st St. Bk.

Address: 1281 Furdy Av. Bk. NY. 10456

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Daniel C Fitzpatrick

Address: 833 Van Duzer St. Apt. 2A
SFNY 10304

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK 4:50**

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Barbara Larkin

Address: 257 B. 136 St.

I represent: Bell Harbor N.Y. 11694

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

4:50 PM
10/16/08

10/16/08

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: OCT 16, 2008

Name: MARCIA KAUFMAN

Address: Zip 10010

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

4:50

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: PAOLA de Kock

Address: 895 Union St., Brooklyn

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: BEN HABER

Address: 138-25-28 DLIVE

I represent: MYSELF

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition against term limits change!

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Dave Keiper

Address: 25226 60th Ave Little Neck, NY

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. 845A

Against term limits change in favor in opposition term limits

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Steven Beard

Address: 46-18 30th Ave Apt 42R Astoria NY 11103

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845a Res. No. 845

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Iris Claire Blatnick

Address: 504 Grand St NYC

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK** S-22p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Jessica Murray

Address: 17 E 3rd St

I represent: MYSELF

Address: 309 47th St Bklyn NY 11218

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK** S-24p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Joe Lieberman

Address: 27 Getzill Berger 101

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

TERM LIMITS Date: 10-16-08
STAYING AS VOTED

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: ANNETTE KEEHNER

Address: 2040 E. 67 ST. BKLYN 11234

I represent: MYSELF

Address: SAME

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

~~in favor~~ in opposition

of term limits Date: _____
extension

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Alison Keehner

Address: 2040 E. 67 St, Brooklyn NY

I represent: Myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Pro
5:17pm

Appearance Card



I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 16, 2005

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Rev G. Williams Mufson

Address: _____

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Pro
5:17pm

Appearance Card



I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 16, 2005

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: James Caldwell

Address: _____

I represent: myself

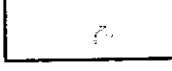
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Pro
5:17pm

Appearance Card



I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 16, 2005

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Maria Louie

Address: _____

I represent: myself

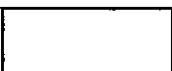
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Pro
5:21pm

Appearance Card



I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Nadine G. Reis, Jessica Murray

Address: PS 1

I represent: ourselves

Address: 309 47th St Brooklyn NY

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms 11220

12:40
op

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: RAJIV GOWDA

Address: 346 VANNAME AVENUE

I represent: Myself Staten Island, NY 10303

Address: 346 VANNAME AVE, ST 10303

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: James Vogel

Address: 568 Pacific Street LI

I represent: Myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Michael D.D. White

Address: 62 Montague St. Bklyn 11201

I represent: Noticing New York

Address: 62 Montague St Bklyn, NY 11201

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

3:34
**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: OCTOBER 16, 2008

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: DANIEL GOLDSTEIN

Address: 636 PACIFIC ST. BROOKLYN, NY 11217

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

12:26pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 18, 2008

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: MARIP LOU

Address: _____

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PKO
4:25pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. A
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Justin Yu

Address: _____

I represent: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

12:40pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Allan Bortnick

Address: 719 Shore Rd

I represent: BROOKLYN NY 11209

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

12:46pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: FAITH STEINBERG

Address: 153 W. 74th St.

I represent: _____

Address: 153 W 74th St. 1B NYC

ANTI-MAYOR BLOOMBERG 3rd TERM
Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PRO
4:26 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Audrey Smaltz (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PRO
4:26 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Amy Chin (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:21 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: PAUL SARYIAN (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 446 BEMENT AVE.

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

56

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/14/08

Name: Dolores Quintero (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 2075 3rd Ave 6B NYC 10029

I represent: CVH Voters

Address: 115 E 106 St NYC 10029

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK 6:53 p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Joseph Gravagna
Address: 160-31 94th Ave
I represent: My self
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL PRO
THE CITY OF NEW YORK 4:25 p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Ben O'Sickey
Address: 646-529-9484
I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL PRO
THE CITY OF NEW YORK 4:26 p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Ariel Weinstock
Address: 27 Monroe Pl Brooklyn 11201
I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL PRO
THE CITY OF NEW YORK 4:26 p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Jennifer Pinto
Address: 933 Grant Ave 11208
I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PRO
5:10P

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Courtney Walsh

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PRO
5:10P

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Nancy Alecci

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

6:42P

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Joseph Perello

Address: 371 W 117th St. NY, NY

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

6:46P

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Andrew Stengel

Address: 100 Jay St. 27E Brooklyn NY

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:00p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Lee Alman
Address: _____
I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:10p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Jennifer Silver
Address: _____
I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:10p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Joanna West
Address: _____
I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:10p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Maura Greeney
Address: _____
I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:09 p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Ken Kuscatany

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:10 p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Jillian Weinstein

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:10 p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Caroline Parrone

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:10 p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Joey Klingler

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PKO
S:09P

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Tyrone Jones (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

▶ Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms ◀

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PKO
S:09P

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Rod Bendel (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

▶ Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms ◀

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PKO
S:09P

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Robert Callahan (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

▶ Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms ◀

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PKO
S:09P

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: John McDonald (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

▶ Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms ◀

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRD
5:09 p

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Jessie Brennan

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRD
5:09 p

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Paul Satterfield

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRD
5:09 p

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Dione Vega

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRD
5:09 p

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Donald Clayton

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:08p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Frank Johnson (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:08p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Mike Johnson (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:08p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Charlene Fletcher (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
5:08p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Carol Galan (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

5:06 pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: CHERYL KRAUSS

Address: 449 12 ST, BROOKLYN, NY

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

PKD
5:06 pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Keith ~~Allen~~ Allen

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

5:06 pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Betsy Comblie

Address: 315 E. 65 ST

I represent: Parent advocates

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

PKD
5:07 pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Nazerine Griffin

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
S:05p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Alex Sinclair

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
S:06p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: christopher white

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
S:05p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Luis Velazquez

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
S:06p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Michele Nieves

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
S:103P

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Leon Dickenson

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
S:03P

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Harriet McDonald

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
S:03P

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: David Williams

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

PRO
S:04P

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Patricia Zimmerman

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

PRO
S:03
THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Juan Daniels

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

PRO
S:03
THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Orisha Jordan

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

PRO
S:03
THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Carmen Estrella

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

PRO
S:03
THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 849 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Donato Dejesus

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:59 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: MONIQUE GREENE (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 198 CROWN STREET

I represent: PS 221

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

5:01 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Stae Kramel (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 20 West 111th 2A

I represent: Consultants in N.Y.C.

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PHD
5:01 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: mark seymour (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PHD
5:01 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Craig Trotta (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:56 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: SWARAN JIT SINGH

Address: 83-47-247th St - Bellerose NY 11418

I represent: Dist 23

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:57 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10-17-08

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: Virginia Hill

Address: 235 E 22nd St - 6N New York, NY 10010

I represent: myself (citizen)

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:58 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: Katrina Fole

Address: 894 Hancock Street Apt. 215 Brooklyn, NY 11233

I represent: Children that I educate in NYC

Address: PS 398K 60 East 94th St Bklyn NY

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:58 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: MARIA PAGANO

Address: 436 SACKETT

I represent: I AM OPPOSED TO TERM

Address: LIMITS BY FIAT.

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

PRO
4:51 pm
**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. A

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: George Delis

Address: _____

I represent: Queens Community Board 1

Address: _____

▶ Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms ◀

PRO
4:51 pm
**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. A

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: James Wong

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

▶ Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms ◀

PRO
4:51 pm
**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. A

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Dr. Perla Tate

Address: _____

I represent: Far Rockaway Community Health Center

Address: _____

▶ Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms ◀

PRO
4:52 pm
**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 85A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Mohammed Razvi

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

▶ Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms ◀

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition *Felder*

Date: *Oct. 16, 2008*

Name: *Kathleen M. Casey* (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: *337 W. 21st St (Apt. B) NY 10011*

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK** *4:49 pm*

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: *DAVID LONGSHORE* (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: *321 W. 108th St 5B*

I represent: *Maya Blumberg*

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK** *4:51 pm*

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: *MARCY BENSTOCK* (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: *CLEAN AIR CAMPAIGN*

Address: *307 7th Ave, NYC 10001*

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK** *PRO 4:51 pm*

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. *845* Res. No. *A*

in favor in opposition

Date: *10/16/08*

Name: *Manuel Lebron* (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: *Latino Business Owners Association*

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

1:48 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Term Lim. + SBills

Date: 10-16-08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Dick Dadey

Address: 899 Broadway, 7th Floor

I represent: Citizens Union / Citizens Union Foundation

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08 2:55 PM

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Anthony Weiner

Address: Asch Ave

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

3:05 pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 8454 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: J Anne Simon

Address: 393 Pacific St, Bklyn

I represent: NYS Committee woman, 52 A.D

Address: Same

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 16 Oct 2008

(INT)

Name: TRINA SEMORILE
445 WEST 46 STREET, APT. 1E
NEW YORK, NY 10036-3535

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

120

Appearance Card

5:30pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 120 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: George Williams

Address: 272 E 64 St

I represent: The No Fund

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

5:32pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: AMANDA MORETI

Address: 140 PERRY ST

I represent: Myself

Address: 140 PERRY ST NYC 10014

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

5:30p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: OCT-16-2008

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Efrain Gonzalez FH

Address: 2578 MACLAY AVE

I represent: Myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 14 5:48pm

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Ann Noonan

Address: 3660 Oxford Avenue - 86 Brown NY

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

5:57 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: MORGAN PEHLE

Address: 45 SUTTON ST. # 2R BROOKLYN, NY 11222

I represent: OPPOSING TERM LIMIT EXTENSION

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

5:40 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: KELLI CONLIN

Address: 470 PARK AVE SOUTH 7 FLOOR

I represent: NARAL PRO-CHOICE NEW YORK

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

5:55 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Term limits Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: LISA PELAEZ

Address: 65-60 BROAD ST Rego Park NY 11374

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: MARY AKOOTIAN

Address: 64-86 WETHEROLE ST

I represent: MYSELF

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

6:04p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

pronounced LOVE-EE-CHE
 in favor in opposition

Date: Oct. 16, 2008

Name: FRANK LOVECE (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 61 W. 106 St. #60

I represent: MYSELF

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

6:01p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: SUNITI CAPLAN (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 202 E 17 St 3d NY 10003

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

6:01p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: Oct. 16, 2008

Name: Schellie Hagan (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 60 Downing St.

I represent: Myself + Tish James

Address: 35th CD

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

5:50p

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: HARBACHAN SINGH (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 193-12 FOOTHILL AVE, HOLLIS,

I represent: NY. 11423.

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

66
1:08 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition
of Felder bill
Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: Edward C. Wallace - Former Councilman

Address: 200 Park Avenue

I represent: Self

Address: 200 Park Avenue

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

67

Appearance Card

12:27

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition
Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: KENNETH D. COHEN

Address: 39 Bdwy

I represent: NAACP NYS CONFERENCE

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

11:40

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition
of TEAM UNITS!
Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: Rachel Trachtenburg

Address: 865 HARVARD ST

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

11:56 am

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition
Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)
Name: Dolores L. D'Agostino

Address: 355 South End Ave. NY, NY 10280

I represent: myself as an American citizen

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

11:30
C.C.

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Referenced Res. No. Referenced
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10.10.08

Name: Howard Ch. Youniss
(PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 337 West 10th St

I represent: Self

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Richard Emery
(PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

11:51 AM
GG

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: HENRY STERN
(PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 510 E 84 ST

I represent: New York Civic

Address: 450 Park Avenue South

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/15

Name: Dan Cantor
(PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

6.58

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 6em10n1ts Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Craig Trotta

Address: 461-19 89th St. Queens, NY

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

7:00 P.M.

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Permit Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: MARK SEYMOUR

Address: 658 Crescent St

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

7:00 P.M.

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Permit Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: MARK SEYMOUR

Address: 658 Crescent St

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

3.36

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Dolores Lozupone

Address: 8701 Shore Road

I represent: Myself / teacher

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

6:08 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: RABBI GENSIN TANNENBAUM

Address: 927 51st St. Brooklyn NY 11219

I represent: PUBLIC

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

6:18 pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Andre Calvert

Address: 275 Clinton Ave Apt. 4-3

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

7:01 pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Term Limits Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: John C. Whitehead

Address: 903 Drew St. BKlyn

I represent: BLACK MEN WHO CARE CB6

Address: SAME AS ABOVE

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

6:45

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Term Lim Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: October 16, 2008

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Dr. Paul Michael KAZAR

Address: 87-28 97th Street

I represent: President, Knights of Edithumna

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

KKD

6:17 p

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Rabbi Tannenbaum (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

7:04

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. TERM LIMIT EXTENSION Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: OCTOBER 16 2008

Name: CHRISTABEL GOUGH (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 45 CHRISTOPHER ST 2E NY NY 10014

I represent: SELF

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

6:11 p

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16

Name: DANNY SHAPIRO (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 235 E. 95th St, Apt 5J NY, NY 10128

I represent: Myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

6:10 p

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. REAL TERM LIMITS Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 16, 2008

Name: GEORGE ROSQUIST (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 54 HARBOR RD

I represent: FREEDOM NOW

Address: SAME AS ABOVE

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

11:51 AM
GG

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-08

Name: BO SAMAJPOULOS (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 128 16th ST.

I represent: CONCERNED CITIZENS OF SOUTH BRONX

Address: P.O. BOX 764 CS 10008

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: RICHARD LAURIE (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 2350 OCEAN AVE.

I represent: BROOKLYN 14-9-11229

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

12:16 PM

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10-16-08

Name: Agnes Rivera (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 2370 2nd Ave

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

7:15

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 16 Oct. 2008

Name: PATTI HAGAN (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 117 ST. MARKS AVENUE, Brooklyn NY 11217

I represent: PROSPECT HEIGHTS ACTION COALITION

Address: SAME BROOKLYN

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

12:04

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Queen Mother DR. DELOIS BLAKELY

Address: 477 W. 142nd St

I represent: Community Mayor of HARLEM

Address: HARLEM USA

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

12:04

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Lynne Serpe

Address: 31-10 35th St #1R

I represent: Green Party / opposed to

Address: expanding limits by Council resolution

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

12:15pm

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 16 Oct 12:15pm

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: YENA G. KURLAND

Address: 161 W 16th St, Apt 5C, NY NY 10011

I represent: self

Address: same

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

12:03

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: BOB FRIEDRICH

Address: 70-07 26th St. GLEN OAKS NY 11004

I represent: MYSELF

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

8:00PM

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: Oct. 16, 2008

Name: Helene Cohen (PLEASE PRINT)
Address: _____
I represent: _____
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

7:21

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: _____

Name: DAVID M. DJINDANA (PLEASE PRINT)
Address: 9318 103rd Ave OZPK
I represent: Myself
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

L

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: _____

Name: JEAN RIZÉ (PLEASE PRINT)
Address: 2427 MORRIS
I represent: PIZZA FOR THE HOMELESS
Address: SAME AS ABOVE
AGAINST EX. OF TERORIS

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

12-10

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition
Date: _____

Name: Richard Taylor (PLEASE PRINT)
Address: 214 Van Buren ST
I represent: Richard Taylor
Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

7:57

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Term Limit Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Bolaji (PLEASE PRINT) GIW9

Address: 2955 W 29 St Term-Limit

I represent: Service for Progress Int.

Address: 2955 W 29 St NYC Bklyn NY 11224

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

7:54

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Term Limit Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

I am Af AUST

Date: _____

Name: THOMAS Breen (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 12 DOWSON PLACE Apt 504

I represent: Myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

7:57

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. TERM LIMIT Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: GEORGE JOTIAOFF (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 701 WAKTON AVE. #69

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

7:26 PM

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. Term Limit Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: KEITH ALLEN (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 293 Stockholm St

I represent: SELF

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

12:10 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Richard Steiger

Address: 442 E. 20 Street NY 10009

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

12:24 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: All-considered

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Wm. Donald Clay

Address: 163-37 130 Ave. Jamaica NY 11434

I represent: December 12th Movement

Address: 456 Nostrand Ave Bklyn NY

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

12:21

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: JAMES McMillan

Address: 1996 Nostrand Av

I represent: Bklyn NY 11214

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

12:26 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: Oct 16, 2008

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: James Caldwell

Address: _____

I represent: PAJ SEF

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Dairen Ann McMichaels (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 434 Thieriot Ave 2fl. Bx N.Y. 10473

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Philippe EDOUARD DRICE (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 89-109 162 Street LIK

I represent: NYCHA Shelter Home

Address: 89-09 162 St

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: JOHN ROZANKOWSKI (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 2960 Grand Concourse, 2H Bx 10458-1905

I represent: The Roney Friends of Pic Park

Address: 2751 Grand Concourse

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: MARIA PASSANANTE-DERR (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 15 West 11th St NYC 10014

I represent: myself

Address: _____ 12:13pm

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

1:16 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845-A Res. No. 1

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/2008

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: JOHN W BURAS

Address: 29 WEBSTER PLACE BROOKLYN NY

I represent: myself

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PRO
4:27 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845 A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Irfan Syed

Address: _____

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

3:27 pm
3:20 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: CHARLES SEIDEMAN

Address: 3821 AVENUE T

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:20 pm

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845-A Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Alan Weissman

Address: 225 Broadway New York, NY 10007

I represent: Kings County Independence Party

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:20 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 848-A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Robert Conroy (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 323 Putnam Ave

I represent: Independence Party

Address: ?

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

4:20 pm

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. 845-A Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 10/16/08

Name: Esteli Pardo (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 413 Grand St F705

I represent: The NY Independence Party

Address: 225 Broadway, Suite 2010 10007

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

3:36

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Joseph de Dominis (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 457 Park Dr

I represent: Self

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms

THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Appearance Card

3:40

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Gary Canns (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 145 E 23 St, 5D

I represent: _____

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms