

CITY COUNCIL  
CITY OF NEW YORK

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE MINUTES

Of the

COMMITTEE ON HEALTH

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December 6, 2018  
Start: 1:15 p.m.  
Recess: 5:42 p.m.

HELD AT: Council Chambers - City Hall

B E F O R E: Mark Levine  
Chairperson

COUNCIL MEMBERS: Keith Powers  
Mathieu Eugene  
Alicka Ampry-Samuels  
Inez Barron

## A P P E A R A N C E S (CONTINUED)

Richard N. Gottfried  
New York State Assembly

Alessandra Biaggi  
New York State Senator-Elect

Dr. Mary Bassett  
Former New York City Health Commissioner

David Rich  
Greater New York Hospital Association

Judy Sheridan-Gonzalez, RN  
President  
New York State Nurses Association

Marva Wade, RN  
New York State Nurses Association

Jim Bracchitta  
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Screen Actors Guild Pension and Health  
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Commission on Public Health System

Henry Moss  
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Dr. Malily

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Jews for Racial and Economic Justice  
New York Caring Majority Coalition

Kayla Lawrence  
National Domestic Workers Alliance  
New York Caring Majority  
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Dr. Mark Levitus

Olanikay Oyayema  
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National Association of Social Workers

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Max Hadler  
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Carlyn Cowen  
Chinese American Planning Council

Rachel Eicher  
Arab American Family Support Center

Tasvir Akman  
Policy Coordinator  
Coalition for Asian American Children and  
Families

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Jeff Michaelson

Dana Offenbach

Uling Koshu

Jane Willis

Joshua Salverman

Austin Horace  
New York Bike Messenger Association

Barbara Estrin

Joseph Pedoriano

Alana Lancaster

Allen Bonneville

Rachel Bernstein

Dr. Sharon Khan

Naomi Zodoy

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Jean Fox

Monya Cue

Executive Vice President

Academy of Medical and Public Health

Services



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2 [sound check] Test, test, test. Today is  
3 the Committee on Health. Today's date is December 6,  
4 2018. This is recorded by Sakeem Bradley. [pause]

5 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Good afternoon,  
6 everyone, and welcome to the New York City Council's  
7 Committee on Health. I'm Mark Levine, chair of the  
8 committee. Welcome to what I hope and expect will be  
9 a momentous hearing on a critical topic. I am  
10 pleased that we are joined by fellow health committee  
11 member, Dr. Mathieu Eugene, council member from  
12 Brooklyn, and others will be joining us on this very  
13 busy day. Today the health committee will hear  
14 Resolution 470, sponsored by Speaker Corey Johnson  
15 and no fewer than 30 of our colleagues in the City  
16 Council, including myself. This resolution calls on  
17 the state to pass the New York Health Act and we'll  
18 be hearing shortly from the prime sponsor of this act  
19 in the assembly, the great Dick Gottfried, who has  
20 been nothing short of heroic in his leadership of a  
21 decades-long push to pass universal health care in  
22 New York, and I'm also pleased that we'll be joined  
23 by other stalwart allies in this fight, representing  
24 the State Senate and the State Assembly, and of  
25 course we'll have a wide range of advocates from



1  
2 across the spectrum who are deeply engaged on this  
3 issue offering testimony today. The United States  
4 enjoys the largest economy on earth. By many  
5 measures, we are the richest society in human  
6 history. And so it's inexplicable and unconscionable  
7 that in this society there are tens of millions of  
8 people who lack the basic human right of affordable,  
9 accessible, quality health care. It's not that we  
10 don't spend on health care. We spend more, far more  
11 per capita than most other developed nations on  
12 earth. And it's not that we're getting more health  
13 care for all this spending. It's that we are paying  
14 an extraordinarily high cost for the health care we  
15 do get. And this care is consistently yielding  
16 health outcomes which are inferior to those of other  
17 developed nations. Fortunately there is an  
18 alternative to our current inefficient, overpriced,  
19 and unequal system. We have a chance to ensure that  
20 all people have health insurance, regardless of age,  
21 employment, immigration status, or financial means.  
22 We have a chance to ensure that never again will  
23 anyone face bankruptcy because their private  
24 insurance company failed to cover a critical process.  
25 We have a chance to eliminate vast inefficiencies

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2 inherent in our current fractured system of private,  
3 for-profit insurance. We have a chance to create  
4 single-payer health care. Yes, such a plan would  
5 ideally be implemented at the national level through  
6 a Medicare for all program. But for now control of  
7 the White House and Senate lay in the hands of  
8 leaders who are hostile to even modest steps towards  
9 universal coverage and this has ensured that  
10 meaningful reform remains, continues to face  
11 exceedingly long odds in Washington and will for the  
12 foreseeable future. But New York need not and must  
13 not stand still in the face of an action at the  
14 national level. We must act now in our state using  
15 our own authority, using our own resources, to  
16 provide comprehensive universal health coverage for  
17 every New Yorker. And that is exactly what the New  
18 York Health Act will do. Under this legislation all  
19 New Yorkers would automatically have their health  
20 care covered by a public statewide fund without  
21 deductibles, co-pays, or other out-of-pocket costs.  
22 The plan would provide comprehensive inpatient and  
23 outpatient care, primary and preventative care,  
24 prescription drugs, and other benefits. The plan  
25 would be financed through existing federal and state

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2 funding, as well as progressive graduated state  
3 taxes. According to a Rand Corporation study  
4 examining the potential costs of the plan under  
5 different tax regimens, while the highest-earning New  
6 Yorkers might pay more for healthcare under the plan,  
7 most New Yorkers would pay less. This is not some  
8 untested, experimental concept. It is similar to  
9 Medicare or the Canadian system, but with important  
10 improvements to these already-successful programs.  
11 The bottom line is that we have an opportunity here  
12 in New York to act decisively to improve the lives of  
13 millions, both the insured and uninsured alike.  
14 Today's hearing will explore in further detail the  
15 rationale for such a plan and will not shy away from  
16 confronting meaty questions about costs and  
17 implementation, and we will pay particular heed to  
18 the need of workers who have fought hard to negotiate  
19 their current health benefits and should not be the  
20 ones to bear the burden of any transition. The  
21 exciting truth is that thanks to the work of so many  
22 of you here today New York is closer than ever to  
23 winning universal, guaranteed health care for every  
24 person in this state, and we hope that this hearing  
25 and the resolution we are considering will move us

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2 closer to that critical goal. And now to lead us  
3 off, I want to call up a man who is nothing less than  
4 a prophet of universal health care and someone who we  
5 all agreed earlier today was fighting for this issue  
6 long before it was cool, and you are now cool again,  
7 Assemblyman Dick Gottfried. Please join us.  
8 [applause, cheers] Now folks, we're going to allow  
9 loud applause just that one time because it was for  
10 Dick Gottfried, and generally you can express your  
11 approval through our City Council way of waving, but  
12 again if there's anyone who deserved an infraction it  
13 is Assembly Member Dick Gottfried, and I'm going to  
14 ask you to take it away, sir.

15           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Well, thank you.  
16 You know, I've read a little of the Bible and I know  
17 what usually happens to prophets [laughter], so let's  
18 find a different...anyway, and we're for health care  
19 without a prophet, anyway, so I'm Assembly Member  
20 Richard Gottfried. I chair the Assembly Health  
21 Committee and I am the introducer, along with State  
22 Senator Gustavo Rivera of the New York Health Act, to  
23 create single-payer health coverage for every New  
24 Yorker. I appreciate the council Health Committee  
25 holding this hearing on Speaker Corey Johnson's

1  
2 resolution endorsing the bill, and I support the  
3 resolution. In both houses of the state legislature  
4 we now have solid majorities who have co-sponsored,  
5 voted for, or campaigned supporting the New York  
6 Health Act, and in districts all across the state the  
7 New York Health Act was a front-burner issue for  
8 voters in cities, suburbs, rural areas, all across  
9 the state. Governor Cuomo supports single-payer  
10 health coverage, although he says he has questions  
11 about whether it can be done at the state level, and  
12 we're working on persuading him. But every New  
13 Yorker should have access to the health care they  
14 need without financial obstacles or hardship. No one  
15 says they disagree with that and the New York Health  
16 Act is the only proposal that can achieve that goal.  
17 In New York State we spend 300 billion dollars,  
18 federal, state, and nongovernmental, on health  
19 coverage. Nationally we spend far more than any  
20 industrial democracy as a percentage of GDP. But 18  
21 cents of the insurance premium dollar goes for  
22 insurance company bureaucracy and profit. Our  
23 doctors and hospitals spend twice what Canadian  
24 doctors and hospitals do on administrative costs  
25 because they have to fight with insurance companies.

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2 We pay exorbitant prescription drug prices because no  
3 one has the bargaining leverage to negotiate  
4 effectively with drug companies. Just about every  
5 New Yorker, patients, employees, employers, and  
6 taxpayers, is burdened by a combination of rising  
7 premiums, sky-rocketing deductibles, co-pays,  
8 restrictive provider networks, out-of-network  
9 charges, coverage gaps, and unjustified denials of  
10 coverage. I know I am, and I bet everyone in this  
11 room is. And those financial burdens are not based  
12 on ability to pay. The premiums, the deductibles,  
13 the insurance company doesn't care if you're a  
14 multimillionaire, CEO, or a receptionist. In a given  
15 year, a third of households with insurance has  
16 someone go without needed health care because they  
17 can't afford it, and usually for a serious condition.  
18 The number one cause of personal bankruptcy is health  
19 care, even for those who have commercial health  
20 coverage. We've put control of our health care in  
21 the hands of unaccountable insurance company  
22 bureaucrats. Nobody wants insurance company  
23 bureaucrats deciding what doctor you or your family  
24 can see and when. The health insurance system means  
25 massive cost increases for most everyone and better

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2 health care for hardly anyone. It's a disaster. But  
3 it doesn't have to be that way. The New York Health  
4 Act will save billions of dollars for patients,  
5 employees, employers, health care providers and  
6 taxpayers, while providing complete health coverage  
7 to every New Yorker. Everyone would be able to  
8 receive any service or product covered by any of the  
9 following - New York Medicaid, Medicare, State  
10 Insurance Law mandates, and the current state public  
11 employee benefit package, plus anything that the plan  
12 decides to add. And there will be no premiums, no  
13 deductibles, no co-pays, no restricted provider  
14 network, and no out-of-network charges. We will  
15 actually save billions of dollars because we get rid  
16 of insurance company bureaucracy and profit. Doctors  
17 and hospitals will be able to slash their  
18 administrative costs and New York Health will be able  
19 to negotiate much lower drug prices by bargaining for  
20 20 million patients. And this lower cost will be  
21 shared fairly based on ability to pay. New York  
22 Health will be funded by broad-based, progressively  
23 graduate taxes. There will be one tax on payroll and  
24 at least 80% of it must be paid by the employer.  
25 There will be a similar tax on currently taxable

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2 unearned income, like capital gains and dividends.  
3 Because of the savings and the progressive graduated  
4 tax mechanism, 90% or more of New Yorkers will spend  
5 less and have more in their pocket. Pumping this  
6 money back into the economy will create 200,000 new  
7 jobs in New York. And there will be money to  
8 completely cover everyone and make sure doctors,  
9 hospitals, and other providers are paid fairly. And  
10 today most of the time they are not. The vast  
11 majority of our hospitals get most of their revenue  
12 from Medicaid, Medicare, and uncompensated care  
13 pools, none of which fully cover the cost of care.  
14 The New York Health Act requires full funding for all  
15 hospital care and hospitals will save billions in  
16 reduced administrative costs. Here are three basic  
17 numbers. The savings from insurance company  
18 bureaucracy and profit, provider administrative  
19 costs, and drug prices will total 55 billion dollars  
20 a year. The increased spending for covering  
21 everyone, eliminating deductibles, co-pays, and out-  
22 of-network charges and paying providers more fairly  
23 will cost 26 billion. So the net savings, 55 minus  
24 26, to New Yorkers is 29 billion dollars net savings.  
25 The way our society deals with long-term care,



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2 meaning home health care and nursing home care, for  
3 the elderly and people with disabilities, is a moral  
4 outrage. New York's Medicaid does a much better job  
5 than other states. But today New Yorkers spend 11  
6 billion dollars a year out of pocket for long-term  
7 care, and family members, usually women, provide  
8 unpaid care worth 19 billion dollars. In January  
9 Senator Rivera and I will be announcing that the New  
10 York Health Act will cover long-term care. Now, that  
11 will use up 19 billion dollars of the net savings.  
12 But it means no New York family will have to wipe out  
13 lifetime savings, and no family member will have to  
14 give up a career to provide long-term care for a  
15 loved one. That's profoundly important. How much  
16 tax revenue will we need? With the net savings we'll  
17 need 129 billion dollars from the New York Health  
18 taxes. When we add home care and nursing home care  
19 we'll need 159 billion dollars. How do we know the  
20 New York Health program will treat us and our doctors  
21 and hospitals fairly? Two ways - first, the  
22 legislation explicitly requires that provider  
23 payments be reasonable, related to the cost of  
24 providing the care, and assure an adequate supply of  
25 the care. No coverage today has that guarantee.

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2 And, second, we'll all be in the same boat, rich and  
3 poor. Every New Yorker, every voter, will benefit  
4 from the program and every voter will have a stake in  
5 making sure our elected officials keep it as good as  
6 possible. Remember where we started. Every New  
7 Yorker should have access to needed health care  
8 without financial obstacles or hardships. We are not  
9 there today. The New York Health Act will get us  
10 there. If anyone doesn't like the New York Health  
11 Act they should either put on the table another plan  
12 that will get us there or admit that they're OK with  
13 depriving millions of New Yorkers of health care or  
14 family financial stability. Now, concerns have been  
15 raised by many of New York City's municipal labor  
16 unions. They are justifiably proud of the good deal  
17 they have won for their members over the years - good  
18 scope of coverage, the city pays the full premium,  
19 and the contract says that if there are savings in  
20 the health benefit the savings go into a  
21 stabilization fund to pay for salaries and benefits.  
22 As they remind us, at the bargaining table they have  
23 given up wages and benefits to protect this deal.  
24 Under New York Health by law every municipal  
25 employee, like every New Yorker, would have an even

1  
2 broader scope of benefits and without deductibles,  
3 co-pays, restricted provider networks, and out-of-  
4 network charges. Under the bill now, collective  
5 bargaining could continue to have the city pick up  
6 the whole tab for the payroll tax and pass on the  
7 savings to the stabilization fund. But Senator  
8 Rivera and I have offered to add bill language that  
9 would by law require the city to do that without the  
10 need for the unions bargaining for it. Our parents  
11 didn't raise us to screw workers, period. And  
12 Senator Rivera and I are determined to make sure that  
13 laborers' concerns are protected under the New York  
14 Health Act, and we are continuing the dialogue with  
15 them, and thank you for the ability to testimony  
16 today. I'd be happy to respond to any questions.  
17 [scattered applause]

18 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you. Good,  
19 good, you learn very quickly. Thank you, Assembly  
20 Member, for your leadership and for your testimony.  
21 We expect to hear later in the hearing from some  
22 folks who are skeptical of the plan and since you  
23 might not be here to answer those questions directly  
24 I do want to give you an opportunity to address some  
25 of those concerns in your own words. It is sometimes

1  
2 said that enactment of this plan would disrupt the  
3 health care that people currently have in this state,  
4 and I want to give you a chance to respond to that  
5 concern.

6           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: For 27 years I've  
7 been working night and day to disrupt the covering of  
8 20 million New Yorkers. I certainly hope it will  
9 have that effect. I think millions of New Yorkers  
10 are praying to have their health coverage disrupted.  
11 Our health coverage is a disaster. It needs to be  
12 disrupted. For the 31 years that I've chaired the  
13 health committee in the Assembly I've talked to a lot  
14 of doctors and a lot of hospitals, and a lot of other  
15 health care providers. I don't think I've ever  
16 spoken to a health care provider who considers the  
17 health insurance industry as their friend. They are  
18 not anybody's friend except their stockholders. They  
19 exist not to make us healthy, not to be fair to us,  
20 they exist as every for-profit corporation exists, to  
21 return as much of our money as possible to their  
22 stockholders, and yes, I hope to disrupt that system.

23           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: All right. You have  
24 conceded, it's not really a concession, it's part of  
25 the design, that there will be a big change in the

1  
2 way the state pays for health care, a transition from  
3 paying via premiums to a tax-funded system...

4 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Right.

5 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: ...which does allow  
6 us a progressive distribution of those tax payments.  
7 But there's a transition and I'm wondering how you  
8 view that transition and how you view the stages of  
9 implementation through what would be a period of  
10 deliberate disruption.

11 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: There doesn't  
12 really need to be a period of transition. An awful  
13 lot of staff people will spend a lot of time writing  
14 regulations and the like before they're ready to blow  
15 the whistle and start plan. But, you know, when  
16 Medicare was created, several years before I was  
17 elected to the Assembly, there were 193 year of  
18 American history before I was elected to the  
19 Assembly, ah, when Medicare was created, if you go  
20 back into the newspaper archives and try to find the  
21 news stories about disruption and chaos when this new  
22 system began, etc., etc., you will not find any of  
23 those stories. One morning when doctors delivered  
24 care they started getting check from the Medicare  
25 program. And they were very happy with that. There

1  
2 was no transition need. One night they didn't get  
3 checks, the next morning they did. There may be some  
4 brief period when insurance contracts will still be  
5 in force before they don't get renewed because New  
6 York Health is there, and all of that can be easily  
7 abbreviated. I think people who imagine that there  
8 is some great disruption to happen I think are just  
9 mistaken. Instead of dealing with insurance company  
10 bureaucracies they'll deal with a system that works  
11 kind of like the way my doctor talks about Medicare.  
12 You know, my family doctor does not accept any health  
13 insurance except Medicare. Which is kind of a pain  
14 in the neck for me and my wife, because while we're  
15 both over 65 we both have employment-based coverage.  
16 So when we go to our doctor we give him our credit  
17 card and then we have to deal with the insurance  
18 company. But if you ask him why he accepts Medicare,  
19 but not any other insurance, he says I send them a  
20 bill, they send me a check. Nobody else does that.  
21 So one morning every health care service in New York  
22 will have that wonderful experience.

23                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Let's hope. Your  
24 plan, this plan, our plan, requires, is funded partly  
25 by state tax revenue and other sources, but also

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2 presumably upon passage we would seek a waiver from  
3 the federal government to redirect funding which is  
4 currently supporting Medicare and Medicaid and other  
5 programs in New York State. Does the plan require  
6 such a federal waiver, and in the climate of  
7 hostility in Washington how do you plan for difficult  
8 contingencies?

9           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yeah, well, and  
10 first of all let's reiterate. A lot of the funding  
11 of the plan comes from the fact that we will be  
12 saving net almost 30 billion dollars, and so what New  
13 Yorkers will be paying will be less. On the waiver  
14 question, the New York Health Act will be easier to  
15 implement with federal cooperation. It would save  
16 the federal government a lot of money if they  
17 cooperate with implementing with the New York Health  
18 Act. But if they don't, the plan can still go  
19 forward without any federal waiver. It would operate  
20 essentially, for example, with Medicare as a wrap-  
21 around program, filling in the gaps in the Medicare  
22 program. Fortunately, in the age of computers that's  
23 a relatively simple thing to do. I say simple, I  
24 mean, I don't know, don't ask me to run a computer,  
25 but people who run computers know how to do that, and

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2 so, no, we don't need a federal waiver. It would  
3 make everything simpler, but we can do it without  
4 their cooperation.

5 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: You and I in our  
6 opening remarks both reference a concern for the  
7 well-being of workers whose labor unions have  
8 negotiated contracts that include strong medical  
9 coverage. This has been an important mission of the  
10 labor movement in New York and one that broadly has  
11 been successful for workers. I've heard you talk on  
12 other occasions about ways in which the existing  
13 legislation could be tweaked in order to assure  
14 maximum protection to these workers. Could you  
15 explain more about ways in which you might go about  
16 amending the legislation to protect...

17 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Sure.

18 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: ... workers and their  
19 unions?

20 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yeah, sure. First  
21 of all, the substance of the benefit, what gets  
22 covered. Under the New York Health Act without us  
23 having to change a comma will be dramatically better  
24 than you or I as public employees or any New Yorker  
25 now has. And all of us, public employees and 20



1  
2 million other New Yorkers will have coverage without  
3 deductibles, co-pays, restricted networks, etc., all  
4 of which currently apply to I think almost every New  
5 York City municipal employee. Certainly it applies  
6 to me as a state employee. Unions have said to me,  
7 gee, we, you know, we worked hard to get, you know,  
8 to be able to pay extra for dental coverage and  
9 hearing aids, you know, are we going to lose that?  
10 No, they're not going to lose that. Every New Yorker  
11 will have that coverage now and it will be included  
12 in the New York Health Act funding. Now two key  
13 points they do raise where legislation would be  
14 helpful. One is the fact that the city pays 100% of  
15 their premium, although none of their deductible and  
16 co-pay, or out-of-network charges. So we have put  
17 language, we have offered to put language in the bill  
18 and we've given it to the unions. We've said, you  
19 know, labor law is not my speciality. Please look at  
20 it. Have I written it right? If not, tell me how.  
21 That would guarantee that any, every public employer  
22 in the state, whatever percentage above 80% that they  
23 are now paying of the premium for health benefits  
24 they would have to pay at least that percentage of  
25 the New York Health payroll tax for their workers.

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2 So if the city is now paying 100% of the premium it  
3 would pay 100% of the payroll tax. If the Village of  
4 West Overshoe is paying 90% of the premium, they  
5 would pay 90% of the payroll tax. In case anyone is  
6 wondering, I made up the name, West Overshoe, there  
7 is no [laughter]. Um, secondly, the current contract  
8 says if there are savings in the plan, in the health  
9 benefit plan, the savings, the amount of the savings  
10 goes into a stabilization fund to pay for wages and  
11 benefits and the second piece of language that  
12 Senator Rivera and I have offered to the unions would  
13 say that that also would apply to every public  
14 employer. And, again, we're waiting to hear back  
15 what they think of that language. On the benefits  
16 side we've said we're not aware of anything that any  
17 benefit plan has that is not covered by the New York  
18 Health Act let us know, we can fix it. We haven't,  
19 in all the times I've said that nobody has ever said,  
20 ah, you don't cover X. So I'm still waiting to hear.  
21 This is a continuing dialogue with the unions. We've  
22 said that, they've said that. I believe we can  
23 guarantee to them that their members, like all New  
24 Yorkers, will be a whole lot better off. Also, we  
25 will be taking the health benefit issue. By taking

1  
2 it off the bargaining table they can get back to  
3 using their bargaining clout on everything else -  
4 wages, benefits, vacation, retirement, etc. There are  
5 many people in the labor movement who are aching to  
6 have that opportunity, to get the health benefit  
7 because today it eats up all the oxygen in the room  
8 when they're bargaining because collective  
9 bargaining, not only for municipal workers but all  
10 over the labor movement, is overwhelmingly consumed  
11 with a usually retreating effort to protect the union  
12 health plan. That shouldn't have to be.

13 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I was about to start  
14 a push to get a similar resolution passed in the West  
15 Overshoe City Council. [laughter] I guess that won't  
16 be necessary, is that right?

17 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Right. Actually,  
18 there's actually quite a few cities and counties  
19 around the state, though, that have passed  
20 resolutions endorsing the New York Health Act.

21 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Well, we're bigger  
22 than that. [laughter]

23 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: The New York City  
24 Council will be the biggest [crosstalk]

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CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: We sure will.

Speaking of New York City, the current structure for Medicaid funding does require the localities pay in...

RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And New York City pays in a lot...

RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I think we pay in about 7 billion dollars.

RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yep.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I'm sure it's way more than any other place in the state.

RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yep.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Explain what would happen under the New York Health Act, would that funding no longer be required in municipalities? Would that money be recaptured...

RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: That is correct.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: So that money could then be reinvested in, if West Overshoe wanted to do property tax relief they could do that, and in New York City we could invest it in whatever productive way...

1  
2           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: That's right. The  
3 New York Health Act has a very specific paragraph  
4 that eliminates the provision in current law that  
5 imposes on counties and New York City the obligation  
6 to pay a share of the Medicaid tab. That would be  
7 eliminated, as you said. That would be worth close  
8 to 7 billion dollars a year to New York City. Now,  
9 it would still be funded by taxpayers, but instead of  
10 being funded by property taxes around the state,  
11 which are not a very fair form of taxation, it would  
12 become part of what is funded by the New York Health  
13 Act, which is totally based on ability to pay. And  
14 it would no longer be on the books of New York City.

15           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: The universality of  
16 the New York Health Act is one of its most important  
17 components and, as we've both mentioned, this would  
18 cover everybody, regardless of age, income,  
19 immigration status.

20           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yes.

21           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Can you explain,  
22 then, how enrollment would work? Would it be  
23 automatic? Have you thought through that process?

24           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Ah, it would be  
25 pretty close to automatic. There would have to at

1  
2 some point be a transaction in which the state would  
3 either send you a postcard and say Levine, we see you  
4 live here, you're now on New York Health, or you  
5 would, you know, send in a postcard. With Social  
6 Security, getting kids into public school, there's a  
7 piece of paper involved, or an electronic  
8 transaction. You know, when I signed up for Social  
9 Security and I had to sign up for Medicare, even  
10 though I don't get anything from it, I mean, it took  
11 minorities. It's not a big deal. So yes, it would  
12 be virtually automatic that all 20 million of us  
13 would be enrolled. You mentioned immigrants. The  
14 federal government is right now looking to extend the  
15 public charge issue to cover means-tested health  
16 benefits, so that if a green card holder were on  
17 Medicaid that would be deemed being a public charge,  
18 which you're not supposed to be if you have a green  
19 card and could result in an awful lot of people being  
20 at risk of being deported. Because the New York  
21 Health Act, like sending your kid to public school,  
22 is not a means-tested program it would avoid the  
23 whole public charge issue.

24 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I want to  
25 acknowledge, Assembly Member, that we've been joined

1  
2 by our colleague on the health committee, Council  
3 Member Alicka Ampry-Samuel from Brooklyn, and I want  
4 to pass it off to Dr. Eugene, who I believe has a  
5 question for you.

6 COUNCIL MEMBER EUGENE: Thank you very  
7 much, Mr. Chair, and thank you for your leadership.

8 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you.

9 COUNCIL MEMBER EUGENE: Assembly Member  
10 Gottfried, I want to commend you and thank you for  
11 your advocacy for this very, very important issue,  
12 and we all know that health care is one of the most  
13 important things that a human being must have,  
14 especially for hard-working people in New York City,  
15 and again I commend you for your advocacy. But we  
16 know that every time that there is a change it's  
17 never easy. And what you are doing is commendable.  
18 We have to make it pass. The New York Health Act is  
19 very important. But what do you plan? What do you  
20 have in mind? What is in place to ensure a smooth  
21 transition, you know, to educate the people about the  
22 change, to reach out to people, because if the people  
23 know nothing about it, even it is a beautiful thing,  
24 very helpful for people, if they are not prepared  
25 that may create some other challenges. What do we

1  
2 have in place in case if the New York Health Act were  
3 to pass, to make sure that people are prepared to  
4 embrace that and to get involved in?

5           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Well, several  
6 things. One, the bill has language in it that says  
7 that money in the New York Health Trust Fund can be  
8 used for providing guidance, assistance, technical  
9 associate, etc., both for health care providers in  
10 learning about and dealing with the system, and for  
11 patients, employers, etc., in understanding how to  
12 use the new system and guiding them through it, which  
13 I think will be a relatively simple process. New  
14 York State in recent years dramatically simplified  
15 the way people enroll in the Medicaid program using  
16 the New York State of Health exchange, and we've  
17 done, I think, a pretty good job of getting  
18 information out to the public through advertising.  
19 We have a program called Community Health Advocates,  
20 which the legislature provides money for in the  
21 budget that does a lot of outreach work helping  
22 people deal with their health insurance, etc. That  
23 program will be there to tell people that there is  
24 this new program, here's how to fill out the form to  
25 be part of it, here's what it means. So the bill



1  
2 speaks to that. We've got, there are mechanisms to  
3 do all that. It will be a whole lot easier than the  
4 effort we now have to go through to get people to  
5 enroll in Medicaid, to enroll in Affordable Care Act  
6 plans, etc.

7 COUNCIL MEMBER EUGENE: Thank you very  
8 much. Assembly Member, we know that when we do  
9 something at the city level or state level,  
10 especially in terms of health care, that will require  
11 also the participation or collaboration of the  
12 federal government. Can you talk about the  
13 involvement or the participation of the federal  
14 government in terms of funding, what they will be  
15 required to provide in order for the New York act to  
16 succeed, and if they will have the power to block it  
17 or oppose it, what will be the situation? In case,  
18 let us assume that New York Health Act passed at the  
19 level of the state, with respect to the federal  
20 government, what will be the situation?

21 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Generally  
22 speaking, you need a waiver from the federal  
23 government for any federally supported health  
24 program. If you either want to get more money from  
25 the federal government for that program, like if you

1  
2 want to cover some new service or cover some new  
3 category of people, if you want federal money for  
4 that you have to ask them. If you want to take away  
5 something from people that they're entitled to under  
6 federal law you have to ask the federal government  
7 for permission to do that, and sometimes they'll give  
8 you that permission and sometimes they won't. I  
9 mean, that's what waivers are all about, either  
10 getting more from the federal government than you now  
11 get or cutting back on one of their programs. The  
12 New York Health Act doesn't do any of those. We're  
13 not taking any benefit away or any right away from  
14 anyone. We're giving people more. And by the way,  
15 our Medicaid program since it opened its doors in  
16 1970 has covered millions of people that do not  
17 qualify for federal matching money under Medicaid. For  
18 example, when it started out Adults Without Children,  
19 a lot of the immigrant community, we covered them  
20 under Medicaid, the federal government didn't  
21 recognize them. There are services that we cover  
22 under New York Medicaid, abortion is one key example,  
23 that the federal Medicaid program will not pay for.  
24 So we have to demonstrate to them that the care we're  
25 asking them to pay for is for people and services

1  
2 that they recognize. If we want to use state money  
3 to pay for something else we don't have to talk to  
4 them. Similarly, with Medicare, if we want to pay  
5 doctors for the pieces of service that Medicare  
6 doesn't pay for we can just do it. We don't have ask  
7 the federal government for permission to do that.  
8 That's what you would call wrapping around the  
9 existing program. Now, what would be great would be  
10 if the federal government would say how about we send  
11 you a check every month for what we would have spent  
12 on Medicare in New York and you just put that check  
13 in the New York Health Trust Fund, guarantee to us  
14 that every Medicare-eligible person will get  
15 everything they would have been entitled to under  
16 Medicare, and we'll call it even. The federal  
17 government would save a lot of money if they did.  
18 Maybe after January 20, 2021, they will see their way  
19 clear to doing that. But if they don't we can still  
20 do it as a wraparound program.

21 COUNCIL MEMBER EUGENE: Thank you very  
22 much. With your permission, Mr. Chair, only one, the  
23 last question. We know that this is very important.  
24 It is a must. We have to get it, universal health  
25 care is important, it is necessary, we need it. But

1  
2 one question. We know that actually hospitals,  
3 they're competing to get the best doctors and those  
4 with money can hire the best doctors, because they  
5 can afford to pay the prices. But in case of the New  
6 York Health Act, what is in place of the make sure  
7 that the quality of care would demand excellence?  
8 What will be in place to make sure that the people  
9 will be provided with the best quality of health  
10 care, because, you know, there will be a big change.

11           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Well, you know,  
12 it's interesting, a few weeks ago a right-wing think  
13 tank put out a paper on what the New York Health Act  
14 would do to hospitals and on one page they said it's  
15 terrible because our finest academic medical centers  
16 will lose money under the New York Health Act. A  
17 page or two later it said, oh my God, under the New  
18 York Health Act those major academic medical centers,  
19 you know, they've got an enormous amount of political  
20 clout. They're going to rob us blind. I read that  
21 and I said which is it, we're going to cheat the  
22 academic medical centers or they're going to use  
23 their political clout to rob us blind? I think the  
24 answer is neither one. The bill guarantees that a  
25 hospital that is providing a special level of care

1  
2 will be entitled, and it's expensive to do that, the  
3 New York Health Act would assure that they are paid  
4 adequately to do that. There's nothing in the law  
5 that gives them that kind of guarantee today. You  
6 know, the vast majority of New York hospitals, most  
7 of their care is paid for by Medicaid and Medicare,  
8 which everyone agrees underpay. Under the New York  
9 Health Act that will no longer be the case, and so  
10 our hospitals, big, small, and in between, I am  
11 convinced that the bill makes it clear they will all  
12 be better off under the New York Health Act. And if  
13 they've got the ability to hire world-class surgeons  
14 today, they will be able to do that tomorrow. And  
15 believe me, if legislators get phone calls saying, oh  
16 my God, just to pick a hospital at random, you know,  
17 Memorial-Sloan Kettering, you're going to sink them.  
18 No legislator wants to get that phone call. We're  
19 going to make sure that our world-class hospitals  
20 stay world class. And there will be legal guarantees  
21 as well as the politics of the fact that all 20  
22 million of us will be getting our coverage through  
23 that system is what will guarantee that the quality  
24 of health care in New York continues to be as top-  
25 notch as possible.

1  
2 COUNCIL MEMBER EUGENE: Thank you very  
3 much, Assembly Member. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank  
4 you.

5 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Dr.  
6 Eugene. And I want to acknowledge that we've been  
7 joined by fellow health committee member, Council  
8 Member Keith Powers. Thank you. And I believe that  
9 Council Member Alicka Ampry-Samuels has a question,  
10 is that correct? And we're happy for that. I just  
11 want to remind my colleagues, we have 70 people who  
12 have asked to testify today, so we're not on a clock  
13 up here at the moment, but please be mindful of the  
14 outpouring of public interest in speaking today.

15 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: And of course I'm  
16 the main culprit.

17 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: You're doing great,  
18 Assembly Member. You're doing great. OK.

19 COUNCIL MEMBER AMPRY-SAMUEL: Thank you  
20 so much, Chair Levine, and I'm not a medical doctor  
21 so [laughs] I don't have that amount of experience.  
22 For me this all informational and educational and  
23 very helpful. So thank you so much, Assemblyman  
24 Gottfried. I remember my days of working in the  
25 State Assembly as a staffer and always admired your

1  
2 leadership and expertise in the field. My question  
3 is just related to jobs. You stated in your  
4 testimony that, and I'm just going to read it.  
5 Because of savings and the progressively graduated  
6 tax mechanism 90% or more of New Yorkers will spend  
7 less and have more in their pocket. Pumping this  
8 money back into our economy will create 200,000 new  
9 jobs in New York, and so my question is how will the  
10 New York Health Act actually create jobs, outside of  
11 the community outreach advocates, of course, but can  
12 you just give us a little example of what you mean or  
13 if there was any kind of research around what types  
14 of jobs this would create?

15           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Well, you know, if  
16 you give more money back to employers, entrepreneurs,  
17 and consumers, the employers can afford to hire more  
18 people, the consumers can afford to buy more things  
19 that those employers will produce. That's how jobs  
20 get created. I didn't come up with that number.  
21 That number comes from at least a couple of reports  
22 that have been done about the New York Health Act.  
23 One three years ago by Professor Gerald Friedman, who  
24 is the chairman of the economics department at the  
25 University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and he came

1  
2 up with that number. Interestingly, the Rand  
3 Corporation, which was commissioned by the New York  
4 State Health Foundation and was paid about twenty  
5 times what Gerry Friedman was paid, came up with a  
6 report that had just about exactly the same number  
7 for job creation, resulting from the savings going  
8 back to employers and consumers. The other question  
9 relating to jobs that one would ask is there are  
10 about 23 or so thousand people working in the health  
11 insurance industry in New York today. There are  
12 several times that number of people who have  
13 administrative jobs in doctors' offices and hospitals  
14 mainly to fight with those insurance company people.  
15 If we're not employing those people anymore where are  
16 they going to go? And I think we're all concerned  
17 about that. The fact that the people who work for  
18 insurance companies are basically, their job is to  
19 stand between us and health care and financial  
20 stability, that's not their fault, and the people  
21 whose job is to fight with insurance companies, the  
22 fact that we no longer will need to fight with  
23 insurance companies, that doesn't mean we shouldn't  
24 care about them, and that's why the New York Health  
25 Act has language in it that specifics that some of



1  
2 the New York Health Act funding can be used for  
3 retraining, transition, etc., costs for any workers  
4 who are displaced by the bill. We've been having  
5 conversations with some in the labor movement for  
6 ways to flush out that language with some more  
7 specific pieces as to how that money would be used.  
8 So we will be creating an enormous number of jobs  
9 just by the operation of the economy with the money  
10 we'll be putting back in the economy, and we have  
11 language to provide help for people whose jobs will  
12 no longer be needed under the New York Health Act.

13 COUNCIL MEMBER AMPRY-SAMUEL: Thank you.

14 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Council member, and  
15 now I'd like to offer a chance to Council Member  
16 Powers.

17 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Thank you, nice  
18 to see you.

19 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Hi.

20 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: One of my  
21 overlapping assembly members.

22 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yes.

23 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: One of the best.

24 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Thank you.

25

1  
2 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: I want to talk  
3 about in terms of, I have just five questions and we  
4 can go through them quick. The first thing is can  
5 you just talk about New York City versus small cities  
6 throughout the state. We have, my district, for  
7 instance, has, as you know, many access points for  
8 health care, a lot of hospitals. Obviously smaller  
9 cities, other jurisdictions in the state would have  
10 lesser access points to health care, and what might  
11 be any difference today versus in the future if we  
12 went to single-payer in terms of access for,  
13 especially in the smaller cities outside of New York  
14 City or any of the big five cities in the state?

15 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Ah, some of the  
16 difficulties with access upstate have to do with  
17 geography and a very spread-out population. The New  
18 York Health Act can't fix that. We can't stop  
19 upstate blizzards that make it hard to get from here  
20 to the hospital 40 miles away. But we've been losing  
21 a lot of hospitals in this state over the last decade  
22 or two and part of what is killing them off is their  
23 inability to stay afloat financially, because they  
24 are heavily dependent on programs that do not  
25 adequately pay for health care. And the New York

1  
2 Health Act, and also the insurance companies, when  
3 they look at, you know, a little hospital somewhere  
4 in a small town upstate and say to themselves do I  
5 really need them in my provider network, eh, not  
6 really. So am I going to pay a lot of money to them  
7 to be in my network? Not really. And many of us  
8 still painfully remember in '09, was it, or 2010.  
9 What did in St. Vincent's, finally, the final and  
10 biggest nail in their coffin was that insurance  
11 companies, when they looked at Manhattan, they said,  
12 well, you know, there are big academic medical  
13 centers, there are hospitals that are part of big  
14 networks, we've got to have them in our network. St.  
15 Vincent's, eh, he, not so important, and as a result  
16 St. Vincent's was being paid by a lot of insurance  
17 companies less than Medicaid was paying them, and you  
18 can't keep the doors open on that basis and St.  
19 Vincent's is no more. And I think that's part of  
20 what is shutting down doctors' offices in a lot of  
21 parts of the state, hospitals and clinics in a lot of  
22 parts of the state. The New York Health Act I think  
23 will help reverse that.

24 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Great, thank you,  
25 thank you for that answer. And on private insurance,

1  
2 is there a role for private insurance if you went to  
3 move to single-payer health care, what happens to  
4 private insurance, whether it's still available or  
5 does it become restricted or limited or prohibited?

6           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yeah. The bill  
7 would prohibit the sale of health insurance that  
8 duplicates any benefit covered by the New York Health  
9 Act. If there's something that an insurance company  
10 wants to, can find that they want to cover that isn't  
11 covered by the New York Health Act, and I don't know  
12 what that might be, they could sell insurance to  
13 cover it. The reason why we don't want to have  
14 insurance companies duplicating what the New York  
15 Health Act covers is that if people with wealth think  
16 that they can buy better coverage than the rest of  
17 us, then they are no longer in the same boat with the  
18 rest of us. They will no longer be part of the  
19 constituency to make sure that my doctor and the  
20 doctors on Park Avenue and Sloan-Kettering and New  
21 York Presbyterian, they will no longer, and I don't  
22 mean to pick them out particularly, they will no  
23 longer be part of a coalition to make sure that they  
24 are well paid for by the New York Health Act.

1  
2 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: And you'll take  
3 them out of the pool, presumably.

4 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Correct. We need  
5 New Yorkers with wealth and influence in the same  
6 boat with everybody else.

7 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Got you. Ah,  
8 three more questions and then I want to hand it back,  
9 because we have a big audience here. I think payroll  
10 tax pays for a large part of this...

11 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yes.

12 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: And it's based on  
13 income tax. You know, there's always a sensitivity  
14 whether it's true or not, but it always comes up in  
15 the conversation about migration of the tax base that  
16 might help pay for this, so what does happen if you  
17 lose a part of the constituency that is, that decides  
18 that they want move or they want to leave, whether  
19 it's a reality or not, this comes up about who pays  
20 for it and how it gets paid for and what income  
21 stream, or what revenue streams pay for and if you  
22 are dependent on a small population of people to help  
23 for it, what happens in that case?

24 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: You know, over the  
25 years there have been instances where New York State

1  
2 or New York City have raised taxes on high-income New  
3 Yorkers and people have said, oh my God, you know,  
4 wealthy people are going to leave New York. Ah, it  
5 doesn't happen. There's a reason why apartments on  
6 West 57th can be priced at 90 million dollars a year.  
7 People who are buying 90-million-dollar apartments  
8 and who pay rents of thousands of dollars a month,  
9 those folks are not leaving New York. You know, if  
10 the New York Health Act tax on really upper-income  
11 New Yorkers will be on the same order of magnitude as  
12 a significant rent increase or co-op maintenance  
13 increase for them, and I've never heard any say, oh  
14 my God, people on Park Avenue need to be included or  
15 else they're all going to leave New York. Boy, I'd  
16 love it if somebody said that.

17 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Some of us  
18 represent Park Avenue, by the way. [laughter]

19 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Yes, ah, and I do,  
20 I also have a few blocks on Park Avenue and West 57th  
21 Street. You know, somehow if landlords and co-ops  
22 are going to raise the rent or the maintenance by  
23 three thousand a month, nobody says oh my God, that  
24 will be terrible, rich people will move out of town.  
25 Rich people keep coming in. And one of the main

1  
2 financial burdens on people with wealth in the health  
3 care area is long-term care. I mean, I know because  
4 my mother was a self-pay, home-care recipient for  
5 quite some time. When we add long-term care to the  
6 New York Health Act that is actually going to be a  
7 very substantial financial benefit to an awful lot of  
8 upper income New Yorkers.

9 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Great, you, and  
10 I'll ask one question to cover two parts. One is can  
11 you just tell how enrollment would happen on an  
12 ongoing basis, so how would people get in to it,  
13 whether you moved here, how would you get enrolled,  
14 and second is just generally doing it state by state  
15 versus doing it federally, when you talk about a  
16 marketplace, whether it's a state by state or  
17 regional marketplace, obviously to me is doing this  
18 federally is better, though more difficult, for a  
19 host of reasons. But can you just talk to us about  
20 the challenges that might exist if you're doing it on  
21 a state by state basis, and then also obviously about  
22 enrollment as well.

23 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Enrollment will be  
24 very simple. The state will need to know, you know,  
25 your name and address, and maybe your Social Security

1  
2 number. It will be easier than enrolling your kid in  
3 school. On the state by state question, you know  
4 when Canada adopted what we call the Canadian health  
5 system, a single-payer system, it's actually a  
6 collection of about a dozen provincial health plans.  
7 In the mid '60s Saskatchewan and Manitoba created  
8 provincial single-payer health plans, and then a  
9 couple more provinces came in, and within a couple  
10 more years their national government said, you know  
11 what, if you went to every province, if you adopt a  
12 plan that's like Saskatchewan we will pay half the  
13 cost, and in no time every province did. Same thing  
14 happened in this country with what we in New York  
15 call Child Health Plus. Minnesota created it in the  
16 late '80s. We created it in 1990. In the mid '90s  
17 Congress said you know what, let's offer matching  
18 money to any state who does what New York and  
19 Minnesota did, and within a couple years not only  
20 were we getting more federal matching money than  
21 every before, but every state has now a child health  
22 insurance plan. I think that's how single-payer will  
23 come to America. We'll do it, a couple of other  
24 states will do it, and people all over the country  
25 will demand that the federal government either create



1  
2 a national program or, as Canada does, offer to  
3 provide matching money to every state.

4 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Thank you, and  
5 with respect to time, I want to say thanks to the  
6 chair for having this hearing as well, and thank you,  
7 good to see you. Thanks.

8 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Council  
9 Member Powers. We have been joined by Council Member  
10 and fellow health committee member, Inez Barron, who  
11 I also believe has a question.

12 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: And a former  
13 member of the Assembly Health Committee.

14 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: That is correct.

15 COUNCIL MEMBER BARRON: Yes, thank you,  
16 thank you Mr. Chair, and to my former colleague, but  
17 still colleague in government, Dick Gottfried. I  
18 want to thank you for coming, for sharing your plan  
19 with us, and before I make my comment I want to say I  
20 want to acknowledge the great long-standing work that  
21 you have done in the field of health, how you have  
22 advocated for a more equitable system, and how you  
23 have been a voice for those people who are burdened  
24 by these healthcare costs unnecessarily. I commend  
25 you and appreciate the work that you've done. I just

1  
2 want to say that I support the plan. I think that  
3 it's a great introduction to what we can do and be as  
4 a leader in this field, and everybody, well, not  
5 everybody, so many people are talking about the new  
6 composition in Albany, and my question is if this  
7 bill passes both houses and if for some reason the  
8 governor does not sign it, whatever that reason might  
9 be, do you think that there will be enough people of  
10 conviction and commitment who will override his veto?

11           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Well. The short  
12 answer is no. We have in the state senate 40  
13 Democrats, counting everybody who is enrolled as a  
14 Democrat. That's almost two-thirds, but not quite.  
15 In the Assembly we've got a little more than two-  
16 thirds. But, as you may remember...

17           COUNCIL MEMBER BARRON: Yes.

18           RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: ...in the New York  
19 Legislature over the generations governors have  
20 managed to convince us that overriding one of their  
21 vetoes is just an unacceptable antisocial act and so  
22 we almost never do that, even if we had the votes to  
23 do that. But I don't think we need, I don't think  
24 we're going to need to go there. You know, Governor  
25 Cuomo has said that he thinks single-payer coverage

1  
2 makes sense. He thinks it's best done at the federal  
3 level and has concerns about whether we can do it at  
4 the state level. We've been talking with people in  
5 the administration to try to, and we will be doing  
6 more of that, to try to bring them on board. So I  
7 don't think he has any objection in principle to it.  
8 He's got some, I would say, practicality questions.  
9 As far as I know, his position on single-payer  
10 coverage is, I think, better than 49 other governors.  
11 So I'm optimistic with the governor.

12 COUNCIL MEMBER BARRON: Thank you so much  
13 [inaudible] just what to say, be encouraged and  
14 continue in the same path that you have and being a  
15 voice for people in the legislative body. Thank you  
16 so much.

17 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Thank you, and  
18 give my assembly colleague, Charles, an extra  
19 hug. [laughter]

20 COUNCIL MEMBER BARRON: I will, thank  
21 you.

22 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK, we've got some  
23 state-city bonding going on here. [laughter]

24 RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: You bet.  
25

1  
2                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Assembly  
3 Member, for not only these remarks, but for your  
4 decades of leadership. We would not be on the  
5 precipice of this historic, historic shift in health  
6 care if not for your preaching in the wilderness, to  
7 continue the biblical references.

8                   RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Well, all I can  
9 say is there's an awful lot of people around the  
10 state who are working night and day and have been for  
11 years to bring us to this point.

12                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK. Thank you very  
13 much.

14                   RICHARD N. GOTTFRIED: Thank you.

15                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And speaking of  
16 principled and bold elected representatives in the  
17 state legislature, I am pleased that our next panel  
18 will consist of two newly elected stars from the  
19 Bronx, including State Senator-Elect Alessandra  
20 Biaggi and State Assembly Member-Elect Karines Reyes.  
21 If you could please make your way, and as if this  
22 panel couldn't get more exciting, I want to call a  
23 woman who I consider to be the greatest health  
24 commissioner the city has ever had, who is back in  
25 this chamber after leaving us, and that is Dr. Mary

1  
2 Bassett. And State Senator-Elect, would you like to  
3 kick us off? I'm sorry, is [inaudible] Reyes still  
4 with us and able to...?

5 UNIDENTIFIED: Great.

6 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: She may not be.

7 UNIDENTIFIED: She had to run [whispered].

8 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK. Apologies, it  
9 looks like we had...

10 STATE SENATOR-ELECT BIAGGI: I would love  
11 to kick us off.

12 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Please do.

13 STATE SENATOR-ELECT BIAGGI: Thank you.  
14 I promise to stick to brevity [laughs], so members of  
15 the City Council I first want to just start by saying  
16 thank you to Speaker Johnson, to the health committee  
17 chair, Mark Levine, and the other members of the  
18 health committee, and the council, who honestly are  
19 supporting this resolution, which is an incredibly  
20 important solution, ah, resolution. I have said many  
21 times throughout my campaign, and I continue to say  
22 it post campaign, and I will say it until it is  
23 actually true, which is that health care is a basic  
24 human right. So I am grateful to be here today and I  
25 am looking forward to represent the people of

1  
2 District 34 in the Bronx and Westchester, who would  
3 benefit greatly from the passage of the New York  
4 Health Act. I also want to thank all of the  
5 individuals and organizations that have been and will  
6 continue to fight for single-payer in the State of  
7 New York. It is, it was once considered, I believe,  
8 politically courageous and perhaps it still is, but I  
9 think that we are on the forefront of something very  
10 special and in the State of New York I believe we can  
11 be a leader in this area. So I strongly support a  
12 practical, effective, oh, excuse me, my goodness, I  
13 would be remiss if I did not actually thank Assembly  
14 Member Gottfried for being a champion on this bill.  
15 It's because of leaders like Assembly Member  
16 Gottfried that I even fully was able to grasp the  
17 concepts of this bill and able to digest them and  
18 then to share them with other individuals in District  
19 34 who had never heard of the New York Health Act  
20 before. So with that being said I want to go on the  
21 record saying that I strongly support developing a  
22 practical, effective, affordable, single-payer system  
23 that provides access to health care for all New  
24 Yorkers. Again, that was one of the key issues of my  
25 campaign and I look forward to taking that on when I

1  
2 take office in January. But today I want to focus on  
3 one very important issue that must be part of any  
4 single-payer program and that is long-term care,  
5 which is essential for many of our seniors.  
6 Unfortunately, I got to see why good long-term care  
7 is so essential and so important. My grandfather, my  
8 father's father, who lived until the age of 97, had  
9 good long-term care. The pleasure of spending many,  
10 many years, and I had the pleasure of spending many,  
11 many years with him as a result of that. My  
12 grandmother, my mother's mother, lived until the age  
13 of 86, did not have it. She went to a nursing home  
14 and sadly she suffered because of that. Now that's  
15 not say that all nursing homes, of course, are bad.  
16 But in many instances people are not left with a  
17 choice. One essential goal of a single-payer program  
18 is to ensure that everyone has access to health care,  
19 of course. Access to health care has a major impact  
20 on your ability to work, on the quality of your life,  
21 on how long you live. The promise of life and  
22 liberty and the pursuit of happiness is quite frankly  
23 an empty promise without access to good quality  
24 health care. That's especially true for seniors, and  
25 in District 34, which I'm about to represent, there

1  
2 are many, many seniors who would benefit from the  
3 passage of this act. That is why we must ensure that  
4 any single-payer program guarantees long-term care to  
5 aging New Yorkers and people with disabilities. The  
6 long-term care program must include, in my opinion,  
7 the following - benefits that prioritize home- and  
8 community-based services over institutional care; an  
9 assessment system that utilizes existing assessment  
10 infrastructure and expands the assessment  
11 infrastructure to limit waiting periods for home- and  
12 community-based services; a living wage for home-care  
13 workers, access to training, and the opportunity for  
14 workers to come together to advocate for a stronger  
15 home care system; supportive measures for unpaid  
16 family caregivers, to include increased education and  
17 training, short-term respite and counseling, and  
18 access to support groups, among other services.  
19 Again, thank you for taking up this issue, for being  
20 brave. You had many references to the wilderness and  
21 I am very fond of the wilderness, but also I think  
22 that being here today and shedding light on the  
23 support for this resolution as well as this bill is  
24 an important way to come out of the wilderness and to  
25 make this a reality. So thank you very much. I have



1  
2 an immense sense of gratitude for what you're doing  
3 here today, and I look forward to taking on this  
4 fight in Albany.

5 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And your election,  
6 Senator, based partly on a bold promise, to make  
7 universal health care a reality, is one of the  
8 reasons why we're no longer in the wilderness and  
9 we're very, very excited to add your voice...

10 STATE SENATOR-ELECT BIAGGI: Thank you.

11 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: ...to add your voice  
12 to those up in Albany. I'm going to ask Dr. Bassett  
13 to speak and then we'll go to questions.

14 DR. MARY BASSETT: Thank you, and thank  
15 you to the committee and to you, Chair Levine, for  
16 your kind words. I'm here today as a long-term  
17 resident of New York City, as a medical doctor, and a  
18 public health advocate, but as has been mentioned I  
19 served as health commissioner for about four-and-a-  
20 half years and stepped down a couple of months ago at  
21 the end of August. I currently have a position at  
22 the Harvard School of Public Health, but I'm still  
23 here in New York, and I'm very pleased to speak today  
24 in support of the resolution, in support of the New  
25 York Health Act and improved Medicare for all. I

1  
2 think we've all learned a lot from the interaction  
3 between the committee and Assembly Member Gottfried,  
4 and much of what I have to say has been said. I  
5 submitted my testimony for the record. Let me just  
6 point out that in addition to the fact that our  
7 health care system as a nation is the most costly in  
8 the world on a per capita basis that our country  
9 consumes much more than its fair share of global  
10 health expenditure. We're 5% of the world population  
11 and comprise 50% of global health expenditure, and  
12 for that we get a very bad deal. If the goal of  
13 health care systems is to deliver better health, the  
14 United States gets a D. We have the worst outcomes  
15 of other wealthy nations across any number of  
16 outcomes. So the solution to this sad state of  
17 affairs is a single-payer system. It is the only way  
18 to adjust the unconscionably fragmented, costly,  
19 inefficient, for-profit private system and the only  
20 way to ensure that everyone has access to health  
21 care. It's such a pleasure to be able to say that  
22 without any caveats, I must say [laughs] [laughter].  
23 But that is not all, and I want to make the point  
24 that perhaps hasn't been made clearly enough today  
25 that it is the poor and communities of color that

1  
2 bear the greatest brunt of our broken health care  
3 systems and single-payer is also part of the pathway  
4 to equity and health, something that I have committed  
5 my working life to advancing, and those who stand to  
6 benefit the most are those who have been left out and  
7 left behind. That's why when we talk about health as  
8 a human right we should be talking about support for  
9 single-payer and the New York Health Act. It will  
10 represent, it doesn't solve everything but it  
11 represents real progress in the sense that every  
12 resident, regardless of income, employment, or  
13 immigration status gets coverage, no one will face  
14 the financial barriers that keep people from seeking  
15 care, and we can expect to see improvement in our  
16 health outcomes, which have been not nearly what they  
17 ought to be, given what is spent on health care.

18 Assembly Member Gottfried also mentioned something  
19 that I do want to highlight as another benefit of a  
20 single-payer system. In September of this year the  
21 Department of Homeland Security proposed a new  
22 regulation in the definition of public charge. This  
23 is an old concept that is used to identify legal  
24 immigrants who may become dependent on the public  
25 purse. It was long limited to cash benefits, but now

1  
2 has been extended to Medicaid, food stamps, housing,  
3 and other benefits. These proposed measures are  
4 already having a chilling effect on legal residents  
5 and their citizen children. People are afraid to  
6 enroll their children in health insurance, afraid to  
7 take advantage of free vaccination programs, and  
8 these are dangerous outcomes of these intended  
9 changes to the public charge. These changes are  
10 opposed by just about every physician organization,  
11 and, as was mentioned, the New York Health Act would  
12 protect immigrant residents by eliminating means  
13 testing health care and guaranteeing the right to  
14 health to all residents of our city. We should  
15 oppose the changes to the public charge, public  
16 comments close on December 10, and support the New  
17 York Health Act. Thank you for the opportunity to  
18 testify.

19                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Dr.  
20 Bassett, ah, Commissioner. We've been extremely  
21 active in the fight against public charge. I  
22 consider it to be no less of a moral outrage than  
23 separating children from their families at the border  
24 or eliminating DACA. And we do want to emphasize  
25 that this remains a proposal, and that means first

1  
2 and foremost that we can still beat it. The public  
3 comment period remains open. It's been a 60-day  
4 public comment period, as you well know, and it  
5 closes on Monday night. So anyone here who has not  
6 weighed in, in your words, you have a chance to go  
7 online right now and add public comment in opposition  
8 to these proposed changes of public charge. The city  
9 actually has a website set up. It makes it very  
10 easy. It's just [nyc.gov/public charge](http://nyc.gov/public-charge). We have  
11 125,000 people across the country who have already  
12 weighed in with comments, but we want to get closer  
13 to 200,000 in these final, final days. So please do  
14 add your voice. And one other important point on  
15 this issue, we have heard very, very disturbing  
16 stories from the front lines of social service  
17 providers, of immigrants of various documentation  
18 statuses, already unenrolling from critical publicly  
19 supported health and nutrition programs out of fear  
20 for a policy which not only hasn't been put into  
21 force yet, but hasn't put into force yet, but hasn't  
22 even been approved, and at any rate wouldn't be  
23 retroactive. So one message to everyone is that  
24 every person in the city, immigrant or not, should  
25 continue to seek out the benefits for which they

1  
2 qualify in the meantime. That you for that. I do  
3 want to ask you briefly, Dr. Bassett, the ways in  
4 which, I want to ask you about one criticism which is  
5 labeled at this plan, which is that some folks who  
6 defend the status quo say well, since hospitals will  
7 already take all comers regardless of ability to pay,  
8 in emergency services, for example, we don't need to  
9 take the dramatic step of single-payer, and so with  
10 your physician's hat on perhaps you could explain to  
11 us what the difference between the kind of system in  
12 place now and a universal health insurance system  
13 actually would be and what it means for health  
14 outcomes.

15 DR. MARY BASSETT: Thanks, that's a  
16 really good question. And the answer is that we want  
17 people to have comprehensive primary health care that  
18 focuses principally on prevention, on keeping people  
19 healthy. The fact that you can, you know, we don't  
20 allow people to die on the street and look after them  
21 when they appear in the hospital doesn't take us to  
22 the place where people get ongoing, comprehensive  
23 care that preserves their health and doesn't just  
24 patch them together when they're in an extreme state.  
25 So that's the goal of single-payer health care. We,

1  
2 you know, pay a lot of health care and people don't  
3 use it that much, which is another irony of the US  
4 health system that people are scared of the hidden  
5 costs, often don't go to seek the doctor even when  
6 they have cognitive. That's what single-payer will  
7 do, it will make it transparent, it will eliminate  
8 the cost barriers to ongoing high-quality health  
9 care.

10 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Incredibly important  
11 point, when someone who has been denied basic care,  
12 preventative care, winds up in the emergency room in  
13 the midst of a crisis it's terrible for the patient,  
14 but it also, by the way, costs our system a lot more  
15 than it would have cost to provide basic preventative  
16 care, and one of the ways we recoup some savings in a  
17 universal coverage is by giving people a chance to  
18 get preventative care that's good for their health  
19 and saves us more costly procedures down the road.

20 DR. MARY BASSETT: You're an honorary  
21 doctor, what can I say.

22 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I've learned from  
23 you. [laughter] I know that Council Member Powers  
24 has a question, and I am going to put my colleagues  
25 on the clock at this point, only because we have 70

1  
2 people waiting to testify and I just want to make  
3 sure everyone gets their voice heard. But, please,  
4 Council Member Powers.

5 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Dr. Levine, I  
6 will keep it very short. First of all, thank you,  
7 nice to see you, Dr. Bassett, and I just want to say  
8 first thank you for your service, and I'm sure you're  
9 very happy to be at the microphone and that desk not  
10 getting grilled by the City Council on budgets and so  
11 forth and so on, so you, nice to see you again.  
12 Senator-Elect, congratulations, and I know we're all  
13 very excited about the work you and many of your  
14 colleagues are going to do, especially around health  
15 care. I want to ask, you ran on a platform, I think,  
16 about single-payer or expanding access to health  
17 care. Can you tell us, both in your experience  
18 primarily this year, in your district and elsewhere,  
19 what that conversation was like and the reception in  
20 your district and the conversations around expanding  
21 health care in New York State?

22 STATE SENATOR-ELECT BIAGGI: I would love  
23 to, thank you. That's a great question. And  
24 actually as I was finishing my testimony I was  
25 thinking to myself I wished I talked a little bit



1  
2 more about the people of District 34, who I think  
3 really represent all New Yorkers across the entire  
4 state. So many people probably know I knocked on  
5 thousands and thousands of doors from January until  
6 September, and then from September until November.  
7 I'm also four generations in District 34 and have  
8 lived in District 34 for my entire life. And so a  
9 lot of the conversations that I was fortunate to have  
10 because of this door-knocking and honestly talking to  
11 people in the streets, talking to people at the  
12 supermarket, on the corner, were around health care.  
13 I think the number one issue that came up on the  
14 campaign trail and afterwards is health care, and,  
15 you know, the most shocking part of it is that  
16 District 34 is very diverse, racially,  
17 socioeconomically, and in the Westchester portion of  
18 the district in Pelham and in Fleetwood, which is in  
19 Mount Vernon, more people talked about their concern  
20 about going bankrupt, about not being able to pay  
21 their mortgages, invited me into their homes and  
22 asked me what I thought the solution was, to which of  
23 course I said the New York Health Act. But it's  
24 everywhere. So, you know, you look at this district  
25 and it has the South Bronx in it as well and you

1  
2 would think that that would be the only area where  
3 people are suffering or struggling, and it is  
4 everywhere. There was almost not one person that I  
5 met who didn't have a health care story, and I think  
6 that that just shows not only how important it is to  
7 pass the New York Health Act, but how afraid people  
8 are, and I think oftentimes when someone invites you,  
9 a stranger invites you into their home to share with  
10 you, whether it's about their child or about their  
11 husband or their life, or about their elder parent  
12 that lives with them, it really shows, not only a  
13 sense of vulnerability, but just a sense of great  
14 need, and so I often would share in return that I  
15 also have a father who has Parkinson's disease and he  
16 is a well-educated man, he is an attorney, and he has  
17 had significant difficulty navigating the health care  
18 systems. Fortunately for him he is self-employed and  
19 so he's been able to take the time on the phone with  
20 the insurance companies, but not many people are able  
21 to do that, and so I think one of the great benefits  
22 of government is that we can make the quality of  
23 life, but the way of living much easier on people,  
24 and I feel like it's our responsibility, and I feel  
25 very responsible for doing that for the people of

1  
2 District 34, so that nobody ever has to choose  
3 between paying their mortgage or their rent and a  
4 health insurance cost. Thank you.

5 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Great. Thank  
6 you. That's a fine answer.

7 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Council  
8 Member Powers, and I believe Council Member Barron  
9 has a comment or a question.

10 COUNCIL MEMBER BARRON: Just a comment,  
11 yes, thank you Mr. Chair. I want to thank the panel  
12 for coming and I particularly want to echo the  
13 accolades which you extended to Dr. Bassett. We want  
14 to thank you for your years of service and  
15 highlighting and fighting against those health  
16 disparities that we see, especially in poor and low-  
17 income communities of color. So I just want to echo  
18 the accolades and say all the best to you. Thank  
19 you.

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: This is more fun  
21 than being grilled as a commissioner, isn't it, by  
22 far. Thank you very, very much to both of you for  
23 your leadership and for speaking out today. Thank  
24 you for being here. I want to call up next David  
25

1 Rich from the Greater New York Hospital Association.

2 Welcome, Mr. Rich.

3 UNIDENTIFIED: [inaudible]

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Please. If you  
5 could push the button on the mic.

6 DAVID RICH: Yes, sorry. We're the  
7 association for all of the hospitals in New York  
8 City, as well as hospitals throughout the state and  
9 the tri-state region. Just yesterday our association  
10 board of governors reaffirmed what has always been a  
11 fundamental tenant of our association - that health  
12 care is a human right. And while many people say  
13 they believe that, our members have done a huge  
14 amount to advance the cause. First, obviously, they  
15 treat New Yorkers in their greatest times of need,  
16 24/7, 365, regardless of their ability to pay or  
17 their insurance status. Second, working with our  
18 partner, the hard-working people of 1199SEIU, we've  
19 done more to advance the goal of providing quality  
20 health care to all than almost any organization in  
21 the state, or any state. In the early '90s we worked  
22 together with 1199 on a campaign to create the Child  
23 Health Plus Program. Later, the federal government  
24 passed a similar plan based on that plan. CHP now  
25

1  
2 covers millions of children nationwide and that  
3 started in New York with our campaign. Later in the  
4 '90s we and 1199 worked with the city on an  
5 unprecedented campaign to sign up people for Medicaid  
6 and Child Health Plus, which resulted in hundreds of  
7 thousands of New Yorkers having health insurance for  
8 the first time. We launched a similar campaign for  
9 immigrants after the courts ruled that New York had  
10 to make certain immigrants eligible for Medicaid. In  
11 '99 we launched a major statewide campaign to  
12 convince the state to expand health insurance for  
13 hard-working low-income families and we were  
14 successful. The state enacted the Family Health Plus  
15 Program, which covered hundreds of thousands of New  
16 Yorkers. And we worked hand in glove with President  
17 Obama both to help design the Affordable Care Act and  
18 then to pass it. President Obama's landmark  
19 achievement resulted in the number of uninsured in  
20 this state being cut in half, from 10% of New York  
21 residents to 5%, and we were there. Most recently,  
22 we and 1199 funded campaigns all over the US to save  
23 the ACA from repeal. While we have succeeded so far,  
24 there are still threats and we're fighting those  
25 proposals all the way. So you can see, our

1  
2 commitment to quality health care for all New Yorkers  
3 runs strong and deep. However, there is still so  
4 much to do. While many of the 95% of New Yorkers who  
5 have health insurance are happy with it, too many are  
6 not and too many are still left behind. People are  
7 rightly upset and confused by the red tape associated  
8 with private insurance companies, confusing bills,  
9 and denials of care. So are we. We must work with  
10 the state to require insurers to simplify their  
11 processes on behalf of consumers and to ban  
12 inappropriate payment denials. People are rightly  
13 upset by high co-pays and deductibles insurers  
14 require them to pay, and so are we. After all, these  
15 co-pays and deductibles mean that many people cannot  
16 afford to pay for their care and hospitals must go  
17 without payment or chase people around, which we do  
18 not want to do. So this needs to be fixed and we  
19 need to bring the cost of health care down. I  
20 testified here several weeks ago about all the ways  
21 hospitals are working to lower costs, but the state  
22 can and should do more. People are rightly upset  
23 that despite our gains 5% of New Yorkers are still  
24 uninsured, and so are we. We have ideas in my  
25 written testimony for how the state can ensure the

1  
2 one-third of the uninsured who are immigrants, the  
3 one-third of uninsured who are already eligible for  
4 public programs, and the one-third who simply cannot  
5 afford health insurance. We must act on those ideas  
6 in 2019. And people are rightly concerned about the  
7 viability of safety-net institutions, especially  
8 since so many hospitals have closed throughout the  
9 five boroughs over the last decade. So are we. We  
10 must do more to provide Medicaid and Medicare payment  
11 adequacy for safety-net hospitals and we will be  
12 working hard on this issue in 2019. Having said all  
13 of this and having fought all these fights over the  
14 years, we respectfully disagree that the New York  
15 Health Act is the way to achieve the goals we all  
16 share. We believe that there are huge obstacles in  
17 the way of the act reaching these goals and we do not  
18 believe these obstacles can be overcome. These  
19 obstacles include disrupting the health care coverage  
20 of 95% of New Yorkers, including seniors who are  
21 Medicare- and Medicaid-dependent, and the millions of  
22 New Yorkers who are covered by employer-sponsored  
23 health plans. Adding hundreds of thousands of  
24 residents of other states who work in New York and  
25 currently receive health insurance through their New

1  
2 Yorker employers to the ranks of the uninsured,  
3 including many hospital employees. The fact that we  
4 have no federal partner to help us create a single-  
5 payer system and even if we did there would not be  
6 new federal Medicare and Medicaid dollars made  
7 available to fix the current inadequacies in those  
8 programs. This means that all of the new costs of  
9 the act would fall on New York taxpayers and health  
10 care would become such a huge part of the state  
11 budget it would crowd out spending on all other  
12 priorities, like education. Finally, we believe the  
13 act would mean major funding cuts for hospitals  
14 across New York, academic medical centers and safety-  
15 net hospitals alike. We base this on our experience  
16 with the Medicare and Medicaid programs, both of  
17 which are badly underfunded and both of which provide  
18 payments that do not come close to covering the costs  
19 of caring for Medicare and Medicaid patients. So in  
20 closing I think we need to ask ourselves what we are  
21 trying to achieve. For us, yes, we must cover the  
22 remaining 5% of New Yorkers who are uninsured and we  
23 can do that. Yes, we must make health care more  
24 affordable, get rid of inappropriate denials of care,  
25 and cut the maddening red tape for consumers, and we



1  
2 can do that. But we can do this without the  
3 disruption that we fear would be caused by passing a  
4 single-payer system. I'm happy to answer any  
5 questions you may have.

6 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much,  
7 Mr. Rich. Do you support single-payer at the  
8 national level?

9 DAVID RICH: We have questions about it.  
10 There are so many different Medicare for all  
11 proposals before the Congress. Some members who ran  
12 for election this year and talked about Medicare for  
13 all have Medicare buy-in for 50 and over, or 55 and  
14 over, or have talked about a public option on the New  
15 York State of Health, but we have not yet come out  
16 with a position on Medicare for all, if you will.

17 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Well, given your  
18 expressed reservations about the New York Health Act,  
19 I want to paraphrase a question that Assemblyman  
20 Gottfried posed earlier, which is are you altering,  
21 are you offering an alternative path to coverage for  
22 the more than one million people in the state who are  
23 uninsured today, or are you comfortable with them  
24 remaining uninsured?

1  
2           DAVID RICH: No. As I said, we  
3 absolutely are not comfortable with them remaining  
4 uninsured.

5           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: So are you offering  
6 an alternative?

7           DAVID RICH: Yes, in our written  
8 testimony we talk about three different ways, because  
9 the remaining uninsured, the 5% who are uninsured,  
10 the million people, tend to fit into three different  
11 categories. About a third of them are already  
12 eligible for programs but not signed up because of  
13 enrollment barriers or what have you, and we want to  
14 do, and we commit to doing a campaign to make sure  
15 that people know what they're eligible for and  
16 actually sign up. A third are immigrants and that is  
17 a challenging problem because the federal government  
18 will not provide funding for that. But what New York  
19 State can do, and they've done this kind of thing  
20 before, and actually Assemblyman Gottfried mentioned  
21 it, undocumented immigrants, the only thing they're  
22 eligible for right now is emergency Medicaid with the  
23 federal government helping to pay the cost. What the  
24 state could do with its own dollars is then provide  
25 all the other benefits around that, the comprehensive

1  
2 health benefits that would be needed. That we cost,  
3 we think, we've costed it out, that would cost  
4 probably about a billion dollars statewide, but in  
5 that way you could make sure that that third of the  
6 uninsured would be covered. And then the other third  
7 are people who may be eligible for subsidies on the  
8 New York State of Health, but it's still unaffordable  
9 for them, and so there we could do, we could have a  
10 state program that would add to those subsidies to  
11 help them afford it, and perhaps also take the  
12 eligibility for subsidies from 400% of federal  
13 poverty up to 600%. So these are the coverage  
14 options that we think can really get you from 5% to  
15 zero.

16 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: The problem with  
17 these incremental solutions is that it leaves in  
18 place a fractured for-profit-driven insurance  
19 industry, which frankly I hear many hospital  
20 executives themselves complain about. Are you  
21 comfortable with this existing system of insurance?

22 DAVID RICH: We have a huge, and I think  
23 we, I testified with you a couple weeks ago about a  
24 lot of the concerns we have with insurance companies.  
25 We have major concerns with insurance companies. The

1  
2 concern, though, that we have is that our experience  
3 with government-funded insurance is that it doesn't  
4 pay for the cost of care. Medicare and Medicaid paid  
5 85 cents on the dollar for caring for Medicare and  
6 Medicaid beneficiaries. And so the only way that  
7 hospitals have stayed afloat is if they also have  
8 people who are privately insured and they can  
9 negotiate higher payments on their behalf, so it's  
10 like a cost shift, unfortunately. But that's what  
11 they've had to do. The concern that we have, despite  
12 pieces in the bill that seem to say that rates for  
13 doctors and hospitals have to be reasonably  
14 associated with what it costs is that Medicaid used  
15 to have that provision in law, too, and the state  
16 repealed it, and the federal government had it also  
17 it and they repealed it. So we have not had good  
18 experience in terms of actually having these  
19 government payers well funded. And the other concern  
20 we have is that unlike the federal government New  
21 York State can't print money. So when there's a  
22 recession and they need to cut back or raise taxes  
23 again one of the first places I think they would have  
24 to go would be the New York Health Act because it  
25 would be, it's bigger than the current state budget,

1  
2 just the New York Health Act, and so they would have  
3 to cut back and the first place they would cut back  
4 would be on provider payments.

5 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: You mentioned the  
6 cost of the New York Health Act and of course the  
7 Rand Corporation, which is hardly a far-left think  
8 tank, analyzed this and concluded that there would be  
9 cost savings over time. Are you disputing the  
10 methodology of the Rand Corporation study?

11 DAVID RICH: You know, I'm not expert  
12 enough to do that, so I'm not doing that. I do know  
13 that there were a lot of assumptions that Rand had to  
14 make in terms of what administrative cost savings  
15 there would be and we're not necessarily sure that's  
16 true. I think a lot of our hospitals would still  
17 have to be dealing with insurance companies because  
18 people come in from other states. I mentioned  
19 employers, you know, employees that we have in our  
20 hospitals who are from New Jersey and Connecticut who  
21 presumably will still need to have some sort of  
22 private insurance. So I do have a lot of questions  
23 about a lot of the assumptions that they made. But  
24 they also said that it would require 156% tax  
25 increase in New York. Now, granted, that would be

1  
2 replaced, premiums being paid over here, but they  
3 said that it could be done in a progressive way, but  
4 they expressed a lot of concern about having that  
5 huge a tax increase on a small number of New Yorkers  
6 who are wealthy, but who also fund the majority of  
7 our state budget currently. So those are a lot of  
8 concerns we have regarding costs.

9           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Other than  
10 complaints about insurance companies, the most  
11 frequent complaint I hear from hospitals is the  
12 burden of providing care for people who are  
13 uninsured. So one might think that a system that  
14 removes that expense from hospitals would be a net  
15 win for you. Why is that not such a strong priority  
16 for you?

17           DAVID RICH: It is a strong priority for  
18 us. As I mentioned, we have, you know, we have  
19 fought really hard for many, many, many years to make  
20 sure that people have health insurance and we have  
21 now put forward proposals to get from 5% to as close  
22 to zero as we can get. So that is an extremely high  
23 priority for us. What we are concerned, though,  
24 about is that, you know, our senior patients who have  
25 Medicare being unsure if Medicare is taken away from

1  
2 them what it will be replaced with, and it will be  
3 replaced with a state program, not a federal program.  
4 We don't really know how that will work and how it  
5 will improve their lives. Seniors tend to really,  
6 really like their Medicare. So we do have a lot of  
7 concerns on their behalf from that standpoint. And  
8 also I think there are a lot of people who do have  
9 private insurance who, you know, polls have shown a  
10 lot of people do like it, they have concerns about it  
11 and problems with it, but I think just, it seems to  
12 us just sort of taking everything that we have,  
13 throwing it out, and promising something new is  
14 disruptive to our health care systems.

15 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I want to pass it  
16 off to my colleagues, but I just have a very profound  
17 and basic question for you.

18 DAVID RICH: Yes.

19 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Do you believe that  
20 health care is a human right? Do you believe that  
21 health coverage is a human right?

22 DAVID RICH: Yes, as I said in my  
23 testimony, just yesterday our board of governors, who  
24 are the CEOs of all the hospitals in the area,  
25 reaffirmed our fundamental principle that health care

1  
2 is a human right. They, after all, are the only  
3 providers who take everybody in their emergency room  
4 regardless of their ability to pay. They have got  
5 clinics all over the city that do the same.  
6 Physicians' offices don't do that. Nursing homes  
7 don't do that. Other types of providers don't do  
8 that. Hospitals do do that. So of course we believe  
9 that, and we'll take care of them.

10 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I'm glad to hear  
11 that you share our belief that health care and health  
12 coverage is a human right. It's a right that is  
13 being denied right now to hundreds of thousands of  
14 people in the city, millions around this country, and  
15 our attempts at incremental change, while welcome,  
16 have not solved this fundamental failure of our  
17 society, a wealthy society, a society that is capable  
18 of fulfilling this moral obligation, and we are going  
19 to continue to push for dramatic action to meet this  
20 obligation here in New York and nationally. And I'm  
21 going to pass it off to my colleague, Council Member  
22 Powers.

23 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Thank you. I  
24 would just, you know, I asked the assembly member and  
25 the chair of the health committee a number of



1  
2 questions about implementation, because I do  
3 recognize there are a lot of issue and challenges to  
4 actually going from a bill to implementation of a  
5 law. I would argue in the position here of 5%  
6 uncovered and that's the problem, that we have much  
7 bigger challenges around health care than just the 5%  
8 that aren't covered. I think 95% that are covered,  
9 many feel a lot of challenges and as the Senator-  
10 Elect made her point as well, feel an emergency away  
11 from bankruptcy, feel like their coverage is  
12 inadequate. I think there's under-coverage in  
13 addition to be covered, and so I think the  
14 characterization, and I'm not saying, I'm not  
15 blaming, but I do think the characterization that the  
16 problem here just lies with covering the 5%, or  
17 that's sort of the primary issue. I think that 95%  
18 are actually asking for something much different than  
19 what the marketplace offers today, and that's my  
20 feeling from my constituents. I was there with  
21 Candidate Biaggi as I heard those stories from her  
22 constituents as well about the challenges. So with  
23 that being said, even today under the, in that 95%,  
24 this is a, you have to, it's a myriad, it's a maze,  
25 really, to figure out what your health care coverage

1  
2 is and how you get covered. Once system would  
3 actually simplify that, I think, in many ways, but  
4 giving you a short of, I think a clearer picture.  
5 But I did ask a question about private insurance,  
6 which is not covered under the bill, you made a point  
7 about private coverage being, would still have to  
8 exist, and I just wanted to ask the question to you  
9 since I asked it to the assembly member, which is  
10 what, I mean, what happens, you mentioned the  
11 hospitals wouldn't have to cover, would have to still  
12 have private insurance in order to, would members of  
13 other states not be able to take advantage of it if  
14 they were here or how does that work?

15           DAVID RICH: Yes, that's correct. So  
16 currently most of the people who commute into the  
17 city from New York, sorry, from New Jersey or from  
18 Connecticut, most of them get coverage through their  
19 employers. What would happen under this bill, my  
20 understanding is that anyone who is a New York  
21 resident would no longer have private insurance or  
22 Medicare or Medicaid. They would have the New York  
23 Health Act. So it raises the question then of what  
24 happens to the insurance for those employers from  
25 those other states who now get it from their

1  
2 employer? If there are no longer private insurance  
3 companies in New York, ah, and they get sick on the  
4 job, these are types of the questions we have about  
5 what would happen to them. Many of those commuters  
6 do get their health care while they're here in the  
7 city working. They'll take a little time off to go  
8 to the doctor or whatever the case may be, or after  
9 work or before. So that's a very fundamental  
10 question for us, not just as hospitals but as  
11 employers. So we would have to, you know, because we  
12 would feel, I would think, the moral obligation to  
13 make sure that those employees also had coverage, but  
14 then how do you do that and what does that mean? Do  
15 we have to then just work with insurance companies in  
16 other states because no more would exist in New York  
17 State? I think it's a very big questions that does  
18 need to be answered, and I'm not quite sure that  
19 anyone has one for it at the moment.

20 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: I'll just ask a  
21 follow-up, but then I'll hand it back. Today  
22 hospitals do deal with different policies and  
23 different insurance providers anyway, right? Does  
24 that become a really prohibitive part of implementing  
25 the New York Health Act, I mean, the fact that we

1  
2 have different plans. One is a state-run plan and  
3 one is a private insurer from another state. I mean,  
4 that seems to be, it's just a different plan from New  
5 York State.

6           DAVID RICH: Well, I think the difference  
7 now would be that, you know, right now a lot of  
8 employers and hospitals provide sort of a choice of a  
9 few health plans, and they tend to be New York State  
10 health plans, like Empire or, you know, some of the  
11 other health plans, and also for our unionized  
12 employees, 1199, SIU, NYZA, the hospitals provide  
13 them insurance with no premiums, no co-pays, no  
14 deductibles, similar to what the assemblyman  
15 described as the New York Health Act providing. So  
16 if there suddenly were no New York insurance  
17 companies and you didn't have those choices to offer  
18 to people, the question would be, and they were from  
19 New Jersey or Connecticut, the question would be what  
20 do you do for them. Maybe you could buy them into  
21 the New York Health Act or something like that, but  
22 that really is not something that has been addressed  
23 yet at this point.

24           COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: OK, thank you,  
25 and I'm sorry I have to leave early, but I wanted to

1 say thank you everybody for being here as well.

2 Thank you.

3  
4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Council  
5 Member Powers. You raised a critical point that I'm  
6 not entirely sure you had a chance to answer, Mr.  
7 Rich, which was concerning the 95% of people who do  
8 have coverage but who might be facing premiums they  
9 can't afford and deductibles and co-pays, and  
10 ultimately the risk of bankruptcy if they have a  
11 medical crisis.

12 DAVID RICH: Yes.

13 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: So solving that  
14 problem is at the heart of the mission of the single-  
15 payer plan and you did talk about some solutions for  
16 the uninsured. But what about the other 95% who are  
17 also suffering today?

18 DAVID RICH: We have put forward to the  
19 state a variety of ways of dealing with a lot of  
20 those problems. First of all, we definitely think  
21 there need to be limitations and there are actually  
22 are if you're in an ACA-compliant plan on co-pays and  
23 deductibles. And as I mentioned, for our unionized  
24 employees they don't have any. So we totally support  
25 making sure that people don't have these high co-pays

1  
2 and deductibles and I think the state could take  
3 action to make sure that those are reduced. They  
4 could also take action to make sure that, I mean, we  
5 don't even have a law in this state that says that  
6 all medically necessary care needs to be covered by  
7 an insurance plan and so we end up being denied for  
8 care that we have already provided to a patient and  
9 after the fact an insurance company will come back  
10 and say that's not medically necessary and then you  
11 fight about it for the longest time. Eventually you  
12 might end up getting paid for it, but sometimes you  
13 don't. And so there are things like that that the  
14 state could do to make a very big difference in  
15 people's lives under the current system without  
16 necessarily having to go to we're getting rid of  
17 everything we currently have and creating something  
18 new.

19                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK, thank you. You  
20 made a point which I just wanted to respond to about  
21 seniors who currently have Medicare being worried  
22 about losing that, and the New York Health Act is  
23 actually modeled on many of the best qualities of  
24 Medicare, and therefore would not be a diminution of  
25 service. It would be only an enhancement. No senior

1  
2 would see a rollback in services or an increase in  
3 cost in a transition out of Medicare. I just want to  
4 clarify that.

5           DAVID RICH: Right, I think that's the  
6 goal. I would hope that the state would be able to  
7 afford to do that.

8           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK. Well, we do  
9 thank you for being here and for taking our  
10 questions, and we look forward to continuing to  
11 dialogue with you on this very important matter.

12           DAVID RICH: Thank you very much.

13           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you. I want  
14 to call up for our next panel Judy Sheridan-Gonzalez,  
15 president of the New York State Nurses Association.  
16 Also, from the Nurses Association Marva Wade, from  
17 PSC/CUNY James Perlstein, and from the Screen Actors  
18 Guild Pension Plan, Jim, and sorry, I can't read the  
19 name, Brikita?

20           JIM BRACCHITTA: Bracchitta.

21           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Bracchitta, OK. I  
22 do understand that President Sheridan-Gonzalez is on  
23 a short, ah, timetable, so we'll ask you to go first.

24           JUDY SHERIDAN-GONZALEZ: Thank you so  
25 much. Yes, my name is Judy Sheridan-Gonzalez. I've

1  
2 been an emergency room nurse for 34 years. I live  
3 and work in the Bronx, the county with the worst  
4 health statistics in New York, and I'm also president  
5 of New York State Nurses Association. So we nurses  
6 deal with the nitty gritty of health care, which is a  
7 rollercoaster system that can transparent a liver, a  
8 heart, lungs, but can't prevent cirrhosis, heart  
9 attacks, strokes, and cancer. Be aware of these  
10 invisible cost factors that we witness in our  
11 practice, knowing that flaws in the system directly  
12 contribute to patients' inability to stay healthy.  
13 Lack of access to affordable quality care results in  
14 preventable traumas and complications. The system is  
15 designed to pay homage to insurance companies, not to  
16 patients. We take an oath to do no harm. Our system  
17 causes harm and costs far more. Patients with  
18 predisposing factors to organ damage forego  
19 appointments due to costs, co-pays, and changes in  
20 providers. They don't fill scripts, they cut their  
21 meds in half. I remember a gentleman, and this is  
22 only one story, who would come to the ER to check his  
23 blood pressure periodically. One day he arrived with  
24 an ischemic stroke and a blood pressure of 240/138.  
25 He stopped taking expensive cholesterol meds, missed



1  
2 appointments due to insurance changes, and couldn't  
3 renew his BP meds. Hospitalized for months after his  
4 stroke, he regained consciousness, but couldn't  
5 speak, eat, or walk, eventually succumbing to  
6 complications. He died at the age of 48. His two  
7 weeks in the ICU cost \$140,000. A month of his BP  
8 meds cost \$14 and \$11, respectively. His cholesterol  
9 drug cost \$43 a month. **NYZA** is a union of  
10 caregivers. We also negotiate contracts for 42,000  
11 members. While we cherish our health benefits, it  
12 consumes a huge chunk of our package. We're thrilled  
13 that the New York Health Act, once finalized, will  
14 provide superior benefits to those we enjoy with no  
15 out-of-pocket costs. Even with a modest payroll tax,  
16 net costs will be reduced dramatically. We know some  
17 unions fear the bill. It's an union. Give me a  
18 minute more, 30 seconds [laughter]. Better the devil  
19 we know is the saying. We're convinced that once  
20 details are ironed out to ensure no loss of current  
21 benefit our sibling unions will embrace New York  
22 Health as much as we do. In an atmosphere of  
23 vitriolic anti-union rhetoric, how inspiring that our  
24 New York unions, our committed elected leaders, and  
25 community partners will humbly usher in a universal

1  
2 health plan that embraces all of society - members,  
3 nonmembers, young and old. In the spirit of the  
4 birth of the labor movement whose motto was an injury  
5 to one is an injury to all, a victory to one is a  
6 victory to all. Let's embrace victory. I just want  
7 to add that I've saved many lives and I've also seen  
8 many death. Death is always tragic, but unnecessary  
9 and avoidable death is criminal. Thank you. Sorry  
10 about that.

11                   JIM BRACCHITTA: That's OK. Thank you,  
12 good afternoon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you  
13 for the opportunity to support Council Resolution 470  
14 and the New York Health Act. My name is Jim  
15 Bracchitta. I'm an actor by trade and for the last  
16 12 years I've served as a trustee on the Screen  
17 Actors Guild Pension Plan and the SAG Health Plan. I  
18 also hold the designation of certified employee  
19 benefit specialist from the Wharton School and the  
20 International Foundation of Employee Benefit Plans.  
21 Let me say clearly, though, that the opinions I  
22 express are my own. I'm not speaking on behalf of my  
23 plans or the unions I belong to.

24

25

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CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Understood.

4

JIM BRACCHITTA: JIM BRACCHITTA: The reason I'm here today is that I believe there's a strong additional argument to be made for the New York Health Act that as far as I can tell has not become part of this conversation, and that is that a single-payer health care system has the ability to provide real and immediate relief to the crisis of underfunded multi-employer pension plans. Let me tell you how. We all know there is a retirement crisis in this country. In fact, the National Institute for Retirement Security published a study in September which found that the median retirement account balance of all American workers, the median retirement account balance of all American workers, the median retirement balance is zero. Zero. Half of all American workers have less than zero dollars in retirement savings. Now that's primarily because most American workers don't have an employer-based retirement plan at all. But even those with a retirement plan are in serious trouble. Of the 235 multi-employer pension plans in New York State, 60, just over 25%, are either critical or critical and

25

1  
2 declining status, red zone status according to the  
3 Labor Department, which basically means they don't  
4 currently have enough money to pay their outstanding  
5 pension benefits. Multi-employer pension plans, as  
6 you know, exist in industries like construction,  
7 trucking, entertainment, and they currently provide  
8 retirement benefits for 1.8 million New Yorkers. So,  
9 what does all this have to do with the New York  
10 Health Act? Well, it turns out that an overwhelming  
11 number of multi-employer pension plans in New York  
12 State also have accompanying health plans. Of the  
13 1.8 mil New Yorkers covered by multi-employer  
14 pensions, roughly a million of them are also covered  
15 by a sister health plan. Here's my main point. A  
16 single-payer health system in New York would free  
17 these health plans from the obligation to provide  
18 health insurance, and once that obligation is lifted  
19 the money in those health plans can be shifted to an  
20 associated pension plan, shoring up funding levels  
21 and boosting retirement security. In other words, an  
22 unexpected but welcome benefit of single-payer health  
23 in New York State could be a dramatic strengthening  
24 of retirement benefits for New York workers. Your  
25 support of the New York Health Act can provide real

1  
2 relief to underfunded multi-employer pensions. Thank  
3 you.

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much,  
5 and you're right, we had not brought that up. It's a  
6 very important benefit and one we're glad that you  
7 put on the record.

8 JIM BRACCHITTA: I submitted written  
9 testimony. I'm happy to engage on this any time with  
10 anyone. So, I know Amy **Schlatter**.

11 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Yes, well, we'll see  
12 you in Washington Heights.

13 JIM BRACCHITTA: Thank you so much.

14 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Nurse Wade.

15 MARVA WADE: Thank you so much. Good  
16 afternoon...

17 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Could you press your  
18 mic button.

19 MARVA WADE: Button?

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: There you go. We  
21 can hear you.

22 MARVA WADE: Ah, good afternoon, thank  
23 you so much for inviting me here to speak. It is my  
24 honor. I stand very much in support of the  
25 Resolution 470 in favor of the New York Health Act.

1  
2 My name is Marva Wade, as you already know. I'm a  
3 registered nurse and board member of the New York  
4 State Nurses Association, as Judy said, representing  
5 over 42,000 registered nurses and patients that we  
6 serve. We are here to tell the council that we  
7 enthusiastically support the New York Health Act, an  
8 improved Medicare for all program in New York State  
9 that would establish a comprehensive system of  
10 universal health care for every single resident.  
11 This bill would provide New Yorkers with health care  
12 coverage without, regardless of their age, income,  
13 health, or employment status. It would be paid for  
14 fairly through progressive taxation based on what you  
15 can afford, and there would be no financial barriers  
16 to the point of delivering care. Benefits would  
17 include all medically necessary health services,  
18 including preventative and primary care, hospital  
19 care, dental, vision, prescriptive drug, mental  
20 health, addiction, addiction treatment, and  
21 rehabilitative care. The New York nurses are on the  
22 front lines every day, helping patients navigate the  
23 complexity of a health care system. Unfortunately,  
24 our members all know too well are familiar with the  
25 failures of this system that we meet as we try to

1  
2 help our patients. Both highly complex cases such as  
3 the financial devastation that so many cancer  
4 patients face as well as the deadly consequences of  
5 not being able to afford basic health care for  
6 chronic conditions. Just ask any person with  
7 diabetes how much they fear about going without...

8                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Go ahead, continue,  
9 please.

10                   MARVA WADE: Go without health insurance  
11 for even a short period of time. It is heartbreaking  
12 to see patients denied or dangerously delay care  
13 because they simply cannot afford treatment. But it  
14 is also a moral outrage that this is happening in the  
15 richest country in the world, where we spend more on  
16 health care than anybody else on the planet. This  
17 broken but insanely expensive health care system is  
18 delivering health care that doesn't really help  
19 anybody. Certainly the patients go without, that the  
20 families are stuck if you can't afford it. It is the  
21 fastest way to bankruptcy in this country. For  
22 example, while maternal mortality is declining in  
23 every other industrialized country, maternal  
24 mortality is actually increasing in the United  
25 States, especially for black women. Life expectancy

1  
2 gains are also reversing in the US, including for  
3 white men. Our people are facing horrific realities  
4 trying to receive the most basic mental health and  
5 substance abuse treatment. As we know, there are  
6 many factors in play in determining the health  
7 outcome of the population. One very important  
8 ingredient is reversing those shameful health  
9 outcomes is timely and accessible health care. That  
10 is something nurses are trained to deliver, but only  
11 if we have a system that allows us to put the need of  
12 our patients ahead of the profits of a few. It is no  
13 secret that nurses are passionate advocates for an  
14 improved Medicare for all system in New York State  
15 and the country to meet the moral imperative,  
16 guaranteeing high-quality health care for all. We  
17 want to guarantee that the progress that we make  
18 towards health care for all lifts all boats and every  
19 working person. We believe our advocacy is for the  
20 plan that guarantees workers currently receiving  
21 health care benefits through a collective bargaining  
22 contract will see the same for better benefits and an  
23 improved Medicare for all program. For the record,  
24 NYNA is committed to working with our brothers and  
25 sisters in labor to address any concerns they may



1  
2 have as health care for all legislation moves forward  
3 through the democratic process. Thank you for the  
4 opportunity to testify today.

5 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Nurse  
6 Wade, and thank you for your service to the medical  
7 community, to your patients, and to the labor  
8 movement.

9 MARVA WADE: I'm like our president.  
10 [laughter] She's going to the same meeting I'm going  
11 to.

12 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: All right, well, we  
13 don't want you to be late. Mr. Perlstein.

14 JAMES PERLSTEIN: My name is James  
15 Perlstein. I'm retired after 43 years of teaching at  
16 City University of New York. I speak for the social  
17 safety networking group of the Professional Staff  
18 Congress, the union of 30,000, representing faculty  
19 and professional staff at the City University. Our  
20 union believes that health care is a human right and  
21 a public responsibility. The PSC has endorsed the  
22 principle of single-payer health care for all  
23 Americans. The New York Health Act, A4738 and S4840,  
24 Gottfried, Rivera, is a constructive initiative  
25 pointing in the direction of universal,

1  
2 comprehensive, and affordable care for New York State  
3 residents. The New York Health Act is a work in a  
4 progress. The PSC will continue to work with others  
5 to ensure that the high-quality benefits and  
6 protections already received by labor unions are not  
7 undermined and that the sacrifices unionized workers  
8 have made in salary to ensure good health benefits  
9 are recognized. The PSC will remain engaged with the  
10 bill's sponsors, our sister unions, and community  
11 partners to secure enactment of a law that serves the  
12 interest of all New Yorkers. We view today's  
13 hearings and the resolution before the council as a  
14 step in that direction and a valuable part of  
15 creating broader public awareness about the benefits  
16 of a single-payer system to provide high-quality,  
17 cost-effective care to all New Yorkers. Thank you.

18 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Mr.  
19 Perlstein. Thank you very much. We're going to call  
20 up our next panel. Sammy Disou, who I think might be  
21 outside holding the baby that has been better behaved  
22 than some of the adults in this room, Anthony  
23 Feliciano, Henry Moss, Charmaine Ruddock, Leonard  
24 Rodberg, and I'm sorry, I'm having a hard time  
25 reading this name, it's last name Malily, it might be

1  
2 Lisa. And while our panel is making its way up  
3 front, I want to tell you that the leaders, the  
4 current acting chair of the health department, Dr.  
5 Oxiris Barbot, as well as the president and CEO of  
6 the city's Health and Hospitals system have submitted  
7 testimony for this hearing. They couldn't be here in  
8 person, and this testimony is going to be available  
9 online for anyone to look at. But I do want to read  
10 just one sentence, which I think is worth sharing.  
11 They say in this letter a single-payer system would  
12 make strides to decrease segregation of care based on  
13 insurance type and decrease needless administrative  
14 costs of our current health care systems. So this is  
15 a very powerful statement, but that one line is  
16 noteworthy and this will be on the record publicly,  
17 and Sammy, as super-dad we're going to let you go  
18 first so that you can attend to your wonderful baby  
19 as needed. Please, why don't you lead us off. And  
20 if you could make sure that your microphone is on,  
21 the button on the base.

22 SAMMY DISOU: Respected Council Member,  
23 elected officials, and colleagues in the social  
24 justice movements, my name is Sammy Disou. I teach  
25 in the Africana Department at John Jay College of

1  
2 Criminal Justice. I'm also an adjunct liaison with  
3 Professional Staff Congress CUNY. I speak today in  
4 support of Resolution 470, and in my capacities as a  
5 father and a regular New Yorker. Several years ago I  
6 was in a restaurant with my wife, about to have  
7 dinner, and before the meal was served I collapsed  
8 and couldn't move at all. An ambulance was called.  
9 I was placed in that ambulance and that's really  
10 where my experience with this need for New York  
11 Health Act arose. I was unemployed at that time and  
12 so I didn't have any health insurance, and right  
13 there, as I lay in the ambulance, my wife and I had  
14 to make the difficult choice of whether to have the  
15 ambulance deliver me to the hospital, which was just  
16 a mile away, or whether we should try and save some  
17 costs that we knew would be significant and get out  
18 of the ambulance, have her run over to car, which was  
19 parked not too far, and then make our way to the  
20 hospital. My wife made the right decision and gave  
21 her consent to have me transported via ambulance.  
22 This, unfortunately, members of the health committee,  
23 this is the kind of gut-wrenching decisions that New  
24 Yorkers face every day. My case was, turned out to  
25 be a simple issue of severe dehydration, but many

1  
2 others who are in similar, or face similar  
3 situations, find themselves in the hospital, realize  
4 that there are significant health issues that they  
5 must overcome and they must go bankrupt, essentially,  
6 first before Medicaid kicks in. Others are not even  
7 that lucky. They simply must forego health until a  
8 day when they are rushed into the emergency centers,  
9 which obviously places enormous cost burdens on the  
10 entire system for the rest of us. In short, or in  
11 closing, I would like to commend the speaker for  
12 advancing this resolution. I would like to commend  
13 all of the members of the health committee, who I  
14 believe will do the right thing and move this bill,  
15 this resolution to the floor as quick as possible so  
16 that your colleagues in the, in Albany can do what's  
17 right and finally put a stop to what's definitely  
18 bleeding in terms of human potential, lives, economic  
19 potential. Thank you.

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: My goodness, Mr.  
21 Disou. Thank you for sharing your storing. It's  
22 absolutely a moral outrage that you or anyone would  
23 have to be lying in the back of an ambulance and  
24 start to have run through calculations of the costs  
25 of various health care options. No moral society

1  
2 would allow that to continue, and your personal story  
3 adds significantly to this hearing. It is quite  
4 compelling, and we're grateful that you are here, and  
5 that both of you are here. Thank you very much for  
6 speaking out. Please start on the end if you want to  
7 continue. Yes.

8 LEONARD RODBERG: OK, I'm Leonard  
9 Rodberg. I'm emeritus professor of urban studies at  
10 Queens College. In my two minutes I want to make  
11 three points, but I'm here primarily because I  
12 supervised, along with Assemblyman Gottfried, the  
13 economic analysis of the New York Health Act that was  
14 conducted by Professor Friedman three years ago, and  
15 more recently the Rand Corporation has done an  
16 economic analysis of it, and I prepared a report  
17 looking, which both reviewed the Rand Corporation and  
18 modified it somewhat to take advantage of what we  
19 really know from research. They made very  
20 conservative assumptions that weren't really backed  
21 by research. That report that I prepared is attached  
22 to my testimony for your benefit. It is also, if  
23 you're interested in the source of the numbers  
24 Assemblyman Gottfried described, describing the  
25 savings under the New York Health Act, they're in

1  
2 that report. So my three points. The first is the  
3 New York Health Act would have no co-pays, no  
4 deductibles, no cost sharing. For Americans they  
5 find that unbelievable and you see, you hear comments  
6 that it would break the bank if we didn't have that.  
7 If you go a few hundred miles from here north, you  
8 cross the border, the Canadians have a health care  
9 systems which is single-payer and which has no cost  
10 sharing. No Canadian approached going to a doctor's  
11 office or a hospital has to put out any funds. It's  
12 all tax funded. In this country we have the Medicaid  
13 program and the V.A., both of which have no cost  
14 sharing, in most cases, at least in New York. And I  
15 did a study of around the world and about a third of  
16 all countries have no cost sharing. They spend half  
17 of what we spend. You do not have to have people  
18 have skin in the game in the health care field in  
19 order to have a health care systems that works.  
20 Second, the savings that we describe under the New  
21 York Health Act come from administrative savings.  
22 There's no assumption in any of the analyses we do  
23 that there will be any reduction in the spending of  
24 health care. That addresses particularly the point  
25 that the hospitals are worried that their budgets

1  
2 will be cut. We are not in our analyses of the  
3 funding of this assuming any reduction in the  
4 spending on actual health care, only on wasteful  
5 administration. And third, I did a short study of  
6 what New York City's government would, what the  
7 effect of the New York Health Act would be on the New  
8 York City government and what I found was it would  
9 save three and half billion dollars a year on health  
10 benefits as the cost of providing health benefits to  
11 the employees of the New York City government would  
12 be reduced by three and a half billion dollars. The  
13 government would in addition save the 5.9 billion  
14 that is now city government's share of Medicaid. A  
15 total of 9.4 billion dollars, or 11% of the city's  
16 budget. We're talking about major savings to the  
17 city government which could be used for a lot of  
18 things, a lot of problems we have in the city from  
19 hospital survival to housing. Thank you.

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, and that  
21 point just cannot be emphasized enough. There are  
22 vast, vast savings to be realized in moving to a more  
23 rationale single-payer system, and thank you for  
24 bringing an economic perspective to that. Thank you.  
25 Anthony.



1  
2                   ANTHONY FELICIANO: Good afternoon. My  
3 name is Anthony Feliciano. I'm the director of the  
4 Commission on the Public Health System. I'm going to  
5 skip a lot of part of my testimony. But, you know,  
6 you've heard already. There's been arguments against  
7 a universal single-payer system because the cost to  
8 government. But our current health care systems is  
9 actually already extremely expensive and what about  
10 the millions of New Yorkers who pay the human toll  
11 and the price for high cost of care. Would it not be  
12 beneficial to be able to negotiate favorable terms  
13 with drug companies and service providers? No one  
14 should ever be unable to afford the care they need.  
15 You know, no one should be able to be forced to ask  
16 themselves do I pay a hospital bill or do I pay a  
17 utility bill or food at the table or the roof over a  
18 family. I will say that insurance obviously, it  
19 would be wrong to try to put insurance like it's a  
20 panacea against to fight all problems that's going on  
21 in the health care systems. But including around  
22 issues of historical racism, structural racism within  
23 the health care systems, but, and my experience in  
24 working with diverse communities insurance status,  
25 issues of insurance, is strongly associated with

1  
2 medical bill difficulties and is strongly associated  
3 with issues around this combination as well. For  
4 many people paying hospitals bills we know it impacts  
5 greatly. I will say that part of the issue is that  
6 as a person of color I know intimately well the  
7 unequal conditions in our marginalized communities.  
8 I know how they get treated. I understand the  
9 difficulties they face accessing quality health care.  
10 I'm horrified by those stories all the time. But the  
11 way New York Health Act is one major solution to a  
12 major form of discrimination within that system. And  
13 this resolution was giving a strong message to the  
14 state about what the support is like on the city  
15 level around this. And I want to just say that, I  
16 wasn't mentioning this before, but it heartens me  
17 where industry like the hospitals talk about how they  
18 take care of everyone when we know in this city  
19 there's a system of two systems here. There's a tale  
20 of two health care systems. A tale of two cities.  
21 Looking, and part of it is also around the insurance.  
22 And so we need to address that. There is structural  
23 racism and this bill is not to resolve that.  
24 However, what would it do it will be greatly impact  
25 our communities, communities of color, all

1 communities, and that's what's important about this.  
2 You know we can't keep the status quo, it's not  
3 acceptable. We cannot continue having New Yorkers  
4 skipping health care because of issues like  
5 affordability. We cannot continue to rely on major  
6 players like health insurance industry to continue to  
7 be reliable partners in delivering their health care.  
8 Thank you.  
9

10 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Anthony,  
11 thank you. Please, sir. It's Mr. Moss, is that  
12 correct?

13 HENRY MOSS: YES.

14 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK.

15 HENRY MOSS: My name is Henry Moss. I'm  
16 on the board of the New York City Chapter of  
17 Physicians for a National Health Program, although  
18 I'm not a physician. I do have a doctorate, but I'm  
19 not a doctor. I'm here to support the resolution.  
20 Conservative anti-government ideologues from the  
21 Manhattan Institute and the Empire Center for Public  
22 Policy have been spreading myths about the New York  
23 Health Act. They are contradicted by the facts. One  
24 set of myths concerns the role of government in  
25 health care. Myth number one - the government cannot

1  
2 control health care costs. As we've heard today,  
3 fact, costs in the current US market-based system  
4 have risen by 50% since 2000 and are still out of  
5 control. Premiums have risen by 19% over the past  
6 five years in this country. And as you have heard,  
7 countries with single-payer are heavily regulated  
8 universal systems, spend half of what we do on  
9 average with better health outcomes, and these  
10 countries and government programs like Medicaid and  
11 the V.A. can negotiate lower drug prices and medical  
12 device prices through the leverage that government  
13 has and the population it serves. Myth number two -  
14 the government cannot run an efficient health care  
15 system. Fact - Medicare trustees reported that in  
16 2015 Medicare had an administrative overhead of under  
17 2% of total expenditures, while the Congressional  
18 Budget Office reported 13% for commercial insurers,  
19 which of course gets passed along in premiums. This  
20 includes the cost of excessive executive  
21 compensation, corporate profits, marketing expense,  
22 and the thousands of workers needed to field calls  
23 from doctors who are, who need prior authorization or  
24 who are fighting a denial, and other wasteful  
25 practices aimed only at reinforcing the bottom line.

1  
2 And there are additional thousands of workers in the  
3 hospitals and in physicians' office who spend their  
4 time interacting with hundreds of different insurers  
5 with thousands of constantly changing plans. Myth  
6 number three - government programs are overly  
7 bureaucratic and result in poor customer service.  
8 Fact - the traditional, the single-payer traditional  
9 Medicare program is hugely popular. According to the  
10 Kaiser Family Foundation, 80% of those over 65 have a  
11 favorable opinion of Medicare, including 67% of older  
12 Republicans. 69% of those under 65 also have such an  
13 opinion. And finally myth number four - the New York  
14 Health Act would mean government control of health  
15 care delivery, i.e. socialized medicine. That's just  
16 either wrong or a lie. New York Health Care will  
17 make the payments for health care, but private  
18 hospitals and physicians will continue as independent  
19 operators under the New York Health Act and be in  
20 complete control of health care delivery. They will  
21 negotiate fair and reasonable payment from New York  
22 State in exchange for providing the quantity and  
23 quality of care needed by New Yorkers. And there  
24 will be no restricted networks. Our market-based  
25 approach has failed us and only the government, yeah,

1  
2 the government, has the leverage to get costs under  
3 control and to meet constitutional obligation to  
4 safeguard the health and welfare of all.

5           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Mr. Moss.  
6 You know, the perspective of the people on the front  
7 lines, doctors, nurses, other providers, has been too  
8 often absent from this debate and there's a lot that  
9 you said that's important. But I do want to  
10 emphasize that there is such a thing as socialized  
11 medicine in the world. It's the system, for example,  
12 in the United Kingdom, the National Health Service.  
13 It does, by the way, cost less than what we're  
14 spending in the US per person and it's getting better  
15 health outcomes. That, however, is not on the table  
16 today. We're talking about payment, talking about  
17 single-payer. Thank you for emphasizing that point.  
18 It's a common misconception.

19           HENRY MOSS: The folks in England won't  
20 give up their National Health Service. The UK has a  
21 very good service. But all you read about in the  
22 papers are the problems.

23           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And that's the  
24 consensus from right to left, in the United Kingdom,  
25 by the way.

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HENRY MOSS: Correct.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Mr. Disou, your child is awake now. And still incredibly well-behaved. Putting us all to shame. And is it a she? Would she have any comments to make? [laughter] Does she support single-payer health care?

SAMMY DISOU: In a year. Make some noise.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: All right, well, we'll check back in with her in a year. Please.

DR. MALILY: I'm here as a New Yorker, also as someone who has worked as an epidemiologist and health economist internationally, and I'm in support of the New York Health Act. This act reports New York State joining global efforts outside the US, ensuring universal access to health care and a public health focus that makes everyone important and keeps track on how well we're achieving our health care priorities as a state. This includes prevention and treatment of cancer, cardiac disease, and the like. The NYHA will be administered via separate geographic sections of our state, which allows critical assessment of unmet needs, such as where we need more doctors and hospitals, nurses,

1  
2 etc. What NYHA needs, once passed, is cost control  
3 measures to ensure an affordable, cost-effective,  
4 state health system, one like the rest of the world.  
5 What we know from all other countries, except ours,  
6 is that cost controls help to create a workable  
7 budget. A workable budget requires negotiating drug  
8 prices based on clinical outcomes. The list is  
9 endless of New York State can do and everywhere else  
10 is doing it. The bill will probably include a  
11 preferred drug program, a measure that allows  
12 prescription of medications without any  
13 preauthorization that are demonstrated to achieve  
14 optimal health outcomes with demonstrated cost  
15 effectiveness, meaning cost is commensurate with how  
16 much patients benefit, no me-too drugs that cost  
17 more, no high-cost new drugs with negligible clinical  
18 benefit over current gold-standard treatments. I  
19 urge the City Council to demand passage of this bill  
20 to ensure all New Yorkers access to health care with  
21 measures that include negotiation of drug costs,  
22 looking at the type of outcomes and measuring them,  
23 and a preferred drug treatment program. It's  
24 important to the health of New Yorkers, to the  
25 economic solvency of our vibrant health care systems



1  
2 that includes some of the best hospitals in the  
3 world, if not in our country, if not the world, what  
4 good is it if all New Yorkers can't get access, and  
5 just echoing Dr. Bassett about, you know, basically  
6 the racial divide is the health divide. This is what  
7 NYHA ensures and why the City Council should and  
8 needs to endorse this plan.

9           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much,  
10 Dr. Malily. And thank you very much to this panel.  
11 We are going to hear next from the great Bobbie  
12 Sackman and her affiliation is listed as Jay French  
13 and the Caring Majority. And we have Heidi  
14 Siegfried, the Center for Independence of the  
15 Disabled. And one of the leading activists in this  
16 fight, across the city, Gwen Peryasami from FPWA,  
17 Jean Ryan from Disabled in Action, and the final  
18 member of this panel will be Kayla Lawrence from the  
19 New York Caring Majority, as well as 1199SEIU.  
20 Bobbie, would you like to kick us off?

21           BOBBIE SACKMAN: Yes. It's nice to see  
22 you, Councilman, thank you. As you said, I'm here on  
23 behalf of Jews for Racial and Economic Justice and  
24 the New York Caring Majority Coalition, which is a  
25 statewide coalition whose mission is basically to get

1  
2 universal long-term care, and so we're very excited  
3 and thankful that Assemblyman Gottfried and Senator  
4 Rivera are amending it into the bill, and I thank you  
5 for holding this hearing today. We've been through  
6 some great battles together.

7 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Yes, we have.

8 BOBBIE SACKMAN: And I know you don't  
9 give up, so that's really great. What I wanted to  
10 say, a few things just off the top of my head,  
11 because I'm not going to read the hold testimony. So  
12 for 28 years I was the direct of public policy at  
13 Live On New York, which represents senior services,  
14 and for at least the last 20 years I came to City  
15 Council, and they're going to come back this year,  
16 saying we have waiting lists, we have waiting lists  
17 for the program called Expanded In-Home Services for  
18 the Elderly Program, known as EISEP, for people above  
19 the Medicaid level, but their incomes are between  
20 twelve and twenty thousand dollars a year. And they  
21 can't get home care. And there's another part of the  
22 program called Case Management, to monitor, to make  
23 sure they get what they want. I know that this year  
24 they're going to come back and say there's over a  
25 thousand people whose average age is 85 waiting for

1  
2 case management. Hundreds are waiting for home care.  
3 Passage of the New York Health Act with long-term  
4 care in it, we'll never have to come back to you  
5 again and talk about waiting lists. We could talk to  
6 you about other needs that seniors need. And this  
7 would be incredible. It would place long-term care,  
8 you would get what you need on the basis of your need  
9 and not your income. And that's where we've been for  
10 too long, that if you're not eligible for Medicaid  
11 you're just lost. You're really pretty much sitting  
12 on a waiting list. The other thing, I was a little  
13 disturbed to hear the gentleman from the hospital  
14 association saying that, and I will finish it, that  
15 seniors are afraid they're going to lose their  
16 Medicare. That sounded like propaganda to me. You  
17 don't walk around saying that to people unless you  
18 really want to instill fear in them, and you want  
19 them to oppose this bill. So I don't know if we were  
20 given a message that they're going to give out, but I  
21 really feel that that was, it's a very dangerous and  
22 untrue message.

23 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And I picked up on  
24 that as well, and the truth is that the New York  
25 Health Act would offer superior benefits to what a

1  
2 senior is currently receiving, so there would be no  
3 reason for anyone to be fearful.

4 BOBBIE SACKMAN: And I'm now a Medicare  
5 recipient. You do not...

6 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Impossible.

7 BOBBIE SACKMAN: You will not lose your  
8 card, and I just think that that's a message we can't  
9 let them get that one through. That's the wrong  
10 message. Thank you.

11 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Bobbie.  
12 And is it Ms. Lawrence, is that correct? If you  
13 could turn your mic on.

14 KAYLA LAWRENCE: Good afternoon,  
15 everyone. My name is Kayla Lawrence and I just want  
16 to see that I feel very proud to sit here today to  
17 speak on behalf of the New York Health Act, on behalf  
18 of myself, the National Domestic Workers Alliance,  
19 whom I represent, also New York Caring Majority, and  
20 also 1199SEIU, which I work in three sectors. I  
21 started out as a caregiver when I came to this  
22 country. I started as a home attendant and I worked  
23 there for eight years, and then I proceeded to become  
24 a certified nurse's, nurse aide, and I've also done  
25 private duty, you know, home care around New York.

1  
2 So I've pretty much, I've had a lot of experience in  
3 providing care. And I just want to say that, you  
4 know, over the years of working and providing care  
5 for these clients, I've seen many of them suffer  
6 because they're either not getting enough hours, or  
7 they have problems with their Medicaid and, you know,  
8 stuff like that. So I am very happy to hear about  
9 this New York Health Act that will, hopefully will  
10 eliminate all of those kind of problems, you know,  
11 for New Yorkers that's disabled and need care,  
12 because, you know, New Yorkers, we're getting up in  
13 age and I've seen statistics that people, we're not  
14 having that many children anymore, and we are getting  
15 older and older and we need, you know, proper health  
16 care. So I am all for New York Health Act and  
17 hopefully it will solve some of the problems that,  
18 you know, the hospitals closing, the nursing home,  
19 because New York is the big apple. We should be  
20 setting the pace for the other states in this  
21 country, and we should have a universal health plan  
22 that set the pace for other states to follow. We  
23 shouldn't be falling behind on care for our elders,  
24 people with disabilities, and so on. We should be  
25 the role model state for everyone. Thank you.

1  
2                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Very well put. We  
3 couldn't agree more, and it's so great to have the  
4 voice of caregivers at the table today. Thank you  
5 for testifying.

6                   KAYLA LAWRENCE: Thank you.

7                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Gwen.

8                   GWEN PERYASAMI: Good afternoon. Thank  
9 you so much to the council. Thank you so much,  
10 Council Member Levine, for your introduction. I'd  
11 like to turn that back on the council for their  
12 leadership in setting up this hearing around this  
13 resolution. FPWA is a membership organization that I  
14 am a part of, um, of nearly 170 direct service  
15 providers working across the city on issues of health  
16 equity, for example. We are also on the steering  
17 committee of the New York Caring Majority, whose  
18 stories you are hearing all around me right now.  
19 Just to point on the long-term care part, long-term  
20 care for too long has been a financial hardship for  
21 the 1.2 million older adults in New York City alone,  
22 the countless disabled individuals and their loved  
23 ones, and the workers who support them for far less  
24 than deserve to achieve in income equity in New York  
25 City, and we entirely endorse a single-payer system

1  
2 that prioritizes, including long-term care, in all of  
3 its needs. Just to talk a little bit about this  
4 resolution, whether it has been about the threats to  
5 public charge, to providing leadership on Access  
6 Health NYC, which helps immigrant New Yorkers' needs,  
7 as well as many others, and countless other health  
8 equity issues in New York City, the council has shown  
9 such leadership in health equity, and this resolution  
10 is an opportunity to continue to show that leadership  
11 to show that New York City believes in health equity  
12 in comprehensive, affordable, accessible health care  
13 for all, and I encourage the council to vote on this  
14 resolution as soon as possible.

15 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much,  
16 Gwen, for those comments and for your leadership in  
17 this field.

18 HEIDI SIEGFRIED: Hi, so my name is Heidi  
19 Siegfried. I'm the health policy director at Center  
20 for Independence of the Disabled in New York. We,  
21 our goal is to ensure full integration, independence,  
22 and equal opportunity for all people with  
23 disabilities by removing barriers to full  
24 participation in the community. We help, we have a  
25 lot of people who help people try to understand,

1  
2 enroll in, and use their private and public health  
3 coverage, so we appreciate the opportunity to share  
4 with you our thoughts about New York Health Act.  
5 We've heard a lot today about affordability, but  
6 another problem that we've really uncovered with the  
7 current health care systems as it is, which we find  
8 does not work well for people with disabilities, is  
9 the issue of networks, and so the New York Health Act  
10 would really liberate people from networks, much as  
11 people who age into Medicare or disabled into  
12 Medicare find when they are able to see any  
13 participating provider, and we have, we've conducted  
14 focus groups around the state with other health care  
15 advocates and found that a lot of people are delaying  
16 or just throwing up their hands and going without  
17 care because they cannot find the proper provider in  
18 their network. So we think that a system where you  
19 can go to any participating provider, and also the  
20 care coordination service that's separately funded in  
21 this bill, would really go a long way to helping  
22 people deal with that. Some of the other concerns,  
23 people with disabilities would have, is we really  
24 would want to see, we look forward to seeing the bill  
25 amended to include long-term care. This is obviously



1  
2 very important to us. The managed long-term care  
3 plans that we have to deal with now are both cutting  
4 back on their hours and the ones who provide adequate  
5 hours are going under, and so that, we see this as a  
6 possible solution. The other thing we would like to  
7 see is strong durable medical equipment providers  
8 that know how to deal with complex rehab technology,  
9 and physical therapy, occupational therapy, and  
10 speech therapy without visit limits, which is what  
11 we've been encountering both in commercial coverage,  
12 Medicaid, and private, ah, Medicare has a dollar  
13 threshold. So the idea is that services would be  
14 based on medical necessity. So we're looking forward  
15 to having less restrictive benefits and less  
16 restrictive networks. Thank you.

17 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Ms.  
18 Siegfried. And Ms. Ryan, is that correct?

19 JEAN RYAN: Hi, I'm Jean Ryan. I'm  
20 president of Disabled in Action, and I got sick last  
21 night, so I'm sorry for my voice, but at least I have  
22 one now. We're a cross disability civil rights  
23 organization. We were founded in 1970. Long-term  
24 care and home care is a right. We're confident that  
25 long-term care of all kinds will be included in the

1  
2 New York Health Act because not only is it a right,  
3 it is a necessity. People are going without medical  
4 care because they cannot afford insurance or the co-  
5 pays from affordable insurance. People are going  
6 without long-term care because of not enough money to  
7 get care. People are having to quit jobs to take  
8 care of family members, and then not have enough  
9 money to live on. Caregivers are losing their own  
10 health more because they are unable to take care of  
11 themselves adequately, to get enough rest and medical  
12 care while they are taking care of their loved ones.  
13 People who are in need of full-time specialized care  
14 and who are dying and want to be home are unable to  
15 stay home to die and get enough care because now  
16 through hospice they can only get two hours of care  
17 at home per day. Two hours. What about the other 22  
18 hours? No one person can provide 22 hours of care  
19 every day. When long-term care is a reality under  
20 the New York Health Act people with disabilities will  
21 be able to live productive lives and be paid a decent  
22 salary in a productive job and not have to worry  
23 about making too much to get out of poverty, as they  
24 do now under Medicaid. Caregivers will not have to  
25 worry about becoming ill or dead or impoverished

1  
2 while taking care of sick relatives. People with  
3 disabilities who need care will get the care they  
4 need. This is our vision of what the New York Health  
5 Act will mean to people with disabilities. Thank  
6 you.

7                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Ms. Ryan.  
8 And I'm not sure if you were here for the opening  
9 comments of Assembly Member Gottfried, but he did  
10 make it clear that in January they are going to  
11 officially announce that the reintroduction of the  
12 bill will include long-term care. That's a very,  
13 very, very big deal. Thank you for speaking on this  
14 important topic. And thank you to this excellent...

15                   JEAN RYAN: [inaudible] enough, a lot  
16 could happen between now and January.

17                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: That is true, that  
18 is true, and we share your sense of urgency in  
19 addressing this crisis. Our next panel will be  
20 Kimberleigh Smith from Callen-Lorde, Kim Barrons from  
21 the New York State Nurses Association, Mark Levitz  
22 from PNHP, Alec Forbach, and Joshua Clemon from  
23 Harlem Young Democrats. Thank you, and I'm informed  
24 that we have a very, very long list of people still  
25 waiting to testify, so if I'm a little tight on the

1  
2 timing piece I hope you'll forgive me and understand.  
3 So, please.

4           ALEC FORBACH: I'm Alec Forbach. I'm a  
5 medical student and the fellow for the New York Metro  
6 Chapter Physicians for a National Health Program. My  
7 role with them is to organize the growing contingent  
8 of medical students in this area that are staunch  
9 supporters of single-payer health care. Right now we  
10 have nine chapters of students for a national health  
11 program at medical and public health schools in this  
12 area, and that number is consistently growing. I  
13 think the reason for this is actually quite simple.  
14 All of us came to medical school because we want to  
15 help people. Yet as we get deeper into our training  
16 and as we get more exposure to the shortcomings of  
17 our health care systems we realize that that's often  
18 not possible. Far too often we present patients with  
19 an impossible dilemma - go without needed care or go  
20 bankrupt trying to pay for it. Now, as a medical  
21 student I've been exposed to the wonders of modern  
22 medicine. I remember a patient who was brought into  
23 the emergency room unresponsive and seizing, only to  
24 be begging for discharge two days later so he could  
25 go to Central Park and take pictures of the snowstorm

1  
2 with his wife. So it's no doubt that in this city we  
3 have some of the most advanced medical care in the  
4 world. Yet far too often we must bear witness to the  
5 ways that the structures governing our health care  
6 systems prohibit the provision of even the most basic  
7 care. Just last month I walked out of the hospital  
8 at midnight. There was a man shivering in a  
9 wheelchair in the cold. All he needed was a place to  
10 stay, and we stood right outside of the emergency  
11 room. But the first thought that came to my mind was  
12 about what an unaffordable hospital bill would do to  
13 any hope of a better future for that man. I don't  
14 want to practice in a system where that's the first  
15 thought that comes to my mind when I see somebody in  
16 need of care. None of us do. Now, in New York we  
17 don't have to have that system. With the New York  
18 Health Act we can have a system in which everybody  
19 has access to the world's most advanced medicine, and  
20 we could have a system in which nobody has to go  
21 bankrupt to pay for it. With the New York Health Act  
22 we could have a system in which all of us medical  
23 students are proud to practice and to train, and  
24 that's important because today's medical students  
25 will be the leaders of tomorrow's health care

1  
2 systems. So that is why I am urging you today to  
3 continue to fight for the New York Health Act so that  
4 we can have a health care systems in which we can all  
5 go back to the reason we came to medical school in  
6 the first place - to help people. Thank you.

7 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much.

8 Thank you very much, council members and  
9 chair. My name is Kim Barrons. I'm a New York State  
10 Nurses Association member and I am ER nurse. And  
11 every day that I work I am witness to the people that  
12 come in, choosing the ER not because they're dying  
13 but because that's the only access to health care  
14 that they have, because they have no option, because  
15 they have under-insurance, and the gentleman from the  
16 hospital association said, oh, well, we help support  
17 so everyone gets health care, no one is denied.  
18 Emergency room is not health care. And there are  
19 hospitals down the street that cherry-pick patients  
20 who can pay and who cannot pay. They pay their own  
21 insurance, er, their own ambulance systems that  
22 cherry-pick patients that are undesirable and they  
23 divert them to the public hospital which I work.  
24 Access to health care does not equal access to care  
25 delivered, and the New York Health Act would be that

1  
2 one option that we all can have that we can actually  
3 get care and not just access to care.

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Nurse  
5 Barrons, and thank you for vividly illustrating  
6 exactly the challenge that we want to call attention  
7 to, the inadequacy of a system that forces people  
8 into the emergency room for what could have been  
9 treated in a primary care setting, to the advantage  
10 of the patient and the health system. Thank you for  
11 that important perspective.

12 DR. MARK LEVITUS: Committee Chairman  
13 Levine, the committee council, I am Dr. Mark Levitus.  
14 I have long time worked actively for Physicians for a  
15 National Health Program here, and I'm here as a  
16 physician. My point, number one, as such I  
17 personally will make no money out of the  
18 implementation of a single-payer plan. None of the  
19 other works, physicians, nursing people, social work  
20 people, community activist people, we don't make  
21 money from this. In fact, some of my colleagues, the  
22 higher-paid set of speciality surgeons, for example,  
23 are going to lose money. Yet, in fact, if you poll  
24 physicians all of them will favor, they say we need  
25 some sort of reform for health care and now more than

1  
2 half of them will say yes, we need a single-payer  
3 plan. For us, what a single-payer system represents  
4 is to give us the ability to deliver better care to  
5 more people in a more user-friendly, user-friendly  
6 for both us and the patients' health care systems.  
7 Regarding our detractors, the insurance, the  
8 pharmaceutical industry representatives, in truth  
9 they are here to protect our current convoluted  
10 health care systems. It has been a cash cow for  
11 them. Their contention that a single-payer system  
12 will be too expensive is absurd and I can sort of  
13 remind you that my colleague, Dr. Len Rodberg,  
14 expressed that very clearly a few moments ago. So my  
15 plea to everyone listening to this is no matter who  
16 speaks to you, pro or con on the issue, pay attention  
17 to who's talking to you. And my last minute or  
18 second is that, my second issue is the issue of state  
19 level as opposed to national level. Assemblyman  
20 Gottfried certainly addressed that. I just want to  
21 remind you that it's a big tradition in New York  
22 State. Our former governor a hundred years ago, Al  
23 Smith, a hundred years ago in response to the  
24 Triangle Shirtwaist fire down the street introduced  
25



1  
2 tremendous local legislation that became a template  
3 for the New Deal. We should do that again.

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: All right, thank you  
5 very much. And I do want to ask Olanikay Oyayema  
6 from the National Association of Social Workers to  
7 join the panel and in the meantime, Kimberleigh, you  
8 can take it away.

9 KIMBERLEIGH SMITH: Thank you. Good  
10 afternoon and thank you for the opportunity to  
11 testify this afternoon. My name is Kimberleigh Smith  
12 and I'm representing Callen-Lorde Community Health  
13 Center. As you know, we are a federally qualified  
14 community health center whose mission is to reach  
15 lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities,  
16 as well as people living with HIV in New York City  
17 and beyond with high-quality, comprehensive, non-  
18 judgmental health care regardless of ability to pay.  
19 We are very much a part of the New York City's  
20 dynamic health care infrastructure and cared for  
21 about 18,000 patients in 2017. And I want to just  
22 add that before I worked there I was a patient at a  
23 time when I needed care. So we are here today to  
24 publicly endorse and emphatically urge the New York  
25 City Council to pass Resolution 470. As a recognized

1  
2 community health care facility that was born out of  
3 the Stonewall era at a time when mainstream medical  
4 establish did not fully embrace or acknowledge the  
5 primary and sexual health needs of the LGBTQ  
6 community, we believe we hold a particular expertise  
7 in how to make health care fully equitable and  
8 accessible to all. So I want to offer today our  
9 support for this resolution as providers, as  
10 employers, and as principled proponents of health,  
11 economic, and racial justice. First, our perspective  
12 as health care providers. Technically, we, you know,  
13 our ability to treat a patient is not constrained by  
14 the insurance status of that patient because we're a  
15 community health clinic, but we still suffer the  
16 inordinate burden of wrangling with commercial and  
17 public insurers, navigating complex billing systems,  
18 and untangling administrative bureaucracies. One  
19 example is we spend hundreds, possibly thousands of  
20 hours of staff time helping our transgender patients  
21 contest insurance denials for gender-affirming care,  
22 care that is medically necessary and mandated to be  
23 covered by both Medicaid and commercial insurers in  
24 New York. As an employer, we did a basic study that  
25 determined that we will save 3.5 million dollars

1  
2 annually under the New York Health Act program, and  
3 then finally we support the single-payer health care  
4 systems because it will advance health, economic, and  
5 racial justice in our city and our state. I have  
6 left a detailed testimony and you can read it at your  
7 leisure.

8                   CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Impeccable timing.  
9 Thank you for those remarks and for the work of  
10 Callen-Lorde. It's very important. Ms. Oyayema.

11                   OLANIKAY OYAYEMA: Hi, good afternoon.  
12 My name is Olanikay Oyayema and I'm a licensed master  
13 social worker and I represent the National  
14 Association of Social Workers, the New York City  
15 Chapter. The National Association of Social Workers,  
16 New York City Chapter, appreciates this opportunity  
17 to speak on behalf of Resolution 470 that expresses  
18 the council's support for the New York Health Act.  
19 In fact, our association has already expressed its  
20 support for the act directly to legislators in  
21 Albany. We represent 6000 social workers in the  
22 metropolitan area. Social workers are on the front  
23 line of the fight for universal affordable health  
24 care because we deal with on a daily basis with the  
25 problems our clients experience. For example, when

1  
2 they become sick and are without insurance, have  
3 inadequate coverage, cannot keep trusted providers  
4 because their employers change their insurance plan,  
5 or they cannot afford even if insured. Social  
6 workers know too well the profound anxiety of  
7 patients and their families having to deal with  
8 insurance companies limiting or denying treatments  
9 ordered by the doctors or facing bankruptcy because  
10 of medical bills. Because social workers always  
11 focus on the person and his or her own environment,  
12 we understand the impact poor health care has on  
13 mental health, employment, since patients may lose  
14 their jobs when they delay treatment because of cost,  
15 and then face hospitalization for lengthy  
16 rehabilitations. Clients can lose their housing  
17 because of unpaid bills. Stress due to financial  
18 debts can negatively affect relationship with  
19 partners or spouse and children, resulting in a loss  
20 of emotional support when they need it the most. Dr.  
21 Martin Luther King stated of all forms of inequity  
22 injustice in health care is the most shocking and  
23 inhumane. We agree and believe that the solution  
24 rests with our elected officials who can decide that  
25 the misery inflicted on New Yorkers is no longer

1  
2 acceptable, and it is time to adopt a solution that  
3 every other wealthy country has adopted - a truly  
4 affordable universal health care. The solution is  
5 there. It is the New York Health Care. What is  
6 needed now is the political will to implement it.  
7 The National Association of Social Workers of the New  
8 York City Chapter therefore hopes that the New York  
9 City Council representing millions of New Yorkers  
10 will add its voice to the many communities, large in  
11 small, in our state who have expressed support for  
12 the New York Health Act and have asked our elected  
13 officials to act at last.

14 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you. Thank  
15 you very much for your testimony and for your work as  
16 a social worker.

17 OLANIKAY OYAYEMA: Thank you.

18 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Very quick follow-up  
19 for you, Kimberleigh. You mentioned that there was  
20 an expected 3 million dollars in savings for you. I  
21 think you meant you as an employer...

22 KIMBERLEIGH SMITH: Yes.

23 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: ...if this is  
24 enacted. Could you explain how you would realize  
25 those significant savings?

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KIMBERLEIGH SMITH: Sure, sorry, I was rushing through...

3

4

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: No, no, great, please.

5

6

KIMBERLEIGH SMITH: So we just did a very basic analysis. We took the cost of our current, we pay 100% of our health care for our employees at Callen-Lorde. So we took the cost of the current health care. Then we did an estimate of the cost of administrative services, whether it be billing, referrals, insurance navigation. We added those two together, and then we used the Friedman's, used Friedman's analysis to estimate how much we would pay for our employees' health care based on his cost estimates and just subtracted the two and came up with 3.5 million.

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CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: That is an important data point and we thank you for sharing that with us. Thank you to this excellent panel. Next up we have some of the most prominent activists who have been leading this charge for years, including Carlyn Cowen from the Chinese American Planning Council, Max Handler from the New York Immigration Coalition, Rachel Eicher from the Arab American Family Support

1  
2 Center of New York, Cameron Non from Mekong, Tasvia  
3 Ramen from CACF, and finally Sylvia Sikter from India  
4 House. Sorry, India Home. OK. Great, and how about  
5 you start us off. That would be Sylvia, correct?

6 SYLVIA SIKTER: Good afternoon. Thank  
7 you very much for the opportunity to testify in front  
8 of all of you. I here representing India Home.  
9 India Home is a nonprofit organization and we provide  
10 services to the South Asian seniors. So I'm going to  
11 make it shorter. I'm here today on behalf of India  
12 Home to voice our support for the New York Health  
13 Act. As you know, the New York Health Act will  
14 provide comprehensive universal health coverage for  
15 every New Yorker and would replace private insurance  
16 coverage. This will have the positive impact on all  
17 New Yorkers. This health care act will give every  
18 New Yorker resident the opportunity to handle health  
19 insurance regardless of age, income, and the  
20 immigration status. This is especially important for  
21 the South Asian older adults we work with, as they  
22 are vulnerable immigrants themselves who live in  
23 poverty depend on adult children, speak little  
24 English, have low to no income, and are socially  
25 isolated. Immigrants comprise of almost 50% of New

1  
2 York City's older adults. Many immigrants, including  
3 those we serve require extra attention due to their  
4 unique needs. Furthermore, we provide services to  
5 many seniors who are also undocumented. These  
6 undocumented seniors currently do not have any form  
7 of health insurance. This population is growing  
8 older and facing a great number of health  
9 complications and other difficulties. At our  
10 Richmond Hills location we provide senior services  
11 and half of our members are there undocumented. One  
12 member in particular, I'm giving the example, who  
13 speaks Punjabi, is undocumented and has lived in this  
14 country more than 30 years. When he is sick he says  
15 he has no choice but to stay at home and rest,  
16 because like most undocumented people he doesn't have  
17 insurance. When such seniors needs health care  
18 services we refer them to NYC Health and Hospital  
19 facilities and the emergency room or the community  
20 qualified health centers and the community clinics.  
21 But the community health centers are not adequately  
22 equipped for the extensive care to the undocumented  
23 seniors specifically. This newly proposed  
24 legislation established the New York Health program  
25 would help target these issues by instituting our



1  
2 universal single-payer health plan guaranteed for all  
3 New York State residents. Moving forward, we have  
4 some recommendations to following steps. Number one  
5 - create and disseminate informational materials to  
6 ensure seniors are aware of their rights to the New  
7 York Health program coverage. Number two - ensure  
8 information is available in major South Asian  
9 languages prevalent in New York City, such as  
10 Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, etc. Thank you very  
11 much for the opportunity.

12 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Sylvia.  
13 OK, Max.

14 MAX HADLER: All right. Good afternoon,  
15 Council Member Levine. Good to see you. Thank you  
16 very much for calling the hearing. My name is Max  
17 Hadler. I'm the director of health policy at the New  
18 York Immigration Coalition and we strongly support  
19 the resolution and the New York Health Act because,  
20 as we've heard today, it would cover anyone in this  
21 state, regardless of immigration status. We have an  
22 entire campaign called Coverage for All that we run  
23 with Make the Road New York to extend coverage to all  
24 undocumented adults to protect coverage for people  
25 losing temporary protected status and deferred action

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2 for childhood arrivals, which is another 80,000  
3 people that because of attacks by the Trump  
4 administration would not only lose their immigration  
5 status, but potentially also their health insurance  
6 coverage. While these steps are very important and  
7 that's why we have a campaign for it, passing the New  
8 York Health Act and implementing the New York Health  
9 Program would resolve all of these issues as pertain  
10 to coverage. So we are extremely supportive of it.  
11 I do want to raise a few points that while we still  
12 have a lot of work to do to see the New York Health  
13 Program become a reality, I think it's never too  
14 early to think about implementation, and in terms of  
15 implementation there is pervasive segregation in the  
16 current health care systems by payer type and by  
17 patient race and ethnicity and preferred language  
18 that is not going to be solved overnight by the  
19 creation of the New York Health Act, and it requires  
20 a really concerted effort to make voluntary hospitals  
21 and other private providers rise to the level of  
22 culturally responsive and linguistically appropriate  
23 care that currently and already takes place in best  
24 practice organizations like community health centers,  
25 for example. And then another issue related to

1  
2 public charge and to walls on our borders and to the  
3 suspension of asylum and to all of these other issues  
4 that immigrant communities are facing today is that  
5 we need a well-conceived, well-funded, and well-  
6 executed outreach and education program to encourage  
7 use of the health care systems by immigrant  
8 communities, discouraged from seeking services by all  
9 of these policies now. We have a great model in  
10 Access Health NYC that I know you are very familiar  
11 with and very supportive of, and I thank you for  
12 that. I think if we were to implement a program like  
13 the New York Health Program that provided universal  
14 coverage we need to acknowledge that there are many  
15 steps we need to take to get all the way to the point  
16 of having true equal opportunity and access in the  
17 health care system. Thank you very much.

18 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you for those  
19 excellent, excellent points. I am recalling a  
20 statistic I got from Dr. Katz, who is the head of the  
21 Health and Hospitals, which is that about two-thirds  
22 of the patients who come to them uninsured are  
23 actually eligible for some form of subsidized plan.  
24 It could be Medicaid, it could be a subsidized plan  
25 on the exchange, and they have not enrolled for

1  
2 whatever reason. It could be the fear factor that  
3 you describe and there could be other barriers. But  
4 it's not too soon to begin to think through that  
5 challenge, how to make sure that people actually  
6 access the benefits to which they're entitled.  
7 They're not doing it today in many cases, hundreds of  
8 thousands of cases, and so you're right to say we  
9 have to start planning for that in what we hope would  
10 be an expanded universal benefits.

11 MAX HADLER: Thank you very much.

12 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Max.

13 Carlyn..

14 CARLYN COWEN: Good afternoon. My name  
15 is Carlyn Cowen. Today is deeply personal for me  
16 because the US health care system has single-handedly  
17 devastated my family. So I thank you for your  
18 leadership on this issue. But I'm actually here to  
19 talk about my work at the Chinese American Planning  
20 Council, where we serve 60,000 Asian American, low-  
21 income, and immigrant New Yorkers each year. The  
22 community members that we serve desperately need the  
23 New York Health Act, because one in four people that  
24 walks through our doors is uninsured. The community  
25 members that we serve need the New York Health Act

1  
2 because for those who are lucky enough to have  
3 insurance so many of them still don't get needed  
4 medical care because they can't afford the doctors'  
5 visits, the co-pays, the prescription drug costs, and  
6 they're still paying for insurance, and it's a choice  
7 that's a trade-off between their rent, groceries, and  
8 insurance, and putting off care that they need. The  
9 community members we serve need the New York Health  
10 Act because we have people coming into our centers  
11 and de-enrolling from government subsidized health  
12 care programs because they are afraid that it is  
13 going to hurt their immigration status. And the  
14 community members that we serve need the New York  
15 Health Act because one in three of our seniors lives  
16 under the poverty line. Two in three of them don't  
17 speak English and many of them don't have a plan for  
18 their long-term care. Senior Asian American women  
19 are actually the highest suicide population in New  
20 York City because our system leaves them no other  
21 options and they are isolated and alone. I'm about  
22 to give everyone about 30 seconds of my testimony  
23 time back, but I just want to ask one question for  
24 everyone in the room. Do we all believe that health  
25 care is a universal basic human right and if so how

1  
2 bold action are we willing to take to make it happen?

3 Thank you.

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Yes, and very bold  
5 would be my answer. And, boy, the connection between  
6 both of your testimony reminds us that if we, when we  
7 succeed we are going to bring in new people to the  
8 health system who might not currently be served and  
9 many of them will be non-English speakers and face  
10 other culture barriers. So we darn well better be  
11 sure we can solve the problem of inadequate care to  
12 people who do not speak English, people of color,  
13 people of other faiths, who currently are not getting  
14 equitable care and that challenge is only going to be  
15 greater as we bring in what we expect will be many,  
16 many, many new patients who have, who could  
17 potentially face these challenges if we don't fix the  
18 problem now. Thank you very much. Thank you.

19 RACHEL EICHER: Hi, my name is Rachel  
20 Eicher. I'm with the Arab American Family Support  
21 Center. And I want to thank the Committee on Health  
22 for convening this today and inviting community-based  
23 organizations to comment on these proposals. As one  
24 of the few organizations with an Arabic-speaking  
25 health navigator in New York AFSC has extensive

1  
2 experience expanding access to health care for  
3 immigrants and refugees. Over the past year alone we  
4 enrolled over 1200 individuals in free or low-cost  
5 health insurance programs, including Medicare,  
6 Medicaid, and essential health benefits under the  
7 ACA. We also promote early intervention and  
8 preventative care, building community awareness  
9 through workshops, and also have recently partnered  
10 with the department, the NYC Department of Health and  
11 Mental Hygiene, on a mental health initiative. We  
12 can attest that despite progress under the ACA there  
13 is still unmet need for health coverage among  
14 immigrant and refugee communities, and we see  
15 disturbing trends. The US Department of Homeland  
16 Security has proposed changes to the definition of  
17 public charge and its implications for immigration  
18 status threaten the health, safety, and livelihoods  
19 of immigrants and refugees. In light of the  
20 resulting fear of deportation we have already seen  
21 our community members give up needed services,  
22 jeopardizing the health and safety of themselves and  
23 their children. We also see families with limited  
24 income struggle with the cost, the rising costs of  
25 health, and avoid routine interaction with the health

1  
2 care system, postponing treatment until problems  
3 require urgent care or cannot be helped. Children  
4 and the elderly are at heightened risk, but these  
5 choices have negative public health implications for  
6 the entire city and state. So in light of this, AFSC  
7 welcomes measures by New York State to ensure that  
8 all residents, regardless of age, wealth, income,  
9 employment, or other status, and including  
10 undocumented immigrants, can receive the health care  
11 they need. We applaud efforts to lower health care  
12 costs and improve outcomes for vulnerable populations  
13 and encourage further action to simplify the maze of  
14 health insurance regulations that leave so many  
15 families confused and under-resourced. And we  
16 respectfully request that city and state authorities  
17 continue to include culturally and linguistically  
18 competent service providers in the conversation  
19 around community health to ensure proposed solutions  
20 are fully inclusive and optimally designed. Thank  
21 you.

22 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much,  
23 Rachel. Please.

24 TASVIR AKMAN: Good afternoon. My name  
25 is Tasvir Akman and I'm the policy coordinator for



1  
2 the Coalition for Asian American Children and  
3 Families. We're the nation's only pan-Asian children  
4 and families advocacy organization and leads the  
5 fight for improved and equitable policies, systems,  
6 funding, and services to support those in need. I am  
7 here representing the APA community. Our community  
8 is very heavily immigrant, with 78% being foreign-  
9 born and has the highest rate of linguistic isolation  
10 of any group at 42%. The act will alleviate the  
11 burden that many immigrants face in understanding and  
12 navigating the complexity of health insurance plans,  
13 many of which are too exclusive for families.  
14 Additionally, and most importantly, almost 15% of  
15 APAs of over the 18 remain uninsured in New York  
16 City. And a majority of APAs, 89%, nearly 90%,  
17 uninsured is foreign-born. Many APAs are also self-  
18 employed, working in small businesses or in cash-  
19 based industries that are less likely to offer health  
20 benefits. The health care access problems are  
21 exacerbated in APA communities by immigration status-  
22 related challenges, language barriers, cultural  
23 stigmas regarding public benefits, and low  
24 utilization of primary and preventative care. In  
25 light of the impending public charge we need, we

1  
2 cannot afford to dismiss an opportunity to protect  
3 and improve health, the health and well-being of our  
4 immigrant communities. So I just have three  
5 recommendations. One is, of course, to work on  
6 passing the resolution, to call on the New York State  
7 Legislature to pass the New York Health Act, and two,  
8 we also urge City Council to ensure that community  
9 and organizations serving APAs and other immigrant  
10 communities are included and supported in the  
11 outreach efforts during the implementation of the  
12 act. CACF also asks the City Council to guarantee  
13 that the New York Health Act provide a thorough and  
14 inclusive coverage which provides care often  
15 overlooked in basic health insurance plans, such as  
16 dental, eye care, mental health care that is both  
17 language accessible and culturally competent. Thank  
18 you so much for taking the time to hear our  
19 testimony. We appreciate your commitment to  
20 improving the health of APA children and families in  
21 New York City.

22 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: That was an  
23 outstandingly timed statement, but also the content  
24 was very, very good as well. Thank you very much to  
25 you and CACF and to this entire panel. Wonderful.

1  
2 Next up we have Bob Lederer from Physicians for  
3 National Health Care, Charmaine Ruddock from the  
4 Institute for Bronx Health Reach and the Institute  
5 for Family Health, Beverly Koster, Ellen Polavy from  
6 Geriatric Care Managers, and Priscilla Bassett from  
7 the Statewide Senior Action Council. This is quite a  
8 treat. OK, why don't you kick us off, please.

9 CHARMAINE RUDDOCK: Sure. So, good  
10 afternoon. I'm...

11 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Your microphone,  
12 please. Thank you.

13 CHARMAINE RUDDOCK: Is that better? Yes.  
14 Good afternoon. I wish to thank the City Council and  
15 its Health Committee for this opportunity to provide  
16 testimony in this hearing on Resolution 470 in  
17 support of the legislation A4738, AS482, to establish  
18 a New York health program, a universal single-payer  
19 health plan for all New York State residents. I'm  
20 Charmaine Ruddock, the project director of Bronx  
21 Health REACH, a coalition of 70-plus community and  
22 faith-based organizations in the Bronx. This  
23 coalition is led by the Institute for Family Health,  
24 a network of 30 federally qualified health centers in  
25 the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, and in Ulster and

1  
2 Kingston counties in upstate New York. The institute  
3 serves 117,000 patients and do 650,000 patient visits  
4 each year. Bronx Health REACH's focus, since its  
5 inception in 1999, is the elimination of racial and  
6 ethnic disparities in health outcomes, especially in  
7 the Bronx. Much of our work in the community has  
8 focused on diabetes and its prevention, which  
9 disproportionately impacts Bronx residents for a  
10 number of reasons, including access to health  
11 information, access to healthy lifestyle choices, and  
12 access to health care. By almost every health  
13 measure the Bronx has the poorest health outcomes in  
14 New York. For the past nine years, the Robert Wood  
15 Johnson County Health Rankings Report has ranked the  
16 Bronx 62 out of 62 counties in New York State in  
17 health outcomes and health factors. It is why Bronx  
18 Health REACH, the Bronx Health Action Center  
19 formerly, the Bronx District Public Health Office,  
20 Montefiore Health System, and the Bronx borough  
21 president's office cofounded Not62, The Campaign for  
22 a Healthy Bronx. Some statistics: Within New York  
23 City, the Bronx has the largest percentage of adults  
24 without health insurance, 22%, and the largest  
25 percentage of adults going without needed medical

1  
2 care, 12%. The work of the coalition has involved  
3 multiple focus groups with community residents to  
4 determine the obstacles they encounter in getting  
5 good health care, and the themes that emerged were  
6 distrust of the health care system, a sense of being  
7 disrespected by the system, poor communication,  
8 feeling of inadequacy in advocating for themselves.  
9 These findings were used to develop a community-based  
10 initiative that engage a community in many primary  
11 prevention activities. But while valuable and while  
12 they can and do make a difference, in order to make  
13 the change that will ensure sustainable health care  
14 for Bronx residents access to quality health care had  
15 to change. As we examine the causes of widespread  
16 racial and ethnic health disparities in health care  
17 we determined that there was a pervasive segregation  
18 of care based on the link between race, ethnicity,  
19 and insurance status, resulting in the systematic  
20 separation of white and people of color into  
21 different systems of care. We call it medical  
22 apartheid. This legislation, if passed, will have a  
23 profound impact on changing all of this. It will  
24 mean that people in the South Bronx would be able to  
25 access the same quality of health care as people just

1  
2 a few zip codes away from them, whose care now looks  
3 very different from theirs and whose outcomes in many  
4 instances as a result is different. In conclusion,  
5 the Bronx Health REACH coalition and the residents of  
6 the Bronx are not naive to believe that the  
7 establishment of the New York Health Program will be  
8 the magic bullet that in one fell swoop eliminates  
9 racial and ethnic health disparities. However, we do  
10 know that it will certainly eliminate a major  
11 obstacle in achieving that goal - lack of health  
12 insurance or inadequate health insurance. Thank you  
13 very much, Ms. Ruddock.

14 CHARMAINE RUDDOCK: Thank you.

15 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And I'm very excited  
16 to have another Bassett joining us, Priscilla  
17 Bassett.

18 PRISCILLA BASSETT: Well, yes, I am  
19 Priscilla Bassett.

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And if you could  
21 turn your microphone on, please.

22 PRISCILLA BASSETT: Oh, I thought it was.  
23 Is that better?

24 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Yes.

25

1  
2 PRISCILLA BASSETT: My name is Priscilla  
3 Bassett and I'm a long-time member and former officer  
4 of New York Statewide Senior Action Council, and I'm  
5 retired co-chair of SLAC, the Senior Legislative  
6 Action Committee of Sullivan County, which is right  
7 next to the Bronx at the bottom of the rankings, the  
8 county rankings. Both of these are grassroots  
9 organizations dedicated to supporting the security  
10 and quality of life of seniors through education and  
11 advocacy. We have long supported previous bills  
12 intending to establish universal health insurance on  
13 the federal and state level. I'm also a member of  
14 DC37 Retirees Association, having been, having worked  
15 for the New York Public Library. I now live part  
16 time, part of the year, in Manhattan. You may ask  
17 why seniors, already beneficiaries of Medicare, would  
18 direct their energies towards passage of the New York  
19 Health bill. Why would I, a 25-plus-year beneficiary  
20 of traditional Medicare be here before you today?  
21 Part of the answer is very simple. In my childhood  
22 there was an elegant automobile, the Packard car.  
23 Its slogan was Ask the Man Who Owns One. So, ask us.  
24 We seniors know from personal experience the sense of  
25 security, the guaranteed access, and the simplicity

1  
2 of billing that Medicare offers. Universal health  
3 insurance works for seniors and would work for  
4 everyone. Now, this is not to say that Medicare, how  
5 happy I am to be such a beneficiary, that as it is  
6 currently constructed it has its own shortcomings.  
7 The untoward effects of partial privatization are  
8 apparent with Medicare Part D, the pharmaceutical  
9 insurance component, a gift to the already immensely  
10 profitable health insurance industry. The  
11 introduction of Medicare Advantage plans in the  
12 Medicare Modernization Act has brought profit-making  
13 and thereby the undermining of original Medicare.  
14 Hearing aids, dentures, eye glasses, we all have  
15 heard, are not covered by Medicare. These are  
16 important accoutrements of aging as we strive to  
17 maintain our health and quality of life. Long-term  
18 care, and we've heard about that today, is extremely  
19 limited under Medicare and leaves most seniors  
20 dependent on Medicaid if coverage fails. These  
21 benefits would be covered under the New York Health  
22 bill. Such welcomed improvements would be provided  
23 for everyone. Significantly, the New York Health  
24 bill would eliminate deductibles and out-of-pocket  
25 costs for seniors. People enrolled in Medicare pay a



1  
2 significant amount in cost sharing or for seniors for  
3 supplemental insurance to control out-of-pocket  
4 costs. Others today have testified and will, I  
5 assume, analyze the savings that universal single-  
6 payer coverage would bring. We in SLAC upstate in  
7 Sullivan provided such background to our county  
8 legislators, and I am proud to say that the  
9 bipartisan Sullivan County legislature has  
10 unanimously endorsed the New York Health bill. I am  
11 truly honored to be speaking to the City Council, and  
12 thank you for this opportunity. We seniors bring a  
13 unique perspective to universal health insurance  
14 because it is clear we are living examples of the  
15 benefits of a single-payer system. We are proud to  
16 support the New York State health bill. It is not  
17 only a good idea, a moral commitment to health care  
18 as a human right, it is cost-effective and it will  
19 work. Please pass City Council Resolution 470 on  
20 behalf of my fellow New York City constituents cradle  
21 to grave. Thank you.

22 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: My goodness. Thank  
23 you, Ms. Bassett, for testifying. There's nothing  
24 that makes a City Council member more upset than  
25 learning that we are behind the Sullivan County

1  
2 Legislature. [laughter] I'm going to make sure all  
3 of my colleagues know that. It is great to have you  
4 speaking here, and I understand a little bit more  
5 where Dr. Bassett gets some of her leadership  
6 qualities. So thank you for that education as well.  
7 Thank you.

8 PRISCILLA BASSETT: Thank you.

9 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Please.

10 BEVERLY KOSTER: Good afternoon. My name  
11 is Beverly Koster. I am an independent advocate  
12 assisting people in obtaining Medicaid and home care  
13 services. And I'm finding it increasingly difficult  
14 to obtain live-in home care services for people who  
15 are definitely in need of that, and what I'd like to  
16 do is provide personal examples from my own  
17 experience as to what is so terribly wrong with this  
18 system. I have been successful through the Medicaid  
19 Immediate Need Program in getting approval for 24-  
20 hour live-in care, but when they need to transition  
21 to managed long-term care it's a different story. I  
22 have a client who is 101 years old. She can do  
23 absolutely nothing for herself and she had been  
24 getting live-in care through the Immediate Need  
25 Program and her first MLTC, but there was a recent

1  
2 reshuffling between vendor agencies and MLTCs, and in  
3 order to not lose her aides, whom she and her family  
4 love very much, we went with another MLTC that has a  
5 contract with the same vendor. That nurse approved  
6 only nine hours per day and told her son and  
7 daughter-in-law, who live in a separate upstairs  
8 apartment in the same house to get a baby monitor.  
9 Another client, 97 years old, who wobbles greatly the  
10 moment he stands up, is getting live-in home care  
11 also through short-term immediate need, but the MLTC  
12 nurse evaluating him said he qualifies for only nine  
13 hours, even though despite his unsteady balance,  
14 despite using pull-ups, he frequently wets the bed at  
15 night, and left to his own devices would not be able  
16 to help himself. The daughter of another client with  
17 dementia was told by the MLTC nurse to see if she  
18 could get some medication for her mother to "control  
19 her behavior." After I told the daughter that that  
20 was reportable, the agency backed down big time and  
21 approved the necessary live-in care. The MLTC nurses  
22 use a computer program to determine needed hours of  
23 care, but it doesn't capture the total needs for a  
24 client. If someone needs help getting dressed in the  
25 morning do they not need the same help getting

1  
2 undressed and into pajamas at night? Do they not need  
3 the same assistance with dinner meals that they need  
4 for breakfast and lunch meals? They also split hairs  
5 on definitions. For example, if a person is  
6 "forgetful" about taking their medications they don't  
7 need an aide. A family member can call them to  
8 remind them to take their meds and the person will  
9 hang up and do it. If the person is "confused", then  
10 they need an aide, because they will hang up the  
11 phone and do nothing. It's very important for family  
12 members to be aware of the proper choice of words  
13 when they are dealing with an MLTC nurse.

14 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And Ms. Koster, I'm  
15 so sorry, if you could just try and summarize, only  
16 because we're behind and we have seven more panels  
17 waiting.

18 BEVERLY KOSTER: OK, I'm basically done,  
19 yes. Thank you.

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Well, OK, thank you  
21 very, very much. All right. Please.

22 BOB LEDERER: My name is Bob Lederer.  
23 I'm the executive director of Physicians for a  
24 National Health Program, the New York Metro Chapter,  
25 and we'd especially like to thank you, Chair Levine,

1  
2 for your leadership on this issue and for convening  
3 this hearing. I'm going to be reading a statement  
4 from our chair, Dr. Oliver Fein, who is unable to be  
5 here because of his clinical and educational  
6 responsibilities. So this is Dr. Fein's statement.  
7 I'm a practicing internist, professor of clinical  
8 medicine and health care policy at Weill Cornell  
9 Medicine. I'm here today representing the New York  
10 Metro Chapter of Physicians for a National Health  
11 Program, of which I am chair. Our organization  
12 represents 22,000 physicians nationwide and hundreds  
13 in this city who advocate for a universal, publicly  
14 financed system of guaranteed health care for all.  
15 We strong support the New York Health Act. As  
16 physicians, we constantly see the devastating  
17 consequences for patients who have no health  
18 insurance. We also witness an epidemic of under-  
19 insurance. Saddled with unaffordable deductibles and  
20 co-pays, many patients with insurance, like the  
21 uninsured, are forced to delay seeking care, stop  
22 their medications, and show up at emergency rooms for  
23 basic care. The New York Health Act guaranteed  
24 coverage for all of the uninsured and eliminates  
25 deductibles and co-pays for the insured. I want to

1  
2 address some misconceptions promoted by opponents of  
3 the New York Health Act. First, that the health act  
4 is government-run health care. In reality, under  
5 this bill you and your chosen health care providers  
6 will make the decisions about your health care. No  
7 more narrow networks, no more insurance denials of  
8 needed care. New York Health would just pay the  
9 bill. Second, that the New York Health Act would  
10 quadruple your taxes. Yet studies show that over 90%  
11 of New Yorkers will actually pay less in New York  
12 health taxes than they do now for premiums,  
13 deductibles, co-pays, and out-of-pocket costs for  
14 health care and prescription drugs. Third, that the  
15 New York Health Act will cut payments to doctors and  
16 hospitals. Actually, there will be sufficient  
17 savings from cutting out administrative waste and  
18 negotiating lower drug prices so that most provider  
19 reimbursement rates can be raised. In sum, the New  
20 York Health Act is feasible, long overdue, and would  
21 allow doctors to return to focusing on providing the  
22 best possible care for our patients while finally  
23 guaranteeing health care as a human right for all New  
24 Yorkers. Thank you very much.

1  
2 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, thank you  
3 very much.

4 ELLEN POLAVY: Thank you. My name is  
5 Ellen Polavy. I'm a medical social worker and  
6 geriatric care manager. My colleagues here, who  
7 spoke to the problems of Medicaid, talked about the  
8 problems that actually the private care companies are  
9 doing and we call that crapified health care -  
10 unnecessary barriers to necessary treatment.  
11 Networks, long wait times, pre-certification,  
12 requests for more information, denials, appeals -  
13 medical care accompanies liability, a private  
14 company's liability, and in the case of Medicaid we  
15 have the State of New York has outsourced Medicaid to  
16 private companies so home care is now provided by  
17 these private managed long-term care companies, which  
18 crapify the care for people. It's a little bit  
19 irreverent, but that's really what's happening.  
20 Traditional Medicaid, traditional Medicare is simple.  
21 We can, people can in Medicare, traditional Medicare  
22 you can see any provider who takes Medicare. I can  
23 arrange for home doctors, therapists, etc., for home-  
24 bound patients, for tests or treatment that can  
25 happen quickly. In Medicaid, traditional Medicaid,

1  
2 if we do an immediate-need application, which is  
3 traditional Medicaid, we can get 24-hour care and  
4 it's easy. There are procedures. We find, there are  
5 procedures, there are, now I'll read what I said  
6 actually. There are, as a social worker, private  
7 care manager for 40 years without question it's been  
8 far easier to deal with traditional Medicare and  
9 Medicaid, which are closest things we have to single-  
10 payer. Any of the for-profit companies are giving us  
11 a hard time. Medicare and Medicaid are transparent.  
12 They have clear, published rules and procedures with  
13 honest appeal systems and lots of professionals  
14 watching and keeping the system fair. So...

15 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Sorry to do this,  
16 Ms. Polavy, if you could.

17 ELLEN POLAVY: The choice is clear. We  
18 really need this single-payer.

19 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you. Thank  
20 you for also sharing that new technical term for our  
21 current system, which I wasn't aware of [laughter],  
22 but we like irreverence around here. Thank you to  
23 this panel. It was a great panel, featuring at least  
24 one celebrity. Next up we have Jeff Michaelson,  
25 David Lee, Tova Ovitz, Dana Offenbach, and Koshu



1  
2 Uling. OK. Since we have a couple extra seats open  
3 here, I'm also going to invite up, well, maybe not so  
4 much, OK. I'll ask Jane Willis also to join us, if  
5 Jane is here. OK. Great, and why don't you kick us  
6 off, please?

7                   DAVID LEE: Mr. Chair, members of the New  
8 York City Council Committee on Health, and fellow  
9 organizers for the fight for health care justice,  
10 thank you so much for this opportunity to share my  
11 story with everyone today. My name is David Lee. I  
12 was born in this city and I am a proud resident of  
13 Queens. Earlier this year as a Columbia University  
14 student I unfortunately suffered from rather severe  
15 depression. I remember feely deeply isolated and  
16 helpless in the face of a damaging school culture,  
17 and I remember that the wonder that I once felt from  
18 learning and studying was extinguished. I lost the  
19 will to go to class, and it was debilitating enough  
20 that even seemingly mundane tasks like getting up out  
21 of bed in the morning or going out to eat seemed  
22 laborious. So what happened was I left school on  
23 medical leave, and Columbia policy mandates that in  
24 order for students to return they must receive  
25 treatment and procure a doctor's note proving so.

1  
2 But for me, affording mental health care is simply  
3 out of the question. My low-tier health insurance  
4 covers next to nothing and the school health plans  
5 range in the thousands of dollars for one school year  
6 alone. It is truly a moral disgrace that because I'm  
7 not rich I'm hurt by a system that sees me as not  
8 deserving of quality care, because I can't contribute  
9 to their profit margin, and because I cannot afford  
10 treatment I am unable to continue my studies at  
11 school. I've lived my life without treatment that  
12 I've needed for months and until single-payer health  
13 care is realized in New York this is the reality that  
14 I have to live with. So I urge the City Council to  
15 vote in affirmative on Resolution 470 in support of  
16 the New York Health Act. But, more importantly, I  
17 want to urge everyone to have the moral imagination  
18 to envision a society in which we put the sanctity of  
19 people's health over the cruel greed of corporate  
20 profits. I want everyone to say it with the rest of  
21 us, that guaranteed health care is a human right.  
22 Thank you.

23 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, David,  
24 thank you so much. Please.

25

1  
2                   JEFF MICHAELSON: Council Member Levine  
3 and the Health Committee, thank you very much for  
4 convening this hearing. My name is Jeff Michaelson.  
5 I have been a freelance photographer and small  
6 business owner in New York City for a little over 18  
7 years. For the first several years of my career I  
8 had no health insurance because I could not afford  
9 it. During these years, I did not see a doctor or a  
10 dentist and went without treatment for issues that  
11 for all I knew could have proven life-threatening. I  
12 am one of the lucky ones. I was lucky enough not to  
13 get seriously ill or injured during this time, but it  
14 was the source of constant anxiety, knowing that if  
15 at any point I got sick or seriously injured I would  
16 either go bankrupt or I would get no treatment at  
17 all. Eventually I was able to purchase a cheap  
18 insurance plan through the Freelancers Union, which  
19 was an improvement, but just a few years later when  
20 the Affordable Care Act was passed those plans became  
21 obsolete and I was forced to buy insurance on the  
22 individual marketplace at a much higher premium and  
23 with higher deductibles. It was a huge burden on my  
24 business. I won't deny that the ACA has done some  
25 good. My wife, for example, who is also a freelance

1  
2 artist, gained insurance for the first time under the  
3 ACA. But as we discovered when we married three  
4 years ago, the ACA contains a marriage penalty and as  
5 soon as we got married our combined income caused her  
6 premiums to skyrocket. My own health insurance  
7 premiums and deductibles rise every year, with  
8 constant, bewildering changes in coverage and network  
9 access. My current plan has a monthly premium of six  
10 hundred dollars, and with a deductible of more than  
11 seven thousand dollars, and it's set to rise 15% next  
12 year. To top it all off, I received a letter from my  
13 insurance company informing me that they are dropping  
14 coverage for my primary care provider starting next  
15 year. As a small business owner, I can tell you this  
16 constant run-around is a burden and a distraction  
17 that saps creative and entrepreneurial energy,  
18 impacting freelancers like myself in material and  
19 immaterial ways that are not reflected in the  
20 official statistics. I believe our private health  
21 insurance system is unjust, inhumane, and  
22 unnecessary. Passing the New York Health Act would  
23 lift an enormous weight from the shoulders of small  
24 businesses and allow millions of self-employed New  
25 Yorkers to live with greater dignity and without the

1  
2 anxiety of wondering whether they can afford what  
3 should be a basic human right. Thank you.

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Jeff, and  
5 this is an incredibly important point and I'm glad  
6 that the day didn't end without it. One of the  
7 reasons why this has an economic benefit is because  
8 entrepreneurs and risk-takers are going to feel more  
9 comfortable starting businesses and new enterprises  
10 and freelancing if they don't have to worry about  
11 health care, and this needs to be entered into the  
12 calculus of the economic upside of universal  
13 coverage. So thank you for being here today to  
14 express that perspective and for the work you've done  
15 in leading in this important effort. Thank you.

16 DANA OFFENBACH: Hi, I'm Dana Offenbach.  
17 I'm going to go a little off script, just being here  
18 all day listening to all of this, and I came here  
19 because I'm just mad as hell and like Jeff I am a  
20 small business owner, but my business was too small  
21 to get a good health care plan, so I'm basically a  
22 freelancer. I've been freelance for 16 years, and I  
23 grew up in the city. I've been paying taxes here  
24 since I'm 14 years old. I pump seven figures of  
25 business into this city annually, and I cannot get a

1  
2 good health care plan. My hospital doesn't, my  
3 hospital only takes six health care plans on the  
4 exchange, none of which I'm on. They're all  
5 unaffordable for me. And we're mad. We are falling  
6 through the cracks. We are a group of people, and  
7 I'm actually going to compare it to today. The  
8 politicians spoke first. The corporations spoke.  
9 The organizations spoke. And look who's here for the  
10 little people, the people that represent over 4  
11 million people in this city are independent  
12 contractors and freelancers, and we're here talking  
13 to each other and thankfully talking to you. So  
14 we're really glad. I'm a girl from Washington  
15 Heights. So I'm really glad you're and doing this.  
16 I'm glad that I'm here, and I'm going to take just a  
17 few seconds to tell you something that's critical  
18 that's not in this testimony. Last year, through one  
19 of the guilds that I belong to, I was approved for  
20 the first time in years a PPO through Cigna. When  
21 they then found out right at the cutoff point for  
22 health care, they found out I had a pre-existing  
23 condition. They then informed my broker that they  
24 were denying me coverage. I said how is that  
25 possible, it's illegal to do that in this city. And

1  
2 they said, no, well, actually you filled out a form  
3 to sign up for some association and the association  
4 has the right to deny coverage to whoever they want.  
5 I said no, I never filled out a form for an  
6 association. I only filled out a form for Cigna on  
7 their [inaudible] portal. It said on the top of my  
8 form for medical coverage, and Cigna has found a way  
9 to break the law. And because of that and because of  
10 everything we've heard, that's why we need you to  
11 keep fighting for us.

12 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very, very  
13 much Dana for your powerful words and strong  
14 perspective. Thank you. Please.

15 ULING KOSHU: Hi, my name is Uling Koshu.  
16 I've spent more than a decade working with small  
17 businesses to help them grow, in HR and operational  
18 capacities from empires like the Momofuku restaurant  
19 group, smaller businesses like Emily Thompson  
20 Flowers, or one-on-ones with freelancers. In the  
21 past two years I've been able to speak with hundreds  
22 of businesses statewide about their experiences with  
23 health insurance and health care as a volunteer with  
24 the Campaign for New York Health. I've learned that  
25 businesses statewide from freelancer to small,

1  
2 medium, large, from farmers, restaurants,  
3 exterminators, medical device companies, tech start-  
4 ups and cooperatives, whether the business is  
5 struggling or able to open multiple locations and  
6 hire more workers, whether the business can't afford  
7 to provide insurance or if the business has to  
8 provide insurance under the ACA, they all share the  
9 same extreme anxiety and financial burden caused by  
10 our current system of health insurance that puts  
11 profits over patients. Business owners, even the  
12 ones struggling to pay rent, would rather pay the  
13 progressive tax on payroll under the New York Health  
14 Act to provide guaranteed for all because health care  
15 under the New York Health Act is simple, it's  
16 predictable, and good for everyone, whether consumer,  
17 business owner, or worker. Business owners do not  
18 want to be part-time insurance brokers. Under the  
19 New York Health Act all that time, money, and energy  
20 put towards evaluating and administering  
21 intentionally confusing health insurance plans and  
22 all the money and energy put towards keeping up with  
23 at least annual changes in those plans, under the New  
24 York Health Act all of that money and energy would go  
25 towards actually growing their business, taking care



1  
2 of themselves and their employees, and their  
3 employees' families. Booney Coffee, for example, is  
4 an independent coffee and cafe business with  
5 locations in the Bronx and Manhattan. The owners are  
6 partners in life and business. One has to keep their  
7 full-time job outside of that business so that they  
8 can have health insurance for themselves and their  
9 kids, and especially because there's a chronic  
10 illness in their family. Under the New York Health  
11 Act they would be able to provide health care for  
12 themselves, their family, and their employees, and  
13 their employees' families for less than what they  
14 would pay under our current fragmented system. The  
15 majority of New York City small businesses are people  
16 of color and immigrants, both as owners and workers.  
17 I want to emphasize that the New York Health Act is a  
18 form of racial immigrant justice and it goes hand in  
19 hand with economic democracy, which helps move all of  
20 our social justice movements, whether we're  
21 consumers, business owners, or workers.

22 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, and I  
23 love Booney Coffee and I'm sorry to hear about their  
24 hardship behind the scenes. One more important  
25 reason to fight for this bill, and it sounds like

1  
2 Dana knows Booney Coffee as well as a fellow  
3 Washington Heights person. Please.

4           Hi, Council Member Levine and Health  
5 Committee and everybody, hi, I'm so grateful for your  
6 stamina, oh my. My name is Jane Willis. Thank you  
7 for this public hearing. The New York Health Act is  
8 under siege by billionaire lobbyists who want to  
9 protect an industry that profits from our illness and  
10 injury. For those of us giving testimony today, our  
11 personal stories are our currency, and we'll keep  
12 telling our stories until the New York Health Act is  
13 passed into law. I self-pay into an ACA plan with  
14 robust monthly premiums. Premiums, we'll remember,  
15 the Supreme Court determined are taxes. I needed to  
16 get foot surgery. A bone spur in my right foot, it  
17 hurt to walk. The spur needed to be shaved down and  
18 corrected, a simple procedure. Metro Plus sent me  
19 their list to podiatrists. The first doctor was an  
20 on-staff at a hospital that took my plan. The  
21 insurer rejected the second doctor because of a  
22 discrepancy with his tax ID number. Both doctors  
23 offered to submit appeals so they could treat me.  
24 But both admitted most appeals were time-consuming  
25 and were usually rejected by the insurers. This was

1  
2 no longer about my foot. So far, I'd shelled out  
3 \$160 in co-pays and neither doctor could treat me.  
4 As my farmer dad would say, Metro Plus sold me a bum  
5 steer. Then the second doctor, a rock star, did  
6 something the insurer couldn't or wouldn't do. He  
7 matched my plan with a former student of his in a  
8 hospital. The surgery was done. My foot's OK,  
9 although the uncovered expenses keep rolling in. By  
10 design, commercial insurance is full of tricks and  
11 trap doors, lots of out-of-pocket and hidden  
12 expenses, even after folks have paid their premiums  
13 and co-pays and are eating their deductibles. And  
14 why are doctors and patients doing all the  
15 administrative work? By design the New York Health  
16 Act allows doctors to treat patients and not the  
17 needs of the insurer. I'd much rather pay into a  
18 system that is about helping people get better, not  
19 lining shareholders' pockets. The New York Health  
20 Act will enable folks to live more independently than  
21 they are in our current system. I urge you to please  
22 support Resolution 470. Thank you.

23 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much,  
24 Ms. Willis. Thank you to this great panel. Next up  
25 we have Rich Holman, Diego Quinones, Joshua

1  
2 Salverman, Barbara Estrich, and Joseph Pedoriano. It  
3 looks like we have room for two more, so I'm going to  
4 ask Austin Horace and Guy Yowab, if they're here, to  
5 join us. If not, we will invite up Alana Lancaster  
6 and Allen Boonville. OK. Why don't you start us  
7 off, sir? Thank you.

8                   JOSHUA SALVERMAN: Many thanks for  
9 holding this event. My name is Joshua Salverman.  
10 I'm the failed congressional candidate from New  
11 York's Third District. I'm a resident of Whitestone,  
12 Queens. I greatly appreciate the opportunity to have  
13 a two-minute [inaudible] conversation about health  
14 care and its vital importance to the sustainability  
15 of our great city as state. As a recent  
16 congressional candidate, my bid fell far short of  
17 expectations, not for a lack of charisma or  
18 personality, both of which admittedly remain in short  
19 supply. Instead, it was for the recurrence of cancer  
20 which requires a substantial financial commitment,  
21 even with insurance. Despite now having health  
22 insurance, ground-breaking advancements such as  
23 immunotherapy are still not covered by most insurers.  
24 The fact that I stand before you now is but a mere  
25 testament to my rapidly depleted wealth. But what

1  
2 about those who haven't the means or resources to  
3 survive? Do we tell their families and friends,  
4 sorry Charlie, but your insurance will only cover  
5 FDA-approved treatments that may cause you greater  
6 harm than your actual disease? Too often I've seen  
7 family and friends go without treatment. Some have  
8 even set up GoFundMe accounts to cover added expenses  
9 of our deregulated health care system, which is rife  
10 with bureaucratic largess and free bottle koozies.  
11 Recently my mom, who is a special education teacher  
12 in Jamaica, Queens, was denied approval for an MRI of  
13 her knee by Evacore, a third-party provider of Emblem  
14 Health. An employee at their outsourced call center  
15 in the Philippines, a nation with universal health  
16 care, determined that her physician needed to send a  
17 detailed note before they would authorize a scan,  
18 even though her doctor got on the phone in the middle  
19 of seeing patients and stated that her matter was of  
20 an urgent nature. It took four days and a call to  
21 the New York State Department of Financial Services,  
22 not the Department of Health, before she would learn  
23 that she had a torn meniscus and another two weeks  
24 before they would operate. I don't know about how  
25 you feel regarding this. But I feel that these

1  
2 increasing obstacles to care are wholly unacceptable  
3 in a developed nation like American. During my  
4 recent run for Congress I had identified and  
5 emphasized many cost reductions and tax-saving  
6 benefits that would keep more New Yorkers in their  
7 homes. In particular, a single-payer system would  
8 save families upwards of 25% on their property taxes  
9 and would allow municipalities to reallocate savings  
10 towards [inaudible] public services. As our roads  
11 and rails decay alongside our overburdened hospitals  
12 and schools, and at a time when both our mayor and  
13 governor are hell-bent on accommodating the whims of  
14 the monied few, shouldn't we send a message to Albany  
15 that we will not stand idly as our loved ones died in  
16 the streets. I implore the City Council to pass  
17 Resolution 470 in support of the New York Health Act  
18 because no New Yorker can afford to wait another  
19 moment longer. Thank you.

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, Mr.  
21 Salverman. Thank you for sharing your story, and I  
22 certainly hope that you will run for office again,  
23 here or elsewhere.

24 AUSTIN HORACE: Hello. My name is Austin  
25 Horace. I'm with the New York Bike Messenger

1  
2 Association, and I want to tell you a story about my  
3 friend, Bill, as he and I are very similar. I'm  
4 uninsured as well, but this is about his story. But  
5 we're separated by almost two decades. Bill Meyers  
6 started working as a messenger around his 18th  
7 birthday, first in San Francisco and then in New York  
8 City. When I met Bill I had just started working.  
9 He was a very welcoming figure in the community and  
10 embraced all. As a frequently lonely person in New  
11 York City, his friendship was very welcome. As Bill  
12 aged he occasionally needed help from us. I was  
13 happy to offer him what I could, but unfortunately it  
14 was not enough. One day Bill passed out from blood  
15 loss. He had been carrying an untreated ulcer for  
16 years. We all knew something was wrong, but we're  
17 not doctors. Our efforts to help him in the form of  
18 couch surfs, home-cooked meals, a bike to replace his  
19 when it got stolen, even fund raising to move to a  
20 more hospitable setting in California were no  
21 substitute for the routine medical treatment an ulcer  
22 should receive. Bill didn't make it. He's not the  
23 only the only one of us to die or be seriously  
24 affected by deferring our treatment. As a messenger,  
25 it's similar to the other low-wage jobs that make New

1  
2 York City run. There's often a murky corporate  
3 structure so health care won't come from that.  
4 There's a culture of toughness and the fear of losing  
5 work which precludes Workers' Comp to most. There's  
6 a pressure to run around all day, and then the  
7 overwhelming urge to react, relax or cut loose on  
8 your off hours, making hard to research affordable  
9 options. There's a tax bias against bike work, so  
10 our vehicles, bikes and fuel, lots and lots of food,  
11 are not taken into account when calculating work  
12 expenses, making many of us ineligible for Medicare,  
13 despite a grilling job and high living expenses. I  
14 want a health care system that recognizes the value  
15 of a strong and healthy population and is accordingly  
16 publicly funded. I want a health care system that  
17 eases the confusion and burden of preventative care.  
18 I want a health care system that doesn't image  
19 corporations. And I want a New York Health Act to be  
20 a universal single-payer and give Medicare for all.  
21 Thanks.

22 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much,  
23 and a tragic story. Thank you for sharing it. It is  
24 important for us to confront those painful stories as  
25



1  
2 we weigh this policy decision. Thank you for being  
3 here.

4           BARBARA ESTRIN: I'm Barbara Estrin. I'm  
5 from the Bronx. I could sing that song from Gigi,  
6 I'm so glad I'm not young anymore, because I have  
7 Medicare. The stories in the packets that I gave you  
8 are from people who have good health insurance. They  
9 all went bankrupt after one illness. 42% of cancer  
10 patients go bankrupt because they cannot afford the  
11 care that they're getting. People are dying.

12 Medical bills are the leading cause of bankruptcy in  
13 the United States. Reason not the need, as Lear told  
14 his daughters before they threw him out into the cold  
15 night. There is a need and you can do something  
16 about it. You can support the New York Health Act.  
17 And thank you for these hearings from the bottom of  
18 my heart.

19           CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you, and this  
20 is a very powerful collection of stories that you  
21 have...

22           BARBARA ESTRIN: They're from, this is  
23 the Bronx, a weekly newsletter published by Gary  
24 Axelbank, in which people tell their health care  
25

1  
2 stories. They're astounding. They will move you to  
3 tears, but they need to move you to action.

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Amen, and this will  
5 be entered into the record for the public to read as  
6 they wish.

7 BARBARA ESTRIN: Thank you.

8 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you very much.

9 JOSEPH PEDORIANO: Good afternoon. I  
10 might be the elephant in the room here. No pun  
11 intended. But I am adamantly opposed to the New York  
12 Health Act. I am employer and I have a business of  
13 my own. My clients are employers. The New York State  
14 Health Act is adamantly flawed in a myriad of ways.  
15 First, according to the details of the bill that I've  
16 read in this packet right here, employers will be  
17 paying a higher payroll tax, and the employer will be  
18 80% of that payroll tax, according to this thing  
19 right here. Council Members, do you know what this  
20 means for small businesses, like me and my clients?  
21 Well, this bill means that businesses will be paying  
22 more in taxes while I provide more part-time jobs or  
23 less jobs, in some cases, and some businesses will  
24 not be able to afford to stay open. Do you know what  
25 that means? That means more poverty which will take

1  
2 place, and to be honest state-run health care has  
3 failed on a myriad of occasions. It has hurt  
4 businesses, especially with the ACA, and furthermore  
5 on a micro-economic level there are many businesses  
6 that will not, this bill will basically get rid of  
7 competition because of the fact that it will actually  
8 drive up costs for consumers, and furthermore the  
9 people who will be paying for this bill, being that  
10 this is a universal health care bill, will be the  
11 taxpayers in this room, especially the middle class,  
12 and the people of the 50th Council, my district, in  
13 Staten Island, are working hard. They are hard  
14 working like the rest of the people in this room, and  
15 in my opinion this bill is deeply flawed. This  
16 should not be, we should not have universal health  
17 care because universal health care has many flaws to  
18 it. Unfortunately we are too big of a state to  
19 afford universal health care and businesses like  
20 mine, my clients, the people in my council, my  
21 district, are going to be suffering from this bill.  
22 So this bill is deeply flawed. The New York Health  
23 Care Act is flawed, and I am in adamant opposition to  
24 it. So that's my opinion, and it does not work. I  
25 will fight tooth and nail to stop the passage of this

1  
2 bill. Yes, I want to help people who are in terrible  
3 situations, but there's a way about doing that and  
4 that way is by having more competition, by having  
5 more of a, you know, deregulated health care system,  
6 but with reasonable parameters to it, and yes, I  
7 might be the only one in the room saying this, but  
8 this is clear that universal health care is deeply  
9 flawed and it does not work. Thank you.

10 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I actually want to  
11 thank you, Mr. Pedoriano, for coming and speaking.  
12 It's not easy to be one of the few voices against a  
13 proposal which has this much support in this room and  
14 elsewhere. I want to point out some of the basic  
15 economics here, which is that except for the top 10%  
16 of earners this will on net be a reduction in costs,  
17 because what might be passed on taxation is more than  
18 recouped in savings and health care spending, and I  
19 truly value your perspective and I thank you for  
20 coming. I will say that we hear from many business  
21 owners who see this as a relief because it takes the  
22 burden of providing health care off the business and  
23 passes it to the state.

24 JOSEPH PEDORIANO: [inaudible]  
25

1  
2 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: You could put your  
3 mic back on.

4 JOSEPH PEDORIANO: Oh.

5 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Yeah.

6 JOSEPH PEDORIANO: But with all due  
7 respect, Councilman, according to this thing these  
8 taxes include a payroll tax by employers 80%. That's  
9 a, payroll taxes in New York State are ginormous, and  
10 80%, right here, basically employers are like  
11 covering 80% of the payroll tax in their business.  
12 It's crazy. You know, I understand where you're  
13 coming from. You want to help out people. I know  
14 that some small business owners have come in here and  
15 cited their support for the health care act, but it's  
16 clear to me that this act, for existing businesses,  
17 which a lot of people that I work with have existing  
18 businesses, some for over 30, 40 years, they'll have  
19 to provide health care for their employees, and, you  
20 know, I understand that we want to help out  
21 everybody, we want to help out the poor. But the  
22 thing is this. Don't do it on the backs of people  
23 who are hard-working individuals, I'm not saying the  
24 rest of you aren't hard-working, but don't do it on  
25 the backs of hard-working individuals who created

1  
2 jobs, who are building up businesses, who are trying  
3 to improve the community, and who actually do, you  
4 know, give back, don't do it on the backs of business  
5 owners, and I feel that this bill is going to lead to  
6 that happening, and that has happened in the past  
7 before with the ACA bill, ah, law. The ACA has  
8 burdened a lot of small business owners and it's  
9 burdened, and, you know, when Obama said Joe the  
10 Plumber is not going to be paying, ah, the bill.  
11 Guess what. Joe the Plumber did pay the bill. And  
12 obviously, you know, this bill, I feel has a  
13 similarity to Obamacare, if not an elaboration of  
14 Obamacare. I'm not saying Obamacare should be fully  
15 repealed or not, I do not have the experience to make  
16 that kind of a decisions, but the thing is this. You  
17 know, this bill is basically going to expand the size  
18 of government and time and time again government has  
19 failed, especially in the health care industry. Yes,  
20 we need to regulate some portions of the health care  
21 industry, but this bill is deeply flawed and it's  
22 going to hurt business owners like me.

23 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Well, we expanded  
24 the size of the government when we created Medicare  
25 and we created Medicaid, and those have been...

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JOSEPH PEDORIANO: I understand that.  
But that's, but this bill is going to take government  
to the next nth of a level.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: We should only hope  
that this bill is as successful as those previous  
government expansions for health care have been.

JOSEPH PEDORIANO: My conclusion - we'll  
see what happens.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: All right.

JOSEPH PEDORIANO: And if it's bad, all  
the Democrats will be voted out [chuckles].

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I do thank you for  
joining us today. Please.

JOSEPH PEDORIANO: Thank you. Thank you  
for letting me speak.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: I'm not chasing you  
out. You're welcome to stay.

JOSEPH PEDORIANO: Well, I need to go, I  
have to catch a bus to Staten Island.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK. Sorry about the  
mass transit, but that's the state and not the city.  
[laughter]

ALANA LANCASTER: So my name is Alana  
Lancaster and when I was 19 I had pneumonia, and I

1  
2 lost my health insurance and I was sick and I was  
3 scared and I couldn't breathe and there were debt  
4 collectors creating a nightmare for me, calling me  
5 about a chest x-ray that I thought would be covered  
6 but wasn't. Um, I recovered because I'm both lucky  
7 and because I had, I had privilege of education and  
8 the fact that I'm white, the fact that I worked in  
9 health care and knew how to navigate the system. But  
10 I didn't know that that was going to happen and I was  
11 terrified. Now I'm an adult who still works in  
12 health care. I know that that nightmare of a bill  
13 that I struggled to pay might have been ten times  
14 lower if an insurance company had been paying it  
15 instead of a broke 19-year-old. And this problem  
16 isn't limited to people who are uninsured. I've seen  
17 over and over again that in our profit-motivated  
18 system people who think that they have good health  
19 insurance, well, my experience is that a lot of  
20 people think that they have good health insurance  
21 until they get sick, and then they find out that  
22 that's just not how our system works, and I've seen  
23 so many people's faces as they confronted that  
24 reality, that really painful, horrifying reality that  
25 they were so much more vulnerable than they thought



1  
2 they were, and I never want to have that conversation  
3 with anyone again. As a transgender person who works  
4 in trans health I've seen the ways that our system  
5 disproportionately makes trans people vulnerable to  
6 denial of care, to dangerously substandard care, not  
7 to mention the fact that even though in New York  
8 State people, ah, health insurance plans are required  
9 to cover transition-related care, I've had to have  
10 that conversation with people where they work with,  
11 they work in New York State, they live in New York  
12 State, they access care in New York State, but their  
13 health insurance plan isn't regulated by New York  
14 State, so it's legal for them to be denied care.  
15 There's a lot more I could say about this, like  
16 everyone else, but above all, honestly, it's that  
17 part of me that's always going to be that scared,  
18 sick, uninsured 19-year-old. I know what it feels  
19 like to be in a system that tells you that you don't  
20 deserve care. I don't want that to happen to anyone  
21 else. I don't think any of us want that to happen to  
22 anyone else, and the way to prevent that from  
23 happening is the New York Health Act.

24 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: See, this is why  
25 people need to stay until the end of hearings. Thank

1  
2 you, that was very powerful and compelling testimony.  
3 Thank you, Alana, for speaking out. Thank you to all  
4 of you, including Joseph, who I think left us. And  
5 we're going to go to our next panel. OK, we have  
6 James Ryan. We have Dr. Elizabeth Kolod, sorry if  
7 I'm mispronouncing. We have Naomi Zodoy, Sharon  
8 Khan, and Rachel Bernstein. OK, if they're here  
9 we'll invite up, OK, we'll invite one more up if  
10 Andrew Mead Vonsales is here. And would you be Mr.  
11 Ryan?

12 ALLEN BONNEVILLE: Ah, Allen Bonneville.

13 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Sorry.

14 ALLEN BONNEVILLE: I was hung over from  
15 the last two, yeah.

16 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Ah, I apologize.  
17 But please, kick us off.

18 ALLEN BONNEVILLE: No, that's totally  
19 fine. I just want to make a quick comment about the  
20 person who is over there, they brought up the idea of  
21 part-time workers and I think that's something we  
22 haven't talked about, is that employers all over the  
23 country, all over the city and state, will purposely  
24 hire part-time workers and keep them below full-time  
25 work for so many reasons that do not benefit the

1  
2 workers. They just benefit them as the employers.  
3 So I, um, yeah.

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: But is your point  
5 that when you remove the health care factor from that  
6 decision there's no reason to avoid hiring full-time  
7 workers?

8 ALLEN BONNEVILLE: Well, that was a  
9 thought that I had. It was like, you know, you're  
10 missing the point. That could be a benefit, that you  
11 could actually hire full-time workers if you didn't  
12 have to deal with this craziness with insurance.

13 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK.

14 ALLEN BONNEVILLE: Yeah. Um, but I came  
15 here today to share a bit about my health care story,  
16 or my lack of health care story. I've been in the  
17 workforce for over 20 years, many of those years  
18 uninsured or under-insured, and the rest of those  
19 years I've spent chained to jobs just because they  
20 offered health care of some kind. See, I'm a theater  
21 artist and educator. The nature of my industry can  
22 be one where work is wildly variant. This year alone  
23 I've gone from being insured on the Affordable Care  
24 Act's Essential Plan to its Bronze Plan with a four-  
25 thousand dollar deductible I couldn't possibly

1  
2 afford, never mind the ridiculous premium payments  
3 and co-pays, to being uninsured, to being back on the  
4 Essential Plan. It seemed no one wanted a  
5 marketplace of insurance providers except the greedy  
6 architects of this current system, like that jerk  
7 earlier. We always wanted a Medicare for all, a  
8 single-payer plan. And you can imagine, as I'm sure  
9 many of us have had this experience, how infuriating  
10 it is to sit on the subway on your way to work and  
11 look up to see a plethora of advertisements for ACA  
12 health care plans that all offer the same things  
13 because that's what the law mandates. And so  
14 billions of dollars each year being wasted on  
15 advertising and administrative costs for this bogus  
16 plans, and we as the people are beyond fed up. You  
17 and all elected officials down to the monster who is  
18 installed in the White House are officially on  
19 notice. We're watching you very closely now. And we  
20 are done. We're through with broken promises and  
21 false starts, with half-truths and outright lies.  
22 Either act boldly in the fight for single-payer, for  
23 a Medicare for all type plan, or you will face our  
24 wrath. If you fail to act we the people will destroy

25

1  
2 your political careers. So do the right thing. Do  
3 it now. Medicare for all is a human right. Period.

4 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: We appreciate your  
5 passion on this topic. Thank you.

6 RACHEL BERNSTEIN: Well that is very hard  
7 to follow up, but I'll do my best. My name is Rachel  
8 Bernstein. I'm a native New Yorker. I have worked  
9 as a substitute teacher for many years, and a lot of  
10 people may not know this, but I am a member of the  
11 UFT. However, they do not provide us with any  
12 medical insurance, no sick days, no vacation days, no  
13 holiday pay, or weather, bad weather pay. So  
14 although I am an educated person, also certified to  
15 teach, I haven't been covered, and I've also been,  
16 even with the ACA, denied certain medicine that I  
17 greatly need because I'm an asthmatic and recently my  
18 health insurance stopped covering an asthma inhaler I  
19 have taken for over ten years on a daily basis. It  
20 is considered a long-term care inhaler and it is the  
21 only thing that has kept me from being in the ER or  
22 long-term hospital care. And most people are living  
23 their lives like this, just trying to find a medicine  
24 to help them. So with that pulled out from under me  
25 I had to spend my little time in a weakened state

1  
2 looking for a new insurance, a new doctor, and an  
3 actual pharmacy that would fill the prescription of  
4 the inhaler that I needed. I was shocked to find a  
5 pharmacy that many people go to and love said they  
6 would be happy to fill it for me, for three hundred  
7 dollars. So of course I couldn't do that. So  
8 without any advance notice I was just denied this  
9 medicine, and I went on like this for six months in a  
10 very weakened state. And what I'd like to bring up  
11 is that people die from asthma. It is not an  
12 optional insurance to say no, you know. So I would  
13 like to also ask for people to realize that people's  
14 lives are more important than profit. We have to  
15 stop profiting off the lives of people and stop  
16 allowing people to die because of our lack of  
17 sufficient health care. Americans deserve guaranteed  
18 health care, which will allow people to concentrate  
19 on living their best lives, and not have to worry  
20 about dying because they can't afford treatment for a  
21 serious illness or from a freak accident, which seems  
22 to be an increasingly growing problem. We need a  
23 system that is kind to everyone and helps people to  
24 live better lives. Not potentially hazardly shorten  
25 it. We need a system for everyone that is fair and

1  
2 affordable and that system is Medicare for all. We  
3 need this now so we can all be the happy and healthy  
4 thriving nation we once were and like we've never  
5 been before. So let's join the global economy, save  
6 billions of dollars, and put it back into who  
7 deserves it.

8 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you.

9 RACHEL BERNSTEIN: The American people.

10 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: OK.

11 RACHEL BERNSTEIN: Thank you.

12 DR. SHARON KHAN: Hi. My name is Dr.  
13 Sharon Khan and I wish to testify about my  
14 experiences as a senior psychologist at Coney Island  
15 Hospital and then my later experiences as a medical  
16 expert for Social Security in psychology. When I  
17 started at Coney Island Hospital in the '90s in child  
18 psychiatry we offered many programs to the community  
19 that had nothing to do with mental maladjustment. We  
20 offered programs to help children with reading and  
21 literacy problems, free to the community in the zoned  
22 area. Participation in these programs did not  
23 involve an intake or require a psychiatric diagnosis.  
24 Children do not like receiving a psychiatric  
25 diagnosis. It is difficult to engage them if they

1  
2 believe they have to participate because they are  
3 bad. It's easier to engage them if it's an after-  
4 school program. After-school programs are relatively  
5 normal. However, by early 1998 this program and all  
6 such programs were abolished. Anything that Coney  
7 Island Hospital had to offer had to be reimbursable  
8 by insurance, which privileges medication over  
9 relationship. Children do not become good citizens  
10 and they do not thrive as students on medication, but  
11 with relationships. So now I'm a medical expert for  
12 Social Security and I have reviewed all the files for  
13 a representative sample of hospitals and clinics in  
14 New York State, and in every case, in every hospital,  
15 in every clinic I see that doctors are documenting  
16 that the patient was discharged from this clinic, we  
17 no longer take his insurance, the patient has not  
18 been on medication for the past three months, the  
19 insurance company would not cover this medication, or  
20 physician phoned the insurance company and the  
21 insurance company told them that they won't cover the  
22 medication unless the patient fails the covered  
23 medication. Failure in mental health means this  
24 patient is at risk for harming themselves or others,  
25 and the piece de resistance, if the patient then is



1  
2 so disabled that they require inpatient the insurance  
3 executives then call up and say, well, you know, they  
4 don't require this level of, ah, you know, intensity  
5 and they can be treated on an outpatient basis. So  
6 let's review. If the outpatient facility takes their  
7 insurance they can't provide the medication the  
8 patient requires. If the patient decompensates the  
9 insurance company tells the hospitals they are not  
10 suitable for that level of treatment and then want  
11 their release. If they miss work because of their  
12 inpatient stay they may lose their insurance itself  
13 and thus access to treatment. Why are we letting the  
14 insurance company tell us how to treat the patient,  
15 or that the patient, or when the patient is  
16 stabilized? Within two or three days patients are  
17 not stable on medications. They are zombified  
18 personas, drooling, sometimes unsteady on their  
19 feet...

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And Dr. Khan, if you  
21 could just wrap up quickly, please.

22 DR. SHARON KHAN: OK. So medications and  
23 what, the insurance does not, you know, provide for  
24 preventative programs. The insurance does not  
25 provide for empirically designed treatment programs.

1  
2 The design of insurance is to maximize profits, not  
3 to proffer treatment. Psychologists, psychiatrists,  
4 and social workers proffer treatment, and our  
5 decisions need to be unfettered from the chains of  
6 insurance dictates. Thank you.

7 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you.

8 NAOMI ZODOY: Hi, my name is Naomi Zodoy.  
9 I'm a postdoctoral research scientist at the School  
10 of Social Work at Columbia. My Ph.D. is in health  
11 policy. I have two points. Firstly, the gentleman  
12 from the hospital association stated earlier that  
13 hospitals charge higher prices to privately insured  
14 patients as a form of cost shifting to cover their  
15 uninsured and publicly insured patients. But  
16 actually the economics literature does not support  
17 that, because you'll notice when the number of  
18 uninsured goes down they do not reduce the prices to  
19 the privately insured to reflect that, which you  
20 would think would be the logical extension of that.  
21 And so there is no evidence of that. In fact, prices  
22 continue to rise without regard to the mix of payers  
23 for their patients. OK, secondly, I mean, the best  
24 of the Affordable Care Act and when I say, is  
25 Medicaid expansion, and when I say best I mean in

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2 terms of the rates of participation among those who  
3 are eligible for in and in terms of the satisfaction  
4 rates among the people who are covered by it. The  
5 private insurance under the Affordable Care Act, as  
6 people have testified, has really high deductibles.  
7 In fact, some of my research found that for 25% of  
8 previously uninsured adults eligible for the  
9 marketplace it would be cheaper to file for  
10 bankruptcy than to meet the deductible of the  
11 subsidized private insurance policies in the  
12 marketplace. So it doesn't really provide any form  
13 of financial protection. Medicaid expansion, on the  
14 other hand, it's like, you know, really high rates of  
15 satisfaction, participation, and it's also been  
16 relatively fairly impervious to the political winds.  
17 It's still here, it's intact. It's politically  
18 popular. So it could be a really important, um,  
19 achievement for the people. Thank you.

20 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Well said. And  
21 you've completed your doctorate, so do I call you Dr.  
22 Zodoy?

23 NAOMI ZODOY: Sure.

24 CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you for  
25 speaking.

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UNIDENTIFIED: Chairman Levine, thank you for this opportunity. I'm a medical malpractice lawyer of 30 years. I have extensive experience getting people not only due compensation for medical injuries, but also restoring of treatment of them. My clients' health and well-being is, and their futures, are really on me. Health insurance is an obstacle to each aspect of their challenge, and myself, as a low-income solo professional now, I am a Medicaid and Medicare patient who has found both my Medicare and my Medicaid to have lapsed this year due to miscommunication or error, etc. Despite my doctorate-level degree and my professional experiences, I have to struggle to remedy that. Optional versus mandatory Medicare enrollment, um, the premiums charged on Medicare coverage, primary versus secondary coverage, financial qualifications for enrollment, coverage exclusions, and other issues are complex enough to stymie my clients and me, and many Medicaid or Medicare staff, too. So I have asked some physicians, under oath, during their depositions, or off the record during breaks about my clients' health insurance. Ever since President

1  
2 Clinton delegated Hillary in 1989 to propose a  
3 federal single-payer program these doctors have  
4 almost always told me that such a program would have  
5 been better for them and for their patients' health,  
6 that's my clients, than the for-profit health  
7 insurance is. They've spelled out the reasons, and  
8 they have expressed their own frustration, too. My  
9 clients have told me unimaginable stories of just how  
10 private health insurance has hurt or killed them or a  
11 patient on whose behalf we're suing. Sometimes it's  
12 insurance obstacles and not actually medical  
13 malpractice that directly caused those disabilities  
14 and deaths, and then I could only commiserate. The  
15 anguish of losing a parent is multiplied when the  
16 child is an adult with a duty to figure out how to  
17 get their parent the medical treatment that would  
18 rescue their life or health. Too often insurers'  
19 denials of needed treatment rest on its costs, the  
20 profit motive. When I do win compensation for the  
21 damage done, health insurers then are often, over-  
22 assert their liens against the amount that I  
23 recovered, frustrating justice yet again. New  
24 Yorkers need single-payer health insurance. Thank  
25 you.

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CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: Thank you for your remarks today, and I do want to remind you and anyone who is in need that the Medicare Rights Center, which the City Council helps fund, can help you enroll and other people that you might know. I'm sorry Greater New York Hospitals wasn't here to hear this panel, particularly Dr. Zodoy, but we're going to make sure that they, they we ask them to respond to the very important points that you made. And I do actually have some breaking news, which is that I'm just informed that our committee is going to vote on this resolution next week. [applause]

UNIDENTIFIED: [inaudible] your witnesses.

CHAIRPERSON LEVINE: And it is no doubt due to the compelling testimony of all of you who have joined us today, and I am pleased that after multiple speaking engagements and other important activities we've been rejoined by stalwart Health Committee Council Member Powers. And so for our final panel, we're closing strong, I would like to call up Collette Swidnick, David Gurin, Iliana Roman, James Mansfield, Rhianna Ross, Morgan Moore, Jean Fox, and Monya Cue. [pause]

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2 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: I'm taking over  
3 for the chair so he can have a quick breather. I  
4 know he has to run uptown. So, thank you, I'm back,  
5 I'm pinch hitting here.

6 COLLETTE PRICE SWIDNICKY: Good  
7 afternoon. My name is Collette Price Swidnick. I'm  
8 a retired nurse midwife. I've worked the Health and  
9 Hospital Corporations for 30-plus years. Over those  
10 years I've watched health caring disintegrate into  
11 financial efficiency packages of what today passes  
12 for a health care system. To all of those whose  
13 vision is not clouded by insurance company checks and  
14 propoganda, the New York Health Act is a no-brainer.  
15 I'm going to skip over some of the points that other  
16 people had made. I just want to get to the point  
17 about the top 10% being charged more for this health  
18 care package than 98% of the rest of us who, for whom  
19 it's more affordable. I wanted to say that I don't  
20 think that makes us anti-rich, which we've been  
21 accused of before, because it's being financed by a  
22 progressive income tax, which, as we all know, is not  
23 anti-rich, it's paying your proportional share. When  
24 your pie is bigger your cost of the piece is bigger.  
25 And if they want to talk about inequalities vis a vis

1  
2 the rich, here's one pointed out by billionaire  
3 Warren Buffet. In a *New York Times* op ed Buffet  
4 confessed that although his salary was many times  
5 larger than that of his secretary, they both paid the  
6 same premium to their health insurance network. Why?  
7 Because the larger number of employees created the  
8 larger pool, which made the premiums affordable for  
9 everybody. So I want to ask. Is this a case of the  
10 working class subsidizing the rich? We might be  
11 warned that we had better treat our millionaires  
12 nicely or they'll move away. But really I find this  
13 incomprehensible. You think finance capitals are  
14 going to move from the finance capital of the world?  
15 Where are they going? Timbuktu? OK. We don't need  
16 health insurance. We need health care. But we can't  
17 even approach the job of putting together the best  
18 health care system for every New York resident until  
19 we get through this morass of health-mongering and  
20 profiteering. Please help us pass the New York  
21 Health Act now.

22 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Great, thank you.  
23 I've got some fans.

24 ILIANA ROMAN: Good afternoon. My name  
25 is Iliana Roman and I am the health justice and



1  
2 immigration staff attorney at the New York Lawyers  
3 for the Public Interest. Thank you to Chairperson  
4 Levine and to the committee members for having this  
5 oversight hearing. Nobody supports the passage of  
6 the New York State Health Act legislation that would  
7 establish the New York Health Program, since it will  
8 cover undocumented immigrants who need health care.  
9 NYLFTPI is privileged to be part of the City  
10 Council's immigrant health initiative and we thank  
11 you for that support. Through this funding the  
12 council supports our Undocucare program. We screen  
13 many clients in our Undocucare program with serious  
14 health conditions, who unfortunately do not have any  
15 immigration relief available to them. For instance,  
16 we had a potential client who was 22 years old when  
17 he came to us for help. The client had a growth  
18 deficiency and needed Medicaid for treatment.  
19 Unfortunately, he did not qualify for immigration  
20 relief. If we were able to submit an immigration  
21 application on his behalf, then the client could,  
22 would have been Proocall and could have been able to  
23 attain the needed care that he needed. Sadly this  
24 was not the case and he continued to suffer. Many  
25 undocumented individuals are similarly situated and

1  
2 unable to make their presence known to Immigration  
3 and so cannot become Proocall eligible and cannot  
4 have access to lifesaving health care.

5 Unfortunately, we regularly see New Yorkers with  
6 serious health conditions in the same situation,  
7 ineligible for immigration relief and ineligible for  
8 any health care beyond emergency room Medicaid. In  
9 fact there are approximately 400,000 undocumented  
10 immigrant New Yorkers who do not have any kind of  
11 health care coverage. Additionally, there are  
12 hundreds of thousands of additional New Yorkers who  
13 fall between the cracks and are unable to access  
14 coverage. Further, having coverage does not always  
15 mean access to comprehensive or quality coverage that  
16 addresses a person's real needs in an affordable way.  
17 The New York Health Act could change that and provide  
18 needed health care to these individuals, and in doing  
19 so save lives. Our leaders must pass strong,  
20 affordable legislation that protects all New Yorkers  
21 and supports the undocumented immigrant population in  
22 New York. Thank you.

23 JAMES: Hi, my names is James. I'm on my  
24 own here, and Mr. Gottfried talked about a disruption  
25 in the system and that's good, and I think that the

1  
2 New York State Health Act will lead to Medicare for  
3 all nationwide. And it can, and so that's why I  
4 would support the New York State Health Act. OK, ah,  
5 now in addition to that there's something called  
6 perfectly preventative protocols promoted  
7 professionally, so that's five Ps, and that can lower  
8 the cost, it will lower the cost of health care, and  
9 it will make people more healthy, OK? So I see that  
10 the Councilman has returned, thanks for that, and I  
11 don't, it's going to be exceedingly long odds,  
12 exceedingly long odds to get the Medicare for all act  
13 passed, to get Medicare for all. I think it's worth  
14 it to continue seeking Medicare for all in addition  
15 to the New York State Health act, OK, so that's it,  
16 and preventative care is what it's all about. It can  
17 really happen.

18 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Right. Thank  
19 you. You're never alone, my friend.

20 JEAN FOX: Hi, my name is Jean Fox. I  
21 have been involved in several small businesses over  
22 the years and covering health care costs has always  
23 been a difficult burden. In my thirties, as a sole  
24 proprietor, I had some kind of catastrophic coverage,  
25 which of course is a ridiculous compromise, because

1  
2 then you struggle to pay for routine medical care, or  
3 you can't afford medical expenses that fall within  
4 the sky-high deductible. At one of my businesses  
5 later on we never did provide health care for the two  
6 partners, sometimes because we had coverage at other  
7 jobs, but sometimes because it would have been too  
8 complicated or too expensive to secure covering  
9 wherever, whenever we were between day jobs or when  
10 we covered, were not covered because of a part-time  
11 side job. Isn't it absurd in the United States that  
12 so many of us have to be constantly scrambling over  
13 how to maintain adequate health care coverage. At  
14 another start-up that I cofounded six years ago, in  
15 the beginning we bought health insurance on the  
16 exchange for the two partners and our kids. But  
17 after the initial capitalization of the company when  
18 things started to get more intense as we tried to  
19 grow we had to make tough decisions, including  
20 cutting the expense of health care. If the  
21 government honestly wants to encourage and be  
22 supportive of small business, universal health care  
23 is fundamental. How many people out there with great  
24 ideas don't even try starting a business, partly  
25 because they are afraid to risk finding themselves at

1  
2 some point unable to afford health care for their  
3 families. Now, I am also on for another testimony on  
4 behalf of Beacon's Closet, you have me in there  
5 twice.

6 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Sure, go ahead.

7 JEAN FOX: OK, thank you. So should we  
8 let the clock reset? This is also short. This is  
9 short. So I have also been asked to read some  
10 comments about Beacon's Closet, which is a popular  
11 and successful female-founded vintage clothing store  
12 that embraces sustainability and ethical business  
13 practices. They opened about 21 years ago and they  
14 now have three locations in Brooklyn and one in  
15 Manhattan. Beacon's Closet chooses to cover 100% of  
16 insurance costs for their full-time employees. They  
17 also offer funds for both full and part-time  
18 employees who need mental health services, because  
19 they understand that mental health is essential for  
20 all of us and they see that that major hole which  
21 exists even in the so-called good health insurance  
22 policies. One of the reasons Beacon's Closet  
23 advocates for the New York Health Act because the  
24 perpetually increasing costs of health care in our  
25 current dysfunctional system are a major barrier to

1  
2 raising wages, offering other benefits, hiring more  
3 people, and growing their business.

4 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Great, thank you,  
5 thank you for that experience.

6 MONYA CUE: Good evening. My name is  
7 Monya Cue, and I'm the executive vice president at  
8 the Academy of Medical and Public Health Services,  
9 otherwise known as AMPHS. We're a not-for-profit  
10 organization based in Sunset Park that provides free  
11 health screenings integrated with individualized  
12 health education and social services, immigrant  
13 populations in New York City without discrimination  
14 to documentation status, socioeconomic status, or any  
15 other demographic factor. In the past eight years  
16 that organization has been operating the importance  
17 of universal health care access cannot be clear. I  
18 want to talk to you about the story of one of our  
19 community members, Rosa. At 44 years old Rosa has  
20 faced a lifetime's worth of obstacles. Rosa was born  
21 and raised in Mexico City. She was working as a  
22 special education teacher when she was diagnosed with  
23 thyroid cancer in her twenties and could only access  
24 very limited medical care. Like many of the  
25 community members whom we see at AMPHS, Rosa is a

1  
2 survivor of complex trauma. She and her family  
3 members have had several frightening encounters with  
4 gang members and a former boyfriend was even  
5 murdered. But she never received mental health  
6 treatment and suffered in silence. Coming to New  
7 York was the only way for Rosa to find safety for  
8 herself and her family. She was detained for  
9 approximately one month crossing the border without  
10 the medications actually required for her thyroid and  
11 other conditions and she greatly decompensated and  
12 nearly died. But she never stopped fighting, not  
13 even after making it to New York, where she suffered  
14 operative complications to her left molars that left  
15 her molars fractured, which has led to substantial  
16 tooth pain and recently migraines. She presented to  
17 AMPHS seeking help managing her chronic conditions  
18 and we were able to connect her to services and  
19 direct her to medical facilities where she could  
20 obtain services for a lower cost. But even with  
21 these integrated Social Services Rosa is still  
22 struggling to make ends meet. Her eight-hundred-  
23 dollar monthly income hardly supports her living  
24 expenses, not to mention follow-up dental care, the  
25 three-thousand-dollar fee of which she cannot afford,

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2 and even though Rosa now knows that there are mental  
3 health treatment options available, she cannot yet  
4 afford the weekly twenty-dollar fee. And now more  
5 than ever augmenting numbers of immigrants are  
6 falling into this health care gap. Federal  
7 immigration threats like the dismantling of DACA and  
8 termination of TPS means that immigrants may no  
9 longer have access to Medicaid. Undocumented  
10 immigrants remaining ineligible to be covered under  
11 public health insurance. While undocumented youth  
12 are losing their health insurance coverage as soon as  
13 they turn 18 years of age. Proposed public charge  
14 regulations are also discouraging immigrants from  
15 applying for health care benefits. Our work is in  
16 prevention and care coordination, but when there are  
17 gaps in the system this model cannot work.  
18 Coordination cannot work when a health care system  
19 fails to open the bridge to provide equitable access  
20 to all. It is in times like these that the New York  
21 Health Act is both timely and essential. Health care  
22 is not a privilege, but a basic human right.

23 COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: That was a good  
24 final word. Thank you, and I just want to say that  
25 we are, as we kind of move through these issues and



1  
2 we have to vote and things like that, I think as  
3 important are the stories from the elected officials  
4 and those that came early, it's really the people who  
5 are on the ground doing the work, and the work that  
6 you guys are doing and your stories that I think  
7 inform us and help us make, feel like we're moving in  
8 the right direction as we do this and I'm encouraged  
9 as I got back here, ah, to hear that we'll be voting  
10 on it next week, and I am a supporter of it and, so,  
11 I guess there's a good group of troupers here as  
12 well. So thank you all for your work you're doing.  
13 Thank you for staying here. I see some familiar  
14 faces from the beginning and for stick through a very  
15 long hearing to make your voice heard, and as we move  
16 through this we'll be voting on it some time next  
17 week, so we'll use all your testimony to help us in  
18 that process. So with that being said, I'm only  
19 pitching in for Chairman Levine. I know he had to  
20 run at the very last second, but I know he thought  
21 this was a wonderful hearing as well. So thank you,  
22 and thank you to all the staff here who stuck here as  
23 well, and we are adjourned. Thanks. [gavel]

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C E R T I F I C A T E

World Wide Dictation certifies that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings. We further certify that there is no relation to any of the parties to this action by blood or marriage, and that there is interest in the outcome of this matter.



Date January 7, 2019