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12 13	·	DISTRICT COURT			
14		ISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA			
15		D DIVISION			
16	CENTER FOR FOOD SAFETY, et al.,	Case No. 4:20-cv-00256-JSW			
17 18	Plaintiffs,	MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE			
19	V.	BRIEF AMICI CURIAE AND BRIEF OF AMICI CURIAE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE MARK POCAN			
20	SONNY PERDUE, in his official capacity as the Secretary of the U.S.	U.S. SENATOR CORY A. BOOKER, AND FOUR OTHER MEMBERS OF			
21	Department of Agriculture, <i>et al.</i> ,	THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN SUPPORT			
22	Defendants.	OF PLAINTIFF'S MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT			
23		Judge: Honorable Jeffrey S. White			
24		No hearing has yet been scheduled			
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28	Brief of Amici Curiae Case No. 4:20-cv-00256-JSW				
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MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE BRIEF AMICI CURIAE

Amici Curiae U.S. Representative Mark Pocan, U.S. Senator Cory A. Booker, and four other members of the U.S. House of Representatives respectfully request this Court to grant leave to file an amicus curiae brief in the above captioned case.

Due to the congressional power to delegate authority to administrative agencies, including the United States Department of Agriculture, *amici* have both a special interest in and the unique ability to speak to the issues in this case. Both parties in this case planned for the likely submission of *amicus* briefs. Plaintiffs' counsel have consented to the admission of this brief and Defendants' counsel have chosen to take no position.

As detailed in the following brief, the Court should grant the Plaintiffs' motion and vacate Defendants' New Swine Inspection System rules.

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Interest of Amicus Curiae

Amici are a United States Senator and five Members of the United States House of Representatives concerned with the rules promulgated by the United States Department of Agriculture ("USDA") in its New Swine Slaughter Inspection System ("NSIS"). The full list of amici is included in Appendix A. When Congress delegates authority to an agency, it retains an interest in ensuring the agency does not exceed that authority, so as to protect the separation of powers.

In this case, USDA promulgated rules related to meat inspection that run contrary to the congressional intent and purpose of enacting the Federal Meat Inspection Act ("FMIA"). The FMIA instructs USDA to protect public welfare through monitoring meat safety. *Amici*, as both members of the legislative branch and representatives of the people in their states and districts, have an interest in ensuring that agencies do not promulgate rules that disregard legislation aimed at protecting public welfare and that jeopardize their constituency.

Summary of Argument

USDA's NSIS rules are inconsistent with the congressional intent and purpose of passing FMIA and are therefore invalid as *ultra vires*. Congress passed the FMIA to protect consumers from contaminated food products by ensuring independent federal inspection of those goods. *E.g.*, 21 U.S.C. § 602, 603. The NSIS rules issued by USDA's Food Safety and Inspection Service ("FSIS") contradict that purpose. The NSIS increases risks for consumers by delegating core components of ante-mortem inspection to the slaughter plants' own employees, without even requiring proper training for those individuals, and lessening the opportunity to perform post-mortem inspections by increasing line speeds. 9 C.F.R. §§ 309.19(a)-(b), 310.26(b)-(c) (2019); Modernization of Swine Slaughter Inspection, 84 Fed. Reg. 52,300 (Oct. 1, 2019) (promulgating the NSIS rules). FSIS's disregard for consumer

Because the NSIS is inconsistent with the intent and purpose of the FMIA,

welfare, and in particular the ways in which its rules undermine the inspection

its rules are unlawful. "[F]or agencies charged with administering congressional

prescribed by Congress, so that when they act improperly, no less than when they

act beyond their jurisdiction, what they do is ultra vires." City of Arlington v. FCC,

569 U.S. 290, 297 (2013). Indeed, "the question — whether framed as an incorrect

always whether the agency has gone beyond what Congress has permitted it to do,"

statute" is unlawful. NLRB v. Brown, 380 U.S. 278, 291 (1965); see also, Schneider

v. Chertoff, 450 F.3d 944, 952 (9th Cir. 2006). The NSIS rules are invalid as ultra

oversight and by hampering crucial food safety protections, contrary to the FMIA's

vires because they decrease consumer protection, both by diminishing federal

application of agency authority or an assertion of authority not conferred — is

id., which is the case here. Administrative policymaking "inconsistent with a

statutory mandate or that frustrate[s] the congressional policy underlying a

statutes[, b]oth their power to act and how they are to act is authoritatively

process, abandons the primary purpose of the FMIA.

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Argument

legislative purpose.

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1. Congress passed the FMIA to protect consumers from unsafe meat, ensured through federal oversight.

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The legislative intent behind the FMIA is consumer protection secured through government supervision. All rulemaking under the auspices of the Act

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Congress passed the FMIA to "protect the health and welfare of consumers."

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must reify that intent, not undermine it.

21 U.S.C. § 602. The drafters repeatedly emphasized that purpose, referring four

times to protecting consumers in the Statement of Findings alone. Id. The

Statement continued that not only was Congress enacting the FMIA because of the central role meat had in "the Nation's total supply of food," but also because Congress believed if it "protected ... the health and welfare of consumers," it would simultaneously aid "livestock producers and processors," food "markets," and the "public welfare." *Id.* Congress stated that ensuring meat is "not adulterated, and properly marked, labeled and packaged," would create consumer confidence and "eliminate burdens upon" the meat industry generally. *Id.* Consumer protection was both an end goal of the FMIA, and the means by which it would accomplish its other goals of benefitting farmers, meat producers, and the general public good.

Unsurprisingly, central to this scheme was a comprehensive system to review and certify animals and meat products meant for consumption. The FMIA directs "inspection of all amenable species before they shall be allowed to enter into any" slaughterhouse, id. § 603(a), as well as "post mortem examination and inspection of carcasses and parts thereof," id. § 604; see also § 605, § 615. Indeed, the Act directs that "inspectors shall have access at all times, by day or night" to ensure this review." Id. § 606(a); see also § 609. Following the inspector's review of the animals, inspectors also oversee meat labeling to further promote consumer confidence in the items they are purchasing. Id. § 606(a), 607, § 611(a); see also § 617 (requiring "any vessel" carrying meat for export to obtain "a certificate that the [] amenable species were sound and healthy at the time of inspection, and that their meat is sound and wholesome").

Core to the review and approval process that Congress designed was that the inspectors would be independent federal officers whose allegiance would be to enforcing the FMIA, not to the plant's bottom line. The FMIA emphasizes that its inspection regime is to be carried out by inspectors "appointed" by the Secretary of Agriculture "for that purpose." 21 U.S.C. § 603(a) (regarding pre-slaughter inspection); see also § 604 (same regarding post-mortem inspection); § 621 (similar).

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Likewise, Congress explained the labeling process is to be carried out by "said inspectors," which it defined to be those "appointed" by the Secretary "for that purpose." Id. § 606(a); see also id. § 617 (explaining certificate for sale in foreign country must be provided by "an inspector appointed under the provisions of this chapter"). Underscoring the intent (and need) that the inspectors be independent, Congress emphasized that the inspectors must be able to "refuse to provide inspection" or "cause inspection to be temporarily suspended" and thereby stop the slaughter process. Id. § 603(b) (regarding violations of humane methods of slaughter); § 606(a) ("the Secretary may remove inspectors from any establishment which fails to so destroy [] condemned meat food products," preventing the products from being labeled as compliant). Moreover, Congress created criminal penalties if the corporations that inspectors supervise seek "to influence" inspectors' decision making, and equivalent penalties for inspectors who accept such bribes, as they would be violating their duties as an "officer or employee of the United States." Id. § 622.

The history underlying the FMIA confirms that Congress set out to protect consumer welfare through the independent federal oversight of the meat supply. In the lead up to passage of the FMIA, President Theodore Roosevelt transmitted a letter to the Agriculture Committee along with an investigative report that, in the President's words, "shows the urgent need of immediate action by the Congress" to pass this consumer protection legislation. Hearings Before the Committee on Agriculture, Conditions in Chicago Stock Yards, Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting the Report of Mr. James Bronson Reynolds and Commissioner Charles P. Neill, Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Conditions in the Stock Yards of Chicago, 59th Cong., 1st Session, Doc. 873, 261-63 (1906) [hereinafter Conditions]. In particular, he emphasized the need for Congress to develop a system of "thoroughgoing inspection by the Federal Government of all

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stock yards and packing houses and of their products," because at that time the national government had "no power to enforce inspection" of meat products. *Id*. (emphasis added). As the President explained, "It is imperatively necessary in the interest of health and decency" that Congress pass a law "which will enable the inspectors of the General Government to inspect and supervise from the hoof to the can the preparation of the meat food product." *Id*. at 261-62.

Indicating that the Department would inspect the meat to ensure safe food, the President advised Congress to pass a law that "will enable the Department of Agriculture adequately to inspect the meat and meat food products entering into interstate commerce." *Id.* He explained that the federal government needed to "supervise the methods of preparing the same, and to prescribe the sanitary conditions under which the work shall be performed." *Id.* Without such intervention, "a recrudescence of the abuses [that is, health and safety violations] is absolutely certain." *Id.*

The report accompanying the President's letter likewise emphasized the necessity of adding "government inspection" to slaughterhouses, explaining that only that sort of oversight could provide "assurance []that these meat-food products are wholesome and fit for food." *Id.* at 267-68. The report also raised concerns that inadequate government oversight would result in inaccurate labeling that would deceive consumers. *Id.* "[T]he burden of protecting the cleanliness and wholesomeness of the products and the health of the workers and of improving the conditions under which the work is performed, must fall upon the National Government," the report authors urged. *Id.* at 265. Accordingly, they recommended the development of "Special Government inspection" to implement new rules on "cleanliness and wholesomeness," and that any government label of approval only be permitted where a product has "been subject to Government inspection at any and every stage of the process of preparation." *Id.* at 270-271.

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Further still, the letter and report came immediately on the heels of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. David Greenberg, *How Teddy Roosevelt Invented Spin*, The Atlantic, Jan. 24, 2016. Sinclair "document[ed] the indifference of management" to the conditions of meatpacking workers and the animals alike, which he attributed to "the lack of government oversight." *Id*.

The congressional record confirms that the drafters of the FMIA, spurred by Sinclair's exposure of horrid practices in slaughterhouses, meant to institute independent federal oversight of the meat supply. See, e.g., Conditions at 161, 194, 346-47 (showing times where the Committee on Agriculture mentioned its motivation from The Jungle). During the Committee hearings and debates, there was "no objection whatever" to the proposal that "Special Government inspection [] be carried on continuously to prevent violations of the law and general abuses in the trade." Conditions at 30. Even the representative for Chicago packers testified, "We have always felt that Government inspection, under proper regulations, was an advantage to the livestock and agricultural interests and to the consumer," Id. at 55, and that,

[H]ere is a measure for all the people. It is a health measure; it benefits the producers fully as much as ourselves, if not more. It benefits the consumer, and the expense should be apportioned over them; and I know no better way for that to be accomplished than through the Government.

Id. at 89. Congress agreed, with one member of the Committee on Agriculture noting, "Now, I believe that every man in the hearing of my voice ... will admit that there is only one kind of inspection that will fully answer the requirements, and that is Government inspection." *Id.* at 200.

In short, the drafters of the FMIA intended to protect consumers from tainted meat products through government supervision. "The rulemaking power granted to an administrative agency charged with the administration of a federal statute ... is the power to adopt regulations to carry into effect the will of Congress as expressed

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by the statute." *Ernst & Ernst v. Hochfelder*, 425 U.S. 185, 213 (1976) (internal quotation marks omitted). Therefore, USDA rulemaking under the FMIA must have consumer protection through independent oversight at its core.

2. The NSIS turns over inspection to pork companies.

The NSIS privatizes much of the pork inspection regime and significantly impedes what inspection does occur. It transfers federal inspection authority over live animals presented for slaughter to company employees with insufficient training, and limits federal inspectors' time to review meat products, both of which place consumers at risk. In other words, the rules are not only inconsistent with the ways Congress directed the FMIA be implemented, but also with the statute's overarching goal of ensuring consumer confidence in a safe meat supply.

The NSIS transfers live animal inspection to slaughterhouse-employed "sorters." 9 C.F.R. §§ 309.19(a) ("The establishment must conduct market hog sorting activities before the animals are presented for ante-mortem inspection."); Guideline for Training Establishment Sorters under the New Swine Slaughter Inspection System, Food Safety and Inspection Serv., U.S. Dep't of Agric., 7-8 (Sept. 2019) (discussing ante-mortem plant-sorter duties), A-0426-0516. Where the FMIA requires federal inspectors to conduct an ante-mortem "examination and inspection of all" swine "before they shall be allowed to enter" any U.S. abattoir, 21 U.S.C. § 603(a), under the NSIS plant employee-sorters bear the duty of segregating live animals deemed to be healthy from those found to be sick. 84 Fed. Reg. 52,312. "FSIS inspectors [only] observe establishment employees performing [these] animal segregation procedures at least once per month." Id. Nonetheless — in direct contravention of the government's insistence federal inspectors continue to examine "each animal" in the same "careful" manner as before, Dkt. No. 68, at 9 — under the NSIS, federal inspectors rely on the plant sorting process to determine how they

proceed, only themselves "observ[ing] five to ten percent of those animals" sorted as healthy for slaughter "in motion." Modernization of Swine Slaughter Inspection, 83 Fed. Reg. 4780, 4792 (proposed Feb. 1, 2018) (describing the pilot program on which the NSIS is based). The government claims this is not problematic because FSIS inspectors still view all of the animals "at rest." Dkt. No. 68, at 15, but it freely admits the objective of the sorting is to allow "fewer inspectors to do the same work," Dkt. No. 68, at 9. In other words, it is reducing federal involvement by relying on slaughterhouse employees' judgment to decrease federal inspectors' effort, a judgment that federal employees barely supervise. That is, it is not merely increasing federal "efficien[cy]," as the government pretends, id. at 8, but privatizing the inspection regime.

In fact, the rules rely on plants to develop the training for their sorters, further diminishing federal oversight and consumer safety under the NSIS. Guideline for Training Establishment Sorters under the New Swine Slaughter Inspection System 6; see also Modernization of Swine Slaughter Inspection, 84 Fed. Reg. 52,313 (Oct. 1, 2019) ("FSIS is not prescribing specific sorter training or certification."). The plants are merely provided optional training guidelines, and an English-only pamphlet of information. See Guideline for Training Establishment Sorters, supra. A study found that the plants devoted as few as two labor hours to training new staff and one hour provided for an annual "refresher" training. Catherine L. Viator, Costs of Food Safety Investments, RIT Int'l, 4-9 (May 2015). By comparison, federal inspectors receive extensive training. Audit Report 24601-0001-41, Food Safety and Inspection Service – Inspection and Enforcement Activities At

¹ Meanwhile, about 38 percent of animal slaughtering and processing workers are foreign-born, and often do not speak English as a first language. Angela Stuesse and Nathan T. Dollar, *Who are America's meat and poultry workers?*, Econ. Pol'y Inst. (2020).

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Swine Slaughter Plants, Off. Inspector Gen., 13 (May 2013), A-0103 [hereinafter "Audit Report"].

Finally, the NSIS both lifts the plants' line-speed limits and cuts online (meaning on the meat inspection line) federal inspection staffing by more than half. Under the new rules, the plants are "allowed to have faster production line speeds with fewer FSIS inspectors," Id. at 19. The plants in the pilot project that led to NSIS had an "average line speed [of] approximately 12.49 percent faster than comparable establishments," 84 Fed. Reg. 52,335, which "results in a 2.26-fold reduction in average inspector time dedicated to performing a critical appraisal" of meat products. Food & Water Watch, Comment Letter on Proposed Rule, Modernization of Swine Slaughter Inspection, 3 (May 2, 2018). Put simply, the increased line speeds mean that more meat passes over a slaughter line in less time, reducing the amount of time federal inspectors have to address food safety concerns. Reducing federal staffing further increases the amount of material an inspector must evaluate, leading to an expected doubling of the prior pace: "instead of inspecting an average of 163 heads per hour per inspector, ... each inspector would be tasked with inspecting an average of 366 slaughtered animals per hour." Food & Water Watch Comment, supra; see also, Modernization of Swine Slaughter Inspection, 84 Fed. Reg. 52,300 (Oct. 1, 2019) (listing key elements of the NSIS, including the revocation of maximum line speeds and the reduction of FSIS staff to online inspection).

The NSIS rules mean that company-employed, minimally trained, plant sorters are now charged with protecting consumer health. The independent federal inspectors that the FMIA drafters envisioned would play that role are relegated to reviewing only a portion of the animals and glancing at the carcasses speeding by as they head towards consumers' plates.

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3. Defendants' rules jeopardize consumer safety, and therefore are ultra vires and contrary to Congress's intent.

Academic and government research confirms that the changes made by the NSIS rules place consumers at meaningful risk. Specifically, statistical evidence shows that lack of training and faster line speeds increase error rates and the volume of contaminated meat in the food supply, and reports from inspectors and stakeholders show that the privatization of inspection duties undermines Congress's desired check on meat suppliers. To abide by congressional intent, the NSIS would need to protect consumers of meat products through government oversight; the new rules are proven to do just the opposite.

The government's own reports show that the absence of training for employee-sorters places consumers at risk. In their reports on the NSIS pilot project, the USDA Office of the Inspector General ("OIG") and the Government Accountability Office ("GAO") both noted several errors and areas of concern due to lack of training of employee-sorters. OIG reported that of the five pilot project plants, three had "some of the highest" rates of error nationwide. Audit Report, supra, at 19. As a result, the Office recommended increased training for the already extensively trained federal inspectors, warning "vague guidance as well as insufficient on-the-job training and supervision" increased the error rates and "reduced assurance that inspectors will effectively identify pork that should not enter the food supply," which must be all the truer for the poorly trained sorters. *Id.* at 12. The GAO echoed these fears, stating that the lack of training for employeesorters "raise[s] concerns about food safety and worker safety." More Disclosure and Data Needed to Clarify Impact of Changes to Poultry and Hog Inspections, Gov't. Accountability Off., unnumbered introductory page, 19, 22 (Aug. 2013), A-0135, A-0156, A-0159. Even the European Union raised concerns that because "[t]here is no specific requirement for training in animal health or husbandry prescribed in the Proposed Rule," they do not consider "establishment personnel" to be acceptably Brief of Amici Curiae Case No. 4:20-cv-00256-JSW

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qualified. Dirk Lange, European Union, Comment Letter on Proposed Rule, Modernization of Swine Slaughter Inspection (May 2, 2018), A-0335-36.

Likewise, studies show that lifting line speed limits leads to more violations of food safety regulations. The increases in speed "create[] a pressurized environment in which workers are more likely to make a critical mistake and miss 'carcass contamination." Zoe Novic, *Too Fast, Too Furious: Slaughterhouse Line Speeds in The Era of Covid-19*, Pub. Health Theses, Yale Sch. of Pub. Health (Jan. 2021), https://elischolar.library.yale.edu/ysphtdl/2083/. In fact, the rate of noncompliance records ("NRs") – that is, citations for violations – for fecal matter, digestive contents, and milk contamination was twice as high in the pilot project ("HIMP") as traditional plants:

Plant Type	Tasks Performed	Total NRs	NR Rate
HIMP	8314	267	0.032114506
Non-HIMP	32499	586	0.018031324
Others	12259	247	0.020148462

USDA data on fiscal years 2008 to 2011 (2018), released under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to Food & Water Watch, A-0882. Indeed, the swine plant with the most citations was a pilot project plant with increased speeds, Audit Report, *supra*, and *all* violations allowing carcasses that can cause food poisoning to enter the food supply occurred in the pilot project plants with the increased line speeds. Food & Water Watch Comment, *supra*, 12-13, A-0245-46. This is particularly troubling given that the lack of formal training for sorters makes it more "difficult for inspectors to be able to do this job." Name Redacted, Aff., 3 (Oct. 2014), A-0267.

Finally, numerous people have reported that through transferring responsibilities to employee-sorters, the NSIS increases the risk that plants will be able to manipulate food safety rules. A USDA inspector testified in the rulemaking

process that "company management is more production-oriented so they do not 1 2focus much on food safety and removing adulterated product. Actually, [company] 3 employees are discouraged from removing adulterated products from the line." Name 4 Redacted, Aff., supra (emphasis added). Moreover, research and advocacy organizations emphasized reports showing workers have voiced fears of retaliation 5 6 to researchers. One organization explained, "in the likely event a worker does not 7 raise a concern because of the legitimate fear of retaliation," then federal inspectors 8 would be the last line of defense. Ctr. for Progressive Reform, Comment Letter on Proposed Rule, Modernization of Swine Slaughter Inspection (Apr. 30, 2018) (citing 9 10 a study from Nebraska Appleseed of 455 slaughterhouse workers), A-0343. Although focusing on post-mortem inspection, worker advocates explained that 11 12 FSIS inspectors do not face the same threat of retaliation as plant personnel because they are "employed independently, but the "establishment sorters ... are 13 14 directly dependent for their employment on the slaughter establishment" and thus 15 cannot exercise their judgment freely. Ctr. for Science in the Pub. Interest, 16 Comment Letter on Proposed Rule, Modernization of Swine Slaughter Inspection 17 (May 2, 2018), A-0445. For the sorters, "the only line of defense would be the federal inspectors," but the NSIS decreases their presence in the plant. Id. This "place[s] a 18 19 much heavier burden on the remaining inspectors to ensure tainted food products 20 do not enter into commerce." Ctr. for Progressive Reform Comment, supra. 21 The evidence establishes the NSIS directly undermines consumer safety,

The evidence establishes the NSIS directly undermines consumer safety, contrary to the clear-cut legislative directive. Shifting the meat inspection process from one overseen by trained, independent, federal employees to under- or untrained company sorters without any safety net, directly undermines the goals of the FMIA.

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Conclusion 1 2 Because Defendant's NSIS rules are *ultra vires* and contradict Congress's 3 intent in passing the FMIA, the Court should grant Plaintiffs' Motion for Summary 4 Judgment and vacate Defendants' New Swine Inspection System rules. 5 6 Respectfully submitted on March 10, 2022. 7 /s/ Karla Gilbride KARLA GILBRIDE (Cal. Bar No. 264118) Public Justice, P.C. 1620 L Street NW, Suite 630 Washington, DC 20036 (p) 202-797-8600 / (f) 202-232-7203 10 kgilbride@publicjustice.net 11 ANITA YANDLE* Public Justice, P.C. 1620 L Street NW, Suite 630 12 Washington, DC 20036 13 (p) 202-797-8600 / (f) 202-232-7203 ayandle@publicjustice.net 14 DAVID MURASKIN* 15 Public Justice, P.C. 1620 L Street NW, Suite 630 16 Washington, DC 20036 (p) 202-797-8600 / (f) 202-232-7203 17 dmuraskin@publicjustice.net 18 * Not admitted in this jurisdiction 19 20 21 22 23 24 2526 27 28 Brief of Amici Curiae

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF AMICI CURIAE Amicus U.S. Representative Mark Pocan represents the Second Congressional District of Wisconsin in the United States House of Representatives. Amicus U.S. Senator Cory A. Booker represents the State of New Jersey in the United States Senate. Amicus U.S. Representative Dina Titus represents the First Congressional District of Nevada in the United States House of Representatives. Amicus U.S. Representative Ro Khanna represents the Seventeenth Congressional District of California in the United States House of Representatives. Amicus U.S. Representative Earl Blumenauer represents the Third Congressional District of Oregon in the United States House of Representatives. Amicus U.S. Representative Jesús G. "Chuy" García represents the Fourth Congressional District of Illinois in the United States House of Representatives.

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