This transcript has been lightly edited for clarity 1 COMPETITION AND CONSUMER PROTECTION IN THE WORLD ECONOMY: 2 CONFLICT, COOPERATION AND CONVERGENCE 3 4 5 PARTICIPANTS: TERRY CALVANI 6 ALLAN FELS 7 DAVID J. GERBER MOZELLE THOMPSON 8 9 MODERATORS: HUGH G. STEVENSON RANDOLPH W. TRITELL 10 11 MR. TRITELL: Good afternoon. 12 I'm Randy Tritell, and I'm the Assistant Director for 13 International Antitrust in the FTC's Bureau of 14 15 Competition, and thanks to all of you stalwarts who have 16 stuck it out for this panel. 17 We're going to try our best to make it worth your while, and Judy's told me that she's tried to help 18 out by giving everybody a little shot of sugar to get 19 20 them through the homestretch. 21 I would first like to, or I quess I should say I'm obligated to, echo the words of many previous 22 23 speakers you have heard during this symposium in saying that the remarks that I am going to make are my own and 24 25 are not necessarily the views of the Federal Trade Commission or any Commissioner; in view of today's 26

panel, I should probably add or any former Commissioner
 or any Commissioner of another agency or any former
 Commissioners of another agency.

It's a pleasure for me to participate in this 4 5 panel for many reasons, and it's fitting that the panel on the international aspects of the FTC's mission follows 6 7 immediately upon the panel on intra-government relations within the U.S., and it's also fitting that in the last 8 9 panel of the program symbolizing the FTC's role in the new frontier field of international antitrust. Or so I 10 11 thought.

Here I was fancying ourselves pioneers in the brave, new old world of antitrust gone global, but that was before I ran into our resident historian, Mark Winerman, who took me aside and suggested we pay a visit to, for me, an almost foreign corner of the FTC known as the library.

18 There Marc introduced me to some dusty, dog-eared 19 books from when the FTC was but a gleam in the eye of Louis 20 Brandeis. Even then, Congress was charging the nation 21 agency with FCC with studying international competitive 22 issues.

There in the Commission's annual reports and other volumes, from days long before there was an OECD, ICN and other conference venues, were the FTC's early forays beyond our borders. Some of these are rather

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1 notable.

For example, it turns out that one of the new 2 Commission's first activities was to hold hearings on 3 the ability of U.S. firms to compete in foreign markets 4 5 and barriers thereto. Hence, the Federal Trade Commission held hearings on what was later to become, on 6 7 its recommendation, the Webb-Pomerene Act, and Congress charged the FTC with its administration. 8 We're 9 still getting a big bang from the buck from this statute. 10 For having a grand total of 11 remaining Webb-Pomerene 11 associations, this statute attracts attention all over the world, as I am regularly reminded by foreign governments 12 and NGOs at international conferences. 13

14 The Commission's annual report of 1917 included 15 a section called "Foreign Trade Conditions," noting that 16 Congress had specifically placed in the jurisdiction of 17 the Federal Trade Commission the investigation of trade 18 conditions with foreign countries relating to 19 combinations in trade.

By 1920 the Commission had established an Export Trade Division to whose activities it devoted eight pages of its annual report, including a section on extraterritorial jurisdiction, which I previously thought was a brand new issue.

In 1929 the Commission investigated 106
 complaints concerning alleged unfair practices affecting

1 the foreign trade of the United States.

2 By 1938, the Commission reported, under Section 3 6 of the FTC Act, on antitrust and unfair competition laws 4 in foreign countries, with sections on 32 such countries.

5 You might say the FTC was doing international 6 antitrust in a manner of speaking, but not the substantive 7 matters that we know now are at the heart of it all like, 8 say, international cartels.

9 That's around the point where Marc introduced me 10 to the studies the FTC undertook in the 1940s of 11 international cartels. Of course back then the issues 12 must have been a lot different because they spent a lot 13 of time studying a cartel in a commodity called petroleum.

14 The Commission issued a detailed report pointing 15 to competition problems in the sector, but when they tried 16 to publish the report, something quite strange happened. 17 It became caught up in politics. Fortunately, times have 18 really changed!

19 So our field is not so new after all, but it's 20 still exciting, and we're lucky today to have such a 21 stellar group to enlighten us further on the 22 international dimension of the FTC's work.

With that, let me turn to my co-moderator and
 colleague in the International Division of the Consumer
 Protection Bureau, Hugh Stevenson, for some opening remarks.
 MR. STEVENSON: Thanks, Randy. Hugh Stevenson.

I'm the Associate Director of the Division of
 International Consumer Protection, and I make the same
 disclosure Randy does.

Having said that, I would say we've saved the best for last here when we really can focus on the issues untroubled by too big an audience, but I think it's really an important topic and really the sort of forward looking topic, and I had the same caveat like Randy.

10 At some point, Mark Winerman accosted me with 11 these same dusty volumes and actually sort of set me 12 right too, and there were some interesting issues back 13 in the day of people misrepresenting products as made in 14 France. This was seen as a marketing advantage at the 15 time.

16 The issues have changed somewhat in 17 international consumer protection. I think in looking at the larger view, as Randy has suggested, a lot of the 18 issues we deal with are newer and indeed on the consumer 19 20 protection side, we're kind of the younger sibling in the international area things, having gone even more 21 recently a lot, and we're trying to, of course, make up 22 23 for lost time.

Historically a lot of the issues we've been dealing with in advertising and marketing have been in a national or even local level. The marketplace has

become more globalized though. Of course as the 1 Internet in a lot of ways makes the world smaller, it 2 3 makes the work of international consumer protection larger, and we've seen this in the complaints we've 4 5 received increasingly from foreign consumers or about foreign companies or about evidence that may be in 6 7 another country or about money that's being taken from somebody here but it's been moved to another country, 8 9 and an increasing number of the issues that we see have 10 some international dimension, telemarketing fraud, 11 crossing borders, web fraud of course, spam where it can 12 be sent to anybody from just about anywhere, a lot of the phishing problems that have been talked about 13 14 recently also can have an international component, 15 privacy issues.

16 This raises a lot of new challenges for us, some 17 practical or enforcement challenges, how do we chase the 18 people across the borders, how do we cooperate with 19 these agencies?

That means engagement with a lot of foreign agencies, foreign counterparts, and then on the policy front, many of the issues that we have that are very challenging we've heard about the last two days, considering the domestic context, now can take on an even greater international dimension.

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That means engagement with our counterparts in

the kind of alphabet soup of international organizations 1 and the other folks who are thinking about these same 2 issues, and we're trying to build on what we've learned 3 on the competition side and enter into more 4 5 arrangements, developing more systematic ways to share 6 information, complaint databases, working on 7 partnerships, memorandum of understanding with other agencies, working on legislation that's now pending in 8 9 Congress, the International Consumer Protection Act, 10 working in other organizations to think about how our 11 approaches compare and work with approaches taken by our counterparts in other countries, and these are some of 12 the issues I think our panelists will address today so 13 14 let's turn to them.

MR. TRITELL: With that, let me introduce our first speaker. I said at the outset that I was delighted to moderate this program for several reasons, and one key one is the opportunity to introduce my former boss, colleague and friend, Terry Calvani.

I'm sure most of you know Terry, whether from his scholarship when he was a professor of law at Vanderbilt, from his colorful appearances at antitrust conferences around the country and the world, from his antitrust practice at Pillsbury Winthrop, and mostly from his seven memorable years as a Commissioner and Acting Chairman here at the Federal Trade Commission

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where I had the great privilege of working with Terry.

As most of you know, Terry is now once again a Commissioner, but this time with the Irish Competition Authority, making him to my knowledge the first person to serve as a Commissioner in two countries -- the very personification of globalization.

Terry's portfolio includes responsibility for 7 enforcement against criminal cartels. Earlier I 8 9 mentioned the FTC's history with the Webb-Pomerene Act. 10 Well, it turns out that Terry has a special fondness for 11 Webb-Pomerene associations and in fact has even recently taken the trouble to send each one of them a letter 12 inquiring about their activities in the Emerald Isle. In 13 14 a recent lecture Terry displayed a PowerPoint presentation 15 of the courtyard of the prison in Dublin in which executives of such associations carrying on cartel activities in 16 17 Ireland can get their daily exercise.

Ladies and gentlemen, Terry Calvani.

19 MR. CALVANI: Thank you, Randy. I'm delighted 20 to be back here, and I thank you for that very gracious 21 introduction.

22 Our conference organizers, have suggested the themes 23 conflict, cooperation and convergence in international 24 competition policy. When I left the Federal Trade 25 Commission in September of 1990, conflict characterized much 26 of the interaction among national competition authorities.

Cooperation was the new, but largely unrealized objective,
 and convergence would have meant precious little to anyone
 at the FTC.

Now, some 15 years later, conflict among
national competition authorities is rare. Cooperation
is the order of the day, and convergence is not only in
everyone's lexicon but is actually taking place. Thus
in a relatively short period of time, the international
enforcement community has changed significantly.

As we pause to reflect on the history of the Federal Trade Commission, I would like to review these three themes and offer thoughts on what we might expect 14 years hence.

The 1986 Leeds Castle Kent Conference well 14 15 illustrates conflict. The agenda included extraterritoriality, blocking legislation, claw-back 16 17 statutes and the like. The United Kingdom was to be represented by senior officials of the Office of Fair 18 Trading. As the conference approached, the OFT was 19 20 instructed by the Department of Trade and Industry to Senior representatives of the DTI rather 21 stand down. than the OFT would represent the United Kingdom. As the 22 23 dramatis personae changed, we learned that the OFT was not trusted by its ministry to adequately represent UK 24 25 interests. Evidently it was feared that OFT officials would not stand up to American trustbusters. Today that story 26

sounds silly, but times were different and conflict was
 commonplace.

Cooperation? Well, there wasn't much. I cannot identify a single important case where there was serious multinational cooperation during my entire seven year term as Commissioner, but I can recall instances where there was a significant lack of cooperation, sometimes on the part of the U.S.

9 Institut Merieux, for example, involved a merger 10 of a Canadian and French firms, neither of which had 11 productive assets located within the United States. 12 Employing the effects test of jurisdiction and an actual potential competition theory, we required the 13 divestiture of a Canadian rabies vaccination business 14 15 without even notifying, much less consulting with the Canadian authorities, and as you might expect the 16 17 Canadians were livid. Today such an event is inconceivable.

As for convergence, I don't think I'd heard the term much less used it during my tenure of office. To sum up, conflict? Yes. Cooperation? No. Convergence? Not yet an idea.

22 Change was in the air when I left the FTC 23 in 1990. I think I am safe in saying though that my 24 international experience at the FTC was not 25 significantly different from any of my predecessors. My 26 successors, like Commissioner Thompson, on the other

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hand, have had a very different experience.

Let's look at conflict. One can attribute the conflict during my term to a variety of sources. The effects test was certainly important. Very vocal opposition to the test was voiced from Sydney to Ottawa to London and places in between.

7 Foreign governments adopted laws and other policies designed to frustrate U.S. efforts to exert 8 9 extraterritorial jurisdiction. Yet extraterritoriality, 10 in reality, was a bit of a whipping boy. The real 11 conflict was that the American faith in antitrust was simply not shared abroad. The exercise of 12 extraterritorial jurisdiction by the United States 13 14 simply highlighted the difference in attitudes. Today, 15 competition policy is no longer an American commodity.

Skeptics will focus on episodic conflicts 16 17 between authorities today. Truth be told, conflicts will never completely disappear. The United States itself has 18 achieved a broad based consensus on substantive antitrust, 19 20 and yet U.S. courts often find themselves in disagreement when interpreting the very same statutory language. 21 Mv point is that conflict, while not eliminated, is much less 22 23 common.

24 Cooperation, on the other hand, is very common --25 so common that I will mention it only briefly. In a 26 U.S. context, it is embodied in formal instruments,

including soft cooperation agreements, but also mutual
 legal assistance treaties, and, of course, the all vowel
 stature that I can never get quite right. More
 importantly, cooperation has become part of the every
 day fabric of international antitrust enforcers.

6 International cartel enforcement is so common 7 that countless continuing legal education programs have 8 been hosted around the world devoted to educating 9 counsel on how to deal with this new environment.

10 The combined raid by over 200 officers of the 11 United States, Japan, Canada and the European authorities 12 in eight countries at premises around the world on 12 13 February 2003 is an excellent example of the current state 14 of cooperation.

15 Near the end of my term in 1990, the Bundeskartellamt hosted its semiannual cartel conference in 16 17 Berlin. Sir Leon Brittan, now Lord Brittan, took the 18 occasion to suggest that the time was ripe to reconsider international antitrust convergence. A moribund subject 19 since the failure of the Havana Conference years earlier, he 20 21 initiated a discussion that has been the subject of 22 countless programs since.

Lord Brittan suggested the WTO as the vehicle, but the idea enjoyed little progress without the active cooperation and support of the United States. Such support was not forthcoming.

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1 Former Assistant Attorney General Klein summed up the U.S. position in his "If It Ain't Broke, Don't 2 Fix It" address to the 1999 Cartel Conference, but there 3 was another unspoken reason for the U.S. position. 4 Unsaid 5 was the U.S. fear that convergence would lead to populist antitrust divorced from economic underpinnings. 6 It had 7 been a long way from the likes of Von's Grocery and Schwinn, and there was little interest in returning. 8

9 Attorney General Janet Reno convened the 10 International Competition Policy Advisory Committee in 11 October of 1997. The committee's final report 12 highlighted the costs associated with divergent 13 antitrust policies and the need for greater 14 convergence.

15 The final report signaled change when it 16 recommended that the United States explore the creation 17 of a new venue where government officials, as well as 18 private firms, NGOs and others could consult on matters 19 of competition law and policy.

20Just before leaving office, Assistant Attorney21General Klein delivered another address, which many read22to mean a change was taking place in Washington.

The ICN, the International Cartel Network, was born on October 2, 2001. In its short life, it has accomplished much. One of its initial efforts was the identification of best practices in the merger review

process. The fruits of these labors are nothing short of
 dramatic.

The work of the merger working party was important in the decision of 12 jurisdictions, including Ireland, in modifying, amending and changing their merger process. This is successful convergence taking place real time.

The enlargement of the Union on May 1 highlights 8 9 additional convergence. As a condition of entry, the 10 new accession states had to adopt competition regimes 11 modeled on Articles 81 and 82 of the Treaty. Now, 12 whether these Member States otherwise would have opted for different competition laws cannot be said, but the 13 14 adoption of laws in ten countries based on a single 15 model is a significant step toward convergence even if a 16 bit forced.

17 Informal convergence is also taking place. 18 Merger policy within the EU is much more akin to that in 19 the United States and North America generally than it 20 was a few years ago. The revised EU merger regulation 21 reflects this convergence. The treatment of unilateral 22 effects and the role of economic analysis are but two 23 examples.

New merger guidelines, which recognize the role of efficiencies and speak of consumer welfare, look very similar to those of the United States. The abandonment of

the EU Notification Regime is yet another example of soft
 convergence.

3 So where are we now? Conflict rare; 4 cooperation, the order of the day; and convergence in 5 center stage.

What about the future? The grand question is 6 whether we will see the emergence of an international 7 competition regime as some have advocated. 8 Lord Brittan 9 and Commissioner Monti have endorsed some, albeit as yet 10 ill-defined, regime within the WTO, and although these 11 sentiments have not found fertile ground within in the 12 U.S. government, the idea is not without American 13 supporters.

14 Although the U.S. is active in promoting convergence 15 in the working groups of the ICN and elsewhere, I see 16 nothing that leads me to conclude that the overall approach 17 by the U.S. is likely to change in the short-term. Since 18 U.S. participation is probably a necessary, but insufficient, ingredient the question of whether a world 19 20 antitrust order will emerge strikes me as premature. Perhaps it will, but not within the next 14 years. 21

22 Rather, the next two decades will likely 23 continue to present challenges, and although my paper 24 discusses several, I would like to mention just two, one 25 substantive and one process oriented. The first I call 26 differences in creed.

1 While there has been much consensus building, consensus has yet to be established on substantive law. 2 When comparing substantive issues between Europe 3 and North America, there is little disagreement today on 4 5 cartel policy. The treatment of mergers, while less homogeneous than cartels, is very similar. True, there are 6 7 non trivial differences in the treatment of vertical restraints but nothing of really great moment. Only in the 8 9 area of single firm behavior are the differences dramatic.

10 Take price predation for example. U.S. law requires that a plaintiff established that the defendant 11 sell below cost, using some version of an Areeda-Turner 12 test, and that the plaintiff establish that the 13 14 defendant is able to recoup the cost of predation. 15 Intent is not important. European law, on the other hand, 16 appears to be much more concerned about predatory pricing. 17 For example, in the AKZO case the Court of Justice found that prices above variable cost could still be predatory. 18 Average variable cost could still be predatory if 19 20 accompanied by an intent to eliminate a competitor and the Court declined to require proof of recoupment. 21 In doing so, the Court expressly rejected the Areeda-Turner test. 22 This 23 may appear about as far as one can get from U.S. current law, but is it? 24

This may be more a difference of form than substance since a firm must be dominant in the EU in the

first place before issues of predatory pricing can even
 arise.

I must say I am cautiously optimistic. Focusing again on predatory pricing, U.S. law was far more wobbly than that of the European Union not that many years ago. The legacy of *Utah Pie*, suggesting an average total cost standard, enjoyed a very long ride in the United States.

The evolution of U.S. antitrust law from an 9 10 intent rules based system to one grounded in industrial 11 organization economics took a generation, but there was nothing particularly American about that development 12 because the dismal science does not respect flags or 13 14 frontiers. Seeds sowed within the academy by Aaron 15 Director and others sprouted and took hold over time. While economics came late to European competition 16 17 enforcement, it has come, and over time it will have 18 the same effect.

19 Turning to a process issue, I asked whether 20 American antitrust federalism isn't the poster child for 21 bad policy. U.S. lawyers have not been bashful about 22 criticizing the cost associated with the 23 internationalization of merger enforcement, but non U.S. 24 lawyers are quick to point out that their American 25 colleagues have little to complain about.

As one European lawyer recently observed:

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"U.S. lawyers complain about having to notify an American
transaction in Romania but force me to vet a deal between
two European companies before the antitrust regulators not
only in Washington but in Santa Fe, Des Moines, Tallahassee,
Albany, Portland, Seattle, and Sacramento."

The virtues of convergence seemingly have 6 7 escaped notice in the United States. What is to be done? Our keynote speaker, Judge Posner, suggested 8 9 that state antitrust enforcement rights be limited, but 10 he acknowledges that legislation is necessary to 11 accomplish this. Absent support by State Attorneys General, any reform proposal would be dead on arrival 12 13 in Congress.

14 Clearly this situation undercuts the U.S. 15 ability to call for more rational approaches abroad. 16 One of the biggest challenges to American competition 17 policy is to find a solution for this problem. These 18 issues pose opportunities for U.S. officials, and it 19 remains to be seen whether they are up to the 20 challenge.

In conclusion, the international competition environment today is vastly different from that at the end of my term in 1990. The late Dr. Wolfgang Karrte, former president of Bundeskartellamt, used to refer to the international enforcers assembled for cartel conferences in Berlin as his competition family. While

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a bit of an overstatement at the time, it is likely to
 become much more a reality in the coming years. Thank you.

MR. STEVENSON: Thank you.
We turn next from the Emerald Isle to the Land
Down Under. It is my great pleasure and honor to
introduce Professor Allan Fels. Professor Fels is
former head of what's known as the ACCC or the

(Applause.)

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10 The ACCC, like the FTC, combines both 11 competition and consumer protection functions in a 12 single agency, and Professor Fels led that agency with 13 distinction certainly as a figure well known in these 14 areas internationally and also very influential at 15 home.

Australian Competition and Consumer Commission.

16 Exhibit A for that proposition is this book that 17 I actually had the pleasure to read about Professor Fels fortune and power and describes its many encomiums and 18 describes him as one of the most influential people in 19 20 Australia at the time, although I noticed that one of the first quotes they give is someone giving the opinion 21 that he's rather mischievous, but in any event, a very 22 23 important figure we will see. Professor Fels?

24 MR. FELS: Okay. Well, I'm going to just talk 25 briefly about competition strategy, following a little 26 bit in the lines of Bill Kovacic, doing a couple of

comparisons of the U.S. and the rest of the world, a few
 words on consumer protection, and then applying the
 strategy analysis to international competition
 questions.

5 So in any competition agency, in any government 6 agency there are a number of key questions that you 7 always have to ask: What should be done? What needs to 8 be done? What would be of value to the public?

9 Then you also need to ask, Well, what may be 10 done? What is actually permitted by legislation to be 11 done, and also what can be done? That is, what are the 12 administrative resources at your disposal? What are the 13 laws at your disposal to achieve what should be done?

Finally a question of ever growing importance in government everywhere, not only in the competition area, what requires cooperation from other organizations and entities in order to achieve the public venue that one is seeking to achieve?

Now, I'm going to use those questions, I've set up a little model which is of use for policy agencies. In passing I think it is relevant to a number of the questions that have been asked in this conference and builds a little bit on Bill's paper. Then I'm going to more ambitiously apply it just very briefly to the international theme.

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One of my points is that most policy discussions

tend to focus on just one of those variables, a heated discussion about what should be done with little reference to what the political environment says may be done or what is administratively possible or what requires cooperation from others to get results.

Now, competition is very relevant to 6 7 international competition and policy, so there, just said the same in slightly more convoluted language. 8 9 What one is trying to do is achieve public value. 10 That's what ought to be done and one depends upon the political environment or what I call the authorizing 11 environment to allow a government authority to do that, 12 and then there is another question of what can be done, 13 14 the actual operating capability.

15 So just talking about each of those variables 16 for a moment, I said the aim is to try to get some 17 public value, so in the case of competition law, what is 18 the public value?

Well, of course, the first thing in value is some kind of output, and here I've suggested maybe its successful prosecution, and then that leads to the outcome of a competitive economy, and that is of public value, so that's one theme that is gainful, but typically in the field of government as distinct from the private sector, it's not just output.

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There's also public value in the processes that

we follow, and so there is a considerable value attached to following a fair process, and that leads to greater trust in government, and that has the value of proper use of government power, and also may be fairness, so that's very quickly an idea of what is public value.

Then I mention the notion of an authorizing 6 environment, a political environment. In any strategy 7 analysis looking ahead, you have to have a look at what 8 is driving the environment that authorizes the laws and 9 10 regulations and so on under which you operate, and that's driven by various forces that I've set up there, 11 and it's a very fickle kind of environment. It can 12 13 change quickly, so any look ahead at strategy has to 14 have a look at how the political environment may work.

15 Then the operating capability, that's simply the laws and the resources that someone has to carry out 16 17 their tasks, and besides looking at those variables, you have to look at their interrelationship, and sometimes 18 they're all kind of lined up. There's no disequilibrium 19 20 as shown there, but I do just mention that very often you find that there's an equilibrium at a low level of 21 public value, in other words, the regulators doing 22 23 That's what the political environment nothing much. wants, and they've got their resources just to do that. 24 25 More interesting is when there is some kind of misalignment. Now, in that realm, I've suggested that 26

maybe the public value being pursued by the regulator 1 exceeds the actual mandate from the authorizing 2 environment. Something like that happened in Australia 3 when the regulators stepped up the litigation rate very 4 5 heavily. This brought it into conflict with the political environment, and I've heard mention of similar 6 7 conflicts over the last few days, and I just mention that sometimes the regulator can change the authorizing 8 9 environment by education, by advocacy and so on, and 10 bring them into line that way.

11 Just on the advocacy discussions that I've heard here, I really think that if we're looking ahead at the 12 FTC over the next 20 years, it's really important to 13 14 look at how advocacy is done in the rest of the world 15 because it is done differently. In the EU the Competition Commissioner sits at the table of all the 16 17 Commissioners when all decisions are being made about 18 transport and energy and agriculture and has a direct input into the law making process. 19

In Korea, Taiwan and some other Countries, quite often the head of the Competition Commission is a member of the Cabinet and gets a say in the making of the law, and it contrasts very much with the model we hear of here where the competition bodies are not involved in the making of the law. They go along hand and hand and sort of make a submission.

It's a very different power situation from the 1 rest of the world, and I do very much caution against 2 U.S. people advocating the U.S. advocacy model in other 3 countries when it is possible. I mean, advocacy is 4 5 terrific, but the possibility of being able to be involved in the making of the laws is very important. 6 7 Some might say, We're a federation. What can we do about states? 8

9 In Australia, a federation, we do it differently. 10 There is a federal review of all anti-competitive state 11 laws, and if they are found to be anti-competitive and not 12 in the public interest, the States are subjected to a 13 severe financial penalty by the federal government. So 14 there are other ways of looking at advocacy, which I think 15 the FTC should look at in coming years.

Now, the next possibility is that the regulator hasn't got the operating capability to achieve the public value. It hasn't got the resource of the law, and of course the classic examples is the EU. It's been loaded up with tasks, but it just doesn't have the people. What can it do?

Well, it can't get a bigger batch of things to settle. It can squeeze a bit more out of the operating capability by cutting back on notification and getting higher output in that fashion, and there's another possible solution, but I do think a lot of discussion of

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policies tend to ignore the operating capability
 restriction, and they should build it into policy
 analysis.

Now, the next variable I just want to introduce is that of coproducers. Sometimes to achieve public value, you need the help of other people. You need the help of coproducers, and in the EU for example, another way of getting value is to use national regulators to help the Commission get some results.

In the U.S.A. system, I've always thought of the authorizing environment, the public value, the operating capability, all at fairly high value, and also reasonably well aligned, it seems to me that the issue I keep hearing about at this conference is a coproducer and do coproducers value in the field of competition really deliver? Isn't that the big issue here?

17 The question about state laws, state regulators, other regulators, overseas regulators, do they in some 18 way inhibit the achievement of public value? 19 Isn't that 20 the big policy question, and on the question of consumer protection, well I've just expressed my thoughts on that 21 again in this strange language of circles and so on, but 22 basically consumer protection policies are kind of a 23 coproducer of value. 24

It may at times complement or it may conflictwith competition policy. There are some interesting

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questions about whether you should integrate the 1 functions of one body. I believe that is the way to 2 3 maximize the joint value of the activities, and one point which I don't think has been mentioned so far is 4 5 that there is a huge political benefit in integrating 6 competition and consumer policy because the consumer 7 protection actions build general public support for the agency and help carry it through its more unpopular 8 9 decisions when it rejects mergers in unpopular manner or 10 does other unpopular things. The political credit it builds up for competition through consumer protection policy 11 12 is extremely important.

On the international side, it seems to me 13 14 that there is considerable public value to be achieved from 15 curbing international anti-competitive behavior, cartels, mergers, market power, all those trade and competition 16 17 issues that we keep hearing about, and also in the field of intellectual property law, there are numerous restrictions 18 on international trade and copyrighted and patented 19 products, which I've always found extremely hard to see any 20 justification for. 21

22 Certainly in terms of my way of looking at 23 things, there would be public value from doing something 24 about all the international restrictions on competition, 25 so one of the options: One is each country goes it 26 alone.

Now, that doesn't change something because not only can your own actions help you, but also if there's a place like Australia that you can sit back, and if the U.S. or the EU breaks up cartels or mergers, that brings a benefit to you.

I repeat the point, the extraterritorial
approach seems to work badly and it harms cooperation.
I did mention a lot of countries want to do something
about international cartels but permit their own export
cartels is somewhat contradictory.

11 So in terms of my diagram, if you go it alone, 12 then the potential value that you want to achieve can't 13 be achieved because of the insufficient operating 14 capability, so the actual capability is less than what 15 is required to get results.

16 Convergence, I think we've already heard about 17 it. I just mention that convergence is fine. It is 18 having a bit of an effect, but still many countries have 19 weak laws or, more importantly, they have laws that are 20 not being seriously applied. They may come to do that but 21 at the moment they don't.

22 Convergence doesn't itself do much to address 23 the global problems. It's more something that's 24 happening domestically. It still leaves the global 25 questions to be resolved, so what is happening is that 26 instead, we're getting more cooperation in many, many

1 forms.

It, too, has some limits. First of all, the 2 simple fact is that the political environment does not 3 permit too much cooperation. It imposes severe limits 4 on it. Many countries do not have agreements. 5 There are few agreements between developed and developing 6 7 countries, and even the agreements that you find, even the very serious one between Australia and the U.S., the 8 9 IEAA, that has a number of letters, for example, it 10 doesn't cover mergers, and there's some public interest 11 exemptions, so cooperation is good, but it's still got a 12 long, long way to go.

I'll just signal that cooperation is a way of harnessing coproducers, but there are limits on it from the authorizing environment, and so the potential of cooperation has still a long way to go before being realized.

18 What is very important though, in this as in every other area of government now, and as we heard in 19 20 the previous session, particularly from Commissioner 21 Harbour, what is really important is not to have a big 22 argument about who should do what, whether you're 23 talking about the federal regulators versus the states or the federal competition agency versus the industry 24 25 regulators or the U.S. and the rest of the world, it is actually to work on making cooperation work better. 26

1 There's a body of learning now on how to 2 make cooperation work better in government, and this 3 should be a really big focus for the future. I believe at 4 the FTC and everywhere else, it is the best not so much 5 to argue about who owns the patch but, whatever it is, to 6 work harder on making it work well.

7 On multilateral agreements, I suggest that the actual operating capability is negligible at the moment 8 because there isn't the political support for multi lateral 9 10 agreements, and I've also then made even smaller the circle 11 of the world competition authority and suggested for the 12 whole subject of having a world competition authority should be seriously revisited at the repeat conference that 13 14 will be held at the 180th birthday party of the FTC.

15 I want to mention an area that has gone 16 disastrously wrong in this world. Those of us who are 17 competition policy people feel trade policy is an area of 18 competition policy, but one that has gone disastrously wrong, and we really need to do something about all the 19 legislative restrictions on international trade. 20 They are 21 the biggest barrier to global economic welfare. I'm afraid 22 that cartels have come second in importance. That has to 23 be part of the agenda.

I will say finally and I'm only a quarter way through my speech, finally I'll just mention that in many ways the formal cooperation these days is less

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important than informal, and my conclusion is at the
 moment we're making some progress but there's a
 political problem about cooperation.

Bilateral cooperation is the way forward, and that we need to work harder on making sure that that works well. Thank you.

(Applause.)

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MR. TRITELL: Thanks to Terry and Allan.

9 Allan, I made a note next to your remarks to 10 make sure you're invited back to the FTC's 180th Anniversary 11 Symposium.

It's now my pleasure, after these two interesting 12 papers, to present our first discussant, Professor David 13 14 Gerber. Professor Gerber is a leading scholar in the 15 international antitrust field, currently the Distinguished Professor of Law at Chicago Kent College of Law. David has 16 been a member of law faculties across the United States as 17 well as in Germany and Sweden, and has practiced law in both 18 continents. 19

His most recent book is "Law and Competition in
 the Twentieth Century Europe: Protecting Prometheus."

David, after listening to these two provocative papers, we look forward to hearing your observations and insights.

25 MR. GERBER: Thanks very much, Randy. It's a 26 real pleasure to be here. As I look at the group there

are a lot of people here still. We weren't sure whether
 we would be down to three by this time or not, and I'm
 glad to see so many people are staying around.

I want to comment on two themes that have come up in the prior discussions. One is European modernization because that's such an important part of the entire international picture, and the other is U.S. antitrust on the world stage. Both, in my view, shed some light on discussions we've had in other contexts today.

First a little bit on the modernization of European antitrust law. Terry Calvani talked about the European situation as being part of both convergence and divergence, and his discussion of this is a little bit more extensive in the paper, but at one level we've got an obvious tension.

17 If you look at Europe as a whole, it is getting closer to the United States, so in that sense there's a 18 kind of convergence basically on two lines. 19 There's 20 more strictly and narrowly defined economic analysis and there's more of an effort to generate private actions, 21 even though it hasn't gone very far. The new structuring 22 23 of the European communities antitrust laws has moved in that direction, and therefore there's less conflict and 24 25 more cooperation.

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That seems to be the picture, but it's a bit

more complicated, and it deserves a couple of comments. 1 2 First, the changes in Europe are enormous and untried for the non-specialist. I think non-specialist2 in the 3 United States have not perhaps noticed or given this 4 5 sufficient weight. The member states, since May 1 of this year, are now the primary enforcement agencies in 6 7 Europe. That is the 25 member states, some of whom are very, very new of course, are the primary enforcement 8 9 agents throughout Europe. The idea is that everyone 10 will now apply EU law at least in most cases (not all 11 cases do they have to) this will create a degree of 12 uniformity, and consistency will be maintained. A degree of coherence will be maintained in two ways. 13

One by virtue of the Commission's capacity to essentially promote coherence -- for example, by taking cases away from national authorities, by commenting on what should be done, and by essentially pushing the Agency to do things the way they're supposed to do as far as the Commission is concerned, and second by a network arrangement.

There's going to be a tremendous amount of flow of information, within this network of competition officials in Europe, and the idea is not only that this flow of information will inform people, but that it will be providing a kind of format for creating consistency. Nobody knows really whether either of those will work

1 well.

We assume they'll work well. We think they'll 2 work well. Everybody's betting that eventually somehow 3 these will work. It's been going since the first of 4 5 May. There are a lot of little things that are 6 happening, and some things people aren't so happy about 7 it, and it's not quite clear just where all that's going 8 to go.

9 So from this perspective, we need to think about 10 the tremendous importance of it, about the tremendous 11 degree of change that's involved and also about the 12 questions about just how this mechanism will work.

13 So when you take those things and you put them 14 together with some major differences in how people in 15 the various parts of the European community, European 16 Union, think about competition law, things may all 17 become uniform, but right now there are some quite 18 large differences.

19 There are, for example, major differences with 20 regard to how much economics you use and what kind of 21 economics you use and how many resources you have to 22 support an economic analysis. It may be possible to get 23 all that quite uniform, but for a very long time there are 24 going to be very interesting implications for American 25 lawyers.

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It's going to be more difficult to predict

outcomes, not in all cases, but in many cases it's going 1 to be more difficult to predict outcomes. It will be 2 more difficult to identify relative differences within 3 The differences will not be big ones and 4 Europe. 5 obvious ones about substantive law. They will be minor. How much does one competition authority believe 6 7 in economics and want to pursue economics by putting in all the resources that are necessary? Do they have 8 9 sufficient resources to do it and so on?

Is there a degree to which procedural uniformity can be achieved? At the moment the Commission has said in its modernization, "We're not worrying about all the differences in procedures," so as you have it right now, you have 25 national systems with often completely different procedural systems applying the same substantive law. Outcomes are likely to be influenced.

Advantages for lawyers are likely to vary. A great deal of detailed analysis is going to be necessary to figure out at least in big cases what you should do, how you should do it, why you should do it and so forth, and finally it's going to create difficulty in terms of identifying differences relative to the U.S.

There is an assumption that Europe is getting closer to the U.S. In some ways, as I indicated, it is with regard to substantive law matters, the use of economics. It is the hope that there will be more

private enforcement actions, but still enormous
 procedural differences remain. Fundamental procedural
 differences still exist.

As to the use of economics, the Commission itself 4 5 is becoming more advanced. I'm not so clear what the member states are going to be able to do about all of 6 7 Some won't have the resources, and what will that. happen there is another question. Don't forget also 8 9 that antitrust is still something you have to sell in 10 parts of Europe at a certain level, not that it's 11 nonexistent, but "how far it should go?" "Will 12 businesses cooperate with it?" and so on. So there's a risk that there will be some assumptions about 13 14 uniformity that don't hold.

Okay. Then the second point and that involves U.S. antitrust on the world stage. Terry's paper and some of the general discussions we've heard have a fairly positive picture. There's growing convergence. There's positive value for all, fewer distortions on global playing fields, fewer conflicts.

For U.S. lawyers it's seen as positive on a variety of fronts. Everybody is getting closer to the United States. More like us, more convergence. Are they the same thing, more like us and more convergence? Maybe so. The picture is fairly complex actually.

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We talk about convergence. At one point, at one

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point not very long ago I may add, convergence simply meant everybody sort of at least pays a lip service to antitrust, and they have an antitrust statute. Now we have a hundred of them, 60 of them in the last five or six years or eight years.

6 Well, if convergence means anything, it means 7 you're converging towards some point, and if it's just a 8 question of having a similar substantive law, maybe 9 there's a degree of convergence there, but when we look 10 more carefully at it, the convergence begins to become 11 a little bit less clear.

12 If the question is, "Are we getting closer?" Is 13 the rest of the world getting closer to the U.S. model? 14 Well, maybe a little bit, sort of, kind of. In terms of 15 more economic analysis, what do we mean by that? 16 Everybody says, of course, there's economic analysis.

What do we mean by economic analysis? We've heard today that what is generally considered the right way to do things in the United States now is really only being approached (and that indirectly) in Europe. There's a different question on some levels.

The rest of the world doesn't pay a lot of attention to that by and large. A major difference is with regard to unilateral conduct. Norms on Cartels do not show major differences, but, again, how far we go in this. How it actually is going to work is not terribly

1 clear sometimes.

So, more private suits? Is that the other 2 part of the American model we think there's convergence 3 towards? Yes, but not very far. The United States 4 5 system believes very much in private enforcement. Europe is beginning to say, "This would be nice," although I 6 7 think there's very little experience with private enforcement in the Europe so far, so it's really quite 8 9 questionable whether we got a serious convergence there 10 at all. There's much to the convergence theme. It's an 11 important theme down the road, but it needs to be analyzed 12 in a nuanced way.

Perhaps what we really mean is that the U.S. 13 14 model is the convergence point. If so, we need to ask 15 how appropriate is the U.S. model? There's an assumption that is bantered about often among American lawyers and 16 17 American administrators: essentially, that the American 18 approach top antitrust is the right approach and everybody else should simply follow that approach. If they do, 19 20 we'll call it convergence, and if they don't, we'll call it wrong headedness. I think this is a narrow-minded 21 sort of perspective. 22

There are many factors that will influence the degree to which competition can be fostered by legal process: the degree of economic integrations, the market situation (in particular, how big is the market and

1 soon) how advanced is the market, the procedural 2 context in which you have to operate, the institutional 3 or political context in which you have to operate, the 4 role of lawyers and the freedom of lawyers to do certain 5 kinds of things, the resources of the lawyers.

All those things tend to affect how you can actually operate a competition law system, and I think it's real important that we think about that. I point out here, merely for example, to China, China's in the process of drawing up competition legislation, analyzing what the Americans do, what the Europeans do, what the Australians do, trying to figure out how it all works.

13 They're unlikely to come very closer to the 14 American model. They are likely to come out close to the 15 Europeans. Is that convergence? In some ways, yes. In 16 some ways, no. My point simply is it's very important to 17 think about that.

In conclusion then, when I think about the future of all of this, I think about the issues that I've brought up and the differences that still exist and need to be taken into account. In any event the future stage will look different than the stage that we've been thinking about.

Issues will be framed differently. It will no longer just be the U.S. and Europe as the primary basis for discussion about convergence and cooperation.

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Essentially, U.S. and Europe have been the entire focus.

The discussion will be much more fundamentally international. It will take into account Asian countries. It will take into account China and Japan and other countries in a much more significant way in the future.

6 The issue will no longer be, it seems to me whether 7 to enact antitrust law or not, because clearly we'll have 8 antitrust laws almost everywhere. The issues will be what 9 sorts of substantive laws you have, how they can 10 be enforced and implemented in ways other than through 11 enforcement -- through advocacy action and so on.

12 It will no longer be just "are they like us or 13 not?" and it may be better that way. It may be better for 14 everybody concerned. The discussion it will no longer be 15 primarily from American perspectives. Are they simply 16 making the same mistakes we did?"? is often a frame for 17 thinking about what everybody else does. That will change.

18 So I think that U.S. agencies and lawyers will be the key to success with the antitrust idea in the 19 20 world. We have a tremendous experience. We have tremendous resources and so forth. The degree to which 21 that actually works will depend it seems to me, however, 22 23 on how well Americans understand the differences that affect the way competition law operates elsewhere and 24 25 can operate elsewhere and adapt its approach Insisting on the U.S. model may mean that 26 accordingly.

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in many places you simply don't get very far at all.

The FTC, in the last few years, has done a wonderful job of trying to do these things with Bill Kovacic and Randy Tritell, and I'm enormously impressed by what they have done and where they seem to be trying to go, and I wish them very well in getting there. I think we all should. Thanks.

8

(Applause.)

9 MR. STEVENSON: We've just heard discussion of 10 the issues of cooperation and convergence and focusing 11 on the areas of antitrust competition law, and we turn to our last speaker to address the competition and 12 convergence themes in the context of consumer 13 14 It is a great pleasure for me to introduce protection. 15 the next speaker, many of you already know, Mozelle Thompson who has just finished a six year stint as a 16 Commissioner at the Federal Trade Commission. 17

I think it's fair to say its undisputed that he has been a central figure in the development of the international consumer protection area in the areas of both cooperation and convergence.

In the convergence area, he represented the United States and indeed shared the consumer policy committee at the OECD, the Organization for Economic and Cooperation and Development, and while there was one of the driving forces behind one of the two sets of OECD

1 guidelines, one addressing consumer protection in 2 electronic commerce, and another protecting consumers 3 across borders against fraud and deceptive practices.

In the cooperation area, he was for several 4 5 years involved in what is know known as the 6 International Consumer Protection Enforcement Network, 7 ICPEN, which the competitive part of me has to know that it actually predates the international competition that 8 we're going back to the early '90s, and he was involved 9 10 for several years then there and indeed led the FTC to 11 Europe's authorization, so let me turn it over to 12 Mozelle Thompson.

MR. THOMPSON: Good afternoon. Terry, I think the fact everybody is still here is because I think half the people think that we still work here, and therefore they have to show up. They haven't gotten the memo yet, but. It's good to see you all. You haven't changed much in two weeks.

This is a very interesting topic for a couple of 19 different reasons. One is that a lot of what the FTC 20 does is oftentimes hard for the public to understand 21 because you're charged with predicting the future in 22 taking action on practices that people don't know, and 23 they've been victimized oftentimes, and so you're there 24 predicting the future, and this particular panel is 25 talking about predicting international cooperation and 26

convergence, about predicting the future, about things
 that could go badly with the public.

3 So that takes a certain kind of mind set. First 4 you have to be an optimist. What it also tells me is 5 that we have thrown around a few terms here, which I 6 think I'm reminded of my public policy studies, which is 7 that what it is depends on where you sit, that 8 convergence in the context of international competition 9 and consumer protection has meant various things.

10 It's meant certain vertical issue, for example, 11 the difference between policy and practice because in 12 some cases there are many countries where the people 13 that do policies in these areas aren't the people who 14 actually do enforcement in these areas.

15 Then it's also a relationship between central authorities and other enforcers. You heard a little bit 16 17 the last panel talking about the relationship with 18 states, and I think Terry talked a little bit about the changes that are now occurring within the EU on 19 20 competition, between what happens at the European Commission and what are the powers that member states 21 are going to be exercising. 22

23 So you see questions about cooperation and 24 convergence vertically, but you also see another kind of 25 cooperation and convergence, which not only takes place 26 between those who are involved in policy and enforcement

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in various countries, but also the cross-pollination
between competition and consumer protection because more
and more people that are involved in both areas see that
there are synergies involved because they both
essentially deal with consumer welfare and consumer
benefit.

In many instances, you see opportunities for
both to work hand and hand, not withstanding the fact
that sometimes it seems like the people in the Bureau of
Consumer Protection and the people in Competition don't
necessarily know what the other side is doing.

I will say in my time at the Commission, there was much more of an opportunity to see how both sides work together and especially in contraction to what we know.

Then there's a final idea of convergence, which 16 17 I think some of the people here on the panel have talked about, which is convergence of legal standards, 18 including proposals that have been made from 19 20 international competition authority, and there's been similar proposals that's been made at the TransAtlantic 21 Consumer Dialogue having some omnibus consumer 22 23 protection agencies that will be in charge of global enforcement. 24

I think what's happened in looking at the world,
 especially recently, is we've looked more toward

opportunity for cooperation and highlighted areas which 1 have a transnational or cross border component to it, 2 whether it's on the cartel side, on competition, whether 3 it's us looking at ECommerce or cross border fraud, to 4 5 look at areas where we have common interest with other 6 enforcers, and that transcends whether they're involved 7 in the policy side or on the enforcement side or whether they're involved in the criminal side when there's a 8 difference, for example, in some countries, civil law 9 10 countries versus common law countries.

11 Being led by trying to find practical results eventually will lead to strands of cooperation and what 12 many will say will be convergence because in some senses 13 14 that's the way that you're going to get beyond the 15 normal territorial political and cultural restraints that may lead people to believe that because they're 16 17 cooperating that they're giving up something instead of 18 looking at an opportunity to gain something that will benefit people who are victimized, wherever they may be 19 20 in the world.

So those are some opportunities that I see, and what's happening now, you're seeing it right now at the OECD. In another two weeks I know that Hugh and Randy will be over in Paris, and it will be the second joint meeting between the competition and consumer policy committees, and these are the people who are involved in

1 the policy side.

The first meeting took place a year ago, when 2 they talked about what are the general interests that 3 those committees have, and we talked about consumer 4 5 welfare. Now, people are going to talk about specific examples of practices and policies that they have seen 6 7 that have a competition and consumer component and how they might work together in examining those issues and 8 9 how they might move forward in informing each other's 10 thinking about how to enforce the law or what legal 11 changes have to be made.

12 I think that that's an opportunity. At the same 13 time, there is a strong interest I've seen on both 14 sides, competition and consumer protection, to have 15 practical, tangible results.

16 If you ask me whether there's one tangible 17 change that I've seen throughout the world, it is that 18 more and more governments are trying to find out how they can be more publicly accountable and in doing that, 19 20 trying to find areas in competition and consumer protection where they can actually show the public real 21 results and plot a course for the future of where they 22 23 might see more fruitful results from international cooperation. So that's where I see things going, and 24 25 those are the opportunities.

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Now, I think there's always this big contention

now, it's very funny actually, that the various
 alphabet, languages of various bodies trying to grab
 hold of this now, but I think what you see as
 interesting is a two pronged analysis.

5 One is with existing bodies, whether it be the OECD or for that matter the WTO or anyone else, to look 6 7 at them carefully to figure out, Well, what are the opportunities presented by these organizations, and then 8 9 being willing to say, There are some things that maybe 10 we should take to another organization in order to get 11 more practical results, for example, at the ICN or ICPEN 12 where people are looking at a less formal way to 13 cooperate.

So those are the opportunities, and it's a very 14 15 interesting environment right now because the FTC is in a very unique position. We do both competition and 16 17 consumer protection. We also do policy and enforcement 18 that while there are other things that may not be as well, we have more of an opportunity here to talk in a 19 20 more cohesive way about those issues than many other agencies in other countries. 21

If we can talk to other countries about what those opportunities are instead of preaching what they should do instead of talking about what they might be able to do and what our experiences are, I think the FTC will continue to have a very important role indeed, so

1 thank you.

2 (Applause.) 3 MR. STEVENSON: I think we have time for just a little bit of discussion, and I would like to raise an 4 5 issue that's been touched on I think by a couple of speakers. We have I think two folks here who used to 6 7 work for agencies that combine competition and consumer protection, and one who was working for an agency that 8 9 has solely competition functions, and I wondered if our 10 panelists had thoughts on the pros and cons of that, of 11 those two kinds of organizations of functions in 12 government.

Well, Tom, to my mind the two 13 MR. FELS: 14 functions complement one another. That is, competition 15 works better if consumers are informed and can exercise choices and understand competition better. Likewise, as 16 17 was pointed out at lunch yesterday, a lot of consumer 18 protection problems are basically viewed from a market functioning and computation analysis perspective to come 19 up with the broad solutions, and that's most likely to 20 21 happen if the two functions put together.

There are economies of scale and scope in mentioning those and not mentioning the political advantages.

25 MR. CALVANI: I really don't have anything to 26 add to Allan's comments except to say that I think the

principal advantage I see to consumer protection bureaus
 is an infusion of economics that you don't see when
 agencies are separated.

As I look at the recent events in Ireland, the Irish consumer protection agency recently prosecuted groceries stores for selling baby food too cheap, even in the absence of any predation. That's a strange thing for a consumer protection agency to do, and I don't think you'll find that sort of thing taking place in a combined agency.

11 Similarly, I think that there are advantages, 12 albeit less dramatic, that flow to competition agencies 13 who have expertise in marketing and retailing and the 14 like, so I think in general agencies that combine the 15 two are better placed. I agree with Allan.

MR. THOMPSON: I think that it's interesting. I think that that's the natural assumption, but I actually think that we're in kind of a different position because we have been at the heads of agencies so that we tell people that they have to talk to each other on both sides of the fence within the agency.

I'm not sure, so the challenge is actually to make sure that there is an understanding in parts of the agency internally, that that actually happens because what could happen by natural operation is you a defacto wall that is not necessarily that much different than

1 what happens in a lot of other countries.

2 You've both alluded to something that's very 3 important, and I thought that occurred at the OECD joint 4 meeting that represented a pretty significant shift from 5 what people may have seen in the past.

6 It was the first time that a lot of people on 7 the competition side saw that consumer protection folks 8 actually have much more of a market focus now than they 9 may have had in the past, so that not to say that there 10 aren't anomalies, but at least have much more 11 understanding that they want to condition the market as 12 good behavior versus bad behavior.

13 That I think is a pretty significant and14 important shift.

MR. GERBER: Just one additional thing on that. If you look around the world on this, especially to developing countries, countries where they're developing in an economic sense but are also developing competition authorities, the idea of having a consumer function attached to the competition law is often very useful.

It allows progress. It allows the amassing of otherwise often very scarce resources to get things going, so that's to be considered in the rationale. MR. THOMPSON: It also covers your political

25 butt.

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MR. TRITELL: With that, thanks on behalf of

1	Hugh and me to our panelists and discussants, and to
2	all of you for bearing with us.
3	(Brief break.)
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