### The original documents are located in Box 9, folder "Consumers (7)" of the James M. Cannon Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE CLEARANCE SHEET DATE: June 11, 1975 JMC action required by: JIM CANNON TO: VIA: DICK DUNHAM JIM CAVANAUGH PAM NEEDHAN FROM: SUBJECT: CONSUMER PROTECTION LEGISLATION COMMENTS: Per request of Jim Cavanaugh for further discussion with you. DATE: pom il gon RETURN TO: PAM NEEDHAM Material has been: Signed and forwarded Changed and signed (copy attached) Returned per our conversation Noted

Jim Cannon

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1975

#### MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM CANNON PAM NEEDHAM

FROM:

SUBJECT: CONSUMER PROTECTION LEGISLATION

On June 4 Congressmen Brooks, Rosenthal and Horton introduced legislation to create an Agency for Consumer Protection, H.R. 7575.

As Brooks pointed out in submitting the bill, it is similar to the one passed by the House last year, 293-94.

My brief reading of it indicates H.R. 7575 is virtually the same as S. 200. Some differences are seen in the following provisions:

- Term of the Administrator

H.R. 7575 does not limit the President's power to appoint or remove the Administrator.

- Budget

There does not appear to be a requirement in H.R. 7575 for simultaneous budget submissions to the Congress.

- Dual Prosecution

H.R. 7575 does seem to put a partial limit on the intervention authority of the ACP in the area of agency adjudications of alleged violations of law. In such proceedings the ACP would be held to a role of amicus curiae rather than that of a "prosecutor" as in S. 200.



### - Appropriations

Rather than setting forth specific appropriation amounts for the Agency as S. 200 does, H.R. 7575 provides only for "such sums."

Clearly what we need is a complete legal analysis of H.R. 7575 comparable to the one on S. 200. OMB has told me today that they are working on it and should have it available early next week. At the same time, they will do an updated summary of S. 200 to reflect floor amendments.



### 94TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION H. R. 7575

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### JUNE 4, 1975

Mr. BROOKS (for himself, Mr. ROSENTHAL, and Mr. HORTON) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Government Operations

# A BILL

To establish an Agency for Consumer Protection in order to secure within the Federal Government effective protection and representation of the interests of consumers, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
 That this Act may be cited as the "Consumer Protection Act
 of 1975".

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### STATEMENT OF FINDINGS

6 SEC. 2. The Congress finds that the interests of con-7 sumers are inadequately represented and protected within 8 the Federal Government; and that vigorous representation

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and protection of the interests of consumers are essential to
 the fair and efficient functioning of a free market economy.

### ESTABLISHMENT

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SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established as an inde-4 pendent agency within the executive branch of the Govern-5 ment an Agency for Consumer Protection. The Agency shall 6 be headed by an Administrator who shall be appointed by 7 the President, by and with the advice and consent of the 8 Senate. The Administrator shall be a person who by reason 9 of training, experience, and attainments is exceptionally 10 qualified to represent the interests of consumers. There shall 11 be in the Agency a Deputy Administrator who shall be 12 appointed by the President, by and with the advice and 13 14 consent of the Senate. The Deputy Administrator shall per-15 form such functions, powers, and duties as may be pre-16 scribed from time to time by the Administrator and shall act for, and exercise the powers of, the Administrator during 17 18 the absence or disability of, or in the event of a vacancy in the office of, the Administrator. 19

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(b) No employee of the Agency while serving in such
position may engage in any business, vocation, or other employment or have other interests which are inconsistent with
his official responsibilities.

24 POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

25 SEC. 4. (a) The Administrator shall be responsible 26 for the exercise of the powers and the discharge of the duties

of the Agency, and shall have the authority to direct and
 supervise all personnel and activities thereof.

3 (b) In addition to any other authority conferred upon
4 him by this Act, the Administrator is authorized, in carrying
5 out his functions under this Act, to—

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(1) subject to the civil service and classification laws, select, appoint, employ, and fix the compensation of such officers and employees as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act and to prescribe their authority and duties;

11 (2) employ experts and consultants in accordance 12 with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, and 13 compensate individuals so employed for each day (including traveltime) at rates not in excess of the maxi-14 mum rate of pay for grade GS-18 as provided in section 15 5332 of title 5, United States Code, and while such 16 experts and consultants are so serving away from their 17 homes or regular place of business, pay such employees 18 travel expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence 19 at rates authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United 20 States Code, for persons in Government service em-21 ployed intermittently; 22

(3) appoint advisory committees composed of such
private citizens and officials of the Federal, State, and
local governments as he deems desirable to advise him

with respect to his functions under this Act, and pay
such members (other than those regularly employed by
the Federal Government) while attending meetings of
such committees or otherwise serving at the request of
the Administrator compensation and travel expenses at
the rate provided for in paragraph (2) of this subsection
with respect to experts and consultants;

(4) promulgate such rules as may be necessary to 9 carry out the functions vested in him or in the Agency, 10 and delegate authority for the performance of any func-11 tion to any officer or employee under his direction and 12" abo supervision; all d alut to HOTE manage alum ash 20 13) 7.86 (5) utilize, with their consent, the services, person-14 nel, and facilities of other Federal agencies and of State 15<sup>1092</sup> mand private agencies and instrumentalities; 16" plint bi(6) enter into and perform such contracts, leases, '17. 11 cooperative agreements, or other transactions as may be 18 necessary in the conduct of the work of the Agency and 19 on such terms as the Administrator may deem appropriate, with any agency or instrumentality of the United 20 States, or with any State, territory, or possession, or any 21 political subdivision thereof, or with any public or pri-22 vate person, firm, association, corporation, or institution: 23 (7) accept voluntary and uncompensated services. 24

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(8) adopt an official seal, which shall be judicially noticed; and

5 (9) encourage the development of informal dispute
6 settlement procedures involving consumers.

7 (c) Upon request made by the Administrator, each 8 Federal agency is authorized and directed to make its serv-9 ices, personnel, and facilities available to the greatest prac-10 ticable extent within its capability to the Agency in the per-11 formance of its functions.

(d) The Administrator shall transmit to the Congress 12 and the President in January of each year a report which 13 shall include a comprehensive statement of the activities 14 and accomplishments of the Agency during the preceding 15 calendar year including a summary of consumer complaints 16 17 received and actions taken thereon and such recommendations for additional legislation as he may determine to be 18 necessary or desirable to protect the interests of consumers 19 within the United States. Each such report shall include a 20 summary and evaluation of selected major consumer pro-21 grams of each Federal agency, including, but not limited to, 22 comment with respect to the effectiveness and efficiency of 23

such programs as well as deficiencies noted in the coordina-1 tion, administration, or enforcement of such programs. 2

### FUNCTIONS OF THE AGENCY

SEC. 5. (a) The Agency shall, in the performance of 4 its functions, advise the Congress and the President as to 5 matters affecting the interests of consumers; and protect 6 7 and promote the interests of the people of the United States as consumers of goods and services made available to them 8 through the trade and commerce of the United States. 9

(b) The functions of the Agency shall be to-

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11 (1) represent the interests of consumers before 12 Federal agencies and courts to the extent authorized by 13 this Act:

(2) encourage and support research, studies, and 14 testing leading to a better understanding of consumer 15 products and improved products, services, and consumer 16 information, to the extent authorized in section 9 of this 17 18 Act:

(3) submit recommendations annually to the Con-19 gress and the President on measures to improve the 20 operation of the Federal Government in the protection 21 and promotion of the interests of consumers: 22

(4) publish and distribute material developed pur-23 suant to carrying out its responsibilities under this Act 24

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which will inform consumers of matters of interest to
them, to the extent authorized in section 8 of this Act;
(5) conduct conferences, surveys, and investigations, including economic surveys, concerning the needs,
interests, and problems of consumers which are not
duplicative in significant degree of similar activities
conducted by other Federal agencies;

8 (6) cooperate with State and local governments
9 and private enterprise in the promotion and protection
10 of the interests of consumers; and

(7) keep the appropriate committees of Congress
fully and currently informed of all its activities, except
that this paragraph is not authority to withhold information requested by individual Members of Congress.

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### REPRESENTATION OF CONSUMERS

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SEC. 6. (a) Whenever the Administrator determines 16 that the result of any Federal agency proceeding or activity 17 may substantially affect an interest of consumers, he may as 18 of right intervene as a party or otherwise participate for 19 the purpose of representing the interests of consumers, as 20 provided in paragraph (1) or (2) of this subsection. In any 21 proceeding, the Administrator shall refrain from intervening 22 as a party, unless he determines that such intervention is 23 necessary to represent adequately the interest of consumers. 24

The Administrator shall comply with Federal agency statutes 1 and rules of procedure of general applicability governing the 2 timing of intervention or participation in such proceeding or 3 activity and, upon intervening or participating therein, shall 4 comply with Federal agency statutes and rules of procedure 5 of general applicability governing the conduct thereof. The 6 intervention or participation of the Administrator in any 7 Federal agency proceeding or activity shall not affect the 8 obligation of the Federal agency conducting such proceeding 9 or activity to assure procedural fairness to all participants. 10 11 (1) Except as provided in subsection (c), the Ad-12 ministrator may intervene as a party or otherwise par-13 ticipate in any Federal agency proceeding which is sub-14 ject to section 553, 554, 556, or 557 of title 5. United 15 States Code, or to any other statute or regulation au-16 thorizing a hearing, or which is conducted on the record 17 after opportunity for an agency hearing.

18 (2) Except as provided in subsection (c), in any 19 Federal agency proceeding not covered by paragraph 20 (1), or any other Federal agency activity, the Adminis-21 trator may participate or communicate in any manner. 22 that any person may participate or communicate under 23 Federal agency statutes, rules, or practices. The Federal 24 agency shall give consideration to the written or oral 25 submission of the Administrator. Such submission shall

be presented in an orderly manner and without causing undue delay.

(b) At such time as the Administrator determines to 3 intervene or participate in a Federal agency proceeding 4 under subsection (a) (1) of this section, he shall issue 5 publicly a written statement setting forth his findings under 6 subsection (a), stating concisely the specific interests of 7 consumers to be protected. Upon intervening or participat-8 ing he shall file a copy of his statement in the proceeding. 9 10 (c) In-

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11 (1) any Federal agency proceeding seeking pri-12 marily to impose a fine or forfeiture which the 13 agency may impose under its own authority for an 14 alleged violation of a statute of the United States or 15 of a rule, order, or decree promulgated thereunder, or 16 (2) any action in any court of the United States 17 to which the United States or any Federal agency is 18 a party,

19 and which in the opinion of the Administrator may substan-20 tially affect the interests of consumers, the Administrator 21 upon his own motion, or upon written request made by the 22 officer or employee who is charged with the duty of present-23 ing the case for the United States or the Federal agency in 24 the proceeding or action, may transmit to such officer or 25 employee all evidence and information in the possession of

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the Administrator relevant to the proceeding or action and
 may, in the discretion of the Federal agency or court, appear
 as amicus curiae and present written or oral argument to
 such agency or court.

(d) To the extent that any person, if aggrieved, would 5 have a right of judicial review by law, the Administrator 6 may institute, or intervene as a party, in a proceeding in a 7 court of the United States involving judicial review of any 8 Federal agency action which the Administrator determines . 9 10 substantially affects the interests of consumers, except that where the Administrator did not intervene or participate in 11 12 the Federal agency proceeding or activity involved, the court .13 shall determine whether the Administrator's institution of the judicial proceeding would be necessary to the interests 14 15 of justice. Before instituting a proceeding to obtain judicial 16 review in a case where the Administrator did not inter-17 vene or participate in the Federal agency proceeding or 18 activity, the Administrator shall petition the Federal agency 19 for rehearing or reconsideration of its action if the Fed-20 eral agency statutes or rules specifically authorize rehear-21 ing or reconsideration. The petition shall be filed within 22 sixty days after the Federal agency action or within such 23longer time as may be allowed by Federal agency proce-24dures. If the Federal agency does not act finally upon such 25 petition within sixty days after filing thereof, or within any shorter time, less five days, as may be provided by law for the initiation of judicial review, the Administrator may institute a proceeding for judicial review immediately. The participation of the Administrator in a proceeding for judicial review of a Federal agency action shall not alter or affect the scope of review otherwise applicable to such agency action.

(e) When the Administrator determines it to be in the 8 interests of consumers, he may request the Federal agency 9 10 concerned to initiate such proceeding or to take such other 11 action as may be authorized by law with respect to such 12 agency. If the Federal agency fails to take the action re-13 quested, it shall promptly notify the Agency of the reasons 14 for its failure and such notification shall be a matter of 15 public record. To the extent that any person, if aggrieved, 16 would have a right of judicial review by law, the Agency 17 may institute a proceeding in a court of the United States 18 to secure review of the action of a Federal agency or its refusal to act. 19

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20 (f) Appearances by the Agency under this section shall
21 be in its own name and shall be made by qualified represent22 atives designated by the Administrator.

(g) In any Federal agency proceeding to which the
Agency is a party, the Agency is authorized to request
the Federal agency to issue, and the Federal agency shall,

on a statement or showing (if such statement or showing 1. is required by the Federal agency's rules of procedure) of 2 general relevance and reasonable scope of the evidence 3 sought, issue such orders, as are authorized by the Federal 4 agency's statutory powers, for the copying of documents, 5 papers, and records, summoning of witnesses, production of 6 books and papers, and submission of information in writing. 7 8 (h) The Agency is not authorized to intervene in pro-9 ceedings or actions before State or local agencies and courts. 10 (i) Nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit 11 the Agency from communicating with Federal, State, or local agencies at times and in manners not inconsistent with 12 13 law or agency rules.

14 CONSUMER COMPLAINTS
15 SEC. 7. (a) The Agency shall receive, evaluate, de16 velop, act on, and transmit complaints to the appropriate
17 Federal or non-Federal entities concerning actions or prac18 tices which may be detrimental to the interests of consumers.

(b) Whenever the Agency receives from any source, or
develops on its own initiative, any complaint or other information affecting the interests of consumers and disclosing a
probable violation of—

- (1) a law of the United States,
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(2) a rule or order of a Federal agency or officer,

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or

(3) a judgment, decree, or order of any court of the United States involving a matter of Federal law,

3 it shall take such action within its authority as may be
4 desirable, including the proposal of legislation, or shall
5 promptly transmit such complaint or other information to
6 the Federal agency or officer charged with the duty of
7 enforcing such law, rule, order, judgment, or decree, for
8 appropriate action.

9 (c) The Agency shall ascertain the nature and extent of 10 action taken with regard to respective complaints and other 11 information transmitted under subsection (b) of this section. 12 (d) The Agency shall promptly notify producers, dis-13 tributors, retailers or suppliers of goods and services of all 14 complaints of any significance concerning them received or 15 developed under this section.

16 (e) The Agency shall maintain a public document room 17 containing an up-to-date listing of all signed consumer com-18 plaints of any significance for public inspection and copying 19 which the Agency has received, arranged in meaningful and 20 useful categories, together with annotations of actions taken 21 by it. Complaints shall be listed and made available for pub-22 lic inspection and copying only if—

(1) the complainant's identity is protected when he has requested confidentiality;

(2) the party complained against has had sixty

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days to comment on such complaint and such comment,
 when received, is displayed together with the complaint;
 and

4 (3) the entity to which the complaint has been re-5 ferred has had sixty days to notify the Agency what 6 action, if any, it intends to take with respect to the 7 complaint.

CONSUMER INFORMATION AND SERVICES

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9 SEC. 8. (a) The Agency shall develop on its own 10 initiative, and, subject to the other provisions of this Act, 11 gather from other Federal agencies and non-Federal sources, 12 and disseminate to the public in such manner, at such times, 13 and in such form as it determines to be most effective, infor-14 mation, statistics, and other data concerning—

15 (1) the functions and duties of the Agency; 16 or more products and services;

17 (3) problems encountered by consumers generally,
18 including annual reports on interest rates and commercial
19 and trade practices which adversely affect consumers;
20 and

(4) notices of Federal hearings, proposed and final
rules and orders, and other pertinent activities of Federal agencies that affect consumers.

(b) All Federal agencies which, in the judgment of the
 Administrator, possess information which would be useful

to consumers are authorized and directed to cooperate with 1 the Agency in making such information available to the 9 public. 3

TESTING AND RESEARCH

SEC. 9. (a) The Agency shall, in the exercise of its 5 functions-6

(1) encourage and support through both public and 7 private entities the development and application of 8 methods and techniques for testing materials, mecha-9 nisms, components, structures, and processes used in 10 consumer products and for improving consumer services; 11 (2) make recommendations to other Federal agen-12 cies with respect to research, studies, analyses, and 13 other information within their authority which would 14 be useful and beneficial to consumers; and 15

(3) investigate and report to Congress on the 16 desirability and feasibility of establishing a National 17 Consumer Information Foundation which would admin-18 ister a voluntary, self-supporting, information tag pro-19 gram (similar to the "Tel-Tag" program of Great 20 Britain) under which any manufacturer of a nonperish-21 able consumer product to be sold at retail could be 22 authorized to attach to each copy of such product a tag, 23 standard in form, containing information, based on uni-24

form standards relating to the performance, safety, durability, and care of the product.

(b) All Federal agencies which, in the judgment of the 3 Administrator, possess testing facilities and staff relating to 4 the performance of consumer products and services, are 5 authorized and directed to perform promptly, to the greatest 6 practicable extent within their capability, such tests as the 7 Administrator may request in the exercise of his functions 8 under section 6 of this Act, regarding products, services, or 9. any matter affecting the interests of consumers. Such tests 10 shall, to the extent possible, be conducted in accordance 11 with generally accepted methodologies and procedures, and 12 13 in every case when test results are published, the method-14 ologies and procedures used shall be available along with 15 the test results. The results of such tests may be used or 16 published only in proceedings in which the Agency is par-17 ticipating or has intervened pursuant to section 6. In pro-18 viding facilities and staff upon request made in writing by 19 the Administrator, Federal agencies-

(1) may perform functions under this section with out regard to section 3648 of the Revised Statutes (31
 U.S.C. 529);

(2) may request any other Federal agency to supply such statistics, data, progress reports, and other information as the Administrator deems necessary to carry

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out his functions under this section and any such other agency is authorized and directed to cooperate to the extent permitted by law by furnishing such materials; and

5 (3) may, to the extent necessary and authorized,
6 acquire or establish additional facilities and purchase
7 additional equipment for the purpose of carrying out
8 the purposes of this section.

9 (c) Neither a Federal agency engaged in testing prod10 ucts under this Act nor the Administrator shall declare one
11 product to be better, or a better buy, than any other product;
12 however, the provisions of this subsection shall not prohibit
13 the use or publication of test data as provided in subsection
14 (b).

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### INFORMATION GATHERING

16 SEC. 10. (a) (1) To the extent required to protect the 17 health or safety of consumers, or to discover consumer fraud 18 or substantial economic injury to consumers, the Adminis-19 trator is authorized to issue written interrogatories or re-20 quests for reports and other related information to any person 21 engaged in a trade, business, or industry which substantially 22 affects interstate commerce. Such interrogatories or requests 23 shall set forth with particularity the consumer interest sought 24 to be protected, and the purposes for which the information 25 is sought.

1 (2) Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to 2 authorize the inspection or copying of documents, papers, 3 books, or records, or to compel the attendance of any person, 4 or shall require the disclosure of information which would 5 violate any relationship privileged according to law.

6 (3) The Administrator shall not exercise the authority
7 under paragraph (1) of this subsection if the information
8 sought—

15 (4) In the event of noncompliance with any inter-16 rogatories or requests submitted to any person by the Ad-17 ministrator pursuant to paragraph (1), any district court 18 of the United States within the jurisdiction of which such 19 person is found, or has his principal place of business, shall 20 issue an order, on conditions and with such apportionment of 21 costs as it decus just, requiring compliance with a valid 22order of the Administrator. The district court of the United 23States shall issue such an order upon petition by the Admin-24istrator or on a motion to quash, and upon the Administra-25tor's carrying the burden of proving in court that such order

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is for information that may substantially affect the health or 1 safety of consumers or may be necessary in the discovery 2 of consumer fraud or substantial economic injury to con-3 sumers, and is relevant to the purposes for which the in-4 formation is sought, unless the person to whom the inter-5 rogatory or request is addressed shows that answering such 6 interrogatory or request will be unnecessarily or excessively 7 burdensome. S

9 (b) Upon written request by the Administrator, each 10 Federal agency is authorized and directed to furnish or allow 11 access to all documents, papers, and records in its posses-12 sion which the Administrator deems necessary for the per-13 formance of his functions and to furnish at cost copies of 14 specified documents, papers, and records. Notwitstanding 15 this subsection, a Federal agency may deny the Adminis-16 trator access to and copies of—

(1) information classified in the interest of national
defense, or national security by an individual authorized
to classify such information under applicable Executive
order or statutes and restricted data whose dissemination
is controlled pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act (42
U.S.C. 2011 et seq.);

23 (2) policy recommendations by Federal agency
24 personnel intended for internal agency use only;

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(3) information concerning routine executive and

administrative functions which is not otherwise a matter of public record; " of and an article man to stars and (4) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy; 5 (5) information which such Federal agency is ex-6 pressly prohibited by law from disclosing to another 7 suno-nolonul-" a 8 Federal agency; and 9 (6) trade secrets and commercial or financial in-10 formation described in section 552 (b) (4) of title 5, 11 United States Code-Dana Annumour lie of severe IL 12 (A) obtained prior to the effective date of this 13 Act by a Federal agency, if the agency had agreed 14 Substant to treat and has treated such information as privi-15 in leged or confidential and states in writing to the 16 Administrator that, taking into account the nature 17 of the assurances given, the character of the in-18 formation requested, and the purpose, as stated by 19 the Administrator, for which access is sought, to 20 permit such access would constitute a breach of 21 faith by the agency; or 22

(B) obtained subsequent to the effective date of this Act by a Federal agency, if the agency has agreed in writing as a condition of receipt to treat such information as privileged or confidential, on

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1the basis of its determination set forth in writing2that such information was not obtainable without3such an agreement and that failure to obtain such4information would seriously impair performance5of the agency's function.

Before granting the Administrator access to trade secrets 6 and commercial or financial information described in 7 section 552 (b) (4) of title 5, United States Code, the agency 8 9 shall notify the person who provided such information of its intention to do so and the reasons therefor, and shall afford 10 him a reasonable opportunity to comment or seek injune-11 12 tive relief. Where access to information is denied to the 13. Administrator by a Federal agency pursuant to this subec-14 tion, the head of the agency and the Administrator shall 15 seek to find a means of providing the information in such other form, or under such conditions, as will meet the 16 17 agency's objections. The Administrator may file a complaint 18 in court to enforce its rights under this subsection in the 19 same manner and subject to the same conditions as a com-20 plainant under section 552 (a) (3) of title 5, United States 21Code.

(c) Consistent with the provisions of section 7213
of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C. 7213),
nothing in this Act shall be construed as providing for or
authorizing any Federal agency to divulge or to make

known in any manner whatever to the Administrator, from an income tax return, the amount or source of income, profits, losses, expenditures, or any particular thereof, or to permit any Federal income tax return filed pursuant to the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or copy thereof or any book containing any abstracts or particulars thereof to be seen or examined by the Administrator, except as provided by law.

9 LIMITATIONS ON DISCLOSURES 10 SEC. 11. (a) The Agency shall not disclose to the 11 public or to any State or local agency—

(1) any information (other than complaints published pursuant to section 7 of this Act) in a form
which would reveal trade secrets and commercial or
financial information as described in section 552 (b) (4)
of title 5, United States Code, obtained from a person
and privileged or confidential; or

(2) any information which was received solely 18 from a Federal agency when such agency has notified 19 the Agency that the information is within the exceptions 20 stated in section 552 (b) of title 5, United States Code. 21 and the Federal agency has determined that the infor-22 mation should not be made available to the public: 23 except that if such Federal agency has specified that 24 such information may be disclosed in a particular form 25

or manner, the Agency may disclose such information in
 such form or manner.

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3 (b) No authority conferred by this Act shall be deemed 4 to require any Federal agency to release to any instrumen-5 tality, created by or under this Act, any information the 6 disclosure of which is prohibited by law.

7 (c) In the release of information pursuant to the author8 ity conferred in any section of this Act, except information
9 released through the presentation of evidence in a Federal
10 agency or court proceeding pursuant to section 6, the fol11 lowing additional provisions shall govern:

1: (1) The Administrator, in releasing information 13 concerning consumer products and services, shall deter-14 mine that (A) such information, so far as practicable, is 15 accurate, and (B) no part of such information is pro-16 hibited from disclosure by law. The Administrator shall 17 comply with any notice by a Federal agency pursuant 18 to section 11 (a) (2) that the information should not be 19 made available to the public or should be disclosed only 20 in a particular form or manner.

(2) In the dissemination of any test results or other information which directly or indirectly disclose product names, it shall be made clear that (A) not all products of a competitive nature have been tested, if such is the case, and (B) there is no intent or purpose to rate products tested over those not tested or to imply that those tested are superior or preferable in quality over those not tested.

(3) Notice of all changes or additional information which would affect the fairness of information previously disseminated to the public shall be promptly disseminated in a similar manner.

### PROCEDURAL FAIRNESS

SEC. 12. In exercising the powers conferred in section 5 9 (b) (4) and section 7, the Agency shall act pursuant to 10 rules issued, after notice and opportunity for comment by 11 interested persons in accordance with the requirements of 12 section 553 of title 5, United States Code, so as to assure 13 fairness to all affected parties, and provide interested persons 14 15 with a reasonable opportunity to comment on the proposed release of product test data, containing product names, prior 16 to such release. 17

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18 PROTECTION OF THE CONSUMER INTEREST IN 19 ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEEDINGS

20 SEC. 13. Every Federal agency in considering any 21 Federal agency action which may substantially affect the 22 interests of consumers including, but not limited to, the is-23 suance or adoption of rules, regulations, guidelines, orders, 24 standards, or formal policy decisions, shall—

(1) notify the Agency at such time as notice of

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the action is given to the public, or at such times and in such manner as may be fixed by agreement between the Administrator and each agency with respect to the consideration of specific actions, or when notification of a specific action or proceeding is requested in writing by the Agency; and

7 (2) consistent with its statutory responsibilities,
8 take such action with due consideration to the interest
9 of consumers.

In taking any action under paragraph (2), upon request of the Agency or in those cases where a public announcement would normally be made, the Federal agency concerned shall indicate concisely in a public announcement of such action the consideration given to the interests of consumers. This section shall be enforceable in a court of the United States only upon petition of the Agency.

### SAVING PROVISIONS

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<sup>18</sup> SEC. 14. (a) Nothing contained in this Act shall be <sup>19</sup> construed to alter, modify, or impair the statutory respon-<sup>20</sup> sibility and authority contained in section 201 (a) (4) of <sup>21</sup> the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of <sup>22</sup> 1949, as amended (40 U.S.C. 481 (a) (4)), or of any pro-<sup>23</sup> vision of the antitrust laws, or of any Act providing for the <sup>24</sup> regulation of the trade or commerce of the United States, orto prevent or impair the administration or enforcement of
 any such provision of law.

3 (b) Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed as
4 relieving any Federal agency of any authority or respon5 sibility to protect and promote the interests of the consumer.
6 TRANSFER OF CONSUMER PRODUCT INFORMATION

COORDINATING CENTER

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8 SEC. 15. (a) All officers, employees, assets, liabilities, 9 contracts, property, and records as are determined by the 10 Director of the Office of Management and Budget to be em-11 ployed, held, or used primarily in connection with the func-12tions of the Consumer Product Information Coordinating 13 Center in the General Services Administration are transferred to the Agency and all functions of the Administrator 14 of General Services administered through the Consumer 15 Product Information Coordinating Center are transferred 16 to the Agency. 17

(b) (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this
subsection, personnel engaged in functions transferred under
this section shall be transferred in accordance with applicable
laws and regulations relating to transfer of functions.

(2) The transfer of personnel pursuant to this section
shall be without reduction in classification or compensation
for one year after such transfer.

### DEFINITIONS

2 SEC. 16. As used in this Act-

3 (1) The term "Agency" means the Agency for Con-4 sumer Protection.

5 (2) The words "agency", "agency action", "party",
6 "person", "rulemaking", "adjudication", and "agency pro7 ceeding" shall have the same meaning as set forth in section
8 551 of title 5, United States Code.

9 (3) The term "consumer" means any person who
10 uses for personal, family, or household purposes, goods and
11 services offered or furnished for a consideration.

12The term "interests of consumers" means any (4)13 concerns of consumers involving the cost, quality, purity, safety, durability, performance, effectiveness, dependability, 14 and availability and adequacy of choice of goods and serv-15 ices offered or furnished to consumers; and the adequacy 16 and accuracy of information relating to consumer goods and 17 services (including labeling, packaging, and advertising of 18 contents, qualities, and terms of sale). 19

(5) The term "State" includes any State or possession
of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Canal Zone,
Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territories of the
Pacific Islands.

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### CONFORMING AMENDMENT

SEC. 17. (a) Section 5314 of title 5, United States 2 Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: 3 "(62) Administrator, Agency for Consumer Pro-4 tection.". 5 (b) Section 5315 of such title is amended by adding 6 7 at the end thereof the following: "(99) Deputy Administrator, Agency for Con-8 9 sumer Protection.". EXEMPTIONS 10 11 SEC. 18. This Act shall not apply to the Central In-12 - telligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or 13 the National Security Agency, or the national security or 14 intelligence functions (including related procurement) of 15 the Departments of State and Defense (including the Depart-16 ments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force) and the Energy. 17 Research and Development Administration, or to a labor dis-18 pute within the meaning of section 13 of the Act entitled 19 "An Act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit 20the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other pur-21poses", approved March 23, 1932 (29 U.S.C. 113) or of sec-22tion 2 of the Labor Management Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 23 152), or to a labor agreement within the meaning of section 24 201 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947 (29 25 U.S.C. 171).

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### SEX DISCRIMINATION

SEC. 19. No person shall on the ground of sex be ex-2 cluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be 3 subjected to discrimination under any program or activity 4 carried on or receiving Federal assistance under this Act. 5 This provision will be enforced through agency provisions 6 and rules similar to those already established, with respect 7 to racial and other discrimination, under title VI of the . 8 Civil Rights Act of 1964. However, this remedy is not 9 10 exclusive and will not prejudice or cut off any other legal 11 remedies available to a discriminatee. II therein.

### APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 20. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to carry out the provisions of this Act such sums as
may be required for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1976,
for the transitional period July 1, 1976, through September
30, 1976, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1977,
and for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1978.

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### EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 21. (a) This Act shall take effect ninety calendar
 days following the date on which this Act is approved, or
 on such earlier date as the President shall prescribe and
 publish in the Federal Register.

(b) Any of the officers provided for in this Act may
 (notwithstanding subsection (a)) be appointed in the man-

ner provided for in this Act at any time after the date of the
 enactment of this Act. Such officers shall be compensated
 from the date they first take office at the rates provided for
 in this Act.

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### SEPARABILITY

6 SEC. 22. If any provision of this Act is declared un-7 constitutional or the applicability thereof to any person or 8 circumstance is held invalid, the constitutionality and ef-9 fectiveness of the remainder of this Act and the applicability 10 thereof to any persons and circumstances shall not be affected 11 thereby.

94TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION H. R. 7575

## A BILL

To establish an Agency for Consumer Protection in order to secure within the Federal Government effective protection and representation of the interests of consumers, and for other purposes.

> By Mr. Brooks, Mr. Rosenthal, and Mr. Horton

JUNE 4, 1975 Referred to the Committee on Government Operations



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT. OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

Date:

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FROM: Deputy Director

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1	to hammer out the exact language of this legislation.
2	Mr. Ahart. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
3	Mr. Brooks. Our next witness is a very distinguished and
4	able public servant, Mr. O'Neill.
5	I see we have a copy of your statement. We have always
6	made it a practice, not always a wide practice, to give people
7	an opportunity to summarize their statements. If they wanted
8	to put their complete statement in the record we will accept
9	it in that fashion.
10	Then if you want to summarize it we certainly would under
11	stand.
12	We are delighted to have you, Mr. O'Neill. You may
13	proceed.
14	STATEMENT OF ME. PAUL H. O'NEILL, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
15	Mr. O'Neill. Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to be here.
16	I must say I appreciate very much your being understanding
17	about the time situation today. I appreciate that very much.
18	With your permission I would like to put my short state-
19	ment in the record and use the time for summary to do one
20	thing, and that is to read briefly what I consider to be the
21	key sentences from the President's letter to you and your
22	colleagues on the other side indicating his position on the
23	legislation you have before you.
24	If I may I will quote.
25	The President said, "I do not believe that we need yet

another Federal bureaucracy in Washington, with its attendant costs of 60 million dollars for the first three years and 2 3 hundreds of additional Federal employees, in order to achieve better consume: representation and protection in Government. 4 At a time when we are trying to cut down on both the size and 5 the cost of Government, it would be unsound to add another 6 layer of bureaucracy instead of improving the underlying 7 structure. 8

"It is my conviction that the best way to protect the 9 consumer is to improve the existing institutions of Government, 10 not to add more Government." 11

I think those words sum up in a very good way the position 12 which the President has taken on this bill and the position of the Administration on this bill. 14

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the question whether we can appropriately modify the provisions of S. 200 or whether we can appropriately modify the provisions of H.R. 7575, but it is, straight forward issue as to whether or not we can make the institutions of Government which have already been established do the job which we believe by the Congress and the executive branch and the people of the country expect them to perform.

We believe that there are sufficient legislative 22 authorities, inited that there are mandates from the Congress, 23 that the existing institutions of Government take into account 24 the public interest, the consumer interest, and it is our job 25

to make those institutions do their jobs in a way which would be a credit to the people who pay their way.

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Mr. Brooks. Mr. O'Neill, I want to thank you for a fine statement and for your usual forthright and candid comments on legislation upon which we ask you to testify.

I want to say as an observation that I think you will find almost all the members of Congress share the hope that the existing Government operations of Government agencies can do their job better, more efficiently, more effectively, at less cost to the Government, with more service to its people. I share that feeling. This Committee has worked on that premise for 20 years to my certain knowledge.

I would be very pleased if I felt that one or all of our Government agencies could be so attumed to public responsibility and consumer requirements that they could use the existing organizations.

On paper it looks as though you already have offices and 17 already have overhead and it sounds as though it would make 18 sense to have each of these agencies wake up every morning and 19 say, "My God, in addition to looking after the railroads I will 20 look after consumers today. In addition I will look after the 21 interstate gas lines and pipelines and I will also think about 22 consumers. In addition to airlines regulation we will think 23 about passengers." 24

Then with regard to the SEC they say, "In addition to

problems, in New York we will think about consumers."

I don't believe in reality that that can be done. This is my conviction.

I would just say that it is hard to give confidence to the American consumer that one of the existing agencies is now going to wake up, like a goose in a newworld, and say, "My God, they have consumers in this country. Look at them out there, all over us." I just don't believe we can sell that bill of goods to consumers.

What we need is not just the mechanization for giving them a voice in industry, with industry, and in Government decisions that are going to have to do with consumer opportunities to buy reasonable goods.

You not only have to give them the mechanization for that voice. We have to give them additional confidence that American business is giving them a good fair deal for what they pay for.

I will give you a current example. You know that if you buy an electrical appliance which costs under 25 dollars and it does not work you might as well throw it away. It is almost impossible to get it repaired unless your brother-inlaw is a pretty good electrician, as mine is.

I have a mower and it is on the blink. I sent it back to the man to repair it because I cannot work on a gasolinepowered lawnmower.

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The man indicated it might be that the values have to be ground and that the gasket is bad.

It had been running fine up until the time he saw it. I told him, "Don't fix a thing until you tell me what it costs because the odds are that it will cost me" -- we will know before the hearing is over -- "It will probably cost 75 dollars to 200 for the repairs." The mower, brand-new, cost only 189 dollars.

Therefore, they are making uneconomic the repair of commodities which cost up to 150 dollars. This is the kind of deal I think we can improve upon.

There are others. I am not trying to be unreasonable about it. I don't hit too many rocks with that mower.

That is the problem. People need confidence. I would
not say, Mr. O'Neill, that we have distrust in our manufacturers. I like them. We buy from them. We trust them.
Our friends work for them.

18 However, I think the American public is entitled to an opportunity to participate -- not to run the companies and 19 20 not to run the Government except through elected representatives But I think we owe them at least a voice, just one voice that 2.1 might point out their problems as all these other agencies 22 look after the manufacturers. They have lawyers, lobbyists, 23 representatives, agents, and they come themselves and represent 57 themselves. However, the average consumer just does not have 25

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that opportunity.

Mr. Erlenborn. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. Brooks. I will be pleased to yield to my distinguished and able friend. I regret that the witness before last did not have more time to visit with you.

Mr. Erlenborn. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I make the observation it is an appealing argument you made. I don't think the Consumer Protection Agency, even as conceived by the gentleman from Texas, will be involved in the design and manufacturer of toasters or lawnmowers.

Mr. Brooks. No, I don't think they will design them, but they might point out that every time you buy one, if you buy the X, Y, Z toaster and the average life is three weeks, I think people will get that word. You can put that word out pretty fast that X, Y, Z toasters are dogs and people will quit buying them. Then we will buy A, C, C toasters and they last about a year and a half.

Mr. Erlenborn. I understood we were going to prohibit the Goverment stamp of approval. Are you suggesting we will have a Government stamp of disapproval?

Mr. Brooks. No, I just want a little sunshine. We are all for sunshine now.

Mr. O'Neill, I enjoyed having you. I don't want to burden
you with all this but that is the gist of what I had to say
about this bill.

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1 Does OMB really believe that the Federal agency is 2 adequate to protect consumers now? 3 Mr. O'Neill. I think we are making progress. I think A we are on the verge of making a significant leap forward. As I thought about this issue, it seems to me that the 5 reality of where we are is a reflection within regulatories 6 and other executive branch agencies of what it was we expected 7 as citizens, as executive branch people, as members of 8 expected of them. Congress, 'Ny experience in government has been that agencies 9 live up to what it is we expect them to do. notion found in 10 I think the proof of the pudding in the xis just the 11 observy what has taken place in the last six months or so as 12 the President has made this a public issue, as many of you 13 have made the actions of the regulatory agencies a public 1A issue. 15 It seems to me if you look at the statements of the mem-16 bers of the regulatory bodies, if you listen to what people 17 are saying, if you look at the editorials which our newspapers 18 and our other media publish, it is fairly clear that the 19 people are saying they are not going to stand for government 20 that does not pay attention to we the people. 21 I think that message will be reflected very clearly in the 22 actions of regulatory agencies, especially with a concerted 23 with push from the executive branch; and the person of the President 2.2

insisting that every executive branch agency that he had dome

1 control control is going to prepare a specific action plan with
2 specific action steps to see that the public and the consumer
3 interest is represented in the cases where actions are taken
4 in the name of we the people.

Mr. Brooks. I understand that statement. However, has OMB taken steps to assure that those Federal agencies will strengthen their consumer practices?

Mr. O'Neill. Mr. Chairman, the lead in developing those action plans has been given to Virginia Knauer, the President's Special Assistant Special for Consumer Affairs. We inter d have been working with Virginia and with the other people and the executive branch to get this executive action plan in place and get it operating.

14 I have with me a list of assignments which have been made (-) 15 kick-off sessions which are to be held between Virginia Knauer 16 and each of the cabinet and agency heads, with specific steps 17 they are to take.

18 Mr. Brooks. How many has she talked to already?
19 Mr. O'Neill. My list indicates she should have talked to
20 10 through today.

21 Mr. Brookt. We will put that into the record if you wish.
22 In the fiscal 1976 budget now pending how much money has
23 OMB approved for inclusion in the Federal agency budgets to
24 increase consumer protection?

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I say I assume your budgets previously were not flabby and

that somebody was doing something for each dollar.

2 If we are to take on additional responsibility called consumer protection, we found all those people out there one. 3 morning when we woke up, what money and what energy and what A people will we assign to look after them as you say you will do? 5 Mr. O'Nelll. Mr. Chairman, as I am sure you and the mem-6 bers of the Committee know, there is not an object classifica-7 tion in the traditional budget documents for so-called consumer 8 representation. I think there is a good reason for that. 9

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Mr. Brooks. You think what?

Mr. O'Nelll. There is a very good reason for that. Let's 12 take a specific agency as a case in point.

13 Let's take the Food and Drug Administration. It has a 14 budget this year of over 200 million dollars. Its responsibility 15 not to the executive branch but to the Congress and to the 16 people is to protect the public interest and to protect the con-17 sumer interest.

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I think in a way one sould say that the dollars provided 18 to those regulatory agencies and to many of the executive branch 19 agencies are for nothing more than public representation, re-20 presentation of the public interest and the consumer interest. 21 While it is fair to say there is not an object classifica-22 tion in a nice little schedule which said this specific amount 23 is for consumer representation I submit to you that properly 23 viewed one could make a case there are hundreds of millions of 29

dollars recommended by the President and provided by the Congress to insure that the public interest is served.

Mr. Brooks. But not earmarked as such for consumer pro-4 tection.

5 Mr. O'Neill. To the extent we provide 200 million dollars 6 for the Food and Drug Administration I would say that is an 7 indication of earnest on the part of the executive branch and 8 the Congress that include we intend to protect the consumer 9 interest in the use of drugs.

Mr. Brooks. How much was that?

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Mr. O'Neill. One hundred eighty to 185 million dollars,
so it is up 15 to 20 million dollars.

Mr. Brooks. That increase is not earmarked for consumer
protection but earmarked for increases in salary, increases
in travel, and for other justified expenses which you have
already approved or you would not come down here and ask for
it.

Mr. O'Neill. There is a real increase aside from the change in the cost of living in the FDA budget. I think it is fair to say that all of those dollars are there because of laws passed by the Congress which indicate it is our intent, as a people, to protect the consumer interest in the use of drugs and in the use of foods.

24 Mr. Rosenthal. I think the point that should be restated 25 is that what we are talking about here is not perceived by you yet. This is a functional change in government because of the inadequacy of the present arrangement and structure.

Regardless of how much additional money you put: into this, 3 you are putting good money after bad money under this A functional arrargement. 5

What this Committee is trying to do with the enactment of 6 this legislation is to understand that organization makes 7 policy, and the present organization is inadequate and in-8 effective. That is what we are trying to do.

We appreciate the effort you have made. We appreciate the large numbers of people you have given Mrs. Knauer's office to make this inquiry and the effort you put forth. We appreciate that and it is to be commonded.

However, it does not go to the core of the problem. Tt is a philosophical appreciation of the functional inadequacy of the present consumer representation system.

Frankly, from where I sit, nothing more needs to be said. Mr. O'Neill. Mr. Rosenthal, if I may respond to that. It seems to me from an organization and management point of view that the idea of a Consumer Protection Agency really suggests that rather than correcting the defects we see in the current system we will dodge the problem by creating a new organization.

It seems to me, at least as an individual consumer and as an individual citizen, that I have a representative to work with

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me and represent my interest with all of the departments and agencies of Government. I have a chance to elect him every two years.

Mr. Rosenthal. Who is that?

Mr. O'Neil .. My representative from my District.

Mr. Rosenthal. You cannot be serious honestly. I have heard this rhetoric for 10 or 12 years.

I know a man of your intellectual capacity cannot be serious in that. When you suggest to this Committee we are spending 200 million dollars for the Food and Drug Administration, do you know how much the drug companies spend on marketing and promotional activities and and what percentage of that is --

Mr. O'Neill. I know it is a big number.

Mr. Rosenthal. Do you want to take an outside wild and improbable guess?

Mr. Brocks. Go ahead.

Mr. O'Neill. I am sure it is a big number, but I think frankly it is beside the point. I don't see what bearing it has on the issue at all.

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.... What difference does it make --

Mr. Rosenthal. You are looking for roses because the Feed and Drug Administration is up to 200 million dollars.

Mr. O'Neill. I am not looking for roses. I was asked a question and I indicated conceptually that I think certainly it

is the intent of Congress, I think it is, that the Poul and 1 Drug Administration represents the interest of the people of 2 the United States, not of some specific interest group; not of 3 any specific interest group. 14 What is being granted with the idea we must have a Consumer 5 Protection Agency is that we the Congress and we the executive 6 make a creature of our own making do the public branch can 7 business. 8 Mr. Rosenthal. Have you ever been to a regulatory 9 hearing? Have you yourself personally ever been to a regula-10 tory hearing? 11 Mr. O'Neill. Yes, but not recently. 12 Mr. Rosenthal. What was the last time? 13 Mr. O'Neill. Two or three years ago. 14 Mr. Rosenthal. Have you seen the format of the room that 15 the commission uses, the Federal Trade Commission and the 16 Federal Power Commission? 17 Mr. O'Neill. Yes. 13 Mr. Rosenthal. They sit like judges. People seeking the 19 rate increase are usually well represented by lawyers, 20 economists, and so forth. 21 How is the consumer's point of view represented at that 22 hearing? By whom is it represented? 23 Mr. O'Neill. I think as a general proposition under past 24 practice it has not been well represented. However, that does 25

not suggest to me that rather than deal with that issue and correct the deficiency we see in creatures we have made that we create another sgency as a stop to the people we are all trying to help.

Mr. Rosenthal. Would you please for the make of this inquiry eliminate the rhetoric, please? We have in these quasijudicial hearings one empty chair. One chair is filled by the proponents of the rate increase, the CAB airline certification, and so on.

The other chair representing the consumer interest is enpty. You cannot ask the judges to jump off the bench as I am supposed to now and start advocating one of the parties to the proceeding.

Mr. O'Neill. Would you yield?

Mr. Rosenthal. No. It is unethical to do that. It is an absurdity.

To appoint a consumer advocate within the agency you have an in-house built-in conflict of interest.

I am astounded that you do not understand, or I perceive you do not understand, the nature of the organizational change we are trying to make.

We are trying for 15 to 20 million dollars a year make the hundreds of millions of dollars a year spent for regulatory agencies work. We are trying to get a geometric progression of leverage on the situation

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I don't know whether or not it will work but it is the best proposal I have seen in the 14 years I have been in Congress.

For a man of your capacity to come here and deliver to us the kind of rhetoric we have heard today -- larger government, another agency, billions of dollars, cause inflation -- we can find anybody to do that out in the street and not a high level Deputy Director of OMB. You must have a better presentation than the one you have made today.

Mr. O'Neill. Mr. Congressman, I would say the crux of my argument is this, and it is a very key question of government -- are we going to make the creatures and agencies that we have together created do the public business or are we going to fool the people by creating something else that looks as though it solves the problem and tell that little agency, "Fix up hundreds of millions or billions of dollars worth of problems." It is beyond me why the Congress does not insist, as the President says he will insist with the agencies that he has control over; that they do the public business and not some special interest group.'s interest.

Mr. Erlenborn. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. Rosenthal: If you feel like.

Mr. Erlenborn. The gentleman said there was an empty chair in the regulatory bearings. Why not two or three? Who is there speaking for the taxpayer?

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Who is there speaking for the environmertalists? I am
 sure if we turned our attention to it we can think of several
 other interests not represented.

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The gentleman seems to think in all these hearings you have big business represented in one chair and there is one other chair empty. You show a certain amount of myopis in being able to see only that far.

Mr. Rosenthal. What we are dealing with, if the chair will permit, what we are dealing with essentially is in a technological developing society where you have 210 million Americans. We are interested essentially in interstate commerce.

The Congress in its wisdom saw fit to establish a number of regulatory agencies to generally represent the public interest and to specifically represent the consumer interest --Food and Drug Administration in terms of economic and health and safety, Federal Power Commission, Federal Trade Commission, CAB, Securities and Exchange Commission, and so on.

The taxpayers are loosely represented there but spocifically those agencies have the mission of representing consumers.

All these agencies started out accepting that with the perspicacity and will.

Over the years we have found out that the one group they were presumably going to represent was inadequately represented.

I am not saying anybody intended it that way. I am not suggesting there are any ghosts in the closet. I am saying it is a functional system we created which is inadequate.

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If you ask at a CAB hearing whether the consumer's point
of view is represented the answer is no because it is a contest
between competing airlines.

Is the consumer's point of view represented at the Federal Power Commission? The answer is no because it is a contest between glants building transmission lines between Oklahoma and the EastCoast scmewhere.

The point of view is that at these regulatory rate hearings there is no consumer representative.

In the District of Columbia General Services Administration, the landlord for the Government, is a subscriber for electricity from Pepco, has four lawyers doing the very thing we are talking about. They have a consumer advocate in GSA to represent the interests of the Federal Government before the Public Service Commission in the District of Columbia. Nevertheless, they have already decided what we are trying to find out by way of legislation.

All we are suggesting is that in the billions and hundreds of billions of dollars this Government spends each year, we spend 20 million dollars a year to hopefully represent the interests of consumers so that the consumer's voice can be heard before regulatory agencies. That is all.

These agencies are quasi-judicial. We are suggesting that the empty chair purportedly representing the consumar's interest be filled by a knowledgeable source which has the voice and effect of the Federal Government.

It seems to me the most elementary equasion ever evolved from this City of Washington.

Then you come in here and think you are doing the job and talking to us in rhetoric.

I probably said more than my share.

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Mr. Brooks. Let me just say this: Don't you also mean that the regulatory agencies after that representation of the consumers will still have the authority to make the decisions they are responsible for?

Mr. Rosenthal. Absolutely. Why did some of these agencies do this? Some became arbiters of competing industries. Some became the center of gravity for Washington Lobbyists.

15 We tried to create an agency which has no decision-making 16 power at all, the right of advocacy.

If the Food and Drug Administration does not agree with the consumer advocate they can rule against him. If he does not agree they will take an appeal to the court.

What's more judicial than that? What is more proper than that?

22 That is the point of the whole story -- a non-regulatory
23 agency so that the infestation of lobbyists will not occur.

24 This agency will produce the biggest bank for the buck we
25 ever got in Washington.

Mr. O'Neill. It seems to me that the logical conclusion of what you are saying is that there is no redemption for the regulatory agencies of although we created them is the public interest, we found although we created them is the public the creatures of the special interest groups and we recognize that for what it is and we will try to create a counter force. It seems to me as a private citizen that is untenable because that is not what the law says those agencies are supposed to be doing.

Mr. Rosenthal. I presume you are not a lawyer.

Mr. O'Neill. I am not.

Mr. Rosenthal. Perhaps that is the difference in cur understanding and our ability to see the problem.

I just think that the basic Anglo-Saxon system of justice in a quasi-judicial hearing suggests both sides should be represented. It just comes down to that. That is the bottom line.

Mr. Brooks. Mr. O'Neill, nobody says all regulatory agencies are bad. They are not. They are not representing just the railroads or the power companies or what have you, nor are they representing just the big oil companies. They are theoretically representing consumers, just as you think.

What I am saying is that this kind of an agency will give them the information they need. It will point that up for them They have had a slight tendency over the years to neglect

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those people. This does not mean they will be totally nonreceptive to consumer interests.

The very concept of the consumer agency means that the agency will represent a position, a consumer position, a consumer interest, and that the regulatory agency, because it has sympathy with it, when it is pointed out to them will take action that will be responsive to it.

If the consumer agency were the only group that had an interest in consumers the regulatory agencies would do nothing. However, the concept of this whole legislation is that somebody will be in there and will tell the regulatory agencies what the problems are with the people buying all this stuff, and they will then take appropriate action as they see fit under their jurisdiction.

It does not mean they are not sensitive or have some slight feeling for consumers. After all, their wives go to the stores, too.

Mr. Horton'

Mr. Horton. Mr. O'Neill, I know you are very familiar with this legislation. I would like to ask you whether it is your understanding that this is not a regulatory agency and perhaps you can confirm that this is not a regulatory agency  $\frac{1}{2}$ but that it is, pure and simple, an advocacy agency?

Mr. O'Neill. Yes, siz. I think in the design of the bill that you put together that it is clear it is your intent

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it not be a regulatory agency.

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Mr. Horton. In the statement of the President which you read you indicated that it would be unsound to add another layer of bureaucracy.

I am at some loss to understand how this can be called
another layer of bureaucracy because it is not regulatory.
It is an advocate to appear before different igencies. I do
not see it interfering by way of a bureaucracy. I see it
appearing before a regulatory agency but I do not see it as
another layer of bureaucracy.

Perhaps it is a matter of semantics and perhaps it is not, but perhaps you can explain what is understood by that language in that part of the statement.

Mr. O'Neill. I think, it is another layer of bureaucracy in the sense, as you indicate, that it represents several hundred additional people in the with recorat collars with the taxpayers' money in the deliberations of the day-today work of Government. In that way it represents another level of bureaucracy.

20 Mr. Horton. You mean that because it is an agency it is 21 therefore anothe:: level of bureaucracy?

Mr. O'Neill. In a way it is another hurdle. If you do not mind digression, it seems to here observed, here feem 24 As I have been following Congressman Rosenthal's approach, turning ourselves into a society which spends all of our time in hearing processes, before the courts, the point that it is virtually impossible to do anything, anymore without months and years and sometimes it seems to be eons of discussions and deliberations. In that way I think the ACP represents another real layer of bureaucracy.

Mr. Horton. You made a statement where you indicated that the President was going to impose this concept of having the Federal agencies be more responsive to the interests of consumers, you said, to every executive branch agency over which he has control.

Is it not a fact that most of these regulatory agencies are independent agencies?

Mr. O'Neill. The President has taken steps in that area that you may not be aware of.

Last Friday he met with  $\chi$  bi-partisan leadership and he asked this leadership to appoint 10 members from each body to meet with him on the 25th day of June with the regulatory members to try to urge on them the same voluntary action process that he has proposed for the agencies which fall directly under his control.

He recognizes he does not have the same relationship to the regulatories that he does in other executive branch agencies, so he has asked, and I think your leaders have agread, to a cooperative process of sitting down with the regulatory agencies

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1 and talking to them in the same way he has talked with his own executive branch and department, agency leads, indicating to them 2 he is conscious of and aware of a need for fair, straicht for-3 ward representation of consumer and public interest in the 4 day-to-day business of Government, And he is going to do every-5 thing he can in his power to get the reculatories, with the 6 cooperation and consent of the Congress, to approach the 7 problem in the same way, taking aggressive action steps to see 8 that we make good on his promise that Government is going to 9 perform.

Mr. Horton. What you are saying is that the President has indicated this program and policy will be carried cut in the executive agencies but the area in which the ACE would be involved, namely the regulatory agencies, he acknowledges that he has no control over them and he is making efforts to try to get them to adhere to his thought. In other words, he does not have direct control over them so that whole area of regulatory agencies is left out of his program.

Mr. O'Neill. Perhaps I do not understand the full power and sweep of H.R. 7575.

Were you suggesting that the only agencies that would be under the purview of this bill are regulatory agencies?

Mr. Horton. No. If I left that impression I do not mean to because that is not so. However, this bill does apply to all of the regulatory agencies. That is where most of the

action will take place. That is where most of the difficulties have taken place in the past.

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The point is that the President does not have control over the regulatory agencies. That is correct.

Mr. O'Neill. Would the Congressman propose that all except the regulatory agencies be exempted from the provisions of the bill?

Mr. Horton. No, but you did not answer my question. 8 Mr. O'Neill. Let me answer your question directly. The 9 President clearly does not have the same kind of power over the regulatory agencies he does have over those more traditional executive branch departments and agencies.

The President has indicated he will do everything in his 13 power that he can to see that the public interest and the 34 consumer interest are fairly and adequately and clearly repre-85 sented in the day-to-day business of those departments and 16 agencies. 17

In addition, as I have indicated, he has called for a cooperative effort with the Congress to work on the regulatory agencies to get them to move voluntarily in the same direction of better representation.

He has also called for regulatory reform commission. He 22 did that last October and as yet we have seen no action on that. 23 He very much would like to have that because he thinks it sets 24 in motion a good process. We have not gotten that out of 25

Congress yet.

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Mr. Horton, I introduced a bill at the request of the Administration. This year I did not even get a request to introduce the bill.

I stand ready to. As a matter of fact, I have indicated personally to the President and I have indicated publicly and I did this morning, when I gave my opening statement, when you were not present so you could not know exactly what I said, but I indicated that I thought it was important that we have reform of the regulatory agencies.

I also indicated, and I want to indicate again, that that is an important step forward. However, I do not think that the ACP is an alternative to that. I think it is a supplement to that.

As the gentleman from New York, Mr. Rosenthal, has already indicated, these agencles, these independent agencles, especially the megulatory agencies, primarily are quasijudicial. They should, at least, have all views presented. The consumer is a broad mass of people who are not well defined, are not unified.

I have heard it said that the environmentalists should have somebody there and some other group should have someone there, et cetera. However, I think the consumer interest can encompass all of those views.

The point is that consumers are taxpayers. They are

environmentalists, small businessmen, farmers, all these people.

The language that we have in here defining the consumer and consumer interest can include those types of interests in my opinion.

It is also my view that it is very important to have that voice heard before the various agencies that are involved.

Take the FIA. You were talking about them. How many new people will they put on as a result of this new policy to represent the consumer?

Mr. O'Neill. As I indicated to Mr. Rosenthal, it seems to me that the bound duty of all of the people, however many they may be who work for the FDA, have a sworn responsibility to carry out the law. As I understand the law, the FDA is charged by the Congress with overseeing and being responsible for protecting the public health and safety over matters they have responsibility for. That seems very clear to me.

Every individual in that agency has the responsibility you are calling for.

Mr. Horton. Would you explain the process whereby we get things like these interlock seatbelts and that sort of thing? Mr. O'Neill. I am not familiar with the process involving that particular item.

I think it is fair to say that in retrospect we have seen
cases where regulatory agencies have taken positions that look
foolish -- in retrospect. Let me hasten to add that I am not

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sure there is any organizational-bureaucratic device known to the mind of man that can stop things that appear to be stupid on their face after we have been some distance down the road and can look back on it and see it just did not make sense.

5 Frankly I don't think ACP, CPA or anything else in the 6 world will stop human folly, so I don't think we will stop 7 safety belt interlocks and all that. We will have those things 8 foisted off on us and what seemed to be a good idea will prove 9 in practice to be a very bad idea.

Mr. Horton. Do you have any feel for the amount of money spent by industry lobbyists before the FDA, for example?

Mr. O'Neill. Which lobby?

Mr. Horton. FDA, industry lobby.

Mr. O'Neill. I have no idea. However, it seems to me, as
I said to Mr. Rosenthal, it is not a key question. The key
question is whether people in that agency understand the
charge which has been placed on them by the Congress and by the
President to protect the public interest, to protect the consumer interest.

If we cannot count on those people, in good faith to represent the consumer and the people, then what we have admitted in effect is that we have created governmental entities that are beyond the control of the Congress and the executive branch and it just seems to me we cannot come to that position.

Mr. Horton. I have no further questions.

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Mr. Brooks Mr. Erlenborn?

Mr. Erlenborn. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me thank you for your testimony, Mr. O'Neill, which originally was very brief and very much to the point. I think you were invited here as a witness. You have done well.

However, you have also been the subject of some lectures. I don't know that you anticipated that when you came.

My recollection is that in the past hearings on this subject we have sometimes had statements from executive agencies and departments and independent agencies. I am not certain that that process has been gone through in the House hearings this year.

Are you aware of any requests by this Committee for statements from the various departments and agencies which have been affected?

Mr. O'Neill. No, sir, I am not.

Mr. Erlenborn. I guess the Chairman can tell us whether they have been asked for.

I have been concerned that the very people who would be most affected, the regulatory agencies, the departments, whether it be the Department of Justice which has somebody from ACP looking over their shoulder when they institute an anti-trust action, or some independent regulatory agency, they have not really been asked for an expression as to how this would affect them.

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Because of my concern I inquired of the Administration whether these witnesses would be made available. I have been advised they would be.

Are you aware of this?

5 Mr. O'Neill. Yes, sir. I know for a fact that the President has indicated to the cabinet members and agency heads 6 that he would like very much for them to present their impact views on this particular legislation. 8

9 Mr. Erlenborn. I think this is extremely important. It is an element which is not in the existing record. I 10 think the record we make here is important because we have a 11 new Congress. We have a bill similar but not identical. We 12 have more than a dozen new members of this Coumittee alone 13 14 as well as almost 100 new members of the House.

15 Just this afternoon I furnished a letter to the Chairman 16 of our Committee signed by eight members of the Government Operations Committee asking that he extend the hearings and 17 invite representatives of the departments and agencies which 18 would be affected to testify. 19

I am glad to have you confirm the fact that the President 20 has asked them to make themselves available. I hope the Chair-21 man will accede to our request. 22

Mr. Brooks. Friday morning we will expect them all. You 23 can write eight different statements. 24

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I just got that letter at four o'clock from my distinguished

and able friend, Mr. Erlenborn.

At 4:55 I signed eight letters to the Secretaries of
these various departments -- Commerce, Justice, State, Agriculture, Communications, Power Commission, Trade Commission, and
ICC. We invited them for Friday. We may go into Saturday
morning.

Mr. Erlenborn. I thank you. That is certainly prompt action.

Of course, that seems to be the rule on this bill. I think it has not even been introduced two weeks yet, or close to it. We may even get it on the Floor before --

Mr. Horton. I will not be here Saturday morning. I have to be in my District. However, I will be here Monday.

Mr. Fuqua. We have had before us the Consumer Affairs Advisor, Mrs. Knauer. I don't know whether or not she has been invited. I don't know who has been invited. It has been difficult to find out who has been invited to testify.

Where is she now? Is she still working for the Government? I saw her on television the other day.

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Mr. O'Neill. Yes, sir.

Mr. Fuqua. She is supporting this position? What is her position? She supported creation of an agency before. I wonder about her position now, or is it somewhat precarious?

24 Mr. O'Neill. I don't think it is at all. She has 25 discussed this with the President. When the President indicated to the cabinet members and agency heads that he wanted an action plan, that he wanted to see the executive branch make progress in representing the consumer and public interest, Virginia Knauer made \* presentation.

For the last month or six weeks she has been working very
hard to follow through on the directive given by the President.
Mr. Fuque. If this bill goes to the President's desk
either as introduced in the House or S. 200, would you recommend
that the President veto it?

Mr. O'Neill. I would like to reserve judgment and see what is produced by Congress.

Mr. Fuqua. Either this bill in its present form or S. 200 in its present form as passed by the Senate.

Mr. O'Neill. As to my own personal recommendation, yes,
I think I would recommend a veto. I hope I would be able to
show by the time that event might occur that the executive
branch has made real and substantial progress in getting the
executive branch agencies to do that which I believe the Congress
all along has intended they do, and that is to represent the
consumer and public interest.

Mr. Fuqua. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 Mr. Brooks. I want to thank you very much, Mr. O'Neill.
23 We enjoyed it.

24 The hearing will be continued at two o'clock tomorrow, same 25 place.

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