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Liberalizations in the Past – Lessons for the Future?

Dr. Martin Bartlik, LL.M. (McGill), New Delhi, April 24, 2008



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Introduction

"In the exercise of its sovereignty every nation has the right as well as the duty to itself to develop its air power, as represented in part by its air transport, to the extent needed by its domestic and foreign commerce and other legitimate objectives. World organizations may well require sufficient international control so that air transport does not become an instrument of unfair nationalistic economic competition or political aggression and thus the source of serious international misunderstanding and dangerous ill feelings."

John Cobb Cooper, 1947





Liberalizations in the Past





Background (1938 - 1970s)

Civil Aeronautics Act (1938)

- air transport considered as natural monopoly
- competition would result in wasteful duplication of services
- strict regulatory regime
- objectives
 - prevention of destructive competition
 - protection of infant air transportation industry





Liberalization (1978)

Report by Subcommittee of Congress on past development of air transport industry:

- positive aspects
 - industry growth promoted
 - technological improvements achieved
 - reasonable industry profits allowed
- negative aspects
 - market prices for air travels remained high
- <u>conclusion</u>: air transport sector not receptive to destructive competition
- <u>new objective</u>: competition and greater availability of air transport services for general public





Liberalization (1978)

Airline Liberalization Act (1978)

- <u>objective</u>: fostering competition
- tool: free market entrance on domestic markets
- regulation limited to ensure
 - compliance with antitrust laws
 - consumer protection
 - avoidance of predatory pricing





Further developments

- strong consolidation with emergence of global players
- competition was enhanced
- worldwide dominance of US airlines (also due to "open-skies" policy initiated in 1978?)

Conclusion

- liberalization was a success
- <u>remark</u>: no state-carrier ever existed in the US





Background (1936 - 1970s)

- geography favouring air transport industry (like U.S.)
- domestic markets:
 - 1936: Foundation of <u>private-carrier</u> Australia National Airways (ANA)
 - 1946: Foundation of <u>state-carrier</u> Trans Australian Airlines (TAA; later renamed Australian Airlines)
 - initially subsidization of TAA to drive ANA out of market
- international markets: monopoly of Qantas





Background (1936 - 1970s)

- *Two-Airline-Policy* on domestic markets
 - no more subsidies
 - equal treatment of both domestic airlines
- strict separation between domestic and international services
- control of market entry by prohibition of import of aircrafts
- 1957: Ansett Transportation Industries takes over ANA (renamed to Ansett-ANA)



Liberalization (1975 - 2002)

- evaluation by government:
 - competition had not been fostered
 - airlines offered same services at same prices
- deregulation
 - free access to domestic markets granted (even to foreign airlines)
 - separation between international and domestic markets maintained





Further developments

- 1992: merger between Qantas and Australian Airlines
 - Qantas approved to domestic markets
 - Australian Airlines approved to international markets
- 2002: Ansett-ANA bankrupt

Conclusion

- liberalization resulted in a monopoly, something the government always wanted to avoid
- competition existed until the merger of Qantas and AA





Background

- 2 state-carriers:
 - British Overseas Airways Cooperation (BOAC) engaged in long-haul flights
 - British European Airways (BEA) operated in Europe
- main private carriers:
 - Caledonian
 - British United Airways





Liberalization (1969 - 1987)

- Edward-Report (1969): air transport to be treated like any other industry, i.e. exposure to competition recommended
- Multiple-Airline-Policy
 - strengthening of competition **among** british air carriers; and
 - strengthening of british air carriers in relation to foreign airlines
- 1970: merger between private carriers Caledonian and British United Airways establishing British Caledonian (BC)
- only few air traffic rights transferred from BOAC to BC
- 1972: merger between BOAC and BEA to British Airways (BA)





Liberalization (1969 - 1987)

- BA and BC incurred heavy losses due to oil crisis in the 1970s
- government split up markets, allowed no direct competition between both airlines
- 1981: decision to privatize BA
- Civil Aviation Agency and government pursued different goals
 - CAA: tried to enhance competition among british air carriers
 - government: promoted BA due to coming privatization of BA
- no additional transfer of air traffic rights from BA to other airlines
- 1987: BA's ipo generating GBP 900 million





Further developments

- BA remained dominant carrier in UK, finally taking-over BC in 1987; today one of leading air carriers worldwide
- BA expanded significantly to position for Single European Market

Conclusion

- today BA faces domestic competition from Virigin Atlantic Airways, British Midland Airways and Ryanair
- despite "destructive approach" by government a competitive surrounding emerged thanks to private entrepreneurship





Background

- dominant state-carrier Lufthansa (LH)
- exposed to little political influence
- 1982: first attempt to privatize failed due to
 - national defence considerations
 - foreign policy (LH used as an "ambassador" to strengthen bonds with other countries)
 - trade interests: support of Airbus





Liberalization (1990 - 1997)

- <u>liberalization</u> and regulatory changes in air transport sector initiated by EU not by German government
- 1990: German government fostered "<u>privatization</u>" for financial reasons
 - Germany's reunification
 - emergence of European Monetary Union



Liberalization (1990 - 1997)

- LH in serious crisis
 - heavy investments by LH in new fleet to prepare for Single European Market (EUR 4 billion)
 - fierce competition from US airlines, BA and KLM
 - Gulf War I
 - LH short of bankruptcy in 1992 (debt: EUR 3.2 billion)
 - LH asked for privatization to be freed from administrative burdens
- no support or protection of LH by government
- 1997: LH's privatization





Further development

- LH remained dominant carrier in Germany and additionally became one of leading airlines in the world
- presently faces competition from Air Berlin (and Ryanair)

Conclusion

- liberalization was not pursued by government, but happened as a "side effect" to privatization
- highly destructive approach by government
- management saved the airline and ensured a smooth transition from a state-carrier to a private entity









Waves of liberalizations

- 1st wave in the 1970s (USA, UK, Canada, Australia)
 - approach: control of liberalization process and protection of state-carriers in transition by the <u>state</u>
 - challenges: oil crisis
- 2nd wave in the 1990s (EU)
 - approach:
 - regional deregulation in several steps
 - establishment of alliances by air carriers
 - challenges: Gulf War I and competition from formerly privatized airlines



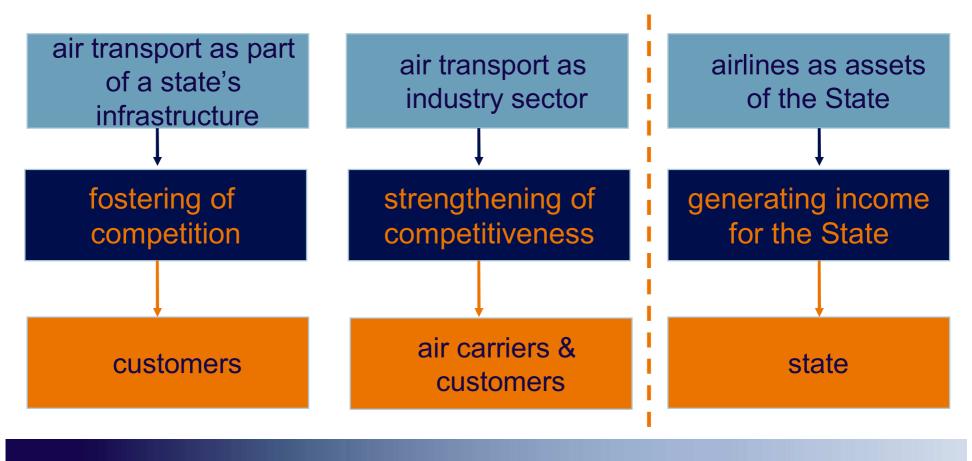


Waves of liberalizations

- presently: 3rd wave (Middle East and South-East Asia)?
 - o approach
 - sixth freedom traffic (Middle East)
 - no frills carriers (South-East Asia)
 - o challenges: terrorism and even more competition from even more formerly privatized airlines



The nature of the air transport industry determines the objective and beneficiaries of liberalization!





Structure of liberalization

- transition from a state-carrier to a private entity needs time
 - change of mentality
 - positioning of competitors
 - process of trial and error for management
- don't try to outsmart the management (example: BA und LH)
- the market situation determines the speed of liberalization and the level of required protection (infancy teenage grown up)

Don't let yourself rush into liberalization. Today's proponents of liberalization once used to be protectionists!





Tools of liberalization

- air traffic rights
- limitation of route permits (*Theory of Contestable Markets*)
- market entrance to foreign air carriers
- (division of markets)
- regional approach

If liberalization shall result in an improvement of competition or strengthening of competitiveness it requires the existence of competitors!





Thank you for your attention!





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Publications

The "Open-Skies" Decision of the European Court of Justice: The Advent of a New Era? (Annals of Air and Space Law 2003)

The Impact of EU Law on the Regulation of International Air Transportation (Ashgate 2007)

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