CITY COUNCIL
CITY OF NEW YORK

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TRANSCRIPT OF THE MINUTES

Of the

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

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April 18, 2024 Start: 10:22 a.m. Recess: 11:27 a.m.

HELD AT: 250 BROADWAY - COMMITTEE ROOM, 14TH

FLOOR

B E F O R E: Justin L. Brannan, Chairperson

COUNCIL MEMBERS:

Diana Ayala Gale A. Brewer

Selvena N. Brooks-Powers

David M. Carr Amanda Farías Kamillah Hanks Crystal Hudson Farrah N. Louis Francisco P. Moya

Chi A. Ossé Keith Powers Yusef Salaam

Pierina Ana Sanchez Althea V. Stevens Nantasha M. Williams

OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS ATTENDING:
Lincoln Restler

## APPEARANCES

Amna Ahmed

Barry Cohen

Marnie Ryan

Andrea Hockland

Jay Hauben

Richard Heitler

Erica Buckley, attorney at Nixon Peabody and special counsel for Cadman Towers

Carolyn Minghia

Toba Potosky, Board President of Cadman Towers

Shelly Holzberg, Vice President of the Board of Cadman Towers

Mary Egrie, property manager for Cadman Towers

1	COMMITTEE ON FINANCE 3
2	SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: This is a microphone
3	check for the Committee on Finance. Today's date is
4	April 18, 2024. Located in the 14th floor Hearing
5	Room. Recording is done by Rocco Mesiti.
6	SERGEANT-AT-ARMS: Quiet, please. Thank
7	you. Good morning, and welcome to the New York City
8	hybrid hearing on a Committee on Finance.
9	Please silent all electronic devices.
10	Also, please do not approach the dais
11	during or after the hearing.
12	If you have any question, please raise
13	your hand and one of us, the Sergeant-at-Arms, will
14	kindly assist you.
15	Thank you very much for your kind
16	cooperation.
17	Chair, we are ready to begin.
18	CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you, Sergeant.
19	[GAVEL] Okay. Good morning, and welcome to today's
20	Finance Committee meeting. I'm Council Member Justin
21	Brannan. I have the privilege of Chairing the
22	Committee on Finance.
23	We've been joined this morning by Council

Louis, Carr, Brewer, Farías, Ossé, Sanchez, and

Members Restler, Hudson, Brooks-Powers, Powers,

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Williams, and on Zoom we've been joined by Moya,
Ayala, and Hanks.

Today, the Committee on Finance will be voting on four property tax exemptions. Just quickly, a brief note for the record. Typically, Committee meetings for these items are just a vote and no public testimony is taken for votes. However, due to a technical error with the Council website, today's session was initially listed as a public hearing, and several people signed up to speak before the error was corrected so, in good faith, we are going to invite these people to appear and give testimony for this time only.

The first Resolution is a renewal of a partial 40-year Article V tax exemption for one building in Council Member Abreu's District. As part of the renewal, affordability will be continued at 50 percent AMI with 30 percent of units set aside for homeless tenants, and identified capital work will be completed along with HPD's Aging-In-Place improvements.

The second Resolution is a full 40-year Article XI exemption for new construction in one building in Council Member Holden's district. The

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project will be a 100 percent affordable building of 120 units with AMIs restricted from 30 to 90 percent with up to 18 units set aside for formerly homeless tenants, and eight of which are designated for homeless veterans under the HUD Veterans Affairs Support Housing Program.

The third Resolution is a conversion of two Article XI Mitchell-Lama buildings in Council Member Restler's District to a partial Article XI. The Mitchell-Lama's Cooperative has voted in favor of converting to a HDFC cooperative under HPD's article II to Article XI Conversion Program to facilitate long-term affordability. As part of its plan of reconstitution accepted by the New York State Attorney General's Office, shareholders will be subject to a 99-year regulatory agreement where shareholders' maximum income will continue to be capped at 125 percent of AMI with resale prices set to be affordable for individuals and families at 80 percent of the AMI. As part of the agreement, it is proposed that 50 percent of the proceeds of future sales will go into reserves to fund rehab work and/or pay off the existing debt.

The final Resolution is a full 40-year
Article XI exemption for new construction of one
rental building in Council Member Bottcher's
District. The building will contain 175 affordable
units for households with at least one senior and one
superintendent unit. All units will be affordable to
older adult households at 50 percent AMI with 30
percent of units set aside for formerly homeless
households.

Are there any comments or questions from my Colleagues on these items?

Okay, we've also been joined by Council Member Salaam.

Okay, we're going to allow Council Member Restler to give remarks and then we will move to testimony.

Just a reminder that this is a government proceeding and that decorum shall be observed at all times. As such, members of the public shall remain silent at all times except for those who are speaking.

COUNCIL MEMBER RESTLER: Thank you so much, Chair Brannon, and thanks to all my Colleagues

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on the Finance Committee. It's an honor to join you today.

I want to thank all of the folks who have joined us from across New York City and, of course, especially from Cadman Towers for being with us. I grew up two blocks away from Cadman Towers. Some of my earliest memories are playing Sega Genesis and dancing badly to Michael Jackson at one of my best friends, Jay Franklin's, house in Cadman. I have had many dear friends who have lived in Cadman over the course of my whole life. I want to be very clear about what's being considered today. This is a transition from one type of an affordable housing cooperative to another type of an affordable housing cooperative and, if this conversion is approved by the Finance Committee and the Council as a whole, we will preserve Cadman Towers as affordable housing for the next 99 years. We have a series of imperfect choices before us as Council Members. We have to weigh the pros and cons. We have to live in the real world, and we have to act responsibly and be good stewards for the residents of Cadman Towers today and residents of Cadman Towers tomorrow. I feel like my primary responsibility here is to make sure that we

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preserve this as affordable housing and ensure that the resources are in place for the conditions to be what residents of Cadman deserve. Cadman is a 420unit Mitchell-Lama that is being considered for a transition, a conversion into an HDFC co-op. This is not a solution for the Mitchell-Lama program writ large. This is a tailored, specific solution that meets the needs of Cadman Towers, and I want to be clear, they have significant needs. There are already 62 million in outstanding loans that Cadman is responsible for repaying. They have identified 36 million from a physical needs assessment from 2020 that we have not yet addressed, and that does not consider Local Law 97 compliance or additional capital needs that may have come about in the ensuing four years. Cadman has already reached the maximum debt to income ratio and has not been able to secure any additional loans from the City or otherwise. The monthly maintenance costs for residents of Cadman have increased by 50 percent over the last three years, making it hard for current low-income residents there to continue to afford to live there. As a result, Cadman is pursuing this new approach that will generate more capital revenue to stabilize

the conditions in this building for today and 2 3 tomorrow. I want to be clear that today, if you're 4 moving into Cadman Towers, the maximum AMI that you can make, the maximum income is 125 percent AMI. If this conversion is approved, the maximum AMI remains 6 7 at 125 percent. Currently, people can move into 8 Cadman and afford it at about 50 percent AMI. If this conversion happens, people will need to be more like 80 percent AMI to be able to afford to live here. 10 11 Unfortunately, if we don't approve this plan, I'm worried that the current low-income residents who are 12 13 there will be squeezed out, and so we have a choice 14 to make between hurting the existing low-income 15 residents at Cadman or hurting future low-income residents who want to live at Cadman, and this plan 16 17 allows us to generate the capital revenue that we 18 need from the resales that will actually stabilize 19 the conditions in the building. I want to say this, 20 after many years of engagement and hundreds of 21 meetings with Cadman residents and other stakeholders, I've come to the conclusion that this 2.2 2.3 is a responsible plan, a responsible path forward for Cadman Towers. I'm not suggesting it as a solution 24 for all of Mitchell-Lama, but I know that 77 percent 25

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of Cadman residents voted in support of this. They
have looked very carefully at what they can do to
preserve their affordable housing, and this is the
plan that they've identified, and I support them.

I really want to thank my Colleagues and Chair Brandon for the opportunity to say a few words, and I hope you'll consider supporting this today.

Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you, Council Member Restler.

We've also been joined by Council Member Stevens.

Okay, so, as a reminder, before we get into public testimony, I want to make sure that we're being respectful and a reminder that this is a government proceeding so everyone who isn't testifying should remain silent so we can hear everybody.

The witness table is reserved for people giving testimony. No video recording or photography is allowed from the witness table. Further, members of the public may not present audio or video recordings as testimony, but they may submit

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2 transcripts of such recordings to the Sergeant-at-3 Arms for inclusion in the hearing record.

If the invitees have not done so, please make sure you filled out an appearance card with the Sergeant-at-Arms and wait to be recognized. Once recognized, you'll have two minutes to speak on the resolutions on today's agenda.

If you have a written statement or additional written testimony you wish to submit for the record, please provide a copy of that testimony to the Sergeant-at-Arms. You may also email written remarks to testimony@council.nyc.gov within 72 hours of the conclusion of this meeting. Audio and video recordings will be accepted.

Now we're going to call up our first

panel. Forgive me if I mispronounce your name. Amna

Ahmed (phonetic), Richard Heitler (phonetic), Barry

Cohen, Andrea Hockland (phonetic), Jay Hauben

(phonetic), and Marnie Ryan (phonetic). Marnie Ryan,

Jay Hauben, Andrea Hockland, Barry Cohen, Richard

Heitler, and Amna Ahmad. You'll each have two

minutes.

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Okay, if you want to go right from left,

just say your name, and you can begin your testimony.

4 Everyone has two minutes. Make sure your mic is on.

AMNA AHMED: Good morning. Thank you. My name is Amna Ahmed. I'm on the waitlist at Cadman Towers and have been for about five years. My understanding is that I'm fourth in line for a two bedroom at this moment. I'm an editor in my work, and I've worked mostly in media and publishing roles. I am exactly who the Mitchell-Lama program is for. It's for regular working people who don't have a trust fund or family money and aren't in finance or some other high-paying industry, which I know is true of a lot of you as well. I live in a non-rent-stabilized apartment currently in Brooklyn where I have been for almost 15 years, now with my 9-year-old daughter. When I first moved in to my apartment, my rent was 1,250 a month. It has almost doubled since then, and my income has very much not doubled since then. The rent goes up every year by whatever amount the landlord wishes, and it's not predictable from year to year so I breathed a major sigh of relief when I got on the waiting list at Cadman. It was a promise of stability. It's a chance to pay a fair amount for

housing that's not extortionate because it's not
meant to enrich landlords or speculators. Not all
stakeholders in this decision got a vote. I have a
major stake in this decision. I'm on the waitlist, I
pay taxes, and I didn't get a say in whether the
residents could wipe out the waiting list and vote
themselves a big windfall profit because the waiting
list will go away the moment this conversion is
finalized. What's even more offensive to me is that
as a taxpayer, I would be subsidizing my own
exclusion and paying for their unearned profit. This
is what's driving the efforts to leave the program.
Under the plan they want, I think Mr. Brannan
mentioned that 50 percent of the profit from a sale
would go back into the building's coffers. I'm not
sure he mentioned that the other 50 percent would go
to the outgoing shareholder. There is absolutely no
rationale for shareholders to profit if the stated
goal is to get funds for capital repairs and building
maintenance. If that were their sincere intention,
any profit would go back into the building, which is
not happening here, and I believe that this part

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: You can conclude.

2	AMNA AHMED: This part really lays bare
3	what the true motivation is here for converting. When
4	I got a log number in the lottery about five years
5	ago, my understanding was that it was a promise, that
6	there would be a wait, people wait sometimes decades
7	for their turn at a Mitchell-Lama apartment, I knew
8	it would be some years, but that eventually I would
9	be offered an apartment. It was a promise. This
10	attempt to take Cadman Towers out of the Mitchell-
11	Lama program would break that promise so while this
12	is obviously very personal to me, as someone who is
13	on the waitlist, it's way bigger than me or any
14	individual who's here. There are 62,000 units
15	citywide in the Mitchell-Lama program right now.
16	Cadman Towers is the very first development where
17	they're attempting this kind of II to XI conversion
18	and, if it's allowed to proceed, every single
19	Mitchell-Lama building with residents who dream of
20	privatizing, which is all of them, will be trying to
21	do the same. They're ready to do that today after
22	this hearing, and it will wipe out the program
23	citywide. I'm asking you to vote no and to keep
24	Cadman Towers a Mitchell-Lama. Thank you.

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CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you. Go ahead.

Just say your name before you begin, please.

BARRY COHEN: My name is Barry Cohen. I'm a resident of a Mitchell-Lama Co-op on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. In preparation for this meeting, we had the opportunity to consult with quite a few Members of the Finance Committee, and many of them told us about this concept of Member deference, that if an issue is of local concern then they defer to the expertise of the Council Member in that District to decide the issue. This is decidedly not such a case. What we are doing here is setting a policy that has citywide implications. As Amna just eloquently described, the interest of more people who are on the waiting list than voted for privatization will be vaporized if, in fact, this conversion occurs. The interest of millions of taxpayers around the city who have put more investment into this development than has been put in by the residents of the development will be handed out in the form of lottery tickets, not to the people who are waiting to get affordable housing, but to the people who are waiting to cash out that public investment for their personal benefit. These people, those on the waiting list, I

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should say one other thing, that it will profoundly disrupt the governance of Mitchell-Lamas across the city to be waving this incentive in front of them.

Instead of paying attention to the governance of their buildings, they will, and we already are, singularly focused instead on getting this pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I think it's a very simple matter. If you consider the citywide interests involved here, the right way to vote, the easy

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you.

decision to make should be to vote no.

MARNIE RYAN: Good morning, Chairperson

Brannan and Council Members of the Finance Committee.

My name is Marnie Ryan. I am a shareholder at a

Mitchell-Lama co-op in Queens, and my fellow

Mitchell-Lama advocates and I are here today to stand

up for this truly affordable New York housing model.

Do not reward Cadman Towers for leaving the Mitchell
Lama program and voting themselves a windfall profit.

This is not public policy that the New York City

Council should be supporting. We need more Mitchell
Lama housing, not less. This issue is not solely

about Cadman Towers. If this Resolution passes, every

Mitchell-Lama will be at risk of leaving the program,

2	to include those in your Districts. The conversion to
3	an Article XI has been presented as the only way to
4	raise funds for capital repairs. That is not the
5	case. There are other funding avenues that are
6	available. Additionally, were this the real reason
7	for converting to an Article XI, there would be no
8	reason to give a profit to outgoing shareholders.
9	Once a co-op leaves the program, the cost to buy in
10	skyrockets dramatically, pricing out most low- and
11	moderate-income New Yorkers. We are here today
12	speaking for them. This issue deserves much greater
13	attention and scrutiny. This is not a simple
14	administrative item to vote on. This is about a
15	citywide housing policy that affects 62,000
16	apartments and tens of thousands of diverse
17	shareholders across New York City as well as people
18	currently on waiting lists. We are here today
19	speaking for them. With a II to XI conversion, the
20	waiting lists for apartments in that development
21	disappear, taking away the possibility of all those
22	on the current waiting lists to attain true
23	affordable housing. Be on the right side of history
24	here and vote no. I say to you, elected Council
25	Mombors do not subsidize the destruction of

affordable housing. Be the housing advocates you are elected to be and vote no on the Resolution to grant a shelter rent tax exemption at Cadman Towers. Save

5 Mitchell-Lama.

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ANDREA HOCKLAND: Thank you for hearing us. My name is Andrea Hockland, and I'm a resident of a Mitchell-Lama on the Upper East Side. My mother and I waited 11 years to receive a Mitchell-Lama apartment. It was a long wait, but the result was joyous. During that waiting time, my mother developed cancer and could no longer work and did not have enough medical coverage. I worked relentlessly to support us and pay her medical bills. When we were able to live in our Mitchell-Lama apartment, our worries were over. We had the security of knowing I didn't have to overwork and was also able to take care of her until her passing. I am what is considered a blue-collar worker, always employed, but almost never cracked 50,000 in any year. I waited tables at a hotel that catered to one of the lifebloods of our city, tourists, as well as residents and surrounding workers. The ability to be able to work and pay a decent but not destructive maintenance has been a godsend for me and other

fortunate Mitchell-Lama residents. I keep reading
about the lack of affordable housing. The solution is
more Mitchell-Lamas, not less. I recently read about
a lottery for affordable housing where the minimum
income required was 74,000. What? The majority of
people who keep this city running make way less than
that, but we pay our taxes, and we vote, and we show
up, and we volunteer, and we make the city an
inviting destination. We create community. II to XI
conversions are completely unnecessary and would
destroy Mitchell-Lama co-ops. Privatizers attempting
this II to XI scheme need the taxpayers of New York
to continue to subsidize them at the same level as
they received as a non-profit Mitchell-Lama. The II
to XI conversion scheme is the exact opposite of the
City's commitment to affirmatively further fair
housing. Supervised waiting lists and affordable
purchase prices have made Mitchell-Lama cooperatives
some of the most diverse communities in the country.
I implore you not to grant the shelter tax abatement
to Cadman Towers or any Mitchell-Lama that chooses to
leave the Mitchell-Lama program.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you.

ANDREA HOCKLAND: Thank you.

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2 JAY HAUBEN: Hello, Council Members. My 3 name is Jay Hauben.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: You could pull that mic closer.

JAY HAUBEN: Hello, Council Members. Thank you for this opportunity to speak before you vote. My name is Jay Hauben. I live in a Mitchell-Lama co-op on the Upper West Side. I've lived for 53 of my 83 years in New York City subsidized housing. It's made it possible without much income to have a decent apartment and wonderful neighbors and a collective and cooperative experience. I implore you, like the others, to consider seriously whether making this tax exemption will affect just one co-op or the whole Mitchell-Lama program, and so I'd like to read my statement in that context. If this were a one-District issue, it would be honorable to respect District Member deference, but this is a citywide issue. As soon as the whole City Council votes to grant this tax break to this co-op that wants to leave the Mitchell-Lama program, the 400 or more people on the waiting list lose their chance of a decent affordable apartment at Cabin Towers and, as Amna said, they didn't have a vote in this. The only

people that voted were people that had the
possibility of making a profit when they sell their
shares, but they've already had a profit. They lived
in Mitchell-Lama. It's very profitable. You pay less
each month and you have a full life because of the
money that saves you. Also, in my co-op and many of
the other co-ops, there are about 84 left, this vote,
not your vote, the vote of the full Council, if it
accepts this exemption, would set the floodgates open
for the very, very painful intense fight between
neighbors. Shall we stay in Mitchell-Lama or shall we
go to II to XI? We've had that fight before over all
privatization, and it's very painful. There are
constituents in every Council Member District
affected by this. The fact that City Council Members
are lining up behind Gale Brewer's bill shows this is
a citywide issue, not a District issue, but you have
been asked to consider it as if it was just one co-op
in one District. Again, I say this is a citywide
issue. Vote no tax break for leaving Mitchell-Lama
Social Housing, not for this co-op today and not for
any of the co-ops who leave. Vote for Council Member
Brewer's bill when you have a chance.

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2 JAY HAUBEN: Don't let him get this one 3 today. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you. Go ahead.

RICHARD HEITLER: Hi, my name is Richard Heitler. I am actually going to put aside my prepared notes because some of my colleagues has said some of these points so eloquently, and I will not repeat them. I will restrict my remarks to the claim that there is no other way for Cadman to finance their capital needs except by leaving the program and becoming an Article XI. Cadman has been trying to privatize for about 12 years. During that same time period, co-ops all over the city and our network have refinanced and have brought in more money than Cadman is looking for to meet their current capital needs. In no case was the existing debt an obstacle to refinancing. These co-ops, and I don't have a scientific survey, this is our network. Inwood Towers, Village View, Village East, Stryker's Bay, Rosalie Manning, RNA, Co-op City have all refinanced, I'm not making, this is real, and they have used a creative combination of interest-rate reductions, time extensions, grants, local like Reso A, or state like NYSERDA, or federal. They have gone to a wide

variety of lenders, HPD, HFA, HDC, private banks with
HUD and Freddie Mac guarantees, and it's all worked
and, again, they have brought in millions. A 109-unit
co-op brought in 15 million dollars. Cadman is
looking for 36. This is a building that is one fourth
the size of Cadman at 109 units. They brought in 15.
Do the math. All I'm saying is that claim is bogus. I
know of no instance where the HPD that we know and
love has declined to consider funding a co-op's
legitimate capital needs. Has this board even
applied? This is an issue, if it were true, if HPD
was declining to fund Cadman's capital needs and was
therefore pushing them into Article XI, I believe
this is an issue that the Housing Committee would
very much want to consider.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you.

RICHARD HEITLER: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Okay, we're now going to call up our next panel. Pardon if I mispronounce your name. Erica Buckley, Carolyn Milgia, Mary Forte, Toba Potosky, Shelly Holzberg (phonetic). Shelly Holzberg, Toba Potosky, Mary Forte, Carolyn Milgia, and Erica Buckley.

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Okay, whenever you're ready you can begin. Just make sure the mic is on, say your name before you begin.

SHELLY HOLZBERG: It's on. Okay, my name is Shelly Holzberg, I'm the Vice President of the Board of Cadman Towers. I'm also the head of the Senior Committee, which you'll hear about. Let me introduce you to Cadman Towers. We're two buildings and one community. I want to thank the City Council and our representative for funding that has made it possible for us to have a NORC-like program that has enriched the lives of many cooperators and made Cadman so special. We have a nurse one day a week to deal with physical needs. We have a social worker two days a week to deal with emotional and support issues. We also have lectures, trips, and have created a safe, healthy environment for all. If I thought of two words to describe Cadman, it would be population stability. The cooperators and staff stay for years. Everyone knows each other, and everyone basically looks out for each other. We recently faced a 42 percent or 50 percent, which will happen soon, maintenance increase over three years. If I could turn the clock back 50 years, you would see that

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teachers and civil service workers came to live in Cadman. They are now retired and were most affected by the huge maintenance increase. They are living on fixed income, pension, and social security, and found it quite difficult to deal with the increase and feared having to leave their home. It's the other population that's affected. They are not eligible for government programs like SCRIE or Medicaid and feel that home will no longer be affordable. Article XI gives them the means of providing financial support for the future of capital projects and keeps us affordable. Vote yes for the tax abatement so Article XI can become a reality.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you.

Brannan and members of the City Council Finance

Committee. Thank you for this special opportunity to speak to you today on such an important subject as preserving Cadman Towers affordable housing. I have been a resident of Cadman Towers for close to 40 years. I'm currently the Board President. I have been in that position for 18 years, and I'm here asking you for your vote to support our tax abatement. As Board President, I have a unique perspective that

most residents and outsiders don't get to see. I sign 2 3 all the invoices and all the expenditures, and I work 4 very closely with all of our vendors, and I work 5 closely with our property manager and our superintendent. It's not a secret, and it's been 6 7 mentioned earlier, older buildings cost more money to manage. That's a fact. Cadman Tower has just 8 celebrated its 50th anniversary. This July, we will have completed 40 million dollars of capital repairs, 10 11 and it took over a five-year period so we'll be happy 12 to get rid of the scaffolding, but those are things 13 that are standard, that are required, that is expected, that you, as Council Members, expect from 14 15 us. Resurfacing the façade, we put in five new 16 elevators, new roofs, restoration of our garages, 17 waterproofing of our exterior plaza. We are, without 18 a doubt, rebuilding Cadman Towers for the next 50 19 years and for the next generation but, as a result of 20 the new construction costs and our existing debt, and 21 just so you know, we're carrying debt that was held over, that was deferred from 1977. We're still 2.2 2.3 carrying it over now. Because people felt nobody pays that debt. That an incorrect misnomer. Okay, but our 24 current debt, and it was mentioned before, is a total 25

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of 62 million dollars, and it is growing, some of it at a rate of 5.18 percent. Oh, shoot.

## (INAUDIBLE)

TOBA POTOSKY: Okay. In two months, this is important, in two months, we'll begin paying 1.9 million dollars a year, every year for the next 35 years. That's not fake. That's not false. That's reality, and it starts in two months, 1.9 million every year. To handle this, we were forced to raise maintenance 50 percent since 2018. That maxes out our debt to earnings ratio. That maxes out our ability to borrow money. We didn't make that up. You know who told us that? HDC, our lender. It's not something, and we go to HDC and HPD, and we fight with them all the time for every penny that we could possibly get. We have had conversations with them where they say you can't get an 8A loan because we reserve it for another Mitchell-Lama, and we say we need an 8A loan, and we fought it, and we got it so we go to every lender and we go and we fight for every penny that we can get, but we are maxed out now, and the problem that we have is that we have 30 million dollars of projects in 2023 numbers, right? So you know that that's going to be greater once we finally get to

doing that, and those are important things like
boilers, replacing our 50-year-old boilers,
electrical, so electrical is very big and we want to
be a leader in Local Law 97, but guess what? All of
our circuit breaker boxes in our apartments have to
be replaced, and that's 421 circuit breaker boxes in
there, and we have to upgrade our electrical system.
These are not made-up things. It's not I don't like
it, I don't like this plan for this. This is the
reality that we as board members and shareholders
have to deal with on a regular basis. The one thing
that Mary, our property manager, who you'll hear from
in a minute, said, repairs are not finite, they are
infinite including the ones that you don't plan for
like three months ago four water main pipes broke in
the street, unfortunately at midnight on a Saturday
and flooded our

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Please wrap it up.

TOBA POTOSKY: Okay. Our lobby and our basement and we had to pay for new sidewalks. That was 400,000 dollars that was not covered by insurance. Okay. I'm going to finish up. You're going to hear more about our plan from this. Anyway, after five years now, this is a plan that came to us in

2 2018. We held 80 meetings, 80 shareholder meetings,

3 80, on the single topic of our financing, our capital

4 repairs, and how we were going to fund them and,

5 after that, we held the vote just this past August

6 and, of the 410 shareholders that came to me and then

7 | they had a month to vote, 77 percent voted yes. Out

8 of 410 eligible shareholders, 314 voted yes. That's

9 | not anything that's being said here. I know I have to

10 wrap up. I just want to say something that's really

11 | wonderful. We here, all of us, collected, doesn't

12 | matter what your side is, have dedicated ourselves to

13 | affordable housing. How awesome is that? How awesome

14 | is that? And thank you for your time today.

15 CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you. Okay,

16 | we're going to keep everyone to a strict two minutes

17 because we do have to vote.

CAROLYN MINGHIA: Good morning.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Just say your name

20 | before you begin, please.

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CAROLYN MINGHIA: My name is Carolyn

22 | Minghia, and I live at Cadman Towers. It's my home.

23 | It's been my home for 10 years. My great aunt

24 purchased the apartment in 1977, and I only came here

in September 2014 because my aunt was down and sick

and I came to take care of her. Being here in New 2 3 York, my health deteriorated because of the stress of 4 being here, but this is my home now. I need the security that this place brings me. I need someone at the front door to look out for me. The ambulances 6 that have come for me. The specialist that I have to 8 have now because being in this city have aggravated my condition, but I've never heard of Mitchell-Lama. I'm from Philadelphia, 38 years. I've never heard of 10 11 that. I've never heard of a housing thing that doesn't have an arm to take care of structural 12 13 things, repair things. I've never heard of a thing, 14 but there's no arm to do that in Mitchell-Lama. We 15 got to come up with it, I don't know, selling cookies or lemonade stands, we have to come up with the 16 money, and I understand we have. We've done our best. 17 There's been increases that I can't believe. I've 18 19 been on permanent disability since 1998, and I don't 20 make any more money. I can't get it out of the wind. 21 I want to live here, I intend to live here until they 2.2 carry me out, and I want this place to be here so the 2.3 new generation will come and live in affordable housing. It can be affordable if we just try this new 24 Article. We want to be affordable. We want everybody 25

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2 to come and enjoy this wonderful place that Shelly
3 has talked about.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you.

CAROLYN MINGHIA: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Go ahead.

MARY EGRIE: Good morning, everybody. My name is Mary Egrie, and I'm the property manager for Cadman Towers. Thank you very much for the opportunity to come here today and speak about the Article II to XI conversion as it relates to apartment affordability and improved access to homeownership and an affordable development. This program was initially put together between the Board of Directors at Cadman Towers and the former Rick Froehlich of HDC. He's passed on at this point. When they were initially developing the numbers for this program, Rick had recommended that we peg it at 100 percent of AMI, and we ran the numbers on that and we did the analysis and the Board of Directors, the leadership at Cadman, determined that we can do better. At 100 percent of AMI, we were really at the higher end of the moderate income range, and we wanted to make sure that our program captured lowincome people, people in the low-income range, which

is 79 percent of AMI or down, and so then we worked
the numbers, that's how we got down to the 80 percent
of AMI number. At 80 percent of AMI, we are capturing
the upper range of low-income residents and the lower
range of moderate income so this program blends that
higher range of low income and lower range of
moderate income. The other thing that this does is it
presents greater opportunity for homeownership.
What's the threshold to homeownership affordability?
It's money. I'm a property manager. I process these
applications for people that are on the waitlist, and
I want to tell you how many people over the years
have left my office in tears because they can't
afford the 40, 50, 60,000 dollars it takes to get
into a Mitchell-Lama building. With this program, it
lowers the threshold of homeownership down into the
range of 18,000. In addition to that, the City has
the Home First program, where the City will provide
these applicants with up to 20 percent of their down
payment and forgive that debt if they stay in the
development for four years. This increases the
availability of homeownership to low-income
individuals.

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2 MARY EGRIE: You can't get financing with 3 Mitchell-Lama. You can with Article XI.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you.

ERICA BUCKLEY: Thank you, Committee

Members, for allowing me to address you today. My
name is...

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: [GAVEL] Quiet in here, please.

ERICA BUCKLEY: My name is Erica Buckley and I'm an attorney at Nixon Peabody and I'm special counsel for Cadman Towers. Prior to joining Nixon Peabody, I was the Chief of the Real Estate Finance Bureau at the Attorney General's Office, where I regulated New York's co-op and condo market and, prior to that, I was the General Counsel of the Urban Homesteading Assistance Board, which is a citywide organization that is dedicated to Housing Development Fund Corporations, otherwise known as HDFCs. My work with affordable co-ops started more than 20 years ago when I joined UHAB. From day one, we were advocating for the types of changes in this plan for HDFC co-ops to ensure they would operate as affordable housing in perpetuity. The tax exemption before your Committee today is for a model HDFC cooperative to be known as

2 Cadman Towers Housing Development Fund Corporation. Through more than a decade of work, The Board and a 3 4 majority of the shareholders at Cadman Towers have crafted what should be seen as the gold standard when 5 we think about affordable homeownership in New York 6 7 City. I'd like to highlight a few of the points that 8 make Cadman Towers HDFC the gold standard. There will be a 99-year regulatory agreement to ensure affordability in perpetuity. The AMI caps will be at 10 11 125 percent of AMI, which are the exact same AMI caps 12 for Mitchell-Lamas. There will be fixed resale prices 13 with affordability set at 80 percent of the area median income. There are primary residency 14 15 requirements. There are surcharges for over-income 16 shareholders. There are strict parameters for 17 succession rights. There is a flip tax at 50 percent, 18 even though HPD's term sheet only requires 3 percent, 19 and there is also going to be the requirement to use 20 HPD Housing Connect to fill vacancies as they come 21 about. There are other aspects of Cadman's plan that 2.2 I think make it a gold standard when we're talking 2.3 about affordable housing in New York City. As panelists have said, this co-op has been trying to 24 come up with a solution for many years, but this plan 25

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started when Rich Froelich from HDC recommended it as a solution to help Cadman meet their various ongoing capital needs and their goal of remaining affordable in perpetuity. As Toba and other panelists have said, this Board held 50 meetings in 2023 alone to ensure that the community made a very informed decision about their future, and I want to just be clear here, democracy has spoken at Cadman Towers, 77 percent of the shareholders voted to take advantage of this option...

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Thank you.

ERICA BUCKLEY: And there's nothing that should happen to stop the will of the people. This is a very reasonable plan, and I hope that you will vote in favor of it today. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Okay, Council Member Brewer has a question. We have two minutes for each question.

COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: Thank you. My first question for whomever is, my understanding from the previous panel is that there is a wiped-out waitlist. Can you respond to that and, second, my understanding also, because on the Upper West Side, I have many, many, many Mitchell-Lamas, and I've been

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working with them for the last 40 years, and I know people who have gotten financing as a regular

Mitchell-Lama so I'm just wondering why you think that's not possible and then, finally, the next group of shareholders after the initial and time goes on, wouldn't that have to be something as you add the flip tax and the 50 percent of the individuals, I do think it's going to become increasingly unaffordable for the constituency we're trying to put into Mitchell-Lamas. Could you comment on those three topics, please?

MARY EGRIE: I can speak to the waiting list. HPD, the way that they construct these lists is that in theory there's enough people on the list to last you for 10 years because there's expense involved with processing the applications and doing the advertising so for my building that means 500 people, but I'm speaking of one bedrooms by the way. I only have a turnover rate of anywhere from 10 to 12 one-bedroom apartments per year so 10 times 10 is 100, but HPD put 500 people on my list. Why is that? Because they're aware of the attrition rate. Some of the people will drop off because they don't bother to return their application. Other people drop off

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because when they make it to my office and they send them their offer letter, they don't have the money to buy into the building. More than half of the people I send letters to can't afford to get an apartment in my building. They just drop off, they give up, and who is affected most? Young people, because they have student loans, they're just starting out in their career, maybe they're at the lower range of the AMI there, they don't have any savings, they don't have a...

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: You can finish.

MARY EGRIE: So with this program, first of all, we're going to get a brand new waiting list through Housing Connect with HPD. We have to hire a HPD-approved marketing company to put together the list and administrate it, and these people will be vetted from the very beginning of the process so that they know that they qualify for apartments at Cadman Towers. In addition to that, now there's financing available. Finally, they can get some help with their down payment, and all of that is forgiven if they stay in the development for 10 years.

COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: So the old list goes away. Thank you.

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MARY EGRIE: Yes, the people on the old list can now apply for Housing Connect and get back on the list.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Any other questions from my Colleagues?

Council Member Restler.

much. Just two questions. One, the previous panel indicated that there were additional City resources that were available that have been left on the table. Could you speak to what conversations have been had with HPD and HDC? Are there loans that could be made available to Cadman that have not been accessed, firstly? Second question, could you just break down, and, Mary, maybe you could start with this one, if you don't mind, what does somebody need up front, today to move in in terms of cash to move into Cadman, and what would somebody need if this conversion happened?

MARY EGRIE: Today at Cadman, you need anywhere, depending on, we have one bedrooms to three-bedroom apartments so three-bedroom apartments, you're looking at over 80,000 dollars. Some of the one bedrooms start around 45,000, 42,000, but a lot

23 COUNCIL MEMBER RESTLER: Got it.

percent of the down payment.

said before, Housing First program will pay up to 20

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2 MARY EGRIE: It's up to 100,000 or 20
3 percent, whichever. 20 percent and that gets
4 forgiven.

COUNCIL MEMBER RESTLER: Great. And then the second question, are there resources available from HPD and HDC for loans that Cadman has not taken advantage of?

MARY EGRIE: Not that I'm aware. We've exhausted every program that we're aware of.

about all that stuff. HPD and HDC, obviously, they have limited resources and, when you have a project, you could go to them and say we have this project. Even though some of our debt is deferred, it's still on our books and, with 62 million as we have now, at 62 million, as I said, we're maxed out. We can't go to HPD or HDC. We would have to spend the next couple years to pay down existing debt in order to maybe qualify and, remember, we are one of 84 other properties that we are competing for other money. If that's okay...

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: We've got to wrap it

24 up.

2	TOBA POTOSKY: Okay, the other thing real
3	quick that Council Member Brewer brought up about the
4	waiting list, and this is the truth about the waiting
5	list. We have a three-bedroom waiting list that
6	started in 2010, that has maybe turned over about
7	four apartments since 2010. Yes, some of those will
8	go away. We actually, with the permission of HPD,
9	went through those lists to say is there anybody who
10	changed (INAUDIBLE) so we have been very active in
11	making sure that everybody who had an opportunity,
12	because that list was so old and so slow so we've
13	done everything we can to be responsible to get as
14	many people as possible in.
15	CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Okay. Thank you.
16	Okay, no further speakers, no further questions.

I'm going to ask Billy Martin, the Committee Clerk, to call the roll.

COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Good morning. William Martin, Committee Clerk. This is roll call vote Committee on Finance. All items are coupled on today's agenda. Chair Brannan.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: I vote aye.

COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Ayala.

COUNCIL MEMBER AYALA: I vote aye.

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2 COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Moya.

3 Powers.

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COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Permission to explain my vote.

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Yes, of course.

COUNCIL MEMBER POWERS: Thanks. I just wanted to recognize and appreciate the work being done here by many folks citywide to preserve the really important Mitchell-Lama program, which has been a hallmark program of affordability in the city and deemed a success, I think, in many ways for a pathway to affordable homeownerships, and that's why myself and others have raised concerns about conversions away from Mitchell-Lama in the past and particularly when we're talking about full removal of the program for private purposes, which is something that I oppose for a number of reasons. I think it's noted that it's possible the program that we're discussing today isn't going to work for every building and I do think, in this case, the program does work for this particular instance in this building, and I agree with Council Member Restler that if you think the facts of the entire program don't work for every building, it sounds like,

listening to the hearing today and doing some
research, this particular building is an instance
where preserving affordability, not going fully
private, does make sense, and I do think this is a
one-site proposal, not relying on Member deference or
deferral opinion or anything like that. I think
there's conditions and factors here particularly make
this a reasonable case for staying within an
affordable housing program and not going private so
I'm going to vote yes on this for the 99 years of
affordability, a pathway out of debt, (INAUDIBLE)
other instances here. I do know other Colleagues who
are here working on solutions to a larger equation
here in the city, which I am very eager to engage in
and to pursue but, for the folks at Cadman Plaza, I
think have worked very long and hard here. 77 percent
vote and other factors, I think have made a strong
case in this particular instance for receiving the
benefit they're doing. It's not a one-size-fits-all,
perhaps for everyone, but I think in this one, it
works so I'll be in voting yes. Thanks.

COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Louis.

COUNCIL MEMBER LOUIS: I vote aye.

you. Brewer.

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2 COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: Permission to say 3 something?

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Yes.

COUNCIL MEMBER BREWER: I am going to vote no, and I'll tell you why. I think that Mitchell-Lama, as it is, is the best program ever in terms of housing, and to go from II to XI conversion, I do think it's an abuse of Article XI. It's contrary to Article XI's basic legislative purpose. It was created to increase the supply of safe and sanitary dwelling accommodations at rentals, which families and persons of low income can afford and that, to me, talks about the HCFCs that we've all worked on that go from TIL to HCFCs, not a Mitchell-Lama. It was a great instrument for them, but converting the Mitchell-Lama co-op to Article XI goes in exactly the opposite direction. Mitchell-Lama co-ops, and there are 84 more that we have to be considering, are the products of the best program producing generally affordable social housing in New York, should never be used to remove buildings from that program to create something less affordable, and I do believe as time goes on, despite what we've heard, these units will become less affordable and less well-regulated.

2	Sheltered rent tax exemptions, which is part of the
3	Mitchell-Lama program, where the resale policy used
4	in a not-for-profit model is what we should be
5	talking about. It should never be used to subsidize
6	windfall profits for selling shareholders. That's
7	what I think Article XI would allow so I'm voting no.
8	I want to make it clear that we do have a bill that
9	is being drafted on the subject of tax breaks for
10	conversions of Mitchell-Lama co-op from II to XI, and
11	I hope that all of my Colleagues will sign on. Thank
12	you very much.

COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Farías.

COUNCIL MEMBER FARÍAS: I vote aye.

COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Hanks.

COUNCIL MEMBER HANKS: I vote aye.

COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Thank

you. Hudson.

19 UNIDENTIFIED: (Coughing) Thanks, guys.

20 I'm so sorry. I'm okay. If it happens again, I'll

21 leave.

22 COUNCIL MEMBER HUDSON: No need to

23 apologize. You okay?

24 UNIDENTIFIED: I'm good, thanks.

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2 COUNCIL MEMBER HUDSON: Okay. Permission 3 to explain my vote?

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Yes.

COUNCIL MEMBER HUDSON: I'm deeply concerned with the prospect of a trend in which existing affordable Mitchell-Lama developments convert to HDFC co-ops with Article XI tax exemptions. The Mitchell-Lama program is one of the remaining truly affordable housing programs in our city and must be protected at all costs and, at the same time, we must also take a tailored approach to all buildings to address their unique conditions and ensure low-income tenants, many of whom are older adults, can age in place with dignity. As Chair of the Committee on Aging, providing New Yorkers an opportunity to age safely and with dignity in place is a top priority. Cadman has tens of millions of dollars in outstanding loans and additional capital needs, and it has already reached the maximum debt to income ratio and would struggle to secure any additional loans and, even if Cadman can secure more loans, it would require greater maintenance increases that would make the building unaffordable for lowincome shareholders and those on a fixed income. This

- 2 transition will ensure Cadman remains affordable
- 3 housing for the next 99 years, and I just want to say
- 4 also I agree with the remarks of many of my
- 5 Colleagues, but particularly those of Council Member
- 6 Powers, I think the testimony today has been
- 7 incredibly compelling. I've literally been changing
- 8 | my mind in real time based on what I've been hearing.
- 9 This decision is a very, very difficult decision, and
- 10 | I think oftentimes what this Body is forced to
- 11 contend with is decisions like this one that are very
- 12 difficult but, with all that I've heard today, I'm
- 13 | voting aye. Thank you.
- 14 COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Ossé.
- 15 COUNCIL MEMBER OSSÉ: Permission to claim
- 16 my vote.
- 17 CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Yes.
- 18 COUNCIL MEMBER OSSÉ: I would consider
- 19 | myself a pretty staunch advocate for affordable
- 20 | housing, and I truly do understand the importance of
- 21 Mitchell-Lama buildings and their hold in our city. I
- 22 really do appreciate also everyone who came out today
- 23 and testified and shared their views of this process
- 24 but, in this specific case, I really do want to defer
- 25 to the expertise of the local Council Member. As I've

vote aye. Thank you.

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- heard from him, he's been aware and working on this
  situation for some time now and then also just
  hearing how the residents have voted sizably and in
  favor of this and, with all that to consider, I also
- 7 COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Carr.
- 8 COUNCIL MEMBER CARR: Aye.
- 9 COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Sanchez.
- 10 COUNCIL MEMBER SANCHEZ: Permission to
- 11 | explain my vote?
- 12 CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Yes.
  - COUNCIL MEMBER SANCHEZ: Thank you, Chair.

    Cities of New York are cities of opportunity and, if
    we don't provide people to come here, to live here,
    to stay here, and to stay for generations, then we're
    failing. This is something I say often and, in this
    circumstance, I want to highlight the importance of
    Mitchell-Lama buildings in providing deeply
    affordable homeownership opportunities, but this
    question before us and the testimony has been very
    compelling, I will agree, is one that I personally,
    and the Chair is going to kick me under the table for
    this, but I personally want to see this conversation
    move further and, instead of only having this

conversation around Cadman every time that we vote 2 3 for an Article XI, every time that we produce 4 affordable housing that is not providing the levels of affordability that we need, I think we should have this level of debate and conversation, and yet my 6 7 conclusion similar to so many of my Colleagues going 8 through and understanding the financial dynamics at Cadman and understanding the financial where we are is that this is not privatization. This is an Article 10 11 II to an Article XI. Article XI is still maintaining 12 affordability, not as deep affordability as the 13 Mitchell-Lama program and so, with that, I say that this is not a direction that I want to see other 14 15 Mitchell-Lamas go in and that we need to have 16 conversations. If there are Colleagues that want to 17 work on legislation that really forces the City of 18 New York to have a path for Mitchell-Lamas, then I 19 want to be a part of that conversation because right 20 now we don't have that path, and I'm talking about 21 Co-op City, I'm talking about in my neighboring 2.2 Districts, Concourse Village, I'm talking about Tracy 2.3 Towers. We do not have the options coming from the City of New York to preserve Mitchell-Lama as they 24 exist today, and so I think that's the situation I 25

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understand Cadman to be in and, because of that, I

vote age today. Thank you.

COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Thank you. Stevens.

COUNCIL MEMBER STEVENS: Permission to explain my vote?

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Yeah.

COUNCIL MEMBER STEVENS: Since I've gotten to Council, one of the things that I've been concerned really vocal and loud about is how we are not serving our co-ops, Mitchell-Lamas, HFZCs. It has not been something that has been on the forefront. We do so much for renters in the city, and it is important and necessary because we have so many renters, but we have not had real conversation or put forth legislation to support this body of work. I do represent Concourse Village in my District and understanding and always wanted to make sure that I am leaning into hearing what my Colleagues have to say but, because we haven't, for me, done the real work around ensuring that we have had all the options in past and us as legislators to push forward at this time, I will have to abstain. Thank you.

2 COUNCIL MEMBER WILLIAMS: I vote aye.

3 COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: Won.

Salaam.

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COUNCIL MEMBER SALAAM: Permission to explain my vote?

CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Yeah.

COUNCIL MEMBER SALAAM: I am trying to wrap my mind around a lot of what's going on today as I was a child who was raised in a Mitchell-Lama. I actually was raised in the Schomburg Plaza. They changed the name after the Central Park jogger case to a new name, really trying to erase the history of that particular awful incident and, as I understand, in a limited way, what's happening today, I am realizing that this is trying to make the best of a very bad situation and trying to find a way forward. Normally I would probably vote no, normally I would probably abstain but, in this particular instance, and while we do have some relief I'm hoping that is coming down the pipe, I'm going to vote aye on this, but I would like for my concerns to be associated with all of the concerns of our Members. Thank you.

COMMITTEE CLERK WILLIAM MARTIN: With a vote of 14 in the affirmative, one in the negative,

1	COMMITTEE ON FINANCE 53
2	and one abstention, items have been adopted by the
3	Committee.
4	CHAIRPERSON BRANNAN: Okay. With that,
5	this meeting is adjourned. Thank you. [GAVEL]
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World Wide Dictation certifies that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings. We further certify that there is no relation to any of the parties to this action by blood or marriage, and that there is interest in the outcome of this matter.



Date May 15, 2024