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Report and Recommendation by the Special Committee to Review the Government in the Sunshine Act

Special Committee, Administrative Conference of the United States

Randolph May
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REFORMING THE SUNSHINE ACT

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The Administrative Conference of the United States (ACUS or the "Conference"), a small independent government agency charged with recommending ways to improve the fairness and efficiency of federal agency decisionmaking, ceased operations on October 31, 1995, when Congress terminated its funding.¹ Over the years, working with a small in-house staff of dedicated full-time federal employees, supplemented by the voluntary contribution of time and expertise of many persons in the private sector, ACUS produced many recommendations for improvement of the administrative process, which have been implemented on a government-wide basis. Some of the more recent noteworthy examples include Conference recommendations concerning negotiated rulemaking procedures,² alternative dispute resolution techniques, and the role of administrative law judges in the agency decisionmaking process.³

Shortly before the Administrative Conference ceased operations, a Special Committee appointed by the Chair of the Conference issued a report entitled "Reform of the Government in the Sunshine Act."⁴ Although no opportunity existed for the report and recommendations of the Special Committee to be considered by a full plenary session of the Administrative Conference, as was usually the case with regard to reports and recommendations

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prepared by ACUS committees, the Special Committee’s report and recommendations nevertheless are deserving of serious consideration by Congress, the agencies subject to the Sunshine Act, and those interested in improving the functioning of our federal agencies. The report, which is reproduced in full below, recommends that significant changes be implemented in the operation of the Government in the Sunshine Act (“Sunshine Act” or Act)⁵ on a pilot program basis for a period of five to seven years. After that period, the results of the pilot program could be evaluated to determine whether the changes have produced sufficient public interest benefits to warrant adoption on a permanent basis.

The report that follows is sufficiently brief that no purpose would be served by repeating the substance of it in detail. Suffice it to say that there appears to be a fairly widespread consensus that the Sunshine Act is not achieving its principal—and obviously salutary—goal of enhancing public knowledge and understanding of agency decisionmaking. Instead, there is a considerable body of evidence in the academic literature,⁶ confirmed by the testimony of several agency officials who participated in a public hearing held on September 12, 1995,⁷ by the Special Committee, that the Act’s “open meeting” requirement curtails meaningful collective deliberation and substantive exchange of ideas among agency members.⁸ Rather than actual, collective deliberation in public, agency members often use the open meeting merely to announce and explain their positions.

As the Special Committee’s report observes, among the reasons frequently cited for the inhibiting effect of public meetings on meaningful collective deliberation are the following:

[C]oncern that providing initial deliberative views publicly, without sufficient thought and information, may harm the public interest by irresponsibly introducing uncertainty or confusion to industry or the general public; a desire on the part of members to speak with a uniform voice on matters of particular importance or to de-

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7. REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION, supra note 4, at 1.
8. The core provisions of the Act provide that, subject to certain limited exceptions, every “meeting” of a multi-member agency must be open to the public. A “meeting” means the “deliberations of at least the number of individual agency members required to take action on behalf of the agency where such deliberations determine or result in the joint conduct or disposition of official agency business . . . .” 5 U.S.C. § 552b(a)(2).
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8. The core provisions of the Act provide that, subject to certain limited exceptions, every “meeting” of a multi-member agency must be open to the public. A “meeting” means the “deliberations of at least four (not necessarily the number of individual agency members required to take action on behalf of the agency where such deliberations determine or result in the joint conduct or disposition of official agency business . . . . “ 5 U.S.C. § 552b(a)(2).
velop negotiating strategies which might be thwarted if debated publicly, reluctance of an agency member to embarrass another agency member, or to embarrass himself, through inadvertent, argumentative, or exaggerated statements; concern that an agency member’s statements may be used against the agency in subsequent litigation, or misinterpreted or misunderstood by the public or the press, as for example, when the agency member is testing a position by “playing devil’s advocate” or merely “thinking out loud”; and concerns that a member’s statements may affect financial markets. 9

In other words, as a practical matter, it is at least arguable that the Sunshine Act produces an effect contrary to one of Congress’s principal purposes for its enactment: creating multi-member agencies to obtain the benefit of collegial decisionmaking from persons who bring to the decisionmaking process different philosophical perspectives, experiences, and expertise. 10

Unable to deliberate together in private, agency members resort to communicating with each other in writing, through staff, or in one-on-one meetings with other members (assuming the agency has more than three members so that even one-on-one meetings are allowable). 11 Obviously, these indirect means of communication are not conducive to fostering collegiality in the same sense that it is fostered when all agency members are able to engage in a simultaneous collective discussion.

The Special Committee’s principal recommendation is that during a five-to-seven year pilot program period, Congress authorize agencies subject to the Act to allow members to meet in private, without advance notice, provided that the agency requires such meetings to be memorialized by a “detailed summary” of the meeting to be made public no later than five working days after the meeting. 12 Before an agency could participate in the pilot program, it would be required to conduct votes and take other official actions on significant substantive matters (not covered by one of the Act’s exemptions) in open public meetings, rather than employing notation voting procedures 13 and to agree to hold public meetings at regular intervals. During such meetings, it would be in order for members to address issues discussed in private sessions or items disposed of by notation voting. 14

9. REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION, supra note 4, at 2.
12. The summary of the meeting would include the date, time, participants, subject matters discussed, and a review of the nature of the discussion. REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION, supra note 4, at 4.
13. “Notation voting” refers to voting on agency matters in writing outside the context of an open public meeting. Notation voting is usually accomplished by circulating items in question among agency members and is referred to at some agencies as voting “by circulation.” REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION, supra note 4, at 3.
It is very important to emphasize here that the Sunshine Act presently does not restrict notation voting, and there is evidence that passage of the Sunshine Act has increased the prevalence of this mode of agency decision-making.\textsuperscript{15} Clearly, notation voting does not provide the public with any access to the agency’s deliberative process. Whatever the amount of “deliberative” information concerning the agency’s deliberative process that is presently imparted to the public at open meetings at which agency members vote on agency business, it is more than the public receives when agency business is disposed of by notation voting. Thus, tying allowance of private meetings (subject to detailed memorialization promptly released to the public) to an agency commitment to avoid notation voting on significant substantive matters is an important element of the Special Committee’s recommendation that is designed to encourage greater public access to the agency decisionmaking process than the public presently receives.\textsuperscript{16}

Any proposals to modify the Sunshine Act, even if only modestly, are likely to produce lively debate. For example, at the Special Committee’s public hearing, associations representing journalists and newspaper editors opposed any changes to the Act. The press representatives did not necessarily disagree with the view of the majority of witnesses at the public hearing that the Sunshine Act is not working as intended in terms of improving the public’s understanding of the agency decisionmaking process because, in fact, little meaningful unrehearsed collective deliberation actually takes place at the open public meetings.\textsuperscript{17} The press parties assert, however, that the appropriate remedy is for agency members to change their behavior—that is, to be willing to debate matters vigorously and fully in public—rather than changing the Act.\textsuperscript{18}

It is debatable whether it is realistic to expect the behavior of agency officials to change, human nature being what it is. It simply may not be possible to compel agency officials to “deliberate” (that is, to engage in the actual mental processes that lead to the formulation of final positions) in public, at least in a way that contributes positively to truly collegial decisionmaking. Of course, the difficulty in compelling informative public “deliberations” should not be confused with the availability of means for

\textit{Between Meetings and Nonmeetings Under the Federal Sunshine Act, 66 Tex. L. Rev. 1195, 1210 (1988)} (discussing agencies’ use of notation voting to work collectively).

\textsuperscript{15} Wellborn, supra note 6, at 236.

\textsuperscript{16} REPORT AND RECOMMENDATION, supra note 4, at 3.

\textsuperscript{17} See id. at 25 Exh.A (statement of William B. Ketter, American Society of Newspaper Editors) (stating that “these officials use public meetings to simply present carefully scripted statements memorializing decisions that in effect occurred outside the public eye”).

\textsuperscript{18} Id. at 24-26.
holding agency members accountable for their decisions. After all, almost all of the decisions of agency members are embodied in publicly available orders, opinions, rulings, or other forms of determinations that explain the rationale and basis of the members' decisions and that are subject not only to public scrutiny but also judicial review.\(^{19}\)

A fundamental objective in our constitutional democracy is to increase the ability of the public to understand how government decisions are reached and to make available useful information that facilitates this understanding. The intent of the Congress that passed the Sunshine Act was to further this important goal.\(^{20}\) The Special Committee's report and recommendations are premised on a belief that it may be possible, through modification of the Sunshine Act, to achieve the twin goals of actually enhancing public access to agency decisionmaking, while, at the same time, encouraging more truly collegial decisionmaking. Hopefully, the report and recommendations reproduced below at least will spur further debate and consideration in Congress, among the agencies, and among interested members of the public as to whether the recommended Sunshine Act modifications (or variations thereof) should be tried on a pilot program basis.


The Government in the Sunshine Act, enacted in 1976, requires federal agencies headed by a collegial body, a majority of whose members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, to open its meetings. About 50 federal agencies are subject to the Act, including the major independent regulatory commissions such as the Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Federal Communications Commission, and the National Labor Relations Board. (Departments, and many agencies headed by a single individual, are not covered by the Act.) The Act's ten enumerated exemptions generally parallel those in the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), with one important exception. The Sunshine Act has no exemption that parallels the fifth exemption in the FOIA for interagency and intra-agency "pre-decisional" memoranda and letters. The Act also prescribes in detail the procedures that agencies must follow to invoke an exemption and to close a meeting. The Act's primary purposes are to provide the public with information regarding the decisionmaking processes of federal agencies, and to improve those processes, while protecting the rights of individuals and the ability of the government to carry out its responsibilities.

In a letter dated February 17, 1995, signed by over one dozen current and former commissioners of multi-member agencies and several private organizations, the Chair of the Administrations of the United States (ACUS) was asked to review the effectiveness of the Government in the Sunshine Act. The letter's signatories stated strong support for the Act's underlying goal of enhancing public understanding of agency decisionmaking, but expressed concern as to whether the Act is, in fact, meeting this goal as well as it might. They also suggested that the Act has adversely affected the decisionmaking at multi-member agencies because of the Act's "chilling effect" on the willingness and ability of agency members to engage in colle-
gial deliberations.

In a letter to the ACUS Chair, dated May 11, 1995, the members of the Federal Trade Commission, referring to the February 17 letter, endorsed an examination of the effectiveness of the Act. The FTC Commissioners stated:

Notwithstanding the laudable goals of this legislation, having operated under the Act for more than fifteen years, questions may be raised whether it provides for the proper balance between public access and candor in agency deliberations and whether the purposes arguably served by the Act are not adequately addressed by other statutes such as the Administrative Procedure Act.

A copy of the May 11 letter from the FTC is attached to this Report as Exhibit 2.

The Chair established the Special Committee to study issues raised by these letters. The Committee, in a series of open meetings held from May to September, and at a public hearing held on September 12, 1995, heard from numerous agency officials and reviewed articles written for ACUS and others to the effect that public meetings under the Act often lack [a] meaningful substantive exchange of ideas and real collective deliberation on issues being decided. Among the reasons given for the inhibiting effect of public meetings on collective decisionmaking are the following: concern that providing initial deliberative views publicly, without sufficient thought and information, may harm the public interest by irresponsibly introducing uncertainty or confusion to industry or the general public; a desire on the part of members to speak with a uniform voice on matters of particular importance or to develop negotiating strategies which might be thwarted if debated publicly; reluctance of an agency member to embarrass another agency member, or to embarrass himself, through inadvertent, argumentative, or exaggerated statements; concern that an agency member's statements may be used against the agency in subsequent litigation, or misinterpreted or misunderstood by the public or the press, as for example, when the agency member is testing a position by "playing devil's advocate" or merely "thinking out loud"; and concerns that a member's statements may affect financial markets.

In addition, the Committee has received extensive and credible testimony that the restrictions imposed by the Act have had the effect of not only diminishing discussions on the merits of issues before agencies, but also preventing debate concerning agency priorities and the establishment of agency agendas, even though such discussions of a preliminary nature may not

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technically constitute a "meeting" otherwise required to be held in public under the Act. While it may be permissible pursuant to a literal interpretation of "meeting" for a quorum of agency members to conduct preliminary discussions on an issue, as a practical matter it is extremely difficult for an agency member to make the distinction between actions that actually dispose of agency business and those that merely constitute preliminary discussions. Agency members, and agency general counsel who advise them, are understandably—and appropriately—concerned about engaging in discussions with a quorum of agency members that could be perceived, even arguably, as crossing the line, even though the discussions may, in fact, not dispose of official agency business. And, of course, it is difficult, a priori, to know whether a conversation that is anticipated to be preliminary will turn into a conversation that takes on a more definitive cast.

Although there obviously are exceptions, and open meetings held under the current Act are valuable in that they allow an agency to explain publicly the results of its prior decisionmaking, the Committee believes that, generally, true collective decisionmaking does not occur at agency public meetings. Further, the Committee believes the Act also promotes inefficient practices within agencies which themselves contribute to the erosion of collegial decisionmaking and, correspondingly, to a decline in the quality of agency decisions that the public receives. For example, in order to avoid having a meeting of a quorum, the Act has the effect of encouraging agencies to use one-on-one "rotating" meetings in order to reach consensus among the agency's members. This is obviously an inefficient way for a multi-member body to conduct business, just in terms of the additional time spent by agency members in conducting such meetings, compared to a group meeting at which all members could deliberate together. More importantly, serial meetings of this type are no substitute for collective decisionmaking; the outcomes of such meetings may significantly vary from those that might have resulted from a free exchange of views among all the members of a multi-member agency. Another consequence of the Act has been that it encourages the deliberative process to be conducted by and through the staff of the agency members, enhancing the power of the intermediary staff members vis à vis the agency members and, perhaps, reducing the accountability of appointed agency members.

The Committee is also aware of and is concerned about the tendency for

2. A "meeting" means the "deliberations of at least the number of individual agency members required to take action on behalf of the agency where such deliberations determine or result in the joint conduct or disposition of official agency business...." 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(2) (1994).
agencies subject to the Sunshine Act to rely increasingly on notation voting (i.e., voting on an item by circulation based on a memorandum without discussion in a public meeting) when taking action on important substantive matters. The Sunshine Act does not prohibit notation voting, and notation voting was used to some extent prior to enactment of the Sunshine Act to deal with routine or emergency matters. Nevertheless, the routine use of this mode of decisionmaking, at least with regard to important substantive matters, does not further the Act’s goal of openness and improved public access to agency decisionmaking. Thus, to the extent that the Sunshine Act has increased this use of notation voting, it has diminished whatever opportunity for collective decisionmaking would have existed at a meeting attended by the agency members.

In light of the above, the Committee is concerned that the public is neither receiving the enhanced access to the governmental decisionmaking process that the Act envisioned, nor as discussed below, is it receiving the benefit of better agency decisions through collegial decisionmaking. It should be noted that the Committee also heard from representatives of several major press-related organizations who, while not disputing the view that agency members are generally reluctant to have substantive discussions in public meetings, expressed the view that such public officials should change their behavior and admonished them to do so. These representatives tended to believe that the Act itself was not the problem. The Committee was nevertheless persuaded that the Act does need to be adjusted, and it offers the following recommendations for changes in the Act (and in agency behavior) in the belief that these adjustments will increase collegial decisionmaking among the members of multi-member agencies, and at the same time improve, or at least not diminish, the public’s access to the agency’s actual deliberative process.

The Committee notes that concerns with respect to the effectiveness of the Act and its impact on the collegiality of agency decisionmaking have been the subject of debate for some time. Moreover, it must be remembered that the principal reason that Congress has established multi-member agencies in the first place is because Congress has made the judgment that, for the matters subject to the agency’s jurisdiction, there is a benefit from a collegial decisionmaking process that brings to bear on the ultimate decisions the diverse viewpoints of agency members who have differing philosophies, experiences, and expertise. If the Act has had the effect, as a matter of fact, of diminishing, or in some cases negating, the collegial decisionmaking process.

that is the raison d'être for a multi-member agency, without enhancing public understanding of the agency decisionmaking process, it is appropriate to consider alternative models that are consistent with achievement of the objectives of the Act.

Therefore, the Committee recommends that Congress establish a time-limited pilot program that would allow agencies more leeway to have private meetings, subject to appropriate memorialization, if they opt to make commitments to avoid undue use of notation voting and to hold regular open meetings. The Committee recommends five to seven years as the time period—enough time to allow an assessment of the pilot to see whether the approach encompassed in it achieves the twin purposes of increasing the availability of information to the public and increasing collegial decisionmaking in the agencies. If Congress finds that the pilot worked well, it could amend the Act accordingly; if the assessment shows problems or bad faith on the part of agency decisionmakers in carrying it out, it could be terminated at that point.

More specifically, the pilot program should authorize an agency subject to the Government in the Sunshine Act to allow its members to meet in private, without advance notice, provided that the agency requires such meetings to be memorialized by “a detailed summary” of the meeting, made public no later than five working days after the meeting, that would indicate the date, time participants, subject matters discussed, and a review of the nature of the discussion. Before such a pilot program may go into effect, the participating agency also would have to agree (1) to conduct votes and take other official actions on important substantive matters (not covered by the Act’s exemptions) in open public meetings and to refrain, to the extent practicable, from using notation voting procedures for such matters, and (2) to hold open public meetings, to the extent practicable at regular intervals, at which it would be in order for members to address issues discussed in private sessions or items disposed of by notation. This opportunity for discussion is not intended to imply that finality of matters previously voted on by notation would be affected by such discussions except to the extent that the agency acts consistently with its own procedures for reconsideration. The results of such a pilot program should be examined carefully by Congress and other appropriate entities before it is extended or made permanent.

The Committee recommends, in addition to the institution of the pilot program, that the Act be amended to require agencies to develop and publish rules or policy statements outlining their procedure for notation voting and the types of issues for which it will normally be used. The Committee also recommends that agencies hold regularly scheduled meetings at which it would be in order for members to discuss, among other things, items disposed of by notation.
The Committee was also convinced that there is a special problem caused by the Act with regard to agencies operating in an adjudicative capacity. The Act currently contains an exemption that permits closure of meetings involving the "initiation, conduct, or disposition by the agency of a particular case of formal adjudication pursuant to the procedures in section 554 of [the APA] or otherwise involving a determination on the record after opportunity for a hearing." Agencies such as the Federal Trade Commission and the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission (OSHRC) frequently and properly close meetings to discuss the disposition of such cases. The problem occurs when, after such a meeting, the commissioners begin writing the opinions necessary in such cases. Should they wish to discuss the wording of an opinion, as would an appellate court, the members have to notice, and vote to close, another "meeting" under the Act. Obviously, this inefficiency is heightened in the case of a three-member commission such as the OSHRC where no two members can ever discuss agency business in private because they would constitute a quorum. Therefore the Committee recommends that the Act be amended to make clear that, when an agency properly closes a meeting under exemption 10, any subsequent meeting to discuss the same specific adjudicatory matter need not be subject to the notice and closure procedures under the Act. The Committee recognizes that this proposal should perhaps be extended to follow-up discussions to meetings closed under other exemptions as well, but it did not have enough time to study that question.

The Committee also heard testimony about special problems caused by the above quoted wording of exemption 10 at the United States International Trade Commission (ITC). The ITC has several types of adjudicative proceedings, some of which are governed by section 554 of the APA, and therefore clearly fall within the terms of exemption 10, and others of which would appear to fit the definition by "otherwise involving a determination on the record after an opportunity for a hearing." The ITC, perhaps due to an abundance of caution, has declined to invoke this exemption for any of its adjudications. The Administrative Conference has already urged the ITC to revisit this issue and seek a statutory clarification if necessary.\(^5\)

\(^5\) In Recommendation 91-10, *Administrative Procedures Used in Antidumping and Countervailing Duty Cases*, Part D, ACUS made the following recommendation to the ITC:

\> To encourage collegial decision making, the ITC should exchange drafts, views and other information before entering into formal deliberations. The Commission should decide whether informal meetings to discuss the disposition of AD/CVD cases constitute meetings exempt from the Sunshine Act under exemption 10. If the Commission determines that such meetings are subject to the Sunshine Act, then Congress should consider amending the Tariff Act to provide that the Sunshine Act
Finally, the Committee believes that agencies could and should consider steps to make the open meetings more useful and to increase the flow of information to the public. The Committee reiterates the suggestions made by ACUS in 1984 and adds a few more.

In addition to the recommendations set forth below, the Committee considered several other ideas. The Committee rejected some of them, such as repealing the Act (which was not supported by any of the participants in the Committee meetings or public hearing), amending it to permit each agency to develop its own openness regulations, or amending it to cover only meetings of the full board or commission. Other proposals, beyond those recommended below, and including some of those contained in the August 8 Federal Register notice, may be worthy of further consideration, in lieu of or even in conjunction with, the recommendations contained herein.

RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Congress should establish a pilot program, to last for five to seven years, that would authorize an agency subject to the Government in the Sunshine Act to allow its members to meet in private, without notice, provided that (a) the agency requires such meetings to be memorialized by "a detailed summary" of the meeting, made public no later than five working days after the meeting, that would indicate the date, time, participants, subject matters discussed, and a review of the nature of the discussion; and (b) that before such pilot program may go into effect, the participating agency also (i) agrees to conduct votes and take other official actions on important substantive matters (not covered by the Act's exemptions) in open public meetings and to refrain, to the extent practicable, from using notation voting procedures for such matters; and (ii) agrees to hold open public meetings, to the extent practicable at regular intervals, at which it would be in order for

6. The Committee subscribes to the earlier ACUS recommendation made to the agencies in this regard in Recommendation 84-3 (1):

Agencies should continually strive to reflect fully in their activities the basic purpose of the Government in the Sunshine Act, which is to enlarge public access to information about the operations of government. Agencies are strongly encouraged to review periodically their sunshine policies and practices in light of experience and the spirit of the law for the purpose of making adjustments that would enlarge public access to meaningful information, such as (a) invoking the exemptions of the Act only where there is substantial reason to do so; and (b) making open meetings more useful through comprehensive discussion of agenda items and provision of background material and documentation pertaining to the issues under consideration.

7. See, e.g., the various proposals outlined in the Federal Register notice, supra note 1.
members to address issues discussed in private sessions or items disposed of by notation. This opportunity for discussion is not intended to imply that finality of matters previously voted on by notation would be affected by such discussions except to the extent that the agency acts consistently with its own procedures for reconsideration. The results of such a pilot program should be examined carefully by Congress and other appropriate entities before it is extended or made permanent.

(2) Congress should also amend the Sunshine Act in several particulars:

(a) to require agencies subject to the Act to develop and publish rules or policy statements outlining their procedure for notation voting and the types of issues for which it will normally be used.

(b) to make clear that when an agency properly closes a meeting under exemption 10, any subsequent meeting to discuss the same matter need not be subject to the notice and closure procedures under the Act.

(3) Agencies subject to the Sunshine Act should develop regulations (or policies) that maximize the amount of information made available to the public before, during and after agency meetings. For example, agencies should strive to publish meeting notices further in advance of the date for meetings where feasible; to provide more complete summaries of upcoming agenda items; to make available relevant non-privileged documents before or during meetings; offer closed circuit television coverage of meetings where there is enough interest; and to release minutes, summaries, and decisional opinions as soon as feasible after meetings.

(4) The United States International Trade Commission should follow ACUS Recommendation 91-10 and revisit the issue of whether its adjudications are covered by exemption 10 of the Act.

8. See supra note 5.