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NATIONAL BROADBAND PLAN WORKSHOP
ECONOMIC ISSUES IN BROADBAND COMPETITION

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1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 MR. BAKER: Good morning. Welcome to
3 another Federal Communications Commission staff
4 workshop for the development of a national
5 broadband plan. I'm Jonathan Baker, the FCC's
6 Chief Economist. On my left is my co- moderator
7 Scott Wallsten. Scott is the Economics Director
8 of the Adoption Group in the FCC's Omnibus
9 Broadband Initiative.

10 Today's workshop focuses on economic
11 issues in broadband competition. In many regions
12 of the country, Internet users can choose from at
13 most two wire line broadband access service
14 providers and perhaps one or more wireless
15 providers. This observation leads to three
16 questions that will frame our discussion today.

17 With this market structure, do broadband
18 access providers exercise market power? Can and
19 should we encourage entry and competition in the
20 provision of broadband services? And what
21 regulatory strategies should be employed in
22 markets that may not be competitive soon?

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1 To discuss these topics, we have
2 assembled a panel of five outstanding and
3 accomplished economists, all of whom are among the
4 top researchers on competition and regulation.

5 Two of our panelists, at the far end of
6 the table, have taken leave from their academic
7 positions at the University of California in
8 Berkeley to serve as chief economists in the
9 federal agencies concerned with competition and
10 consumer protection.

11 Joseph Farrell is the Director of the
12 Bureau of Economics at the Federal Trade
13 Commission, and Carl Shapiro is the Deputy
14 Assistant Attorney General for Economics in the
15 Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice.

16 I am particularly delighted that Carl
17 and Joe can join us, both because it reflects the
18 close cooperation among our agencies, and because
19 I have co-authored articles with both of them and
20 have learned a great deal from working with them.

21 Three of our panelists are professors at
22 leading universities. Judith Chevalier is the

1 William S. Beinecke --

2 MS. CHEVALIER: Beinecke.

3 MR. BAKER: -- Beinecke Professor of
4 Finance and Economics at the Yale School of
5 Management.

6 Shane Greenstein is the Eleanor and
7 Wendell Hobbs Professor of Management and Strategy
8 at the Kellogg School of Management at
9 Northwestern University.

10 And Marius Schwartz is Professor of
11 Economics at Georgetown University.

12 I haven't co-authored anything with Judy
13 and Shane and Marius yet, but their articles are
14 all worth reading and it would be great to write
15 something with you guys, too.

16 MR. WALLSTEN: That's why we're at a
17 separate table.

18 MR. BAKER: So our plan for this morning
19 is to hear 15-minute presentations from each of
20 our panelists. We'll go through in the order that
21 they're sitting -- Judy, Shane, Marius, Joe, and
22 Carl. And then I'll ask each of the panelists if

1 they have any comments on what the others had to
2 say, and while all this is going on, my FCC
3 colleagues, Chuck Needy and Jonathan Levy, will be
4 collecting questions from the audience in the room
5 and online, respectively. And in the remaining
6 time, Scott and I will select questions from among
7 those submitted in others that we might have to
8 ask our panelists.

9 So with that introduction, let's begin
10 with Judy Chevalier.

11 MS. CHEVALIER: Oh, I'm supposed to sit.
12 Right. Oh, I've never -- I'm not used to that.
13 I'm used to teaching. Oh, it's like a
14 Teleprompter. Okay. I'm getting it. Okay.

15 All right. So today I'm going to talk a
16 little bit about broadband competition and product
17 bundles, and, you know, there are many things one
18 might think is interesting about competition in
19 this sector. And one of the things that I thought
20 was interesting to focus on, and I have
21 contemplated in various situations and as had the
22 Commission, what effect this has on competition in

1 this industry.

2 I'm looking -- I'm thinking today about
3 product bundles. So I'm thinking about the fact
4 that most access providers -- pretty much all the
5 ones that I'm familiar with -- when they sell you
6 services like Internet access, telephone or
7 television services, they tend to sell them in
8 bundles, right, so you can the double to play or
9 the triple play.

10 And, you know, as economists, we may be
11 interested in what is the effect of these bundling
12 strategies of the firms in these industries on
13 competition in those industries, and what are the
14 things we might want to look at to try to measure
15 whether these bundling strategies are helpful to
16 consumers, or whether these bundling strategies
17 are harmful to consumers, or whether these
18 bundling strategies mask situations in which
19 products were prices may be difficult to obtain on
20 a standalone basis.

21 So those are the things that I'm
22 interested in. And I think it's worth -- oh, I

1 didn't realize this is so dynamic -- okay -- I
2 think it's worth knowing how economists think
3 about either tying or bundling, and we mean two
4 different things when we say tying and bundling,
5 but let's talk about them together.

6 Economists have thought a lot about ways
7 in (inaudible) or why companies might want to when
8 they sell a good tie it or bundle it with the
9 purchase of another good. In many cases there may
10 just be simply -- and that's not on my slide; but
11 it ought to be -- efficiency reasons for this,
12 right?

13 So almost every product we can think
14 about is in some way, shape, or form a bundle of
15 attributes or it's tied together, right? So I
16 don't think anyone thinks that there's any problem
17 with the market because less shoes are always sold
18 tied together, you know, you must purchase them
19 together with right shoes.

20 You know, it's probably efficient for
21 that to happen, and so we see those goods sold
22 together. We might think it's less obvious that,

1 you know, when you buy Internet service, there's a
2 -- or when you buy television service, there is a
3 different price for your Internet if you do buy
4 television service than if you don't buy
5 television service from your cable operator,
6 though that may well come from the costs of
7 supplying the two services separately versus
8 together.

9 But it's hard to know. Economists have
10 looked at other reasons why products might be put
11 together in bundles or tied together in the
12 market. One reason has to do with price
13 discrimination. Providing bundles may be a way to
14 separate customers who are willing to pay a lot
15 for one thing and little for the other, and allow
16 the firm selling them the goods to extract a
17 little more profit if they bundle than if they
18 don't bundle.

19 The other -- you know, the reason that
20 we might worry about bundling or tying his
21 situations in which a bundle or tie takes place in
22 order to exclude some kind of competition from a

1 rival. So the thing that economists really worry
2 about is suppose you have a monopoly in one
3 market, so you're a monopoly provider of a good.
4 And there's another market that's competitive, and
5 that competitive market is selling a complement
6 for your good, a good that is sold together, so I
7 mean that you might want both of.

8 So I'll give you an example. So, for
9 example, you may want a cable modem and you may
10 also want Internet telephone service, okay? And
11 those things may be complements, right?

12 And we would worry if the cable Internet
13 service provider tied the purchase of cable
14 telephony to the cable Internet purchase if that
15 was done with the purpose of, or with the effect
16 of, excluding competitive telephone service
17 providers from competing.

18 So exclusion is one of the motives for
19 tying and bundling that economists think about.
20 There are others that are probably secondary,
21 though I put some up on the slide.

22 I'll just -- let me just -- sorry --

1 briefly mention one point, which is, you know,
2 it's important to realize that tying and bundling,
3 we see that in the marketplace, so when we see
4 products sold as bundles or, you know, you can
5 only buy good B if you buy good A, that can be
6 pro-consumer and pro-welfare. That can be a good
7 thing.

8 But there are circumstances in which
9 that could be a bad thing, like this monopoly
10 extension argument that I mentioned before.

11 Okay. So, you know, we have these
12 models that economists write down of tying and
13 bundling. I'll briefly mention one because I think
14 it's sort of a simple one to see. I'll give you
15 sort of a quick version of it.

16 But it's important to realize that
17 economists, you know, we don't write down models
18 that look exactly like -- that have all of the
19 complexities of the marketplaces that we're trying
20 to market here, right? So, you know, most of the
21 models that I -- you know, there are models of,
22 you know, why would you have bundling and could it

1 be bad, you know, some of those are looking at a
2 monopolist provider of good A trying to tie in or,
3 you know, force purchase of good B.

4 You know, that's a situation which
5 isn't, you know, a perfect match for what we see
6 in the marketplace, right? And so we don't have --
7 it's important to realize that economists that I
8 know I do not have models that exactly match into
9 the competition that we see in this marketplace,
10 right.

11 So, as Jonathan mentioned, many people
12 -- most people in the U.S. are going to have -- if
13 you exclude wireless; you were talking about
14 wireless -- but if you exclude wireless are going
15 to be thinking about one or two potential
16 providers of Internet access. That's certainly
17 true in the household -- in most households, that
18 you may have one choice or two choices for getting
19 Internet access.

20 You have competitive providers and
21 substitutes for phone service. You may have one
22 provider or two providers of television services,

1 as well as substitutes for television services
2 that you could get over the Internet, and, you
3 know, not every customer cares about all of these
4 products and services.

5 And so, these are -- these are -- and we
6 think that probably if we were to look from a
7 production perspective, there are situations in
8 which these things -- there are, you know, perhaps
9 synergies in supplying more than one of these,
10 right; that it's cheaper to provide two of these
11 products to a household than to provide each
12 separately -- the sum of each separately.

13 So there's a lot of complicating factors
14 when we think about mapping the kind of models
15 that economists write down about tying and
16 bundling into real markets.

17 So I'll just quickly give you an
18 example. There's a paper that my colleagues,
19 Keith Chen and Barry Nalebuff, wrote called "One
20 Way Essential Complements," and that paper is
21 looking at the situation where you have two goods
22 and A is completely -- in order to consume B, you

1 must consume A.

2 So consumers can enjoy A without B, but
3 can enjoy B only if they buy A. So that would be
4 a situation where, let's say, you can't get
5 telephone service unless you buy Internet service.

6 And in that marketplace, they do a lot
7 of stuff. I'm not going to go through all of the
8 details. They do a lot of stuff to think about in
9 that market how would -- what would happen -- what
10 would be the incentives to tie the goods, what
11 would be the incentives to price the goods if the
12 provider of one good is different from the
13 provider of the other good or if the provider of
14 one good is the same as the provider of the other
15 good.

16 And one of the results they have -- so
17 one example that they give in their paper --
18 explicitly is cable modem service and IP
19 telephony. I'm going to skip this, because it's
20 too complicated. Sorry about that.

21 When I sent my slides, I was ambitious.

22 MR. BAKER: That's cool.

1 MS. CHEVALIER: Yeah. Look I got some
2 good graphs. Okay.

3 What do they have in this model? One of
4 the things that they show in this model is suppose
5 you were a monopolist, and you are providing --
6 and, of course, cable modem providers are not
7 monopolist -- but suppose you were a monopolist
8 providing the essential good, and there was a
9 competitive provider -- there was another firm
10 selling this secondary good. And you were thinking
11 about entering the market for that secondary good.

12 So suppose you were the Internet service
13 provider, and you were thinking about going into
14 telephony, they have a very strong results in
15 their paper that you have -- the monopolist in
16 their paper has incentives to charge a very low
17 price for this secondary good and that has the
18 effect of driving out other firms that might try
19 to provide that secondary good.

20 Now in their particular model, so, for
21 example, in their model what they suggest is the
22 provider of Internet service may try to stimulate

1 demand for its Internet service by providing very
2 cheap IP telephone and that very cheap IP
3 telephone may drive out competitive providers of
4 IP telephone.

5 And in their model, that's actually
6 fine, because consumers actually don't care in
7 their model. That's an outcome of their model,
8 but consumers don't care.

9 In the real world, you know, there's big
10 gaps between the models and the real world, so,
11 you know, there are models that you could write
12 down where it would be a very bad thing to have
13 the provider of Internet telephony -- I mean
14 Internet service drive out competitive providers
15 of Internet telephony, especially if they are
16 differentiated from the incumbent.

17 So there are big gaps between the models
18 and the reality. We have models that can give us
19 kind of benchmarks of what we might expect in
20 certain circumstances, the effect of these
21 bundlings to be, but the world that we look at is
22 a much more complicated than the world that we're

1 able to model specifically in our little models
2 that we write down.

3 So where does that lead us? Well, I
4 think that leads us to a point where this is kind
5 of an empirical question, and this is where I'm
6 hoping that, you know, one of the things I'd be
7 willing to -- you know, so mostly I've said that,
8 you know, there's lots of things that could happen
9 in this market, in these markets, and it's hard to
10 really tell whether they're good for consumers or
11 bad for consumers and how to assess this bundling.

12 But, you know, data really would help
13 with this question. So what kind of data would we
14 need to look at these issues? So I think some
15 interesting data -- if you had data on prices and
16 quantities for the kind of bundles that cable
17 service operators and telephone operators are
18 providing, ILECs are providing, what would you do
19 with that?

20 Well, you could look at things, like,
21 what are the average revenues per customer of
22 customers who take one, two, or three products

1 from this provider. And you might look at some
2 questions like given the prices charged for the
3 bundles and non-bundles in these marketplaces, how
4 much would consumers have to value some competing
5 voice over IP service push to actually buy it?
6 You know, so given the price that the cable -- the
7 implied price of the cable telephony in the cable
8 bundle, how much would the person have to like
9 better Vonage or another voice over IP provider to
10 actually buy it. That would be a useful thing to
11 know empirically about a set of markets and a set
12 of competitive situations.

13 And, you know, for what customer types,
14 because of the way prices are bundled, goods are
15 bundled, for what customer types are there
16 customers who, you know, in theory are passed by
17 two services and could access competing services,
18 but because of their preferences, let's say they
19 don't want television or they want Internet, but
20 not phone service, or the phone, but not Internet,
21 there may be a set of customers for whom if you
22 look at the set of bundles that are available,

1 those bundles really kind of make one of the
2 providers very unattractive to a customer with
3 those preferences. And so for a customer with
4 those preferences, they're not facing as much
5 competition as a regular -- as a customer who has,
6 you know, more typical preferences.

7 So that's something you would want to
8 look at in the data. Finally, I'm just good to
9 get a tiny little example that I -- you know, I
10 should say that I have not -- I'm not a real
11 expert on broadband access in Canada, so there's
12 probably tons of things that the people in the FCC
13 could tell me about why things are in particular
14 ways, but one thing I think is kind of interesting
15 is if you look at cable's share of broadband
16 access in the U.S. versus Canada -- and it turns
17 out the measurements I could find are slightly
18 different; lines in the U.S. versus revenues in
19 Canada -- you'll see that in the U.S. cable, you
20 know, the U.S. and Canada are alike and different
21 from the rest of the world in that much of the --
22 many customers access broadband through cable in

1 the United States and Canada, which is, for the
2 most part, not that true in the rest of the world.

3 So they're alike in the sense that, you
4 know, about half of residential customers access
5 their broadband through cable in the U.S. and
6 Canada.

7 But an interesting difference between
8 the U.S. And Canada is that only about two
9 percent of business lines are provided by cable
10 service operators in the United States versus 20
11 percent of business lines or business revenues
12 from Internet service in Canada.

13 So there may be lots of reasons for
14 that. There may be differences in the quality of
15 service build out that the cable providers have
16 provided in Canada versus the U.S., but I think
17 one of the possible explanations has to do with
18 just the way the products are put together and
19 bundled and the offerings that have been offered
20 typically in the United States may make purchase
21 of Internet access via a cable operator less
22 attractive for businesses in the U.S., given their

1 set of preferences than it is for residential
2 customers. And that seems to be true, you know,
3 relative to Canada.

4 So I think that's a -- just sort of a
5 suggestive statistic and there's -- if, you know,
6 I had a little more data about pricing and
7 quantities in the U.S. in various markets, I might
8 be able to look at the question of, you know, what
9 is it that keeps cable from being competitive in
10 the business market in the U.S., but leads to
11 actually be a fairly substantial competitor in
12 Canada. And that may have something to do with,
13 you know, bundled pricing, and it may have
14 something to do with quality of service. It may
15 have, you know, something to do with, you know,
16 the quality of DSL.

17 But all of those things, you know, are
18 worth investigating, and I think we -- I don't
19 know that we quite have the data to do that at the
20 present. Okay. Thanks.

21 MR. BAKER: Thank you. Shane? Well,
22 let's put up your slide here. That will take a

1 second. Okay.

2 MR. GREENSTEIN: All right. There we
3 are. Okay. Let's do a test. Oh, good. That
4 works. Okay.

5 So I'm going to present actually a paper
6 that I wrote some months ago. It's titled
7 "Glimmers and Signs of Innovative Help in the
8 Commercial Internet," and it's directed
9 principally at the third question Jonathan
10 identified about regulatory structures for the
11 present era.

12 First, let me begin by thanking the
13 organizers, and I'll just say I'm just going to
14 present a synopsis of this chapter, and, to put it
15 context, it's actually part of a larger book
16 project about the commercialization of the
17 Internet. One of the latter chapters has a
18 chapter about lessons from that commercialization,
19 and that's essentially what this chapter is.

20 And the funding for it came from the
21 Kaufmann Foundation and Searl Foundation and from
22 my home school.

1 So my plan is just to give a little
2 overview, and then tell you the list, and then
3 conclude.

4 So the paper itself addresses what seems
5 like a rather simple question: What are the
6 symptoms of healthy behavior in an innovative
7 industry, such as the Internet?

8 It's actually rather an elusive answer
9 if you explore it at all carefully, and my goal
10 for the essay is get beyond Yogi Berra. I'd like
11 to do better than a few aphorisms. I don't aspire
12 to have a precise model. The question itself
13 doesn't lend itself to that.

14 Why would you ask such a question?
15 Because, first of all, fostering innovation is a
16 worthwhile goal. It leads to economic growth.

17 Second, and I think more deeply, there
18 is not general agreement about how to assess
19 progress. I actually think we'll all agree that
20 the regulatory structure of our parents from 40
21 years ago is no longer very relevant, but I don't
22 know that we'll agree on what's the right one

1 going forward.

2 There's an awful lot of "we know
3 innovation when we see it" in discussion, but not
4 agreement on actually what that is.

5 And so that was part of my goal was to
6 try to provide some sort of guidelines to think
7 through those problems.

8 The other reason, if I could be more
9 specific, is the world we live in today, the
10 market we live in today needs this question. And
11 it's because we're in an interesting trade-off
12 between presence of market power and presence of
13 innovative advance. And I'm -- three examples in
14 the essay address -- motivate the question, but
15 let me briefly summarize.

16 The first one is from the diffusion of
17 broadband nationwide that is an improvement to
18 users. There's a replacement of dial-up, and
19 everyone recognizes that that brings higher
20 bandwidth.

21 And yet, at the same time, coincident
22 with that was a concentration of delivery of

1 services, which presumes -- opens the question of
2 the presence of market power and what effect it
3 has on innovative conduct.

4 A second example, to motivate this
5 question, comes from the pervasiveness of
6 platforms in the Internet value chain. By that I
7 mean, again, a platform is something that firms do
8 where they bring together a number of
9 complementary components in order to integrate
10 them and provide services for users. They may
11 also have an organization of lots of participants
12 in the industry along standardized interfaces.
13 And again, it's designed to actually bring a new
14 service, to provide users with something they
15 didn't previously have. And that's an
16 improvement.

17 However, coincident with platforms, one
18 of the lessons of the last 25 years is that
19 platforms are also coincident with the presence of
20 market power, and so, again, there's this open
21 question when you see these proliferate about
22 whether there's something to be done.

1 And I just wanted to give a lot of
2 examples today that I don't think that we live in
3 a network of networks anymore. I find that phrase
4 to be quite misleading.

5 It's a network of platforms, and that's
6 the way the major firms think about it. And
7 Microsoft, Intel, Cisco, you know, Research in
8 Motion, Apple, Google, Oracle they all have
9 platform strategies. That's the way they talk, and
10 we should just say that.

11 The third motivation has to do with
12 contractual incompleteness. This is value chain
13 that changes frequently enough that assumptions
14 that went into negotiations become obsolete and
15 things have to be renegotiated. And that happens
16 frequently in this market, and, as a consequence,
17 the legal defaults and the regulatory decisions
18 that decide what's status quo in the absence of a
19 renegotiation play an incredibly important role.

20 So that's motivating why you might think
21 about these -- the problem of how to assess where
22 you are.

1 So, all right. What symptoms would you
2 look for? So I came up with a list. The list is
3 economic experiments, vigorous standards
4 competition, entrepreneurial invention, and the
5 absence of unilateral bargaining. I'll explain
6 those in a minute.

7 Why is that list interesting? First of
8 all, it's not the usual list, and in particular,
9 the shocking thing if you go look at legal
10 education or engineering education in the United
11 States today, most engineers and lawyers are not
12 taught this. They are taught, you know,
13 precedents from several decades ago, and, you
14 know, then they walk into this world and where do
15 they go?

16 So that's one of the reasons it's
17 interesting. A second one is I want to stress
18 innovative conduct. A lot of people do touch on
19 the topic, but it's never been brought out as
20 making the whole explicit and that was another one
21 of my purposes.

22 Okay. So let me go into detail. In the

1 interest of time, I'll be brief. What's an
2 economic experiment? It's a market-oriented
3 action designed to help affirm, learn, or resolve
4 some uncertainty about an unknown economic factor.
5 If you want, the rule of thumb is it's cheaper to
6 experiment in the market than it is in a
7 laboratory.

8 You know, if you want to understand how
9 to design a search engine that will appeal to many
10 people, you don't give it to the white-coat guys
11 in the lab and give them six months. That's
12 actually not what you do.

13 You go out. You design it, and you see
14 if users -- if it has traction with users. That's
15 an economic experiment. There are lots of
16 experiments in the Internet and have been for the
17 last 15 years. And, you know, we could just go on
18 and on about all the various ones that have come
19 out, where people, where the firms learned from
20 their experience, and, you know, a lot of it
21 failed, too. That's just the way experiments are.

22 Well, experiments, however, are a little

1 bit interesting because that when you talk about
2 an economic experiment on a market-wide level,
3 it's not the way Wall Street typically talks.
4 Wall Street is typically focused on an individual
5 firm's welfare.

6 And just to give -- the paper gives a
7 couple examples, but I'll -- just to highlight one
8 is to give you the contrast. Think what happened
9 in the WiFi market, or, if you will, the 802.11b
10 market of the early part of this decade. There
11 was an 802.11a, too, by the way, which hasn't
12 deployed. Why -- it didn't deploy widely, well,
13 because they learned from experience that B was
14 more popular. But that's another matter.

15 In addition, it was called WiFi when it
16 first deployed. That came later. And if you
17 actually will talk to the people who designed it,
18 they had not anticipated the hot spot at all.
19 That wasn't the market structure they were
20 anticipating. It came about through learning, and
21 everybody learned from each other.

22 The entire market-wide learning is --

1 have a great deal of number of positive
2 externalities in it. And on a market-wide level,
3 it was quite good for the country; on an
4 individual level not necessarily so.

5 So again, I want to stress that the
6 market-wide sense of learning is what is you want
7 to look at.

8 Second, vigorous standards competition.
9 Why emphasize that? More of it is better than
10 less, once again. I emphasize that because most
11 bleeding or leading edge technologies cannot be
12 deployed without something routine or some
13 coordination in a dance of their deployment. Quite
14 typically that routine or process is negotiated in
15 advance in a standards body, not always in a
16 public standards body. Sometimes there's
17 disagreement, and so you get multiple standards
18 being deployed in advance.

19 And that's the interesting thing:
20 There's disagreement in advance about the right
21 way to do things, and, as a society, we benefit
22 from seeing competition among the different

1 choices when you don't know which one is right.

2 I would say that it's an inherently
3 messy and confusing process, and particularly to
4 outsiders. I've even done a couple case studies on
5 standards competition, and it's even messy when
6 you get into the details. It's inherently
7 open-ended. It's inherently frustrating. It's not
8 a static activity. Anyone involved in it never has
9 anything nice to say about it when they're done.

10 On the other hand, it's better than the
11 alternative, the fastest way to slouch towards
12 dystopia is to give a monopolist sole control over
13 the determinants of standards.

14 And that's basically my point, which is
15 vigorous standards competition, more of it is
16 better than less of it or monopoly control.

17 I want to note a very interesting
18 qualification here that competition among designs
19 isn't the only thing that occurs in vigorous
20 standards competition. You also have competition
21 among sponsoring institutions. You may have
22 similar designs but different organizations

1 sponsoring them, and different processes are
2 anticipated in how they're going to be updated and
3 firms will care about the way those processes
4 operate.

5 And so, again, competition among process
6 for changing the design is a different way to
7 think about standards competition. Again, this is
8 a focus on market- wide gains.

9 The third one, more entrepreneurial
10 invention is better than less. You might
11 reasonably ask, well, how is this different than
12 learning, and this one focuses on the participants
13 rather than conduct.

14 So an entrepreneur in this context is
15 someone who takes a financially risky and
16 organizationally challenging action in pursuit of
17 a business opportunity. They're often the first
18 to attempt to deploy, distribute, or service
19 something.

20 You might affiliate this kind of
21 risk-taking with small startups, and certainly it
22 is true that small startups do tend to do this

1 kind of activity. But I don't want to make the
2 mistake of saying that it's exclusively done by
3 small startups. That's not true at all.

4 Entrepreneurial action can be taken by
5 large firms. However, to be precise about it,
6 usually in the environments where you find large
7 firms taking risky actions, you tend to find
8 (inaudible) funded small firms as well.

9 So, that's a symptom. Again, this is
10 one of those interesting ones where none is a bad
11 thing more than none is good. It's unclear after
12 a certain point whether more and more is
13 incrementally even better. But the key
14 observation is more than none is better.

15 Okay. Since they're often the first
16 thing to do something, you might reasonably ask
17 what are the causes for the first to perform. And
18 the interesting thing about entrepreneurs is some
19 of the causes are outside of their own control.
20 The causes of lots of entrepreneurship are things
21 like low development cost, low delay of getting to
22 market, strong appropriation rights for small

1 firms.

2 One of the remarkable things today in
3 our world is that Web 2.0 type start ups have
4 extraordinarily low start up costs. By VC
5 standards, we've never seen anything quite like
6 this. And to contrast it with, for example,
7 integrated circuits, where the start-up costs for
8 a firm can be \$50 million at a minimum, for
9 example.

10 You know, you can start a Web 2.0 firm
11 for under \$100,000 and sometimes much, even much,
12 less than that.

13 So because many of the determinants of
14 these cost delay and appropriation are outside the
15 control of the small firm, it raises the question
16 of what it is that existing established firms can
17 alter in order to alter the situation for small
18 firms. And they can do things such as releasing
19 information, buying out options, and the paper
20 discusses a number of these.

21 Finally, last, yeah, good. Three
22 minutes. Perfect. The last one: The absence of

1 unilateral bargaining. Why the absence? Because
2 more is better. Less absence is a better thing. I
3 was trying to put them all in, you know, more of
4 the thing is better.

5 So what do I mean by that? Unilateral
6 bargaining is one party has bargaining power to
7 proffer a take-it-or- leave-it offer and others
8 have no choice but to accept. In a room of
9 lawyers, they're going to all stand up and start
10 tearing their out when I say this. I recognize
11 that the law describes this in different terms;
12 that almost some of my purpose here is to raise
13 the question.

14 And I wan to raise the question because
15 if you look at the Internet value chain today,
16 bargaining is pervasive. There's technical
17 interrelatedness everywhere. You know you have
18 negotiations going across firms everywhere, and
19 you do have the possibility for unilateral
20 bargaining in a number of key places.

21 And generally speaking, that's actually
22 not a healthy thing, because it raises the

1 potential that the established firm can offer a
2 bargain that protects itself rather than helps the
3 market-wide participants innovate.

4 I talk at some length about bargaining
5 breakdowns in the paper and why that may or may
6 not be a symptom. Just to be clear, a breakdown
7 per se doesn't have to be a symptom of unilateral
8 bargaining. It can be.

9 So what are the issues? Well, the paper
10 actually uses more illustration than general
11 argument. Most of the illustrations are taken
12 from the Microsoft antitrust case, not because I'm
13 particularly trying to pick on Microsoft, but
14 because A, I thought that actually the case should
15 have been brought; B, also because Bill Gates was
16 really good at this. And, you know, we should
17 actually admire him for it. I mean he's actually
18 a quite accomplished bargainer. And C, you know,
19 it's all public.

20 So it made it possible to write down
21 what they did precisely. And it wasn't -- as I
22 said, I wasn't particularly trying to pick on him.

1 I think this is actually fairly pervasive
2 behavior.

3 But often it is -- firms attempt to do
4 this pervasively, but they're often disciplined by
5 markets. So that's the interesting thing.

6 So, again, the question I want to offer
7 is we should stress market-wide gains. Wall
8 Street doesn't think this way, once again. The
9 market-wide gains from having competition
10 discipline the kinds of bargaining firms do.

11 Okay. Wrapping up. So the question you
12 might want to ask is what type of concerns would
13 trigger intervention. And again, what I tried to
14 do is say here are four symptoms where less is
15 unhealthy; more is healthy, and that would in real
16 time, as you're trying to decide whether to do
17 something, frame the kinds of conversation one
18 would have about this market. You would expect
19 intervention to be triggered, therefore, when
20 experiments are slow. Standards are not
21 introduced very quickly. The rate of
22 entrepreneurial invention has been slowed or you

1 find a pervasive one-sided bargaining being used
2 by a particular firm.

3 These principles are illustrated in two
4 cases in the end of the essay that are well known.
5 I was just doing them for illustration -- the
6 Cogent-Spring negotiations, for example, which did
7 break down, and where I'm treating Cogent as the
8 entrant and Sprint as the established firm.

9 And really here there was a competition,
10 a very classic competition policy issue where two
11 firms were providing the same retail service and
12 they were interconnecting and, you know, boy, what
13 a classic situation. And then the, you know, the
14 bargaining between them broke down over paying for
15 a particular co-specialized asset between them to
16 share data.

17 And consequently, they negotiated, and
18 Sprint gave in on the bargain primarily it seems
19 like their customers were really mad. And so
20 that's an environment where, you know, competition
21 did discipline them.

22 The other example I used is Comcast and

1 Bit Torrent, again, a very well-known example, and
2 the basic point is there are two externalities
3 here, arguably even more, first of all there is
4 the obvious one that Comcast has to look after all
5 of its customers, and there's a negative
6 externality within its own systems from one
7 customer to the next, because Bit Torrent takes
8 all the available capacity, and, therefore,
9 reduces the quality of service for other customers
10 on the same loop.

11 There is another externality here, which
12 is the innovation incentives of the entrepreneurs.
13 Should Comcast have unrestricted rights to change
14 how any application operates on a system. You
15 change the incentives of every present
16 entrepreneur.

17 In addition, there's been arguably, even
18 an inter-temporal externality here as well, which
19 is all future entrepreneurs might have a different
20 incentive to innovate if they believe they can't
21 deploy their product any longer.

22 Okay. That was all I had to say. Thank

1 you.

2 MR. BAKER: Thank you very much. All
3 right. Marius? Yes.

4 MR. SCHWARTZ: Okay. Thank you. No
5 picture, but I'll know next time. Thank you for
6 inviting me. It's a pleasure to be here.

7 To paraphrase, I think at least one of
8 John's questions, should we be thinking about
9 doing something about broadband, and the backdrop
10 behind this kind of question is perceptions by at
11 least some people that broadband Internet access
12 providers have one, substantial market power, and
13 secondly, concerns that they might misuse
14 discretion in pricing or in non-price in terms of
15 access to their networks -- misuse of discretion.

16 Now this -- these concerns in principle
17 could apply to any place in the Internet value
18 chain. It doesn't have to be confined to
19 broadband, and we should be mindful of that.

20 And so the first place I'm going to
21 start with is what standards should we think about
22 in deciding whether to even consider intervention,

1 access intervention, whether it's in broadband or
2 anywhere. Okay.

3 And my view on that is that you need two
4 preconditions. One is what -- oops. That's okay.
5 One is that there should be clear evidence of a
6 serious competitive failure, and secondly, that
7 there should be a reasonable prospect that
8 regulation will improve things.

9 And let me take them in turn. The
10 conditional one is a screen, and so you want it
11 for -- and there are two operative words, clear
12 and serious; clear because you can easily mistake
13 certain conduct and say it's a problem when, in
14 fact, it isn't. So there's always a risk of
15 convicting the innocent when you intervene.

16 So you'd better have some clear evidence
17 that that seemed so obvious I didn't put it on the
18 slide.

19 The serious is because in any industry
20 there are going to be some warts, some things that
21 somebody complains about. And you want your
22 standard of intervention to be more than just not

1 everybody's completely happy. If you set it that
2 low, you're really inviting politicking and
3 (inaudible) seeking and just too much of that. So
4 that's my screen. Now the second question,
5 suppose you've met that screen, do you have a
6 reasonable belief, not certainty, but a reasonable
7 belief that regulation can do better. And this is
8 so what I say resisting the Nirvana approach to
9 economic policy. The Nirvana approach says that
10 just because the market is not perfect, don't jump
11 to the conclusion that the government can do
12 better.

13 As far as I know, the term came from one
14 of my UCLA professors. For those who don't know,
15 at the time, the economics department at UCLA was
16 known because of its laissez-faire leanings as the
17 University of Chicago at Los Angeles.

18 So -- so, but because today' talk is
19 about broadband, I'm going to look at these
20 conditions in a particular setting of broadband.
21 And I'm going to have three slides on each -- the
22 competition issue and the regulation issue.

1 Okay. The competition one is short.
2 The interventionist view basically says, look,
3 wire line mass market broadband, and by mass
4 market I mean residential, small business, is a
5 durable duopoly of the local cable company and the
6 local telephone company, the old ILEX.

7 And I have two responses to this; number
8 one structure that the durable duopoly premise is
9 questionable; and number two conduct and that's
10 maybe just as important. But even the duopoly can
11 exhibit strong rivalry. Whether it does or
12 doesn't is a question for particular industries,
13 and in particular, it's wrong to say oh, duopoly
14 is just one away from monopoly. It is
15 arithmetically, but it's not in any meaningful
16 sense.

17 Okay. So the first one is broadband a
18 durable duopoly? Now you're sort of flooded with
19 facts and figures, so I'm not going to add much to
20 that. I think you've got as much as you can
21 handle on that front.

22 But let me just hit some high points.

1 On the wire line broadband piece, the fixed wire
2 line or land line broadband, it's not purely a
3 duopoly. There's some limited overbuilding, RCN.
4 I say that because they're my provider and I love
5 them. But this is not a paid endorsement.

6 There's some municipal fiber, but we
7 certainly don't want to overstate that today for
8 sure. Now on the other hand, potentially much
9 more important is wireless competition, and that
10 could come both from fixed wireless, like Clear
11 Wire, which is terrestrial-based, perhaps
12 satellite -- Hughes is an example of that -- as
13 well as probably more important mobile wireless.

14 Now people will say that look, users
15 face a trade-off in performance. Mobility --
16 mobile wireless just doesn't give you the
17 bandwidth that the fixed connection does, and
18 that's probably true today. In fact, it is true
19 today.

20 But it gives you mobility. Now in order
21 for mobile wireless to constrain the behavior of
22 fixed wireless, landline, we don't need all of the

1 users to view these two things as perfect
2 substitutes; right. We just need to have enough
3 users on the margin that view them as good
4 substitutes.

5 Now do I claim that today there are
6 enough users that view them as good substitutes?
7 The question is for what purpose. If there was a
8 merger today and you wanted to define an antitrust
9 narrowest product market, I probably would not
10 make the claim that the two broadband landline
11 providers that you would have to add in wireless
12 to get the narrowest market. No.

13 But on the other hand, if the question
14 is one of longer-term trends -- and I think that's
15 the relevant horizon for thinking about regulation
16 -- then you do want to look a bit ahead and say
17 well, do you think there is good prospect for an
18 off competition in this space.

19 And there I think it's a lot harder to
20 reject the premise or reject that view that there
21 could well be constraining influence down the
22 road. Okay.

1 Now a good example of this is the
2 history of cellular telephony, right? It started
3 off as a -- clearly a complement to the fixed wire
4 line, but over time it evolved into a substitute.
5 Now it's certainly true that people were saying
6 any minute now, any minute now, it will be a
7 substitute. And it took longer. But it did
8 eventually get there, and today there's no
9 disagreement that old phone companies are
10 suffering substantial losses of wire lines on the
11 telephony side as people cut the cord.

12 Now if you then look forward to a
13 universe that includes both fixed and mobile wire
14 -- fixed broadband and mobile broadband -- most
15 users will enjoy at least five or six competitors.
16 So how do I arrive at this calculation?

17 You've got the local cable company.
18 You've got the local ILEC providing either DSL or,
19 in Verizon's case, FIOS. And then in addition,
20 you have in regions where the ILEC is neither
21 Verizon nor AT&T, you have four independent
22 national mobile wireless providers. All right?

1 So that brings you up to six.

2 In regions where the ILEC is either
3 Verizon or AT&T, you have three independent
4 wireless providers. So that's how you come up
5 with either five or six. And that's assuming that
6 you're treating Verizon wireless and wire line as
7 one, and similarly for AT&T.

8 So five or six is pretty darned good, I
9 would say. Okay.

10 Let's (inaudible) to conduct. Yeah.
11 Indicators or rivalry.

12 And I'll just give three that caught my
13 eye. Okay.

14 One is technology upgrades in response
15 to competitors. So on the land line broadband
16 side, the cable companies reportedly are deploying
17 their DOCSIS 3.0 upgrades first in regions where
18 they are facing competition from either Verizon's
19 FIOS or from AT&T's U-Verse. Okay.

20 And I've put at the back of my slides
21 some recent references from the trade press on
22 this. It will be very nice to actually try to

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1 document that more systematically. That's one
2 thing you folks may want to do.

3 There are lots of examples you can find
4 like that from the mobile space. I won't bother
5 trying to recite them.

6 The second category of evidence is
7 comparative advertising. Right? On the land line
8 broadband space you have the Comcast versus DSL;
9 right; Comcast with the Slowsky's ads, you know,
10 those turtles that the DSL speed is so slow.

11 Today you have Verizon touting FIOS
12 against the cable guy; right. That's all
13 competitive advertising. That suggests
14 competition.

15 On the mobile side, you've got the
16 fastest network versus most the reliable networks
17 -- all these TV campaigns you're familiar with.

18 Finally, the one that's maybe less
19 obvious is Apple's I-Phone exclusive contract --
20 in this case, with AT&T -- but they also have
21 exclusive contracts abroad. That's their business
22 model.

1 And interestingly, I'm not taking a
2 position whether that's a good or bad thing the
3 contract itself. But it is an indicator of
4 competition among wireless providers. And that's
5 because if there was no competition among wireless
6 carriers, then the amount of money Apple can
7 extract from AT&T should be independent of whether
8 it's offering the I-Phone also to Verizon, in
9 which case it makes a lot of sense to offer it to
10 everybody; right?

11 The fact that they are offering it
12 exclusively at least according to the trade press,
13 Apple is able to command quite a premium because
14 it's playing off AT&T against Verizon. The one
15 who's got the I-Phone is going to be able to steal
16 some customers from the other. And Apple is
17 extracting in the rent from that.

18 The point being that the I-Phone
19 exclusivity is an indicator of competition among
20 the wireless carriers. Okay.

21 Now let's turn to regulation. What do I
22 have, John? About six minutes or?

1 MR. BAKER: Four.

2 MR. SCHWARTZ: With interest. Okay.
3 Broadband access regulation. I'll go quicker
4 because I think you know that story.

5 Regulated monopoly paradigm doesn't fit.
6 All right. We know there's a traditional concern
7 in telecom going back to the regulated AT&T
8 (inaudible) world. And that's a price-regulated
9 monopolist in one market can't make much money on
10 the core service; they have an incentive to
11 vertically integrate into adjacent segments, where
12 the faces lighter price regulation, like long
13 distance, like equipment in the case of AT&T; and
14 discriminate against competitors in the segments
15 in terms of access that it grants them to the
16 bottleneck. Fine.

17 Now in a regulated monopoly setting,
18 Carl teased me today -- he said that I thought you
19 were a regulator, and I said I'm a cautious
20 regulator. In a setting like that, there's a
21 pretty good argument for sometimes for even pretty
22 intrusive regulation.

1 And the prototypical success story
2 that's touted is the FCC's unbundling of customer
3 premise equipment from the wireline network,
4 right, through the use of standardized jacks and
5 plugs as opposed to hardwiring the phones, not
6 known as the Part 68 rules which was issued in the
7 mid-'70s.

8 The point is that this paradigm just
9 doesn't fit today's network -- broadband
10 landscape. And for two reasons, one, I see the
11 risk of anti-competitive conduct is being much
12 lower, and, therefore, there's less need for
13 regulation. I also see the prospects for good
14 regulation is being much weaker; that is,
15 regulation will be a whole lot harder. So two
16 last slides on each of these.

17 Okay. The anti-discrimination risk, I
18 think, is lower for two reasons. One the
19 incentive is weaker. A big part of the incentive,
20 not the only part, but a big part of the incentive
21 for the old band system to discriminate was that
22 they were regulated on the price they could charge

1 to retail customers.

2 Now broadband provider are not
3 price-regulated, which means that if there's a
4 richer supply of complements -- applications,
5 content -- that increases the demand for the core
6 service broadband lines, then they can make money
7 on them through expanded sales of broadband lines
8 and utilization, because they're charging a
9 non-regulated price on that. Okay.

10 So, conversely, discriminating and
11 restricting the supply of independents is going to
12 harm them. Second and probably more important is
13 the weaker ability. Even if for some reason a
14 state monopolist decides I'm going to keep out
15 independents, okay, and Shane pointed out to a
16 concern you don't want to control the stand on the
17 hands of a monopoly. The point is here broadband
18 providers, even if they wanted to, they could not
19 exclude a complements from the market, okay.

20 If Comcast doesn't take you, maybe
21 Verizon will take you. The I-Phone example
22 actually fits in here as well. Apple not only can

1 prosper with access to just a third of the
2 nationwide wireless user base, it actually chose
3 that course; okay.

4 The second long kind of laundry list --
5 if we have time, we can come back to this -- is
6 that, you know, putting aside a discrimination
7 issue, the anti-competitive discrimination issue,
8 discretion in pricing or network management may be
9 beneficial, okay.

10 One concern has been about should we let
11 broadband providers charge applications providers
12 for the right to access end users. Wouldn't that
13 be terrible.

14 Well, there's some bad aspects, but
15 there's also a good aspect. One predictable
16 consequence of allowing these kinds of charges
17 that follows from the logic of two- sided markets
18 is that if a broadband provider can charge content
19 or application providers who derive their revenue
20 from advertising for the right to access end
21 users, it makes it more attractive for the
22 broadband providers to expand the number of end

1 users and their utilization, which he then does by
2 cutting the price to them.

3 A good example of that was AOL's --
4 okay. I'm at zero, but that's all right. A good
5 example of that was AOL's decision in 2005 to try
6 to switch towards an ad-based model, and to do
7 that it eliminated charges to subscribers, which
8 confirms this kind of story.

9 Okay. The big point here is it's going
10 to be awfully -- lots of other good reasons for
11 discretion. It's going to be awfully hard to tell
12 them apart, to try to separate the good from the
13 bad, and then in particular it's going to be very
14 hard in this world, because this world is not a
15 world about plugs and jacks. It's a world of much
16 more complicated technology. You have to get into
17 policing internal traffic management, both on
18 wireline and wireless networks. And in the
19 wireless space, you're faced with additional
20 complexity of policing software interfaces,
21 between the network and devices, the network and
22 applications and all of this is going to be a

1 nightmare in my view.

2 So my point is I'm more than open to
3 being persuaded, but it seems to me at this point
4 there's serious reason to doubt whether we should
5 be going down the path of regulating this space.
6 Sorry.

7 MR. BAKER: Thank you. Joseph?

8 MR. FARRELL: Okay. Are we on? So I
9 should start by saying that what I'm going to say
10 today is my views and analysis and doesn't purport
11 to be that of the FTC, the Chairman, or any
12 commissioner.

13 When we ask about broadband competition,
14 the first question that comes to my mind is what
15 is broadband exactly. And it's a question that
16 I'd like to urge that we not try too hard to
17 answer.

18 So as someone who's spent some time both
19 in the antitrust world and in the telecom policy
20 world, I think it's only a slight travesty to say
21 that whereas in antitrust we often do define and
22 indeed spend a lot of effort defining markets, we

1 try to remain aware, a good antitrust practice
2 tries to remain aware that market boundaries are
3 often somewhat fuzzy.

4 And I think sometimes in regulatory
5 policy debates there's paradoxically a stronger
6 tendency to act as if the definition was the end
7 of the discussion. And if you do find broadband
8 to be at least 768 kilobits this way and 200
9 megabits that way, sometimes to forget that there
10 are things near those boundaries are even far the
11 other side of the boundaries that may have some
12 impact.

13 So, as Marius was explaining, I can't
14 remember whether you actually said this, but this
15 is a retro view, even narrow band may compete
16 somewhat for some consumers. More importantly
17 perhaps, not all broadband services are equally
18 substitutable for all consumers, and one should
19 pay attention to that.

20 And it's also true that defining
21 broadband for the purpose of subsidy and other
22 public policy programs could turn into an issue.

1 This is a pervasive issue in universal service
2 programs, and, as usual, the more one can resist
3 giving too much power to a definition, the better
4 off we are.

5 So, for example, in subsidy targeting,
6 it seems to me there's scope to think about the
7 question instead of giving money to those who
8 build out networks that are defined as broadband,
9 is it an interesting idea to subsidize elsewhere
10 in the value chain, for example, in applications
11 that will raise the demand curve for the kind of
12 Internet access that consumers want, and avoid
13 defining what kind they're supposed to want if
14 they are wanting broadband.

15 A second area in which there's sometimes
16 a temptation for too stark a dichotomy is in
17 classifying markets as competitive or not
18 competitive. Again, in antitrust, here I think we
19 do -- antitrusters -- do better on this. It's
20 rare in antitrust, I think, for someone to ask,
21 "Well, is this market competitive or monopolized?"

22 And in telecom policy, perhaps partly

1 because of the history of regulated natural
2 monopoly, where in some specific sectors, as in
3 customer premises equipment, there was a conscious
4 and explicit decision that this sector is going to
5 be competitive while the rest remains a regulated
6 monopoly. I think there's sometimes a temptation
7 to go too far in the direction of saying this one
8 is competitive, this one is a monopoly.

9 Obviously -- it seems to me obvious --
10 broadband Internet access, whatever that is
11 exactly, is not exactly a monopoly and is not
12 exactly competitive, and it's somewhere in
13 between. And we're very accustomed to dealing
14 with that and competition policy, and I know
15 people in telecom policy are too, but sometimes
16 that gets a little forgotten in some of the
17 debate.

18 So if the question is not is it
19 competitive or is it monopolized, but is how can
20 competitive is it, and what do you do with that
21 information, that gets a little closer to the
22 kinds of considerations that Marius was talking

1 about. And I'd like to just focus on two or three
2 aspects of that.

3 The first is, it seems to me, when you
4 ask is there enough competition as opposed to will
5 competition be enhanced or reduced by this merger
6 or something like that, you do need to ask in more
7 detail what question are you asking. So Marius
8 made the case -- and I think it's a very credible
9 case -- that it would be fraught with risks,
10 probably unwise, to decide there's little enough
11 competition in broadband Internet access that
12 price regulation would be a good idea. All right.

13 And that's for two interrelated reasons,
14 I think; I'm not sure if I'm paraphrasing Marius
15 or saying something a little different. One is
16 although it's far from perfect competition,
17 there's a reasonable amount of competition in at
18 least many markets, and so you probably wouldn't
19 gain all that much by way of lower prices for
20 consumers.

21 And secondly, we do know that when you
22 do price regulation, you change the incentives for

1 quality improvement and it's likely that that
2 would be an adverse effect, and you'd want to
3 worry about that because quality, including
4 aspects of network management, is an important
5 competitive dimension or a consumer dimension
6 here.

7 So that brings me on to the much more
8 vexed topic of vertical regulation, and in
9 particular issues along the lines of what's known
10 as net neutrality. And Marius mentioned and
11 described briefly the, I think, generic argument
12 for vertical laissez-faire, which is essentially
13 if a provider does something by way of vertical
14 relationships with applications provider or
15 network management strategies that, on the one
16 hand, contributes an additional profit flow or
17 saves it costs or something like that, but, on the
18 other hand, is at some -- in some sense
19 anti-consumer, the incentives reflect both of
20 those effects; and in citified settings, reflect
21 them in reflect them in an efficient way.

22 So as we know, Marius mentioned one of

1 these -- of the issues that Phil Wiser and I in a
2 paper five years ago or so described as exceptions
3 to this principle of internalizing complementary
4 efficiencies and that was the regulated platform
5 price, regulated bottleneck.

6 I think another one that is also
7 potentially very important is consumer
8 information. So in order for the demand curve to
9 shift up in response to a quality improvement,
10 consumers have to know about that quality
11 improvement. And in order for a demand curve to
12 shift down in response to a restrictive network
13 management practice, consumers have to know about
14 it.

15 Disclosure is not always appealing to
16 those who are doing the marketing. And even if
17 it's appealing, it's not an easy thing to do. And
18 at the Federal Trade Commission, we spend a lot of
19 time worrying about disclosure. It's not just a
20 simple answer to all of these problems. Let me
21 just give you a couple of the many ways in which
22 disclosure is not straightforward.

1 One fact is consumers' attention to
2 disclosures is limited. Not everything can be
3 prominently disclosed. If it is, prominently
4 ceases to be prominently.

5 So if everything is in 14 point type, it
6 really doesn't help. Okay?

7 So if you have a firm with complex
8 vertical relationships and network management
9 structures and a complex consumer contract in
10 other ways for that matter, if you say everything
11 has to be prominently disclosed that doesn't work.
12 So what is it exactly that has to be prominently
13 disclosed and how do you enforce that?

14 And that relates to a second point,
15 which is for lawyers to analyze was it in the
16 disclosures is relevant and a sensible thing to
17 do, but it doesn't really answer the economic
18 question of whether the demand curve has shifted
19 as it would be if consumers had the information up
20 front and central in their heads.

21 And so disclosure policy needs to be
22 more reality-based and more thoughtful than just

1 asking well, is it in the fine print. Is it in
2 the contract that you could have read, but
3 probably didn't?

4 So there's a real challenge in complex
5 markets. On the one hand, one would like to allow
6 for experimentation and flexible vertical
7 relationships and network management policies and
8 so on. On the other hand, to the extent that
9 decisions may be let's say facially anti-consumer
10 and you're relying on the customer demand response
11 to discipline firms' choices of those things, you
12 need to have an effective mechanism of disclosure.
13 And that's not a very simple thing to do.

14 Let me just mention one more issue that
15 doesn't usually come up in this area, but the FCC
16 is a natural place to talk about it, terminating
17 access.

18 So, as many of you know, this is a
19 problem that's been important in telecom policy
20 for decades, and it arises if you allow a
21 broadband or other Internet access provider to
22 charge applications providers for access to its

1 customers.

2 And essentially the point is that that
3 charge in certain circumstances -- and it depends
4 how the pricing is done and whether things get
5 averaged out; but in the old long distance world,
6 they did, and one could readily imagine that in
7 Internet access world where it was allowed they
8 would be also -- that charge may end up being paid
9 only to a small extent, and this is especially
10 true if there is excess competition -- only to a
11 small extent by the access provider's own
12 customers to a significant extent by its rival's
13 customers.

14 And that creates competitive and price
15 setting problems. There's a, I think, piquant or
16 interesting, thought-provoking contrast in
17 attitudes to this kind of thing, which was very
18 lively, and it took me quite a while to understand
19 this fully, but this was very lively when I was
20 here -- actually, it wasn't here; it was 1919 M
21 Street in 1996-97 -- because the terminating
22 access issue looks very different depending on

1 whether you're oriented to competition policy or
2 to traditional regulation.

3 And it's the same feature of terminating
4 access that makes it suspicious from a competition
5 policy point of view; that is, the charge is
6 largely paid not by the firm -- not by the
7 customers of the firm that imposes it, but by
8 customers of other firms, in many cases, this
9 firm's rival. That makes it very worrying, I
10 think, from a competition policy point of view.

11 On the other hand, this also implies
12 that demand for the firm's product is highly
13 inelastic with respect to this charge. That makes
14 it a goldmine for Ramsey pricing, and if you're a
15 traditional regulator who wants to allow the firm
16 to cover its costs by imposing charges that won't
17 seriously affect the demand for its product, it's
18 party time.

19 So it seems to me that over the last 15
20 years or so, there has been a big shift away from
21 the latter attitude and towards the former
22 attitude. So my main point, which I hope has come

1 through, is that there are actually a lot of
2 subtleties in this area. I don't think it's
3 helpful actually to try to decide is the broadband
4 market competitive yes or no, although a lot of
5 the stuff that you would end up debating if you
6 tried to debate things on those terms could be
7 given a more helpful interpretation. Thank you.

8 MR. BAKER: Joe mentioned having been at
9 M Street. I ought to explain that about a dozen
10 years ago, I had Joe's current job and Joe had my
11 current job. We've swapped positions. So that's
12 another fun thing about having Joe here today.

13 Let's talk to -- hear from Carl next.

14 MR. SHAPIRO: Well, unlike John and Joe,
15 who have each gotten promotions apparently, I'm
16 back in the same job that I was in 13, 14 years
17 ago. So, well.

18 But as a representative of the Justice
19 Department, I'm delighted to be here, and
20 particularly with Joe here, Joe Farrell at my
21 side, since we are colleagues back in Berkeley and
22 co-authors, it's particularly easy to find harmony

1 with the FTC on some of the competition issues
2 that will come up.

3 Now I'm not a telecom jock, unlike Joe,
4 for example. But the Justice Department has a
5 great deal of experience in this area, so we're,
6 you know, very much looking forward to engaging in
7 ongoing dialogue with the FCC on these and related
8 issues.

9 You know the Antitrust Division, you
10 know, has quite -- has played quite a role
11 historically going back from the AT&T breakup,
12 modified final judgment, the implementation of the
13 '96 Act, and then various significant mergers more
14 recently in the industry, including AT&T, SBC,
15 Verizon, MCI, and others before that.

16 So at a general level, talking just
17 coming from that antitrust perspective into this
18 set of questions about broadband, it strikes me --
19 you know, there's some references that points to,
20 you know, we want to define the market, which, of
21 course, is a familiar concept in antitrust -- you
22 want to define what broadband is. I would just

1 issue a preliminary warning about doing that and
2 often people use our horizontal merger guidelines,
3 which are all about whether the product -- whether
4 a price increase could be profitable.

5 I would just note that in this area
6 where there's new technology coming, and
7 potentially, we hope, additional competition from
8 wireless, the question in terms of exclusionary
9 conduct or potentially horizontal mergers would be
10 whether it would prevent the prices from falling.

11 Okay. Prices have been falling, so I
12 just -- we should just avoid possible confusion
13 there. Okay. I can't leave without waving in
14 front of you the Antitrust Division's report from
15 a year ago, Video -- excuse me, "Voice, Video, and
16 Broadband: The Changing Competitive Landscape and
17 its Impact for Consumers."

18 Now unfortunately, when you publish a
19 report that has changing in the title, it quickly
20 becomes out of date. So it's -- so, you know,
21 that's part of the Division's more recent role
22 here.

1 Let me -- at the risk of being slightly
2 pedantic, I guess, go through some of the what I
3 see as preliminaries or context in just a couple
4 minutes to think about as we think about
5 competition in broadband.

6 And I'm going to focus -- really think
7 about what I think maybe Marius called the mass
8 market, really think more about mass market, which
9 I think of consumers and small businesses,
10 basically mostly households.

11 So and these -- so, for one thing, you
12 know, as used in virtually everything else in the
13 information technology sector, along with a set of
14 complementary products, okay -- computers, skills,
15 applications that come on -- devices, okay, in
16 conjunction with the access itself.

17 So if you were talking about measuring
18 adoption rates, you really got to track the
19 presence of those comp -- or absence of those
20 complementary inputs.

21 Broadband is a moving target. Okay.
22 And so I would just echo what we've already heard:

1 Defining it in a certain way as, you know, one to
2 three megabits per second -- you know, whatever,
3 you know, that's very static by nature, okay. It
4 creates artificial boundaries, particularly given
5 the need to look ahead. It's much more congenial
6 I think to -- and that -- to do what the
7 Commission is doing I think, which is to track
8 usage and availability across the different bands
9 and then see how that moves.

10 I mean I come at this thinking much more
11 like product lifecycles and how things move. And
12 then you can ask questions like well, are the
13 adoption rates of faster speeds of broadband being
14 delayed because of affordability or deployment or
15 lack of competition rather than taking snapshots,
16 which is not as informative.

17 And, of course, when we get to thinking
18 about product market definition or competition,
19 you know, it's going to depend a lot on the
20 applications that are used by a particular
21 consumer. I found it quite interesting in the
22 recent -- and I guess I'll call it -- I don't know

1 what you guys call it -- but this -- the big slide
2 deck that was released a week or so ago by the
3 Commission. Very interesting that it seemed from
4 that that there was little need for speeds above
5 five megabits per second unless you were going to
6 do high-definition video streaming.

7 So that suggests for a lot of
8 applications, maybe holding aside some high-end
9 corporate type of things or a very special the
10 sort of one, two to four megabits per second is
11 where sort of the action, if you wanted to think
12 about consumer demand and choices there.

13 But that is going to move over time. I
14 think we've already heard products are
15 significantly differentiated. It seem -- a
16 vertically differentiated in some sense with these
17 different speeds.

18 So it seems quite natural to think about
19 if there's two providers or even let's say one who
20 can provide the fastest speeds -- I mean there's
21 some evidence again in your status report that in
22 for many households only one provider can provide

1 the higher speeds. I presume that's going to be
2 cable, you know, as opposed to DSL. So one
3 provider at the high end, two in the sort of the
4 mid-range -- let's say that's the DSL or the
5 second wireline -- and then three or four or more
6 at slightly lower speeds -- let's say wireless.

7 So then you're into some interesting
8 questions about if you have competition at the
9 lower end that pulls down the prices there how
10 much does that indirectly, through chain of
11 substitutes arguments, pull down the prices higher
12 up. Okay.

13 And because -- and with tracking this
14 information hopefully on a pretty detailed basis,
15 adoption of different plans and speeds and the
16 terms and conditions there, you could hopefully
17 identify that degree of substitution.

18 Okay. That seems to me pretty
19 important. But I really want to strongly echo,
20 repeat, what Joe said and I think others too is to
21 say the market is competitive or not competitive,
22 you know it's a natural language for people to

1 fall into, particularly if you're coming from a
2 regulatory history where you say if the market's
3 not competitive, we have to do something. If it
4 is competitive, we can stay out.

5 Well, you know, I'm more inclined to
6 think well, competition it's not dichotomy. It's
7 not yes or no. And then, you know, when you get
8 to policy levers, you know, if particularly if
9 we're not talking about price regulation, if we're
10 talking about some other things like I'll get to
11 spectrum availability, then you don't need to be
12 driven -- you know, the question is how much more
13 competition can you bring. What would be the
14 benefits of more spectrum, not whether the market
15 is or is not classified as competitive to begin
16 with. Okay.

17 Okay. All right. We all know this --
18 conditions vary by locale, so if were to talk in
19 terms of relevant antitrust markets, we would be
20 looking at consumers in different areas as
21 affected differently. That's pretty standard.

22 Okay. So then that's kind of setting

1 the stage, I guess. So let's look ahead to the
2 current and future competition and the market
3 structures and how they vary in different locales.

4 Everything I see and read suggests it's
5 not very likely that we'll see, and I think your
6 own materials indicate, that we'll see more than
7 two wireline providers in a lot of areas, okay,
8 just because of the (inaudible) costs, although,
9 you know, they obviously can -- there's decisions
10 to be made how much they build out those networks
11 and what sort of capacity they build and so forth.

12 So when we think about how much more
13 competition -- places to look for more
14 competition, we pretty quickly go to the wireless,
15 okay, wireless area.

16 So now there's what seems to me is
17 these, you know, somewhat technical questions
18 about what the capabilities will be of wireless
19 providers over time. Clear Wire, you know, is an
20 important example. We have to watch and see, you
21 know, how much their service will be adopted, and
22 we could look for some of the same indicia of

1 competition there, for example, that Marius points
2 to among the wireline guys in terms of comparative
3 advertising. Of course, ultimately consumers
4 shifting around, okay, price responses -- those
5 sort of things.

6 I think it's premature to really predict
7 exactly how that's going to play out, okay. So
8 there's some encouraging early developments, but
9 it's still early days.

10 We certainly do have -- I think where we
11 come from in the Antitrust Division is saying if
12 we normally think well, two is a lot better than
13 one, okay, but three is better than two. We like
14 bigger numbers, I guess what it comes down to.

15 So, but, you know, that's somewhat
16 doctrinal I guess you could say, but, you know,
17 it's evidence-based. So, you know, we know from
18 the cell phone experience -- it's already been
19 alluded to -- there were significant benefits of
20 going from two to three and four. Okay.

21 We know indirect broadcast satellites
22 came in and, you know, came after -- competed for

1 cable, basically MVPD. That seemed to have
2 triggered due to cable, okay.

3 And often the benefits of these added
4 players is not necessarily in terms of price, but
5 it could be in terms of innovation. I think this
6 echoes actually Shane's point about
7 experimentation and diversity as being an
8 important driver of consumer benefits.

9 So even if we postulate that wireless
10 will never reach the speeds of the wireline guys,
11 okay, that there are a bunch of consumers that
12 won't substitute for, it could still inject
13 significant competition into the market; and, of
14 course, having the advantage of the mobility as
15 well.

16 And that relates back after two Judy's
17 point about they're going to be sold in packages
18 and, you know, that can get pretty complicated,
19 but there are basically different competitive
20 advantages to different players, including some of
21 the wireless players, who can then offer services
22 and packages that are attractive.

1 Okay. It is a little bit worrisome that
2 if it's true, as your report says -- this is slide
3 135 -- 50 to 80 percent of homes may get speeds
4 they need from only one provider.

5 So, you know, I came -- before I read
6 that, I thought, oh good, we can talk about two
7 and then going from two to a little more, and I'm
8 like whoa, we got to pull back. You know, maybe
9 there's only one.

10 So I'm interested in learning more about
11 what's behind that statement, you know, to what
12 extent that's true, how many marginal consumers
13 there are so that we can still get some
14 competition; that is, what are the speeds that are
15 being referred to there really and what timeframe
16 and how much competition do we get even in those
17 speed ranges -- discipline of pricing let's say or
18 incentive to improve products in those speed range
19 because we have more competition a little bit
20 lower down on the speed dimension.

21 Now that's -- as I already alluded to
22 this before, this seemed to me very heavy duty

1 empirical question, I guess, you know, in the
2 sense that my understanding is these -- the
3 different carriers offering different packages and
4 plans and so there's a possibility of price
5 discrimination against the consumers who need
6 these the most -- of the most demanding needs, but
7 then we have the question about, you know, how
8 much can you engage in that price discrimination
9 through product lines, and that's just -- that's
10 an empirical question. Okay.

11 In terms of policy levers, you know,
12 just for the same reason I don't like to just say
13 the market's competitive or not, or there are
14 entry barriers or there are not, you know, I go
15 well, what decisions you can really base on it,
16 you know, and how does that help us.

17 So what are the decisions here? Well,
18 one important decision is what can the FCC or
19 anybody due to introduce more competition into the
20 market, whatever we think of it, because it's not,
21 you know, we all know it's not going to be to
22 model perfect competition. There's big economies

1 of scale.

2 So what can we do, and spectrum is one
3 we really want to emphasize and encourage the
4 Commission to do -- to move forward where it can,
5 to make available more spectrum for these
6 broadband services. I mean I certainly sense in
7 your own materials a lot of that same view; that
8 there's rather strong language about demand for
9 these wireless services. It's going up rapidly.
10 It takes a long time to get spectrum online.
11 There are obstacles. It's really needed.

12 So this seems -- and it seems almost
13 urgent in the sense if it takes years to free up
14 new -- to identify, free up, and make available,
15 put into use new spectrum, there's no time to
16 spare, looking at your own charts on how the
17 demand is growing, you know, 150 percent a year,
18 something like that, more than doubling year over
19 year.

20 And my understanding even, you know,
21 AT&T in particular with the I-Phone, for example,
22 has already apparently in at least in urban areas

1 running into limitations, and they surely would be
2 a limitation for others who'd want to provide more
3 direct competition with wireline broadband.

4 So there's a lot of issues behind that
5 about, you know, where would you find the
6 spectrum, what do you do, you know, the process of
7 making it available.

8 There's also the competition policy
9 question about if you have spectrum to allocate,
10 what do you do to let's say make sure it's used in
11 the most valuable way. Okay.

12 And part of the most valuable way is by
13 injecting more competition into the market. So I
14 think a good way to think about this is in terms
15 of foreclosure value and use value for spectrum,
16 and you want the spectrum to be put into the
17 highest use value. I'm thinking of some type of
18 auction now implicitly.

19 But incumbents may have some foreclosure
20 value as well, and so care needs to be taken to
21 set up these rules to try to direct -- while, of
22 course, there are many benefits of auctions in

1 terms of putting the spectrum in the highest value
2 hands, it's not so straightforward when you've got
3 significant market power. Okay.

4 And so that's something that requires
5 more -- may require some careful study and rules
6 in terms of ultimately auctioning off the
7 spectrum.

8 The other area, transparency, I think
9 Joe's covered it some. I think -- one can think
10 of improving the quality of competition through
11 improved information, even if one doesn't increase
12 the number of players or even -- we think there
13 might be -- hopefully, there would be some impact
14 on the offerings, and, you know, the real danger
15 are features that are not salient, but actually
16 matter a lot to people and can affect profit
17 significantly, and where the incentives are not
18 well aligned.

19 So, you know, one of the obvious ones is
20 just the distinction between advertised and actual
21 speeds. Okay. And that's noted in your materials
22 as well.

1 Okay. The -- I'll leave it there, I
2 guess, with one last point. The -- you know, we
3 then slide into let's say heavier duty forms of
4 regulation, such as Marius' warning us not
5 actually against but to be cautious about, let's
6 say, and that seems -- those points seem very well
7 taken. You know, I think a big issue here given
8 the Congressional desire to increase the adoption
9 and availability and affordability of broadband we
10 naturally want to ask well, if affordability is
11 significantly slowing adoption, at least among
12 certain groups of consumers, what do we want to do
13 about that to achieve these national goals.

14 You know, subsidies would be one way to
15 go. Another way to go would be to do something to
16 try -- more in the competition sphere to try to
17 increase affordability, and it strikes me as the
18 evidence is somewhat mixed right now in terms of
19 how much affordability is limiting adoption versus
20 other missing components to go back to the
21 information ecosystem, if you will, that people
22 don't have the skills. They don't appreciate the

1 value that broadband can give or it could be
2 disabilities.

3 You know, there's a number of things
4 that are mentioned, but to the extent it really is
5 affordability, then we need to look for ways to
6 increase adoption there because deployment is
7 nice, but adoption is ultimately what drives
8 benefits, and that's where we would get to these
9 regulatory questions. Thanks.

10 MR. BAKER: Thank you. That was
11 terrific, all of you. I'd like to take a few
12 minutes and see if any of the panelists like to
13 comment on anything they've heard before. Why
14 don't I just start here and see if, Judy, do you
15 have anything you'd like to add having heard the
16 others or?

17 MS. CHEVALIER: I guess I'll make one
18 point about this disclosure issue that Joe raised.
19 You know, so, I agree that, you know, we often,
20 you know, that economists have finally gotten
21 themselves used to thinking about things like
22 consumers having limited attention spans and

1 limited cognitive capacity to, you know, process
2 all of this information.

3 But I guess I'm still a little more
4 optimistic about the role that disclosure could --
5 disclosure of network management practices, for
6 example, could claim consumer decision-making
7 because, you know, I think just like, you know, we
8 all think that, you know, we need some consumers
9 to view two products as substitute for a market to
10 be competitive, I don't think we all have to read
11 the disclosure statement, right? But we need some
12 consumer to read it on -- the disclosure statement
13 and write a long blog post about, you know, how
14 outrageous it is that Comcast is doing this for,
15 you know, for consumers to, you know, become aware
16 of things.

17 And so, I guess I'm just a little more
18 optimistic that, I mean, you know, there are
19 situations actually where disclosure, you know,
20 you can think of situations in which disclosure
21 might be problematic, but, you know, I actually am
22 kind of optimistic that even fine print disclosure

1 of network management practices could, even though
2 most consumers are going to ignore it, and
3 actually most consumers don't care probably about
4 those practices, but that the consumers who care
5 about those practices are going to, you know,
6 process that information seems to me, you know, as
7 something that could be potentially beneficial to
8 the market. So.

9 MR. BAKER: Okay. Thank you. Shane?

10 MR. GREENSTEIN: Yeah. I'd like to
11 focus -- listening to everyone rather than my
12 planned remarks, I would say there were a couple
13 of open questions that showed up, and I just want
14 to highlight them.

15 First, I think it is an open question
16 whether two is enough, and that's an open question
17 and, to be honest, we think it's better than one.
18 I think we're all in agreement on that. But there
19 is not agreement about whether that's enough, and
20 I'd like to just to highlight that there is a
21 popular view that prices are too high.

22 And I'm no fan of price regulation

1 either. But we should at least take acknowledge
2 that that's a popular concern, and, you know, it's
3 -- to be realistic, it's a real concern when \$500
4 a year per to a cable firm, and the variable costs
5 don't justify it.

6 And there's just -- you just can't find
7 maintenance expenses that justify anything like
8 \$500. I think in a bigger Breznehane model you
9 would estimate under differentiated competition,
10 which is what we have here, that you've got market
11 power because price is well above variable
12 expense.

13 There's large fixed costs. We all
14 recognize that. So it's a comp -- you know, we're
15 not going to jump to a conclusion that it's
16 necessarily a bad thing either. But I think it's
17 an open question.

18 Another open question, which I really
19 want to highlight, is the role of entrepreneurs.

20 Just because we have interdependence here by
21 itself that's not sufficient to say that we on the
22 market-wide level have a good situation if

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1 entrepreneurs don't have an easy time getting in
2 and they have new ideas and we don't have a
3 structure that makes it easy for them to do what
4 they could do under some settings and not others.

5 And again, I'd also like to raise the
6 open question about the difference between
7 potential and actual competition. I mean I want
8 to put it that way because that -- we all
9 recognize poten -- there's potential wireline,
10 wireless competition in a differentiated world,
11 but what it actually is going to be five years
12 from now, none of us know. And it's an
13 interesting and it's an interesting open question
14 to look at.

15 Finally, I guess I'd have to say, you
16 know, again, we're all in agreement that the old
17 regulatory paradigm doesn't work. But necessarily
18 that sort of takes you in two directions. It
19 takes you towards either, well, either you don't
20 do anything or you do something very thoughtful.
21 And so it doesn't really, you know, leaves you
22 with this open question.

1 And I just again want to highlight that
2 and in particular I want to be very specific about
3 disclosure. Disclosure to consumers isn't the
4 only thing here. Disclosure to business partner
5 to business partner is incredibly important in the
6 Internet value chain today. In some parts of the
7 Internet, it's high participation and open
8 disclosure. And in other parts there's very
9 little disclosure at all.

10 And there is an open question about
11 whether there's a regulatory role for intervening
12 to force disclosure business partner to business
13 partner. You know, there's a consumer question as
14 well. I'm not dismissing it. I'm just
15 highlighting, you know, there's this open
16 question. I don't know the right answer either,
17 but I think we have to recognize it's there.
18 Okay.

19 MR. BAKER: Marius?

20 MR. SCHWARTZ: So let me agree with
21 Shane that we don't know the answer. I need
22 dissent.

1 And a couple of quick comments.

2 MR. BAKER: That's my job.

3 MR. SCHWARTZ: A couple of quick
4 comments -- one picking up on a point that I think
5 Carl made and the other one on the disclosure
6 issue.

7 On the issue of two versus three, I
8 think most of us as competition folks would say
9 three is better than two, presumptively. But the
10 particular example of the cell phone, I think
11 there's a difference between the world where you
12 have two and it's known to remain two -- it's
13 blockaded by law or by franchises or by spectrum
14 limits -- versus in a world where you have -- so I
15 would put the old cellular duopoly in that box,
16 and B.T. Mercury in the U.K. in that box -- versus
17 a world where there are two, but there may be more
18 coming.

19 And I think that I worry much more about
20 duopoly in a case where you know you're stuck with
21 two than a world where it's not protected duopoly.

22 The -- so, you know, I certainly think

1 there are benefits from having a third, but I
2 worry a little less about the two in a world where
3 it's not blockaded -- stuck to two.

4 The other point is on the disclosure
5 point, this is David Clark, one of the prominent
6 scientists in the Internet, made some nice remarks
7 to the recent TPRC a few days ago when the
8 disclosure question was posed to him, and he says,
9 "Look. Number one, if you actually want to
10 know -- if I'm a network, I have to convince you
11 -- explain to you exactly to you what I did,
12 that's going to be terabytes upon terabytes of
13 information." He calculated in his head what it
14 would be. I can't do that. But it was huge.

15 The second point is well, why might I
16 not want to do that. Well, imagine that my
17 business model is to tell people, look I'm going
18 to manage my network so that on average, you're
19 going to be happier with the way all of your
20 applications work than you will on the other guy's
21 network. Now I'm not going to tell you how I do
22 it, because that's my secret sauce; right.

1 So what I'm going to tell you is trust
2 me. I'm going to take care of you. You don't
3 want to go to the other guy, but I'm not going to
4 tell you how I do it.

5 Now this, I think, that argument is an
6 interesting one, and it speaks a little bit also
7 to Shane's point about disclosure being important
8 not only vis-à-vis consumers, but vis-à-vis
9 business partners.

10 If I have to explain to everybody here
11 is how I do things there's a lot of issues about
12 spillage of competitively sensitive information.
13 That's all I have to say.

14 MR. BAKER: Okay. Joe, anything to add?

15 MR. FARRELL: Well, just to pick up on a
16 couple of points that Marius mentioned. Yeah, I
17 mean obviously one doesn't want -- this is the
18 point about the consumers' attention budget that I
19 made -- one doesn't want a vast data dump on the
20 consumer, and it doesn't achieve the disclosure
21 goals.

22 So disclosure of sufficient statistics

1 is kind of the goal. But then, of course, who
2 decides what's sufficient and how you disclose
3 those. So that then becomes the disclosure
4 question.

5 In terms of the three to two with
6 anticipated entry, I'm not entirely sure. I mean
7 I think with the cellular or PCS episode, there
8 were dramatic price changes even though it had
9 been known for years that PCS was coming, and so
10 it doesn't -- I don't think always works that way,
11 but it could potentially.

12 MR. BAKER: You have anymore, Carl?

13 MR. SHAPIRO: Let me say a little more
14 about the two versus three issue. It's
15 compelling, I guess. So one question is two
16 enough so that we don't need to get into old-style
17 scary regulation. Okay. And I think, you know,
18 and I've heard certainly Marius saying well,
19 probably it is, because old-style scary regulation
20 is scary. Okay. So that's one.

21 On the other hand, that, of course, is a
22 completely different question than could we get

1 significant benefits if we had the third instead
2 of two -- a completely separate question, okay.
3 And the answer to those both might be yes. Okay.

4 The -- and that's one reason that I
5 spent the time on spectrum because that seems to
6 be the most promising way to get a third or make a
7 third player or even a fourth player stronger --
8 so as a matter of actual policy levers, okay. And
9 we do spend a lot of our time, you know, looking
10 at industries where there's two, three, four, five
11 players, and, you know, we're looking at a merger
12 and reducing that. So, you know, some of them
13 look like this, and some of them look like other
14 industries, but we generally see a lot of benefits
15 of three versus two, okay, and, you know, for that
16 matter, we don't like exclusionary conduct that
17 keeps out the disruptive entrant who might be
18 three.

19 At the same time, I want to I think
20 agree and echo what Shane said. You know, if one
21 -- if you look at the prices, and I don't know
22 what the variable costs are, you know. If you're

1 talking about the variable costs of serving one
2 customer over a period of months or something, you
3 know, that sort of time scale and I would think
4 that it would be pretty small. You mentioned
5 service, support, okay. So and that's not an
6 unreasonable measure of marginal or incremental
7 costs for various purposes.

8 So, sure, the margin is going to be very
9 big, okay. So I like to talk in terms of
10 technical market power, okay, which is price cost
11 margins of some measure, okay. So that's pretty
12 high there with that cost measure.

13 And the reason I say technical is
14 because market power, you know, then that gets
15 lawyers excited, okay. And it has, you know, and
16 for good reason it has a lot of meaning in
17 antitrust and other areas. So there's clearly
18 technical market power, okay, but it doesn't mean
19 there's monopoly power in a legal sense, you know,
20 and all sorts of other things.

21 So at the same -- but I have to say I
22 don't think we should be indifferent to the fact

1 -- we have to let's say recognize that that
2 technical market power is a necessary feature
3 given all the fixed costs that are necessary in
4 this business. So I would -- how -- you couldn't
5 expect a competitive price, whatever that would
6 mean, to be at this low incremental cost. That
7 wouldn't be sustainable in terms of getting
8 competitive rates of return on investment.

9 So that's why technical market power may
10 be, you know, a "competitive" price in terms of
11 competitive rates of return on investment.

12 So you just have to be cautious they are
13 about making too much of that margin. Okay.

14 Now if there were a merger and that was
15 going to increase those margins a lot for the
16 investments that have already been made, I would
17 say well, that could be a significant reduction in
18 competition for that question. Okay. But, you
19 know, that's not to say we expect the market to
20 drive prices down to those incremental costs.

21 MR. BAKER: Okay. I don't think Shane
22 said otherwise, if he's talking about fixed costs

1 had to be covered, too.

2 MR. SHAPIRO: Right. But the question
3 then is if -- it's fine. Suppose we thought the
4 incremental cost was \$10 and we see a price of
5 \$50. So what do we make of that, okay? What are
6 we going to do about that? And if that -- if \$50
7 is not affordable for a bunch of people, where do
8 you go? That's all.

9 MR. BAKER: Sure. I think maybe I'll
10 give the mic to my colleague, Scott, here for a
11 few minutes to see if he has some questions.

12 MR. WALLSTEN: Right. So --

13 MR. BAKER: Either have your own or from
14 the audience.

15 MR. WALLSTEN: -- right. We have -- and
16 we have both.

17 So when you're answering, when you're
18 thinking about this, when you're answering these
19 questions, you know, it might be nice to just
20 assume hypothetically that somebody had asked you
21 to write something by some deadline, like, say,
22 February 17th, and you had to have answers to some

1 of these questions. Or maybe, you know, how
2 specifically you might pose those questions in, if
3 you were writing such a plan, how you'd go forward
4 with it.

5 There wasn't much talk about barriers to
6 entry specifically except spectrum and a little
7 bit about exclusionary behavior. Do any of you
8 have thoughts on whether there might be particular
9 barriers to entry other than spectrum that may
10 have to do with perhaps bundling or tying that
11 prevent potentially more competition and again
12 other than the very high fixed costs inherent with
13 this?

14 MS. CHEVALIER: So when you -- can you
15 just clarify? When you say more competition, do
16 you mean, say -- you don't mean more pipes into
17 the house? You mean?

18 MR. WALLSTEN: So it could mean
19 anything. I mean the think the discussion was
20 absolutely correct that it's hard to say, you
21 know, it's hard to define, to say whether or not
22 it is competitive, but things are imperfect

1 substitutes for each other and wireless -- there's
2 going to be some degree of substitution between
3 wireline and wireless for consumers for some
4 applications.

5 So it could be entry into, you know, any
6 aspect of that.

7 MR. SCHWARTZ: I don't know about it,
8 but this is more of a question to you,
9 (inaudible). You asked a question, and I'll give
10 you question, but hopefully with some content,
11 which is there anything you can do to reduce
12 switching costs? You know, I mean people talk
13 about at least the residential broadband being a
14 sticky service because at least from my experience
15 if I think about switching my provider, oh, my.
16 It's a headache.

17 Now people do switch. But I'm wondering
18 have you guys looked at some things you might do
19 to reduce switching costs, because that would be a
20 barrier, right?

21 MR. WALLSTEN: Mm-hmm. Okay.

22 Absolutely. That's good.

1 MR. SHAPIRO: Well, Judy, I'm surprised
2 you didn't talk about bundling.

3 MS. CHEVALIER: Well, when I was asking
4 what kind of competition, I was implicitly saying
5 if we're not talking about the pipes, then we're
6 talking about -- then we must be talking about
7 competitors like, you know, voice over IP
8 providers -- you know, like Skype or Vonage or
9 something like that, and I do think that there's
10 going to be situations in which, you know, a
11 consumer would have to value whatever is different
12 about those services pretty substantially for
13 those services to look attractive given that the
14 incumbents have the ability to move their margin
15 around the different products that they're
16 offering. So, I don't know the answer.

17 MR. SHAPIRO: Yeah. I would just pick
18 up on that in a slightly more general or
19 theoretical way I guess and say to the extent
20 people want to enter with point solutions, you
21 know, with smaller product offerings, less
22 complete product offerings than the incumbents

1 have, it can be tricky because of exactly what
2 Judy said. The incumbent can respond on that
3 dimension and not necessarily change the overall
4 package.

5 Now, you know, that's -- then you have
6 to get into the whole term barrier to entry,
7 right? I mean it's a barrier to entry to have a
8 really good product -- for the incumbent to have a
9 really good product. So is that low prices? Is
10 that -- so I don't mean to be suggesting that's
11 anti-competitive, okay, but they can make entry
12 hard.

13 MR. GREENSTEIN: There is -- I mean I
14 could be really -- there is a part of the software
15 world right now peer-to-peer, you know, that's
16 following on the lessons they've learned by
17 watching some of the less savory parts of
18 peer-to-peer, shall we say.

19 And that's legal. Uses of peer-to --
20 peer that is concerned about what regulatory rules
21 -- it is a lever you guys do have to have control
22 over -- are going to be in place going forward.

1 And they will design different kinds of
2 software depending on what different kinds of
3 network management rules are in place. And their
4 behavior will change if, you know, if those rules,
5 as sometimes happens, end up in regulatory
6 ping-pong between the courts and the agency for
7 the next eight years that will also affect their
8 behavior a lot, too.

9 So it's not exactly a barrier to entry
10 and Carl's remarks are correct. You know, it's --
11 but it is a cost and a piece of uncertainty that
12 one part of the software world is paying very
13 close attention to.

14 MR. FARRELL: So I wanted to say a
15 couple of things about barriers to entry. First
16 of all, it's been my experience as someone whose
17 career has revolved around trying to think about
18 stuff that you think better when you minimize
19 abstract nouns and maximize active verbs. And so
20 rather than asking what is a barrier to entry, ask
21 if things aren't going well, will someone enter.

22 And I think that can sometimes help. Of

1 course, you know, it's still a complicated
2 question. Broadband over power -- broadband over
3 power lines is one technology that people
4 sometimes have been excited about, and it's one
5 where I understand there are, in some cases,
6 regulatory and institutional issues with somebody
7 trying to offer that.

8 Municipal broadband systems is another
9 area where I'm not going to opine on what the
10 right answer is, but whatever it is competition
11 advocacy might want to push for it.

12 MR. WALLSTEN: Shane, I mean you've
13 talked about a network of platforms and the need
14 to have a sort of a constant flow of experiments
15 and innovation, and, I mean that was part of a
16 healthy ecosystem; and there was one point in your
17 slide -- which one of your slides which you didn't
18 say but that was really hard to figure out how to
19 measure that.

20 And so I wonder. So two questions about
21 it. One how might we actually think about this --
22 begin to think about measuring it? And the second

1 one is are there bad experiments. I mean can a --
2 when a firm with market power experiments, how can
3 you know whether the outcome from that is going to
4 be good or bad and how do you?

5 MR. GREENSTEIN: Oh, yeah. As we have
6 two of the deepest thinkers on platforms and, you
7 know, sitting right over here, I'm almost hesitant
8 to even address the question.

9 You know, yeah. It's hard to measure.
10 And the second thing is even though I can't do it
11 now, but there's other examples in the paper. I
12 deliberately took them from the Microsoft
13 antitrust case, just because they're well
14 established and well documented.

15 But there -- and, you know, the Comcast
16 example is a pretty good one. You know, they were
17 not transparent about what they were doing. They
18 didn't let anybody know. They just went ahead and
19 experimented. It negatively affected lots of
20 other players in the market. It might even
21 negatively affect them far into the future.

22 That looks like a negative experiment to

1 me. For example, say, you know, I think it's much
2 more harder to use one that the Commission got
3 involved in AOL's cutting off interconnection on
4 instant messaging; right? That one's harder
5 because there's a positive side to that, which is
6 continuity and quality. And there's a negative
7 side to that, which is reducing the number of
8 participants. And then there were -- right --
9 there was -- and that is a difficult one, and
10 whether it was a negative or positive and they had
11 to think that one through.

12 So to be fair, yeah, it is hard. I
13 wouldn't want to be arguing, yeah, let's move in
14 with, you know, with no caution whatsoever. Gosh,
15 no. That's a bad recipe.

16 MR. FARRELL: So let me just follow up
17 on -- partly on what Shane just said and partly
18 what he said earlier, which I meant to comment on
19 earlier and didn't. We do know that the
20 incentives in platform management, particularly
21 imperfectly competitive platform management, are
22 pretty hard to model and not that easy to

1 understand, and in many cases understood
2 differently by different experts and possibly
3 understood differently by different business
4 people.

5 And so that's an argument I think --
6 although we always ought to pay a lot of attention
7 to our best thoughts and calculations about what a
8 firm's incentives are going to be, it's also an
9 argument I think for retaining a sense of the
10 uncertainty and those calculations, and where does
11 that take you from a policy point of view?

12 I think it tends to take you in the
13 direction of saying there's an additional
14 biodiversity benefit to having more platforms that
15 is not captured in the does competition constrain
16 pricing or does it provide salutary incentives for
17 network management.

18 How you go forward with that beyond just
19 saying this is an additional reason to want more
20 competition, of course, is tricky, but I think
21 it's important to keep that in mind and especially
22 for something that we've perhaps decided is an

1 especially important industry for consumers going
2 forward.

3 MR. WALLSTEN: So we'll ask some
4 questions from the audience and that came online.
5 First, how does it affect the analysis when a
6 single company owns multiple -- more than one
7 platform? So though if Verizon is the wireline
8 and the main wireless provider, for example, how
9 does that affect how you think about the degree of
10 competition between the two?

11 MR. SCHWARTZ: Is that to me, Scott.

12 MR. WALLSTEN: You spoke about it most
13 directly, so.

14 MR. SCHWARTZ: Yeah, well, actually I
15 took a conservative approach by saying even if you
16 assume that Verizon wireless and wireline and you
17 treat them as one, you still would get five
18 competitors in the universe fixed and wireless
19 combined; right?

20 There's an argument to be said -- to be
21 made that maybe you should think of Verizon
22 wireless and wireline as more than one, like maybe

1 one and half, not two, but -- and that's because
2 at least in the wireless plans that price based on
3 a national basis and so they may not be able to
4 tailor their pricing to completely internalize any
5 negative competitive effects that they might --
6 and cannibalizations that they may have away from
7 their broadband wire line.

8 So I'm kind of agnostic on that, but I
9 took the conservative approach of saying even if
10 you treat them as one, you still have five
11 players.

12 MR. FARRELL: I think we should not
13 assume that a firm is going to compete with
14 itself. And so where a single firm owns multiple
15 platforms, I think the right treatment is to treat
16 it as one competitor, not as two.

17 It's conceivable that sometimes a firm
18 will have its divisions compete with one another.
19 It's conceivable that the nationwide pricing thing
20 would kind of force them into competing with each
21 other, although I don't think so actually. I
22 think what you would find is that instead of

1 having a lot of competition in some places and
2 less in others, you'd have it kind of averaged.

3 But I would say very firmly that we
4 can't assume as a basis for policy that a firm is
5 at all likely to compete with itself.

6 MR. SHAPIRO: I feel an institutional
7 obligation to agree vigorously with Joe. I feel a
8 personal obligation as well. The other way --
9 even if one says, fine, they don't -- it's just
10 one. We're not going to say that -- go to this
11 one and half business. It does come up if you had
12 newer spectrum, okay, because now you'd have this
13 issue, well, Verizon wireless might have some very
14 good use for the spectrum, and yet we would in
15 some ways like to make it available -- put it in
16 the hands of somebody who'd compete against their
17 wireline broadband.

18 And that gets into these use and
19 foreclosure value tensions that I mentioned
20 earlier.

21 MR. FARRELL: Yeah, and let me just come
22 back on that a little bit. I think it's

1 economically implausible and a mistake as a policy
2 matter to assume that a firm will compete itself,
3 but if a firm gets more spectrum or more capacity,
4 that doesn't necessarily mean that it won't use
5 it. Right, so we can take into account the
6 beneficial effects of a single firm getting more
7 capacity without judging that it was, therefore,
8 competing with itself.

9 MR. SCHWARTZ: Just in case it wasn't
10 clear, I wasn't claiming that firms always compete
11 with themselves.

12 MS. CHEVALIER: I do think, you know,
13 something -- there's been like this grade
14 inflation in this conversation I feel like, and
15 now we're talking about numbers like five or four.
16 And, you know, I mean I think and, you know, and
17 wireless, you know, is potential competition for
18 wireline, but it's -- but for I think the short
19 run, it's a pretty imperfect competitor for
20 wireline Internet access, and I think, you know,
21 people are talking about three versus two. Well,
22 you know, there's a lot of people who I think, you

1 know, we're all urbans here, right, but, you know,
2 I think there's a lot of people for whom one is,
3 you know, what they're looking at.

4 So, you know, I just think we -- you
5 know, when we think about the set of consumers out
6 there and what, you know, again, Carl mentioned
7 this as a local market, and you really, you know,
8 I think you really have to take that seriously
9 when you think about this, because, you know, you
10 asked about, you know, what should we be focusing
11 on for policy issues. You know, I think a kind of
12 interesting question is, you know, is it the four
13 -- is it getting from four to five in the markets
14 where, you know, that's relevant or, you know, or
15 is it, you know, one to two in places where that's
16 relevant.

17 So I do think, you know, you kind of
18 want to -- I mean I would, you know, calm down a
19 little bit about the wireless, because I, you
20 know, I -- and power line, you know, I'll never in
21 my lifetime is that going to happen.

22 So --

1 MR. SCHWARTZ: You had the courage to
2 bring that up.

3 MS. CHEVALIER: -- I know. I'm amazed
4 you had the courage to bring that up, too. So
5 and, you know, I think it got a --

6 MR. FARRELL: The third rail or the
7 third wire.

8 MS. CHEVALIER: -- yeah, exactly. So,
9 you know, I --

10 MR. WALLSTEN: It's never live, so it
11 doesn't happen.

12 MS. CHEVALIER: -- yeah. So, I mean we
13 should be so lucky to be able to have the
14 conversation about whether Verizon wireless is
15 going to be a serious competitor to Verizon
16 wireline Internet access.

17 MR. WALLSTEN: That actually I think
18 it's a good segue way to another sort of a set of
19 questions. Well, I was going to combine them into
20 a single question.

21 And that we've focused almost entirely
22 on the last mile and except for the discussion of

1 sort of the entrepreneurial ecosystem. How should
2 we think about competition for backhaul and also
3 in different parts of the country. I'll read this
4 from one questioner in particular. It says I'm a
5 small ISP who pays a minimum of \$100 per megabit
6 per second per month for Internet backbone
7 bandwidth when ISPs in urban areas pay \$3 or less
8 per megabit.

9 He says this is due to the incumbent
10 telephone company's monopoly around to the middle
11 mile. What is the optimal way to deal with this?

12 MR. GREENSTEIN: Who wants the hot
13 potato? You know there's -- okay, I'll -- there's
14 a -- I'm trying to be provocative today.

15 The -- so, you know, on that one, oh,
16 wow. So, you know, there's gradations, and this
17 -- and that question almost embedded in that
18 question. So in the low density parts of the
19 country, often wireless ISPs have very few options
20 for their backhaul choice, right. So that's
21 what's motivating the question.

22 In -- even in some dense but not super

1 dense parts of the country, there are actually
2 quite limited options as well because, as a matter
3 of fact, distance plays such an important role in
4 deciding how to backhaul data.

5 And in even in urban areas, arguably
6 there are some options aren't. So you want to be
7 able to at least at a minimum on a policy level
8 divide up those situations and not have a one size
9 fits all solution. A second remark you would make
10 is you would want to ask whether the classic
11 competitive problem is arising where you have
12 multiple firms competing in an end market, but one
13 of them is selling backhaul to the other.

14 And the backhaul price is not otherwise
15 disciplined by a market force. All right. That's
16 a classic -- and so when I've heard this question,
17 this topic raised, the very first question I have
18 is how prevalent is the classic competitive
19 problem here, to which no one has ever given me a
20 good answer. So I'll have to say it's an open
21 question.

22 And there is this additional issue,

1 which is when you get into low density areas,
2 costs are high. I mean if it costs \$70 -- if
3 you've got a 70-mile, you know, line to backhaul
4 the data or you're going to do it over wireless
5 towers using some high-capacity spectrum, which
6 might not be used very frequently in that
7 environment, it still costs something.

8 And so then you've got a different
9 question, which is what's the cost of -- the
10 actual cost of doing the backhaul and are the
11 costs related in some systematic way to the prices
12 that the wireless ISP is facing.

13 And that's, you know, though motivating
14 the question again, it's an open question.

15 MR. BAKER: Well, I think it's time for
16 me to wrap up here. First of all, I thought I
17 would -- not quite summarize, but I thought I
18 would kind of recount some of the things I think I
19 learned today or just some of the things that
20 remind you of some of the things were raised that
21 caught my ear.

22 Judy told us that we might find some

1 broadband customers have only one supplier because
2 of bundling, and Carl echoed that market
3 definition depends on applications as a related
4 point.

5 Shane emphasized, I heard, that we might
6 see problems by looking at slowed experiments or
7 delayed standards setting or a slowed rate of
8 entrepreneurial innovation or one sided bargains.

9 Marius told us that we might find a
10 duopoly performs well, but maybe it doesn't. And
11 Carl said well, that might be true at particularly
12 the high end or by region, and Judy near the end
13 agreed the regions, too.

14 Everyone talk about the benefits of
15 having more firms, but then the question is will
16 we. Marius and Joe talked about ways -- the
17 possibility that the mobile wireless providers
18 might someday be close enough substitutes for
19 wireline service, and Carl pointed out that it
20 could possibly low-end service might be a close
21 substitute for high-end service, but maybe not.

22 But even if it's not, it might be worth

1 encouraging. And then we went to talk about
2 policy instruments and I heard Joe and Marius both
3 caution against price regulation, and Joe talking
4 about using disclosure to shift out demand, Carl
5 adding using it to increase competition. And
6 Shane adding that the importance of using
7 disclosure -- having disclosures between firms and
8 their business partners and Judy being sympathetic
9 to disclosure as well.

10 And then Carl emphasizing spectrum
11 availability as a policy instrument for helping
12 increase competition if we can make sure we avoid
13 foreclosure when doing so and that -- then we had
14 a -- and there were a number of other policy
15 instruments that in the interest of time I won't
16 mention, but about -- but there was some
17 discussion of regulatory uncertainty in various
18 ways and clarifying the rules for -- from
19 everything from peer-to-peer regulation to
20 municipal wireless service.

21 And then -- but I thought that the most
22 -- the best summary came from Shane when he told

1 us that whatever we do, we should do something
2 thoughtful. And I think we could all agree on
3 that.

4 So thank you. I want to thank our
5 panelists for a terrific and interesting and
6 informative program. We've learned so much today
7 from them. And thank all of your for coming and
8 listening to this and joining us today.

9 Thank you. Let's thank the panelists.

10 (Whereupon, the PROCEEDINGS were
11 adjourned.)

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