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ANTITRUST NEWSMAKER

Interview with J. Thomas Rosch, FTC Commissioner
 about to be there, these were my conclusions. First
 Maoras was an antitrust agency administrator prior
 to her current position. She'd had a good deal of experience
 in the Department of Justice, and she was an excellent
 administrator at the Commission.



*FTC Commissioner
 J. Thomas Rosch*

consequently I concluded that there wasn't very much I could add in that regard. Bill was just joining the Commission and he clearly had superior expertise and experience.

With respect to dealing with the bill, which I knew from both experience and by way of hearsay was a very important part of an Commissioner's job, the expert was Jon Leibowitz. He had spent years on the bill with the Senate Judiciary Committee and more specifically with the Antitrust Subcommittee. It had been years, dating back to 1995, since I'd last appeared at all on the bill. I had virtually no experience politically. And as a consequence, I didn't think there was anything significant I could add in that regard.

In terms of outreach to the states, the expert was Sam Harbour. She had, as you know, been the head of antitrust law enforcement in New York after Lloyd Constantine. She had excellent relations with ABA (National Association of Attorneys General) and the ABA.

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In terms of being 'controversial,' to be sure, I had spent a lot of time studying and litigating United States antitrust law before I came to the Commission. It wasn't as though this was a clean slate. So I had some views about these matters, including about the economics underlying the antitrust laws, before I ever got here. But one of the great luxuries of this job is that a Commissioner has time—time to think, time to study. It's not a situation where as soon as you're done with one case you're picking up the file on the next one; it just doesn't happen that way. So I've been able to give the antitrust laws, particularly of the United States but increasingly those of some other countries, much more time and attention than I had before I got to work.

injunction proceeding where the case is handled by the Commission would differ from the standard in a permanent injunction proceeding where the case is handled by the Antitrust Division.

More specifically, a majority of the judges of the D.C. Court of Appeals held in *Whole Foods* that Congress made it clear in Section 5(b) that the public interest lies in having antitrust cases that are entrusted to the Commission be brought to trial before the Commission, not in the federal district courts. The federal district courts are generalist courts, they're not specialized courts. Most federal district court judges are very fine judges but they don't handle antitrust policy or cases on a daily basis the way that the Commission does. So it doesn't surprise or bother me that the standards that apply in different kinds of federal district court proceedings are different as between ourselves and the Antitrust Division.

You asked, however, should the standards and procedures in federal court proceedings be 'as similar as possible'? I interpret that to take into account the difference in statutes. And, yes, I do think that as much as possible they should be the same, but I certainly don't think that we can neglect the Congressional intent in creating two different agencies that were quite different one from the other.

ANTITRUST: You've been very forthright in your views, and I want to give the critics their due, because one does hear a lot of criticism of some of our positions, and while you've already responded to several of these points I want to walk through some of them a bit more. The critics include former government officials, practitioners, and some members of Congress who are now expressing their own view, I suppose, of Congressional intent. So there's a body of criticism from several quarters. And granting that the statutes say what they say and that the Commission has the power to do much of what it's doing, the questions focus more on what the right policy is.

There's a view I'd like your further response to: over time there has evolved a merger enforcement system applying current law—current law including the C-RA Act, which gave both agencies the power to investigate proposed mergers before they are consummated and decide whether to go to court to enjoin the merger. In the early 1970s the FTC under Chairman Pitofsky, with the support of former Chairman Steiger, said in essence that the policy going forward for the Commission, as it had largely been in the years since enactment of the C-RA Act, was to rely on preliminary injunction proceedings as the primary litigation of a merger case.

And so while there were clearly still some differences

special efforts to make the fullest possible use of our administrative process to address important and difficult issues of antitrust law. In several instances, the FTC made substantial contributions to antitrust jurisprudence. . . . The FTC's current roster of administrative adjudication matters reflects its commitment to use the administrative process to address difficult areas of competition policy.

To be sure, former Chairmen Pitofsky and Muris have expressed reservations about the Commission litigating merger cases in areas where the merger does not involve an difficult or complex issue. But I have yet to see a merger that meets that description, and I don't think the merger cases that were considered when Rob and Tim were Chairmen met that description either. Certainly *Heinz* and *Genzyme/Novazyme*, for example, weren't easy cases. Nor, I would argue, were any of the three cases I've mentioned.



courts. In *Oracle*, for example, the decision was issued about two months after the trial record closed.

Now the next question is what happens when there's an appeal to the Commission? Well, the Commission has taken the unprecedented step in these interim rules of putting a governor on itself. I know of no federal district judge who has ever done that.

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: Well, first of all, if one views a challenge to the first transaction in *Ovation* as a challenge to a conglomerate merger, that doesn't break new ground. There is Supreme Court precedent for that, and that precedent has never been overruled. To be sure, since the Horizontal Merger Guidelines were issued, conglomerate merger policy has been in some disarray to say the very least.

ANTITRUST: Not to mention in Europe.

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: I'll get to Europe in a minute. That said, I must mention that Tom Lear has recognized

crisis long enough to draw any firm conclusions about it. But I've made some remarks about this subject, that is to say what the implications are of the current economic crisis for the Commission's mission.

And so let me just share a couple of thoughts that have occurred to me, again emphasizing that they're crystal ball-type thoughts. The first thought is that orthodox and pure Chicago School economic tenets are at great risk—specifically the notions that markets are pretty much perfect, that imperfect markets correct themselves very quickly, that business people are rational.

Those are fundamental tenets that undergird orthodox Chicago School economics, and I think they've been called into question by the current economic crisis. And that may cause us to be much more modest in our claims about all of those tenets, particularly when we speak about them abroad as we have in the past.

Second, with respect to antitrust specifically, it may be that antitrust enforcement will be at least as vigorous as it has been in the past. There's a strong argument for that. As a matter of theory, competition spurs innovation, lowers prices, and enhances output—provided and to the extent that one is worried about increasing unemployment, increased prices for consumers, etc., it may be that antitrust has more of a role to play than it has heretofore had. That's a second thought.

The third thought is, that said, *General Dynamics* may play a greater role. It may be that market conditions as you see them now, and the health of the parties as you see them now, are not what they are likely to be in the future. And so I think

ANTITRUST: Consumers are not always well represented.

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: I must draw on my own experience. AAI, God bless them, invited me to air my controversial views to a group of plaintiffs' lawyers about a month ago. There are statistics that would suggest I'm wrong. So I may be wrong about this. But I am convinced that the Supreme Court and the Antitrust Division should not be fashioning substantive antitrust principles based upon their concern about the abuses in private antitrust cases.

ANTITRUST: They shouldn't take it into account at all?

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: I don't think they should. What happens is that by shrinking substantive antitrust principles, which we've seen in *Credit Suisse* and *Trinko* for example, out of a concern about private litigation, that can slop over into public enforcement and it can hobble public enforcement as well. I don't think that's a sound way to address concerns about private treble class action abuses. Rather, I think a much sounder way is for the Supreme Court to consider remedying those abuses directly, head on. If it thinks that there's an unlevel playing field in discovery and I think there is today because I think electronic discovery is frankly much more burdensome for defendants than it is for private plaintiffs in most instances. I think that the Supreme Court should insist that the federal district courts supervise discovery in those cases more closely. If the Court thinks there's abuse in private class actions, either in terms of certification or

of economics, as a matter of consumer welfare, if there's a price squeeze by a regulated monopolist.

ANTITRUST: You saw it all going in the same direction?

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: So I saw it all going in the same direction. And I think perhaps the acid test will be what happens with respect to package pricing, loyalty rebates, etc., because the Supreme Court is likely to take those up, and what the Antitrust Division says about those will be very interesting at this point. My feeling is that those practices involve mixed questions of law and policy in the same sense that *linkLine* involved such a mix.

Unlike the practice in *linkLine*, however, the law and policy implicated by those practices may not be aligned. I can see some real evils stemming from those practices, but I can also see some benefits stemming from them.

ANTITRUST: Would you like to see the Supreme Court take up those issues in properly framed cases or would you just as soon let them slide?

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: I'd like to see them do it, but I have to stress that my view is that the Supreme Court ought to decide these cases incrementally and not as the Court did in *Trinko* reach out and through dictum express cosmic views. I think the Court ought to decide just the case before it—that's the position we took in *linkLine* and that's the way I think the Court ought to do it. Incidentally, I think that may be the way that the Court will do it in the future because this Roberts Court seems to value collegiality a lot. And if you're trying to achieve collegiality you do tend to decide cases more incrementally than cosmically.

ANTITRUST: One last question on Section 5. Do you think the agencies will come to a consensus policy statement in the new Administration?

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: I think that the change in Administration certainly holds that out as a possibility. But heaven only knows what the attitude of the new Administration will be about the Section 5 Statement that was issued by the FTC or the Section 5 Report that was issued by the Antitrust Division.

ANTITRUST: What do you see happening in resale price maintenance in the aftermath of the Supreme Court's *Leegin* decision, whether in terms of what Congress should do or what you think the FTC should do? Is the Commission looking for a case in which to examine vertical price restraints under some form of the rule of reason, whether it's a full rule of reason analysis, or applying some sort of presumptions as the Supreme Court suggested in *Leegin*?

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: First of all, my view is that *Leegin*

should not be legislated out of existence. I think we need to wait and see what *Leegin*'s progeny is before Congress takes that extreme step. My view is based on what Justice Kennedy said in *Leegin* when he mentioned the possibility of using pre-

cerns over these theories are compounded by the fact that what we do in the United States gets watched intensely, and that there's a sort of lowest common denominator at work in which whatever we do that's aggressive or creative gets adopted by others as a baseline for what is acceptable or mainstream. It must be okay because even the U.S. agencies are doing it. So other countries might decide, why don't we adopt a legal standard that says that certain conduct is unlawful because we find it's 'unfair,' or that a merger is unlawful even though it's not horizontal or vertical and doesn't change market structure in any way. Do you think a Commissioner's decision making on domestic policy issues should factor in how the theory might play out abroad?

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: I'm tempted to leave this matter to Illinois because he's the expert on international convergence and competition.

I would say, however, that concerns about harmonization and convergence, etc., ought to play a role in our decision making, but it's a very minor role. We're obliged to enforce the laws of the United States, not Article 109 or of the European Treaty. So I don't think that the tail should wag the dog, the tail in this case being harmonization and convergence.

My view in that respect is reinforced by other considerations. First of all, I think convergence, true convergence, substantive convergence is impossible in the immediate future. And I think that businesses over here ought to be told that.

where you can identify the country that has the greatest interest, but when the rubber really meets the road and there's a practice in which all countries claim that they have an interest, competition will only occur because of the suffering of a country rather than because of a rule that requires that country to defer to another country.

ANTITRUST: I think most businesses understand that reality, that true convergence is not going to happen. And some probably would say they wouldn't want it, because the convergence might be in a direction that they wouldn't like.

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: The third observation I would make is that I don't think it's productive for people to throw bricks at each other on either side of the Atlantic. It just alienates those who are obliged to enforce the law on the receiving end. We have far too much to learn from each other to allow that kind of friction to exist. And that is not in the interest of the business community either.

ANTITRUST: What changes in antitrust policy do you see in the new Administration, and what would you like to see?

COMMISSIONER ROSCH: We've already touched on this to some extent. First, I think it's more probable than it has been that there will be convergence between the agencies on the desirability of revisiting the Merger Guidelines. Second, there may be more convergence of views on how Section 7 ought to be enforced, although I have to say on that score that the Antitrust Division may still find it more necessary than I currently do that we provide guidance on exactly how it's going to be enforced rather than speak in generalities. Finally, counselors and their clients alike ought to be interested in resolving the possibility that an impasse may occur between the Antitrust Division and the Commission when both seek to investigate a transaction or practice. We didn't solve the problem with that clearance process when Tom Barnett was the AA, although he and Chairman Maoras were pretty close on a lot of other matters. And whether we'll be able to make any greater progress with the change in Administration seems to me to be very much up for grabs. It depends so much on the personalities of the Chairman and of the AA.

I think that Charles James and Tim Muris probably had it right. Having a protocol that's pretty much binding is probably the right way to go. But I must say I don't see that in the offing. ■

¹ Administrative Litigation Following the Denial of a Preliminary Injunction: Policy Statement, 60 Fed. Reg. 39,741, 39,743 (Aug. 3, 1995).

² Timothy J. Muris, Chairman, Fed. Trade Comm'n, Looking Forward: The Federal Trade Commission and the Future Development of U.S. Competition Policy, Remarks at the Milton Handler Annual Antitrust Review (Dec. 10, 2002), available at <http://www.ftc.gov/speeches/muris/handler.shtm>.