

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

In re: Senate Bill 307, Antitrust Legislation

Stenographic record of hearing held in
Room 140, Main Capitol, Harrisburg,
Pennsylvania

Wednesday, August 4, 1993, 10:00 a.m.

HON. THOMAS R. CALTAGIRONE, Chairman
HON. JEFFREY E. PICCOLA, Minority Chairman

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Also Present:

William H. Andring, Chief Counsel to the Committee
Kenneth J. Suter, Counsel to the Committee
Galina Milohov, Research Analyst
Margaret Tricarico, Secretary

Reported by:
Emily R. Clark, RPR

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1 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: I would like to get the
2 hearing started, the House Judiciary public hearing on
3 Senate Bill 307, Antitrust Legislation, and our first
4 witness for today would be former Representative John
5 Broujos, a member of the Pennsylvania House.

6 MR. BROUJOS: Thank you, sir.

7 Mr. Chairman and members of the Judiciary
8 Committee, I appreciate the opportunity to present to the
9 committee some views on the current Senate Bill 307,
10 providing for a state antitrust act. The thrust of this law
11 is to prevent the suppression or limitation of competition
12 required to make the price determination in the market
13 enterprise economy work.

14 There are legitimate exchanges of information
15 among companies and business associations; there are always
16 collusive agreements. The challenge to this legislature is
17 to enact a law that does not interfere with the first and
18 proper goal, but does control the second and
19 anti-competitive activity.

20 There are pros and cons to the enactment of this
21 legislation. But the net effect is to encourage competition
22 by prosecuting flagrant violators and discouraging collusion
23 by the prospect of prosecution and ensuring that potential
24 actors are not discouraged from entering the competitive
25 arena.

1 Is there a need? There certainly is a need. A
2 major opposition has centered on whether the federal
3 antitrust act is sufficient. No more appropriate statement
4 could describe the position of federal law than a
5 conservative United States Supreme Court statement in
6 California v. ARC America Corporation case,
7 quoting: "Congress intended the federal antitrust laws to
8 supplement, not displace, state antitrust remedies. In
9 fact, 21 states adopted antitrust laws prior to the Sherman
10 Act. Common law had preceded the enactment by the states,
11 and the enactment by the federal government." So the states
12 are very much at home with antitrust legislation. The
13 courts have recognized that the Supreme Court has recognized
14 it.

15 There is a need for a state act because there
16 are a number of advantages. They're listed on page 2. The
17 first, certain damages may be recovered only under a state
18 act. When there was a \$32 million damage suit for the price
19 of cement, the amount was paid out in settlement under both
20 federal and state laws. In the California case, state laws
21 provided for the indirect purchaser getting recovery in an
22 antitrust case.

23 That indirect purchaser cite I'll address in
24 more detail later, but it resulted from the fact that there
25 were state laws in existence at the time. Pennsylvania did

1 not benefit from that because they simply did not have a
2 state law.

3 Secondly, a state act will provide jurisdiction
4 that the federal act does not provide. That's because any
5 acts that occur within Pennsylvania that are strictly within
6 the confines of Pennsylvania are not subject to federal
7 jurisdiction.

8 Some people say, well, really, what today is not
9 interstate? Well, not everything is interstate, and if
10 there are any intrastate violations, then this law would
11 take care of it.

12 C, page 3: Only a state act will provide
13 investigative authority to obtain information necessary to
14 protect consumers and businesses. The state cannot use the
15 federal prosecutorial investigative powers. And in many
16 cases, there's a history of the failure of the federal
17 government to prosecute cases, leaving the state without a
18 remedy, and without the ability to proceed because they do
19 not have the investigative powers.

20 Next, the state act needs the precedent and
21 stability of the Sherman Antitrust Act language. This state
22 act, this bill, does follow in many respects federal
23 language.

24 On page 3, I list the summary of arguments of
25 some of the critics. It's a repetition of some of the major

1 points so I'll go over them briefly.

2 A. The federal antitrust act is sufficient.

3 Well, it's not sufficient because it doesn't cover consumer
4 complaints, the indirect purchaser. The state may not bring
5 federal criminal sanction in certain cases. It does provide
6 the state with investigative powers, and any act performed
7 within the state that does not involve intrastate commerce
8 cannot be prosecuted under the federal act.

9 B. Any act which constitutes a restraint of
10 trade can be prosecuted under a federal antitrust law. This
11 argument is not correct. As recently as 1989, the Supreme
12 Court held that prosecution under a state antitrust law is
13 permissible for recovery of damages by indirect purchasers.
14 The courts held that the federal act does not preclude
15 recovery under a state law.

16 There are some actions for damages from
17 restraint of trade that can only be brought under state law,
18 and I related some of those cases in my prior remarks.

19 C. State law. The argument's made that a state
20 law would clutter the courts with complicated proceedings.
21 I haven't seen anything in factual testimony that supports
22 that. In fact, most of the time in the past, in the '89 and
23 '91 proceedings, most of these arguments were presented and
24 there was no significant rebuttal in terms of actual cases,
25 in terms of actual types of situations that would support

1 the complicated proceedings.

2 In fact, I haven't heard anybody complain, as an
3 indirect purchaser, about the complication of proceedings or
4 the duplicity or any other problems that arise because the
5 consumer is entitled to recovery when he gets that
6 recovery. It's because action has been taken under indirect
7 purchaser laws.

8 Businesses would face multiple actions in two
9 courts. Again, the California case had the answer. It
10 said: It would not permit federal action to have the effect
11 of preemption of any state law claimed against antitrust
12 defendants simply because multiple litigation could threaten
13 the defendants with bankruptcy. There is no federal policy
14 against states imposing liability in addition to that
15 imposed by federal law.

16 We see that in environmental matters, in the
17 safe water act on the federal level. The federal government
18 said, we will take jurisdiction unless the states take
19 jurisdiction, and in many cases, the states have and the
20 federal government got out of it.

21 There are some situations where there is dual
22 jurisdiction, and properly so. There are some cases in
23 which the federal government says, states, proceed if you
24 want to, and the states have taken up the cause. In those
25 cases, the federal government has left them alone.

1 There is no inconsistency in state and federal
2 antitrust laws. And I related the argument for that
3 previously.

4 The next argument used is only the federal
5 government has specialized agencies with expertise and
6 sophistication to prosecute antitrust cases. Well, we
7 cannot rely exclusively upon the federal government for
8 prosecution of all antitrust activities. As a matter of
9 policy, the federal government may choose not to prosecute
10 it. The federal government chose not to regulate the
11 savings and loan institutions, while increasing deposit
12 insurance, coincidentally. And after losses exceeding \$130
13 billion, Congress then reacted. It's ironic that business
14 organizations that decry the overbearing regulation of the
15 federal government and preach the return to states of power
16 to regulate, suddenly want prosecution only on the federal
17 level.

18 There are many areas of dual jurisdiction to
19 which I've related. Another argument is made that Attorney
20 Generals will misuse and abuse the state law. Well, then we
21 should scrap all criminal laws. Refusal to enact a state
22 antitrust law because the Attorney General with bad motives
23 may invoke it is the most cynical reason for opposing the
24 bill. The interesting thing about state prosecution is that
25 the states go about it very methodically and very carefully

1 and very professionally. The National Association of
2 Attorneys General has guidelines that they published which
3 state the standards of concentration, the standards of abuse
4 by the industry. They approach it in a very professional
5 manner, in a very scientific manner. It's not a matter of
6 an Attorney General waking up some morning and saying, geez,
7 I think we ought to go after these guys. The study by the
8 Attorney General's office, this Attorney General, has been
9 careful, it's been calculated, and it's been done
10 conservatively and with good taste and it's been done as a
11 situation requires it. The initial efforts made for heating
12 oil prosecution alerted the Attorney General to the failure
13 of the state to have an act which would permit that
14 prosecution.

15 Later on, you will see a number of areas of beer
16 price fixes, sale of band instruments, merger of Horne's and
17 Kaufmann's, sale of of airline gates in Philadelphia, waste
18 haulers, jewelers, home heating oil, all of which justify
19 action on a state level and a basis for action by an
20 Attorney General that acts responsibly.

21 The next argument made is the state antitrust
22 law will create an unfavorable business climate in the
23 state. Where else is the company going to go that there is
24 not a state antitrust law? The chamber in effect has
25 testified to this classic non sequitur that a state law

1 enacted to ensure a competitive market will just further
2 burden the competitiveness of local industry abroad. We
3 know that there are certain areas of exceptions or certain
4 areas of inquiry that should be made by the federal
5 government with respect to exports. This current
6 administration is re-examining the impact of antitrust laws
7 on international trade. That's the legitimate function.
8 That addresses the application of antitrust laws, not the
9 existence of antitrust laws.

10 The final argument is that indirect purchasers
11 should not be permitted to sue for damages, since this would
12 introduce complexity into antitrust trials, produce appeals
13 and clog the judicial system. This is directly contrary to
14 the California case.

15 The interesting thing about price-fixing is that
16 price-fixing occurs at the top by anti-competitor,
17 anti-business forces, selfish forces that don't want to play
18 by the rules of competition, and who pays the price? The
19 price is usually paid by the ultimate consumer, because the
20 distributor and the retailer get the higher price passed on
21 to them, and what do they do? They have to pass it on to
22 the consumer. But does the consumer have a right to sue?
23 Not in Pennsylvania under this act.

24 The ironic thing is that only the Commonwealth
25 of Pennsylvania is defined as an indirect purchaser. Isn't

1 that ironic? That this state through this General Assembly,
2 through your House, if you pass this bill as it's presently
3 constituted, will say that the Commonwealth stands higher
4 than the small businesses and the retailers or the small
5 businesses and the consumers that pay the price. That's
6 something you want to seriously think about. I tried to
7 keep the indirect purchaser, in 1989 and 1991, business
8 would come and say, well, the price for our support is
9 getting rid of the indirect purchaser provision. So a few
10 sponsors would say, okay, let's amend it and they get enough
11 support and it would be amended. And then business would
12 not support the bill as business may come in today and say,
13 we don't support the bill. This House should re-insert the
14 indirect purchaser to protect the ultimate consumer, who is
15 the person that really pays the price for the price-fixing
16 and the market-fixing that occurs at the top.

17 I went to buy a Toyota about at least 15 years
18 ago, and when I decided what I would like, I was told, well,
19 now you've got \$150 for undercoat, \$150 for interior coat,
20 \$150 for outside coat. Three separate coatings had to be
21 applied. I said, I don't want them. They said, oh, our
22 distributor in New Jersey says you have to do it. The
23 Attorney General here, either independently or with other
24 New Jersey perhaps, or with federal agencies, managed to get
25 an action against the Toyota firm to eliminate that. Did

1 the buyer get the \$150 back? Or \$400 back, in
2 Pennsylvania? He did not, because the indirect purchaser
3 was not protected. I never heard persons victimized in the
4 multi-million dollar Minolta case and the Pennsylvania
5 Toyota case complain about complexity and clogging in the
6 courts.

7 I deeply regret the attitude of major businesses
8 in opposing this bill, and for opposing the indirect
9 purchaser, because you should ask the businesses when they
10 come before you, what are your answers to these questions
11 that have been raised in this presentation? You should ask
12 them, do you represent all the businesses of this state? Do
13 you represent the petroleum dealers, auto dealers, cemetery
14 people? Do you represent all of the small businesses that
15 don't have the assets that the major industries have, that
16 may not come before you with these arguments, but are still
17 there and are still there like the innocent victims that do
18 not have a voice but still need protection.

19 The antitrust act protects good businesses from
20 actions of bad businesses that abuse the legitimate business
21 practices. They deserve this act, and the Attorney
22 General's Office will tell you that many of the complaints
23 coming to their office are from businesses.

24 I list on page 7 the types of prosecutions
25 within the state for state acts that have occurred and which

1 can occur. The investigative powers are there, I list that
2 very briefly. And then I list on page 7, state statutes
3 allowing indirect purchasers to sue for damages.

4 I have one comment that I would like to pass on
5 for your consideration, and that is the question of the
6 insurance exemption. The insurance exemption comes in every
7 time this bill is debated, but it's so broad that certain
8 anti-competitive acts against individuals, even businesses,
9 and even the Commonwealth as indirect purchaser cannot be
10 prosecuted.

11 Now, this next is a long sentence but this
12 sentence raises and points out that issue: Since the bill
13 does not apply to the business of insurance that is
14 regulated by the insurance commissioner, the traditional
15 language of exemption, and since the Unfair Insurance
16 Practices Act does regulate the business of insurance, which
17 is the key word, and since the consumer and a business
18 entity have no cause of action under the Unfair Insurance
19 Practices Act, therefore, your consumers and businesses have
20 no claim for relief from conspiracy and restraint of trade
21 or from monopolistic practices by the insurance industry.

22 I congratulate the Senate on including Section
23 10(f)(2) which permits actions against companies for
24 boycott, coercion and intimidation. This follows the
25 McCarran Ferguson Act.

1 Next, I've raised an issue here that I may be
2 incorrect in but counsel can review that. The risk that an
3 individual cannot be prosecuted for a criminal penalty may
4 exist, and it may have been intended.

5 Section 3 defines a person. Section 7 defines
6 only partnership, corporation and association being
7 eligible, or subject to violation, charge of a felony for a
8 violation of Section 4 or 5.

9 Finally, the traditional language is that two or
10 more persons in restraint of trade is unlawful. Your
11 language, your bill does not have that language. It's
12 traditional language in the dichotomy of the Sherman
13 Antitrust Act. Briefly, Section 1 of the Sherman Antitrust
14 Act is against two or more people may agree in restraint of
15 trade. That's the conspiracy type.

16 The second category is monopoly. Monopoly may
17 occur from one person. So the second category, which is not
18 in some prior acts but is essential to this act and is in
19 this act is the monopoly act.

20 So I think that a strict reading may possibly
21 exclude an individual from a criminal penalty. If that's
22 what you want, so be it. I think that's subject to review.

23 I have provided to you a secondhand audit
24 hand-out which very eloquently states that antitrust laws
25 and the Sherman Act are the Magna Carta of free enterprise.

1 You're on the side of the angels. There's a second letter
2 there from Connecticut which supports indirect purchasers
3 from a gentleman that's been involved in antitrust
4 litigation and can state it more eloquently than I.

5 Thank you for the opportunity to appear before
6 you.

7 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Thank you, Representative
8 Broujos.

9 Questions from the committee? Chairman
10 Piccola?

11 CHAIRMAN PICCOLA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 John, you've covered an awful lot of territory
13 here, and I think you and I have probably debated a lot of
14 it over the last couple of sessions, but there was one
15 question that I did have, and my recollection is that the
16 bill that you introduced in the last, I guess, couple of
17 sessions does not have a section similar to Section 6 of
18 this bill, the acquisition and merger section. Is my
19 recollection correct?

20 REPRESENTATIVE BROUJOS: Yes, I don't recall
21 that.

22 CHAIRMAN PICCOLA: So that's something new from
23 what you had introduced in prior sessions?

24 MR. BROUJOS: That is.

25 CHAIRMAN PICCOLA: My reading of that section,

1 Section 6, seems awfully broad and awfully nebulous. Could
2 you comment on that?

3 MR. BROUJOS: No, I'm not prepared to comment on
4 that. I'll review it and I'll try and get some comment back
5 on that.

6 CHAIRMAN PICCOLA: You don't have any
7 recollection as to why you did not include that kind of a
8 section in your bill?

9 MR. BROUJOS: I think the most important thing
10 is why it went in the Senate. The traditional approach is
11 to outline these two sections I referred to briefly before,
12 the Section 1 and 2 of the Sherman Antitrust that are copied
13 by all the little Sherman Antitrust which is Section 4 and
14 5. This appears to be an attempt to more carefully define
15 what type specifically of an acquisition or merger may
16 constitute a monopoly, and there's a reason that the Senate
17 had, I'm sure, and I'll try and find that.

18 CHAIRMAN PICCOLA: In other words, I don't want
19 to put words in your mouth, but perhaps they are the kinds
20 of things that are being attacked under 6 are already
21 covered under 5 and perhaps 4?

22 MR. BROUJOS: Well, what's happened over the
23 years is that there has been an attempt to spell out more
24 specifically the nature of monopolistic and restraints of
25 trade. For instance, the Antitrust Civil Process Act

1 amendments, that Hart-Scott-Rodino and other amendments have
2 sought to define more carefully to make perhaps prosecution
3 easier or more difficult. The specific areas of restraint
4 of trade and monopoly, and this may be an attempt to define
5 more precisely an area that may have escaped prosecution
6 before, or may be sought to be defined in more detail.

7 CHAIRMAN PICCOLA: I would appreciate any
8 comments you might have on that. I don't look at this as
9 defining it more precisely. In fact, it appears to be
10 defining it less precisely. But I appreciate your comments
11 after you've had the opportunity to review it.

12 MR. BROUJOS: Yes, sir.

13 CHAIRMAN PICCOLA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Counsel Suter?

15 MR. SUTER: I just have one question on page 10,
16 Section 11, regarding investigatory power of the Attorney
17 General. It says: If the Attorney General has reason to
18 believe that a violation of this act has occurred. Is the
19 intent of that to mean reasonable cause to believe, or not?

20 MR. BROUJOS: I believe that would be equal to
21 reasonable cause. The problem has always arisen, and we
22 dealt with this a few years ago, as to what degree of proof
23 or what degree of factual conditions can justify an
24 investigation. The way that we took it down the path a few
25 years ago was to eventually get to the question of the

1 subpoena. Most of this deals with the right to challenge
2 the subpoena, and that's for substantial reasonable cause.
3 That is defined in here pretty well and I think that's taken
4 care of.

5 The problem with saying if the Attorney General
6 has reason to believe the violation has occurred is perhaps
7 the burden to the Attorney General. I think that you should
8 have a right to take action even when -- to investigate even
9 when it's speculative. So the Attorney General may have
10 some comment on that, whether that imposes any type of duty
11 on him higher than a normal investigative procedure that's
12 based on information that may not be reasonable cause.

13 I don't know that that language should be
14 interpreted as reasonable cause, because reasonable cause is
15 a very high degree, and I think the Attorney General should
16 have some latitude in investigating prior to his issuance of
17 a subpoena and prior to his action of bringing a suit.

18 MR. SUTER: Okay.

19 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Representative Reber?

20 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Good to see you, John.

22 MR. BROUJOS: Yes, sir, thank you.

23 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: On the criticism of the
24 insurance exemption, the Section 10 language, can we zero in
25 on that a little bit? I think you'll certainly recall the

1 enactment in or about 1978 of the Political Subdivision Tort
2 Claims Act which virtually narrowed the potential liability
3 issues relative to actions against municipalities. And you
4 may recall that in the mid '80s, there was a crisis for many
5 of our authorities and our municipalities getting liability
6 insurance for the members of their boards and what have you,
7 even to the point where it had been written from '78 up
8 until '83, '84, '85, and then all of a sudden there was a
9 crisis, if you will. I know many, many members of
10 authorities resigned because of the unavailability of
11 particular liability policies to be purchased.

12 My question is this: Do you think that there
13 should be a subsection 3 in 10(f) that would allow for the
14 Act's investigative aspects to be used where before a
15 particular date, there was the availability of a type of
16 insurance? And I use the municipality situation as an
17 example, and then all of a sudden there is a total drying up
18 of market, if you will, and the unavailability of it
19 virtually at any price in the state. Do you think that
20 might be an additional area that we should consider for
21 purposes of limiting, if you will, the insurance exemption
22 under Section 10?

23 MR. BROUJOS: What language or what real
24 language would you have that would implement that? I follow
25 the concept, but as far as the manner in which it would be

1 phrased, do you have any --

2 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Just off the top of my
3 head I don't, but some -- I don't have anything.

4 MR. BROUJOS: Generally.

5 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Just generally, if there
6 was an established line of policy being written and then all
7 of a sudden, there's a declaration for that announced, and
8 in many cases, unannounced specific reasons it's not
9 available anymore. Would or should the act trigger
10 investigative authorities to make a determination whether
11 there is some attempt to monopolize, to manipulate, you
12 know, the market?

13 Because I always found it to be very paradoxical
14 that we had a very, very tight liability situation on the
15 municipal side, notwithstanding that limited amount of
16 liability exposure, the market virtually dried up for a
17 number of months and/or years in the mid '80s and then all
18 of a sudden, miraculously reappeared and people were
19 writing, you know, these policies. I just have some concern
20 about a blanket exemption in the area of insurance. I can
21 only think back to some of the debate that we had on the
22 no-fault auto and what have you, and just have some
23 concern.

24 And I detected in your language that to use your
25 words, criticism of the insurance exemption. I'm just

1 wondering how far that exemption should go to be limited, if
2 at all, and what your thoughts are by way of the example I
3 gave or any others that might come to your mind.

4 MR. BROUJOS: Okay. I think that your situation
5 addresses the defect of permitting what I would call almost
6 a blanket exemption of the insurance industry. And you have
7 to go back to the concept of where this started. The
8 exemption starts when you say that the federal Sherman
9 Antitrust Act and the Clayton Act shall not have
10 jurisdiction where a state has regulated the insurance
11 industry or business.

12 The state then may have the most modest or
13 smallest modicum of regulation, and consequently,
14 automatically because it does regulate business in the
15 weakest way or insurance in the weakest way, there is an
16 exemption from the federal antitrust acts. If we address
17 that, we would address the problem you've posed.

18 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Can I interrupt you
19 there? Was it implicit in that language in the federal
20 legislation and the federal acts that the states would then
21 be doing in the course of their regulation, the necessary
22 investigation that would be implicit in this particular type
23 of concept? I mean, does legislative history back there
24 point that out? That that was what was behind that
25 exemption, that they didn't want to get involved in

1 investigating and regulating each and every state, but they
2 had the assumption that each state would take that upon
3 themselves to do that, to prohibit those kind of practices
4 under the state regulatory process vis-a-vis state law?

5 MR. BROUJOS: Representative Reber, at the time
6 that that federal exemption was put in, there were certainly
7 highly intelligent legislators, congressmen, senators,
8 staff, that knew that any exemption they had would be broad,
9 and that it would have the same effect on the substantive
10 prosecution as much as the investigative phase. So my
11 answer is that, yes, they would have known. I don't know
12 what the legislative history is that's to be divined by
13 pulling it out. But I think that we can conclude that they
14 knew very well that once they put in a blanket exemption of
15 insurance, that it was going to just take insurance right
16 out of the antitrust.

17 You see, I think it's a relatively simple
18 proposition that you can grasp in this situation, that is,
19 that there may be antitrust activities, monopolistic,
20 restraint of trade, price setting, market failure to provide
21 policies, cutting off policies for all kinds of reasons.
22 There may be all of these things going on in the insurance
23 industry that cannot be reached by a state, and they should
24 be. Texas in 1989 or '90 brought a massive action against
25 companies that carved up territories that said, we're not

1 going to write policies in certain areas and in certain
2 amounts. All of the actions which are anti-competitive hurt
3 the consumer, and cry out for state antitrust legislation.

4 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Thank you. Are there any
6 other questions? John, it's good having you back with us.
7 Appreciate your testimony.

8 MR. BROUJOS: Thanks for the opportunity.

9 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: We'll next hear from John
10 Dankowsky, Pennsylvania Business Roundtable.

11 MR. DANKOWSKY: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I'm
12 John Dankowsky, executive director of the Pennsylvania
13 Business Roundtable. With me is Mr. Jay Tolson, who will be
14 delivering the statement of the Roundtable. Dave?

15 MR. TOLSON: Mr. Chairman, members of the
16 Judiciary Committee, good morning. As John said, I'm Jay
17 Tolson and I'm chairman and chief executive officer of
18 Fisher and Porter Company, which is a manufacturer of
19 processed control instrumentation located in Warminster,
20 Pennsylvania. We're a Pennsylvania corporation and our main
21 operations are manufacturing and in Pennsylvania.

22 Process control instrumentation, computers and
23 little black boxes that run the process industry, such as,
24 well, anything where raw material comes in one end and comes
25 out a finished product on the other end, such things as

1 petroleum refining, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and my
2 favorite, breweries, are controlled by our instruments and
3 also power plants. You may have seen some years ago the
4 control room at Three Mile Island. That's the type of
5 product that we make. That was not our instrumentation;
6 unfortunately, we lost the bid.

7 About 65 percent of our business is outside the
8 United States. We have subsidiaries in 15 different
9 countries, representatives officially in another 36
10 countries. Actually, there's no place in the world that
11 we're not doing business. And probably no place in the
12 world where we're doing enough business.

13 I'm also chairman of the Roundtable's Legal
14 Affairs Subcommittee, and you probably know the Roundtable
15 is an association of senior executives from 40 major
16 corporations in Pennsylvania. So I do not represent all the
17 businesses in Pennsylvania. 40 is enough.

18 The Roundtable was organized in 1979 to bring
19 together the senior officers of the member companies to
20 promote economic growth and development, private sector
21 employment, and fiscal responsibility in the Commonwealth.
22 The Roundtable is comprised of companies which do business
23 internationally and have been subject to the federal
24 antitrust laws since their inception.

25 Our comments are geared toward emphasizing the

1 fact that we operate in a world economy and that a state
2 antitrust law is unnecessary.

3 Antitrust is usually interpreted by the general
4 public to mean a monopoly. The question in a world economy
5 is, what constitutes an alleged monopoly? The definition of
6 what constitutes a monopoly in 1993 is far different than
7 that of 1953 or 1923, or 1890, the date of the California
8 case. Even dominance in the U.S. market does not
9 necessarily mean that a company has a monopoly position in
10 the world economy. If the relevant market area is drawn
11 small enough, monopolies will always occur. Many small
12 towns cannot support more than one jewelry store, lumber
13 yard, et cetera. This does not mean that there has been an
14 attempt to monopolize, but rather, that the particular area
15 lacks sufficient demand to support more than one provider of
16 a particular good or service.

17 Before I further discuss the need for this
18 legislation, let me suggest changes that should be made if
19 the General Assembly feels that a bill must be enacted.

20 Section 3, the definitions, Attorney General
21 includes a, quote, designated deputy. We would hope that
22 this means only a deputy attorney general, and not that the
23 Attorney General could retain a private law firm to bring
24 antitrust claims on a contingency fee basis.

25 We draw your attention to Sections 4, 5 and 6,

1 dealing with unreasonable restraints of trade, monopolies
2 and acquisition and mergers. Under Section 4, it states
3 that: Unreasonable restraints of trade will not be allowed
4 in this Commonwealth. Under Section 5, Monopolies, the
5 phrase "in this Commonwealth" is repeated.

6 We feel that if unreasonable restraints of trade
7 and monopolies are occurring, prosecution under the federal
8 law is available.

9 Under Section 6, Acquisitions and Mergers, the
10 language "in this Commonwealth" was stricken from the bill.
11 We believe that the removal of this language was in
12 recognition that acquisitions and mergers are needed to
13 ensure competitiveness in a global marketplace, and once
14 they pass the muster of the U.S. Justice Department, there
15 should be no more regulatory or legal barriers prior to
16 effecting the acquisition or merger.

17 If it makes sense to delete the phrase "in this
18 Commonwealth" in Section 6, it seems to make sense to delete
19 it from Sections 4 and 5. It should be noted that the
20 Hart-Scott-Rodino Antitrust Improvements Act deals with
21 mergers, and any state action should be subject to a strict
22 time limit for mergers reported under this statute.

23 Under Section 7, Criminal Penalty, a state law
24 should limit criminal liability to per se unlawful antitrust
25 offenses as defined in the law.

1 There's also concern regarding double jeopardy.
2 The legislation includes language in Section 7(g) which
3 would supposedly prohibit an action under the Act if a
4 similar suit had already been initiated in a federal court
5 or other state court. There are, however, several concerns
6 to be raised. One is that the legislation does not indicate
7 who a person in these two suits, or who is a person in these
8 two suits. Therefore, it is possible to have a class action
9 under one case with one or two plaintiffs filing a case
10 under the Pennsylvania law, thereby subjecting a company to
11 double jeopardy. Also, the legislation does not
12 specifically exclude cases currently being litigated under
13 the federal antitrust laws. Any of these cases permitted to
14 proceed should be so only on the claims already at issue.

15 Section 9(a)(2), Cause of Action, should clearly
16 state that only the Commonwealth would be permitted to bring
17 a case as an indirect purchaser.

18 Section 9(c), Damages, provides for recovery
19 three times the actual damages sustained, et cetera, as a
20 matter of right to any private plaintiff. We have received
21 information from one of our counsels that this is
22 inconsistent with the Uniform State Antitrust Law
23 recommended by the National Conference of Commissioners on a
24 Uniform State of Laws. That proposal suggests that the
25 court be authorized to award up to treble damages, should

1 the circumstances warrant. Treble damages should not be
2 mandated. A state law should authorize only actual damages,
3 at least in cases of conduct which has not been
4 characterized as per se violations under the federal
5 antitrust law.

6 Language in Section 11 regarding the general
7 powers of investigation of the Attorney General states
8 that: If the Attorney General has reason to believe that a
9 violation of this act has occurred, et cetera. If
10 legislation is to be enacted in Pennsylvania, this should be
11 amended to read: Has reasonable cause to believe that a
12 violation has occurred. We believe that the phrase
13 "reasonable cause" is in common usage and more clearly
14 defined in the literature and by the courts.

15 The widely quoted comment that Pennsylvania is
16 the only state without an antitrust law is in error.
17 Counsel for several Roundtable companies have pointed out
18 that currently four states have no general antitrust law
19 similar to the federal law. These states are Georgia,
20 Vermont, Wyoming and Pennsylvania. Nine states prohibit
21 agreements from restraint of trade but have no general
22 prohibition on monopolization similar to the federal law.
23 These states are California, Delaware, Kansas, New York,
24 Nevada, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma and Tennessee.
25 Arkansas prohibits monopolization but has no general

1 prohibition on conspiracies and restraints of trade similar
2 to the federal law.

3 Even without a state antitrust law, there are
4 several protections for Pennsylvanians. First,
5 Pennsylvanians are presently covered under the federal law,
6 which we believe is the rational place for enforcement in a
7 world economy. The second protection is the ability of the
8 state Attorney General to file *parens patriae* suits under
9 the federal law to protect the citizens of the Commonwealth
10 from alleged antitrust violations.

11 I will close by restating our basic position and
12 that is, that there has been no need demonstrated for this
13 legislation. The antitrust statutes were passed at the turn
14 of the century. World markets have dramatically changed
15 since that time. We are now in a world economy and, as
16 such, we believe that antitrust actions must be enforced at
17 the national level. We also believe that Pennsylvania is
18 adequately covered under the federal statute and therefore
19 see no reason for the passage of Senate Bill 307.

20 Thank you very much for giving me the
21 opportunity to appear before you, and I would be happy to
22 try and answer some questions.

23 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Thank you, Mr. Tolson.

24 Questions? Counsel Suter?

25 MR. SUTER: I followed your argument regarding

1 double jeopardy except for one part, and that was when you
2 said that the legislation does not indicate who a person
3 is.

4 MR. TOLSON: Yes.

5 MR. SUTER: There's a definition of person in
6 the beginning of the legislation, so I'm a little bit
7 confused by that statement and if you can clear that up for
8 me, I would appreciate it.

9 MR. DANKOWSKY: We received comments from some
10 of our members that indicated they were concerned about a
11 situation in which you would have a group of people that
12 would bring an antitrust action under the federal law, and
13 then one of them would split off and then file separately
14 under the Pennsylvania law. So that the argument could be
15 made that it's not the same persons that are bringing the
16 case, that this is a different group. That was the comment
17 that was made to us and they said this is something that we
18 were concerned about so that's why we brought it up.

19 MR. SUTER: Okay. Thank you. I'll have to look
20 at that.

21 REPRESENTATIVE MASLAND: If I could follow up on
22 that.

23 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Representative Masland.

24 REPRESENTATIVE MASLAND: I don't see that as a
25 concern under this section, because that section is dealing

1 with charges being brought against somebody, not a question
2 of who the charge was being brought by. That's not a double
3 jeopardy. So you could have two different groups, one group
4 could proceed federally, one group could proceed on state
5 grounds and there could be different grounds, there could be
6 a reason for proceeding separately. But the fact that they
7 are one group and they split up and do it that way, I don't
8 see that as a concern. Because the real concern is how many
9 times has this entity been sued or been brought under the
10 auspices of either the federal or the state statutes.

11 MR. TOLSON: I think it's our position that, we
12 think that it's enough to be brought under the federal
13 statute and that that is sufficient protection and that we
14 don't need it, and so that there need not be two different
15 suits, irrespective of the definition of person.

16 REPRESENTATIVE MASLAND: I understand your
17 concern, but I think it's raised better in other situations,
18 and the fact that you feel "person" isn't clear is not a
19 valid concern to be raised here.

20 MR. TOLSON: I think the double jeopardy is the
21 valid concern.

22 REPRESENTATIVE MASLAND: Double jeopardy is the
23 concern, but not the definition of person is all I'm trying
24 to point out, based on your explanation to Counsel Suter. I
25 just thought I would point out that I didn't think it was

1 valid.

2 MR. DANKOWSKY: We were simply passing on
3 comments from 134 of our member companies.

4 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Representative Reber?

5 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: While we're on the topic
6 of double jeopardy, going down a little further under that
7 same paragraph, you note at the outset your concern is
8 regarding double jeopardy, and then the second to the last
9 sentence in that paragraph starting in the bottom part of it
10 on the top of the second page, also the legislation does not
11 specifically exclude cases currently being litigated under
12 federal antitrust law.

13 When I look at paragraph G, it says a criminal
14 prosecution under this section may not be brought against a
15 person previously charged by information or indictment of a
16 federal antitrust statute.

17 How does that reconcile with your concern that,
18 quote, also the legislation does not specifically exclude
19 cases currently being litigated? It would seem to me that
20 it very specifically does, and even to the point where the
21 individual does not have to be found guilty, simply the fact
22 that he's charged by information or indictment would trigger
23 the inavailability of this statute being simultaneously
24 brought even for a substantially similar type of alleged
25 conduct.

1 I just don't understand the big concern about
2 double jeopardy, which, of course, was triggered by the
3 person concern, and then specifically, this statement, the
4 legislation does not specifically exclude. Maybe it's a
5 mistake, I don't know. It seems to me that it very
6 specifically excludes, and that is, frankly, a very, very
7 major concern of mine to begin with, that, you know,
8 somebody here doesn't exactly like how the federal
9 prosecution is going so they start their own witch hunt, if
10 you will, and I tend to agree with you. But I think the
11 language is very specific to that extent. If it's not, I
12 would like to tighten it up, but I want to know where we've
13 got to go to tighten up what is already there, and it seems
14 to me to be pretty primordial to the issue.

15 MR. DANKOWSKY: I would be very happy to contact
16 the counsel that made that comment and get more information
17 for you on it. But we wanted to be very, very careful of
18 the whole double jeopardy issue was why we stressed it.

19 MR. TOLSON: While Fisher and Porter has never
20 been involved in an antitrust allegation, even, it's quite
21 well known with other people who I know that when the deputy
22 marshal walks into that door with a subpoena, irrespective
23 of what happens or how the case ends up, it's very, very
24 expensive.

25 I don't think any of us would want to see

1 business done in the United States or really, anywhere in
2 the world, where there aren't antitrust protections for the
3 people. On the other hand, we want those protections to be
4 as good, as solid and handled as quickly and efficiently as
5 possible. And while we don't think that the federal court
6 system handles it under those criteria, we really don't want
7 to see another one. And that does not mean that business
8 wants to conspire or violate anything which is within the
9 laws of antitrust, but it just wants it to be prosecuted as
10 efficiently as possible.

11 And it's absolutely true, that probably
12 businesses such as ours, which are in the mid range
13 category, we do about \$250 million of business a year. We
14 can be hurt by the antitrust more than hurting others. We
15 can compete with the major league multi-billion dollar
16 companies throughout the world, so we're interested in the
17 protection, but we're interested in the protection in a
18 manner which is efficient. We think that the best way to
19 handle that is under the present federal law.

20 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Representative Heckler?
21 Senator Heckler.

22 REPRESENTATIVE HECKLER: Whatever. Somewhere in
23 between, Mr. Chairman. Representative of the day, anyway.

24 MR. TOLSON: Anyway, you're probably wearing two
25 hats today and get double pay.

1 REPRESENTATIVE HECKLER: Would that it were.

2 And a welcome to Mr. Tolson, from Bucks County.

3 I'm going to direct a question to you gentlemen
4 but it may be that someone else, for instance, counsel, can
5 answer this, because I have a suspicion which I will end
6 with, if nobody can answer my question.

7 You called attention to the deletion of the
8 language "in this Commonwealth" from Section 6, the
9 acquisitions and mergers languages, but not as you point out
10 from the other similar sections dealing with monopolies and
11 restraints of trade.

12 Does anyone know why or what reasons were
13 articulated for that amendment? I understand that took
14 place in the Senate, and I don't know whether on the floor
15 or in committee. Do we have any insight as to what the
16 stated objective was?

17 MR. TOLSON: The only guess that I can submit is
18 that we got part of what we wanted.

19 REPRESENTATIVE HECKLER: That may be.

20 MR. TOLSON: We're concerned that the definition
21 is too small in today's economy, and that's a very major
22 concern that we have. I think if you get it small enough,
23 there's a monopoly everywhere. And that's what, you know,
24 in today's economy, a monopoly state is not very large for
25 businesses of our nature, that is, the multi-national

1 businesses.

2 REPRESENTATIVE HECKLER: Let me share with you a
3 concern that I have broadly, and I know there was a good bit
4 of fuss about the loss of jobs in Philadelphia, I think
5 attributed to the closure of a candy company, candy
6 manufacturer and that -- well, do you know? Obviously this
7 section could have had impact on that situation, and
8 frankly, any time we see a closure which gives rise to a
9 loss of jobs in our area or in some part of Pennsylvania for
10 a time, is going to give rise on the part of an elected
11 attorney general.

12 And frankly, you know, the longer we have an
13 elected attorney general, the more questions I have about
14 whether that was a good idea. And we're not going to want
15 to go back and amend the Constitution sometime and I could
16 go try it the other way again.

17 But in any event, assuming absolute good faith
18 on the part, and commitment to making a proper judgment on
19 the part of an elected attorney general, you have,
20 obviously, we're in a state that's struggling to keep jobs
21 that is in an ongoing transition of -- God bless Fisher and
22 Porter, you make things, you know. Pennsylvania was once
23 probably one of the greatest manufacturing centers in the
24 world, and you know, our economy is shifting now away from
25 that.

1 If every time somebody comes in and buys part of
2 a company and jobs are going to go away, there's going to be
3 an awful lot of political pressure upon the AG to do
4 something, and this is going to be a tool that he's got
5 available to him. It may well be that there's not much of a
6 basis to conclude that the activities of that out-of-state
7 buyer who is defined as evil because he's going to take jobs
8 away, you know, aren't anti-competitive at all. They just
9 happen to have an adverse impact on a particular
10 constituency in Pennsylvania. But there's going to be a
11 considerable amount of political pressure to make them at
12 least jump through all these hoops, as you've pointed out,
13 at considerable expense.

14 I wondered whether that specific decision was in
15 response to that situation, because I presume that the
16 impact of that removal of that candy company and, I guess,
17 the tuxedo operation, also, we've seen in Philadelphia, that
18 it's been in the news over the last several months, probably
19 didn't have an impact on competition in Philadelphia or in
20 Pennsylvania. Arguably, the only way it could even get to
21 first base in what really could be more essentially an issue
22 or a prosecution or investigation driven by other
23 constituency-driven factors, you would have to get out and
24 look at it nationwide in order to even begin to make a case,
25 I assume.

1 So that's, you know, I've done more speaking
2 than I have asking, but I think that's a concern we have to
3 have about this legislation, that there's going to be a
4 great deal of pressure upon an elected official to be
5 grandstanding for reasons that have nothing to do with
6 protection of trade.

7 MR. TOLSON: Senator, I couldn't agree with you
8 more, and I submit that the loss of jobs and the retention
9 and accession of good high quality jobs in the Commonwealth
10 is of primary importance, and that's a negative approach to
11 it that won't work.

12 However, this legislature has done some
13 excellent things for a positive. I mean, the Ben Franklin
14 partnership and the IRCs and now the combination of them,
15 that's magnificent. And has done a tremendous amount for
16 the retention and the accession of high quality jobs.

17 I think that the emphasis should be put in that
18 direction, a positive direction, rather than holding up
19 something that's going to happen anyway. Those companies
20 were going to go, no matter what. And it's a shame that we
21 lose jobs. None of us like to lose jobs, and I tell you, as
22 one who reads or read the list when we went through the
23 restructuring of the people on there whom I knew personally
24 and had to say, okay, let her go, that's not fun.

25 REPRESENTATIVE HECKLER: Thank you, Mr.

1 Chairman.

2 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Any other questions?

3 Thank you.

4 MR. TOLSON: Thank you very much.

5 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Let's move to Sam
6 Marshall, vice president and counsel for Pennsylvania
7 Insurance Federation.

8 And for the record, I would like to submit, I
9 think the members have it in their packet, the Pennsylvania
10 State Association of Township Supervisors, Elam Herr,
11 director of legislation, had submitted for the record a
12 statement of some support by them. And I believe that's in
13 your packets but I wanted to make sure that the court
14 stenographer included that in the official record.

15 MR. MARSHALL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 Mr. Chairman and members of the House Judiciary
17 Committee, I'm Sam Marshall. I'm with the Insurance
18 Federation of Pennsylvania. We're a trade association with
19 about somewhat over 200 member insurers. Membership ranges
20 from the very large to the very small domestic, foreign,
21 multi-line and single-line carriers.

22 Today, I'm asking this committee to amend Senate
23 Bill 307 to delete the exemption of nonprofit hospitals that
24 was granted in Section 10(j) of the bill. That's on page
25 10, I believe. As I understand the purpose of the

1 exemption, it's meant to allow nonprofit hospitals to
2 coordinate amongst themselves to produce greater
3 efficiencies.

4 In the words of exemption, it's meant to allow
5 agreements or conduct that will reduce health care costs and
6 improve the quality of care. Now, those of us who pay for
7 and receive health care favor reductions of cost and
8 improved quality of care, that's a given. However, an
9 exemption of nonprofit hospitals from this antitrust law
10 isn't going to promote that. In fact, it opens the door to
11 exactly the opposite.

12 First off, the exemption allows for conduct
13 that's going to raise, not lower health care costs. The
14 major problem with it is that it allows nonprofit hospitals
15 to reach veritably any agreement or engage in any course of
16 conduct with minimal regulatory oversight on the true impact
17 on competition, cost and quality of care.

18 It allows these hospitals to do anything that's,
19 quote, likely to reduce health care costs or improve the
20 quality of patient care. The only check on this is if the
21 Department of Health determines that the hospitals are
22 acting inconsistent with the state health plan of the
23 Commonwealth.

24 These are standards that are impossible to
25 define and enforce. First, if we learned anything from the

1 health care crisis facing not only the Commonwealth but the
2 entire country, it's the impossibility of determining what's
3 likely to happen when it comes to cost and quality of health
4 care.

5 Second, there's a difference between agreements
6 or conduct that allegedly reduce cost and those that
7 allegedly improve quality of care. The medical community
8 itself highlighted that disparity through its opposition to
9 the fee caps that have been imposed in the auto and worker's
10 compensation laws. Everybody concedes, including the
11 medical community, that those caps have lowered the cost of
12 care. But the medical community has come back and argued
13 that it also hurts the quality of care.

14 Now, I don't know how this exemption is going to
15 handle something like that, which is the goal, lower costs
16 or improved quality, that's going to take precedence when
17 you try to work through that exemption.

18 Thirdly, the agreements, any agreement that
19 impacts on cost and quality of care has to be evaluated for
20 both short- and long-term effects, and none of that's
21 covered in this bill. The exemption makes no distinction on
22 that, it's absent from it.

23 The fourth problem, the exemption doesn't
24 require that those agreements or conduct have to be reviewed
25 by any regulatory body. Instead, it only allows for a

1 catch-as-catch-can level of oversight from the health
2 department. Even then, the health department standard of
3 abuse is a toothless one. It's without the authority to
4 question whether the hospital's conduct actually reduces or
5 improves, reduces costs or improves quality. Apparently the
6 Department of Health would have to take the hospital's word
7 on that.

8 Further, it's limited to determining only
9 whether the hospital's conduct is inconsistent with the
10 state health plan. That essentially means that the
11 Department's going to have to prove the negative, which is
12 an almost impossible task.

13 These aren't merely theoretically or abstract
14 concerns. Let me give you an example. Almost all of the
15 hospitals in my part of suburban Philadelphia, down in
16 Montgomery County, are non-profits. They can easily jointly
17 agree under this exemption to raise their prices to a fixed
18 level. They could offer the rationale that that's going to
19 enable them to attract better physicians or purchase better
20 equipment, and therefore, enable them to improve the quality
21 of care. There would be no requirement that the health
22 department or any other regulatory body would review this
23 price-fixing agreement, and I'm not sure how it could be
24 discovered under this exemption.

25 Even if it gets discovered, there's really

1 little that could be done. The state health plan doesn't
2 cover price-fixing so it probably couldn't be considered
3 inconsistent with that plan. And that's the only thing
4 under this exemption that the Department of Health
5 requests. Instead, all that would happen is that we, as
6 payors and consumers, would be left with a price-fixing
7 agreement that probably would remain a secret and would
8 raise the cost of health care on an unfounded quality of
9 care claim.

10 One of the benefits being the last state, or as
11 Jay Tolson pointed out, maybe one of the last states without
12 an antitrust law, is that we do have the benefit of learning
13 from other states and from the federal law. I think one
14 lesson has to be applied as you evaluate whether this
15 exemption should stay. Namely, that any exemption has to be
16 carefully and clearly constructed with full consideration of
17 the ramifications on all consumers.

18 The proposed exemption of nonprofit hospitals
19 fails on these counts. Whatever the merits of its goal,
20 it's neither careful nor clear. Because of that, it
21 threatens payors and users of health care with unsupervised
22 price-fixing and agreements to limit competition amongst
23 hospitals. Given the health care crisis facing Pennsylvania
24 and the importance of government in crafting a solution,
25 this is a particularly dangerous time to grant such a poorly

1 crafted exemption for hospitals from regulatory oversight.

2 The second problem with the exemption is that
3 the antitrust measures of this bill really don't conflict
4 with the goal that the exemption professes to have, namely,
5 increased efficiency among nonprofit hospitals. If you
6 could remedy that language, you have to address that
7 question. Do they need to be exempt to meet the goal of
8 improved efficiency?

9 Again, you have some of the benefit of being
10 behind the curve in the area of antitrust law. We're
11 considering the standard that parallels federal law. Today,
12 to my right, I have with me George Addams, with Cigna
13 Corporation. George is an expert on federal antitrust
14 developments. As George will more fully explain, federal
15 regulators, both in the justice department and the Federal
16 Trade Commission, have already studied this issue. They've
17 determined that nothing in the federal antitrust laws
18 prevents nonprofit hospitals, or for that matter, any other
19 group of providers, from joining together to achieve greater
20 efficiency.

21 In fact, the federal regulators have gone one
22 step further. They note that provider conduct should remain
23 subject to the antitrust laws to make sure that any of these
24 greater efficiency agreements are not only going to produce
25 that efficiency and consumer savings, but they're also going

1 to pass those savings on to the consumers. It's not going
2 to be a cornering of profits that might be the result from
3 allowing a noncompetitive market.

4 In essence, the federal regulators point out
5 that the goal of improved efficiency among hospitals, the
6 goal of this exemption, is best met by keeping them subject
7 to the antitrust laws, not by exempting them.

8 The third point, third reason for deleting the
9 exemption, if you're going to address the goal of improved
10 efficiency, you want to do it through the Health Care
11 Facilities Act. The exception and the lofty language in it
12 obscure the fact that we do have a Health Care Facilities
13 Act with a state health plan and a certificate of need
14 program that's already working to achieve the goal of
15 improved provider efficiencies. Notably, this legislature
16 just amended that bill, just amended that act last session
17 through Act 149 of 1992. The goal here, improved efficiency
18 among hospitals, is best pursued through that act and the
19 certificate of need program. That's where there is a body
20 of expertise and regulatory oversight to make sure that the
21 goal is pursued but with safeguarding of consumers.
22 Instead, under this, the hospitals want to pursue the goal
23 through a blanket exemption that's going to enable them to
24 engage, unchallenged, in monopolistic practices and
25 unreasonable restraints of trade. That makes no sense.

1 Proponents of the exemption argue that the
2 certificate of need program in the state health plan in the
3 act, health care facilities act, aren't up to the task of
4 meeting the goal of improved efficiency among hospitals.
5 The answer to this is they ought to recommend changes to
6 that act, not seek a back door exemption or an escape hatch
7 from regulatory oversight through this act. In truth, the
8 Health Care Facilities Act illustrates the problem with
9 getting this exemption. Yeah, we all want improved
10 efficiency among hospitals; however, we can't do it by
11 exempting them from any accountability to government, payors
12 or consumers, as that invites problems, the problems I've
13 outlined as well as solutions.

14 The fourth point that we want you all to
15 consider is, the exemption actually undermines goal of
16 enhanced competition among providers as a means of bringing
17 better, more affordable care to Pennsylvania.

18 This Commonwealth has already recognized that
19 competition among providers is essential to improving the
20 affordable and availability of health care. That's the
21 purpose of the recent laws that have established HMOs and
22 PPOs, namely, that payors of health care should go out and
23 negotiate with providers. The theory and the record that we
24 have shows that the reality, it's also the reality that
25 competition among providers is going to produce lower costs

1 and will force providers to better meet the needs of
2 consumers.

3 To exempt the nonprofit hospitals from this
4 state antitrust law would take a long step in the opposite
5 direction. Insurers and other payors for health care will
6 be hurt in negotiating the best possible rates and the best
7 possible services because the hospitals are going to be able
8 to band together to avoid the marketplace competition that
9 allows these negotiations to work.

10 In the end, the real victim of that is going to
11 be the consumer. He's the one who ultimately pays the price
12 of a system without competition and without meaningful
13 oversight. The fact is, competition among providers,
14 including nonprofit hospitals, has produced savings for
15 consumers. This exemption threatens to take them away and
16 therefore should be rejected.

17 This committee should also take note that the
18 admittedly slowly emerging consensus on health reform at the
19 national level features competition among providers and
20 insurers as a key component. George Adams is going to give
21 you more detail on that. I want to point out that this
22 emphasis on competition is also a cornerstone of Governor
23 Casey's health reform billing, hence it's labeled managed
24 competition, and similar reform efforts that have already
25 been enacted in states such as California, Florida and North

1 Carolina.

2 There's no guarantee as to what shape health
3 reform is going to take here, nationally or
4 internationally. And I can't hide behind the likely
5 standard the hospitals want in their exemption. However,
6 the one thing you can say based on what's now in the drawing
7 board is the competition among the providers is going to
8 play a key part. It makes no sense to do something in this
9 bill that's going to undercut that direction.

10 Fifth, and this goes to some of the questions
11 that have been raised before, I think the exemption that's
12 in the bill for the business of insurance demonstrates the
13 difference between a reasoned and a poorly constructed
14 exemption.

15 I think I recognize, you can all say, gee, why
16 is the insurance industry, who has an exemption, going and
17 citing somebody else? It seems a little bit unfair. The
18 fact is, our exemption is a very limited one. It extends to
19 business that's already regulated by the insurance
20 commissioner and does not constitute a boycott, coercion or
21 intimidation or an agreement to do these, which I think
22 addresses actually the concern that Representative Reber
23 raised.

24 The reason for the exemption in that sense is
25 that insurance is already subject to the same standards

1 proposed in this act through the Unfair Insurance Practices
2 Act, specifically, Section 5(a) of that act. In that sense,
3 insurers aren't allowed to engage in any of the conduct
4 that's prohibited by this act. If they do, they actually
5 face penalties there are more draconian than those set forth
6 here, namely, regulatory sanctions that include being put
7 out of business.

8 Further, they're regulated by a department with
9 specific expertise in the business of insurance, and with
10 investigatory powers that go well beyond those that are
11 given to the Attorney General or private parties under this
12 act.

13 With the exemption of nonprofit hospitals, you
14 don't have any of those balancing safeguards. It's a pure
15 exemption, a blanket exemption, in the sense that it means
16 that the hospitals are actually allowed to engage in the
17 conduct that's prohibited by the act, namely, unreasonable
18 restraints of trade or monopolistic conspiracies, without
19 any government agency being able to put a stop to it.

20 Now, I do appreciate the hospital's claim that
21 they're not going to do that, that they are only going to
22 use the exemption to improve efficiencies among themselves.
23 Unfortunately, the exemption goes well beyond that. Unlike
24 the exemption of insurance, it doesn't address the potential
25 harms that it causes. That's why the exemption should be

1 limited. They really should be labeled here as "not ready
2 for prime time," and should be taken out of Senate Bill 307
3 by this committee.

4 I thank you all for the opportunity to share
5 these views with you. I'm happy to answer any questions you
6 have right now. I also have with me George Adams with
7 Cigna, who has a, probably, a more succinct, brief statement
8 to cover on details going on at the federal level both in
9 the areas of antitrust and managed competition. It may be
10 that you want to ask me questions now or hear George first
11 and ask questions then. I defer to your expertise.

12 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: We'll hear from George
13 first.

14 MR. ADAMS: As you know, my name is George
15 Addams and I'm counsel to Cigna Corporation and I'm
16 responsible for antitrust matters, and also a member of the
17 group of lawyers that advise the Alliance For Managed
18 Competition on Antitrust Matters. They are a group of five
19 insurers; Aetna, Cigna, Metropolitan, Prudential and
20 Travelers, which are lobbying for effective managed care
21 legislation at the federal and state level.

22 I'm testifying only with regard to this
23 particular bill Sam has identified and to join him in
24 telling you that we believe it's inappropriate to grant an
25 exemption for the reasons he stated, and I would just like

1 to give it a little more detail briefly.

2 First, as everyone is well aware, the entire
3 relationship between providers and purchasers of health care
4 is at the present time under intense study by the Clinton
5 administration, which in the near future will propose major
6 changes in the manner in which health care is made available
7 to the public. It is expected that the proposals will
8 include provisions for a new relationship between providers
9 and purchasers of health care. That will specifically
10 describe the new structure of that relationship, including
11 any purchasing alliances between providers and the manner in
12 which providers will compete with one another for health
13 care business.

14 Specifically, health care reform envisions the
15 formation of accountable health care plans known as AHPs
16 that would contract with purchasing alliances to provide
17 health care services to the individuals enrolled in the
18 purchasing alliance. The actual health care services would
19 be delivered by providers who are employed by or contracted
20 with a network formed within the AHP. The AHP would manage
21 the delivery of health care services, including the
22 selection and integration of providers, utilization review,
23 quality assurance, claims processing and network
24 maintenance. Thus, the formation of AHPs as well as their
25 provider networks, necessarily contemplates collaboration

1 among providers which would include horizontal integration
2 through merger, joint venture or contract among physicians
3 or among hospitals.

4 As a part of that study, the administration is
5 giving careful attention to antitrust considerations and has
6 asked for and received comment on the extent to which
7 existing antitrust law will impede the ability of providers
8 and others to consolidate into alliances that the new
9 structure will propose.

10 Whatever this new proposal will be, it is sure
11 to have given very considerable thought to the need for any
12 exemptions from antitrust laws in the context of a
13 comprehensive health care bill that will take all
14 competitors' factors into consideration. These will include
15 not only all aspects of the competitive relationship between
16 providers as a group, but their relationship to buyers of
17 health care as well.

18 In contrast, the provisions of Section 10(j) are
19 limited to only one class of providers, and are part of a
20 general antitrust bill which has no particular focus on
21 health care. It cannot be predicted what kinds of problems
22 this will create when the new comprehensive health care
23 delivery system is adopted at the federal level, for that
24 matter, at the state level, or what impact it will have on
25 the overall structure of that new system. Significant

1 provisions dealing with the delicate competitive balance
2 between buyers and sellers of health care should not be
3 added as an afterthought in the general antitrust bill
4 and -- by the way, I understand this was added to the bill
5 the day before it was enacted, that gives consideration to
6 these factors -- but these need to be the subject of
7 comprehensive study and analysis as to the impact they will
8 have on the system of health care delivery to which they
9 relate. This cannot occur really until the structure of
10 that new system is known. So much for that reason.

11 So the second reason that we believe the
12 provision is inappropriate is that existing antitrust law,
13 as has been said before, which this bill purports to adopt
14 for the State of Pennsylvania, would not prohibit any class
15 of providers from integrating through merger, joint venture
16 or other similar actions that will improve the quality of
17 health care, so long as it does not involve the abusive
18 exercise of monopoly or market power, and involves
19 sufficient integration of provider resources and the sharing
20 of financial risk to ensure its efficiency.

21 Now, those sound like a lot of big words, but
22 that is the concept which has been great in antitrust laws
23 that I'm familiar with and give advice on an ongoing basis,
24 and it's working.

25 The key is to assure that after the collaborated

1 venture is formed, it will not have enough market power to
2 retain the higher profits resulting from its efficiencies
3 but will be forced, as a result of competition, to pass them
4 along to consumers in the form of reduced prices.

5 Both the Department of Justice and the Federal
6 Trade Commission have for this reason strongly opposed any
7 repeal of the antitrust laws that will prevent those laws
8 from accomplishing their legitimate purpose of ensuring that
9 competition among all participants in any marketplace
10 remains healthy.

11 For example, in his statement dated October
12 15th, 1992, Kevin Arquit, the director of the Federal Trade
13 Commission's Bureau of Competition, after reviewing the
14 manner in which the antitrust laws supported development of
15 a competitive health care system, said that although
16 hospitals may assert that the federal government challenge
17 has a chilling effect on procompetitive hospital mergers,
18 modern antitrust analysis does not stand in the way of
19 genuinely pro-consumer mergers or joint ventures and that
20 most hospital mergers fit into that category. He noted in
21 his statement that there was not a single instance of a
22 federal government challenge to a hospital joint venture.

23 Similarly, in a statement of June 24th, 1992,
24 Charles James, the Acting Assistant Attorney General of the
25 Department of Justice, noted that the antitrust laws were no

1 impediment to the great majority of mergers among hospitals,
2 and that of 229 such mergers between 1987 and 1991, only 5
3 were challenged on antitrust grounds. Not a single one of
4 these challenges involved a small hospital.

5 I have available with me today copies of these
6 statements which clearly demonstrate that the antitrust laws
7 as they exist today fully recognize the need for
8 consolidation and joint ventures among providers of health
9 care where a competitive environment remains healthy.

10 I request for these reasons and for those that
11 have been suggested by Sam, that Section 10(j) be deleted,
12 and I thank you for your time and I'll be happy to answer
13 any questions.

14 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Thank you, gentlemen.
15 I'm just curious, and I would like both of you to answer yes
16 or no on this question. If that section, in fact, is
17 deleted, will you support the legislation?

18 MR. ADAMS: I was anticipating that question and
19 I really haven't come prepared to -- I'm not opposing the
20 legislation and I haven't come prepared to answer that on a
21 formal basis. But I listened with care to both statements
22 that were made earlier. I think there's something to be
23 said on both sides. I will tell you that our main concern
24 is this section. But I'm not prepared to say, I just don't
25 have the authority to say because I didn't come prepared to

1 say that.

2 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Would you take that back
3 and find that out, if the other companies --

4 MR. MARSHALL: Speaking on behalf of the
5 Federation, obviously, who represents Cigna, we would
6 probably take the position of not opposed, assuming that
7 Section F, the exemption as to the business of insurance,
8 remains as it is, and the exemption in 10(j) is deleted.
9 And I believe that's the position that we had taken on this
10 bill in the Senate.

11 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Questions from the
12 members? Representative Reber?

13 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14 Mr. Marshall, I congratulate you for your
15 testimony. You presented it in such a way that you didn't
16 become absolutely hypocritical with your disclaimer on page
17 8, subparagraph 5, relative to your recognition of the
18 exception. It is an exemption to which you vehemently
19 oppose in another competitive area, I guess is the way I
20 like to characterize it.

21 Let me ask you this question, now. I don't
22 understand how you can say on page 9 of your testimony that
23 the reason for the exemption is that insurance is already
24 subject to the same standards proposed in this act through
25 the Unfair Insurance Practices Act, and I'm referring to the

1 language proposed in this act which we heard earlier
2 testimony presented by Counsel Broujos, former
3 Representative Broujos, that since a consumer and a business
4 entity have no cause of action under the Unfair Insurance
5 Practices Act that a consumer and/or business then would
6 have no claim for relief where, in fact, a conspiracy and
7 restraint of trade or other monopolistic practice could be
8 shown, and I guess specifically, I say that because what
9 good does it do them if the insurance company simply puts
10 the violator out of business and yet the consumer and/or
11 small business consumer could not recover the necessary
12 damages, fees, costs and the like?

13 MR. MARSHALL: That's really two questions, in
14 the sense of standard, the standard in the act as compared
15 with the insurance laws, and then who can prosecute under
16 it. Addressing the first question, the standards in the
17 act, no, Section 5(a) of the Unfair Insurance Practices Act
18 is verbatim from Sections 4 and 5 of the -- that's what it
19 says.

20 The new one in this bill as Mr. Broujos pointed
21 out, is Section 6, the acquisitions and mergers. I can tell
22 you, with any acquisition or merger in the insurance
23 company, and actually George Adams here with Cigna would be
24 a classic example because when Connecticut General and INA
25 merged, I guess just about 10 years ago, with a merger of

1 insurance companies, any accession, it has to go through
2 prior approval by the insurance department, gets held up to
3 public hearings. It's not like in the normal business
4 community. There's a far greater degree of regulatory
5 scrutiny, far greater degree of public input on it. It gets
6 published in the Pennsylvania Bulletin, there are open
7 hearings on it. In the case of Cigna, that large a merger
8 took years. A number of open hearings on it.

9 And obviously one of the things that is a
10 subject for any acquisition or merger is whether it affects
11 restraints of trade or an unreasonable monopoly.

12 As to who can bring a cause of action, I was
13 somewhat surprised by Mr. Broujos's comment. No, the Unfair
14 Insurance Practices Act does not have a private right of
15 action in the sense that somebody can go into a court and
16 allege those violations. However, a person can file a
17 complaint with the insurance department under that and
18 proceed to those through that administrative channel.

19 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: They don't have the right
20 to recover counsel fees or costs.

21 MR. MARSHALL: No.

22 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Okay.

23 MR. ADAMS: I believe statute in that unfair
24 consumer practices statute does have that.

25 MR. MARSHALL: You have that there. In

1 addition, understand that when you file a complaint with the
2 insurance department, the insurance department provides you
3 with counsel. I used to be assistant counsel with the
4 insurance department, and one of the things you spend an
5 awful lot of time doing over there as a lawyer is
6 representing consumers that file complaints against
7 insurance companies. You represent them at the
8 administrative level with the department and obviously, if
9 there's an appeal from that, it goes to Commonwealth Court
10 and, in fact, you represent them there.

11 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Is there a special number
12 you have? My constituents haven't seemed over the years to
13 have found that kind of vigorous representation through that
14 individual. I would like to know who that liaison is that I
15 can speak to.

16 MR. MARSHALL: I speak to the individuals who
17 are lawyers there. I'll be happy to talk to you afterward
18 about exactly how people file complaints.

19 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: My question also goes to
20 the exemption that is contained in paragraph F in
21 relationship to how it is structured in other states. Is
22 this similar, stricter or less strict than appears in other
23 states?

24 MR. ADAMS: Very similar, in a lot of other
25 states.

1 MR. MARSHALL: It's similar. In fact, it's
2 probably in the sense that it has the second clause in it,
3 it's probably a bit more strict. But it's roughly
4 consistent with what you'll find in other states, in the
5 states with antitrust laws.

6 MR. ADAMS: The same with the federal.

7 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Thank you.

8 Mr. Chairman, could I ask that staff maybe take
9 a look at that aspect so we are 100 percent on point on that
10 I think before this is called for consideration? I would
11 appreciate just a look at that, and I thank you gentlemen
12 for your responses.

13 MR. MARSHALL: In the interest of making life
14 easy on staff -- because as a staffer I know how it feels --
15 it is Section 5(a) and I believe it's subsection 4 of the
16 Unfair Insurance Practices Act.

17 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Thank you.

18 Are there any other questions? Yes, Counsel
19 Andring.

20 MR. ANDRING: Under the Unfair Insurance
21 Practices Act, can an individual recover damages if they are
22 injured by a monopolistic practice by an insurer?

23 MR. MARSHALL: Generally, the individual
24 doesn't. What would happen under that is that you have to
25 understand that insurance companies, the rates were

1 regulated. Take, for example, it's very hard to speak in
2 terms of a hypothetical because -- of course, I hope, I
3 assume any of our clients never violate the law and I don't
4 even want to imagine a case where they do -- but let's
5 imagine that auto insurers were to get together and conspire
6 to price fix and somebody were to complain about that to the
7 insurance department. The insurance department were to have
8 a hearing.

9 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: We're talking about a
10 hypothetical now, right?

11 MR. MARSHALL: We're talking strictly about a
12 hypothetical. Thank you, Representative, for clarifying
13 that. And actually, you know, obviously I'm being
14 facetious, but in truth, that couldn't happen given the rate
15 regulation in this Commonwealth. But if somehow or other it
16 were to happen, what would happen under the Unfair Insurance
17 Practices Act is that the commission would order a rate
18 rebate that would go to all consumers and it would be
19 reflected in the rates, in the rates that the commissioner
20 would allow in that example for auto insurers. So that, for
21 instance, if companies went in and fixed prices unlawfully,
22 what the commissioner would do is order that the companies,
23 if that was all found to be true, the commissioner simply
24 would order a rate reduction.

25 MR. ADAMS: Could I just add to that, the

1 consumer would, of course, retain his prior right of action
2 independently of this exemption, because you have to
3 understand this exemption is a narrow exemption. In fact,
4 if there were a violation of the Sherman Act that was not,
5 of this act, that was not regulated by a state law, that is,
6 if there was a closet conspiracy somewhere, hypothetical,
7 which no one knew about except the participants, the
8 individual in that case would have the right to bring a
9 private right of action regardless of this exemption,
10 because the exemption does not protect you against conduct
11 which is not regulated by the insurance commissioner. And
12 we give a lot of attention to that.

13 MR. ANDRING: We delved into this a little
14 more. Suppose hypothetically some insurers got together and
15 decided to divide up the market, and I'll say liability
16 insurance for municipalities, something like that, and each
17 company involved, each took a geographic area, Pennsylvania,
18 and decided they would get in the business in that area.

19 Now, what would happen and how would this matter
20 proceed under current law with no state antitrust statute
21 and only the current provisions of the Unfair Insurance
22 Practices Act?

23 MR. MARSHALL: Under the Unfair Insurance
24 Practices Act, that would be illegal and the commissioner
25 could put the companies out of business. It's cut and dry.

1 And the commissioner has the authority to do that. That's
2 what would happen. And, in fact, one thing you have to
3 understand, the way insurance regulation in toto works,
4 understand the companies are subject on an annual basis to
5 market conduct exams.

6 So unlike under a state antitrust law where it's
7 somehow or other got to percolate from the bottom up, the
8 consumers have to complain or file a complaint or notify the
9 Attorney General, this is something where simply on a survey
10 basis every year, the department employees go out to the
11 companies and they look at all of that. So there is a
12 regular monitoring. There was debate earlier about, gee,
13 what should it be, probable cause or what is reasonable, you
14 know, cause reason to believe and what's the difference. In
15 the case of how insurers are regulated, they are subject.
16 It's not a matter of reason to believe or anything like
17 that, it's simply that the commissioner, the regulator, goes
18 in every year on an annual ongoing basis and supervises the
19 market conduct of all insurers.

20 MR. ANDRING: Okay, but how is that individual
21 municipality going to recover its damages? The excess it
22 paid over what it should have paid for the period of time
23 during which this division of the markets occurred.

24 MR. MARSHALL: First of all, I guess the first
25 question is, is that going to be exempt from, would that

1 conduct even be exempt from this bill. When you look at,
2 for instance, this bill, what you outlined, and it's exactly
3 what Representative Reber was talking about earlier in his
4 questions for Mr. Broujos, struck me that what you just
5 talked about was a boycott. And therefore, just looking at
6 the exemption, that is subparagraph F(2) is not within the
7 exemption. So a person could proceed.

8 MR. ANDRING: Assuming we don't have this law,
9 under the Unfair Trade Practices Act which is the law right
10 now.

11 MR. MARSHALL: If this law were not passed,
12 under the Unfair Insurance Practices Act, the commissioner
13 could order that there be rate rebates.

14 MR. ADAMS: That would also remedy under the
15 federal law for that conduct.

16 MR. ANDRING: Would the federal law, it's my
17 understanding federal law wouldn't apply to that situation
18 because we have the business of insurance there.

19 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: I would like to jump in
20 just here. I'm just curious, historically has that ever
21 happened in this Commonwealth, that you know of? The rate
22 rebate rollback or whatever?

23 MR. MARSHALL: I don't believe that there's ever
24 been a case of where somebody said, here, companies got
25 together in Pennsylvania and fixed prices. I mean,

1 the fact --

2 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: I'm talking about the
3 insurance commissioner jumping in and saying, hey, you guys
4 fix the rates here.

5 MR. MARSHALL: Or the insurance commissioner
6 jumping in and doing it.

7 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Nobody has done it?

8 MR. MARSHALL: In fact, one of the reasons that
9 you need this is to allow for the rate regulation that you
10 have right now under existing law, you know. The fact is
11 there are rating bureaus, for instance, for auto and
12 worker's comp because most companies are too small, and what
13 happens is the rate, because there's a lot of competition
14 among the industry. But what I saw in the case of ISO,
15 rates of auto or a rating bureau in the case of worker's
16 compensation goes in and files a rate with the commissioner,
17 that the commissioner reviews prior approval. It doesn't go
18 to the marketplace until the commissioner says it can. So
19 any scenario that you envision there actually under our
20 rating laws gets addressed before the fact. If there was to
21 be some sort of a price-fixing, setting the rates
22 excessively high, that's subject to prior approval. That's
23 what the rating laws do. I think that's one of the reasons
24 why it's just never happened in Pennsylvania.

25 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: How do you get around,

1 and I hear about this all the time -- I'm sorry to
2 interrupt, Counsel, but this just intrigues me a little
3 bit. I used to be an underwriter myself for a few years
4 prior to coming to the legislature. How do you get around
5 the fact that they do red lining? In Philadelphia or
6 Pittsburgh or Reading or Lancaster. How do they do that,
7 how do they get away with it?

8 MR. MARSHALL: If somebody does red lining, I
9 mean, again --

10 MR. ADAMS: I don't think that's an antitrust
11 issue, if I may say.

12 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: I understand, but you're
13 asking for the insurance commissioner to intervene.

14 MR. MARSHALL: It's not an antitrust issue, but
15 just so you know, if what you're talking about there, this
16 goes outside of this law, but if what you're talking about
17 there is geographic discrimination, that's prohibited under
18 the Unfair Insurance Practices Act. It's another section of
19 that act but it's prohibited under that act.

20 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Is it enforced?

21 MR. MARSHALL: Yeah.

22 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: See, this is the problem
23 that I have with all the laws that we're either dealing with
24 now or we plan to propose. We could write all the laws in
25 the world, as you attorneys know, but if nobody cares to

1 enforce them, or if people look the other way, you know,
2 what good are they?

3 MR. MARSHALL: I can tell you, the insurance
4 department sure as hell doesn't look the other way. The
5 relation, and I think in many cases, is a productive one but
6 unfortunately, the relationship between the regulator and
7 the industry is an unduly adversarial one I think in some
8 ways, that's hurt long-term. I think that's hurt
9 Pennsylvanians. But I can tell you, nobody looks the other
10 way as to our industry, whether it be our regulator or all
11 of you as our legislature. We regard you as regulators as
12 well.

13 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Policy makers.

14 MR. ADAMS: I haven't seen them looking any
15 other way, I don't think.

16 MR. MARSHALL: If there is a case of red lining,
17 the laws do exist to prevent that.

18 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: The point that I was just
19 making, and I'll switch over to Counsel Andring, that, you
20 know, a lot of emphasis is being put on the insurance
21 commissioner to do this, that and the other thing, according
22 to the laws that they can operate under on unlawful
23 restraint of insurance practices, and you're saying that
24 that doesn't go on, or you're saying that the department
25 indicated that the department would react very quickly to

1 situations like that, correct?

2 MR. MARSHALL: I think the department has
3 historically always acted aggressively.

4 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: That's not what we hear
5 from various areas around the state, when it comes to
6 accessing adequate insurance at a reasonable cost,
7 especially as concerns auto in various sections of the
8 state, depending on where you live and who is in there
9 underwriting. Comment?

10 MR. MARSHALL: I'm not --

11 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: You don't believe that
12 goes on? You don't think that's a problem?

13 MR. MARSHALL: You're talking about individual
14 company practices.

15 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Any of the companies.
16 Any of the companies. You try to get insurance in some of
17 the inner city areas, okay, from any of the companies as
18 concerns fire insurance, as an example. Auto insurance is
19 another example. Homeowner's. Depends on the section of
20 the city that you're in as to whether or not they'll even
21 underwrite it, number one. Accessability, affordability, and
22 comparability with other sections.

23 MR. MARSHALL: Actually what, and we're about to
24 embark upon a discussion that goes way outside the antitrust
25 laws, but I really do want to talk with you about that and

1 maybe we can talk after this or something separate, but
2 understand, what you're talking about now is discrimination,
3 and what is unfair is to discriminate against somebody
4 purely because of where he lives or race, gender, geographic
5 location, religion, whatever. However, as a former
6 underwriter, I'm sure you can appreciate it, what companies
7 do have to do is assess risk. And you do have to evaluate
8 risk. And the fact is that, and there you are talking about
9 auto insurance, you look in the Philadelphia area, if you
10 can't accurately assess that risk and charge a fair premium
11 for that risk, it's irresponsible to your other
12 policyholder, to your employees, to your shareholders to
13 take on that risk. You can't do that.

14 One of the questions, I know it's a question
15 that always comes up is, should a high-risk area,
16 Philadelphia, auto theft capital of the world, highest P.I.
17 claims per -- bodily injury claims, you know, per number of
18 fender-benders in the country, should an area like that be
19 subsidized by the rest of the Commonwealth? That's a
20 never-ending debate that I know comes before this chamber
21 every session.

22 Our answer to that is, that's not insurance.
23 Insurance is the grouping of similar risks, it is not the
24 subsidy of one high-risk group by a low-risk group.

25 And when people talk in terms of red lining, I

1 look at that in terms of more it's risk evaluation. And
2 obviously there are going to be areas where the risk is
3 higher and therefore they're going to pay a higher premium.
4 And that's like, you know, that's the difference between a
5 smoker and a non-smoker in a life policy.

6 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: The point that I was
7 making is that you kept alluding to the department having
8 control over the industry, and I happen to share some of the
9 concerns that Representative Reber raised earlier, that my
10 17 years here under all kinds of administrations, Democrat,
11 Republican, Democrat, hasn't really mattered who has been in
12 the department over there, trying to get relief for
13 constituents, and I have several ongoing problems right now
14 as a matter of fact with some insurance companies, in
15 situations with my constituents, that have not been
16 resolved. And it just seems to hang there and go on forever
17 and ever and ever and there's been no resolution. And we've
18 gone right to the commissioner, right to the attorneys in
19 the department, trying to get some relief, even to the
20 Attorney General, and it seems like constantly chasing
21 around in circles to get the damn thing resolved. And there
22 has been no resolution in several of the cases that I've
23 been involved with. But let's turn it back to the line of
24 questioning that you were in, Counsel Andring and
25 Representative Reber.

1 MR. ANDRING: I just have one more question.
2 The insurance exemption in this bill is in Section 10(f) and
3 it's limited to at least some extent, but then in Section
4 10(i), there's another provision in the bill that exempts
5 any activity exempt from the provisions of the antitrust
6 laws of the United States, which seems to me would provide a
7 blanket exemption for insurance, or for the business of
8 insurance. Is that how you would interpret that?

9 MR. MARSHALL: No.

10 MR. ADAMS: I would say they're different.

11 MR. ANDRING: Section 10(i) provides that any
12 activity exempt from the provisions of the antitrust laws of
13 the United States is exempt from the provisions of this
14 act.

15 Now, that doesn't contain any qualifying
16 language as to whether or not the activity is regulated or
17 constitutes a boycott or coercion or anything else. And I'm
18 interested in the interplay between Section I and Section
19 F.

20 MR. ADAMS: To be honest, I hadn't thought of
21 that. It's a good question.

22 MR. MARSHALL: I think the federal exemption is
23 roughly the same, and the point is really when you're
24 talking about consistency of the federal law, what you want
25 to have really just clarifies what is already a doctrine,

1 namely, federal preemption, and you don't want to have
2 inconsistent regulation at the federal level and at the
3 state level.

4 MR ADAMS: I think this would incorporate
5 preemption into this law, in addition to this, in answer to
6 your question.

7 MR. ANDRING: Thank you.

8 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Representative Reber.

9 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Just a followup in the
10 questioning. There was some questioning of the term boycott
11 and the determination of that. Did I understand you to say
12 that the situation developed where there was a line of
13 insurance sold in the Commonwealth from 1933 till the
14 present by a number of companies and then all of a sudden a
15 particular insured was told by his company that we are no
16 longer offering that? And he tells his agent/broker to look
17 around and all of a sudden the word gets back that nobody is
18 writing it in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania? And it
19 could be proven that there was a boycott to write that kind
20 of policy. Would that kind of action fall under the
21 definition of boycott as it's constituted in subparagraph 2
22 that would allow for the initiation of a cause of action
23 under this particular proposed legislation?

24 MR. MARSHALL: You just set out a boycott,
25 yeah. You said here, there was a boycott. And if there's a

1 boycott, there you go. It's 10(f)(2).

2 REPRESENTATIVE REBER: Excuse my ignorance but I
3 wasn't sure exactly what boycott meant in the terms under
4 antitrust law and I just wanted to make sure. Thank you.

5 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: No other questions,
6 gentlemen. Thank you very much for your testimony.

7 We'll next move to Rebecca Cummings,
8 Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and Industry.

9 And while she's coming up, I just want to let
10 the members know and we'll put it on the record. Certainly
11 you're going to be notified of it, that the voting session
12 for this bill and several other bills that we'll have on the
13 agenda which you will be receiving in the mail which will be
14 September the 21st at 1:30 p.m. in room 60 E. That will be
15 after the luncheon that we have with the Common Pleas Court
16 judges that will be down meeting with us that day. And I
17 want to make sure that members do get ample notice of the
18 agenda that we're going to be dealing with on legislation.
19 But it's September the 21st, 1:30 p.m., room 60 E after the
20 luncheon that we have with Common Pleas judges.

21 Beckie?

22 MS. CUMMINGS: Good morning, Chairman
23 Caltagirone and members of the House Judiciary Committee.
24 My name is Rebecca Cummings and I am director of risk
25 management for the Pennsylvania Chamber of Business and

1 Industry. With me today is William Gupp, Esquire, of HARSCO
2 Corporation, who has experience as a practicing attorney
3 with a lawfirm and as inhouse counsel on antitrust matters.

4 We appreciate the opportunity to testify before
5 the committee today about Senate Bill 307, legislation that
6 would provide Pennsylvania with a state antitrust statute.
7 The chamber has been involved in this issue for a number of
8 years and has been an active participant in the ensuing
9 legislative debate on the need for a state antitrust
10 statute.

11 At the outset, I would like to emphasize that we
12 do not believe that an antitrust statute is necessary or
13 appropriate in Pennsylvania, a position we have steadfastly
14 maintained for many, many years. It is our position that
15 the proponents of Senate Bill 307 have not shown that any
16 anti-competitive activities in Pennsylvania that may occur
17 cannot be remedied effectively through existing federal
18 antitrust laws. On the contrary, the federal statutes
19 provide a well-established base of substantive law and
20 wide-ranging enforcement tools that may be exercised by the
21 U.S. Department of Justice, the Federal Trade Commission,
22 and private parties. In addition, the federal antitrust
23 acts permit the Attorney General of any state to bring a
24 civil action in the name of such state, as *parens patriae* on
25 behalf of the citizens residing there, to recover treble

1 damages or to obtain injunctive relief.

2 Today, there is virtually no realm of economic
3 activity that the interstate commerce power of the federal
4 government, which is the basis of federal antitrust law,
5 does not reach. Further, today's economy dictates that we
6 operate in a global marketplace that extends well beyond the
7 confines of our Commonwealth. Conceptually, the
8 Pennsylvania Chamber believes that Senate Bill 307 runs
9 counter to economic philosophy of making Pennsylvania an
10 attractive climate for business, and the principal effect of
11 this legislation will be to merely add another layer of
12 regulation upon our members' business activity.

13 Senate Bill 307, particularly in Section 11,
14 explicitly provides the Attorney General with broad
15 investigatory powers, including the right to subpoena
16 witnesses, examine those individuals, request documents and
17 review evidence. With all due respect to Attorney General
18 Preate, this legislation, if enacted, would be on the books
19 for many years to be enforced by many as yet unknown
20 attorneys general. There is a risk that a state antitrust
21 law in general and the subpoena power in particular, could
22 be used for irresponsible, politically-motivated, and
23 misdirected investigations. This risk is due in part to the
24 fact that such investigations could potentially be triggered
25 by third parties. For example, a labor union could seek to

1 exert pressure on the Attorney General to enjoin an
2 acquisition where there is a possibility of a plant
3 closing. As an elected official, there would be an inherent
4 temptation for any attorney general to evaluate such an
5 acquisition in terms of protecting local interests rather
6 than upon economic efficiencies or competitiveness. This
7 potential risk is very troubling to our members.

8 We also believe that the Pennsylvania Attorney
9 General's Office does not have the manpower or expertise to
10 effectively monitor and apply the proposed legislation. At
11 the federal level, the Department of Justice and the Federal
12 Trade Commission each employ a large staff of attorneys,
13 accountants, economists and other professionals with
14 specialized expertise in the application of antitrust laws.
15 Senate Bill 307 specifically provides that it will be
16 applied and construed consistently with the federal laws.
17 The problem is that the Pennsylvania Attorney General's
18 Office, in our opinion, does not have the expertise or
19 manpower to do this.

20 While Senate Bill 307 substantially parallels
21 the major provisions of the federal statutes, certain
22 provisions cause extreme concern for our members,
23 specifically, Section 6, Acquisitions and Mergers. This
24 language was originally inserted pursuant to an amendment in
25 the Senate Judiciary Committee and further refined on the

1 Senate floor by deleting the words, quote, in the
2 Commonwealth, unquote. In that Senate Bill 307 cannot
3 reasonably be intended to regulate activity outside of this
4 Commonwealth, it is unclear why this language was deleted.

5 As stated earlier, our position is that a
6 antitrust statute is not necessary or appropriate in
7 Pennsylvania. If, however, we are forced to accept such a
8 statute, we strongly urge that Section 6 of the bill
9 relating to acquisitions and mergers be deleted.

10 Section 6 is comparable to Section 7 of the
11 federal Clayton Act. Only approximately 10 other states
12 have, as part of their antitrust statutes, a provision
13 directly regulating mergers and acquisitions. In states
14 where there is no counterpart to Section 7 of the Clayton
15 Act, a private party or the state Attorney General can rely
16 on other provisions of the state statute, such as those
17 regulating restraints of trade or monopolies, to attack an
18 anti-competitive merger or acquisition.

19 We believe that it is in the best interest of
20 Pennsylvania's business community that Section 6 be deleted
21 from Senate Bill 307. If it is so deleted, we will have
22 greater comfort that the Attorney General will focus his
23 attention on actual restraints of trade, such as
24 price-fixing and division of customers and territories,
25 instead of preventing business growth via acquisition.

1 Section 7, Penalties. Section 7(g) of the
2 proposed legislation purports to address a potential
3 conflict issue between federal and state law by providing
4 that a prior federal criminal proceeding will preclude a
5 similar state criminal prosecution. However, Section 7(c)
6 of the proposed legislation provides for substantial civil
7 penalties which the Attorney General may seek, quote, in
8 lieu of criminal prosecution, unquote. A defendant required
9 to pay a substantial fine in a federal criminal prosecution
10 will not be protected from the civil penalty provisions of
11 Section 7(c). In addition, the Commonwealth, as an indirect
12 purchaser, can seek both civil penalties under Section 7(c),
13 and damages as an indirect purchaser under Section 9(a)(2).
14 These are a few examples of the types of duplicative
15 litigation and recovery that may occur.

16 Section 9, Private Right of Action. Section
17 9(a)(2) of the proposed legislation provides that the
18 Commonwealth will be able to recover damages regardless of
19 whether it was a direct or indirect purchaser. The U.S.
20 Supreme Court has held in the Illinois Brick case that under
21 federal law, only direct purchasers may recover damages. In
22 that case, the Supreme Court determined that to allow
23 indirect purchasers to bring an action would so complicate
24 the proof of damages sustained by each party in a chain of
25 distribution and create such a risk of duplicate recoveries

1 that it was advisable to limit antitrust recovery to direct
2 purchasers only.

3 Although a subsequent Supreme Court case held
4 that the states could adopt laws allowing indirect
5 purchasers to recover, this does not mean that such a
6 provision is an advisable policy. It is true that Section
7 9(a)(2) attempts to address the possible problem of
8 duplicative recoveries by providing that in an action by the
9 Commonwealth as an indirect purchaser, the court will take
10 necessary steps to avoid duplicate liability for the same
11 issue. However, the problem is that, unlike in the single
12 federal system where competing claims can be easily
13 coordinated and consolidated, it is much more difficult and
14 impractical to coordinate and consolidate competing claims
15 in different states if a direct purchaser brings an action
16 in another state and the Commonwealth brings an action in
17 Pennsylvania.

18 As we understand the intent of Section 9(a)(1)
19 of the bill, private parties may only recover if they are
20 direct purchasers and may not recover if they are indirect
21 purchasers. Nonetheless, we believe language should be
22 added to the section by inserting the word, quote, directly,
23 unquote, between, quote, person, unquote, and, quote,
24 injured, unquote, to clarify this provision.

25 Section 9(a)(3) of the bill precludes a second

1 action for damages based on transactions that have already
2 been the subject of a final judgment, quote, entered in an
3 action by or on behalf of the person under antitrust laws
4 of, unquote, another jurisdiction. However, this would not
5 preclude indirect purchaser actions by the Commonwealth
6 following federal actions brought by or on behalf of certain
7 purchasers, and certainly does not address circumstances in
8 which an action under Pennsylvania law is adjudicated before
9 an action in another jurisdiction.

10 The limitations period provided in Senate Bill
11 307 appears to expose a defendant to a broader range of
12 damages than federal law. Although Senate Bill 307, like
13 Section 4 of the Clayton Act, provides that an action must
14 be brought within four years of the date of when the cause
15 of action accrues, the proposed legislation differs from
16 federal laws with respect to the method of determining when
17 the cause of action arises. The importance of this
18 difference is best illustrated in the context of, quote,
19 continuing violations, unquote.

20 Section 9(b) provides that a, quote, cause of
21 action arises under this section at the time the conduct in
22 violation of this act is discovered or should have been
23 discovered, or, for a continuing violation at the time the
24 latest violation of this act is discovered, or should have
25 been discovered, unquote.

1 Under federal antitrust law, a cause of action
2 based on a particular violation generally accrues when the
3 plaintiff is injured to the extent damages are
4 ascertainable. For continuing violations, a cause of action
5 arises each time the plaintiff is injured, and a federal
6 plaintiff will normally only be able to bring suit for
7 ascertainable damages flowing from conduct that has occurred
8 less than four years before the suit was filed.

9 Senate Bill 307, however, could be read as
10 allowing a plaintiff to bring suit for all damages flowing
11 from a long pattern of conduct if the violation is a
12 continuing one and the latest violation occurred within four
13 years of bringing suit. This potentially could occur even
14 if the facts giving rise to the claim had long been known to
15 the plaintiff and the injury from the violation had been
16 suffered many years before.

17 Additionally, Section 9(3)(c) expressly allows
18 treble damages as a matter of right to any private
19 plaintiff. This is inconsistent with the Uniform State
20 Antitrust Law recommended by the National Conference of
21 Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. This model law
22 suggests that the trier of facts be authorized to award
23 treble damages only if the circumstances warrant.

24 Section 11, Investigation. Section 11(a) of the
25 proposed legislation provides that if the Attorney General,

1 quote, has reason to believe, unquote, that violation has
2 occurred, he has the authority to investigate. Previous
3 versions of this legislation in past sessions were
4 criticized for not providing a standard such as, quote,
5 probable cause, unquote, or, quote, reasonable cause,
6 unquote, which had to be met prior to instituting an
7 investigation. Although a standard has been added, it is
8 vague and it is unclear as to whether it is to be applied on
9 an objective or subjective basis. In addition, we believe
10 that Section 11(b) should be clarified to provide that in an
11 action by the Attorney General to enforce a subpoena or
12 request, the Attorney General has the burden of proof to
13 show that he has met the standard set forth in Section
14 11(a).

15 While certain segments have long lamented the
16 fact that Pennsylvania is one of two states which does not
17 have its own state antitrust law, the lack of such a statute
18 has not been a major deterrent in the ability of the
19 Attorney General's Office to prosecute cases under the
20 federal antitrust statutes or to execute its *parens patriae*
21 powers.

22 Additionally, a 1982 survey of 40 states
23 concluded that 12 states never enforce their criminal
24 antitrust laws, 13 rarely enforce them, and only 6 states
25 reported frequent use of their criminal provisions.

1 We are all familiar with the old adage that if
2 something is not broken, we ought not fix it. On behalf of
3 the Pennsylvania Chamber, I respectfully submit to this
4 committee that federal laws are capable of adequately
5 reaching the concerns addressed in Senate Bill 307 and as
6 such, abrogate any need for similar legislation in the
7 Commonwealth.

8 Thank you for your time and attention. Mr. Gupp
9 and I would be glad to answer any questions or concerns that
10 you may have at this time.

11 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Thank you.

12 Members? Staff?

13 (No audible response.)

14 CHAIRMAN CALTAGIRONE: Thank you for your
15 testimony. We certainly appreciate it.

16 We'll now adjourn the hearing. Thank you very
17 much.

18 (Whereupon, the hearing was concluded at
19 12:05 p.m.)

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I hereby certify that the proceedings and evidence are contained fully and accurately in the notes taken by me on the within proceedings, and that this copy is a correct transcript of the same.

Emily Clark

Emily Clark, CP, CM
Registered Professional Reporter

The foregoing certification does not apply to any reproduction of the same by any means unless under the direct control and/or supervision of the certifying reporter.

Handout #1

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House of Representatives
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
HARRISBURG

AGENDA

August 4, 1993

**Public Hearing on Senate Bill 307
Antitrust Legislation
Room 140 Main Capitol Building
10:00 AM**

- John H. Broujos, former Member, PA House of Representatives**
- John Dankowsky, PA Business Roundtable**
- Jay Tolson, Fischer Porter Corporation**
- Sam Marshall, Vice President and Counsel, PA Insurance Federation**
- Rebecca Cummings, PA Chamber of Business and Industry**